

IT IS RIGHT TO
REBEL AGAINST
REACTIONARIES

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C73I

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There is a rapid intensification of fascist measures

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CALL No. in Australia. This is of extreme importance for all
democratic and patriotic Australians.

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REPRESSION – SHAM & REALITY

Repression of protest action has always been present in Australia. But it has been concealed in various ways. Those ways include talk about the "rule of law", "justice", "democracy", "the right to dissent", "equality before the law" and a variety of others.

We have maintained that the reality was repression and the sham and pretence were this so called rule of law, justice, democracy, the right to dissent, equality before the law, etc. This reality has become much clearer in recent times.

FASCIST MEASURES

The emphasis on forcible repression of protest action has taken a big leap forward. There were those who said it was wrong to talk about this as fascism. We think it was correct to do so. By fascism we mean the shifting of emphasis from 'democratic' pretences to open repression by the ruling circles.

MASS ARRESTS

In Canberra, Sydney, Adelaide and Melbourne there have been mass arrests of demonstrators. These demonstrators were protesting against the war of aggression against

the Vietnamese people or against the racist policy of the South African government. According to the classical statement of the so called rule of law they were doing no more than collectively exercising their individual rights to go on to the streets and say and do what they like (subject to laws of defamation etc. that don't enter into it). According to this theory of the rule of law no one had any right to interfere. Police and citizen were equal before the law, i.e. they were equally accountable for their actions before the courts. All this has now been shown to have no substance whatever.

UNRESTRAINED POLICE VIOLENCE

Police in Australia act without regard to any law. They are the law. And their actions are upheld by courts whose magistrates and judges have been shown to be no different from the magistrates and judges of Hitler — they simply rubber stamp police action. Independence of the judiciary is revealed as another sham. The police use unrestrained violence. They "arrest" people, "charge" them with assault, offensive behaviour, indecent language, malicious damage, etc. etc. The courts "uphold" the police action. No one can deny that happens and is happening on a bigger and bigger scale. Occasionally a "charge" gets dismissed or a policeman is convicted but this only serves to highlight the reality. It is only done for appearance sake or to appease public opinion.

All this activity is protected by recent so called law and order legislation. Inside this law there have been

mass arrests in Canberra and other arrests throughout Australia. Again, only dissenters were arrested. The law would be more properly called a law for disorder to smash opposition to the ruling class.

Of great significance in the intensification of fascism in Australia is the resurgence of open nazi groups of thugs. These thugs have consistently been protected by the police. This too is a class question—the police and the nazi thugs serve exactly the same master. It is simply a division of labor. Moreover, the nazi thugs use the filthy weapons of anti-semitism, a classical weapon of the ruling class, and other forms of racism.

McMAHON & CO

The "leaders" of Australia endorse this police action. Typical statements from these leaders are:

"They got some baton today and they'll get a lot more in the future."

Police Inspector Plattfuss
(Melbourne, September 1970)

ON DEMONSTRATORS

"Idiotic Vandals"—Attorney-General Hughes

"Nuts"—Prime Minister Gorton

"Rabble", "Louts and larrikins" — Premier Bolte.

"Bastards"—Premier Askin

"Pack-raping Bikies"—Labor Minister Sneddon

"Bums"—President Nixon

All this is in line with Hitler's statement:

"The streets of our country are in turmoil, the universities are filled with students rioting and rebelling; communists are seeking to destroy our country . . . we need LAW AND ORDER . . . yes, without LAW AND ORDER . . . the Republic will fall. Elect us and we shall restore LAW AND ORDER."

(ADOLPH HITLER
(Hamburg, 1932)

When Victorian police attacked demonstrators against the war in Vietnam and against South Africa's apartheid Victorian governor Delacombe (British army general) congratulated the police and gave his official blessing to the South African rugby team. Victorian Premier Bolte spoke of the demonstrators as "louts and larrikins" and said "I give the police full marks". In South Australia on June 30 police attacked demonstrators against the Vietnamese war. This attack took place under Mr. Dunstan's labor government. Mr. Dunstan attempted to escape responsibility by saying that police were legally "independent". So they are elsewhere. This is just a debating trick. The great advantage of what happened in South Australia is that it **did** happen under a labor government. It shows that labor governments in Australia are essentially the same as any other government — they administer a definite policy, a definite state apparatus and on all questions serve the same bosses as the open conservative political parties. They use force and violence to suppress protest.

MORE ARMS TO POLICE

A feature of the intensification of violence against the people is the much more careful arming of the police. They are now equipped with heavier batons and with guns. They indiscriminately use the utmost physical force. At the same time a great barrage of propaganda is built up against the "weapons" used by demonstrators such as stones, crackers, marbles, etc. Is a police baton not a weapon? Is a police gun not a weapon? What is the difference between police weapons and the weapons of the victims of the police. The only difference is that at the moment the police have better weapons, they take the initiative in using them and they are concentrated in great numbers.

A FASCIST POLICE FORCE

These police are fascist police. They serve a fascist purpose. They serve the purpose of crushing opposition to the imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam, the most unpopular war in history. **In short they are used in support of that very war.** They enforce acceptance of the war by force and violence. It is simply fascism. They are correctly characterised as fascist pigs. In the eyes of magistrates and judges (who with the utmost hypocrisy are "not concerned with politics") to call the police "fascist pigs" is to use insulting words. This same fascist police force is used to smash opposition to apartheid. That is, this fascist police force is used to enforce on Australian people by force and violence, acceptance of apartheid. Is that not fascism? It is characteristic of fascism that it exploits racial differences to maintain the rule of big business. (Victoria's police

were hosts to South Africa's rugby team). South Africa's racial policy has the backing of U.S. imperialism.

It is a commentary on the whole situation that the ruling circles can mobilise hundreds of police to enforce fascism even at the expense of protecting their own private property.

STATE SERVES U.S. IMPERIALISM

If we pause here we can see again the real nature of the state machine in Australia. Australia is dominated by U.S. monopolists. All the main industries in Australia are either owned or deeply penetrated by U.S. monopolists (motor vehicles and oil are only 2 vivid examples). These same U.S. monopolies wage the war in Vietnam, encourage racist policies, prepare for more wars, export economic crisis to Australia. And within Australia are a few servile flunkeys who bow and scrape before these U.S. overlords. Amongst the more notorious of them are McMahan, Askin, Bolte, Dunstan, Whitlam. These flunkeys carry out U.S. policy such as the suppression of protest against U.S. war and the suppression of protest against racist policies. In order to carry out that repression they must resort to more and more violence, that is to more fascism. Fascism is rule by the great monopolies by terrorist means, by terrorism against the people. That is what is going on in Australia.

