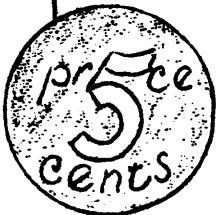


# IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM

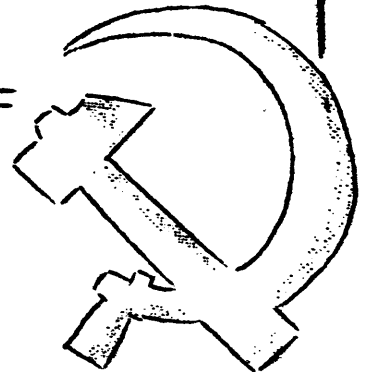
FOR A NEW LENINIST INTERNATIONAL

FRANCE  
faces  
FASCISM

-by-  
J.C. Hunter



THE LENINIST LEAGUE U.S.A.  
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# FRANCE faces FASCISM

By J. C. Hunter

## I

### THE BACKGROUND OF THE POPULAR FRONT

#### A). The Rise of the Stalinist Reaction

**T**HE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION of October, 1917, the greatest liberating movement in history, served as a beacon to the world proletariat to guide it in its struggle against oppression. This only successful proletarian revolution stirred the workers to heroic deeds in their fight for freedom. But at the same time, however, it encouraged large numbers of opportunists from all camps to attempt to ingratiate themselves with the proletariat and win a favorable place for themselves by covering their treacherous character with the mask of Bolshevism. Thousands of opportunists from the camp of the Social-Democrats, the Socialist Revolutionaries, the Liberals and even the Tzarists swarmed into the Russian Communist Party, the Soviet organs and into the newly formed Comintern. As early as 1920, bureaucratism fostered by this reactionary stratum of Soviet officialdom, was extremely broad in extent and Lenin uttered sharp warnings against it:

"We dispersed the old bureaucratic element and then began to place it into new jobs. The Tzarist bureaucrats began to go over into Soviet institutions and instill bureaucratism, transform themselves into Communists and to achieve greater car-

eerist success obtained Communist Party membership books. They have been driven out through the door, they crawl back in through the window.

"Complaints with regard to bureaucratism have long been heard, complaints undoubtedly well-founded." (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XVI, p. 127. Our emphasis.)

The following year Lenin defined the Soviet State as "a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions" (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, English Edition, Vol. IX, p. 33.)

At the Tenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party in 1921, under Lenin's guidance, a resolution on Workers Democracy aimed at destroying the bureaucratic distortion was adopted with a view toward engaging the whole of the working population in the job of running the state apparatus.

Soon after this Congress, however, Lenin was eliminated from active party work by severe illness.

The temporary removal of Lenin from political action and the great likelihood that this removal would soon be made permanent by death raised the

question of the future leadership of the Bolshevik Party. Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev, stirred by opportunist motives and united by a conspiratorial agreement, began to maneuver to enhance and make permanent their power in the Party apparatus. The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and others, permitted the resolution on Workers Democracy to remain a purely paper affair while bureaucratism continued to grow rampant. Stalin was to handle the organizational end of this criminal deal, while Zinoviev and Kamenev were to be the theoretical chiefs of the Party. In 1921 at the same Congress at which the resolution on Workers Democracy was adopted, an opposite line was laid down by these conspirators. Zinoviev proposed Stalin for the hitherto non-existent post of General Secretary of the Party and at the next Congress Stalin was installed in this office.

Immediately, Stalin used his post as General Secretary to enlarge his personal power by the process of appointing hand-picked followers to the numerous Party offices and by favoring those who would be faithful to him for general membership in the Party. By the beginning of 1923, Stalin had already concentrated so vast a bureaucratic power in his hands that Lenin in his last political document, (the "Testament"), fearful of such developments, proposed that Stalin be removed from the post of General Secretary. Years later, Stalin himself admitted Lenin's opposition to him:

"It is said that in the 'testament' in question Lenin suggested to the Party Congress that it should deliberate on the question of replacing Stalin and appointing another comrade in his place as General Secretary of the Party. This is perfectly true...." (Speech of J. Stalin at the October Plenary Session of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., reported in Inprecorr, November 17, 1927, p. 1429.)

Among the reasons Lenin gave for his opposition to Stalin's being General Secretary was Stalin's accumulation of

tremendous personal power which in Lenin's opinion Stalin used improperly. Lenin entrusted Trotsky with the task of combatting the bureaucratic growth directed by Stalin, but Trotsky, betraying Lenin's confidence, adopted the opportunistic policy of compromising with Stalin and of actually sabotaging the directives set forth by Lenin in the "Testament". Trotsky's treacherous capitulation to Stalin (of which we speak in greater detail on page 43) left Stalin and his clique free to carry out their machinations. The already existing bureaucracy and thousands of other opportunists, eager to "join the bandwagon" of the privileged Stalinist clique, willingly gave it the subservience it demanded.

Mounting political and economic privileges gave the bureaucracy vested interests that had to be defended at all costs. Within Russia it became the primary task of Stalin to concentrate power more and more in his own hands. This process of bureaucratic centralization and the resultant elimination of whatever workers democracy had been achieved was concealed by Stalin behind a vast smoke-screen of "building socialism" in Russia. Marx, Engels and Lenin had always taught that a socialist society could be organized only by the combined efforts of the proletariat of several advanced countries, and that the notion of building a socialist society self-contained within the confines of a single country is a reactionary utopia. Lenin considered the Bolshevik Revolution only a prelude to a general European uprising and not in itself sufficient for the complete victory of Socialism:

"Not only the European, but the world proletarian revolution is maturing before the eyes of all, and it has been assisted, has been accelerated, has been supported, by the victory of the proletariat in Russia. Is all this enough for the complete victory of socialism? Certainly not. One country can do no more." (V. I. Lenin, "The proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", p. 73. Our emphasis.)

And again the same idea:

"The Russian proletariat single-handed cannot bring the Socialist revolution to a victorious conclusion. But it can give the Russian Revolution a mighty sweep such as would create most favorable conditions for a Socialist revolution, and would, in a sense, start it. It can help create more favorable circumstances for its most important, most trustworthy and most reliable collaborators, the European and the American Socialist proletariat, to join in the decisive battles." (V.I. Lenin, "Letters From Afar", p. 47. Our emphasis.)

And it was not merely the backwardness of Russia that Lenin had in mind when he formulated the thesis that the construction of socialism could not be completed by Russia alone. Even if conditions in Russia had been better than what they were actually, such a completion of Socialism by the efforts of ~~Russia alone~~ would still be impossible:

"We do not shut our eyes to the fact that in a single country, even if it were a much less backward country than Russia, even if we were living amidst better conditions than those prevailing after four years of unprecedented, painful, severe and ruinous war, we could not carry out the socialist revolution completely, solely by our own efforts." (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Eng. Ed. Vol. VII, pg. 396. Our emphasis.)

The transition from capitalism to socialism could not in Lenin's opinion be finished without the aid of the international proletariat:

"We are very far from having completed even the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. We have never consoled ourselves with the hope that we could finish it without the aid of the international proletariat." (Ibid. page 275.)

Lenin conceived of constructing a socialist society as a possibility only when carried out along international

lines and on a world scale. To him the Russian proletariat was only the beginner, the vanguard of this gigantic undertaking. The completion of the socialist society would be realized only by the combined efforts of the workers of the most advanced countries, Germany, England and France.

"History has given us, the Russian toiling and exploited classes, the honorable role of vanguard of the international socialist revolution; and today we see clearly how far the development of the revolution will go. The Russians commenced; the Germans, the French and the English will finish, and socialism will be victorious." (Ibid. page 282.)

In his earlier period, repeating the opinions of the great socialist leaders, Stalin also taught that socialism could not be built in a single country alone:

"But to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish that of the proletariat in a single country is still not to assure the complete victory of socialism. The chief task, the organization of Socialist production, is still to be accomplished. Can we succeed and secure the definitive victory of Socialism in one country without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? Most certainly not. The efforts of a single country are enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie: this is what the history of our revolution proves. But for the definitive triumph of Socialism, the organization of Socialist production, the efforts of the country alone are not enough, particularly of an essentially rural country like Russia; the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are needed." (Stalin, "The Theory and Practice of Leninism," 1924, page 25, Our emphasis.)

The Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration developed for three years without Stalin introducing any distortions of these Marxist-Leninist theoretical

principles. Contrary to Trotsky's false assertion that the Stalinist degeneration began with Stalin's adoption of the "theory" of socialism in a single country, facts show that from 1921 to 1924 Stalin was building his bureaucratic machine without deviating from the correct Leninist thesis stated in the above quotation. Lenin's death afforded Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev the chance to conceal these basic Leninist truths and to parade before the masses as "builders of socialism". A short time after the above-quoted denial of the possibility of constructing socialism in a single country alone was written, Stalin began to doctor his own writings on this point. Making a complete about-face, Stalin now announced a new "theory" — (stoutly claiming that it was strictly Leninist, of course) — to the effect that socialism could be established in a single country by its unaided efforts:

"Can socialism possibly be established in one country alone by that country's unaided strength? This question must be answered in the affirmative." (J. Stalin, Leninism, page 53.)

Fully conscious that this new "theory" was an opportunist invention, in a word, a fake pure and simple, Stalin utilized this demagogic pose as the "builder of socialism in a single country" to justify his bureaucratic usurpation and centralization of power.

#### B) THE METHOD OF STALINISM

Under Lenin's guidance, the Bolshevik Party steered a course which was fundamentally Marxist. The proletariat marched toward the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship that on a world scale would lead to the creation of a socialist society. Lenin sharply realized that there were two dangers that could divert the toiling masses from the path toward the destruction of capitalism, namely, ultra-leftism and ultra-rightism. The ultra-leftist danger consists in the workers resorting to tactics which are in advance of, or in other ways unsuit-

By ideologically confusing the proletariat, by bureaucratic wire-pulling and by G.P.U. terrorism, Stalin finally succeeded in centralizing enormous power in his own hands and in surrounding himself with a large layer of sycophants who wax fat on exorbitant salaries, luxurious private homes and a thousand and one economic and social privileges.

The workers within the Soviet Union, who have been shorn of their October privileges by Stalinism, are not the only ones who are a threat to the Stalinist bureaucracy, International proletarian revolution was recognized by Stalin as early as 1923 to be a dangerous menace to his bureaucratic power. Proletarian revolution sweeping the world would serve as an encouragement to the Russian workers and peasants to overthrow their bureaucratic oppressors. The international working class, well-organized, armed and seething with revolutionary zeal would hurl scathing criticism at Stalin and his bureaucrats, would penetrate the Russian masses with propaganda and enlighten them on the causes of their misery, would organize them to rebel against the usurpers in the Kremlin and establish workers democracy in accord with Lenin's resolution. The rapacious bureaucracy quickly realized that this peril had to be crushed.

ed to, the objective situation. Some of the ultra-left traps which Lenin consistently avoided are, adventurism, putschism, unprepared and premature assaults on capitalism, refusal to utilize avenues of approach to the masses which are still effective, like reformist trade unions and bourgeois parliaments. The ultra-rightist distortion of Marxism takes the form of some sort of class-collaborationist maneuver. Participation of revolutionaries in bourgeois cabinets or any form of support to any bourgeois government, collaboration with opportunists in so-called "united front" gov-

ernments or other devices of this nature were recognized by Lenin as means whereby the march of the proletariat toward freedom from capitalist oppression was misled, with the inevitable triumph of bourgeois reaction.

The fundamental tactic of Stalinism in its policy of preventing proletarian revolution is to avoid the Marxist road by diverting the workers into ultra-rightist and ultra-leftist channels.

Faced with revolutionary developments which had to be forestalled to safeguard the existence of his personal power and of the bureaucracy that supported him, Stalin as early as 1923, through his ally, Zinoviev, who was then the head of the Comintern, seized control of this organization by placing in the leadership of its various national sections opportunistic careerists who were willing to carry out his designs. In 1923 revolutionary upsurges in Germany, Bulgaria and China particularly engaged Stalin's attention. To squelch these menaces to his power, Stalin launched the Comintern on an ultra-rightist course. In Germany the Stalinists formed coalition governments with the opportunist Social-democratic leaders in Saxony and Thuringia and in general made every effort to restrain the workers from overthrowing the bourgeoisie. When the German revolution of 1923 was finally destroyed, Brandler and Thalheimer, the agents of Stalin in Germany, were made the scapegoats for the disasters which befell the workers. In China in 1923 the Communist Party was ordered to en-

ter the bourgeois Kuomintang, which criminal maneuver brought the Chinese proletariat completely under the domination of the bourgeoisie. This line was carried out until the horrible events of 1927, when the Chinese bourgeoisie under the military leadership of Chiang Kai-shek massacred the entire Communist proletariat and huge numbers of revolutionary peasants.

After the defeat of the proletariat in Germany in 1923, Stalin covered up the ultra-rightist zigzag employed in causing this defeat by an ultra-leftist zigzag. For about six months the Stalinist traitors shunted the workers into insane adventurist tactics. In Esthonia about 300 workers were led by the Stalinist bureaucrats to capture some police stations, a leftist farce which was paraded in the Stalinist publications as a proletarian revolution. In Hamburg similar tactics were used. After the disaster to the workers in China in 1927, a putch was engineered in December of the same year by the Stalinist leaders in Canton, where overnight a "soviet" was manufactured and palmed off on the workers as a seizure of power. Many thousands of workers were slaughtered as a result of this leftist cover for the previous rightist line of the Stalinist clique in China.

In 1929 the entire Comintern was sent off on an ultra-leftist, adventurist course, whose proportions exceeded anything ever attempted by the Stalinists before. It is worth-while to consider this ultra-left zigzag (1929-1934) in some detail.

### C) THE ULTRA-LEFT ZIGZAG

It is extremely difficult to see through Stalinism during its ultra-left phase for then the bureaucrats pose as ferocious revolutionists who are ready to devour capitalism at the drop of a hat. From 1929 to 1934 the Stalinists lured the leftward-moving workers with wild "Red" phrases while at the same time they gave them a line which successfully sabotaged the development of a revolutionary struggle. Revolution was said by the bureaucrats

to be imminent all over the world. Even in countries like the United States where the workers were entirely under bourgeois domination politically they were egged on by the Stalinists to "Capture the Streets," the latter being a favorite Stalinist slogan during this period. Insane battles with the police were frequently staged by the bureaucrats to deceive the workers into imagining that they were fighting capitalism. The slightest disturbance

was magnified as the beginning of revolution and the workers were dragged from one costly adventure to another. The futile frenzy into which the workers were excited was camouflaged by a torrent of quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin. The average worker in most of the world looked with amazement at the fantastic antics into which the Stalinist workers were led.

Stalinism gave the most advanced workers an ultra-left line not only in the direct struggle with the bourgeoisie but also in their orientation toward the opportunists in the ranks of the proletariat itself. The bourgeoisie saddle their yoke on the workers first through strictly bourgeois techniques, armed force, propaganda, bribery, etc., and secondly through their agents who in the form of social-democratic and reformist political leaders of parties, trade unions and other organizations composed of workers cause them to follow class-collaborationist policies. Lenin knew that without the destruction of the influence of such opportunists over the politically conscious vanguard of the proletariat the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie is a hopeless one. Hence he conceived of the forming of a revolutionary party and International in terms of winning the proletarian vanguard away from the opportunists. The tactic of exposure of the opportunists used by Lenin consisted in giving the workers scientifically precise information on the nature of opportunism and on how to destroy it. Social-democracy, which up to the rise of Stalinism in 1922 was the main danger within the camp of the workers, was defined by Lenin as a petty-bourgeois democratic tendency which by preaching reliance on the bourgeois-democratic state prevented the workers from overthrowing the capitalist class. Objectively, and in most cases consciously, the social-democratic leaders from 1914 on acted as the agents of the imperialists in the ranks of the workers. Lenin carefully avoided any rightist or leftist attitude toward social-democracy, for he realized that to expose the role of social-democracy to the workers' understanding exact information on this form of opportunism was essential. In the course of

the struggle against the bourgeoisie, Lenin tried to leave the path open to the social-democratic workers, honest though misled, to see their way clear to breaking with their treacherous leaders and joining in a common struggle with their fellow-workers in the Bolshevik Party. In no case did Lenin introduce any leftist definition of social-democracy, which did not correspond to objective experience and which therefore could only repulse the workers in the social-democratic parties. On the other hand, Lenin fought against any tendency on the part of the Bolsheviks to forsake the complete independence of their Party and enter into any bloc with the opportunists. Lenin insisted on the absolute organizational independence of the Bolshevik Party and above all on its complete freedom to criticize and expose the opportunists. Any deviation from these principles in the direction of abandoning the organizational independence of the Bolshevik Party or of its freedom to criticize and expose the opportunists, was held by Lenin to be a rightist distortion of Marxism.

Stalinism, however, misleading the workers with respect to the struggle against the bourgeoisie directly by means of the Comintern ultra-right and ultra-left zigzags, practices the same kind of treachery with regard to the various forms of opportunism existing in the ranks of the proletariat itself. Stalinism knows that if the workers learn the true nature of all forms of opportunism, the road for the building of a genuine revolutionary movement becomes clear. As far as Stalinism itself is concerned, it naturally avoids self-exposure through powerful demagogy about constructing socialism in the Soviet Union and by creating traditional scape-goats of its former direct allies, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Brandler and Lovestone, against whom it levels furious barrages from time to time to conceal its own crimes. Stalinism also prevents the workers from understanding other forms of opportunism, especially social-democracy, by distorting the Leninist tactics against opportunism in a leftist and rightist direction. When Stalin's Comintern employs

an ultra-rightist zigzag as a means of misleading the workers in the direct struggle against the bourgeoisie, the attitude toward social-democracy is also colored with ultra-rightism. The Stalinist bureaucrats then actually form agreements with the social-democratic bureaucrats not to engage in any exposure, as was done in France in 1934 when the so-called "united front" was formed with the French Socialist Party (see below for details, page 9). During the ultra-left zigzag of the Comintern, an ultra-left attitude is taken up by Stalinism toward social-democracy. Thus, in 1924, during the brief ultra-left zigzag used by Stalin to cover up his rightist betrayal of the revolution in Germany the year before, Stalin gave the following ultra-leftist definition of social-democracy:

"Social-democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism..... These organizations do not contradict each other.....They are not antipodes but twins..." (J. Stalin, Communist International, English Edition, 1924, #6, page 4.)

Stalin's "definition" of social-democracy which identifies it with fascism stands in sharp contradiction to Lenin's which states that social-democracy is a petty-bourgeois democratic tendency:

"The Socialists and Social-Democrats of the Second International profess the point of view of vulgar petty-bourgeois democracy, and share the prejudice that the ballot can solve the fundamental problems of the class struggle." (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, English Ed. Vol. VI, pp.481-2. Our Emphasis.)

Stalin's anti-Leninist definition of social-democracy set the pattern for the Stalinist attitude toward social-democracy during the ultra-left zigzag of 1929-1934. A Stalinist parody of Lenin's term, "social-patriot", resulted in the monstrosity, "social-fascist", which the Stalinists applied to the social-democrats. It was stated more explicitly:

"Indeed, social fascism by no

means needs to be developed into 'pure' fascism. It already IS actual fascism." (Communist International, Volume VII, page 101. Emphasis in the original.)

Let it not be imagined that this criminal identification of social-democracy with fascism was a mere matter of wordplay. The tragic results of this Stalinist ultra-left maneuver were that the Stalinist workers were sent into disastrous and often murderous battles with the social-democratic workers. Both the social-democratic and Stalinist workers were prevented by this device from understanding the nature of social-democracy. The Stalinist workers were tricked into mistaking social-democracy for a brand of fascism, and the social-democratic workers were naturally repulsed from Communism which they identified with Stalinism, for they knew that their organization is not a fascist one. To the social-democratic workers the "party" that paraded as Communist was simply a collection of raving and homicidal lunatics.

Such provocative tactics served, of course, to preserve the influence of the social-democratic leaders over their followers. The Stalinist tactic of calling social-democracy "social-fascist" and "fascist" placed these misleaders in a very comfortable position. They could come before their followers and say: Comrades, the communists call us Socialists fascists. We all know that this is a despicable lie and is typical of the treacherous policies of communism. We are perfectly justified in attacking communism as a menace to the working class. Don't trust the communists for they are splitters, liars and saboteurs. Trust us, comrades, trust social-democracy. In this way the Stalinist traitors played directly into the hands of the criminal social-democratic leaders and helped fortify their influence amongst the workers.

Furthermore, the reformist trade unions were also denounced by the Stalinists as social-fascist and fascist and the Stalinist workers were herded into separate trade unions in isola-



tion from the major portion of the proletariat. The Stalinist bureaucrats were shouting that they wanted to destroy the reformist trade unions, as Lozovsky, the Stalinist trade union chieftain, plainly stated:

"There is no need to shout from the housetops 'destroy the unions' as was done in Germany. But that we want to break up the reformist unions, that we want to wrest from them the workers, that we want to explode the trade union apparatus and destroy it — of that there cannot be the slightest doubt." (A. Lozovsky, Red International Labor Union Plenum, February 15, 1932. Our emphasis.)

The Stalinist leaders who are thoroughly familiar with Lenin's writings, are entirely aware that Lenin considered it obligatory for true Marxists to work in reformist trade unions regardless of how reactionary they were. Dual unionism, i.e., isolating the advanced sections of the workers in "Red" trade unions was held by Lenin to be ultra-Leftism:

"To refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward masses of the workers under the influence of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, the labour aristocrats, or the 'completely bourgeois workers'." (V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder," Selected Works, English Edition, Vol. X, page 93.)

Like the influence of the social-democratic leaders, that of the reformist trade union bureaucrats was enhanced.

In all the major countries, the Stalinist parties remained small and isolated from the general working class movement -- with the exception of Germany. It was the latter country which up to 1933 played the pivotal role in the game of Stalinism. Here, the upsurge of the workers was extreme, so that large numbers of them, mistaking Stalinism for a revolutionary force, fell into the Stalinist trap,

At its height the Stalinist party of Germany had above 300,000 members with a following of almost 6,000,000 voters. In Germany, as in all countries, Stalinism diverted this left section of the proletariat from the Marxist course and engaged it in maniacal bouts with the rest of the working class and with the bourgeoisie.

