

# Stalinists in Van of Social Patriotic Peoples Front

## Bureaucrats Dismayed at Rising Tide of Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)  
ship, when a few canes tipped with razor blades were waved in the attempted coup of February 6, 1934. But that was before the Stalin-Laval pact. Today Daladier is the very pillar of the "People's Front," worthy indeed to march side by side with Thorez himself, leading the Bastille Day demonstration.

And on the platform of the "People's Front" none other than Herriot thunders his undying opposition to "fascism of the right as well as fascism of the extreme left." For he too fights for the "common cause." The keen Thorez knows the true merits of the man: "Is it not evident," he declares, "that we can come to an agreement to safeguard peace with a party whose most eminent leaders and notably, President Herriot, have never ceased to say and to prove their friendship for the Soviet Union, considered by them, as well as by us, as the great force for peace in the world?" (L'Humanite, June 30).

On July 14, Herriot, Daladier, Blum and Thorez marched in the vanguard of the first "People's Front" parade bearing high aloft... the tricolor flag, the emblem of French revolutionary traditions, and the Red flag." (L'Humanite, June 28).

The Stalinists have traded in the revolutionary struggle for power for a respectable program of haggling for "immediate demands." In a period such as this, concessions can be wrested from the bourgeoisie only if its power itself is challenged. Otherwise the new immediate demands will not be granted and instead the old ones withdrawn. While the fascists are preparing the noose, the Stalinists are hamstringing the workers so that the bourgeoisie can bleed all resistance out of them.

### Painting Up the Radicals

What is this monstrosity, the "People's Front"? Is it an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie? The middle classes, who can have no program of their own, will follow the most resolute camp in society. While vacillating in despair between the revolutionary proletariat and the fascist gangs, the middle classes are presented by the Stalinists with the shoddy "People's Front." This constellation is intended to refurbish all the Daladiers and all the "democrats" in whom the middle class is fast losing all confidence and hope. Its only result can be to throw them into the arms of fascism.

The "People's Front" is the unholy offspring of the Stalin-Laval pact. It is social-patriotism in full flower. It is intended to be—and it is—an alliance with the bourgeoisie itself.

Each new day brings into bolder relief the social-patriotic aspect of Stalinism. In May, the new recruiting sergeant for French imperialism, Vaillant-Couturier, plows the trumpet:

"The fatherland? Why not. We want to conquer it... We do not want to conquer the fatherland after it is laid low, ruined and devastated by war. While waiting for The Day we must do everything in our power to protect it against the capitalists, the destroyers of the machine, and the fascists, the destroyers of culture, its material wealth, its moral and intellectual riches accumulated by generations of the toiling masses of France. We are proud of the revolutionary traditions of France..." (L'Humanite, May 15)

L'Humanite beats the drums: "What could be more natural than the fact that our comrade Stalin, upon the request of Laval whom he received in the presence of members of the government, should have declared his approval of the military measures taken

in France? Did you want him to make a declaration to disapprove them? That is not serious... What is important is that in the interview led to concrete results for the defense of the U.S.S.R."

And further on, "the communists do not plant their banner in mud. They do not condemn the army as such. They do not misconstrue the idea of the fatherland. They want to conquer for the toiling masses the right to their flag, the right to their army, the right to their fatherland. The Communist party is a young, realistic, honest party, a government party, which has already conquered one-sixth of the globe, one-fourth of China, and which in France by its successes is about to augment its prestige to a considerable degree." (P.V.C. writing in L'Humanite, May 17)

Small wonder the died-in-the-wool social patriots can raise their heads high. At last their betrayal of 1914 has met with the sanction of Moscow. So, Evrard grows lyrical in Populaire, organ of the French Socialist Party:

"Stalin, the great Stalin, the supreme leader of the Third International, has proclaimed before the entire world that the task in France is not to allow in any way the weakening of its instruments of national defense.

"And as he goes on, he becomes more emphatic. "Stalin adds that he understands and fully approves the policy of national defense carried on by France to maintain its forces at the necessary level of security."