ARMED FORCES - CHIEF COMPONENT OF STATE POWER

The process extends over the whole range of state activity. The chief component of state power lies in the armed forces. McMahan promised to use the air force

to carry the South African rugby players in order to overcome the Australian people's resistance. In Papua-New Guinea huge numbers of police and units of the army are used frequently to suppress the rebellion of the Papuan-New Guinean people against colonial exploitation. The Australian army is always in the background for use against the people: this becomes more apparent when there are big demonstrations. But these facts show that the army is more and more coming to the fore in its role as oppressor of revolt by Australian people. There is a sinister relation between the ex-Prime Minister Gorton and the army generals. This relation and newspaper talk about the power of the generals is again an illustration of the real power of an army.

ARMY PROTECTS U.S. & JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

That army exists as the protector of the exploiters and particularly the U.S. imperialist exploiter of Australia. Coming prominently into the picture too are the Japanese militarists with increasing investment and exploitation in Australia. This is done under the aegis of the U.S. monopolies. The fact is that the Australian army is closely integrated with the U.S. army, the Japanese armed forces are closely integrated with the U.S. armed forces. Thus the economic political alliance, U.S.-Australia-Japan, is expressed in the armed protection of those economic political interests by the integration of the armed forces. Australia is to be the supplier of uranium for Japanese militarism's nuclear weapons.

CONTRARY TO PEOPLE'S INTERESTS.

All this is completely contrary to the interests of the Australian people. It is the Australian people who have suffered by Australia's involvement in Vietnam. It is the Australian people who suffered from Japanese militarist aggression in World War II and who are threatened again by these Japanese militarists. It is the Australian people who are now suffering from the exploitation of U.S. monopolies and their Australian and Japanese partners. The system of capitalism in Australia in itself brings disaster but that disaster is many times multiplied by Australia's subservience to U.S. capitalism. Economic crisis with inflation, rising prices, depreciation of wages, threats to jobs is the consequence.

PEOPLE REVOLT

All this produces revolt by Australian workers working people and students. They are no longer deceived by the fraud of parliament, of the rule of law, of justice, the impartiality of the police.

IMPORTANT LESSONS

It must be said that the events briefly reviewed above are providing rich lessons indeed. The chief of those lessons is on the nature of the state. Its real nature as an instrument of repression by one class against another is being more and more clearly revealed. Those arrested on trumped up charges, the friends of those arrested, the friends of those friends all actually experience the falsity



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of the "impartiality" of courts and police, the sham that is the rule of law etc. Likewise those hit by police and their friends and the friends of those friends. The performances of people like Delacombe, McMahon, Askin, Bolte, Dunstan are clear for all to judge. Events force them on to the public stage. Labor "leaders" like Holding and Cairns call for "inquiries" Royal Commissions, etc. But this is just rubbish. The facts are clear. What inquiry is needed? All inquiries are government controlled, composed of the same rubber stamp judges or magistrates. They inquire into their own conduct: that is what it amounts to. It is just a plain diversion from a plain case.

WE MUST BOW AND THANK THE REACTIONARIES

Indeed we should be grateful to these people for performing so well. They have shown the true nature of the state as no amount of abstract argument could ever do. They have given the people actual experience and experience is the greatest of all teachers. They have shown the people that the only counter to anti-people's force is people's force. Shocked horror at a few stones, marbles, crackers by these exponents of the baton, flogging (Victorian judge Gillard's threats of flogging are part of the same experience), hanging (Bolte's plans to hang a few people are well known), won't wash. Kark Marx once reproached the Paris workers not for taking up arms but for not taking them up decisively enough. How else to combat unrestrained violence? The

so called law offers no protection whatever; the rule of law, liberties, habeas corpus, justice, etc. are just plain nonsense and deception.

A CLASS QUESTION

What is involved is a question of a handful of monopoly capitalists controlled by U.S. and Japanese monopolies, and their local "politicians" against the vast majority of Australians. It is a class question, the rule of exploiters against the workers, working people, students and other sections of the people.

WIDEN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

The most significant development in recent times is the ever widening struggle of the people and the higher level of that struggle. On the one hand, the handful of exploiters have very greatly intensified their repression but on the other hand resistance to that repression has greatly extended and developed. It is a matter of very great importance that this repression no longer works, that police, the law, parliaments are treated with the utmost contempt. And even more important that the beginnings of resisting the police thuggery by force are emerging. It is certain that this resistance will develop still further and will develop appropriate means of combating violence.

It is a thousand times correct to rebel against reactionaries.

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PERMANENT REVOLUTION

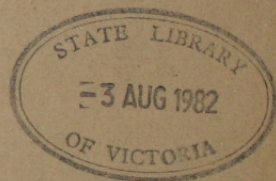
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BRIEF COMMENTS.BANNED ON DOMAIN.

The Police Department has notified us that "Permanent Revolution" is not to be sold on the Domain. So much for "democracy" when one wants to put forward real working class news against Capitalism. But what an upset to Communist Party theory! Hitherto, their "Workers Weekly" has scarcely ceased screaming at us "Police agents." We wonder what would happen should a Stalinist member venture to ask the "W.W." editorial office: "How is it that those you style police agents are refused permission to sell their literature, while you, the '100 per cent revolutionary,' have full freedom for literature sales?" Surely expulsion as counter-revolutionary Trotskyist - Bukharinite - Rykovite would be far too lenient for such a person.

THE JAPANESE BOYCOTT: According to the "New Leader" 28/1/38, the dockers of Southampton, Glasgow, Middlesborough, and now London, refused to load a Japanese steamer with 400 tons of pig-iron and 100 tons of steel plates to be used in the attack on China. This action was taken even though the officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union asked them to do the loading.

Australian workers are also in line with this action. Following the report in our last issue of Sydney wharfies' refusal to load metals for Japan comes the news that Adelaide wharfies have refused to load 3,000 tons of scrap iron for Japan.

Such action by the workers should teach their leaders and the Communists that to call on capitalist governments which will only act for capitalist purposes is futile. Independent workers' action is the only way to weaken Japanese aggression.

THE ENGINEERS' STRIKE: The strike at Morts and Cockatoo Docks has been on since September. According to "S.M. Herald," metal trade employers are much concerned at the position; they quote Mr. D. M. McDonald, Secretary to the Metal Trades Employers Association as stating: "It is a rather peculiar thing that increased wages should have brought about strikes.....They (the strikers) are being supported by levies drawn from men who are fortunately still in employment, but who may shortly find themselves in need of assistance when

employment fails through shortage of materials."

What is peculiar to Mr. McDonald is perfectly straightforward to any thinking worker. The profits of the metal industry have swollen far above those of 1931 while the wages of the engineers are still below the level of that period. When there is an upward trend in the metal market, as there is to-day, the boss hungers after higher profits and it is at such moments that the workers, to regain what has been filched from them and more, must strike.

