# OFF By Dwight Macdonald RECORD

Calling in an Expert

The Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration is not to be confused with the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration. The former-better known as the Harvard Business School-was founded years ago and has expanded into a long series of handsome Georgian buildings along the bank of the Charles River. The latter is comparatively recent, and by no means as large and resplendent. The Business School is by now one of the key institutions of American capitalism. The Government School has yet to win its spurs. But business men are rapidly learning that politics, and not economics, is the master art in the world of today. They are more and more coming to face the problem of how best to manage the rather awkward transition from democratic capitalism to fascist capitalism. Last week the Harvard Government School stole a big march on its older rival when it hired the greatest living expert on this delicate process. It announced the appointment of a permanent Professor of Government: Dr. Heinrich Bruening, Chancellor of the German Republie from 1930 to 1932.

Footnote on the Late Dr. Coster

I present for what it is worth an odd item in last week's financial pages, an item whose precise social significance I confess I am unable to determine. It seems that the sales of McKesson & Robbins, Inc., for January, 1939, were \$12,070,-000, as against \$12,132,000 for the same month of 1938. This seems to indicate that "public opinion" disapproved of the late J. Donald Coster-Musica by just \$82,000 worth out of a \$12,000,000 gross. It is also confusing to learn that, although one element of the scandal was that McKesson & Robbins had gotten into repeated trouble with Federal agencies because its drugs were impure or adulterated, yet its drug sales this January were actually a little bigger than they had been a year ago. Is the old saw actually true-that any publicity is good publicity?

#### The Customer is Never Right

Sheets are as scarce in the Third Reich as everything else except guns, The story is told of a housewife who managed to persuade a shopkeeper to sell her a single sheet. When she got home, she found a tag on it stating that boiling would have a disastrous effect. She took it back to the shop and asked to exchange it for one that could be laundered, "Certainly," said the shopkeeper, "but you must first sign this." And he gave her a paper bearing the words: I AM AN ENEMY OF THE FOUR YEAR PLAN. The lady changed, not her sheet, but her mind.

Non-Sectarian Stalinism

Last week I received in the mail a moving apwho is treasurer of the Non-Sectarian Committee for Political Refugees, "Dear Friend," it began, "We are asking you to help save a life-a life that is in imminent danger at the hands of

Hitler's executioner. The extradition of 1500 men and women, German and Austrian refugees, who before Munich had found asylum in Czechoslovakia, is being demanded daily by Gestapo agents in Prague. The enclosed folder will explain their plight, proven by the fate of Peter Foerster, whose head fell in Weimar on December 21, 1938." The folder detailed some heartrending facts about these anti-fascists, caught in the steadily contracting net of a Czechoslovakia going fascist. Foerster's case was especially tragic: he had escaped to Prague from a German concentration camp, After Munich, the Nazis demanded his extradition, and executed him the day after he was put back across the border. Not one of the democracies would give him a visa. Nor would the Soviet Union, which has, as every one knows, refused to allow a single refugee to cross her heavily policed borders. Even members of the Czech Communist Party, according to all reports, have been refused Soviet visas. Russia's attitude on these 1500 anti-fascist refugees trapped in Czechoslovakia, in fact, is so scandalous that even the New Republic ventured a mild editorial reproof in its February 1 issue: "Russia has done nothing and promised nothing (though Foerster's life could have been saved by a Russian or any other visa)."

All this is familiar enough. What gives Mrs. Guggenheimer's letter a certain news value is that her "Non-Sectarian Committee for Political Refugees" has for its chairman the Hon. Vito Marcantonio, and bears as its subtitle, in smaller letters: "International Labor Defense." Thus the Stalinists appeal for funds to save refugees whom the Kremlin is delivering over to Hitler's executioners. I have written a naive and worried note to Mrs. Guggenheimer asking for an explanation of this paradox, but so far she has maintained a discreet silence on the subject.