The frightful growth of Hitlerism made it clear that the bourgeoisie were preparing to transform their rule from "democratic" to fascist. A genuine Leninist party would have organized the workers with a view to combatting bourgeois rule which was then becoming fascist. To guarantee that the workers under their domination would be incapable of seriously combatting the Nazis, the Stalinist bureaucrats gave them the following directive:

"All the resources of the party must be thrown into the fight against Social Democracy." (Communist International, July 1931, page 1154. Our emphasis.)

With most of the resources of the Stalinist party flung against the social-democrats, there was indeed little left with which to resist the Nazis.

Bending every fibre in their effort to prevent the workers from effectively resisting fascism along revolutionary lines, the Stalinist bureaucrats even spread the hideous illusion that capitalism naturally passes through fascism before the proletarian revolution is achieved.

"The capitalist world is heading for revolution but before succumbing it goes through the phase of Fascism. Fascism is going to be the last stage of capitalism before the world revolution." (D. Z. Manuilsky, speech at the Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.)

The upshot of Stalinism in Germany was the continuance of capitalism, which was precisely in accordance with Stalinist schemes. Revolutionary Germany would have swept capitalism and all oppression out of Europe and would

have encouraged the Russian workers to struggle to wipe out the oppressive Stalinist bureaucracy and establish workers' democracy. By 1933 the workers were so completely bewildered, torn as they were between the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucrats, that they were prevented from showing any resistance against the fascists. The Nazis themselves were astonished at the ease of their victory. The Stalinists' attempt to cover up their treachery by the fable that, due to the split in the working class, armed resistance was impossible is perhaps one of the most despicable parts of their betrayal. The proletarian revolution in Russia occurred when the working class was split, and with the majority of the toiling masses under the influence of reformist and counter-revolutionary parties, in addition to which the Russian proletariat was as a whole far smaller than the German of 1933 as compared to the total population and infinitely less better organized, educated and class conscious. The difference between the course of events in Russia in 1917 and in Germany in 1933 lies in the fact that the Russian workers were led by Lenin and his colleagues who worked for the proletariat while the German workers were misled by scoundrels whose main concern was to prevent proletarian revolution. In Germany the workers were simply sold out by all their leaders.

In the manner typical of the Stalinist bureaucrats, the first reaction of the Comintern leadership was to assert vigorously that the "line" of the Communist Party of Germany had been correct:

"The Presidium of the ECCI declares that the political line and the organizational policy pursued by the C. C. of the Communist Party of Germany, led by Comrade Thaelmann, before and at the time of the Hitler coup, was quite correct." (Resolution of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I., Daily Worker, April 17, 1933. Our emphasis.)

And, above all, the chief villain of the piece must be protected: "How correct are the words of Comrade Stalin that 'Social Democracy is the moderate wing of fascism'." (The Communist, editorial, April 1933.)

The defeat of the German workers, who were always considered by Lenin as the most advanced and the most ripe for socialism, is a disaster of incalculable proportions.

Nevertheless despite the brazen attempt to cover up their Judas' role, the Stalinist leaders had to head off the rising discontent of their victims.

#### D) THE TRANSITION TO THE PRESENT ULTRA-RIGHT LINE

The victory of Hitler evoked resentment amongst the Stalinist rank and file and in the working class generally. The ultra-left line was seen by many workers to be suicidal. Especially in France the closeness of the Hitler terror aroused overwhelming alarm in the hearts of the proletariat.

Gradually and very cautiously the ultra-left line was changed for the ultra-right. In France, the ultra-right zigzag was ushered in by the Stalinist bureaucrats signing an agreement with the social-democratic leaders to refrain from criticism and exposure of these traitors to the proletariat.

"Firstly, our party agreed to refrain from criticism of the Socialist Party during the period of joint activity, (i.e., during the ultra-right zigzag - J.C.H.). This is a very serious concession on the part of the Communists.

"They agreed not only to refrain from criticism on all urgent political questions during the period of joint activity, but they also agreed to put aside the discussion of even theoretical differences." (Communist International, Sept. 5, 1934, page 656.)

Thus, while during the ultra-left zigzag the Stalinists accuse the social-

democratic party of being a fascist organization, during the ultra-right zigzag they agree not to criticize social-democracy. This treacherous agreement on the part of these two opportunist organizations to keep mum about their crimes was palmed off on the trusting workers as a "united front" which was going to "fight fascism". In reality, however, this "united front" conspiracy of silence was but the prelude to the complete ultra-right Comintern zigzag. Discretion had to be used in slipping over this new maneuver to divert the toilers from the Marxist path. There were many hot-heads in the Stalinist party from the ultra-left days to whom support of a capitalist government, voting for imperialist war budgets and the other criminal doings now well-known as "Popular Frontism" would be extremely obnoxious. The ultra-right zig zag had to be fed in easy doses.

The Stalinist bureaucrats, palming themselves off as the "inheritors" of the October Revolution, make strenuous efforts to create the impression that they are engaged in "fighting fascism." Thus, they try to make the workers believe that the change in Stalin's foreign policy, i.e., his reorientation away from Germany toward France, and the change in the Comintern line to Popular Frontism were necessitated by the desire to fight fascism, particularly German fascism. We shall prove, however, that this contention is entirely false. The change in Stalin's foreign policy will be shown to be unrelated to the victory of fascism in Germany, and as for the Comintern line, the ultra-left zigzag carried over for more than two years after Hitler came to power.

With the advent of Hitler, it must be remembered, the relations between Soviet Russia and Germany were upset, for after 1933 German imperialism spurned Moscow's friendship. The crisis in Germany had become so intense that German imperialism, blocked on the west by the colossal military might of the Anglo-French group, was forced to turn to conquest in the east for salvation. At first the Stalinist bureaucracy made efforts to form a collective security pact with Nazi Ger-

many, but the Nazi foreign minister, Baron von Neurath, rejected this (N.Y. Times, Jan. 14, 1934). Whereupon Stalin began to dicker with France for an alliance. Even though the Nazis had already rejected his offer of an alliance, however, Stalin did not abandon his efforts to maintain friendly relations with German imperialism. Accordingly, the proposed Franco-Soviet Pact was left open for Nazi Germany (and also semi-fascist Poland) to join. This is stated plainly in the Stalinist publications of that period, as for example in this passage from an editorial in Soviet Russia Today (June 1935, page 3):

"The fact remains that the door has been left wide open for Germany and Poland to join the pact as well. As Harold Denny pointed out in his dispatch from Moscow to the New York Times (May 11, 1935): 'The Soviets have not only left the door open for Germany to join the new pact but have put a "welcome" mat on the threshold. If the pact is such that Germany can enter, then Poland can also.'" (Our emphasis.)

Here is the basic fact; Stalin had not the faintest desire to oppose the Nazis, but on the contrary wanted to form an alliance with them. His aim was simply to continue with Hitler the same friendly relations that existed between Germany and the USSR prior to 1933. The role of a "fighter" against fascism was forced on Stalin by the German imperialists, much against his will. Stalin, of course, has not hesitated to make vast demagogic use of this false-face of "anti-fascism" in winning over the workers to the Comintern, his international machine of counter-revolution. Today Stalin and his Litvinovs, Dimitroffs and Cachins have the effrontery to tell the workers that the Franco-Soviet Pact, left open originally for the fascists to join, is intended as a "weapon against fascism." Moreover, Stalin himself in a speech to his bureaucrats stated openly that in reorienting his foreign policy from Germany toward France he was not motivated by the rise of fascism in Germany, or as he puts it "fascism is not the issue here":

"In this connection certain German politicians say that now the USSR has taken an orientation towards France and Poland, that from being an opponent of the Versailles Treaty it has become a supporter of it, and that this change is to be explained by the establishment of a fascist regime in Germany. This is not true. Of course, we are far from being enthusiastic about the fascist regime in Germany. But fascism is not the issue here, if only for the reason that fascism, for example in Italy, did not prevent the USSR establishing very good relations with that country." (J. Stalin, "Report to the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U.", Inprecorr, Feb. 13, 1934.p.237. Our emphasis.)

This is a plain statement that Stalin intended to continue "very good relations" with the Nazis if only the latter were willing. Fascism in Italy had not prevented the Stalin clique from having "very good relations" with that country in the past and was not to prevent in the future the Stalinists from giving what amounted to actual support to the Italian conquest of Ethiopia by large shipments to Italy of wheat, oil and road building materials. No, Stalin's reorientation of his foreign policy was not caused by the victory of fascism in Germany:

"The point is that the policy of Germany has changed. The point is that even before the present German politicians came into power, a fight between two political lines broke out in Germany, between the old policy which found expression in the well-known treaties with the USSR and Germany and the 'new' policy which in the main recalls the policy of the Kaiser of Germany who at one time occupied the Ukraine, undertook a march against Leningrad, and transformed the Baltic countries into a place d'armes for this march; and this new policy is obviously gaining the upper hand over the old policy." (Ibid., page 237. Our emphasis.)

Thus, Stalin conceives the whole problem not in terms of the development of

fascism but as the development of a new line of German imperialism which harks back to the imperialism of the old German Empire. Stalinist workers should remember this when their leaders try to make them believe that somehow fascism is a "new kind" of imperialism, that the Leninist tactics of fighting this "new kind" of imperialism cannot follow the old lines of "turning the imperialist war into a civil war" in all countries. Stalin for the benefit of his bureaucrats correctly evaluates present-day Germany as simply an imperialist country which has changed the orientation of its foreign policy. The fact that it is now under fascism introduces no basically new problem for the Soviet bureaucracy. Stalin of course does not tell the workers that the proletariat must pursue the "old" Leninist line in fighting imperialism. To the workers he says that since there is "fascism" in Germany Lenin's policy of revolutionary defeatism of the home bourgeoisie in France, England, the United States and wherever imperialism exists is no longer correct. It is obvious therefore that if the German imperialists had been content to continue a line against England and France as fascist Italy was doing, then the Soviet bureaucracy would have had "very good relations" with fascist Germany. If the Stalinists had succeeded in wrangling a collective security pact out of Hitler, we would now have dinred in our ears that the purpose of this alliance is to "defend the Soviet Union" against French imperialism. How supporting Nazi militarism - or French militarism, for that matter - constitutes "defending the Soviet Union" would have been "explained" as the Stalinists "explained" that Stalin's helping to equip Italy for her conquest of Ethiopia was done to "preserve the peace of Europe."

It is essential to realize that the Stalin clique never intended to fight fascism, has had "very good relations" with Italian fascism and was perfectly willing to live in peace and friendship with Nazi Germany. As far as the Stalinist diplomatic maneuvers are concerned, "fascism is not the issue here." To Stalin it is a matter of

indifference whether he forms an alliance with a "democratic" or with a fascist power, for his aim is to compromise with imperialism as long as the latter is willing. "Collective security" is absolutely unrelated to any "defense of democracy against fascism" and is nothing more than Stalin's attempt to cast in his lot with one or another imperialist gang regardless of whether it is "democratic" or fascist. The belief that Stalin intended to oppose fascism is a dangerous illusion.

An equally dangerous illusion is that the present ultra-right zigzag called Popular Frontism is intended also as a struggle to prevent fascism. It will be shown in detail that the purpose of this new "line" is none other than to bind the world proletariat, including the French workers, to the bourgeoisie to prevent proletarian revolution.

Today after two years of the Popular Front policy it has become the standard practice of the Stalinists to support all the military appropriations of the French imperialists. The pretext given for this treachery is that fascism in Germany is a threat to world peace, and hence to support French militarism is a blow against German fascism and in defence of the Soviet Union. Hitler was appointed chancellor on January 31, 1933 and the Nazi barrage promptly began. The re-arming of Germany with subsidies from England, France and America proceeded at a furious pace and Hitler's threats against the Soviet Ukraine became the talk of the whole world. Yet as late as March 1935, more than two years after the rise of fascism to power in Germany, the French Stalinists were still, in words at least, against the war preparations of the French "democratic" government:

"The debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the extension of the term of military service was deliberately kept in the dark and the division by no means expresses a well-defined alignment in two opposite camps. Among the opponents of the Bill one finds the Communists, determined opponents of 'national

defense.'" (Inprecorr, March 23, 1935, p. 349. Our emphasis.)

We find that, still using the "Leninist" phraseology of the ultra-left days, the Stalinists proclaimed themselves "determined opponents of national defense." Of course, this line was staunchly asserted to be "absolutely correct," although today, though fascism is still in Germany and still threatens the Soviet Union as it did in March 1935, this line is denounced as "absolutely counter-revolutionary." Today with the pre-fascist Daladier government-by-decree in office, the Stalinists support all the plans of French militarism and excuse their treachery by blaming it on German re-arming. But on March 23, 1935, when fascism was already in power in Germany and arming to the hilt, the Stalinists managed to utter true words about the nature of the armament race and its relation to imperialist war:

"Needless to say, every capitalist government attempts to burden its rivals with the responsibility for the open return to the accelerated armament race. That again is just as it was in 1913. Everyone wants to be the last to begin, everyone is only out for self-defence, everyone is thinking only of the maintenance of peace..... we all know the old, old story. The truth is that war is inseparable from capitalism and that a 'peace' such as the one concluded in 1919-1920 is only an interlude between new inevitable wars, as soon as a new relation of forces is established between the imperialist groups struggling for the exploitation of the wealth of the world in the interests of a single class." (J. Berlioz, Inprecorr, March 23, 1935, page 349.)

War is inseparable from capitalism, we learn from this person who now informs us that Popular Frontism will prevent war without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. We are told by this Stalinist who now shrieks for a bigger and better French army and navy that those who try to blame French arming on "other" countries are

cheats and betrayers of the workers. To say that "everyone is out only for self-defense", — (This includes France) — is the "old, old story," in a word, hokum, we hear from Berlioz who now howls that French imperialism is forming "collective security" pacts "only for self-defence," only for the "maintenance of peace." That French arming encourages Hitler to build new weapons was loudly proclaimed by the Stalinists:

"On the other hand — and while allowing the negotiations on pacts to drag on — French imperialism thought to restrain Nazi expansion by augmenting its military apparatus. Far from achieving this object, however, they furnished the Third Reich with one pretext after another. This criminal error still inspires French policy as is to be seen from the above-mentioned measures (proposals for huge increases in French armaments)." (Inprecorr, April 6, 1935, page 400.)

The present incredibly colossal French armament budget of the Popular Front government (see below for details), incidentally, gives the lie to the claim of the Stalinists that a collective security pact with Russia (it was signed May 2, 1935) would relieve France of the necessity of increasing her war materials. And finally, in still earlier days, but still fifteen months after Hitler's accession to power, the Stalinists in France were ridiculing the social-democrats for their belief that a vote for war credits to the imperialists was necessary as a means "of defending democracy against fascism." In analyzing the policy of the French Socialist Party adopted by the National Council on May 11, 1934, the Stalinist, Jacques Berlioz, glouts that the perfidious slogan of "defending democracy against fascism" could not be admitted by the social-democracy openly as its policy:

"Nothing whatever was said regarding the main problem of national defence and war. It could not be admitted that all sections, from the Right to the Left, stand for national defence under the

pretext of the necessity of defending democracy against fascism." (J. Berlioz, "Against Counter-revolutionary Social-Democracy," Inprecorr, June 8, 1934. p.888. Our emphasis.)

This was the lingo of the Stalinists after fascism came to power in Germany. This was the "official line"!

Wringing money from the hide of the proletariat to support the imperialist murder machine is naturally detestable to every class-conscious worker and Stalinism during the ultra-left orgy played on this sentiment. Today the Stalinists spread the "old, old story" that the workers must sanction the huge armament budget of French imperialism on the "pretext" of defending French "democracy" against German "fascism." Thus they grind under their heel the fundamentals of Leninism. The basic principle of Leninism on imperialist war the Stalinists today carefully conceal. In our analysis of the several Popular Front governments we shall show that if French imperialism has changed in any way since Lenin lived it has been only to grow more deceptive and vicious. These are the only "conditions that have changed."

During this transition period from the ultra-left to the ultra-right zigzag, the Stalinist traitors, cautious, were still mouthing Leninist phrases attacking bourgeois democracy. They were careful not to come out prematurely with their present brazen talk about "defending democracy against fascism" and hence we find Manuilsky, a very high mogul of the Stalinist machine, saying the following about French bourgeois democracy almost one year after Hitler came to power:

"The French bourgeoisie, for example, finds the husk of bourgeois democracy, serving as it does as a convenient screen for fascist methods, more advantageous at the present stage than open fascist dictatorship. Firstly, this democratic husk gives the French bourgeoisie a ready-made ideology in the future

imperialist war with Germany; secondly, it permits French imperialism better to achieve its aims both in the colonies and among the vassal states; thirdly, by upholding democratic illusions among the workers, it permits the French bourgeoisie to consolidate the regime of political bondage and economic exploitation of the proletariat." (D. Z. Manuilsky, "Revolutionary Crisis, Fascism and War," 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., December 1933, page 26.)

Can there be any doubt that the Stalinist bureaucrats are completely aware that bourgeois democracy in the present period of the decline of capitalism serves as a cover for the passage of the bourgeoisie to fascist methods of rule? Manuilsky, as well as Thorez, Browder, Dimitroff, Pollitt, Pieck and every one of the scoundrels serving Stalin, is fully conscious that "by upholding democratic illusions among the workers" they enable the bourgeoisie "to consolidate the regime of political bondage and economic exploitation of the proletariat." Note that Manuilsky knows that France's future war with Germany will be an imperialist war and that the "democratic husk" (which the Stalinists are now helping to drape over the eyes of the proletariat) gives the bourgeoisie a "ready made ideology" with which to bamboozle the workers.

It is clear that the dropping of the ultra-left line and the adoption of the ultra-right, Popular Front, line had nothing to do with the so-called fight against fascism. Surely it could not have taken such "super-Marxists" as the Stalinists more than two years to discover that Germany had gone fascist and was raging for new worlds to conquer. But one reason exists for the change in "line." The

workers, showing signs of rebellion against Stalinism because of the disastrous ultra-left policy, had to be held in check with a new kind of bait. Under the guise of "adapting the line to new conditions," the Stalinists launched the ultra-right, Popular Front policy, which fooled the workers into thinking an improvement in Comintern policy had been made. Instead, the workers have again been lured away from a correct revolutionary line and firmly bound to the bourgeoisie by means of ultra-rightism. The statements quoted above were made during the period of transition when it was not yet possible to come out openly for a jingo, pro-imperialist policy. Hence we find the Stalinists still using Leninist-sounding language. It was not long, however, before the workers had been successfully decoyed away from the ultra-left line and the full Popular Front rigamarole was unleashed.

It may be argued by some workers that the French governments from the time of the victory of Hitler in January 1933 to the formation of the first Popular Front government in June 1936 were "ordinary" bourgeois democratic governments and hence the Stalinists were correct in attacking them. But since June 1936, such readers will say, the French bourgeois democratic governments have been Popular Front governments, something new and better, and hence now the Stalinists are right in supporting such capitalist governments. In answer to this we will prove that the several Popular Front governments that have existed in France to date are nothing but ordinary capitalist governments, that they have carried out all the traditional reactionary policies of French imperialism and have brought ruin on the workers and peasants of France and her colonies.

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THE ULTRA-RIGHT ZIGZAG IN FRANCE AND ITS COLONIES

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A) The Ultra-Right Zigzag in France

ON FEBRUARY 6, 1934 the French fascists, followers of Count de la Rocque, pressed by France's internal difficulties and encouraged by the easy victory of the Nazis the year before, undertook a "march on Paris." While not precisely a move to seize power, this demonstration was definitely intended to precipitate a political crisis, to frighten the workers into submission and to encourage the bourgeoisie into throwing their support unreservedly behind the fascist movement. This bold show of strength by France's reactionaries, however, acted as a boomerang. Its results were the exact opposite of what was expected. Six days later the workers of Paris poured into the streets well over a million strong in an epoch making demonstration against fascism. This was a political general strike involving no economic demands. The Stalinist press reported:

"On Monday, February 12, at least 2,000,000 toilers took part in the general strike, among them being the officials of all categories including the teachers, who had never before taken part in a general strike, and before all the postal employees. If the reformist railway workers' union had not sabotaged the order to strike, the whole life of the country would have been at a standstill. Everywhere powerful street demonstrations took place in which the call for Soviets was raised." (Inprecorr, March 1, 1934, page 332.)

The fascists were confounded and the bourgeoisie terrified. The capitalist press was filled with wild ravings about "revolution." Unfortunately, the fears of the bourgeoisie were groundless, for, while this powerful show of working-class militancy stopped the

fascists for the moment, it was prevented from taking on genuine revolutionary features and was finally completely dissipated.

It was this proletarian upsurge, precipitating French capitalism into an intense crisis, and shaking it to its very roots, that Stalinism had to quell. A seizure of power by the workers of France — the aim of every genuine revolutionary — would have electrified the entire world proletariat. Socialist revolution would have uprooted capitalism in the strongest country on the European continent, and would have sent an irresistible revolutionary tide surging through Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain. The ossified Stalinist clique in Moscow fishing for alliances with fascists or for a bone from the "democracies" so as to insure its lucrative jobs, private homes, autos and its political privileges from the wrath of a new wave of proletarian revolution, would have had to reckon with the might of an armed working class in one or several of the most advanced countries in the world. It was to crush such developments, and for no other reason, that the Popular Front zigzag, "suiting" the mood of the masses disillusioned with ultra-leftism, has been introduced.

The tactic of Popular Frontism is an old and simple one. The workers are told that to save themselves from reaction they must throw all their support behind the bourgeois "democratic" government. The slogan "Defend Democracy from Fascism," rejected by the Stalinists as we have seen for more than one year after the advent of fascism in Germany, suddenly becomes "absolutely correct." The fact that in practice this is nothing but support of a capitalist government, with all its hideous consequences, is care-



fully concealed or camouflaged under a whirlwind of phrases about marching "through democracy to socialism." The basic Leninist axiom that a government of any nature whatever in an imperialist country is nothing but the agent of the imperialists and can act only against the interests of the proletariat, is denounced as counter-revolutionary. It is truly symbolical that Leon Blum, an old hand at betraying the workers, was the first Popular Front premier, coming into power on June 5, 1936 on the wave of militant but misled anti-fascist sentiment. Blum has been practicing a sort of "Popular Frontism" for over  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a century for the same reason that the Stalinists practice it now, — to deceive the workers and drag them away from a revolutionary solution of their problems.