ATTITUDE OF UNION OFFICIALS: Elsewhere in this issue appears a criticism of our attack on the engineering union officials. Unfortunately it arrived too late to be discussed by our League so that their reply will appear in next issue. The editorial committee sees no reason to change its view. The union officials have not denied the press reports that they publicly disown the strike. Paying strike pay under the lap and advising strikers to seek other jobs is the most reactionary and traitorous way of conducting a strike. More especially is this so now with a temporary boom in the industry. A militant policy to extend the strike is just what the boss fears. Advocacy of it is the duty of leadership and not the keeping of men on a £3 strike pay for months to preserve the policy of arbitration. There is no reason why these men should make further sacrifices when aggressive action has all chances on its side of victory.

WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS ON THE WAY: The capitalists are nervously assuring the world that there will be no further crisis but the facts show that international capitalism has already passed the crest of its upward climb out of the last depression. In fact, pre-slump conditions are in evidence now.

In their last annual report the directorate of the Bank of International Settlements declared: "Since the turning-point in 1932 five years have passed, and in the history of business cycles the duration of an upward trend for a period longer than five years has been a very rare occurrence."

According to the index compiled by the London "Economist," commodity prices in Britain have fallen, since last March, approximately half-way

back to the low depression levels of 1931. The prices of all commodities have been consistently falling during the last twelve months. Even the materials needed for re-armament purposes - rubber, cotton, tin, copper, spelter, etc., - have shown a slump of 40 per cent. during the last year.

In the U.S.A. the downward curve in stock market prices has dropped with a speed surpassing the 1929 slump. In twelve months the index number of railroad stocks declined from 61.09 to 27.88 (the base figure being 100 in 1926), while the index number of industrial stocks slumped from 135 to 125.5. In Britain the London "Financial Times" records a heavy slump in government securities, railroad and industrial stock, and gold-mine shares.

It is known that commodity prices and stock markets begin to slump months ahead of the general economic crash. Undoubtedly, but for the extensive war preparations stimulating a temporary demand for commodities, and a temporary expansion of employment, international capitalism would now be well into the trough of the coming economic crisis.

As it is, the new depression slump in the U.S.A. has increased the unemployed ranks by 3,000,000 during the last three months. In Britain, for four months in succession, unemployment has increased by 100,000; since last September, by over half a million. Thus one-third of the total improvement in unemployment in Britain over four years has been wiped out in four months! Indications that the slump is well on the way.

THE POSITION IN AUSTRALIA: So far there has been no marked increase in the figures of unemployment here; but it must surely follow from the slump.

The Commonwealth statistician's report shows a serious decline in the volume of products exported to Britain. Last year Britain took 48.75 per cent. of Australian exports; it was 56.25 per cent. two years ago.

Along with the decline in export trade has gone a serious slump in the prices of export commodities. Ten months ago Australian export prices were up to the 1928 level. Since then they have substantially

declined until to-day the price levels of our chief exports are only 78.5 per cent of those of the pre-depression period.

This decline in volume of exports and slumpⁱⁿ prices have resulted in a worsening of the nation's adverse trade balance, which is now £12,500,000 sterling worse than it was 12 months ago.

DECLINE IN WOOL: It has long been a practice of the capitalist press to boost the Australian wool market, thus making Australian capitalism appear to be flourishing. During the last few months, however, the press has said nothing of the alarming slump in prices during the 1937-38 selling season. During the last seven months 291,337 less bales were sold than in the preceding season, and the drop in values was £10,224,551. Undoubtedly we will hear of this after the elections!

PREPARATIONS NOW! Australian workers must prepare now to meet the crisis conditions. In the last crisis the workers followed a lead that helped capitalism get over its crisis. Now we must understand that crisis conditions will always appear, with more terrifying consequences to the workers, until the workers use their class power to overthrow capitalism. The building of the revolutionary movement is an urgent task.

N.S.W. ELECTIONS: Tory Premier Stevens has acted very suddenly in declaring elections on March 26. Doubtless he calculated that if his party is to be returned they must act before becoming engulfed by the approaching crisis. Besides, no time could be better than now, when the Labor Party is weakened by factional struggles.

The Australian bourgeoisie do not want a change in administrators. Under Tory administration they have increased their profits and held the increasing demands of the workers in check. If a Labor Government were returned reforms could be made, but only at the expense of profits. So far there is no need for this. But it is hard to see another Tory administration going the full period: crisis conditions will doubtless effect a ministerial crisis and the bourgeoisie will seek once again to weather the storm with a labor government.

The labor faction fight shows no signs of being above the stage of un-

principled fighting among the tops for jobs. A glance at the personnel of the "industrialist" leaders gives no confidence. M. Gosling authorised the wholesale evictions of workers in the last Lang administration; Lazzarini prohibited the selling of literature on the Domain; Dr. Foley is a member of Catholic Action, a fascist society; and, we would like to know, what democratic methods were used to put "Digger" Dunn up as a candidate?

The C.P. supports the "industrialists" because it hopes that its capitulation to reformism will enable it to enter the A.L.P. through that gateway. The C.P.'s capitulation to reformism has enabled the treacherous policy of reformism to be hidden by the propaganda that Lang is the villain.

All this has given a new lease of life to the Labor Party. Once again we must tread this tortuous path of illusion with the workers. Our League will work for the return of the Lang candidates because it believes that the overwhelming number of workers are behind them. We say to the workers, you do not believe in our revolutionary policy, you believe in emancipation by parliament. Very well, so long as we have not convinced you we are prepared to help you return a Labor Government. If you keep your Labor Government up to all its promises its inevitable breakdown will prepare you to see the correctness of our leadership. Revolutionary support for the "industrialists" is tantamount to admission that reformism can bring victory for the workers. We know that reformism must inevitably break down and betray.

QUEENSLAND STATE ELECTIONS: A correspondent writes: the increasing sectarianism in Queensland politics is significant in view of the approaching State elections.

Two organisations, the United Protestant Association and the Protestant Labor Party base their appeal on the facts of Roman Catholic preponderance in A.L.P. and A.W.U. ruling circles, also in the Cabinet, Judiciary, civil service, police force, etc.

While holding no brief for either the R.C. Church or the Australian Labor (?) Party, we must point out that the workers' movement has nothing to gain from the introduction of sectarian differences and

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that those responsible for these religious squabbles are helping capitalism by engineering yet another division in the workers' ranks.

In this respect condemnation of the sponsors of the U.P.A. and P.L.P. must also be directed against Archbishop Duhig and his fellow clergy, whose recent efforts to extend the powers of their church, particularly in connection with the demand for State subsidies for R. C. schools, gave the excuse for the formation of the Protestant organisations.