"These declarations of their deity have descended on the skulls of the French Communist leaders like so many hammer blows till they see stars by the thousands. They are waiting the order—to dilute their wine with a little water and to prepare their minds more and more for a new conception of Communist duty in the event of war—but they were many hundred miles removed from the thought that Stalin would personally take the liberty to proclaim that Laval and Laval were right in reestablishing the two years' term of compulsory military service, and that their duty was to continually strengthen French armaments that our people must bear up under their burden, and the opponents of this policy must be cast into prison."

"I confess that today I would have cause for laughter if I were in the mood. "But I will refrain because the facts are indeed very serious.

"Still, since Stalin has avenged me against the sarcasm heaped on me by his French followers, I have decided to thank him for it, to present him with a ceremonial offering. In fact, I intended to send him a drawing depicting the Communist leaders Thorez, Duclos, Thiébaud, Quinet, Darguesse and the rest as doughboys, with a pack on their shoulder, a musket

in their hand, oozing sweat and blood in military exercises under the severe and imperious command of colonel Marcel Cachin. With myself seated in a corner watching them, while re-reading the theses and conditions of 1920, and the articles and speeches of Cachin and Thorez on revolutionary defeatism.

"And over the drawing, this heading: 'Ones must never swear to anything.' "Below, an inscription: For France, for Russia, let us prepare quickly and well." (Populaire, May 23.)

Cachin, the prodigal son, has returned to the fold and Evrard externally cannot refrain from chortling his happiness.

Organic Unity  
Now that Stalin has trampled under foot the last vestiges of Leninism there is no barrier any longer between himself, Blum, Zyromsky and all the other Evrards. Le Populaire has expressed its entire agreement on the united ("People's") front and on the national

## French Revolutionists in Move Against New 1914

The Bolshevik-Leninist group of the S. F. I. O. coordinated two conferences against social patriotism and class peace. One of these conferences was organized by the syndicalists and the other one by the New Age group. At the initiative of the Bolshevik-Leninists these committees have fused. The group, whose names are not mentioned in the resolution published below includes: Doriot, Pivert, Action Socialiste, Guy Joran and the Proletarian Revolution group, etc.—Ed.

"The cause of proletarian internationalism has just been officially deserted by Stalin who speaks as the leader of the Third International, approving the policy of national defense followed by France.

"We are completely opposed to the conception which has dictated this declaration, just as we are opposed to the position of the leaders of the Second International on national defense in a capitalist regime. "Whatever our ideas on the economic and social regime of the U.S. S.R. we repudiate any sacred union, any participation in "national defense" with any of our capitalist governments, democratic or not, allied with the Soviet Union or no, and we remain true to the ideas expressed by Lenin in the name of the revolutionary proletariat.

"We denounce the policy which prepares a world war, and which justifies it with the same sophisms, with the same artifices of propaganda as in the war of 1914.

"It is not true that German imperialism, even with Hitler, is the sole instigator of war. All the imperialist powers are equally and jointly responsible, having prepared the germs of the next war in the Versailles treaty.

"There can be no question of defending democracy by war, since entry into war carries with it militarization and the suppression of all democratic life.

"There is no other method to assure to the people bread, peace and liberty than the proletarian revolution, than to organize against capitalism in every country.

"Let us act before war breaks out to overthrow the capitalist regime. If the catastrophe overtakes us, let it be the signal for the world revolution, where all the workers will turn first against their common enemy, imperialism in their home country.

"At the moment when, according to the genial prophecy of Engels, the world is obliged to choose between the realization of socialism or the decline into barbarism, at the moment when the general historic interests of the proletariat become vital necessities for all of human society, the revolutionists today have the duty of jointly organizing and undertaking this act of salvation.