The Stalinist leaders were actually using Popular Frontism about a year before the hocus pocus of the 7th World Congress of the C.I. was executed. The Stalinist rank and file, however, were told that the new line was "hammered out" at this jamboree. Dimitroff, a willing tool, incanted as follows:

"And if in France the anti-fascist movement leads to the formation of a government which will carry on a real struggle against French fascism — not in word but in deed — will carry out the program of demands of the anti-fascist people's front, the Communists, while remaining the irreconcilable foes of every bourgeois government and supporters of a Soviet government, will nevertheless, in the face of the growing fascist danger, be prepared to support such a government." (G. Dimitroff, "The United Front Against Fascism and War," Seventh World Congress of the C.I., August 2, 1935, pp. 43-44. Emphasis is in the original.)

First observe the meaninglessness of the self-contradictory sequence of thoughts: that, while remaining the "irreconcilable" foes of "every bourgeois government," the Stalinists will nevertheless support a bourgeois gov-

ernment. That it was a bourgeois government which the Stalinists intended to support — despite the fact that the wily Dimitroff avoids pointing this out specifically — subsequent events have all-too-abundantly shown. It is with windy gibberish such as this, designed to cover up the betrayal of a fundamental Leninist principle, never to support a bourgeois government in an imperialist country in any way whatever, that the Stalinists have succeeded in bamboozling the well-meaning followers in the ranks of their party. The term, "Soviet government" is of course thrown in as a final artistic touch, to lure the mind of the listening worker away from the real gist of this treachery, namely, the conscious intent to support the capitalists and their government. Another point to be noticed is that Dimitroff can conceive of a bourgeois government which will fight fascism "not in word but in deed." This "innovation," which involves the criminal promise that a bourgeois government, "the executive committee of the ruling class" (Marx and Engels), will seriously fight the most militant agents of that ruling class, the fascists, has been the social-democrats' contribution to the victory of Hitler in Germany and Austria and the Stalinists' social-democrats', anarchists' and POUMists' contribution to the ever-increasing successes of Franco in Spain. This the Stalinists know and have repeated over and over again!

"The more the workers place their trust in legalism, in constitutionalism, in bourgeois democracy, the more they make sacrifices to save the existing regime as the "lesser evil" against the menace of Fascism, the heavier become the capitalist attacks and the more rapid the advance to Fascism. To preach confidence in legalism, in constitutionalism, in bourgeois democracy, that is, in the capitalist state, means to invite and to guarantee the victory of Fascism." (Palme Dutt, "Fascism and Social Revolution," 1934, p.299. Our emphasis.)

It should be emphasized here that no-

where have we accused the Stalinists of not knowing Marxism. They are perfectly well acquainted with the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and with the experiences of the proletariat in the modern era. The Stalinists, in order to save their bureaucratic system from destruction by a new wave of revolutions are consciously acting so as "to invite and to guarantee the victory of Fascism." The Stalinists are not making mistakes. It is the workers who are making the mistakes in following the Stalinists.

The Blum government (June 5, 1936-June 21, 1937) acted as an introduction to the dirty work that was to follow. The Blum government had come to power on the rising tide of anti-fascist sentiment as a result of an electoral block of the Stalinists, the social-democrats and the Radical Socialists with their various stooge organizations playing second fiddle. The social-democrats and Radical Socialists formed the ministry with Blum as premier. Out of 610 representatives in the Chamber of Deputies, the social-democrats had 149, the Radical Socialists 111 and the Stalinists 72. The remaining 283 Deputies were divided between the Center and Right. In this "democratic" government, the Popular Front bloc with its 332 Deputies had a clear-cut majority and ruled the roost so that there can be no doubt as to who was to blame for the villainy (mild in comparison to the achievements of the subsequent Popular Front governments) — which followed.

The workers, deluded into believing they had elected a government of their "own," engaged in vast, independent, militant strike action which netted them certain gains. The day after Blum formed his cabinet a New York Times headline startled America with the news that "1,000,000 Strikers in France Assured of Cabinet's Help." The strike wave of this period scared the wits out of the bourgeoisie the world over. Of these 1,000,000 strikers, 500,000 were in the Paris district, the heart of proletarian France. A momentary retreat on the part of the bourgeoisie and their government was imperative. What the capitalists

feared most was that the workers had gotten out of control of the reformist trade union leaders and were taking things into their own hands:

"Workers whose claims were settled last week have gone on strike again. No one knows how far the strike has spread and who will come out next for this is an epidemic strike. The trade unions have not ordered it. They do not know who is going to strike next. The whole situation is chaotic." (New York Times, June 5, 1936.)

The "epidemic" was of course the militancy of the workers that came as a result of the leftward swing of the workers as represented by the electoral successes of the Popular Front bloc. In fact, a forty-hour week law with a number of social benefits such as paid vacations was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies. Collective labor contracts were also provided for. The bourgeoisie, knowing from long practice how to sidestep and maneuver, did not raise any objections. Even the Right reactionaries voted for the laws. "On no measure did the opposition muster more than seven votes." (New York Times, June 11, 1936.) The capitalists were falling all over themselves to please the workers. The Comité des Forges, the executive committee of the French steel magnates, promised to apply the forty-hour week law even before it was passed (New York Times, June 8, 1936): "All employers agreed not to punish workers for going on strike and promised to make wage increases effective as soon as the strikers returned to work." However, the capitalists had not gone completely crazy for in the same issue we learn: "The principle of the open shop was retained by mutual agreement." We emphasize strongly these apparent gains, for the workers were fooled by their leaders into taking this capitalist generosity seriously, which paralyzed the workers' initiative. In the furious counter-attack of the bourgeoisie which followed this momentary upsurge, the workers paid heavily for the reformist illusions which were instilled in them by the traitors they followed.

After the workers had been quieted down by some concessions and promises the Popular Front government set to work earnestly to get control of the situation. A compulsory arbitration measure was proposed to forestall any future development of a strike wave such as that of the first half of 1936. The Senate was particularly anxious to put this device over; but first the Chamber approved it by a vote of 438 to 130, with the Stalinists supporting this reactionary measure:

"The measure would oblige workers to submit disputes for arbitration before declaration of a strike, with a government appointed super-arbitrator delivering the final, obligatory verdict if conciliation failed." (New York Times, December 2, 1936. Our emphasis.)

To compel "arbitration" before taking strike action is of course to rob the workers of the initiative which is the all-important and invaluable element of a strike, as the capitalists well know. Such strike-breaking action is the favorite day-dream of every boss, but while even the most despicable of the governments which preceded the Popular Front ministry had not dared attempt such an assault upon the proletariat, the Blum government, having behind it the misled confidence of the workers, took the bold step. The Senate composed in the main of extreme Rightists, was determined to push this vicious legislation through in its most virulent form. When it learned that the Blum government had taken unmistakable steps toward direct strike-breaking, the Senate relented somewhat and "compromised":

"The Cabinet for the first time ordered striking workers from the occupied factories today in the food strike and its action enabled a compromise in the Senate. On learning that the Cabinet had taken action to force compliance with an arbitrator's decision, the Senate agreed to compromise in the compulsory arbitration bill which will now go on through Parliament without further obstruction." (N.Y. Times, Dec. 31, 1936. Our emphasis)

The same issue informs us that the workers were being double-crossed by the capitalists in the promises made to them in June:

"The complaints of all are that the agreements made in June have not been kept by the employers."

By the end of 1936 it had become the regular practice of the capitalists to sabotage all their agreements. But the Popular Front Government never made the slightest attempt to stop this chicanery, and as the Stalinists were forced to admit, the bourgeoisie were still lords and masters of "democratic" France:

"The truth is that the 200 families, the lords and masters of the national economic system, have been given ample time since May and June 1936, that is, a time when they could have been forced to disgorge, to avoid making the 'sacrifices' necessary for the life of the nation. The truth is that the government has neglected to bridle these reactionaries by fundamentally altering the reactionary taxation system of France, as the Communist Party demanded." (In ~~pro~~corr, March 13, 1937. Our emphasis.)

The Stalinist party's "demands" were a mere cloak for the illusion that under capitalist rule the capitalists can be "forced" to "disgorge." The Stalinists did not tell the workers that such a process is contrary to the inherent, organic, inevitable and unavoidable nature of capitalist society. Instead, they befuddled the workers with the poisonous lie that the capitalists were still bleeding the masses because of "neglect" on the part of the government. That the Popular Front government as the agent of the capitalists aided and abetted them in their assault on the living conditions of the workers was "discretely" hidden.

Encouraged by the successful way in which the government had squelched the strike wave, the Popular Front ministry, with Blum taking the lead, now proclaimed its notorious "pause" in expenditures for social benefits.

Under the pretext that this was necessary for the "stability of France," the government launched a campaign to cut appropriations for insurance, old age and sick benefits to the workers. This evoked an outburst of approval from the bourgeoisie. The secretary of the Stalinist party, Maurice Thorez, reports this on numerous occasions and it is officially recorded in the Stalinist press:

"To curb new expenditures is obviously not without value," writes M. Gignoux, president of the insolent Federation of French Industrialists, "and the government must be praised for its decision on this point!" (Inprecorr, May 8, 1937.)

Let no one be fooled by the crocodile's tears from the Stalinists for they were vociferously supporting the government in the Chamber of Deputies. To help the capitalists along, (just for a good measure, no doubt), the Popular Front government under Blum began the process of sharply devaluing the franc so as to boost prices and, it goes without saying, the cost of living of the masses.

Preparation for imperialist war is a primary activity of all imperialist governments, and the Popular Front government has never been lax in its duty to the imperialists. The Blum ministry undertook the "nationalization" of the munitions industries and was enthusiastically seconded in this by the Stalinists. They were not always so enthusiastic about "nationalization" of industry under capitalism, however. When the Socialists in 1935 wanted to make "nationalization" part of the "united front" agreement, Thorez — remember this was more than two years after Hitler came to power — uttered some powerful remarks at them:

"Your nationalization, your attempts at so-called 'socialization' are a means of concentrating at the present stage all elements of big capital, of strengthening the bourgeois regime. The proposals you make and the points to which

you aspire will hasten the development of the state toward fascism.

"In the period of crisis all your beautiful phrases about nationalization cannot conceal the real help which you are rendering to capital, by your system of subsidies at the expense of the toilers." (M. Thorez, The Communist International, March 20, 1935, page 245. Our emphasis.)

When today the Stalinists are supporting the "nationalization" of the French armament industry, they are consciously and deliberately engaging in action which will "hasten the development of the state toward fascism" to prevent proletarian revolution when the crisis deepens. They are premeditatedly giving "real help" to capital "at the expense of the toilers." There can be no particle of doubt that they are knowingly encouraging the "coordination" of the state and of industry for fascism and war. This "nationalization" of the war industries, like all "socialization" under capitalism, was simply a grab on the public treasury by a section of the bourgeoisie. The capitalist press is "surprised" that the reactionaries did not object to this:

"The step was a dramatic one in the 'socialization of industry,' yet its announcement met surprisingly little opposition from the Right." (New York Times, editorial, June 20, 1937.)

And small wonder! The terms advanced by the Popular Front government were so advantageous that many smaller munitions producers came forward voluntarily and begged to be "socialized." The essence of "socialization" under capitalism is that the government takes over the debts, liabilities and bad investments of the capitalists and gives them in return some good, solid government bonds. While the Stalinists and other traitors to the proletariat rejoice in this step "through democracy to socialism," the real aim of this "nationalization" is plainly blurted out by the Popular Front war minister:

"Nationalization of war arms

factories was...the best manner of preparing for industrial mobilization should war break out." (New York Times, July 17, 1936.)

The French militarists, in no way behind their American brethren, also have their M-Day Plan.

By now the Stalinist support of French militarism, as is well known, is practically as automatic and reflexive as blinking one's eye. Nevertheless, we may consider it in its earlier stages. They were among the first to propose the militarization of the French youth as the world was startled to learn in the fall of 1936:

"A demand that France establish military training for its youth under conscription age and create a billion franc fund to finance the project was presented to the Military Affairs Committee by the Communist Deputy, Marcel Gitton." (New York Times, August 29, 1936. Our emphasis.)

At least 80% of the officers of the French army are members of the de la Rocque cutthroat bands, but to popularize the idea of increasing armaments in the drive toward war, the Stalinists began the policy of painting the military bywigs in rosy colors:

"The Chamber's Communist leader, Maurice Thorez, revealed a new tone in the attitude of the French Leftists by praising the army's chiefs." (New York Times, Aug. 26, 1936.)

The Blum government hastened to show its faithfulness to the imperialists by putting over a number of appropriations for the army, all supported by the Stalinists.

We have already outlined in the first section the Stalinist opposition to military preparations by the French militarists for more than two years after Hitler came to power. It is necessary to make clear now that the Stalinists are perfectly aware of the horror that any war by France would unleash on the workers. They know that imperialist France can fight only

an imperialist war. At the Seventh World Congress of the Stalinists, Andre Marty, a former revolutionist, turned Stalinist, explained that war is simply the continuation by violent means of the peacetime politics of the ruling class, and that by an imperialist country, since the land is ruled by the imperialists, only a war in "quest for profits" can be waged:

"Lenin quoted this phrase of Clausewitz's: 'War is the continuation of politics by other means.' Now, what can the policy of an imperialist state be? Evidently the policy that is fixed by the only law ruling it, the law of the quest for profits, that is, the policy of imperialist expansion which fatally leads to armed conflict." (A. Marty, speech at the Seventh World Congress of the C.I. August 1935, page 81. Our emphasis.)

By supporting the military preparations of French imperialism, and so facilitating its entrance into war, the Stalinists are consciously clearing the road for military dictatorship which must necessarily come with war and which will rob the workers of all the gains won by a century of struggle and bloodshed:

"War is necessarily military dictatorship over the whole country. Hence imperialist war would mean the destruction of the vestiges of democratic liberties, wherever they still exist; it would mean the suppression of the rights of association, of free assembly, of freedom for the labor press; already so restricted. It would mean the destruction of all workers' organizations and a free field for the fascists. It would mean a tremendous increase in the exploitation and oppression of the working class, and requisitions at low prices in the countryside. It would be a regime of forced labor for the colonial peoples." (Ibid. p. 79. Our emphasis.)

Yet Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy allied to French imperialism not only support the military preparations of

France but shout from the housetops their willingness to support French imperialism to win in war. Knowing that France can fight only an imperialist war which necessarily brings in military dictatorship and the "destruction of all workers' organizations and a free field for the fascists," the Stalinist bureaucrats in France blithely yodel the Marsellaise and teach the workers patriotism and love for "our" French fatherland. The Stalinists advance the slogan of "defending bourgeois democracy," which was correct when the bourgeoisie were revolting against feudalism, to the present imperialist epoch when the bourgeoisie is wholly reactionary and utterly incapable of any progressive action. The Stalinists, who have read Lenin from cover to cover, are perfectly aware that Lenin characterized such tactics as trying to "compare yards with pounds":

"To compare that 'continuation of politics' which was a struggle against foudalism and absolutism — the politics of a bourgeoisie in its struggle for liberty — with this 'continuation of politics' of a bourgeoisie which has become decrepit, i.e., imperialist, which has plundered the whole world and, being reactionary, forms an alliance with the feudal masters to crush the proletariat, means to compare yards with pounds." (V. I. Lenin, "The War and the Second International," page 20.)

In 1935, when the Hitler terror was already raging, Marty told the workers that they must fight against the war budgets of all capitalist countries:

"The Communist Parties of all capitalist countries must fight: against military expenditures (war budgets), for the recall of military forces from the colonies and mandated territories, against militarization of the youth, women and unemployed, against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois-democratic liberties with the aim of preparing for war; against subsidizing the war industry and against trading in or transporting arms." (A.

Marty, speech at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, August 1935, p. 46. Our emphasis.)

This of course was said to cover up the swing to the ultra-right zigzag which was then being perpetrated by the Kremlin clique. When today, Marty along with the rest of the Stalinist ruling gang supports the very measures which he formerly denounced his actions can be characterized only as conscious treachery to the proletariat. When Lenin termed such people renegades and lackeys of the bourgeoisie it was only because he had to confine himself to what was permissible in print.

The French imperialists keep a sharp eye on all international developments. In July 1936 the Spanish workers, spurred by the attempt of the Spanish bourgeoisie to install fascism by means of a military putsch, undertook to defend themselves from this attack and to crush fascism. The policy of the French Popular Front government from the very start was direct sabotage of these defensive actions of the workers. The French Popular Front government acted in such a way as to give Franco sufficient time and opportunity to gather his forces and stabilize his attack. The Stalinists, together with the social-democrats and the fascists, supported this policy of the French government. When Blum introduced a measure to prohibit volunteers for Spain, the Chamber of Deputies voted for it unanimously:

"By a unanimous vote of 591, the Chamber of Deputies this afternoon granted Premier Blum's government the powers it asked to take any measures it might consider necessary to prevent recruiting or transit of volunteers in French territory for service in either of the combatant forces in Spain.

"The government's bill passed by the Chamber would punish French volunteers at the discretion of judges and impose fines of 10,000 francs and prison sentences of six months or a year on persons involved in the enlistment of volunteers

for Spain's war." (New York Times, January 16, 1937. Our emphasis.)

In the Spanish issue, as in every other, the Popular Front government of France acted in the interests of the imperialists.

The Popular Front government never does things by halves. While it was making it difficult and expensive for the Spanish workers to get a supply of arms, it was liberally providing reactionary powers with war credits and munitions. In August 1936, General Rydz-Smigly, the "Fuehrer" of semi-fascist Poland arrived in Paris to arrange a \$65,000,000 loan from the French imperialists to equip the Polish army. (need we add that he got every penny he asked for?) The attitude of the Stalinists toward this criminality, however, is of special interest to us. Maurice Thorez, the Stalinist chieftain, "Heiled" Rydz-Smigly with a joyous whoop:

"Long Live Poland! This morning there arrived in Paris the General Rydz-Smigly, General Inspector of the Polish Army and the most important person of his country. General Rydz-Smigly was the disciple and fighting companion of Marshal Pilsudski the founder of the now independent Poland who named him his successor..... The inner regime of Poland is rather distant from a liberal democracy and General Rydz-Smigly has at one time occupied Kiev and defended Warsaw against the Red Army. Nevertheless, we are not uneasy in addressing our greetings to France's eminent guest." (M. Thorez in l'Humanité, August 30, 1936. Our emphasis.)

The unspeakable brutality of the Polish semi-fascist regime which slaughters workers and peasants and has ground 3,000,000 Jews into the dirt is palmed off as "rather distant" from a liberal democracy. The Stalinists are not uneasy in sending greetings to Rydz-Smigly, the "disciple" of Pilsudski, a murderous scoundrel for whom the hatred of every honest worker knows no bounds. It is indeed a far cry from the days

when the revolutionary Red Army carried its banners to the very gates of Warsaw to the present when the Stalinists greet a bourgeois cutthroat.

So far we have confined ourselves to the more heroic adventures of the first Popular Front government of Blum. "Little" events, however, are often very revealing. On March 16, 1937 the fascists, encouraged by the anti-working class policies of the Popular Front government, had the insolence to hold a rally in a moving picture house in Clichy, a solid proletarian district of the Paris region. The workers, enraged at this insult, gathered in thousands outside the building and demanded the removal of de la Rocque's gunmen. Whereupon the building was surrounded by a large cordon of police armed to the gills who insisted on the "rights" of the fascists to free assembly. When the workers refused to disperse, the police opened a continuous fire into the densest portions of the gathering:

"During a counter-demonstration against a provocative meeting of the Croix de Feu in the industrial district of Clichy on March 16, the workers of the Paris suburb were shot down by the police on the orders of certain commanding officers and some of the fascist elements. Five young proletarians fell, and during the repeated shootings more than 200 were wounded, including some 50 who were seriously injured." (In pre corr, March 27, 1937, p. 333.)

As is well known, the police of France are a highly centralized body, all of whose important actions and most minor ones are directly engineered from the central office in Paris. There need be no doubt that responsibility for the protection of the fascists afforded by the police and the wholesale shooting of workers is to be attributed to the central government. It is thus that the Popular Front government "defends democracy from fascism"!

By June 1937 the Blum government had outlived its usefulness to the capitalists and signs were in the off-

ing that the "lords and masters" were going to kick it downstairs. Blum tried to save himself for the moment by demanding decree powers to issue a large number of taxes many of which were to be of an "indirect" nature, which is to say that they were to be a direct tax on the basic living necessities of the masses. The Stalinists had to do a great deal of face-saving and breast-boating. At first they pretended that they would oppose the government:

"The Communist Party, which has 73 votes, flatly announced it would refuse to vote for the proposal to increase surtaxes which the big business interests demanded." (Daily Worker, June 6, 1937.)

The Stalinists "insisted" that Blum relinquish his proposal to tax the workers if he wanted Communist Party support, but Blum, who knows his Stalinists, staunchly refused. The Manchester Guardian Weekly, a liberal capitalist paper, remarks:

"Actually it seems that the Communists were trying to bluff the Blum government into making them some last-minute concessions.

"This bluff apparently failed, for Blum does not seem to have surrendered much to them — if anything." (June 18, 1937.)

In fact, after their sham opposition, the Stalinists sold out to Blum on all points. Though the workers have not as yet seen through the Stalinist fraud, the capitalists have no illusions on the matter. Commenting on the Stalinist "opposition" to the Popular Front's reactionary tax proposals, the Manchester Guardian Weekly, — (incidentally, this paper is entirely sympathetic to Popular Frontism), — remarks:

"And so it all proved to be a false alarm. Worse, it was like a colossal practical joke." (June 18, 1937.)