The Penalties of Wealth

These are uneasy, dangerous times, when anything may happen. The unemployed worry about how they will feed themselves if W.P.A. is cut again. The employed worry about the rising tide of anti-unionism and the dubious political future of the Wagner Act. All of us hold our breath as the explosion of a second world war is averted from week to week. Even the debutantes, it seems, have their worries. "This season, there are a dozen uncertainties!" exclaims a current ad for VOGUE magazine, and proceeds to list them: "Will you wear a starched, flirtatious petticoat? Or will you turn gypsy in plaids and stripes and jingling jewelry? Will you do your hair in a chignon and tie an 1860 bonnet under your chin? Or will you crop your curls in a 'baby' cut and tuck them under a crisp white sailor?" I am not up to some of the technical terms-"chignon" suggests nothing at all to me. crisp white sallor suggests perhaps too much. But I gather that even VOGUE's clientele finds modern life terrifying and confusing. We should never forget that the rich have their troubles, just like all the rest of us.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

BY EMANUEL GARRET

#### THE COMMUNARDS (March 18, 1871 - May 28, 1871)

They "stormed heaven." They charged the gates of boss-class security. They proved the strength and the solidarity of the oppressed. They lived for ten weeks as conquering, selfdisciplined proletarians, organizers of their own society. And they died, thousands upon thousands of never-to-be-forgotten martyrs in freedom's cause.

Who were they? Bakers, cobblers, teachersradical intellectuals, and proletarians of all trades. A few of them are known by name: the clerk Jourde who carefully guarded the finances of the Commune; the German Marxist Leo Franckel who as head of the Commission of Labor and Exchange was responsible for the propagation of socialist ideas; Delescluze, who was Civil Delegate for War; Louise Michel who organized and led the revolutionary women. These and some others are known. But the great, great majority are known only as anonymous fighters for liberty who struck the first staggering blow at capitalism, who sought to build a society of equality and freedom, and whose blood spattered the barricaded streets of

### Raise the Red Flag of the Commune

For months they had withstood the Prussian siege of Paris. (The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 was drawing to a close.) Lacking faith in the capitalist ministers who were preparing capitulation to Bismarck, they had placed the defense of Paris in their own citizens' army, the National Guard.

Food was short; want was great. They had begun to demand that government power be transferred to them; revolutionary committees sprang up in all sections.

All they hated was epitomized in the head of the capitalist republic that had been proclaimed some few months before: Thiers, "that monstrous gnome . . . the most consummate intellectual expression of their (the bourgeoisie's) class corruption" (in the words of Karl Marx). And when Thiers, who had not dared enter Paris for weeks, organized a raid in the early morning hours of March 18 to seize the arms held by the National Guard, all Paris rushed to the defense. Barricades were thrown up quickly. Soldiers sent to attack the barricaded workers, fraternized instead. The red flag of the Commune was that day raised.

### Begin the Work of Socialism

The Communards were improperly organized. They had no group of leaders with a clear program of what to do, no party. They committed mistake after mistake: they allowed the Bank of France to continue unmolested: they did not expropriate the property of the financiers and industrialists; they failed above all to make a

But they did prove the ability of the working class to take the reins of society, an ability which was again to be proved by the Russian workers, and which will some day soon be again tested in France. Crime, murder virtually disappeared; the motives of inequality and injustice gone, crime ceased. Provisions and food were parcelled out to all.

Night-work in bakeries stopped; illegal traffic in bread was punished. A moratorium on rent was declared. Shops abandoned by their owners were to be taken over "by the cooperative association of the workers employed in them." Reorganization of the disorganized and undemocratic school system was begun. An eight-hour day for all workers was the goal. In the arms factory, the workers had a ten-hour day, but the director, foreman, and other officials were all elected by the workers; a factory council met every evening to discuss the conditions and work in the shop. And much else-some actually put into effect, others aimed at.

Towards the end of May, the Versaillese, the army of the capitalist state officials, began a concerted attack on Paris. For seven days, from May 21 to May 28, the flercest fighting raged. The resistance of the Commune finally cracked. The Versaillese swooped down on Paris and massacred the defeated Communards. Some thirty thousand were shot down in cold blood. Those who were allowed to live were exiled to feverridden penal colonies, or locked for years in dungeon cells.

Throughout the Commune, the capitalist agents and press had howled about the "terror" of the Commune. Actually, the Commune had sinned in the reverse respect. The Commune was overtolerant to its enemies, only in its last few days did it try seriously to root out the traitors in its midst. Far from being cruel to private property owners inside Paris, it erred mortally by being over-considerate of the parasites. Yet, no sooner had the Communards been vanquished than the atrocity-story-tellers unleashed an unrestrained ferocity and bestiality against the Communards.

### Harbinger of a New Society

In their mistakes and failures as well as in their victories the great teachers of socialism. Marx, Engels, Lenin, saw lessons to be learnedhow the working class must organize in a revolutionary party, how the proletariat can only succeed if guided by a consistent socialist program, how the workers must completely destroy the state machinery of the bosses, and substitute their own.