"That is why we, the undersigned, members of different parties, organizations, groups and tendencies of the proletariat, call upon our comrades to unite in a national conference, as a prelude to an international conference which will be able to coordinate the efforts of the proletariat against war and for world revolution: "Action Leniniste (Boyer, Renault); Bolshevik-Leninist Group; Unity Federation of Teachers (L. and G. Bonet, Collinet, Gilbert, Peret); La Construction Sociale (Victor); L'Internationale (L'Union Communiste); La Lutte de Classe (Limbour); La Lutte Finale (Treint, Tessier); Nouvelle Age (Valois, Weber)"

## 7th Congress Of C.I. Opens

(Continued from Page 1)

undoubtedly did not foresee the extremely unpleasant response to his communique. The leaders of the French party immediately went to Moscow in an almost panicky mood. Leon Blum lectured to them learnedly; you mustn't at present waste all your patriotic powder or else you will be morally and politically disarmed at the outbreak of the war. In parliament the Stalinists have already refused to vote for military credits. The reasons? There are Fascist officers in the army. The army of imperialism is to be democratic, a people's army, i.e. it must correspond to the principles of the "People's Front"; remember that the speeches of Noake in the Reichstag on the attitude toward the Hohenzollern war always had this tone). Something in the same spirit will be decided by the Seventh Congress. The sense of the decision will be approximately as follows: it is not necessary to-day openly to support French, Czechoslovak and other imperialisms but rather to prepare the workers gradually and carefully for the defense of imperialism at the time of war. In other words, the strategy for the obliteration of the elementary principle of Marxism will for a time be substituted by a strategy of selfge. After all Stalin will succeed in carrying out his will as expressed in the communique—we can only be grateful to him for this. This would be too great a gift for the proletariat and for us.

One can be confident that not one of the "leaders" commanding at the Congress will have the courage to pose the question of Zinoviev's

fate. Out of the six congresses heretofore known in the history of the Comintern, Zinoviev presided over five. At present he languishes in a prison cell for the alleged intention of restoring capitalism with the aid of terrorist acts against the Soviet bureaucracy. The alarming turn of the Soviet bureaucracy finds its clearest expression in the personal fate of Zinoviev. But can any Cachin or Peck find any interest in this? So long as they have a post and a salary, why should they be concerned whether Zinoviev presides over a revolutionary congress or is confined to jail as a counter revolutionist? But the question of Zinoviev must be posed by us, particularly in connection with the 7th Congress.

Who will now make the big speeches and write the long resolutions? Manulsky and Kuusinen are now in decline. Perhaps Bela Kun? He is most suited for it, particularly if we remember Lenin's famous speech at the plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the eve of the Third Congress. The speech was devoted almost entirely to Bela Kun and its leit motif was the brief formula: "Bela Kun's stupidity." Not by accident did the Comintern reach Bela Kun's level.

Another candidate — Dimitroff. His present, entirely unexpected career, was caused exclusively by his conduct at the Fascist trial. We all applauded him, particularly in comparison with the conduct of the chairman of the Stalinist parliamentary fraction, Torgler. But we

must not exaggerate. The Russian revolutionists, not only the Bolsheviks but also the Social Revolutionary terrorists, for example, in their majority conducted themselves by the rule and not the exception. The cowards were despised but there was no scraping before the courageous ones. And it is characteristic of the moral level of the Comintern bureaucracy that Dimitroff became a demi-God for his courageous conduct before the court. At any rate Dimitroff never sought and never attempted to prove his mettle as a Marxist and a Bolshevik and to contradict the Stalinist general line. He went through the whole shameful policy of the eptones in all its stages and bears responsibility for it.

As to the decisions of the Congress we shall have occasion to return to this subject later.

## PHILA. FRUIT CLERKS IN SIX WEEKS STRIKE

The Fruit Clerks Union struck the Blue Ribbon Market six weeks ago. The demands are: (1) a 63 hour week, (2) \$17.50 minimum a week, (3) union recognition. It is rumored that the Blue Ribbon Market is in a bad condition financially and can no longer get credit in the wholesale market as a result of the strike.

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factor of the first order. Foaming at their mouths, the bureaucrats had to recognize this fact by granting the Bolshevik-Leninists one regular representative and one alternate on the C.A.P. (the S. P. equivalent of a Political Committee) and one representative on the Administrative Board of the organ Le Populaire. The machinations of the bureaucrats behind the scenes will now be forced into the open through the medium of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

The reporter for the semi-official organ of the government, Temps, in covering the Mulhouse Congress of the S.F.I.O., expressed only too well the emotions of Blum and Co. in stating that "they (the leaders) regret having accepted them several months ago."