The upshot of the whole affair was that the Blum ministry was ousted by the Senate, so that that stronghold of French fascism was enabled for the mo-

ment to appear as a "friend of the masses."

Camille Chautemps, well-known for his faithfulness to French financiers, formed a new cabinet on June 22, 1937, consisting of Radical Socialists in dominant positions with a few ministerial positions given to the social-democrats. This markedly reactionary swing was trumpeted by the Stalinists and their henchmen as holding new possibilities for improvement. The New York Times quoted the Stalinist, Maurice Thorez, and the right-wing trade unionist, Leon Jouhaux, as follows:

"A change in leadership might even give a better chance of accomplishing reforms, they asserted. With the Radical Socialists in the saddle they will have to take responsibility instead of always preaching caution, and the workers should give them a fair show." (June 25, 1937. Our emphasis.)

Here we have a clear instance of the tactics of the Stalinists which are rapidly leading France to fascism. Teaching the workers to give the Radical Socialists, the party of big capital which for decades has managed to lead the petty-bourgeois masses by the nose, "a fair show" instead of ruthlessly exposing these swindling boot-lickers of the bankers, the Stalinists rob the workers of their class vigilance and open the way for the heavier "capitalist attacks" of which the learned Mr. Palme Dutt spoke. The New York Times further comments that the thousands of workers listening to Thorez and Jouhaux in the Place de la Nation reacted with scant enthusiasm:

"The auditors responded to these arguments with little enthusiasm, but dispersed without any signs of protest, which would indicate that the masses are reconciled but not overjoyed with the turn in political events." (June 25, 1937.)

That the masses were rapidly being "reconciled" to their doom was of course a triumph for the Stalinist schemes, for no better way exists of drawing the workers off the revolu-



tionary path than to teach them to collaborate with their class enemy, to give their oppressors a "fair show." To carry their treachery a step further, the Stalinists proposed that they be included in the Chautemps ministry: "The most important new tactic was the proposal of the Communist Party to be included in the cabinet." (H. Gannes, Daily Worker, June 24, 1937.) In previous days, the Stalinists had carefully concealed from their followers the fact that they were prepared actually to participate in a capitalist government. Thorez, describing the Stalinist attitude toward a government in which social-democrats participate and which performs "anti-fascist" acts, wrote:

"As regards the participation of Communists in such a government, can there be two opinions on this question? We calmly answer that the participation of Communists in such a government is out of the question. There can be no participation whatever in such a government within the bounds of capitalism." (Communist International, March 20, 1935, p. 245.)

The social-democratic leaders, old hands at knifing the workers in the back, were also very anxious to have the Stalinists participate in Chautemps Popular Front government:

"Nevertheless, a strong volume of opinion exists within the party, especially in the provinces, that participation in a Radical-led ministry should be made conditional on the Communists' also taking part. Advocates of this policy argue that in competition for the votes of the workers the Socialists would be at a heavy disadvantage if the Communists were free to criticize the acts of the government without assuming any responsibility for them." (New York Herald Tribune, June 22, 1937. Our emphasis.)

The social-democrats, like the Stalinists, knew in advance, of course, that the new Popular Front government would be viciously anti-working class in nature. To cover up more effectively

their own treachery, the social-democratic leaders wanted the Stalinists also to be in the government. Was there ever a clearer case of the political criminality of the leaders of both social-democracy and Stalinism!

Like the social-democrats, the Stalinists were perfectly aware that the government had moved to the right:

"The Communists were disappointed that the government had veered to the right instead of to the left, but did not oppose the new regime." (Report on the session of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of France held on June 24, 1937, Daily Worker, June 26, 1937. Our emphasis.)

As we see, however, the steady march of the Popular Front government to the right did not prevent the Stalinists from supporting it.

The first thing Chautemps demanded was decree powers to squeeze more taxes out of the workers. The Stalinists and social-democrats voted for these powers. The first act of the new government was to devalue the franc again and issue "indirect" taxes on the living necessities of the masses. The Stalinists knew in advance that Chautemps intended to hit the workers. Speaking of the proposed taxes, a Daily Worker dispatch from Paris (July 1, 1937) says: "These taxes would bear down on the masses of the people, one, an increase in railroad tariffs, particularly harming the peasantry." (Note the conditional future tense used in the above, "would bear down," for this was said a few days before the new tax law was actually passed.) The liberal press, sympathetic to Popular Frontism, was forced to bemoan the havoc it was causing:

"The working class is feeling rather bitter, but too discouraged to react in any sharp way, though it may become troublesome when the new indirect taxation is introduced.

"Once more the small rentier and the taxpayer will have to pay a heavy price for the inability of

French statesmen to set the national financed on a sound and secure basis." (Manchester Guardian Weekly, July 2, 1937.)

It goes without saying that to our Liberal "friends" any revolt of the workers against their oppressors is very "troublesome." As regards such people only one thing can be said: Protect us from our friends; we can take care of our enemies ourselves. The capitalist press gives a juicy description of the new taxes:

"The new taxes are many and varied, including an increase in income taxes, railway fares and levies on gasoline, matches and tobacco. The tax on incomes above 20,000 francs (\$772) is increased by 20% making it now 28%, with the increase applying to incomes earned in 1937." (New York Herald Tribune, July 9, 1937.)

Cutting social expenditures and increasing the military budget became a popular (front) pastime:

"Every major item of the budget was slashed except that for national defense. Defense Minister Edouard Daladier insisted on and got an additional defense appropriation of 11,000,000,000 francs (about \$471,675,000 on the basis of the current exchange).

"Although the details of the decrees were not revealed, it was unofficially learned that spending for public works would be cut about 3,400,000,000 francs (\$127,245,000). (United Press report in the New York Post, July 20, 1937. Our emphasis.)

Finance Minister Georges Bonnet proudly sets forth how he slashed the needs of the workers:

"I was obliged to reduce expenditures in considerable proportions. First I made reductions in civil expenses, notably in the public works program, entailing 20,000,000,000 francs over a period of four years." (Bonnet's state-

ment reported in New York Times, July 28, 1937.)

A further sign of the plans of the bourgeoisie to intensify their exploitation of the French workers is M. Bonnet's suggestion that they speed up their work:

"After two months' experience as Minister of Finance of the French Republic, Georges Bonnet has reached the conclusion that 'financial recovery and the success of the important social reforms recently set up cannot be maintained without parallel recovery of economic activity.'

"That somewhat involved official phrase simply means that the heavy taxation for social and other purposes and the short hours of labor cannot be paid for except by harder work by those who benefit.

"It is especially necessary to increase workers' output, for there is no great reserve of man power." (New York Times, July 28, 1937. Our emphasis.)

Without strike-breaking no capitalist government can maintain its self-respect. In October 1937, Chautemps and Bonnet began to sound sharp warnings that they intended to end strikes by hook or crook:

"Premier Camille Chautemps and Finance Minister Georges Bonnet are insistent that the first step toward the nation's financial and economic security must be that there can be no more stay-in strikes. The second is the demand that there must be some modification of the forty-hour week law in its application if not in its legality." (New York Times, Oct. 2, 1937. Our emphasis.)

These gentlemen in the same press release make clear the attitude of the Popular Front government on independent action by the workers: "No longer will it tolerate occupations of the factories" (Ibid.). In delight, the editorial department of the New York Times, showing that it has no illusions about the Stalinists or the social-

democrats, commented:

"The significance of the present change of course lies in the fact that it is the Left parties themselves that agree to turn right." (Editorial, New York Times, October 5, 1937.)

One of the pretenses of Stalinist Popular Frontism is that it will bring the petty-bourgeois masses who have been deceived into following the Radical Socialist leaders over to the Left. In actuality the effect of Popular Frontism has been to strengthen the bourgeois Radical Socialist party. As early as May 1936, Daladier, shrewd and capable wire-puller of the Radical Socialist outfit, realized that Popular Frontism saved the Radical Socialist Party from disintegration:

"I am convinced that if the French Radical Party had not joined the People's Front, its losses in the elections would have been even more serious." (l'Oeuvre, May 16, 1936.)

Indeed, prior to the formation of the Popular Front large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie were passing over or ready to pass over to support of the social-democrats and Stalinists; and if the Radical Socialist leaders had not tagged themselves on to the bloc with these parties so as to benefit by their prestige amongst the masses, the losses of the Radical Socialists would certainly have been "even more serious." After 17 months of Popular Front governments on October 10, 1937, cantonal elections showed a marked swing away from the Stalinists and social-democrats and toward the Radical Socialists. By means of political horse-trading in doubtful districts, the social-democrats managed to gain 5 seats and the Stalinists one seat in the Chamber of Deputies. In numbers of votes, however, comparing this election with the general election of 1936, the Stalinists lost 45,292 votes, the social-democrats lost 78,007 votes and the Radical Socialists gained 215,678 votes (N. Y. Times, Oct. 12, 1937). The bourgeois press aptly comments on these elections:

"The Chamber of Deputies shows no change, but the Radical Socialist authority has been reinforced among the majority and it seems likely that henceforth the Cabinet and its program will go forward without undue obstruction." (New York Times, October 18, 1937. Our emphasis.)

The bourgeoisie have by now taken for granted that the Stalinists and social-democrats will work hand in glove with Chautemps and offer no "undue obstruction" to his assaults on the workers. The Stalinists were apparently satisfied with these results and on November 26, 1937 they gave the Chautemps government a vote of confidence, explaining as usual that in voting for Chautemps they were not voting for Chautemps but against "reaction":

"At 5 o'clock this morning Premier Camille Chautemps obtained from the Chamber of Deputies a 518-to-6 vote of confidence that seems to assure the Cabinet's life against nearly all emergencies until the budget is passed and the new year begins....."

"Their leader, (i.e. the Stalinist deputy: our comment), Jacques Duclos carefully explained that they were not really voting for the Government but against reaction." (New York Times, Nov. 26, 1937.)

Apparently, to the Stalinist parliamentarian juggler, Jacques Duclos, the Chautemps onslaught on the workers does not constitute "reaction." But Chautemps was going to leave no room in anybody's mind as to whether his government was reactionary or not, for he soon introduced the unoriginal but highly effective practice of breaking workers' strikes by the use of soldiers. The steep rise in the cost of living had forced the truck drivers, subway, gas, electricity and water workers to go out on strike. The Popular Front Government was quick to bare its claws: "Troops have been called in to deliver perishables" (New York Times, December 29, 1937). This breaking of the truck drivers' strike by troops aroused the resent-

ment of the utilities workers:

"The fact that the government is using soldiers as strikebreakers and thus defeating the truck drivers walk-out is held to be an underlying cause of the utilities strike." (New York Times, December 31, 1937.)

The Popular Front government intensified its strike-breaking:

"To assure continuance of public services, especially water and electric light and power supplies, several detachments of sailors were being brought from seaports, and it was understood recourse would be had to Polytechnic students and other qualified volunteers." (Ibid.)

The Popular Front government had a broad view of the situation and decided to put the entire Paris region under military guard:

"During the day the government instructed General Victor Bouret, commander of the military region of Paris to hold 1000 soldiers in readiness to take over the public services on word from Defense Minister Edouard Daladier.

"Mobile Guard reinforcements were moved into Paris and troops in the capital were consigned to barracks." (Ibid.)

Thus the Popular Front government, which is nothing but the government of French finance capital, is using the "People's Army," which is nothing but the armed instrument of the bourgeois state, to crush the workers resistance to oppression. Only a little over two years before, the Stalinist "Daily Worker" was blinding the proletariat to the reactionary nature of the French army by giving the impression that this army will not be used against the French masses:

"France now has the largest standing army in Europe. It is a conscript army of young peasant boys with fresh naive faces, just up from the provinces. They were the least militaristic soldiers I

have known — no swagger or toughness, just boys in uniforms, sons of the people. The fascists will not easily turn this army against the people." (Michael Gold, Daily Worker, August 29, 1935.)

With statements such as this the Stalinists are concealing the Leninist truth that a capitalist army, regardless of its composition, is used only in the interests of the capitalists. Reality, giving the lie to the Stalinists, teaches that it is not necessary for the French imperialists to have fascism to use their army against the masses. The dictatorship of the imperialists through bourgeois "democracy" fundamentally is not different from their rule under fascism. The capitalist army under any form of bourgeois rule whatever serves only the interests of the bourgeoisie.

To leave no loophole open in this violent crushing of the new strike wave, the government decided to hold the threat of mobilization into the army over the workers to terrorize them into abandoning their plans for the strike:

"After a long Cabinet meeting Ministers told newspapermen that the Government had decided to 'force' the public service workers by mobilizing them into the army, unless it was agreed to call off the strike." (Ibid.)

The workers having been thoroughly smashed, the Popular Front government decided to round the year off in grand style. With brutal cynicism the capitalist press reports a "new year gift" from the Popular Front government to the working class:

"In general, as a New Year gift to the nation, Parliament and the municipal authorities of Paris have undoubtedly added a considerable increase in everybody's daily expenditures. Simultaneously with the increase in rent there will be an increase in city taxes. Several national taxes have been increased in an unobtrusive but nevertheless effective way.

"There is a 23% increase in taxation on certain categories of cinema theatres. Bus and subway fares have been increased." (New York Times, Jan. 1, 1938. Our emphasis.)

It is hardly necessary to add any comment to this manifestation of the "struggle" by the Stalinist concocted Popular Front government against the "200 families" of France.

After its glorious reign, the second Popular Front government resigned on Jan. 14, 1938 to give way to a government further to the right. After an unsuccessful series of maneuvers by Bonnet, Sarraut and Blum to form a new government, Chautemps again formed a Cabinet consisting this time wholly of right-wingers of the Radical Socialist Party and its dependent organizations. Not even the social-democrats were given their thirty pieces of silver this time. At first the Stalinists pretended they would oppose Chautemps' new and more reactionary government:

"The Socialists disagreed amongst themselves on the question, while the Communists with 73 votes in the Chamber of Deputies published a manifesto announcing that they would oppose Chautemps cabinet when he asks for a vote of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies, probably Friday." (Daily Worker, January 19, 1938.)

But when put to the test, the Stalinist false-front was dropped and

"Chautemps Backed by Chamber  
501-1

"The Communists and the moderates joined the Radical Socialists and Socialists in supporting the government." (Headline and comment, New York Times, Jan. 22, 1938.)

The career of the third Popular Front government was short but uproarious. Its chief contribution to the interests of the bourgeoisie was the passage of a new and startlingly vicious compulsory arbitration law providing for "penal sanctions" against the workers if they revolted ag-

ainst government decrees. The law stated that "if an arbitral sentence has been handed down and not executed, penal sanctions would be taken against those seeking to prevent liberty of work and especially occupation of workshops" (New York Times, Jan. 28, 1938). Blockade of factories by picket lines ("seeking to prevent liberty of work") and sit-in strikes ("occupation of workshops"), the highly effective tactics of the proletariat in strike action, were thus made directly punishable by law. Arbitration, compulsory prior to taking a strike vote, is, of course, performed in France, as in all capitalist countries, by committees consisting of capitalist bootlickers in the government, leading capitalists themselves and reformist trade union leaders long adept at selling out the workers who trust them. If the workers try to break through the "arbitration" they get from these swindlers, they are to be hit by "penal sanctions." The capitalist press jubilantly comments on this decree that "it provides a test for the claim often advanced by the employers that strike movements are frequently induced by a minority of agitators against the desires of a majority of the workers, and that they are fomented and pushed quite often, too, by persons who are not even employed by the factories in which the strikes take place" (N.Y. Times, Jan. 28, 1938—our emphasis). That these typical and well-known lies of the bosses will be "proved" true by this "test" goes without saying. The Popular Front government will see to that!

On March 11, 1938, Chautemps resigned again to make room for an even more reactionary government. Daladier, the wily conniver who as "defense" minister whipped up the armament schemes of the French war mongers in the three previous Popular Front governments, formed the new government. This ministry consisted at the time of the present writing (Sept. 1938) of Radical Socialists and people from the Center and Right wings of parliament. Daladier's basic aim was to get decree powers so as to rule without even the sham "interference" of the parliamentary fossils who compose the "democratic" government of the French Re-

public. It was especially in financial matters that Daladier wanted dictatorial powers, for France's drive toward war demands an unlimited and decisive attack on the living conditions and political rights of the workers. From now on everything is to be sacrificed to the military machine. Daladier asked for decree powers for three months but, since Parliament was not to meet again until the Fall of this year, he actually has about seven months of a completely free hand to carry out the machinations of the capitalists.

As usual at first the Stalinists pretended that they would oppose the establishment of this pre-fascist interlude, but when the final test was put to them, they supported Daladier in his demand for dictatorial powers. The vote for Daladier in the Chamber of Deputies was 508 to 12, the whole Stalinist fraction voting for the decree powers: "The Communists voted for it, even for its special powers, for reasons of their own." (P. J. Philip in the New York Times, April 13, 1938.)

The first financial step of the decree government was to establish a war fund of 35,000,000,000 francs to be raised by taxes and loans, that is, by bleeding the workers and peasants and fattening the bankers by paying them interest on the war loans. War production was to be encouraged under the guise of "stimulating recovery." Taxes on industry were to be reduced, a capital levy on industry was declared contrary to the interests of the "country" and all taxes were to be raised by 8%. Even the capitalist press in America was startled by the hair-raising avalanche unleashed by the fourth Popular Front government on the already gasping proletariat:

"To the average Frenchman the greatest shock of all was the 8% hike in income and all other direct taxes. The increase, however, strikes all hidden taxes as well." (N. Y. Times, May 3, 1938.)

The greatest problem of the Daladier decree government is to crush any possibility of a protest strike wave to

wipe out all vestiges of the forty-hour week and other social benefits. The workers are to be chained by the tactic of mobilizing them in the army, a measure whose value was proved by the second Popular Front government:

"Deputies considered the Premier's statement as a warning that he would mobilize strikers and send them back to work as soldiers of the French army, with a status that would make quitting equivalent to desertion. M. Daladier appealed to the patriotism of the strikers, urging them to trust the government." (N. Y. Times, April 13, 1938.)

Consider the effrontery of this scoundrel! After threatening the workers to force them to toil under the guns of army officers with a desertion charge hanging over their head, he appeals to their "patriotism"! It was not for nothing that Marx and Engels said "The workers have no fatherland" and denounced the "patriotism" which is nothing but slavery under the heel of capitalism. Although this principle of Marx's is perfectly well known to Thorez, Cachin and Duclos, they continued to support Daladier. By September 1938, capitalist reaction in France made so much progress and so strengthened itself that Daladier was actually in a position to carry out in practice his threat to mobilize strikers in the army. In the port of Marseille the dockers refused to work overtime in violation of the forty-hour law, especially in view of the fact that the employers were refusing to make any wage increases in compensation for the sacrifices demanded of the workers. Hence, at first African troops were used by the Popular Front government to break the strike and terrorize the workers:

"Senegalese soldiers marched into the Marseille dock district today and unloaded ship cargoes that stevedores, on their usual weekend strike, refused to touch.

"This was the answer of Premier Edouard Daladier's government to the stalemate between the dockworkers, who have refused to work more than forty hours a week, and to

their employers, who have refused to increase wages." (New York Times, August 22, 1938.)

This was not considered sufficient to handle the situation for soon thereafter the entire city of Marseille was put under military rule to further the repression of the strikers:

"The government's action putting Marseille under military rule followed weeks of fruitless efforts by Premier Edouard Daladier to get the dock workers to load and unload ships on Sunday — which they refused to do because of their 40-hour week." (N.Y. Times, Sept. 7, 1937.)

And finally, to complete this violent smashing of the dockers' strike, the Popular Front government issued an order mobilizing them into the army, thus carrying out the threat Daladier made against the workers in April.

"At 2 P.M. tomorrow dock workers of French nationality in the port of Marseille will be called into military service as the result of government orders to break the dockers' strike.

"This is the first move of this kind to be made by the French government since Aristide Briand, before the war, mobilized railroad men to break up a French railroad strike." (N.Y. Times, Sept. 8, 1938.)

The success of the capitalists in driving France to the right through their Popular Front government has encouraged them to attack the living conditions of the workers from every possible angle. The forty-hour week law, usually called the "keystone" of the "gains" made by the workers in 1936, is to be thrown overboard. Taking advantage of the war hysteria whipped up by the French imperialists (with the help of their British and German colleagues) over the Czechoslovakian crisis,— a hysteria whose only purpose is to cover up the cooperation of the French and British imperialists with the German in strengthening German fascism — Daladier officially pronounced the intention of the Popular Front government to force the workers

to toil longer hours. The pretext given for this new assault of the capitalists against the workers is that "France" must be "defended" against foreign threats:

"As long as the international situation remains as delicate as it is," he declared, "our national defense industries must work at least forty-eight hours and all other industries, must, without long formalities or tedious discussions, be able to increase their working hours in accordance with their needs." (N.Y. Times, Aug. 22, 1938.)

In accordance with their demagogic practice, the Stalinists at first pretended to oppose this action of Daladier's. During the course of this "opposition," the Stalinists made some valuable admissions, especially to the effect that the excuse of Daladier's that "France must be defended" is a fraud pure and simple. The Stalinists clearly stated that the attack on the forty-hour week is nothing but an attack on the French workers and an aid to international reaction in general:

"Premier Edouard Daladier of France put his foot in it when he sought to palm off, as his greatest 'motive' in assailing the 40-hour week law, the strengthening of France's ability to defend herself against fascist war threats.

"Who can refute this fact: that it is precisely those ready to sell France to her fascist enemies, the 200 rich families, who have been loudest in their praise of Daladier's attack on this fundamental achievement of the Popular Front of France." (Editorial, Daily Worker, August 25, 1938.)

And again:

"Whatever his excuse, Daladier's offensive against the keystone of the Popular Front social achievements would serve to strengthen the 200 rich magnates in France, the maneuvers of General Franco and Chamberlain in Spain, thus helping Mussolini and Hitler on their present war threats and mobilization." (H. Games, Daily Worker, Aug. 23, 1938)

This fake Stalinist "opposition" soon collapsed in practice though in words there is still much howling from this camp. In contemptuous language the capitalist press reports that the extreme "Left" parties are ready to accept Daladier's proposals:

"Covering their retreat with vigorous protests about the 'intangibility' of the forty-hour and other social laws and then adding a covering phrase about the necessity of assuring national defense and independence, the extreme Left parties today began the task of accepting Premier Daladier's proposals for modification of the forty-hour week." (New York Times, August 26, 1938.)