Indications are that the pending election will not be a walk-over for the Forgan Smith gang. The recent Labor-in-politics Convention at Mackay so flagrantly ignored the wishes of the rank-and-file, e.g., in connection with the demand for a 40-hour week, as to suggest that Forgan Smith is preparing for a term on the opposition benches.

BRITISH CABINET CRISIS: At present it is impossible to predict all the consequences of Eden's resignation. One thing it does show, that the bourgeoisie determine their own policy - and not that desired by the Stalinists. Undoubtedly the strengthening of Fascism in Central Europe, the Spanish events, and the developing crisis require a new alignment of forces. It is known that many British investments are in Franco territory. According to the London "Daily Telegraph" £1,250,000 has passed from the British-owned Rio Tinto Company in London - which owns valuable copper and pyrite producing mines in southern Spain - to Franco's government in Burgos, in exchange for paper pesetas at a fixed rate of 42 pesetas to the pound.

This measure has been forced on the Rio Tinto Co. by the Franco government, which refuses to grant the company permits to ship their products abroad unless sterling payments are deposited, equivalent to the value of the products exported, in return for pesetas.

RUSSIA AND NON-INTERVENTION: The "S.M. Herald" reports: "The Ambassador for Russia, M. Maisky, has informed Lord Plymouth, Chairman of the London Non-intervention Committee, that the Soviet government accepts the British formula for the withdrawal of foreign volunteers from Spain and the granting of belligerent rights." Thus the Soviet trails behind British imperialism not only in weakening the forces against Franco but also in scrapping international laws regarding rebels, by agreeing to the granting of belligerent rights to the

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fascist general. The "Herald" states further: "The formula has already been accepted by Italy, Germany and France." We should think so!

At the commencement of the Spanish Civil War, Russia, instead of aiding the Spanish workers, busied herself by framing old Bolsheviks, Zinoviev, Kamenew, etc. Now, when the Soviet is preparing to sell-out to Spanish fascism, further eminent Bolsheviks are being tried for their lives charged with being agents of fascism!

GASTONIA STRIKE LEADER MENACED: Fred Beale, leader of the Gastonia Textile strike of 1929, has been arrested by the authorities. He is being held for extradition to North Carolina, where he is still under a 20-year prison sentence under a frame-up conviction of conspiracy to slay Gastonia's police chief, Aderholt.

Together with other defendants, Beale went to Russia in 1930. His experiences there are told in his recent autobiography, "News from Nowhere," in which he becomes a confirmed opponent of the Stalin regime.

In spite of the fact that he is now in crucial danger of losing his liberty for pro-labor activity, the International Labor Defence (Stalinist auxiliary). Because Beale refused to be silent about the crimes of the Stalin clique, refuses to lift a finger on his behalf. The "Daily Worker," official organ of the C.P. of U.S.A., which a few years ago denounced the frame-up for what it was and is, now calls upon the workers to let the southern reactionaries do to Beale what they want without interference from the labor movement.

STALIN'S VERBAL GYMNASTICS: "Trotskyists do not represent a political trend, but instead are an unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers acting on instructions of intelligence service of foreign states," says Joseph Stalin in his pamphlet "Mastering Bolshevism." He then asks: "What is a political trend?" and proceeds to answer: "A political trend in the working class is a group or party which has its own definite political face, platform and program which does not and cannot hide its views from the working class but, on the contrary, openly and honestly carries on propaganda for its views in full view of the working class....."

Having given this definition of a political trend Stalin launches an attack on Zinoviev and Kamenev: "If you remember, Kamenev and Zinoviev at the trial in 1936 strenuously denied that they had any political platform... There can be no doubt that both of them were lying when they denied they had a political platform. Even the blind can now see that they had their political platform. But why did they deny the existence of any political platform? Because they were afraid to disclose their real political face."

Such is the perfect reasoning of the infallible leader-genius!

(Continued from page 23)

general refuse to give arms? And what, we answer to this, if the Soviet Union in general did not exist in the world? Revolutions have been victorious up to this time not at all thanks to great foreign patrons who supplied them with arms.

Must we recall the experience of the intervention of French, English, American, Japanese and other armies against the Soviets? The proletariat of Russia won over inner reaction and foreign intervention without military support from the outside. Revolutions succeed, in the first place, with the help of a bold social program which gives to the masses the possibility of seizing weapons that are on their territory, and disorganizing the army of the enemy. The Red Army seized French, English and American military provisions and drove the foreign expeditionary corps into the sea. Has this really been forgotten already?

If at the head of the armed workers and peasants, i.e., at the head of the so-called "republican" Spain there were revolutionists and not cowardly agents of the bourgeoisie the problem of arming would in general not have played a paramount role. The army of Franco including the colonial Riffs and the soldiers of Mussolini are not at all immune to revolutionary contagion. Surrounded from all sides by the fire of the socialist uprising, the soldiers of fascism would have proved to be an insignificant quantity. Not arms and not military "geniuses" were lacking in Madrid and Barcelona; what was lacking was a revolutionary party!

THE CONDITIONS FOR VICTORY:

The conditions for victory of the masses in a civil war against the

army of exploiters in its essence are very simple.

(1) The fighters of a revolutionary army should clearly be aware of the fact that they are fighting for their full social liberation and not for the re-establishment of the old (democratic) forms of exploitation.

(2) The workers and peasants in the rear of the revolutionary army as well as in the rear of the enemy should know and understand the same thing.

(3) The propaganda on their own front as well as on the front of the adversary and in both rears should be completely permeated with the spirit of social revolution. The slogan: "first victory, then reforms" is the slogan of all oppressors and exploiters beginning with the Biblical kings and ending with Stalin.

(4) Those classes and strata who participate in the struggle determine the policy. The revolutionary masses should have a government apparatus directly and immediately expressing their will. Only the Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasant deputies can act as such an apparatus.

(5) The revolutionary army should not only announce but immediately carry out the pressing measures of social revolution in the provinces won by them: the expropriation of provisions, manufactured articles and other stores on hand and transferring them to the needy; the re-division of lodgings in the interests of the toilers and especially of the families of the fighters; the expropriation of the land and landowners' inventory in the interests of the peasants; the establishment of workers' control and of the soviet power in place of the former bureaucracy.

(6) Enemies of the socialist revolution, i.e., exploiting elements and their agents, even when covering themselves with the mask of "democrats," "republicans," "Socialists" and "anarchists" should be mercilessly driven out from the army.

(7) At the head of each military unit there should stand a commissar possessing the irreproachable authority of a revolutionist and a warrior.