In the meantime, while unity with Blum hangs fire, the Stalinists are also involved in fervent negotiations on the trade union field, seeking an alliance with Joubaux, the Bill Green of France against the revolutionary elements, particularly against the Bolshevik-Leninists whose influence in the movement is growing. Had the C.G.T.U. (Red Trade Union Center) entered the C.G.T. (the reformist organization) as a revolutionary opposition, trade union unity would have been already achieved. The Stalinists, of course, were instead interested in "prestige" and in securing for themselves a proper share of sinecures. Point Seven of the C.G.T.U. declaration that made possible the resumption of negotiations with Joubaux reads as follows:

"7) Freedom of opinion and the exercise of trade union democracy must not entail the formation of bodies that act as factions in the trade unions. Each trade union-

ist has the full liberty to belong and work in political and philosophic organizations of his own choice, he, however, can belong to the trade union only in the capacity of a trade unionist..."

Thus at the end of the Stalinist trade union rainbow we find the Siamese twin of the "People's Front": unconditional capitulation to the labor lieutenants of the French capitalist class.

But within the ranks of the C. P. itself, despite the stranglehold of the bureaucracy, the barracks-room discipline there is a seething ferment. Opposition to the Stalin-Laval pact in Jura, Montlucon, Anrilliac and elsewhere broke into the open. The Auxerre district demanded the expulsion of Stalin, the social-patriot. The workers are no longer being taken in by the specious arguments of the bureaucrats that "everything remains as before, nothing is changed, Stalin is a Leninist and is leading the bourgeoisie by the nose."

Outside the Stalinist ranks opposition to social-patriotism is taking an organized form. An initiative committee of revolutionary minorities already functions. The Bolshevik-Leninists, Pivert (one of the leading figures in the Paris District of the S. P.), Doriot together with several other groups and trade union organizations held a meeting on July 10 in preparation for a national conference set for August. Elsewhere in this issue we print the resolution of the preliminary conference against a repetition of the 1914 betrayal.

For the first time, after more than a decade of crimes, betrayals and defeats, the revolutionary proletariat is rising in France to take to the road of the October victory.

Grand Total ..... \$276.51  
This amount is still only a little better than ten percent of the total necessary to lay a secure foundation for the eight-page weekly. We must build that foundation right away.

BUNDLE ORDER SETTLEMENTS  
Last week we published a resume of the branches and bundle agents who have been put on the list of delinquents in regard to remittances due to the NEW MILITANT and the NEW INTERNATIONAL. Of course they were only the worst delinquents. There are a number of others whose accounts are also overdue for payments but there is still an opportunity for them to catch up before they will also be entered on the delinquent list.

Some of the branches mentioned last week have since made a serious effort to get in good standing. The Minneapolis branch forwarded \$15.00 payment on the NEW MILITANT account and \$9.00 payment on the NEW INTERNATIONAL account. The New York Spartacus Youth League made a similar effort. But the most important point is that practically all accounts are far overdue and the branches and the bundle agents must take serious steps to remedy this situation.

AUGUST NEW INTERNATIONAL ALMOST READY  
Among the valuable material that will appear in the August issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL, will be an Open Letter to the French Proletariat by L. Trotsky, the first installment of a discussion with Max Eastman on some Marxian Fundamentals, a Survey of the Third Party Movement, a review of Olgin's pamphlet on Trotskyism, an analysis of the British-German Naval Agreement and an article by L. Trotsky on Rosa Luxemburg and the Fourth International.

For a change the NEW INTERNATIONAL will appear on time. The August issue is now almost ready and will be mailed about the first of the month. Henceforth it will appear regularly every month and on time. But, and this is urgent, all branches and bundle agents must now rush their remittances. We can no longer afford to let the accounts lapse. The indication given above shows the character of the rich material to appear in the August issue. Therefore no delay in settlements. Get ready to distribute the August issue.