This is confirmed by a cautiously worded dispatch on the same day to the Daily Worker. The delegation of the National Committee of the French People's Front (which includes the Stalinists) sent to Daladier makes clear that it will play hand in glove with him to "strengthen national defense":

"The delegation, however, will reaffirm to Daladier the readiness of their groups to do everything necessary to strengthen the national defense, a position adopted long before Daladier's ~~Tors~~-promotive speech." (Daily Worker August 26, 1938.)

Thus the Stalinists, while on the one hand declaring that Daladier's talk about abrogating the forty-hour week law for "national defense" is sheer demagoguery and an aid to reaction, are on the other hand actually helping him to carry out this treachery. A comparison of the headlines of the capitalist and Stalinist press on this collaboration of the parties of the Popular Front with Daladier in the attack on the forty-hour law throws an interesting sidelight on the outright lying of the Stalinists. The above quoted dispatch (8/26/38) from the New York Times has the correct headline "French Left Yields On 40-Hour Week"; the Daily Worker's dispatch (same date) which actually carried the same information on the treachery of the Popular

Front has the false headline "French People's Front Stands By 40-Hour Law." In this way by the use of chicanery of the crudest sort the Stalinist swindlers throw dust in the eyes of their trusting victims.

The reformist trade union leaders, of course, are actively participating in this sell-out to the capitalists. Under Daladier's pretext of "defending France," the reformists have consistently overlooked and condoned violations of the forty-hour law, so that for the great majority of the French workers this "keystone" of the Popular Front's "achievements" have never been anything more than a mere rumor, a bait to keep them in submission to the government. So far, the cooperation of the reformists with the capitalist government on this score has been in the form of a quiet "understanding." But under capitalism everything must be made "official," and so:

"France's powerful General Confederation of Labor, representing 5,000,000 workers, issued a communique tonight indicating that it will cooperate in strengthening national defense.

"The organization had previously opposed moves of Premier Edouard Daladier to modify the application of the forty-hour week. The communique, however, showed a willingness to favor longer hours in view of the threatening international situation." (New York Times, Sept. 8, 1938.)

With the connivance of the Stalinists, the social-democrats and the reformist trade union leaders, the French capitalists have been able to render the forty-hour week law a dead letter, which may possibly remain on the statute books like so many of the "progressive" measures of capitalism:

"As far as political and industrial circumstances will permit, France will abandon the forty-hour week. The Cabinet today approved Premier Edouard Daladier's stand that the nation must produce more for its military and economic defense. The law will remain on the



statute books, but modifications adopted by the Cabinet council will provide:

"First, that the government can demand unlimited additional hours in all industries concerned with national defense, internal security and public works.

"Second, in private industries the nation can demand the maximum of 100 extra hours per year over and above the hours that are actually in force." (New York Times, August 29, 1938.)

It need only be added that, as a spice to this dish of poison which the capitalists, with the help of the traitors in the camp of labor, have been able to feed the workers, the assault on the forty-hour week law carries with it a wage cut:

"M. Daladier in his much discussed radio broadcast suggested overtime at 10 per cent above the normal rate. That is probably the rate that will be adopted for national defense.

"In private industry, where overtime is paid at time and one half and sometimes double, there will be opposition to any such reduction." (New York Times, August 29, 1938.)

And so the "keystone" of the Popular Front "gains" goes the way of all the lies and promises heaped on the workers in 1936. Capitalist reaction, assisted by the Popular Front misleaders, reigns supreme and unchallenged.

Meanwhile, to supplement the war preparations, a "collective security" pact was negotiated with England. A N.Y. Times headline on April 29, 1938 informs us that "Britain and France Agree on a Defensive Alliance; Unified Commands in War." All such pacts are, of course, intended to defend and further French imperialist interests. Those who have been fooled by the Stalinist fables of "collective security" eliminating the need for increased armaments will be undeceived by the following: 1) On April 28, 1938 France and England signed a "collective security" pact; 2) On May 3, 1938 "France Increases All Armed Forces" —

"Daladier Decreases Addition of 4,712-500,000 Francs Credit to Get Larger Man Power" (New York Times headlines); 3) On May 13, 1938 "France Increases Navy Building Program; Two 35,000-Ton Ships Will Be Constructed" (N.Y. Times Headlines); 4) On May 22, 1938 France decides to purchase an additional 100 war planes from the U.S." (N. Y. Times news report); 5) On August 24, 1938 "Paris Orders Battleship, The Third of 35,000 Tons" (N.Y. Times headline). It goes without saying that the British imperialists have not lagged behind their French brethren in preparing war. What the Stalinists, to deceive the workers into being willing victims of the imperialists, call "collective security" pacts are nothing but part and parcel of the imperialists' plans and alliances to let loose another world slaughter.

At this point it is important to indicate a special feature of Stalinism. The degeneration of the Stalinist bureaucracy in a counter-revolutionary direction has by now endowed these traitors with a cynicism that is perfectly boundless. The Stalinist press has the incredible impudence to report that "collective security" has become so popular that even the fascists are supporting this policy! "Even De Kerillis, who belongs to the extreme Right, came out in favor of collective security..." (Inprecorr, June 25, 1938, p. 762.). And not only that, but "La Journée Industrielle, leading financial organ, writes, 'Now we see the cruel mistake (sic!) of those who attack the defenders of collective security. This is the only method to save the world today.'" ((Daily Worker, September 10, 1938. Our emphasis.) The Stalinist bureaucrats actually boast that the fascists and the organ of French finance imperialism support their policy! Let the Stalinist worker who takes "collective security" seriously ponder on this. Is it not obvious that these leaders in whom he has confidence arrogantly assume that he will not ask himself even these simple questions: How does it happen that "collective security" which my leaders tell me is in the interests of the proletariat is being supported by the fascists and finance capitalists?

Since when do fascists favor policies which benefit the working class? Why are my leaders supporting the policy of the imperialists? How does it hap-

pen that, while Lenin's policy on war made the imperialists rage like wild beasts, Stalin's policy on war receives the backing of the imperialists?

## B) THE ULTRA-RIGHT ZIGZAG IN THE COLONIES

We have said nothing so far about one of the most hideous aspects of Popular Frontism, namely, its policy on the colonies of imperialist France, and it is essential to outline this matter before we close the discussion of the nature and results of Popular Frontism. Toward the millions of colonial slaves, the policy of all the Popular Front governments has been the same, that of the French imperialists who bleed the colonials for super-profits. The bestial persecution of colonial natives, a long and unbroken policy of French imperialism, continues under the Stalinist-Socialist supported Popular Front in all its savagery. This oppression centers not only around the problem of forcing the colonials to slave in imperialist plantations and mines under a military regime, but especially around the drive to crush ruthlessly any move toward liberation from French imperialism.

French Syria is the scene of frequent native rebellion caused, as the Stalinist press admits, by the oppression of the natives by French imperialism:

"The cause of this movement among the people must be sought in the tragic situation in which the country has been placed by the policy of French imperialism." (G. Peri, "Events in Syria" Inprecorr, February 15, 1936.)

Reports constantly arrive of military suppression of rebelling natives in French Syria during the reign of the second Popular Front government:

"French bombing planes and motorized infantry went into action today to suppress a rebellion of Mohammedan Kurds against French rule in Syria.

"Three motorized infantry units

and squadrons of war planes took the field against the Kurds. Troops rushed to the village of Amond near the Turkish border, where two officers who attempted to restore order were fired upon, but the Kurds had evacuated it. Bombing planes attacked three villages where important concentrations of Kurds were observed. (New York Herald Tribune, August 12, 1937.)

North Africa, highly valued possession of the French imperialists, seethes with Nationalist revolt. In order to terrorize the natives into submission, the second Popular Front government ordered a fleet of 80 war planes to "maneuver" in North Africa:

"France decided today to dispatch more than 80 first-line planes to North Africa, the greatest air force ever sent to a French colony — for Fall maneuvers demonstrating her air power to the empire." (N.Y. Times, Oct. 20, 1937.)

The persecution of native chiefs is part of Popular Front France's tactics in crushing colonial natives:

"Unless the process is postponed for considerations of public order, the leader of the Algerian Nationalist party, a certain Messali, will be brought to trial tomorrow in Algiers." (N.Y. Times, Nov. 2, 1937.)

The colonial persecutors did well to worry about "public order" for the natives resent the hounding of their leaders and demonstrate their wrath in huge mass meetings which are routed by French Mobile Guards:

"During the most violent of these mass meetings the demonstrators took refuge in a nearby mosque when the Mobile Guard was called out. A street battle ensued in

which there were several casualties." (Ibid.)

The colonial military administrators, notorious for their barbaric treatment of the natives, mince no words as to their intentions:

"General August Nogues, French Resident General, warned natives today he would crush any disorders with force as he revealed Moroccan Nationalists had planned to lead a revolt yesterday against French authority.

"The general, who in the past few days has suppressed several Nationalist outbursts, sent troops into the Moslem quarter of Fez for the first time in history.

"Our prompt action wrecked plans to revolt," he said, "Our troops will stay in Medina (Moslem holy district) as long as necessary." (Ibid. Our emphasis.)

But the Stalin-Socialist darling, the Popular Front government, "unanimously" approves of the assault on the African natives:

"Albert Sarraut, Director of French North African Affairs, obtained today the unanimous approval of the Cabinet for his program of coordination in North Africa to combat unrest and improve conditions in Tunis, Algeria and Morocco." (New York Times, November 28, 1937. Our emphasis.)

The bombing planes and motorized infantry sent to "combat unrest" will naturally go far to improve conditions — for French imperialism. But the natives are not easily cowed and continue their courageous struggles for freedom from France's "democratic" imperialism. Hence they are met with forceful suppression:

"Morocco has been the scene of the most violent outbreaks of the native nationalist movement in North Africa which the French government has determined to put down.

"Native uprisings, requiring forceful suppression, have occurred in Meknes, Fez, Casablanca, Khemis-

set, Rabat and Port Lyautey." (N Y. Times, Dec. 6, 1937. Our emphasis.)

In the Stalinist's Popular Front policy on the question of colonial liberation, we have a typical example of the deceitful way they use Leninist phrases to becloud their victims' mind and conceal the betrayal they are perpetrating. They begin with some revolutionary sounding phrases:

"The fundamental demand of our Communist Party concerning the colonial peoples remains the right of self-determination, the right to independence." (M. Thorez, "France of the People's Front and Her Mission in the World," Report at the 9th Congress of the C.P. of France, Dec. 25-29, 1937, p. 99. Emphasis in the original.)

This is immediately followed with a hodge-podge of criminal distortions of Leninism and a "line" which guarantees the enslavement of the colonial workers and peasants to French imperialism:

"Recalling the formulation of Lenin's, we have already told the comrades from Tunis, who approve, that the right to separation does not signify the obligation to separate. If the decisive question of the moment is the victorious struggle against fascism, the interest of the colonial peoples lie in their unity with the French people and not in an attitude which could favor the projects of fascism and, for instance, place Algeria, Tunis and Morocco under the heel of Mussolini or Hitler, or make Indo-China a base for militaristic Japan. (Applause)

"To create the conditions for this free, confident and fraternal union of the colonial peoples with our people, is that not also to work toward the fulfillment of France's mission in the world? (Applause)." (Ibid. Emphasis in the original.)

Not one idea in this passage is even remotely true. In the first place, Lenin's formulation to the effect that the right of colonial and subject

nationalities to separate from the "mother" country does not signify the obligation to separate was applied by Lenin to colonies and subject nationalities only after imperialism in the "mother" country had been overthrown and a soviet republic there established. To twist this Leninist principle as the Stalinists do and make it apply to colonies and subject nationalities before imperialism in the "mother" country has been overthrown is a monstrous fraud which forms part and parcel of Stalinist Popular Frontism. Leninism teaches that before imperialism has been overthrown it is obligatory for revolutionaries to demand unequivocally the political separation of colonies and subject nationalities.

Secondly, Thorez' implication that the liberation of the French colonies would strengthen the German, Italian and Japanese imperialists is nothing less than a desecration of Leninism. In the same way the chauvinists argued against Lenin that the liberation of Russia's subject nationalities or of France's colonies would strengthen the Kaiser. The liberation of France's colonial slaves can take place only by the revolutionary defeat and overthrow of French imperialism. Such a defeat of French imperialism and liberation of France's colonies would cause world imperialism as a whole to totter to its very foundations. A revolutionary upsurge would sweep throughout the entire colonial world and would inspire the millions of colonial slaves of Italy, Japan, England and the rest of the imperialist oppressors to rise in revolt. The smashing of French imperialism would serve as a beacon to the exploited masses all over the world. It is precisely for this reason that the Stalinists feed the colonial slaves with anti-Leninist poison about a "free, confident and fraternal union" of the colonies with French imperialism and with chauvinistic demagogy about "France's mission in the world." The widespread massacre of her colonial slaves is "France's mission in the world" and the degenerate cutthroats of the French Foreign Legion supply the cement for the Stalinists' "free,

confident and fraternal union."

In a deceptive attempt to talk away the ferocious assault of French imperialism on the colonial masses — this assault is so startling and notorious that it is impossible for even such master swindlers as the Stalinist bureaucrats to deny it — the Thorezes and Cachins hypocritically call for a "reform" of the colonial administration. But during the ultra-left zig-zag, the Stalinists denounced the social-democrats for precisely such treacherous tactics:

"The social-democratic theory, alleging that the capitalist colonial regime can be reformed and converted into a 'good colonial regime is a mask behind which the social-democrats attempt to conceal their true social-imperialist character." (Thesis adopted at the 6th World Congress of the Communist International, July-August 1928, "The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies," p. 62.)

In those days the Stalinists were saying, and quite correctly, that while imperialism exists it is impossible to "reform" the colonial administration. When today, in the face of the vicious offensive of the Popular Front government against the colonial masses, the Stalinists preach social-democratic deception about "reforming" the colonial regime, the conscious villainy of these traitors is obvious.

In the day of the ultra-left zig-zag, the Stalinists hypocritically shrieked mighty Leninist phrases about "colonial revolution" and "national liberation." Today when the Stalinists feed the natives the treacherous lie that a "free union" of the colonies with imperialist France is possible, the colonials, confused and bitter at the "desertion" of their former Stalinist "allies," turn in every direction for relief. And, most horrible of all, the colonials are rapidly turning to the French fascists, de la Rocque and Doriot, who are spouting the most extravagant and reckless promises about "freedom." These reactionary demagogues, taking ad-

vantage of unrest in the colonies, have developed a huge following amongst the natives of North Africa. The Stalinist press reports the military preparations of the fascists in Algeria:

"Colonel de la Rocque gave his blessing to the undertaking of a civil war when, on June 10, 1935, he assembled more than 15,000 members of the Croix de Fou and 30 aeroplanes near Algiers and held a military review." (Inprecorr, Jan. 23, 1937, pp. 68-69.)

"It is also quite generally known that both the French Peoples Party [Doriot] and the French Social Party [de la Rocque] have organized arms ~~drugs~~ and civil war squads." (Inprecorr, Nov. 6, 1937, page 1151.)

The gaining of support by the fascists among the peasantry by the spread of anti-Semitic venom is now wide in its scope:

"With the aid of the Peasants' Front the movement of the big planters won over middle peasants who were dissatisfied with the bad sales of their products, and even some fellahen were won over as well. This was accomplished to a great extent by their anti-semitic demagogy, and the Hitler thesis on this point form the usual contents of a large number of newspapers in Algeria." (Inprecorr, Jan. 23, 1937, pages 68-69. Our emphasis.)

The Stalinists admit that the fascists have already secured control over many local colonial governments:

"In 1935, fascism gained numerous local governments in Algeria. Everywhere were displayed enormous placards bearing the most pernicious slanders against the Republic (sic!) and the slogan 'Death to the Jews!' framed in swastikas, which were to be found even in the smallest villages and the poorest quarters of the town." (Ibid. pages 68-69. Our emphasis.)

Nowhere do we find any evidence that the fascists have grown weaker since

the above was written. Officers of the French "Peoples Army" feel no need to conceal the fact that they are outright fascists:

"In the courtyard of the barracks of Tlemcan, the officers and non-commissioned officers salute only with outstretched arm." (Ibid. same paging. Our emphasis.)

The article goes on to turn the mind of the reader away from the real danger by citing some local electoral victories by candidates of what it calls the colonial "Popular Front." Just what the nature of this "Popular Front" can be in Algeria where the Stalinist Party itself is illegal, where social-democrats and Radical Socialists are practically non-existent, and where the only real political force is that of fascism and the reactionary nationalist movement is not revealed by the Stalinist publications.

But while the fascists have a free hand for their machinations, not even the Stalinist pseudo-Communism is permitted:

"The two periodicals with the largest circulation among the officers of the army are 'Candide' and 'Gringoire,' both fascist.... 'Humanite' is banned in Morocco. But one can read at one's pleasure the Moroccan edition of the fascist 'Action Francaise,' which openly calls for the assassination of the members of the People's Front Government." (Inprecorr, Nov. 6, 1937. Our emphasis.)

Thus the colonial toilers are being terrorized with military attacks by the French Popular Front government and deceived by the demagogy of the fascists who capitalize on this by calling for the assassination of those who aid and abet them, the Blums, Bonnets, Daladiers, and Chautemps.

Every advanced worker whose mind has not been poisoned by Stalinism will realize what horrors these developments will shower on the French proletariat in the future if a Leninist revolutionary movement does not arise to stop them. General Franco has giv-

en us an example of how the fascists use the cheated and betrayed colonials of North Africa. The resources of the fascists in the vast French African colonies are immensely greater than those

of Franco in Spanish Morocco. If the Stalinist leaders had no other crime to answer for than their treachery to the colonials they would still deserve the undying hatred of the workers.

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### III

#### GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON POPULAR FRONTISM

**C**AN there be any doubt in the mind of an alert class-conscious worker as to the implications to be drawn from the facts we have presented on the ruin Stalinism brings to the French masses? Stalinism has acted as the spearhead in the workers' ranks of the ferocious assault on the proletariat that has carried France to the brink of fascism. The chief factors in the situation in France are: 1) the French proletariat has been desperately enslaved to capitalism by the deceptions of Stalinism, social-democracy and all other varieties of quackery in the workers' ranks; 2) the imperialists have, therefore, forced by the intense crisis in capitalism, been successful in plunging France rightward so that by now the country, with its government-by-decree, has entered the pre-fascist stage; 3) the lack of a genuine Leninist revolutionary force leaves the proletariat politically helpless to prevent the victory of fascism and the French imperialists free to go ahead with their war plans.

The French proletariat is faced with the grave danger of Daladier's undergoing a gradual transformation into a fascist dictator. It must be remembered that there is no single, fixed method by which fascism comes into power, but that, on the contrary, there are several ways which are used in accordance with the objective situation. Thus, Italian fascism won its victory by a seizure of power by Mussolini and his cohorts. For two years after this fascist seizure of power, Italy retained several elements of formal bourgeois democracy, as for ex-

ample the parliamentary system, legality of the Socialist and Communist parties, etc. When Mussolini had sufficiently stabilized his regime, the remnants of bourgeois democracy were wiped out. A second method is that of Hitler. In this case fascism was lifted up into power by the "democratic" republic through "legal," parliamentary procedure. The elements of bourgeois democracy were then eliminated practically immediately. A third path for the victory of fascism is that of General Franco. Here the bourgeoisie stage a military uprising. A fourth possible way is now appearing on the historical scene, namely, the gradual transformation of the bourgeois democratic regime into a fascist one. In the recent trend in France, especially since Daladier came into office, significant elements of such a transformation are already noticeable. The pushing aside of Parliament and replacing of "democratic" rule by decree rule is the most important of these features. The suppression of the workers' strike actions by military violence and coercion, (use of troops to break strikes and mobilization of strikers into the army), is another vital element. The war hysteria throughout Europe provides a perfect setting for the intensification and spread of dictatorial rule. Bourgeois democratic usages can easily be set aside under the pretext of the necessity to "defend France from foreign enemies." It is entirely possible that the French bourgeoisie may decide on such a course of gradual fascistization. They have learned from the events in Spain that an attempt at a

seizure of power or at a military uprising may stir the workers into defensive action with great destruction of bourgeois property and a threat of proletarian revolution as a result. A transformation of bourgeois democracy into fascism by easy stages provides a way of circumventing difficulties of this nature. It is even likely that during this transformation the fascist hordes of de la Rocque and Doriot, whose "impatience" may prove embarrassing and disturbing to the bourgeoisie, will be reorganized and integrated into the fascist system. Should such a "conflict" within the bourgeoisie occur, the latter and the Stalinists will, of course, try to make demagogic use of it. They will attempt to deceive the workers into thinking that the dictatorial regime which is being gradually introduced is not fascist, for "aren't the fascists, de la Rocque and Doriot, being suppressed?" The workers must not permit themselves to be tricked by such arguments but must be guided only by the fact of the objective situation. (The suppression of the fascist Stahlhelm by the Nazis in no way makes the present Hitler regime any the less fascist.) The fascization of France and preparation for imperialist war are "point number one on the agenda" of the French bourgeoisie today and the workers must learn to understand every detail of this process regardless of how intricate it may be.

In order to bring out still more sharply the completely conscious nature of the betrayals of Stalinism, the pre-Hitler days in Germany and the Stalinist analysis of them must be presented. In Germany in the years immediately prior to Hitler's rise to power, social-democracy practiced a policy of "defending democracy from fascism." The Stalinists, while carrying out their own treacherous ultra-left line, levelled many correct criticisms against social-democracy on the grounds that its policy was opening the way to fascism. The social-democrats, as the Stalinists do today, advanced the argument that since the proletariat is "not ready" for revolution, it must make "concessions" to the capitalist State in order to pre-

serve the "democratic" regime as the "lesser evil" against the menace of fascism. The glib Mr. John Strachey, a favorite writer of the Stalinist movement, blames this treachery of social-democracy in his book "The Menace of Fascism" (1933) as solely responsible for Hitler's victory. He shows the social democracy's reasoning was along the following lines:

"The present regrettable situation is no time to talk of rash attempts to take over all power for the workers. On the contrary, it is necessary to retreat, temporarily of course, to ensure the preservation of all that has been gained by the establishment of a democratic republic." (J. Strachey, "The Menace of Fascism," p.185. Our emphasis.)