"Working-men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

## ONLY WAY TO FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM THE IS TO ORGANIZE WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

The Daily Worker's Cries About "Provocation" and "Trotskyite-Fascists" Will Not Go Over With Those Members of the C. P. Who loined in the Demonstration and Realized How Fascism Must Be Fought

ARTICLE TWO

By FELIX MORROW we dealt with two important torially: points: 1. That the Popular or Democratic Front policy of the Stalinists always gives the "progressive" capitalist-democrat the final say in what the workers do or do not do, and 2. That the 'progressive" capitalists have always, everywhere, and continue now in America, to oppose the use of militant methods of fighting fascism. A number of other points are equally important: EVIDENCE PUNCTURES

ALIBI FOR COPS 3. The workers who demonstrated on Feb. 20 had it proved on their heads and backs that the "progressive" capitalists are opposed to anti-fascist demonstrations. LaGuardia's police, not losing their heads but cooly and deliberately attacked the demonstration. Why? The Stalinists, ready to defend their "Democratic front" alliance with La-Guardia and his cops, foully accuse the workers of "provocations." The workers, we are told to believe, insisted on running their heads into the cops' clubs, and on rolling themselves under the horses hooves. The Trotskyists, presumably, hypnotized fifty thousand workers to a point where they enjoyed being beaten

and kicked. The Stalinist alibi for the cops, owever, is punctured by authoritative testimony from many quarters that the cops assaulted the picket lines. Even the Jewish Morning Journal and the Jewish

Even the New Republic felt im- which would presumably not be the Jewish bourgeois press. he Communist party's explana-ing as an eyewitness to the police with the Bund, but with the city But this is a lie! The whole de-that use of "literal" reveals that tion, in the Daily Worker, March brutality. The Nation, consistent-administration and the police who velopment of fascism in Europe what he is going to say is so 3, of why it boycotted the anti- ly hostile to the Trotskyist move- were present to enforce the de- warns us that the road pointed preposterous that he cannot just Nazi demonstration of Feb. 20, ment, nevertheless declared edi- cision of the city administration." out by the Stalinists ends up in say, "It is a fact," but must add

> "But the sinister aspect of the AGAINST THE WORKERS Bund affair is that the city police not only protected the Nazis in their right of free rights of the demonstrators outside and inside to voice their opposition to the Nazi doctrine. "We are all too familiar with

the actions of the police bent on thing in this case is that the city administration, for all its anti-fascist convictions, gave sanction to the police in what has become their occupational antagonism to all picket lines. Newbold Morris, acting mayor, issued a statement asking the public to show their support of democratic institutions by shunning the assemblage as 'one would a pestilence.' A pestilence is not overcome by shunning it; the only effective popular answer to such meetings as that of the Bund is counter-demonstration. The two left groups, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League, who insisted on exerclsing their right to picket, discovered that they and not the Nazis were the 'enemy.' They were dispersed by force-and the police become the heroes of the newspapers, of Mayor La-Guardia, and unquestionably of the German-American bund."

(The Nation, Mar. 4, 1939) As a matter of fact, Jerome un-Daily Forward were constrained for granted such behavior of the the fascists. The same conclusion cratic front" became fully clear, of the discussion that they belong to report the police's unprovoked police, when he says that a Com- was drawn by the yellow Social- Hence the Stalinists seek to con- with us in the Socialist Workers assaults on the demonstrators, munist party demonstration- Democratic Jewish Forward and fuse the issue by impugning the Party.

pelled to publish James T. Far- led by provacateurs-"would have STALINIST ROAD LEADS

THE POLICE ALWAYS

against the workers.

4. "Every result since the Communist position," says Jerome. "The Bund is far more exposed now after the meeting than before it; even notorious reactionaries and pro-fascists are frying for the moment to disassociate themselves from its activity. This will make it more difficult for the Bund to organize such meetings in the future. Exactly the opposite would have been the result had the Communist party ignored the welfare of the whole democratic camp and mobilized its tens of thousands of members and friends around the Garden on Monday night."

consciously reveals that he takes workers not to mobilize against if the meaning of this "Demo- and they will learn in the course

In our first article dealing with rell's letter to LaGuardia, testify- incited a direct collision not only TO CONCENTRATION CAMPS | literal fact," says Jerome-and

the concentration camps.