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(8) In every military unit there should be a tempered nucleus of the more self-sacrificing fighters, recommended by the workers' organizations. The members of this nucleus have but one privilege: to be the first under fire.

(9) The commanding corps of necessity includes at first many alien and unreliable elements in its staff. A verification and selection of them should be carried through on the basis of military experience, the recommendations of the commissar and testimonials from the rank and file fighters. Simultaneously there should proceed an intense preparation of commanders drawn from the ranks of the revolutionary workers.

(10) The strategy of civil war should unite the rules of military art with the tasks of the social revolution. Not only in the propaganda but in the military operations of the different military units of the opponent (the bourgeois volunteers, the mobilized peasants, or as with Franco, the colonial slaves) and in choosing an operative line to take into consideration the social structure of the corresponding regions of the land (the industrial regions; the peasant regions, revolutionary or reactionary; the regions of the oppressed nationalities, etc.) Briefly: revolutionary policy dominates strategy.

(11) The revolutionary government, as the executive committee of the workers and peasants, should be capable of winning full confidence of the army and of the toiling population.

(12) The foreign policy should have as its chief aim the awakening of the revolutionary consciousness of the workers, the exploited peasants and oppressed nationalities of the whole world.

STALIN GUARANTEED THE CONDITIONS OF DEFEAT: The conditions for victory, as we see, are quite simple. In their aggregate they are called the Socialist revolution. There did not exist in Spain even one of these conditions. The basic reason is that there was not a revolutionary party. Stalin tried, it is true, to transfer to the soil of Spain, the outer forms of Bolshevism; the Politburo, commissar, nuclei, the GPU, etc. But he emptied these forms of their social content. He renounced the Bolshevik program and with it the Soviets as the necessary form of the revolutionary initiative of the masses. He placed the techniques of Bolshevism at the service of bourgeois property. In his bureaucratic limitedness he imagined that the "commissars" by themselves could guarantee victory. But the commissars of private property proved capable only of guaranteeing defeat.

The Spanish proletariat displayed first class military capacities.

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In its specific gravity in the economy of the country, in its political and cultural level it stood in the first day of the revolution not lower but higher than the Russian proletariat at the beginning of 1917. On the road to its victory, its own organizations stood as the chief obstacles. The commanding clique of the Stalinists, in accordance with its counter-revolutionary function, consisted of the hired agents, careerists, declassed elements and in general every kind of social refuse. The representatives of other workers' organizations - flabby reformists, anarchist phrase-mongers, helpless centrists of the POUM - grumbled, groaned, wavered, manoeuvred, but in the end adapted themselves to the Stalinists. As a result of their aggregate work the camp of social revolution - workers and peasants - proved to be subordinated to the bourgeoisie, more correctly to its shadow, void of individuality, spirit, life. There was no lack of heroism on the part of the masses and courage on the part of individual revolutionists. But the masses were left to themselves and the revolutionists remained disunited, without program, without plan of action. The "republican" military commanders occupied themselves more with crushing the social revolution than with winning military victories. The soldiers lost confidence in their commanders, the masses - in the government; the peasants stepped aside, the workers got tired, defeat followed defeat, the demoralization grew. All this was not difficult to foresee from the beginning of the civil war. Taking as its task the rescue of the capitalist regime, the People's Front doomed itself to military defeat. Having turned Bolshevism on its head, Stalin with full success played the role of the grave-digger of the revolution.

Incidentally, the Spanish experience again demonstrates, that Stalin did not understand either the October revolution or the Civil War. His sluggish provincial thought lagged hopelessly behind the tempestuous course of events in 1917-1921. In those of his speeches and articles in 1917 where he expressed his own thought, his later Thermidorian "doctrine" was fully lodged. In this sense Stalin in Spain in 1937 is the Stalin of the March conference of the Bolsheviks in 1917. But in 1917 he merely feared the revolutionary workers; in 1937 he throttled them. The opportunist became the executioner.

"To make a united front against the bourgeois forces, the petty bourgeoisie and the workers had formed a coalition on their side, the so-called Social-Democratic Party..... In February 1849, there were banquets to celebrate the reconciliation. A joint program was drafted, joint electoral committees were founded and joint candidatures were arranged for. The revolutionary point of view of the Socialist demands of the proletariat was blunted and these demands were given a democratic gloss. Conversely, in the case of the democratic demands of the petty bourgeoisie, the purely political form was effaced, and they were made to seem as socialistic as possible."

-- Karl Marx in "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte."

Marx was scathing in his criticism of the People's Front in 1849, even when bourgeois democracy was approaching its period of highest vitality, when it was progressive. In the light of this, what counter revolutionary force is revealed in the Communist Party's advocacy of People's Fronts in the period of bourgeois decline and decay.

Hereunder we provide some examples of counter revolution inevitable in People's Front Governments:

PEOPLE'S FRONT IN FRENCH COLONIES.

SYRIA: (1) The C. P. of France resorted to the most despicable type of demagoguery and chicanery to reconcile oppressed nationalities to the yoke of French imperialism and frustrate their struggles for national liberation.

Speaking for the Syrian peoples, L'Humanite (official organ of Communist Party of France) offers the following: "What do our comrades in Syria demand? Their most ardent wish is to live in fraternity with the France of the People's Front. They want to tighten the bonds which unite them to France. They want collaboration with it, to preserve the people from the curse of war and fascism. They accept the task... to consecrate their forces to this salutary task."

Despite the efforts of the Stalinites, sporadic revolts and uprising began to break out in French colonies.

The Popular Front government immediately employed every repressive

method to put down these colonial revolts. The Popular Front summarily suppressed an incipient revolt in Syria and established in French Indo-China a bloody regime that jails and tortures revolutionists and that would make the Nazis blush with envy.

ALGERIA: (2) To defeat the struggle of the Algerian people for national liberation, the Popular Front government instituted the infamous Viollette Plan. The Viollette Plan is a typical colonial scheme to sow division in the ranks of the Algerian people. The plan offers 22,000 French citizenships to loyal Algerian subjects while millions of Algerian people are deprived of all rights of citizenship. Such a plan creates a caste of privileged individuals that would defend French rule in Algeria. The following list of those eligible to win French citizenship is quite interesting: retired officers of French army; retired soldiers who have won the Croix De Guerre; graduates of higher institutions of learning; members of the chambers of commerce or agriculture; Algerian officials and tribal leaders of the French regime; workers who have won "medal of labour;" trade union officials ten years in office; 200 merchants, industrialists or artisans in each department to be selected by the government, and 200 landowners.

