# MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Just as the development of capland barons. By means of its comagricultural products, of the prices they need, and of the credit system, monopoly finance capital exploits monopoly capitalism, the farmer for their crops. gradually falls into hopeless debt through the process of mortgaging The Attack on Trotsky his land, his home, even his future crop in his desperate struggle to keep from starving.

The bankers' mortgage system is merely a stage in the degradation of the independent farmer to land tenancy and into share-cropping and the status of farm laborer. The capitalist ruling class in the advanced countries observe this inevitable process with dread, for it creates the allies of the profetariat in the struggle for power and thus menaces the "social stability". American capitalism is now face to face with the problem of "stabilizing" agriculture and subsidizing farmers so as to maintain them for use against the working class when it becomes necessary. The AAA was created with this in view and was intended to aid in "solving" the farm problem. Actually comes from those revolutionsts who its attempts reveal, leaving aside are working to create the Fourth the hypocrisy of every ruling class when dealing with the exploited tional would at the same time be and oppressed, the utter inability of a menace not to the Soviet Union capitalism to solve the farm prob-. . .

### Driving Farmers Off the Land

Minority Groups in the Economic Europe for the creation of the Recovery, just issued, shows how the AAA has worked not in the interests of the actual farmers, but Revolutionary Party, the Stalinists in those of the exploiters of these feel it necessary to discredit Comfarmers through the well-estab- rade Trotsky. lished modes of usury. The bank-

The AAA and the Tenant Farmer | whites and blacks alike, thereby evading all responsibility for feeditalist industry results in the ever ing them and throwing them on the greater concentration of wealth in starvation relief handed out by the the hands of the few fabulously government. Meantime, while its rich financiers, so the development policies result in this wholesale of capitalist farming exhibits also wave of evictions and driving of the concentration of land ownership farmers off the land, the governin the hands of fewer and fewer ment makes empty gestures of establishing "subsistence homesteads" plex control of the market for and "peasant proprietorships". And this is the reactionary solution ofcharged to farmers for the goods fered by the Committee on Minority Groups. Only socialism, not capitalism, can really set out to solve the small farmer more intensively the agricultural problem, by organthan under any previous economic izing the farmers into collectives system. Helpless against the gi- and giving them a fair exchange in gantic forces not of nature but of manufactured goods and services

The constantly growing and ever more vicious attacks made in the Stalinist press on Comrade Trotsky, assume more and more the aspect of a widespread preparation for new efforts of the Soviet bureaucracy to perpetrate a frame-up against him. In their desperate eagerness to trick the working class into believing that Trotsky can, by some occult process known only to the Stalinists, be lumped together with counter-revolutionists and white guardists, not to mention police agents, the Stalinists form a real united front with bourgeois

Nothing would suit the French reactionaries more than to see this Bolshevik-Leninist snuffed out of existence. They recognize that the real menace to French capitalism International. The New Internato the defense of which it would be devoted, but to the corrupt bureaucracy that has ruled in Russia since Lenin died. In order to scotch the growing movement of The report by the Committee on workers in the countries of Western Fourth International, as symbolized by the building of the new Dutch

Their effort at a "plant" in the ers have been enabled to borrow Kirov assassination-through a letfunds at low rates of interest and ter that the GPU had hoped to obto loan out these same funds at tain with the aid of a foreign con- 18. But the Social Democracy had the usual extortionate rates. Far sul-fell through. But this makes ceased to be a progressive force, from "stabilizing" the farming in- all the more likely a new and worse had become a hindrance to the ondustry, the policy pursued by the attempt in France where the Soviet government under the New Deal has bureaucracy feels its whole oppor- lution. The vanguard workers, the had the effect of degrading the lot tunist policy jeopardized by the best fighting elements left the S.P. of the tenant farmer even more, revolutionary course pursued by Under Lenin's leadership the perand of actually driving him off the the Bolshevik-Leninist fraction of Curtailment of crops to raise growing and concerted attacks in prices has put out of employment such sheets as the Daily Worker hundreds of thousands of tenant thus merely serve to set us on our farmers in the South. It pays the guard against the danger of a new landlord to evict these tenants, frame-up against Comrade Trotsky.

# of Fourth International (Ed. Note: At the recent Paris | Left Socialists and Norwegian Left

Dutch Parties Raise Banner

Conference of the Left Socialist and Independent parties the two revolutionary organizations of Holland, the Independent Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, strongly defended the slogan of the Fourth International, and urged that steps be taken to further the movement for its constitution. The Socialist Workers Party of Germany (S.A.P.) appeared as the chief sabotagers of the slogan which they once publicly espoused. We print below a polemic on the question from the columns of De Baanbreker, official organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland in response to an editorial in Het Volk, the organ of the reformist Social Democrats. We hope in the near future to have more complete reports of the Paris Conference as well as of the fusion of the two Holland parties under the banner of the Fourth International.)

#### TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE IN DE BAANBREKER (March 2, 1935, on the Paris Conference of Feb. 14)

Het Volk under the heading "Splitters Hold Congress" states: "The New Leader (British) contains a report of the conference of so-called left Socialist groups recently held in Paris. Holland was represented by the O.S.P. and R.S. P. The chief point on the agenda was the question of the building notion that we have simply to "proof a New International. The re-claim" the Fourth International in port indicates the greatest differ- order to establish it as a factor in ences of opinion on the subject the political life of the working exist among the various parties and class. Neither, however, is there groups. The Hollanders were for anyone among us who cherishes the proceeding as rapidly as possible sickly notion that in the process with the building of the New In- of bringing the Fourth Internationternational. Representatives of the al into being we can dispense with German S. A. P. remarked that it the banner which symbolizes the would be an illusion to suppose new idea. For our part we do not that the workers are waiting tire of presenting the evidences of breathlessly for the New Interna- the progressive and rapid bankrupttional. The Poles regarded a New International as desirable but nationals. opined that the question still remained a theoretical one. In the do not go on utopian voyages of tional battle in the Marxist spirit voting three groups, namely, the discovery after brand new ideas and that its organization, the com-O.S.P., R.S.P. and Youth Bureau, which would have only one charac- ing Fourth International, must be voted for the New International; teristic, namely, freedom from any a revolutionary Marxist organiza- ization. The antagonism between

Socialists, voted against, and the remainder abstoined." . . .

" indicated in a previous issue, the German S.A.P. was chiefly concerned with bringing together the greatest possible majority for a purely platonic uterance on the New International. " a "ashed so much im-

portance to this activity that it aiust the resolution of the S.P. and R.S.P. Since the editor of Het Volk eulogizes the "wisom" of the S.A.P. in this connec-

....ercam manner that the pionwere for the regeneration of the revolutionary working class movement we do not appreciate such "wisdom".

Official Communists and Social Democrats are naturally of one mind in combatting the idea of the Nothing else can be expected from them. Entirely incorrect is the view of those workers who use the formula that the New International will stand "between the Social Democracy and the official C. P." He who cherishes this idea is obsessed in the same way as those confused element who think of a fusion of the Second and Third International and consequently, so far as possible, avoid facing the question of rallying the forces of labor

in the Fourth International. No one among us has the foolish cy of the Second and Third Inter-

But we are not defeatists. We three, the English I.L.P., Swedish "taint" of traditional Socialism. tion. Why Join the Workers Party? Letters to a Worker Correspondent

By A. J. MUSTE Fellow-Worker:

allies in doing the job. You have, a new International? however, a member of the Commu-Hearst and others is helping Fascism and attacking and undermining the Soviet Union, and is no better than Hitler himself." The Workers Party is ready to meet that argument and to meet it in no uncertain terms.

We hold that the C.P. and C.I. are no longer revolutionary organizations. They have in recent years organized and are now organizing defeats and not victories for the working class. Insofar as they have influence, they retard the building of a healthy and vigorous revolutionary movement everywhere. Furthermore, the policies of the Stalinist leadership which dominates the Soviet Union and the C.I. do not strengthen the defense of the Soviet Union, the one workers' state in the world; they are weakening and destroying those defenses; they are preparing the way for the overthrow of the workers'

We must not be deceived by the paper programs of the C. P., by the claims it makes for itself, or the fact that it still has a considerable number of members and adherents. The Social Democrats called themselves Marixans, claimed to have the only way to establish Socialism and maintained big parties of the Second International in various countries after the betrayal of the masses into the hands of nationalism in the Great War of 1914spective of building the new, Third, the French Socialist Party. The International was raised. Although the number of those who accepted this line was at first small and they were apparently isolated from the mass movements which had plunged into support of the war activities of the imperialist powers, the future was with the forces looking toward the new International. Very soon, in the crisis in Russia in 1917, they demonstrated their soundness and their power by giving the final blow to Czarism, overthrowing the middle class and establishing the Workers' State. Even so, the future today is with the parties and groups looking toward the

Fourth International. I do not have the space in this letter to go fully into all the evidence to back up our estimate of the C. P., the C.I. and the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union. We have dealt and will deal with them in the New Militant, the New International and in pamphlets and books. Here I want to list just a few points which I am sure will convince you and which you can use tion we wish to make it known in in discussion with workers who are still under official C. P. influence.