From this followed the social-democratic tactic of "uniting" with every variety of reformist, liberal and bourgeois-democratic fraud under the pretext of "preserving democracy from fascism."

"For this sacred purpose, and as the one way to thwart the designs of the reactionaries, who wish to destroy Democracy, Parliamentary Government and the freedom of the Trade Unions, we must form a broad united front of all genuine Democrats and Liberals. The German workers should drop, for the moment, too much talk of Socialism. Let them, at any rate, put their main emphasis upon their broad liberal and democratic aims." (Ibid. pp. 185-6. Our emphasis.)

How familiar this social-democratic poison must sound to workers into whose ears the Stalinists pour their deceptions! What are the speeches of the Stalinist bureaucrats at the 7th World Congress of the Comintern but e c h e e s of this social-democratic swindle? For this "sacred purpose" the social-democrats supported a government consisting, somewhat similar to the first and second Popular Front governments of France, of social-democrats and parties more to the right:

"So they entered — as, on the whole, junior partners — Coalition Governments formed by the democratic parties of the Centre and of the Right Centre. Or, later on, they supported — 'tolerated', as the phrase went — by steadily voting for them in Parliament, Governments exclusively formed by such parties." (Ibid. p. 187. Our emphasis.)

Very much like events during the early days of the Popular Front governments in France, for which the Stalinists were also "steadily voting", these "Popular Front" coalitions in Germany fooled the workers into thinking that the bourgeoisie had been prevented from introducing fascism:

"However, this new application of the policy of the lesser evil did undoubtedly for a time seem to have succeeded in its main purpose. It did appear to have warded off the threat of reaction and to have saved the Democratic Constitution." (Ibid., p. 187.)

Reaction, however, was not sleeping meanwhile, but was biding its time and, like in France, it began to consolidate its forces and show its hand more and more openly. Social-democracy, like the Popular Front in France, tolerated all of this:

"So long as they accepted such conditions they were not, of course, in a position even to think of advancing a single inch towards Socialism. They supported by their votes in Parliament the payment of reparations, the building of new battleships, and the payment of vast subsidies to the more and more monopolistic German capitalists. Moreover, they 'tolerated' the steady revival, under Government encouragement, of every reactionary element in the life of Germany." (Ibid., p. 188. Our emphasis.)

But the intensification of the crisis in capitalism made, like in France, vicious assaults on the workers' living conditions an absolute necessity for the bourgeoisie. Through its "Popular Front" government, the German

imperialists began "to cut" social expenditures and to enforce government "arbitration" to cut wages:

"And then came the slump... Its onset found the Social Democrats either supporting or 'tolerating' various types of coalition parliamentary governments. When the slump came, these Governments had necessarily to take the usual steps which all capitalist governments must take in time of slump. They had to 'cut'.... They had to cut their grants to local authorities; they had to cut social services; they had to cut unemployment benefit; and above all, of course, they had to use the elaborate German system of Government arbitration to cut wages." (Ibid. page 190. Our emphasis.)

For the sake of preserving capitalism (the "democratic republic"), the German social-democrats supported reaction:

"And once again the Social Democrats had their way. They 'tolerated' everything and anything for the sake of preserving the democratic republic." (Ibid. p. 193.)

The social democrats formed electoral blocs and supported "democratic" candidates in order to "defeat reaction," to "keep the fascists out at all costs":

"In the spring of 1932, for example, the time for the German Presidential Election fell due. At the previous election, Field Marshall von Hindenburg had been elected by the united reactionary parties, defeating a Social Democratic candidate. At this election, a new candidate appeared in the field — Hitler, the leader of the Fascists. What should the Social Democrats do? If they placed their own candidate in the field, they split the anti-Fascist vote. Hitler might be elected. At all costs they must avoid this. So they decided to support Hindenburg. No Social Democratic candidate was nominated." (Ibid. pp. 193-194. Our emphasis.)



"Victory" was achieved and fascism was "kept out." But life under capitalism does not stand still. The Bruening ministry under Hindenburg's presidency, (the counterpart of the present Daladier government), began to pass over to dictatorial forms and to rule by decree. Wages and social benefits were slashed ferociously, so that the Bruening government was called the government of the "Hunger Decrees". This was capitalist dictatorship a la Daladier, but the German social-democrats told the workers that "democracy" was being defended and hence the government should be supported:

"These reductions were principally effected by the notorious five 'Hunger Decrees', as they came to be known to the German workers, issued by the Bruening Government. For ordinary parliamentary procedure had been abandoned. While it was essential, the Social Democrats assured the workers, to support the Government because it was democratic and constitutional, Herr Bruening actually governed as a dictator." (Ibid. p.195. Our emphasis.)

Strachey in accusing italics exposes this policy of supporting open capitalist dictatorship under the guise of "preserving democracy":

"The application of the policy of the lesser evil had begun in earnest. In order to ward off Fascism, to preserve the principle of democracy, and, avowedly, to preserve the existing Capitalist economic system ('to prevent political and economic chaos'), the Social Democrats had month after month supported a government which had in practice become a dictatorship." (Ibid. pp. 196-197. Emphasis in the original.)

Bruening having outlived his usefulness, Franz von Papen was made chancellor and was in turn supported by social-democracy "to keep out the fascists". The "democratic" government launched military assaults on the workers and their organizations in the manner of Chautemps and Daladier, but

this the social-democrats, like their French counter-part and the Stalinist betrayers, "tolerated". In fact all words, Strachey explains that the pretext of supporting capitalist "democracy" served the social-democrats as a means of preventing the workers from taking the revolutionary path:

"They did all this, they said, in order to obtain, and then to preserve the democratic constitution. Can we, however, as we look back on this whole extraordinary story, accept this explanation? Do not the deeds of the Social Democratic leaders speak far more eloquently than their words? Is it not clear that the only possible explanation for their otherwise incomprehensible policy is that what they feared and dreaded most of all was precisely the overthrow of German Capitalism and the establishment of workers' power?" (Ibid. p. 202.)

We shall give this Stalinist scribbler the answer he wants: YES! It is entirely clear that the social-democrats, the Stalinists, the reformists, the liberals and all those "foes of fascism" who preach the necessity of defending the "democratic" republic from reaction fear first and foremost not reaction but the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers' power.

Meanwhile, the social-democrats were deceiving the workers by pointing to the electoral successes of the "democratic coalition", telling them that this parliamentary horseplay was warding off fascism. More, the electoral successes of the "democratic coalition" even caused some disintegration of the Nazi forces, (just as de la Rocque lost strength after the original Popular Front election in 1936):

"Moreover, as this became apparent, the Social Democrats, to their immense satisfaction, began to observe the first signs of disintegration in the Fascist ranks. The Hitler party began for the first time to lose ground at the elections. The policy of the lesser evil seemed to its authors to be about to be justified." (Ibid. p.207)

This electoral "victory" the social-democrats palmed off as the "defeat" of fascism by the "defense of democracy". But Strachey does not fail to observe that "disintegration" of fascism via the ballot box does not prevent the victory of fascism. On the contrary:

"The Fascists were given power precisely because they were beginning to show signs of disintegration. It was necessary to give Hitler power in the State just because he was losing power with the masses." (Ibid. p. 209. Emphasis in the original.)

There is only this to add to this Stalinist's devastating expose of the treachery of the tactic of "defending democracy against fascism" and that is to state that on January 31, 1933 Hitler was kicked up into power by the "democratic" republic.

What intelligent worker can doubt seeing the course of events in Germany prior to Hitler and the almost exact parallel to these events in present day France, that to place faith in the governments of the "democratic republic", to rely for salvation from fascism on the "defense of bourgeois democracy" means to guarantee the victory of fascism! What thinking worker can doubt that the Stalinist machine which produced such precise and annihilating criticisms of the line of "defense of democracy" is today jointly with Social democracy consciously, deliberately and premeditatedly leading the workers away via the ultra-right zigzag from the path of the overthrow of capitalism and the "establishment of workers' power". Stalinism, resting on the might of the bureaucratically centralized distorted workers state, is the main danger within the ranks of the proletariat. Stalinism, fraudulently basing itself on the prestige of the greatest revolution in history, has infinitely more power and influence than social-democracy ever dreamed of. There can be no salvation for the proletariat from the hells of capitalism prior to the destruction of Stalinism as an ideological force wherever it exists in the ranks of the workers at least in one country.

All history as analyzed by Marx, Engels and Lenin proves conclusively that for the working class there is no salvation except through revolutionary methods. Reformist illusions are the hope of those who either cannot read correctly the warnings of events like those of Germany or France, or those who, terrified to the point of demoralization, relieve their faint hearts with wishful thinking. There is no possibility of improvement of the conditions of working class life while capitalism exists. In France we learn the unmistakable lesson of the futility of any hope for betterment under capitalism. Liberalism or social-democracy in governmental power serves only to open the way to more intense exploitation. Certainly, when faced by an upsurge of the proletariat, the capitalists will momentarily retreat as they did in Germany (1930-1931), and in France (1936). The bourgeoisie with centuries of experience in ruling a vast social structure are skillful and capable in defending their class interests. But only those who are naive or blind to reality will mistake such retreats for defeat and will continue to pin their hopes on reformism. The ruling class knows that the reformists serve only the purpose of misleading proletarian upsurges and of greasing the path of the bourgeoisie back to a recovery of their temporarily lost ground and to new onslaughts against the living conditions of the workers. The French bourgeoisie whose actions we have described in some detail have given us a revealing lesson in class struggle tactics. They have shown the numerous devices, stratagems and maneuvers by which, with the help of the Stalinists, the social-democrats and the petty-bourgeois liberals, they mislead the workers from their true, revolutionary path. The revolutionary worker will not be frightened or demoralized by the strength and resourcefulness of the bourgeoisie, but, understanding the advantages and methods of the ruling class, will say to them: "Very well, you've won so far; but our day will come. We workers have to get rid of the treacherous leaders in our own ranks in order to go after you directly." He will find new courage in his clarity, and kicking the Stalinists, social-democrats

and reformists forever out of his heart, will gird his loins for revolutionary class battles.

Only traitors to the workers, such as the Stalinists, social-democrats and other opportunists, will spread the hateful lie: "It is quite possible to pursue within the framework of the present regime a democratic policy in conformity with the interests of the working masses" (J. Berlioz, Daily Worker, Feb. 25, 1937). The advanced worker, sharply noting every trick of the bourgeoisie, will realize that while the state is capitalist it can serve only the interests of the capitalists. No ministry, no parliament, even if filled to the rafters with "friends of the workers," will do anything but aid the bourgeoisie and assault the workers as long as the capitalist class and its government exist and rule. The Stalinists, resorting to a piece of deception long practiced by the social-democrats and other reformists, are careful to speak about "democracy" in general, thus concealing the reactionary nature of this "democracy", its class character which makes it the weapon of the bourgeoisie for the oppression of the toilers. The Thorez', Cachins and Berlioz' fill the workers' mind with misleading phrases about "developing democracy", about marching forward for "democracy":

"The People's Front is therefore a new step forward for democracy." (M. Thorez, France of the People's Front and Her Mission in the World, p. 65.)

Lenin, on the other hand, taught that the more "developed" and the "purer" this "democracy" became, the more vicious it grew:

"The Marxists have always said that the more developed and the 'purer' democracy becomes, the more naked, sharper, and merciless becomes the class struggle, the 'purer' appears the yoke of capital and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." (V. I. Lenin, The Foundation of the Communist International, p. 10.)

Dimitroff, faithful bootlicker of the Stalinist bureaucracy, tells the workers that a bourgeois democratic government will defend them from reaction, but Lenin teaches and history proves:

"The most democratic bourgeois republic never was and never could be anything else than a machine for the suppressing of the toilers by capital, than the tool of political power of capital, dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XVI, p. 186. Our emphasis.)

And again:

"All Socialists, in explaining the class character of bourgeois civilization, of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois parliamentarianism, have expressed the thought which Marx and Engels spoke out with the greatest scientific exactness when they said that the most democratic bourgeois republic is nothing else but a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, of the mass of toilers by a handful of capitalists." (V. I. Lenin, The Foundation of the Communist International, p. 7. Our emphasis.)

From the Stalinists we hear that there is a middle course, a "third possible course" open to the workers: "Since October 1934, the Communists (sic!) never ceased to maintain that there was a third possible course beside the establishment of Soviets on the one hand and the reactionary policy of the French upper class on the other." (Inprecorr, June 12, 1937, p. 577. Our emphasis.) But it is from Lenin that we learn:

"The chief thing which the Socialists do not understand and which comprises their theoretical shortsightedness, their captivity to bourgeois prejudices and their political treachery in regard to the proletariat, is that in capitalist society, with any kind of serious sharpening of the class struggle which lies at its basis, there can be no middle course save

the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Any dream about any kind of third way is the reactionary lamentation of the petty-bourgeois." (V. I. Lenin, The Foundation of the Communist International, p. 12. Our emphasis.)

Social Democratic-Communist coalition government, or Labor government, or Popular Front government can negate the fact that as long as bourgeois rule of every form has not been annihilated by proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie retain the power to exploit the workers.

History provides only two alternatives to the workers: either destroy bourgeois rule and establish a proletarian dictatorship or continue to suffer enslavement under a bourgeois dictatorship. Especially since the Russian Revolution it has become clear that every government which is not a dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. No verbalisms like

There is no path which can lead the workers to freedom but that of proletarian revolution and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. Every other path, regardless of what sugar-coated slogan may conceal its treacherous nature, can bring the workers only increasing misery and eventually universal fascism.

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IV

HOW THE "OPPOSITION" SHIELDS

STALINISM

**R**EVOLUTIONARY and leftward-moving workers, realizing the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism, often turn to the so-called "Opposition" to the Kremlin clique centering in the Trotskyite and Lovestoneite camps. This is only natural, for the simplest solution of the dilemma

caused by Stalinism seems to be to join those who "oppose Stalinism." But the immense complexity of the class struggle does not permit of "simple" solutions. It is necessary to show that Trotskyism and Lovestoneism do not combat Stalinism in reality, but serve to shield it in various subtle ways.

A) THE TROTSKYITES SHIELD STALINISM

When in 1921-1922 Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev formed their conspiracy to usurp power in the C.P.S.U., Lenin, out of the battle because of illness, placed in Trotsky's hands the duty and task of blocking the designs of the conspirators. Lenin demanded not only in his "Testament" but also in his personal instructions to Trot-

sky\* that means be found to remove Stalin from the post of General Secretary. Trotsky gave Lenin the impression that he accepted Lenin's offer of a bloc to fight the usurpers. From the very start, however, Trotsky betrayed Lenin's trust and deliberately avoided carrying out Lenin's line.\*\* His policy of compromise with Stalin cen-

\* For an account of Lenin's proposed battle against Stalin see "MY LIFE" by Leon Trotsky, pages 478-479, 481-485, 487-488, 505-506.

\*\* For an account of Trotsky's treacherous, compromising policy see the same volume, pages 482, 485-487, 489, 494, 515, 518, 522, 529, 530. Note the following admissions by Trotsky: his opposition to removing Stalin and to split with him

tributed to the victory of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in the Comintern. Trotsky was consequently placed in the position of having to cover-up his own treachery to Lenin by an "attack" on Stalin which was limited wholly to a deceptive verbal barrage. Stalin's deliberate crimes were whitewashed as "mistakes", as "centrism". The ultra-left and ultra-right zigzags, consciously instituted in the Comintern by Stalinism to prevent proletarian revolution, were called "centrist" vacillations which Trotsky pretended to "correct" by sending the Kremlin gang long-winded "appeals", "letters" and "critiques". The ultra-left zigzag was termed "sectarianism" and the ultra-right, "reformism". That both zigzags were not the lurchings of a "mistaken" centrist but were techniques deliberately used by Stalinism to prevent revolution, Trotsky avoided telling the proletariat.

During the period of 1934-1936 when the Stalinists were substituting the ultra-right zigzag for the ultra-left, Trotsky spread the fable that they were beginning to correct their "errors" and he gave them his "acclaim":

"We are ever ready to sincerely acclaim every step the Stalinists take on the correct road." (L. Trotsky, "Whither France", p.26)

Creating the false impression that the Stalinists are revolutionaries, he "advised" these counter-revolutionaries to form workers militias in France, and was "surprised" to learn that they disagree with him, and he informed the workers that the Stalinists "do not want to see" the developing revolutionary situation, thus for the nth time leading the workers into thinking that the Stalinists are honest revolutionaries who for some mysterious reason perpetually make "errors":

"Those who yesterday preached the 'third period' do not want to see what is going on before their eyes." (Ibid. p. 27.)

Trotsky confuses the workers with the fantastic story that the Stalinists are merely committing a series of logical errors:

"But here the strategists, tangled in their own reasoning, bring forward against us still more stupefying arguments." (Ibid. p.28. Our emphasis.)

The fraudulent "united front" with social democrats perpetrated in 1934 by the Stalinists to lull the workers' fears and complaints is hailed by Trotsky as full of "immense possibilities":

"We have already said that the united front of the Socialist and Communist Parties embodies immense possibilities. If only it wants it seriously, it will tomorrow become master in France. But the will must be there." (Ibid. p.43. Our emphasis)

Trotsky has found the "key" to the situation: "The key to the situation is now in the united front." (Ibid. p.43.) And to pile confusion upon confusion, Trotsky calls for a Socialist-Stalinist coalition bourgeois-democratic government:

"The aim of the united front can be only a government of the united front, i.e., a Socialist-Communist government, a Blum-Cachin ministry. This must be said openly. If the united front takes itself seriously — and it is only on this condition that the popular masses will take it seriously — it cannot divest itself of the slogan of conquest of power." (Ibid. p. 44.)

This line of Trotsky's is clearly a de-

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\*\* (Cont'd from previous page) organizationally, his silence on Stalin's original crime of usurpation, his feeble attempt to take a "political holiday", his lack of resistance to removal from offices, his discouraging the desire of younger people to attack Stalin's clique in 1927 when the defeat in China opened an opportunity, etc.

parture from a fundamental principle of Leninism in several respects. First, historical experience has proved conclusively that only a government composed of genuine Bolsheviks as the sole ruling party and coming to power by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can serve the interests of the toiling masses. There is no middle road, no third course in the form of a "government of the united front" which can do anything but work for the bourgeoisie and against the masses. Secondly, Blum, the leader of reformist social-democracy, and Cachin, the leader of counter-revolutionary Stalinism, could in any case head only a political monstrosity which would function on behalf of imperialism and Stalinism. Even if the Stalinists or the social-democrats were genuine Bolsheviks, this proposal of Trotsky's would result, if carried out, in disaster for the workers. Considering what scoundrels the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucrats actually are - how well Trotsky's proposal serves to bolster up the confidence of the workers in these swindlers! - what can this line of Trotsky's be called but a piece of double deception. The "united front", however, was so obviously fraudulent that after a while Trotsky had to "criticise" it to save his face. Hence he informed the workers that the "united front" was "unstable" because the leaders of the Comintern have "lost confidence in themselves":

"True, the Communist International has made a sharp turn on the question of the united front: facts proved themselves more potent than the program. But the program of the Communist International has been neither suppressed nor modified. Its fundamental mistakes have not been explained to the workers. The leaders of the Communist International, who have lost confidence in themselves, are preserving against possible eventualities an avenue of retreat towards the position of social-Fascism'. This has invested the policy of the united front with its unprincipled, diplomatic and unstable character." (Ibid. p. 74. Our emphasis.)

In this passage there is not a single notion that is in any way true. In the first place no "sharp turn" on the question of the united front was made by the Stalinists. The crooked maneuver of 1934 executed to deceive the workers and only one of a consistent series of deceptions is a "sharp turn" only to a person who is hopelessly bankrupt due to a malodorous past of his own which he conceals by reams of bombast. Secondly, there were no "mistakes" in the program of the "Comintern", since it has been deliberately counter-revolutionary ever since it fell into the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy in 1922 - with complete "success" so far. As for Trotsky's psychologizing about the Stalinist bureaucrats' loss of self-confidence, this will dazzle only those who mistake windbagism for Leninism. And finally, the Stalinists were not at the time Trotsky wrote this passage (1936) planning to reinstate the ultra-left (social Fascism) line. On the contrary, they were scheming to pass from the sham "united front" to a full-fledged ultra-right zigzag.

The complete launching of the Popular Front line is described by Trotsky as a "reformist illusion" based on the Stalinists' "inability to understand" Lenin:

"The inability to understand the meaning of Lenin's thesis on 'capitalism in its death throes' has invested the present policies of the French Communist Party with its character of noisy impotence, supplemented by reformist illusions." (Ibid. p. 74. Our emphasis.)

When Dimitroff at the 7th World Congress of the Comintern introduced the Popular Front tactic of supporting a bourgeois government and shrewdly buried this treachery in windy phrases about a "Soviet government" (see above p. 16), Trotsky pretended to take him literally:

"Dimitroff, as well as his inspirers, seriously imagines that it is possible to combine class collaboration with the class struggle, a

bloc with the bourgeoisie with the proletariat's struggle for power, friendship with Daladier with building of Soviets." (Ibid. p.147.)

We have shown that the Stalinists are fully conscious of the fact that Popular Frontism leads the workers away from the revolutionary path and deliberately introduces this zigzag for this specific purpose. Trotsky, however, faithfully babbling after Dimitroff like a school-boy reciting his text, spreads the extremely damaging falsehood that the Stalinists "seriously" want revolution only are "mistaken" in their tactics. The Stalinists "seriously" want "class struggle", the "proletariat's struggle for power" and the "building of Soviets", says Trotsky, only by some "error" they are uniting these principles with subservience to the bourgeoisie. It is thus that ever since his opportunistic surrender to Stalin in 1923 Trotsky has failed to call Stalinism by its right name - conscious counter-revolution - and has helped Stalinism cheat the proletariat.