Incidentally the combination offer of \$2.00 for a yearly subscription to the NEW INTERNATIONAL and the NEW MILITANT both, still holds good. But it will hold good insofar as the price is concerned only for the next few weeks. With the appearance of the eighth page weekly the price will change. Take advantage of this offer while it is still good.

## Question Box

By A. WEAVER

C. E., BROOKLYN—

Question: According to Marx the value of commodities is determined by the socially necessary labor-time embodied in them, and yet we observe everywhere that one capitalist employing a certain number of men makes much different profits than another employing the same number... Does this not contradict the Marxian economic theory, since apparently the workers should be adding the same value in each case?

Answer: As a rule, commodities, in capitalist society, do not sell at their values, and it is this fact which gives rise to the suspicion that the concept of socially necessary labor-time as the determinant of value is incorrect. What we have here however, is not a refutation of the law of value but its further development. What actually occurs is that value IS determined by the socially necessary labor-time embodied in commodities, but the surplus value extracted from the workers is proportioned among the different capitalists according to the amount and power of the capital that each controls and not according to the number of workers that each directly employs.

Under competitive capitalism this proportioning is brought about by the tendency towards the creation of an average rate of profit for all capital. As an illustration let us assume three industries as follows which are selling commodities at their value: (1) Constant capital, \$1,000,000; variable capital \$500,000; surplus value, \$600,000; selling price \$2,000,000; rate of profit 33 1/3 per cent. (2) Constant capital \$2,000,000; variable capital \$500,000; surplus value, \$600,000; selling price \$3,000,000; rate of profit 20 per cent. (3) Constant capital \$900,000; variable capital \$100,000; surplus value \$100,000; selling price, \$1,100,000; rate of profit, 10 per cent. (We assume for the sake of simplicity that the entire plant wears out in a year so that its entire value is transferred into the value of the commodities.)

The total surplus value extracted from the workers of all industries is thus \$1,100,000, and the total value of all commodities is \$6,100,000.

There would now be a tendency for capital to flow from the industries with a lower to those of a higher rate of profit so that overproduction, forcing down the prices below their value would occur in the latter and underproduction and a raising of prices above their values would take place in the former. This process would tend to continue until an average rate of profit was brought about for all industries and the three industries taken as examples would then have the following compositions: (1) Constant capital, \$1,000,000; variable capital, \$500,000; surplus value, \$330,000; selling price, \$1,830,000 (\$170,000 less than its value); rate of profit, 22 percent (11 per cent less than before). (2) Constant capital, \$2,000,000; variable capital, \$500,000; surplus value, \$550,000; selling price, \$3,050,000 (\$50,000 more than its value); rate of profit, 22% (2% more than before). (3) Constant capital, \$900,000; variable capital, \$100,000; surplus value, \$220,000; selling price \$1,220,000 (\$120,000 above its value); rate of profit, 22% (12% more than before).

The total surplus value extracted from the workers of all industries remains, as before, \$1,100,000, and the total value of all commodities remains, as before, at \$6,100,000. What has happened is that the competition between capitals has brought about a redistribution of the surplus value among the various capitalists so that the capitalists of industries (2) and (3) are exploiting, not only their own workers but those of industry (1) and this occurs because the latter sells its commodities for an amount below their value equal to the amount above their values for which the commodities of the other two industries are sold.

Under monopolies the same process occurs except that it is the monopoly which makes it possible for certain capitalists to sell commodities above their values and even above the price which would realize the average rate of profit. Monopoly capital is thus able to extract wealth from lesser capitalists as well as from the workers.

To answer the many questions bearing on this subject we should like to go more fully into the matter but we are here able to merely present an extremely simplified example of why prices do not correspond to values, since a complete analysis of the question would require a complete review of "Capital." Your editor thinks it appropriate however to call to the attention of those comrades whose questions indicate that they believe Marxian economic knowledge to be exhausted by the concept of labor as the determinant of value, that, besides volume I, there are volumes II and III to Marx's critique of capitalist economy.

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