ty leadership know that every- ing the workers out into the provocation; the Trotskyite 'pickwhere-in Italy, Germany, Spain, streets and the neighborhoods ets were the outside auxiliary of speech: they interfered with the France-the police, no matter where the fascists rally, by thus the Bund within the Garden." who is at the head of the capi- organizing the power of the work- Who believes such vile nonsense? talist government, always concen- ing class in direct conflict with Certainly not the cynical hireling. trate their fight on the workers the fascists. Once this is under- Jerome, who writes it. instead of the fascists. The stood, the best of the workers LET THE C.P. MEMBERS DISpolice's "occupational antagonism must be organized into Workers CUSS THE DEMONSTRATION! 'law and order'; the alarming to all picket lines", and the funda- Defense Guards, prepared and The cry of "Trotskyists-fascists" mental loyalty of "progressives" trained to smash the fascist will certainly not go far with the to capitalism lead them inevitably gangs. There is no other way. The thousands of Communist party to side in action-no matter what fascist gangs do not believe in members and sympathizers who, they say - with the fascists abiding by the results of the bal- defying their party's orders, jointhe procedure. On the contrary, the tion, and side by side with us meeting confirms the wisdom of fascists plan to come to power by stood up against the cops and the generally. To appeal to "democ- leadership uses name-calling: to Not Kill."

fake "progressives" to uniting the questions. workers against the fascists. DARE NOT BARE

THEIR FULL LINE

By this Stalinist logic, there-however, dare to bare their full their party units, let them fight fore, the way to end the fascist line, for it is so alien to the mili- for a militant policy in the strugmovement is for the fascists to tant instincts of the workers that gle against fascism, let them dehold more meetings at which they the Communist party would be mand an end to the policy of ser-"expose themselves" and for the stripped of every real anti-fascist vile obedience to the LaGuardian

motives of those who called the anti-Nazi demonstration, "It is a "literal" as underpinning-"that The only way to fight the fas- the Trotskyite 'pickets' were part Jerome and the Communist par- cists is by mass struggle, by bring- and parcel of the Bund plan for

lof-box, or by any other peaceful ed us in the Feb. 20 demonstraphysical violence against the la- Nazis. But they must also learn bor movement and anti-fascists to understand why the Stalinist racy" against the fascists is like cover up its inability to answer trying to stop bullets with the our indictment of the cowardly biblical edict that "Thou Shalt and anti-working class course of the Communist party. We were But the road of struggle is driven out of the Communist parbarred to the members and sym- ty because the lackeys of Stalin pathizers of the Communist par- could not debate the issues with ty by their leaders. Tied hand and us, and they will drive out of the foot to the LaGuardias and Roose- Communist party every sincere velts, they prefer unity with these worker who raises these vital

We do not ask the Communist party members to take our word for it. Let them open a discussion The Stalinist leaders do not, of the Feb. 20 demonstration in

# Madrid Workers Fight Repression

suppression of uprisings in Albacete, Valencia, Cuenca, Guadalajara, Alcala Henares, Jaen and Murcia.

One can only conclude from the extent and the scope of the "up- the day of his formal resignation. less, for the ensuing resistance of rising" that it has deep roots in the situation, far deeper than of the Popular Front Junta, iden- that a boldly-led and well-organthose available to be tapped by tical in essence with that of Ne- ized fight against the Junta might the Communist party leadership grin, could scarcely have repelled have won overnight. after, contrary to all its expecta- the Stalinist leaders. tions, it was suddenly expelled from the Popular Front on Sunday night.

Bolt out of Blue

That expulsion was a bolt out the existing army and navy comto generals adhering to the Communist party. Never was a party ing the Communist party. caught off guard more than that night when the Stalinist leadership learned that the non-Stalinist generals with the support of the N.Y. Times reporter at Valenthe Popular Front, had decreed clue: the expulsion of the Communist

had no alternative except to flee the country the next day, when it became clear that the whole Popular Front leadership, itself excepted, was backing the Junta. The final blow was Miaja's agree of the Spanish people." ing to head the Junta, for so far as it lay within its power the Communist party had taught the masses not only to put all faith and trust in the Popular Front, but equally had preached unquestioning obedience to General Miaja, whom the Communist party. had christened, "the savior of Madrid."