In another work Trotsky explains that the new "mistake" of the Comintern, Popular Frontism (social-patriotism), flows from Stalin's wrong "theory" of socialism in a single country:

"In the days when the Communist International still played with all the rainbow colors of 'revolutionary defeatism', we warned that from the theory of 'socialism in a single country' there would flow inevitably social-patriotic conclusions with all their treacherous consequences." (L. Trotsky, "On the 7th Congress of the Comintern"; The New International, Oct. 1935, Vol. II, p. 178. Our emphasis.)

Trotsky bases his so-called fight against Stalinism on a wholly idealistic premise. According to Trotsky, the Stalinists are making errors because they have a wrong theory - the theory of socialism in one country. By this kind of argument, Trotsky covers up the criminal materialistic foundation of Stalinism - its usurp-

ation of power - which is the source of the Stalinists' treachery. Stalinism was operating and developing for three years (1921-1924) before it promulgated its "theory" of socialism in one country. The essence of Stalinism is not some "theory" but is its seizure of material power in the Bolshevik Party and Soviet organs. The announcement of the "theory" of socialism in one country was nothing but a demagogic false-front behind which Stalin concealed his previous and subsequent counter-revolutionary maneuvers. The death of Lenin in 1924 gave Stalin an opportune moment to resort to this trickery. Otherwise, instead of centralizing his personal power for three years before employing the smoke-screen of "socialism in one country", he might have done so for five, ten or more years - or he might never have found it necessary to use this particular form of demagogy. Stalinism, nevertheless, would still have been the same. Because Trotsky had betrayed Lenin's line of combatting Stalin's usurpation of power - (Trotsky's "I am against removing Stalin"; Trotsky's denial of the existence of Lenin's testament; etc.) - he could not attack Stalin on these fundamental grounds. To have done so would have entailed an exposure of his own part in helping Stalin centralize his power. Hence, to save his face in view of the way Stalin was making a traditional scapegoat out of him, Trotsky was forced into pretending to take Stalin's "theory" of socialism in one country at its face value. Trotsky's criticisms of Stalin's theory, like all his pretenses to correct Stalin and teach him the ABC of Marxism, are nothing but a camouflage of Trotsky's own double-crossing of Lenin in the struggle against Stalin. By avoiding to expose the true origin of Stalinism and making his fight against Stalin's "theory" the central issue, Trotsky is actually helping to spread the false notion that Stalin has the honest desire to build socialism in the Soviet Union but cannot do so because of a wrong "theory". A better service to Stalin can hardly be imagined, for what can naive workers say but, "Alright, let Stalin try to build socialism in one country and see what happens. Maybe he'll succeed. Who knows?" Thus,

Trotsky's posing the problem in a wrong light forces many workers into a position of neutrality, of watchful waiting with regard to Stalin's counter-revolutionary activities, or even into a direct support of Stalin.

But merely his confusing of the French proletariat on the nature of Stalinism did not satisfy Trotsky. In a series of verbal acrobatics which have become known as "Trotsky's literary style", he posed the proposition that the hopes of the French proletariat must be pinned on — social-democracy!

"The destiny of the proletariat depends, in a large measure, in our epoch, upon the resolute manner with which the social-democracy will succeed in the brief interval which is vouchsafed it by the march of development, in breaking with the bourgeois state, in transforming itself and in preparing itself for the decisive struggle against Fascism." (The New International, September-October 1934, Vol. 1, p. 70.)

Despite all the qualifications covering up this complete break with Leninism

\* " etc.; - the thought therein is clear and is followed up by the order to Trotsky's French followers to enter the social-democratic party to "help" revolutionize social-democracy. Speaking of his French organization, Trotsky says:

"It can occupy such a place under present conditions in no other way than by entering the socialist party." (Ibid. p. 71.)

Leninism recognizes social-democracy as the agent of the bourgeoisie operating within the ranks of the proletariat. Its primary purpose is to prevent the passage of the working class to revolutionary methods of settling accounts with capitalism. Today social-democracy in the Popular Front is working hand in glove with the Stalinists, following them in a secondary position in this counter-revolutionary maneuver. Leninism recognizes that social-democracy can never

break with the bourgeois State. Social-democracy will hold back the proletariat until fascism makes a direct bid for power. It will then either make a despairing and desperate attempt to save its face by flinging the workers against fascism when the victory of the latter is already a foregone conclusion (Austria) or it will actually attempt to come to an agreement with fascism (Germany, where the social-democrats gave Hitler a vote of confidence) or, in the face of an actual military uprising by the fascists as in Spain, it will collaborate with the bourgeoisie in preventing proletarian revolution and thus will indirectly assist the fascists. But since fascism does not find it necessary to compromise with social-democracy, the victory of fascism results in the destruction of social-democracy. The final result of social-democracy is to lead both the proletariat and itself into disaster. It is because Lenin realized that social-democracy will bind the proletariat to the bourgeoisie to the very last gasp that he proclaimed the absolute necessity of a clear and permanent organizational break with it. To preach reliance on social-democracy or some vague hope that social-democracy will break with the bourgeoisie is to open the road to the victory of fascism. Thus from his opportunist line toward Stalin in 1925-26 and his sharp break with basic Leninist principles, Trotsky's political degeneration follows an uninterrupted path.

The American Trotskyite, James Burnham, has written a pamphlet called "The People's Front; the new betrayal", which is merely a weary repetition of the misrepresentations and confusion spread by Trotsky - with perhaps a few original "inventions" by Burnham himself.

The ultra-left zigzag of 1929-1933, Stalinism's deliberate betrayal in Germany, is described as a "mistake", as "sectarianism":

"It was the class-collaborationist policy of German Social Democracy (combined with the suicidal sectarianism of the German Commun-



ist Party) which left the German middle class easy prey for Hitler." (J. Burnham, "The People's Front; the New Betrayal", 1937, p. 30. Our emphasis.)

Now, says Burnham, the Stalinists are turning "reformist" because they refuse to let their "shielded eyes" see the approaching revolutionary situation:

"The reformist leadership of the Socialist Party of France, on the other hand, and the Stalinists, just then turning reformist under the impulse of the new orientation of the Comintern, had quite different views. The depth of the crisis made no impression on their shielded eyes. The approach of a revolutionary situation? Mere fantasy." (Ibid. p. 40. Our emphasis.)

The denial of a revolutionary crisis when there is one and the exaggeration of the "revolutionary crisis" when there is actually none are simply part of the Stalinists' machinations to mislead the workers and prevent them from taking the revolutionary road. But to the Trotskyites, if we were to take them seriously, the Stalinists indulge in these treacherous antics because of "shielded eyes". Burnham gives the Stalinists credit for having at one time put up a "fighting struggle" on behalf of the workers; now, because of their "reformism" they are abandoning their "noble" work of the past - (exemplified doubtless by their counter-revolutionary treachery in Germany prior to Hitler):

"The policy of class-collaboration forces the Stalinists to abandon more and more the fighting struggle for economic demands, and through that struggle the raising of the level of class-consciousness, for the attempt to come to agreements with the bureaucrats, to settle disputes through deals behind the scenes, to rely on governmental arbitration boards and mediators." (Ibid. p. 56. Our emphasis.)

To the Trotskyites the ultra-left sabotage and demagogy with its union busting, its identification of social-

democracy with fascism and its murderous assault on the social-democratic workers whom the Stalinist bureaucracy branded "Little Zorgebels" was a "fighting struggle for economic demands". It is thus that the Trotskyites who describe Stalinism's conscious betrayals as "errors" play into the hands of Stalinism and bear responsibility for its existence.

After page upon page of such criminal confusion, Burnham in his last chapter reveals what he optimistically calls "The Real Meaning of the Popular Front". The Stalinists, it seems, are fine fellows who are basically trying to build their country up, to achieve "national self-sufficiency", and hence endeavor to maintain the "status quo":

"Now, since Stalinism conceives its problems in terms of national self-sufficiency, it looks upon the solution of the question of the Soviet Union as resting, first, upon a maintenance of the status quo as long as this is possible (during which time self-sufficiency will be built up); and, when the war comes, an alliance with whatever bourgeois nations are willing, in order to prosecute the war successfully." (Ibid. p. 62. Our emphasis.)

Here again it is plain that by concealing the true role of Stalinism, the conscious prevention of revolution which is its aim first and foremost, the Trotskyites help Stalinism spread its poisonous influence. Reading Burnham, a naive worker, especially if he has come in contact with Stalinism, will exclaim: "What is so bad about trying to build national self-sufficiency? What of it if Stalin makes a few errors? Are a few errors so bad in comparison to making the workers' fatherland invincible? Just leave Stalin alone, you Trotsky-fascist Burnham, and he will establish socialism completely and irrevocably." Again the Trotskyites begin their "polemic" with an acceptance of the lies of Stalinism as the basis of their arguments. The Stalinist bureaucracy knows just as well as Burnham that the "status quo" cannot be maintained; that in the present period the world

must rapidly move either in the direction of proletarian revolution or of universal fascism and imperialist war. The primary fear of the Stalinist bureaucracy is proletarian revolution with which it cannot compromise and which will rapidly wipe Stalinism off the face of the earth. With fascism Stalin can compromise as he has done and is doing and can maneuver with various groups of imperialists to stave off as long as possible the inevitable attack on the Soviet Union. What Burnham brightly paints as "national self-sufficiency" is nothing but the wealth created by the workers and peasants and in enormous quantities appropriated by the bureaucracy.

Burnham accordingly links the Comintern line with Stalinism's foreign policy. Since Stalinism, according to the Trotskyites, is trying to maintain the "status quo", it must have allies amongst the imperialists. Hence it sells out to some of them via the ultra-right zigzag:

"Stalinism must, therefore, make clear to its potential allies that it is dependable; and it must aid its potential or actual allies in their own preparation for war. It must show, that it is to say, that in return for a military alliance it will do its part in suppressing the class struggle and the proletarian revolution, in bringing about national unity, within the allied nations. The Popular Front is a major device whereby just this is done." (Ibid. p. 63.)

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B) THE LOVESTONEITES SHIELD STALINISM

Trotsky attracts followers largely by his prestige as the co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Revolution, who, while he was faithful to Lenin's line, did undeniably superb work. Lovestone, however, can boast of nothing but unusual shrewdness as a wire-puller. Lovestone carried out all of Stalin's policies without a murmur of criticism while he was still a leader of the American Stalinist Party (approval of elimination of Brandler and Thalheimer from the lead-

If the Comintern line is related to Stalinism's foreign policy of maintaining the "status quo", how does Burnham explain the following contradiction: that in the years up to 1933 Stalinism in its foreign policy had "friendly" relations with the German imperialists; but from 1929 to 1933 the Comintern line in Germany shrieked night and day for the overthrow of German imperialism. The Comintern line and Stalinism's foreign policy are not dependent on each other. The Comintern line has only one basic purpose: to prevent proletarian revolution by either the ultra-left or the ultra-right zigzag. It is true that today the ultra-right zigzag and the existence of the Franco-Soviet Pact give an appearance of plausibility to the notion that the Comintern line is part of Stalin's foreign policy. We may rest assured, however, that should the final victory of General Franco in Spain cause an intense dissatisfaction with the present ultra-right line, especially in France, an ultra-left zigzag will follow. Nevertheless Stalin will try to continue his alliance with France.

After piling deception upon deception and completely confusing the workers on the nature of Stalinism, Burnham paints himself as a staunch anti-Stalinist and calls for "an unrelenting struggle against Stalinism". Thus the Burnhams serve to cover up the crimes of both Stalinism and Trotskyism.

ership of the German party and of Stalin's treacherous line in China in 1925-1927; support of the fake "theory" of building socialism in the Soviet Union alone; hounding Stalin's chief scape-goat, Trotsky, etc. etc.). Lovestone represented a stage in the process of bureaucratically centralizing the Comintern and in the passage to a higher stage was eliminated by Stalin. \*

Lovestone's game has been to pre-

\* For a detailed account of Lovestone's chicanery, see STALIN, TROTSKY or LENIN by George Marlen, 1937.

sent a fraudulent criticism of Stalin while perpetuating and helping to spread the lies of the Stalinist bureaucracy. As a face-saver, Lovestone railed against the bureaucracy but stuck close enough to it with his "friendly criticism" to retain some hope of being called back into the Stalinist machine. Stalin, however, for whom there is no turning back on the path of counter-revolution, will have nothing of Lovestone. The assassination of Bukharin has finally forced Lovestone to "break" with Stalin — as Trotsky "broke" with Stalin, we may add.

Before Bukharin was murdered, the Lovestone leadership painted what was actually the bureaucratic centralization of the Workers' State as the "building of socialism." The Lovestoneites pointed to the huge industrial machine that has been created in the Soviet Union as "socialist foundations," glossing over the counter-revolutionary political features of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Since the Lovestoneite chieftains had been ousted from their cherished positions in the bureaucratic machine, they had to keep up a pseudo-criticism of the lack of "democratic centralism" and a "collective leadership" in the Comintern. What this meant in plain language was that they wanted back their jobs in the Stalinist hierarchy.

To account for the zigzags in the Comintern line, the Lovestoneites set up a theory which to date has hardly been exceeded in its fantastic nature. This is their well-known "gap theory." According to this notion, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was engaged in "constructing socialism" in the U.S.S.R., dominated bureaucratically the entire Comintern. Due to its mighty preoccupation with the construction of "socialism" it failed to grasp the conditions existing in the rest of the world. Hence whenever it had to give the Comintern a "line", it simply transformed the policy it was following in Russia in the "socialist construction" into an international "line". If the tempo of "socialist construction" was slow at the moment, the Comintern was given an ultra-Right line; if "socialist construction" was proceeding rapidly, the Comintern was

blessed with an ultra-Left line.

"The basic cause of the crisis in the Comintern is to be found in the gap that has developed between the victorious proletarian revolution and the steady development of Socialism in the USSR, on the one hand, and the 'retarded' development of the proletarian revolution in the capitalist world on the other." (Communist Party of the USA (Opposition); "Where We Stand," 1934, Vol. II, p. 36. Our emphasis.)

The ultra-Left line which did so much for Hitler was seen to be caused by the "mechanical transference" of methods from Russia where "socialism" was being built fast and furiously — (always prior to Bukharin's demise, please remember) — to Germany where Stalinist "socialism" had not yet descended on the proletariat:

"The real basic source of the ultra-left course is seen by the International Communist Opposition in the false transference of the methods and forms of struggle corresponding to a country in which the working class has already triumphed and in which socialism is being built, to the Communist Parties of those countries in which the majority of the working class has still to be won over and the prerequisite for taking up the struggle for power have still to be created." (Ibid., p. 15. Our emphasis.)

The "mechanical transference" of the various factional struggles within Russia, (which actually were nothing but Stalin's smoke screens to hide the bureaucratic centralization of the State), to the Comintern also caused the zigzags:

"A further cause is the mechanical transference of the factional struggles within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Comintern and its sections." (Ibid. p. 15.)

We have but to synthesize these notions into a single formula to realize what amazing gibberish these "theories" of the Lovestoneites amount to. In

brief, the Lovestoneites told the workers that the party which was "constructing socialism" in one sixth of the world and was there forever liberating mankind from the horrors of capitalism was consistently giving the proletariat in the rest of the world a series of "lines" which have led and are leading it into the hell of fascism. Stalin and his gang had their nose so deeply buried in "socialist construction" that they didn't have the time to take a peek into the capitalist world about them and find out what the real conditions there were. Consequently, — lazy dogs that they were! — they "simply" extended their policy of "socialist construction" into the capitalist world, and as one fascist triumph followed another, consoled themselves by building a little more "socialism." And this hair-raising fairy tale was solemnly offered by the Lovestoneites as "Marxist criticism"!

Having white-washed the ultra-Left counter-revolutionary sabotage as being based on "socialist construction," the Lovestoneite apologists for Stalin were given a new field in which to confuse the workers when the ultra-Right zigzag broke loose in 1934-35. Lovestone's tactic has been to keep a little to the right of Stalin when the latter was to the left, and a little to the left when Stalin was to the right. This was done to create the illusion that Lovestone, while recognizing that Stalin was "constructing socialism," retained his "independence" of thought. When the Popular Front was already in full blast, Lovestone published a pamphlet called "The People's Front Illusion" in which he "criticizes" Stalinism.

Since this was written before Bukharin's assassination, — (Lovestone justified the murder of Zinoviev, Kamenev and other "Trotskyites") — Lovestone was still able to find "nobility" in the motives of the Stalinist bureaucracy:

"As an even momentary (sic!) break with communist principles, such moves are costly beyond calculation or repair — regardless of the nobility of the motives animat-

ing the tacticians." (J. Lovestone, "The People's Front Illusion", 1937, p. 5. Our emphasis.)

Friendliness for the Stalinist counter-revolutionaries oozes constantly from the pen of Lovestone: "the comrades in the leadership of the Comintern," "Comrades Browder and Hathaway," "Our official comrades," etc. page after page.

The swing from ultra-Leftism to ultra-Rightism is due, according to Lovestone, to the "un-Marxian" methods of the Stalinists; they are in a "panic," or, as Trotsky would say, they have lost self-confidence:

"Applying an equally un-Marxian method today, and moved by despair over the defeats brought on by the ultra-left course, the Comintern has flown in panic to the ultra-right strategy of the People's Front." (Ibid., p. 8.)

According to Lovestone, it was because the Stalinists were heart-broken over what happened to the workers in Germany, you see, and not because they had to forestall a revolution in France and Spain that the change in zigzag occurred. But there were apparently redeeming features even in this new betrayal. Lovestone blandly tells us that the Stalinists responded to pressure from their followers and formed a "united front" in France:

"Soon the spontaneous movement for proletarian unity of action forced the leaders of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party to have their parties enter into a united front and to insure trade union unity." (Ibid. p. 25-26. Our emphasis.)

Like Trotsky, Lovestone entirely avoids exposing the spurious nature of this "united front", or the utilization by the Stalinists of this work of treachery to pacify their disgruntled victims the better to deceive them in the future.

Lovestone, who had behind him the majority of the members of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. was tricked

into going to Moscow and bureaucratically kicked out of his position by the bandits in the Kremlin, has the incredible effrontery to delude the workers into thinking that the Stalinist leaders "correct" their policies because of pressure "from below"! Lovestone, who knows by the welts in his own hide, exactly how the Stalinist machine is run! Can this be termed anything but conscious bootlicking of Stalin, anything but deliberate betrayal of the proletariat? It is in this way that Trotsky and Lovestone by palming off outright criminality as the "correction" of "errors" rob the workers of their critical vigilance and help Stalinism perpetrate its villainy. When the Stalinists make their inevitable swing to an ultra-left course, will Trotsky and Lovestone again hail the first cautious steps in the total betrayal as "correction" of "errors"? Will they add another peak to the veritable mountain range of confusion they have already piled up on the revolutionary path? Lest it be thought that we are merely indulging our indignation for the sake of literary effect, it must be made clear that Lovestone already indicates a "possibility" that the Stalinists will "return" to what he fondly calls a "revolutionary position". Speaking of the French "anti-fascist" decrees passed by the Popular Front government he says:

"They are all so worded as to be unable against the Communist Party when and if it returns to a revolutionary position." (Ibid. p. 73, Our emphasis.)

The Stalinists' pretense of opposing the sabotage of the workers of Spain by the French Popular Front government is seconded by Lovestone and sold to the workers as honest intentions - not perfect, it is true, but an effort in the correct direction nevertheless:

"The blockade of Spain by the French People's Front government has aroused so much ire amongst the workers, that the Communist Party was compelled to criticize verbally, at least, this policy of the government and to show its disapproval by abstaining from voting for the gov-

ernment on one occasion." (Ibid. p. 75. Our emphasis.)

Nowhere in the pamphlet do we find any statement ~~that to abstain from voting~~ when voting against is the duty of a revolutionary, is to support a reactionary measure.

Readers of Lovestone's pamphlet, if they are not clear as to what Stalinism is, i.e., deliberate counter-revolution, will be taken in by the great deal of seemingly correct surface criticism of Popular Frontism it contains. The same holds true of the writings on this subject by the Trotskyites, the anarchists and even some liberals. It is no great feat to show that in its surface features, in its outline form Popular Frontism follows the tracks beaten long ago by reformist Social-democracy. But to do this does not in itself constitute a Leninist criticism of Stalinism. Practically all of the so-called critics of Stalinism present certain distortions. Thus, they will all maintain that the Comintern line is dependent on the foreign policy of Stalinism. They will point out in "criticism" that the "Comintern" line is a "mistake" in that it is not effecting what they imagine is its purpose, namely, to "fight fascism" or to prevent war. Only when it is clearly understood that the "Comintern" line has nothing to do with fighting fascism and that its one and only basic purpose is to prevent proletarian revolution, can a correct analysis of Stalinism be made. When this concept and the evidence we presented for it are held clearly in mind, the critic of Stalinism will be able to avoid attributing -- directly or by implication -- good intentions but bad practice to the Kremlin clique of counter-revolutionaries. Only along these lines of genuine and fundamental criticism will workers be kept from harboring the dangerous illusion that some day Stalinism will "correct" itself and become "once more" a "revolutionary" movement.

"Criticism" a la Lovestone, however, has the effect of telling the workers to wait until Stalinism has a change of heart -- i. e., to march

straight into the grave that is being dug for them by Stalinism with the help of its "friendly critics". Lovestone was going to "help" Stalinism turn honest:

"Under the existing conditions, the International Communist Opposition and its sections set themselves the task of helping (sic!) the Comintern and its sections return to communist principles." (Ibid., p. 84. Our emphasis.)