The Viollette Plan was published in the French press and wholeheartedly endorsed by the C.P. of France. Thorez welcomed a North African delegation that had come to Paris to support the Viollette Plan. L'Humanite featured the following address made by a C. P. Algerian stooge, Dr. Ben Dhelloul: "We consider ourselves Frenchmen and it is not with your nation that we come into conflict, but only with the big colonial settlers bent on defending their privileges..... The Viollette Plan tends to assure more strongly the unity of Algeria within the bosom of French democracy."

Thorez, beaming with pride, made the following reply in L'Humanite: "We congratulate ourselves and we congratulate you for the moderate character of your demands."

STALINISTS DENOUNCED: In El Ouma (organ of L'Etoile Nord-Africaine) appeared the following statement addressed to the C. P. of France: "They have betrayed us. The People's Front is perjured. The People's

Front has sacrificed one of its partners with the support of the communists.

"The Etoile Nord-Africaine, member of the People's Front, has just been dissolved by this same People's Front.

"The political party which most sought the alliance with us, and on which many of us believed we could count, has become our bitterest enemy and the accomplice of the government which has just dissolved us.....To prepare public opinion for the terrible blow which the government was getting ready to deliver to a Moslem workers organization....the most stupid attacks were printed black on white in Humanite.....

"Hitlerites: we who have fought fascism and suffered for it more than any other organization or party! Hitlerites: we who have had our places at the side of the workers from the first...There isn't a sensible, and honest worker who can believe your nonsense. Say rather that you have taken the place of imperialism or endorsed its acts and that you have become chauvinists of the worst kind and allies of colonialism....After all the program of L'Etoile dates from 1926. Since that time you have known its leaders and its program. Knowing, you approved of our declarations; more, you defended and supported us until June 1936. That is, as long as you weren't in power. That is, before you were singing the Marseillaise and before those you were calling 'gueules de vaches' (pig snouts) had become 'Comrade Generals.'

"Things have changed? Certainly they have, but not with us. If your concern for 'national defence' left you a little respite, you might perhaps recall your former doctrine, which was for the defence of the oppressed and the liberation of the colonies. But that was when you were against the bourgeoisie and against war....

"It is unheard of; many of us dare not believe their eyes. But each will be forced to give in to the facts. Each of us will find in it, too, a foretaste of the paradise awaiting us when you rule the roost.

"In trying to make those pass for fascists who are the very ones moved by hatred for fascism, you are only provoking antagonism between French workers and the Algerian workers...Brotherhood with Comrades North Africans was good when the fascist danger seemed threatening. At that moment, the Etoile Nord-Africaine was excellent....But now we must be made to pass as fanatics. So be it Messrs. 'Defenders of the Oppressed.' You have your hand raised. Strike! But strike hard for we die hard. Others already have beaten us aplenty without results. Even your blows, treacherously given, will only make us stronger. Let the combat go as it will, we shall be the victors in the end. First, because Algeria and the Algerians are ours. Next, because French opinion itself will confound you and condemn you if your own conscience does not inflict upon you the punishment of having renounced your doctrines, trampled on your promises and perjured your pledge of July 14, 1935: 'Bread, peace, freedom!'"

This lengthy indictment against the C. P. of France exposes the treacherous betrayal of the colonial peoples by the Stalinist agents of French imperialism. The People's Front policies of the C.P. of France are rapidly paving the way for fascism in France. The brutal imperialist policies of the Popular Front government in North Africa and perfidy of the French Communist Party are encouraging the natives of North Africa to look to the fascist demagogues as friends and liberators.

----- "Workers Age." 25-12-37.

FRANCE: Under the People's Front, the fascist leagues have been permitted to continue their activities unhampered; they have merely changed the shingle under which they operate. Fascist sentiment has grown among the lower middle classes and peasantry, as the Stalinist Humanite frequently admits with groans.

Under the People's Front, the reactionary and fascist officers clique dominating the armed forces has not been disturbed because - God forbid! - that might "undermine the defensive power" of the country.

Under the People's Front, the achievements of the great strike wave of June 1936 were, indeed, "recognized" by the government in the

16.

famous "social laws". But they have since been largely nullified by the devaluation of the franc and the consequent rise in the cost of living, by constant "compromises" forced by the government and by administrative restrictions on trade-union action that would not be tolerated in this country. What the workers have won, the government has undone.

Under the People's Front, the treacherous "non-intervention" policy, carried out by France under the tutelage of Tory Britain, has substantially aided the fascist clique of General Franco and has very seriously hampered the loyalist government in the Spanish civil war. Through French pressure, the Czechoslovakian government has been "persuaded" to yield to many of the demands of Nazi imperialism. As a result of French foreign policy, one after another of the old French allies has been driven into the arms of Hitler or Mussolini. In fact, under the People's Front much more than under Laval, the French Foreign Office has been merely a continental branch of Downing Street, the servile tool of reactionary Tory diplomacy.

Under the People's Front regime, the Franco-Soviet pact has been reduced to hardly more than a scrap of paper and official relations with the U.S.S.R. have been growing cooler and cooler. Things have reached such a pass that Delbos was able ostentatiously to ignore the Soviet Union on his recent Eastern tour, neither including it in his itinerary nor consulting with it as to his mission.

Under the People's Front, political relations in France have moved steadily and uninterruptedly to the right. From a Radical Socialist-socialist coalition, with a socialist (Blum) at the head, supported by the communists - to a similar coalition, with a Radical Socialist (Chauteemps) at the head, also supported by the communists - to the present straight Radical-Socialist government supported by the socialists but "opposed" by the communists: this has been the line of retreat in the last year and a half, and the story is not yet told. The People's Front has served as a transition not to a "soviet France" or a "labor government" but to an increasingly conservative regime dominated by the Radical Socialists, the traditional party of the French bourgeoisie.

For the sake of this People's Front, the French labor movement has

surrendered its independence and freedom of action. The two big workers parties, the socialists and the communists, have converted themselves into mere auxiliaries of the bourgeois liberals, doing their dirty work for them in the ranks of the workers. The trade-union movement, under the C.G.T., has been hamstrung with restrictions imposed upon it by itself as well as by the government, all accepted in order to "preserve the People's Front" - that is to keep the bourgeois partners from breaking away. "Everything for the sake of the People's Front" has necessarily meant everything for the sake of the bourgeoisie! 17.

And now the People's Front has reached the end of its rope - the coalition is broken, the socialists out of the cabinet and the communists dragging miserably behind, their votes no longer required to make a majority. The French bourgeoisie no longer needs it, for now it can again, for the moment at least, rule through its own traditional parties. The People's Front has served the employing class only too well and therefore it has been dismissed.

If the French workers learn their lesson from this inglorious experience and turn their back upon the whole discredited system of coalition politics and the class collaboration it implies, if the French labor movement now at last strikes out on the path of militant socialism, rallying the masses of the lower middle classes and peasantry behind it, then France may still escape reaction and fascism!