Peace Was Sought Apparently the Communist party, between Sunday night and Monday afternoon when its leader-

ship fied, had attempted to make its peace with the new Junta, An early Monday United Press dispatch actually listed the Communist party as among the organizations tendering their allegiance to the Junta!

Monday's Daily Worker and Freiheit, appearing on the streets long after the tabloids had screamingly reported the coup, had not a word to say on the subject; attempts were still being made to secure toleration for the Communist party.

The Communist party press dur-

ing the last few weeks has sought to picture Negrin as deterantee the hides of the Popular to them. Front's leading elements. But these

If further proof of this were needed, the Stalinist press treat- maneuver of the Popular Front "while their despicable leaders, ment of Azana's maneuvers in Junta found the Communist party with La Pasionaria and Jesus Paris gives the show away. The Stalinists covered Azana up until

Nevertheless, they were expelled from the Popular Front. They

"Greater Good"

Why? In language discreet enough to get past the censorship, every other party and group of cia, George Axelsson, provides the

"People outside Spain may say In terms of its own objectives, the lions or offered up as a sacthe Communist party leadership rifice to the gods, and even assuming this is true-which is by no means sure—editorials hereabouts are unanimous in asserting that the sacrifice has been for the greater good of the greater part

The second clue is provided by the British Tory press, which warmly praises the establishing of the Junta and Miaja's "statesmanship," and predicts that now the forthcoming peace negotiations will be an "officers' club

Putting these two clues together the answer is obvious: the Stalinists, despite all their servility to developing against the Negrinthe "democratic" capitalists, their Stalinist regime; the Junta merely strangling of the Spanish revolu- inherited it. But the flight of the tion, their yoking of the French Communist party leadership proworkers to Daladier's war machine, etc., are still considered sible propaganda against the op-"Reds"-i.e., the agents of Mos- position. cow. The Popular Front therefore served these reds up as a sacrificial offering to Franco, hop- Front Junta skillfully appealed to ing thereby to mollify him suffici- the opposing masses. ently to secure amnesty for the non-Communist Popular Front

Franco's Move Next

With the Communist party not only eliminated from the government, but also condemned in the most violent terms by every sector of the Popular Front, Franco can now, if he so desires, conclude soldiers, not alone in the name mined on a last-ditch fight, in the an "officers' club" peace without of a government which does face of the daily reports, never loss of face. The true Spaniards denied by Negrin, authoritatively having repented of their liason name of a party whose principal describing his readiness to make with the Communists, he can say. peace, if only Franco would guar- he is justified in being generous

Whether Franco will actually fairy tales in the Stalinist press do so, however, is another matter. were designed to let the faithful If Franco now smashed the Loydown easy; certainly the Com- alist army by force, it will not be munist party leadership has un-|the first time that woud-be-capit-| tant country where you can take |the workers? It is now clear | them to the slaughter.

This cynical and treacherous trying to stage a daring coup,"

defenseless. Not actually, physically defense- to Oran (Algiers)." Hence the capitulatory policy the troops to the Junta indicates

C.P. Could Not Fight But the Communist party could not possibly make that fight. It munists were the planes which were expelled, not because they was politically defenseless against would not come to terms, but its expulsion from the Popular flee the country. because the Popular Front would Front. For to actively resist this of the blue to the Communist not keep them on any terms at expulsion would mean to present the Stalinst scapegoats, the Popparty. It was riding higher than all. On the contrary, the primary the world with a picture of the ular Front Junta, having observed ever. Negrin had just abolished function of the assumption of Communist party alone (alone Stalinist methods at close range power by the Junta, backed by among the organizations, that is, for 32 months, borrowed from mands and was turning them over the Popular Front, was for the though undoubtedly backed by a them: identify your rival with purpose of expelling and outlaw- great section of the masses, in the hated enemy: "Franco never spite of all its previous crimes, had a better ally than the Comfighting a combination of all its munists," the Junta declared in a allies of yesterday.

Precisely this picture of the Communist party fighting alone against the enemy-even when the enemy is not the "democratic Popular Front" of Spain, but the the Communists were thrown to vilest fascist group, like the Nazi Bund at Madison Square Garden on Feb. 20-is what the Stalinist leadership the world over is determined shall not appear anywhere. "Unity of the democratic forces" -never to appear as an independent camp-is the most funda- and Valencia, and great numbers yesterday cheek by jowl in the mental goal of the Stalinist lead- of others are being held at Mad-

> population and land still uncon- rid," is saving Franco some of his quered by Franco, the masses work. know that resistance could be continued, for Franco's hold on the rest of Spain is purely military and vulnerable to revolts from within.