While Stalin, who has marched so far forward on the road of counter-revolution that even a Lovestone is too far behind him, spits in the face of his old lackey, Lovestone, the latter gave his former master who laid down, through Dimitroff, the policy of the Popular Front, some "advice":

"In France, the Communist Party should begin to turn away and win the working class away from the People's Front, so that there may be created the political and organizational prerequisites for shifting from the present policies of parliamentary bourgeois democratic coalition to the field of determined extra-parliamentary struggles for immediate demands." (Ibid. p.79)

Stalin has but to find the time to read the epistles of Lovestone and all will be well; Stalinism can yet save the proletariat:

"Once the Communist Party drops the People's Front, it will return to the fulfillment of its elementary duty of combining communist propaganda with striving for these immediate objectives. It will thus prepare the ground for revolutionary transition slogans and a struggle for the reorganization of economy on a socialist basis, for the ultimate aims of communism." (Ibid. p. 82.)

What more vicious misleading poison can a traitor pour into the mind of the proletariat! Instead of warning the workers to beware of the new ultra-Left zigzags that the Stalintern has in store for them, this Judas teaches them to hope for leadership from Stalinism in the fight "for the ultimate aim of Communism". Unless the proletariat learns the real nature of Stalinism, its history and its methods of betraying the masses, there is nothing to look forward to but the victory of fascism in Spain and France in the near future and of universal fascism ultimately.

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V

THE COMING IMPERIALIST WAR  
AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

**T**HE masses again face the danger of being slaughtered in a new war. One fact of basic importance stands out in the present chaotic situation. Despite all difficulties and hesitation, the imperialists are slowly but surely forming a united front against the Soviet Union. Up to 1917 the imperialists were in a strong enough position internally to make war upon each other, for the forces of proletarian revolution had not yet directly threatened

world imperialism. Thus, the Franco-British group of imperialists could afford to engage in a gigantic war against the Austro-German. But since the October Revolution and the creation of a Workers State and the accelerated decline of international capitalism, the fundamental threat to the imperialist is the existence of the proletarian state, even in its present distorted form, and new proletarian revolutions. Hence in the present historical period, this conflict between the

workers state and world imperialism must be settled before the conflicts amongst the imperialist plunderers themselves.

World imperialism has chosen Germany as the spear-head of this attack to be made upon the Soviet Union. "Democratic" France and England are working hand in glove with Hitler in his drive to the East. English, French and American capital financed and stabilized the Nazi regime from the very beginning. The Nazi militarization of the Rhineland and the surrender of the Saar Basin to Hitler met with a "strange" lack of opposition from the "democracies" while the Nazi seizure of Austria was executed with the ill-disguised aid of British imperialism and the tacit consent of French capital. The dismemberment of Czechoslovakia has been accomplished with the direct assistance of English and French imperialism and the indirect help of the "democratic" American government whose fraudulent protestations of neutrality and love of peace serve as a cover for its collusion with German fascism. The road to the East is being opened for German fascism by world imperialism in every way possible. The consummation of a four-power pact or entente by England, Germany, France and Italy is an historic landmark in this coming war of world imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The imperialists are using the cleverly planned war scare as a means of bludgeoning the masses into accepting the concessions being made to Hitler. The formation of a united front of the imperialists against the Soviet Union will, of course, be paraded as a measure of "peace" and its real anti-Soviet nature will remain carefully unmentioned. In these imperialist machinations, the French Popular Front government plays a very active and willing part. Thus, the negotiations of Chamberlain and Hitler were actually suggested by Daladier according to his own statement:

"In a communique issued late this evening Premier Edouard Daladier in some ways claimed credit for the suggestion, for he always has

been a partisan of a get-together policy with Germany, and late last evening, he suggested by telephone to Mr. Chamberlain that something should be done for having something like a three-power conversation to consider the situation. In his statement this evening M. Daladier said: 'At the end of yesterday afternoon, in the presence of a rapid sequence of events in Czechoslovakia, which made local negotiations difficult, I took the initiative in establishing direct personal contact with the British Prime Minister with a view to examining with him the possibility of attempting exceptional procedure that would permit an examination with Germany of the most effective means of assuring a friendly solution of the differences that separate the Sudetens and the Prague government and, in consequence, of maintaining peace in Europe.'" (N.Y. Times, Sept. 15, 1938. Our emphasis.)

Daladier's "I took the initiative" gives the lie to the Stalinists who try to give the impression that the French imperialists are helpless lumps of dough in the hands of the British "Tories". French imperialism (and its tool the Popular Front government), like every imperialism, seeks a common front against the Soviet Union. The destruction of the Workers State is equally the aim of all the imperialists, "democratic" or fascist.

In any war that French imperialism wages, the aim of class-conscious workers must be the complete defeat of French imperialism and the conversion of the imperialist war into a war against imperialism for the creation of a French Soviet Republic. The nature of any war waged by French imperialism is determined only by the predatory aims of the French ruling class, the capitalists, and not whether France is an "aggressor" or "defender" or by the nature of France's allies. No war fought by France while it is under capitalism can be anything but wholly reactionary and designed to bring about still greater oppression and exploitation of the masses. The class conscious French workers who have been

forced into the imperialist army must practice fraternization with the soldiers in the "enemy" forces so that by the united efforts of the international proletariat world capitalism can be destroyed and a socialist society created. Basing themselves upon the nature of the situation (degree of class-consciousness of the workers, strength of capitalist reaction and terrorism, etc.) the French workers must make every effort possible to prevent the French war machine from carrying out its plans. Sabotage of the imperialist war machine will be of most value when best organized and of least value when indiscriminate and planless. If the French workers are thrown against the Red Army, the revolutionists in the French imperialist forces must enlighten the Russian workers as to the criminal nature of Stalinism — it should not be imagined that the Russian masses have a clear political grasp of the reactionary character of Stalinism, for within the Soviet Union the bureaucrats

practice a vast blinding demagoguery—and spread revolutionary propaganda amongst the Russian toilers. Stalin's consistent policy of preventing proletarian revolution and compromising with imperialism must be exposed before the Russian masses, for they suffer under the illusions created by the huge Stalinist propaganda machine which spreads far and wide Stalin's fakery. The necessity of fighting a revolutionary war for the complete defeat of imperialism, rather than the limited, bureaucratic war to compromise with imperialism which Stalin will wage must be impressed on the Russian toilers by the class conscious workers of France. The profound need to destroy Stalinism and every other opportunism, if the masses are to be freed from capitalist oppression, must be made the knowledge of all the toilers of all the armies in the coming war.

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STALINISM'S GAME

The charge that the Stalinist bureaucrats, in order to prevent proletarian revolution, are deliberately leading the workers to defeat will seem incredible only to those who have been deceived into thinking that the Stalin clique is "fighting fascism". The Stalin bureaucracy has but one fundamental aim: to preserve itself with all its privileges in power and, if possible, to increase its might and wealth. In this design, however, it is threatened on two fronts. First, any revival of the proletarian revolution begun in October 1917 will restore the trend to a genuine socialist society with which the existence of Stalinism is incompatible. Secondly, world imperialism, with German fascism as its spear-point, stands prepared to accomplish its basic task of the present historical period, i.e., the destruction of the Workers State. With proletarian revolution, Stalinism has never compromised and can never compromise. From the very beginning of his control of the Comintern (1922), Stalin

has been preventing proletarian revolution through the ultra-Right and ultra Left zigzags. The conflict between the Workers State and imperialism, after the violent clash of 1918-1921, passed into a stage of "peace" that is really a breathing spell during which imperialism is gathering its strength for a new and final attack. The end of this "armistice" is now visible. The building up of the imperialist front has not proceeded all in one leap, but rather in partial moves. The absolute necessity for imperialism to smash the German working class has already been fulfilled. The crushing of the French proletariat is the next imperialist requirement and is fast approaching its fulfillment. The lining up of Central Europe under the heel of German fascism is reaching its completion.

Stalin's policy of preventing



proletarian revolution has immensely benefited imperialism and has facilitated its passing over to the fascist form of rule. From this, however, it should not be imagined that Stalinism prefers fascism to bourgeois-democracy. In fact, we may safely assume that the opposite is true. The dilemma of Stalinism is that the destruction of its enemy-from-the-left, proletarian revolution, endows its enemy-from-the-right, world imperialism, with its maximum power by easing its passage to its best fighting form, fascism.

There arise in the mind of the reader these questions: Do not the rulers in the Kremlin know that world imperialism, with German fascism as its spear-head, plans war against the Soviet Union; Doesn't Stalinism know that the imperialists, "democratic" and fascist, plan to bury their differences temporarily and launch a united attack on the U.S.S.R.? Our answer is: Yes! the Stalinist bureaucracy is entirely conscious of all these things. We have never questioned the intelligence or ability of Stalin and his henchmen. They have built themselves a huge political machine with millions of officials and hangers-on. They very "intelligently" fleece the workers and peasants through lucrative jobs and numerous social and economic privileges. They have built a mighty military machine which they dominate with great "ability". What then is the game that Stalinism is playing?

The ultimate scheme of Stalinism may be outlined as follows. As long as possible it preserved itself by preventing the overthrow of capitalism in the rest of the world and by tagging itself on to one or another of the imperialist groups. This way of prolonging its life, however, is definitely becoming impossible, for a united imperialist attack on the Soviet Union is looming in the near future. Stalinism will handle this imperialist attack in two ways. First, the Red Army will fight furiously with all its technical resources and with the tremendous courage that only workers defending their country which they believe is theirs can show. This will serve to stave off immediate defeat. Sec-

ondly, behind the backs of the workers, the Stalinist clique, always fearing proletarian revolution, will dicker with the imperialists for a cessation of the war; promising them various concessions. Stalinism will say to the imperialists: Gentlemen, if this war continues — and it will very likely drag on for a couple of years at least since we're a huge country with vast man-power and a brave, self-sacrificing population — you face the danger of proletarian revolution in your own back yard. Remember what happened to you as a result of the war of 1914-1918. Therefore, if you know what side your bread is buttered on, you will listen to reason and accept the offers we are willing to make. If you agree to peace, we will modify our state monopoly of foreign trade and will allow you a certain amount of freedom to trade in the Russian market. We will permit you to invest capital in Russia either in enterprises you build yourselves or in Russian production directly. We may even give you some pieces of property and territory, as we "sold" to the Japanese imperialists the Chinese-Eastern Railway of vast military importance and as we gave Japan the Amur Islands not so long ago at Japan's first show of strength. It is true that this will convert us bureaucrats into a compradore class, living, like the Chinese bourgeoisie, by the grace of foreign imperialism, but that we prefer to being put out of existence altogether by a world proletarian revolution. We bureaucrats will reinvest our surplus incomes in Russian production. In order to win the support of our 100,000,000 peasants, we will grant them private ownership of the land. By such devices we will slowly but surely drag Russia back to capitalism. You needn't worry about the Russian workers being able to resist this counter-revolutionary development for we have them well in hand. We have already robbed them of all political and economic rights, the latter being entirely in our grasp. We have completely befuddled the workers ideologically so that politically they are paralyzed and have them under iron control through G.P.U. terrorism. We have raised demagoguery to a fine art so that we can explain away every bit of

our counter-revolution as "building socialism". Thus, when we give the land to the peasants and open the nationalized industries to individual investors, we will describe this as a passage to the higher stage of communism. As for ceding territory to you and giving you economic concessions, this we will be able to talk away very easily. We will simply point to the fact that Lenin himself was willing to cede territory to German imperialism for the sake of peace and urgently advised the granting of concessions to foreign capitalists as a means of building up Soviet economy. The road is clear, therefore, if you will only come to an understanding with us.

Whether or not ~~the~~ imperialists accept these terms will depend on their strength as compared with that of the international proletariat. If a new revolutionary movement does not arise to overthrow capitalism on a sufficient scale to prevent the crushing of the Soviet Union, then there is small likelihood that the imperialists will accept the offers of the Stalin bureaucracy. World imperialism, if unhindered by proletarian revolution, has sufficient material and military strength to destroy the Soviet Union and dismember it. It is purely wishful thinking to hold that the economy of Russia, still considerably inferior to that of the advanced capitalist nations, will be sufficient to resist

a united imperialist onslaught. While the equipment that the Red Army has now is excellent in many respects, to imagine that in the production of military supplies the Soviet Union can compete with world imperialism is sheer utopianism of a perfectly idiotic sort. Nor can any comfort be found in the recollection that the Red Army of 1918-1921, despite its great inferiority in equipment as compared with the imperialists, could nevertheless defeat its enemies. In the days of Lenin the Red Army was backed by a revolutionary political and military line. Under Stalinism, which will fight only to compromise with imperialism, the Red Army will wage a wholly bureaucratic war without ~~the~~ slightest element of revolutionary policy. Unless the world proletariat succeeds in freeing itself from the bonds of Stalinism, Socialdemocracy, Trotskyism, Lovestoneism and other forms of opportunism and in overthrowing capitalism, the destruction of the Soviet Union is a certainty. If world proletarian revolution does not arise to destroy capitalism as a whole, there is no alternative but a descent, after an interlude of universal fascism, into indescribable barbarism.

Not Dimitroff's "democracy" or fascism is the choice. The true historical alternatives are socialism or barbarism.

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## VI

### WHAT IS TO BE DONE



THE defeat of the proletarian revolution in the advanced countries of Europe at the end of the World War and the bureaucratic distortion of the first Workers' State have thrown the working class back many years. To an extent it faces today the task that it did in the days of Marx and Engels and later of Lenin, with this advantage — today there al-

ready exists the body of political science created by Marx, Engels and Lenin. If the proletariat is to escape a descent through universal fascism into barbarism, there is one, and only one task that it must fulfill: a new revolutionary party and international must be forged out of the vanguard of the proletariat as the only means whereby the world can be led out

of the disasters of capitalism to the freedom of socialist society. Only by building a new revolutionary movement, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, can we isolate and destroy the influence of Stalinism, Social-democracy, Trotskyism, Lovestoneism, reformism and all other species of deception that plague the workers' ranks.

By vanguard of the proletariat we mean those advanced workers, who, sharply realizing the horrors of capitalism and the unavoidability of a descent into barbarism unless the world is saved by proletarian revolution in the advanced nations, are willing to unite and act to build a revolutionary leadership based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The predominant concentration of this workers vanguard is found today in the ranks of the Stalinist parties, of Social-democracy, of the Trotskyites, Lovestoneites and other opportunist groups, and in the large section of society which, having passed through or in some way been in contact with them, is under their ideological influence. The turn-over in the Stalinist and other counter-revolutionary movements in the workers' ranks is enormous and the persons of all classes under their ideological control are far greater in number than mere party membership. To give only a rough idea of how many persons can be influenced by a comparatively small organization in a country where the revolutionary crisis has not yet broken in its full fury? it is estimated that at least 250,000 persons have passed through the Stalinist party in the U.S. since its formation — to say nothing of its numerous dependent organizations. In a country like France, of course, literally millions are dominated by the poison of Stalinism. Generally speaking, the strength of Stalinism does not reside necessarily in the number of persons under its influence at any given moment. Its power lies in the confusion and misconceptions of ~~the masses who mistake~~ Stalinism for Leninism. Stalinism in England, where numerically the Stalinists are at present insignificant, is as much the main danger in the ranks of the pro-

letariat as it is in France or Spain where millions have already fallen into the Stalinist trap. The case of Spain is especially in point, for in that country the Stalinists as late as 1931 had only a few hundred members in their party, with only fourteen members in Madrid before the overthrow of the monarchy. When the Spanish situation became revolutionary, however, tens of thousands of workers, deluded into thinking that Stalinism represents the October revolution, flocked into the "Party of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin", so that today it has an estimated 400,000 members with millions under its counter-revolutionary spell. In France the outburst of proletarian activity in 1936 caused the ranks of the Stalinist party to swell similarly. It is absolutely certain that with the occurrence of every revolutionary crisis, if Stalinism has not been exposed for the vicious anti-working class force that it is, the workers will inevitably be tricked into trusting and following this menace and will be led into one disaster after another. There is no escaping Stalinism except by meeting it face to face with the weapon of Leninist exposure and destroying it.

Stalinism, the main enemy in the ranks of the proletariat, and all the organizations which, because of their opportunist line, indirectly shield and support Stalinism, will be destroyed only by winning the vanguard of the workers to Marxism-Leninism. Except through the winning of the proletarian vanguard to a Marxist-Leninist position, there can be no hope of disintegrating the influence of Stalinism and its subsidiary and supporting movements, and hence no hope of saving the toiling masses from unspeakable degradation. As long as Stalinism can find a foothold in the proletariat, it will be able to repeat the betrayals it perpetrated in Germany and is now perpetrating in France and Spain. Prior to destroying the influence of Stalinism in the ranks of the workers a successful revolution is impossible. Only the horrors of Germany, France and Spain can be the prospect. Stalinism must be destroyed in at least one important country. To defeat Stalinism itself,

and the half-Stalinists-from-the-left such as the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, a new revolutionary party must be built out of the vanguard of the proletariat. A revolutionary party can be built only in terms of winning the vanguard of the proletariat to Marxism-Leninism.

What are the stages through which such a new movement will pass? This question can be answered only in outline form.

First a few individuals will realize the true nature of the Stalinist, Social-democratic, Trotskyite, Lovestoneite and other betrayals of Marxism. These individuals will grow to a group by person-to-person contact, discussion and propaganda in a way something similar to the process in Russia prior to the foundation of the revolutionary party. Study circles will be used to expose every variety of fraud in the working class ranks. The past history of these betrayals as well as their present treachery will be sharply examined and understood. The present study is only one of many that will be made to prove conclusively the deceptions of Stalinism, Social-democracy, Trotskyism and Lovestoneism, and to expose the nature of the swindle they perpetrate. These study circles will consolidate to form a League whose basic aim will still be clarification and the winning over of individuals who are already wavering in their allegiance to the Stalinists and other misleaders. The severe crisis of the present day world and the continual defeats the proletariat is suffering have caused a great ferment in the vanguard of the workers; numerous politically conscious workers are of themselves arriving at tentative conclusions as to the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism and its helpmates. Such alert workers will gravitate to a new movement which can give them complete clarity and can restore them to a Marxist-Leninist position. When the League has sufficient forces, it will send members into the Stalinist, Social-democratic, Trotskyite and other deceiving organizations of the vanguard that menace the proletariat to act as fractions and win mem-

bers away from these cheats who betray them. It will descend in full force on public meetings held by these traitors, will question them in the open on their crimes, and when they try to squirm out of their villainy, will expose them before all the workers in the audience, will spread its own propaganda and exert its own influence in every way possible. The League by intense work along these lines will grow larger and will gradually assume the proportions of a political party. In the process of dislodging Stalinism from all its positions, this new revolutionary organization will take over the mass work now performed for demagogic purposes by the Stalinist bureaucrats and the other opportunists and will lead large masses of toilers in genuine struggles against oppression and reaction. Both the ultra-left sabotage of Stalinism in its Third Period and the class collaboration policies of Stalinism in its ultra-right period, of Social-democracy and other forms of opportunism will disappear from the proletarian camp and an honest battle against the bourgeoisie will be waged for the first time since the death of Lenin. All Leninist political positions will be restored to their true form and the workers will be taught the real nature of the class struggle, of imperialist war, of fascism, of proletarian revolution, of socialism and of all the political tasks which the proletariat must perform. It will then be possible to penetrate mass organizations of all kinds, such as trade unions and fraternal and cultural organizations controlled by the counter-revolutionaries or influenced by them. From these the party will draw off the most advanced sections and take them into its ranks, will educate them in Marxism and convert them into professional revolutionaries.

In America beginnings have already been made along these lines. The Leninist League seeks to clarify advanced workers and the proletarian vanguard generally on the nature of the traitors in the workers' ranks, at present by the sheerly propagandist methods already indicated. It published Marxist Leninist studies, organized and participates in study circles, symposia,

debates and lectures. It seeks to win vanguard elements in great enough numbers to build a party so as to isolate and destroy the influence of all counter-revolutionary forces in the proletarian ranks.

Half the major countries of the world already exist in the blackness of fascist bestiality. A new imperialist slaughter is in its initial stages. Every class-conscious worker is fully aware of what disasters the future holds in store for his class and all oppressed if capitalist reaction, assisted by the traitors in the workers' camp, succeeds in advancing even further. In 1917 the Russian workers under the leadership of Lenin, gave the world proletariat a glorious example of the only way in which it is possible to hurl back the tide of capitalist reaction and burst the chains that bind them to the bourgeoisie. Stalinism, Social-democracy and their various camp-followers have made stupendous efforts to bury this revolutionary example far from the sight of the working class. Now, it is immediately on the order of the day to restore the revolutionary movement brought to its prime by Lenin. In 1914 Lenin saw the necessity of forever

breaking with social-democracy and of building a new international. This realization gave the world the first workers' republic. Today, the historical task of the proletariat is to cut itself off ~~sharply~~ not merely from Social-democracy but primarily from Stalinism and its opportunist bootlickers. The Third International, under the corrupting influence of Stalinism since 1922, has taken its place in history beside the Second. Sometimes, working hand in glove, (in the ultra-right period of Stalinism), and sometimes in fake opposition (in the ultra-left period of Stalinism), these two counter-revolutionary organizations have led the proletariat through oceans of blood and have helped create mountains of workers' corpses. Only a Leninist Fourth International, based on the principles of Marxism Leninism and unequivocally opposed to every deviation from Marxism-Leninism, can save the working class from a plunge into unparalleled slavery.

FORM LENINIST LEAGUES! Enter the struggle to build a new revolutionary party and international, and forever free the toiling masses from capitalist bondage.



Note: The writing of this article was completed in the middle of October 1938.



R E A D

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Dear Friends and Comrades:

You have been receiving our bulletin IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM for some time. No doubt you are now acquainted with the ideas expressed there and sympathize with the main aim of the magazine, i.e., to defend the ideas of Bolshevism against all its enemies and its pseudo-Marxist "friends" - especially against the Stalinist scourge which is burying the traditions and teachings of Leninism.

The comrades around the periodical IN DEFENSE OF BOLSHEVISM have undertaken the task of unearthing the whole truth about the degeneration of the Comintern and the Soviet Union, clarifying the class-conscious, revolutionary, vanguard workers; to rally them in an offensive against the persistent and deep-going trend of pessimism, demoralization, confusion and defeats

that have beset the international working class since Stalin usurped power in the Soviet Union.

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We ask you to share in the work of attempting to extricate the entire working-class from the reactionary wave engulfing it. We ask you to share in the struggle for the establishment of Socialism.

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