----- "Workers Age." 29-1-38.

SPAIN: "Popular Front" government prepares to outlaw anti-fascist organisations.

Politically, the counter revolution aimed at the elimination of the P.O.U.M., the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the Left Socialists from all power. The order published in "Pravda" on December 17 appeared the week that the P.O.U.M. was forced out of the Catalan Generalidad. It was carried out swiftly and with no hesitation about the violation of civil liberties, which, in the case of Left Wingers, the Republic was willing to relinquish.

On January 8, P.O.U.M.'s Madrid weekly was suppressed. On February

10, P.O.U.M.'s Madrid radio station was seized and P.O.U.M.'s militia organ, "El Combatiente Rojo," suppressed. On February 26 the Catalan Government forbade a public meeting called in Tarragona by the C.N.T.-F.A.I.-P.O.U.M. Next day Valencia ordered indefinite suspension of the F.A.I. paper, "Nosotros," for criticising the War Minister. On March 2 the Basque Government seized the press of the "C.N.T. del Norte," and turned it over to the C.P., suspending the paper, and arresting the editors. On April 11 Valencia suspended the Madrid "C.N.T." and the "Castilla Libre," anarchist organs. On April 18 "Nosotros" was again banned. On May 1, radical Labor's immemorial holiday, the Catalan Government forbade a demonstration in Barcelona and suppressed a joint meeting called by the C.N.T. and P.O.U.M. youth organisations.

Next the complete outlawing of the P.O.U.M. and C.N.T.-F.A.I. was prepared. The method, which had been rehearsed in small attacks on the C.N.T. headquarters in the little towns, demonstrated that the workers, when attacked, would resist. To do this job on a large scale, by staging an "insurrection", was the purpose of the May Days.

At the same time as the disarming of the Labor bodies and reorganisation of the old police was going on, talk of a truce was again revived. News came from London that Downing Street would look with favor on a Cabinet which would restore all rights to the Church and curb the "extremists." The Labor press reflected a widespread fear that a reactionary coup was being planned. The C.N.T. denounced secret conferences in Paris between Catalan Separatists (East Catala) and Mussolini agents. Twelve armored tanks inexplicably disappeared from the military commissariat in Barcelona and were traced, through a forged order, to the back patios of the Stalinist barracks. A ministerial crisis in the Catalan Government, provoked to drive the C.N.T. representatives out of it, gave further impulse to the mounting tension and fear. The C.N.T. and P.O.U.M. press issued warnings, telling their members to be on guard against provocations.

--- Anita Brenner - "Class War in Spain."

U.S.A.: There is really no limit to the degradation of Marxist theory and practice in the application of the People's Front. This is revealed in a myriad of instances. Typical of them is the following declaration of Browder at the first session of the "Farmer-Labor Party Conference" held at Chicago on May 30, 1936:

"Since Al Smith and Hearst declared that even the New Deal stands for the red flag and revolution, it seemed that we communists should have become almost respectable. The campaign against Roosevelt has as little justification in fact as the campaign against us; he is certainly not communistic...."

"It is true that we communists are revolutionists. That is our right guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence. In this we follow the hallowed American tradition, associated with such names as Washington, Jefferson, Tom Paine, and Lincoln. We differ from our forefathers in this respect, only in this - that we came 160 years later, and face a deeper crisis."

What clarity of vision can be expected of the rank and file of the membership when the general secretary of the official Communist Party can confuse the roles of Washington and Paine in the first American Revolution, and hold that the passing of 160 years is the only source of difference between a Leninist or proletarian revolution and the revolution of Washington? With such a perversion of everything which we have been taught as axiomatic for and fundamental to Marxism, one can understand how "The 12th A.D. News" could proclaim in its issue of October 14, 1936: "The Soviet Constitution is the direct descendant of the American Declaration of Independence." In line with this anti-Marxist teaching is the letter sent by Comrade Browder to the head of the American Legion while the A.F. of L. convention was in session at Tampa, Florida. This letter offered the American Legion a People's Front alliance for a common struggle in behalf of the American Constitution.

ENGLAND: In England, the Communist Party, through its secretary, Harry Pollitt, sought to arouse the British miners, steel workers and seamen over the fascist onslaught in Spain by applying the People's Front strategy:

"The honor of all democratic forces is at stake. Men and women in the streets, fields, and mountain fastnesses of Spain are defending democracy with their lives....."

"The people of Spain are not fighting to establish Soviets or the

proletarian dictatorship. Only downright lying scoundrels or misguided self-styled 'Lefts' declare that they are - and both combine to help the aims of the fascist rebels.

"The struggle in Spain is for the maintenance of democracy and a free Constitution in a country whose economy is still backward in character and whose institutions until recently were autocratic and feudal in character." (Daily Worker, August 6, 1936 - Our emphasis)

The disastrous experience of the People's Front should force the workers to realise that their only hope lies in their class initiative. A workers' front which will stimulate and not subdue the struggle against capitalism.

THE LESSONS OF SPAIN -- THE FINAL WARNING.

By Leon Trotsky.

Editorial Note: The brilliant analysis of events in Spain by Leon Trotsky appears over two issues of "Socialist Appeal," weekly organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of America. Unfortunately our space will only permit the printing of extracts; however, so important is this analysis for revolutionaries that we take the risk of detracting from its brilliance which extracts must undoubtedly do, and trust that at some future date funds will permit printing the whole in pamphlet form.

Readers should note the following:- C.N.T. - The Anarcho Syndicalist trade union federation. F.A.I. - Iberian Anarchist Federation. P.O.U.M. - Workers' Party of Marxist Unity.

We commence with Trotsky's criticism of the Anarchist statement after the May events in Barcelona: "We did not capture power not because we could not but because we did not wish to, because we are against every kind of dictatorship."

The renunciation of conquest of power throws every workers' organization into the mire of reformism and turns it into a plaything of the bourgeoisie: it cannot be otherwise in view of the class struc-

ture of society. To oppose the aim: the conquest of power, the anarchists could not in the end fail to be against the means: the revolution. The leaders of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. helped the bourgeoisie not only to hold on to the shadow of power in July, 1936, but to re-establish bit by bit what it had lost at one stroke. In May, 1937, they sabotaged the uprising of the workers and by that token saved the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Thus anarchism which wished to be anti-political proved in reality to be anti-revolutionary, and in the more critical moments - counter-revolutionary.