This mass opposition had been vided the Junta with the best pos-

Identifying all opposition with the Communist party, the Popular "The members of the Negrin

government are in France," said a Junta broadcast, "The government betrayed the people and the directors of the Communist party have betrayed their own "Under these conditions who

has the right to speak to the not exist, but even in the chiefs have taken flight? "Communist comrades, you

still love Spain, Comrades, there are no planes at your disposal to take you to France! Communist comrades, there is no place reserved for you in a dis-

Hernandez are in shameful flight Borrow from Stalinists had been misled into believing that the air fleet was under Communist control, the Junta issued

only planes in the hands of Com-Communist leaders had used to In its violent language against

Thursday noon broadcast, reminiscent of the Communist party's campaigns against "Trotskyist"

Having created the necessary hateful atmosphere, the Popular Front Junta could be ruthless. Nineteen "Communists" were shot on Thursday in Valencia in cold blood, not to speak of the hundreds already killed in the fighting. More than 2500 "Communists" have been arrested at Cartagena rid, Alicante, Murcia and other With roughly a third of Spain's Points. Miaja, the "savior of Mad-

No Alibi Now

heroes of the Popular Front, the left republican parties-headwhom the Stalinists taught the ed by Barrio, Azana, and Aguirre masses to revere: some of them, of the Basque Nationalists-supsafely out of Spain, applaud the port the Junta. butchery and sanction it from The "petty anarchists," it now afar: Azana, head of the Left appears, are to be joined by Mari-Republican party; Martinez Bar- ano R. Vasquez, General Secrerio, head of the Republican Union tary of the C.N.T., who on Wedparty; Ambassador to United nesday wired his support to the States Fernando de los Rios. Junta, adding that he was returnsage of the right wing of the So- ing from Paris.

troops on May 3-7, 1937; when in Spain. scores and hundreds of the flower of the working class were asassin-Communists and their G.P.U."

partners in crime of the Stalinists!

Cover Up Butchers

One would think that the counter-revolutionary course of the C.N.T., U.G.T. and S.P. leadership would now be the object of bitter Declaring that revolting troops denunciation by the Communist party. On the contrary, however, the Stalinists have set themselves the fantastic task of denying that a communique asserting that the these organizations are supporting the Popular Front Junta!

The line is set in a dispatch from Moscow in the Daily Worker. March 9. Calling the Junta the "Fifth Column," it proceeds to belittle the composition of the Junta. "All honest Socialists have long since repudiated Besteiro, a schemer and old friend of the

British secret service." True enough, but when did the Stalinists discover it? Not when they were voting, in the cabinet, to send Besteiro as the Spanish government's representative to King George VI's coronation!

"Who are the other members of the committee of traitors: Wenceslao Carillo, a friend of Largo Caballero, a friend of the POUMites. How could the traitors do without their Trotskyist agent?" The descripion, of course, is invented for the occasion; the Stalinists worked with Carillo until U.G.T.-which has now officially designated A.P. Garcia as its rep-

"Also two petty anarchists and one Left Republican of secondary importance joined the committee." Among the butchers are all the Not a word about the fact that

cialist party, who on Wednesday | The Stalinists are driven to cabled his support to the Junta. this fantastic move of covering up On the spot, directly leading the the crimes of their allies of yesbutchery, are other saints haloed terday, because above all in Amerin the Stalinist press until yester- ica they propose to repeat the day, above all of course, General experience of the Popular Front. They dare not, therefore, admit When the Barcelona workers- that it is the Popular Front as a the same who had smashed the whole-i.e., all the corrupt leaders fascists on July 19, 1936-were who worked with them yesterday being shot down by the police and -which is butchering the workers

Honor Their Memory!

And while the Stalinists play ated or formally executed, and this insane and impotent politics, tens of thousands of others were the best militants of the civil war being imprisoned during the last against fascism are falling under two years-the U.G.T., 'C.N.T. and the artillery, warplanes, tanks and Socialist leadership whined: "It is machine guns of the Popular not our fault. It's the work of the Front. Honor their memory! Above all, the only kind of honor But now the Stalinists are gone. that counts: to learn from their What alibi now for the corrupt defeats, to avenge them, against labor bureaucrats who are sanc- Franco, against the Popular Front, tioning Miaja's slaughtering of against the Stalinists who led