The Anarchist theoreticians, who after the great test of 1931-37, repeat the old reactionary nonsense about Kronstadt and affirm: "Stalinism is the inevitable result of Marxism and Bolshevism" simply demonstrate by this that they are forever dead for the revolution. You say that Marxism is in itself depraved and Stalinism is its legitimate progeny? But why do we, revolutionary Marxists, find ourselves in mortal combat with Stalinism throughout the world? Why does the Stalinist gang see in Trotskyism its chief enemy? Why does every approach to our view or to our methods of action (Durruti, Andres Nin, Landau and others) compel the gangsters of Stalinism to resort to bloody reprisals? Why, on the other hand, were the leaders of Spanish Anarchism, during the time of the Moscow and Madrid crimes of the G.P.U., ministers under Caballero-Negrin, i.e., servants of the bourgeoisie and Stalin? Why even now under the pretext of fighting fascism, do the anarchists remain voluntary captives of Stalin-Negrin, i.e., of the executioners of the revolution who have demonstrated their incapacity to fight fascism? The lawyers of Anarchism, hiding behind Kronstadt and Makhno, will deceive nobody. In the Kronstadt episode and in the struggle with Makhno we defended the proletarian revolution from the peasant counter-revolution. The Spanish Anarchists defended and defend bourgeois counter-revolution from the proletarian revolution. No kind of sophism will erase from history the fact that Anarchism and Stalinism in the Spanish revolution were on one side of the barricades and the working masses with the revolutionary Marxists - on the other. Such is the truth which will forever remain in the consciousness of the proletariat!

THE ROLE OF THE POUM: Not much better is the record of the POUM. Theoretically it tried, it is true, to base itself on the formula

of the permanent revolution (that is why the Stalinists called the POUMists Trotskyists.)

But a revolution is not satisfied with theoretical avowals. Instead of mobilizing the masses against the reformist leaders, including the Anarchists, the POUM tried to convince these gentlemen of the advantage of socialism over capitalism. On such a pitch-pipe were tuned all the articles and speeches of the leaders of the POUM. In order not to quarrel with the Anarchist leaders they did not build up their nuclei and in general did not conduct any kind of work inside the CNT. Evading sharp conflicts, they did not carry on revolutionary work in the republican army. Instead of this they built "their own" trade unions and "their own" militia which guarded "their own" buildings or occupied "their own" part of the front. Isolating the revolutionary vanguard from the class, the POUM weakened the vanguard and left the class without leadership. Politically, the POUM remained throughout immeasurably nearer to the People's Front, whose left wing it covered, than to Bolshevism. If the POUM nevertheless fell victim to bloody and base repressions it was because the People's Front could not fulfil its mission of stifling the socialist revolution except by cutting off, piece by piece, its own left flank.

Despite its intentions, the POUM proved to be, in the final analysis, the chief obstacle on the road to the creation of a revolutionary party. The platonic or diplomatic defenders of the Fourth International who, like the leader of the Dutch Revolutionary Socialist Party, Sneevliet, demonstratively supported the POUM in its half-way measures, indecisiveness, evasiveness, in a word, in its centrism, took upon themselves the greatest responsibility. Revolution does not tolerate centrism. Revolution exposes and crushes centrism. In passing, it compromises the friends and lawyers of centrism. That is one of the chief lessons of the Spanish revolution.

THE PROBLEM OF ARMING: The Socialists and Anarchists who tried to justify their capitulation to Stalin by the necessity of paying for the Moscow arms with principles and conscience simply lie and lie unskillfully. Of course, many of them would prefer to disentangle themselves without murders and frame-ups. But every aim demands corresponding means. Beginning with April 1931, i.e., long before the military intervention of

Moscow, the Socialists and Anarchists did what they could to throttle the proletarian revolution. Stalin taught them how to carry this work to a conclusion. They became criminal accomplices of Stalin only because they were his political co-thinkers.

If the leaders of the Anarchists had resembled revolutionists at all they would have answered the first blackmail from Moscow not only by continuing the socialist advance but by disclosing Stalin's counter-revolutionary conditions before the working class of the world. Thus they would have forced the Moscow bureaucracy to choose openly between socialist revolution and the dictatorship of Franco. The Thermidorian bureaucracy fears and hates revolution. But it also fears to be stifled in a fascist ring. Besides this it depends on the workers. Everything speaks for the fact that Moscow would have been forced to supply arms and, possibly, at a more reasonable price.

But the world is not limited to Stalinist Moscow. During a year and a half of civil war the Spanish war industry could and should have been strengthened and developed, adapting a series of non-military factories to the purposes of war. This work was not carried out only because Stalin and equally with him his Spanish allies feared the initiative of the workers' organizations. A strong military industry would have become a powerful instrument in the hands of the workers. The leaders of the People's Front preferred dependence upon Moscow.

It is precisely on this question that the perfidious role of the "People's Front" was strikingly exposed; it thrust upon the workers organizations the responsibility for the trescherous agreement of the bourgeoisie with Stalin. So long as the anarchists were in the minority they could not, of course, immediately hinder the ruling bloc from assuming whatever obligations they pleased toward Moscow and the masters of Moscow: London and Paris. But they could and they should have, without ceasing to be the best fighters on the front, openly kept clear from the betrayals and betrayers; explained the real situation to the masses; mobilized them against the bourgeois government; increased the forces from day to day in order in the end to conquer power and with it the Moscow arms.

And what if Moscow, in the absence of a People's Front, should in
(Contd. Page 8)

A CRITICISM.Revolutionary Purity Versus Trade Union Reality.

I do not approve of the attitude of your paper towards the Engineers Strike. Your statement is based solely on press reports. You see the officials of the union apologising in the court and attempting to keep the registration of the union and you scoff.

Such revolutionary purity is very easy but what is the attitude of (1) the engineers on strike; (2) the engineers not on strike? Surely it is necessary to have some such access to the situation before commenting so adversely.

I put another aspect of the question to you. Metal workers are scarce and have in consequence achieved success in their demands for higher wages. What is our Arbitration Court doing about this? The bosses ask. Annoyed at the frequent stoppages and to sprag further militancy, they have applied for the deregistration of the union concerned. What would this mean if it succeeded? The B.H.P. and Port Kembla Steel works would immediately register company unions and thus get the workers under their thumb.

Surely the union officials are justified in preventing what would be a blow to trade unionism? At any rate I suggest that the problem be approached with this in mind instead of indulging in wholesale condemnation. I do not suggest that the union officials are above criticism but their general line in this instance appears to be towards keeping intact the unions which can only function legally if registered in the obnoxious Arbitration Court.

-- E. Nelson.

STUDY CLASS: Open discussion on Thermidor, the decline in Great French Revolution, as compared with decline in Soviet Russia, Wednesday March 23rd and 30th, Trades Hall, Room 17 at 8 p.m. All welcome.

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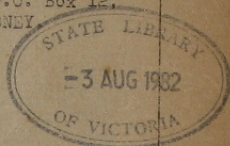
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