1. The Third International has not had a Congress since 1928seven years! Why not? Back in the days when the Soviet Union was being attacked on a dozen fronts World Congresses of the C.I. were held in Moscow every year. new growing Fourth International. If the leadership of the C.P.S.U. prevents the holding of World Congresses now, it must be because it does not care to or dare to face a World Congress-or both. What kind of a vanguard international party of the working class of the world is it which in these years of the triumph of Fascism, in these days of war preparations everywhere, holds no World Congress? What evidence is there that the present leadership of the Soviet Union is interested in the world

> Revolutionary Marxism remains for spring the ideas that must serve as the basis of the Fourth International. There is continuity in the development of the working class pression in the movement this continuity obtains. Whereas the Second International presents a hopelessly crippled version of the fundamental truths of revolutionary Marxism and the Third Internawill nevertheless understand that it must carry through its interna-

about the need of overthrowing the mit that in reality there is no Washington. A non-party gatherpresent economic system and of longer a C.I. and will graciously ing, the Unemployment Insurance building a Marxist revolutionary allow that it is not "counter-revo- Congress, is in session there. Some

2. Consider the debacle of the nist (Stalinist) party in your shop Communist Party in Germany. Here and he says that the C. P. is the we had the mightlest Communist only revolutionary party, and the Party in the capitalist world. Ever Third (Communist) International since the war a powerful Communthe only international revolutionary ist movement had existed in Gerorganization. You are against the many. Yet this movement collapsed Soviet Union, according to him, if like a toy balloon at the advent of opened and Browder made them a We stand, and we alone, for the you are against the C. P. The C.P. Hitler-without a gesture of reis the party that is doing the fight- sistance, without a single fight in ing for the workers, the Negroes, the streets. Surely this is evidence etc. Of course it has made some of a terrible degeneration in the mistakes, but it has corrected them, | C. I. How many debacles like that and "any one who attacks the C. P. in Germany do we have to permit or builds another party now when before the workers have a "right" the C. P. is being attacked by to call a halt, brush the C. I. aside, and build a new International?

> cently been tossed overboard. The A. F. of L. unions are company unions and must be smashed; "revolutionary" unions dual to the A. F. of L. must be built; a federation of labor dual to the A. F. of L. must be stablished; we do not enter into a united front with the S. P. etc. but only into a "united front from below" with the members of of Fascism"; those who advocate a labor party are simply trying to keep the masses out of the C.P.these have been the basic policies of the C. P. in this country for six years. They were reaffirmed by a unanimous vote (all votes are unanimous in the C. P.) at a party convention last June. Any who questioned any of these policies were denounced in the most victous and scurrilous manner as counter-revoutionists and social-fascists. Today all these policies are tossed overof a party convention. A somersault in fact has been executed. Stalinists have to go into A. F. of L. unions. C. P. leaders fawn upon trade union bureaucrats and S. P. leaders. They are silent as the grave about the dearly beloved united front from below. It seems that there are no more social fascists on like that of the babitual drunk at Kirov! the Rescue Mission; and for the colossal impudence of the C. P. plea to American workers: "We have a

working class!"

party to lead the workers and their | lutionary" for the workers to build | Lovestoneites (whose main aim in life, curiously enough, is still to get back into the C. P.) distributed planned socialist production even a leasiet calling for the building of in the face of the greatest obstacles

speech informing them that they were now for a labor party!

What happened? True, some of the comrades turned pale momentarily and experienced that sick feeling at the stomach. There had to be some explanation in the Daily Worker. The nature of this explanation is the best evidence anyone could ask of the low intellec-3. All the leading policies of the tual level which has been reached C.P. of the U.S. in recent years in the C. P., and that includes the have proven bankrupt and have re-"intellectuals", critics, novelists, poets, artists, social workers, preachers, etc. who are C. P. members or stooges.

The Daily Worker explained: The Labor Party question is one of tactics not principle, so we can change the line without much ado. Any- ism can be built-that is, poverty way, it was not really a change of abolished, classes done away with, line; we always were for a labor etc .- in the Soviet Union alone and the S. P.; Socialists are social-fas- party under proper conditions. As although capitalism still holds sway cists, "Social Democracy is the twin for having a party discussion before in all other lands. It is natural changing the line, in the first place that under these circumstances in the C. P. the members have such | those who believe this and especialconfidence in the Political Commit- ly office-holders in the S. U. should without consulting the membership; tion in other countries, should concussion does not precede actionwe discuss and act at the same and tell the Communist parties in time (though to the eye of the other countries that their only job simple-minded outsider it looked as is "defending the Soviet Union". though Stalin gave the order, Browder obediently repeated it, the ing-out of this theory? The interparty leaders and members blinked their eyes, swallowed hard, accept- emasculated. Not a Congress of board without even the formality ed the order like the robots they the C. I. has been held in seven have become, and only then invery little "discussion" in which no countries are forced to change omniscience of Stalin, "the beloved gencies of the foreign and domesof the working class", as he is now ship of the S. U. dictate. Upon described in the Soviet Union with parties thus weakened Fascism ina fulsome flattery which Lenin flicts one defeat after another. itiative in building a "labor" party turally enough about all that em- to count under these circumstances stand on the same premise as -a mass, class, federated, class- erged from a "discussion" conduct- on the backing of any powerful Hearst, who also identifies the struggle, not reformist, not revolu- ed on that level was that "Trotskytionist, highest form of united front st" opposition to the labor party countries, the Stalinist leadership and attacks the latter through the "labor" party! I cannot imagine or criticism of the way in which the leads it further and further into a misdeeds of the former, using if that this group of workers meeting turn in the party line had been swamp. In order to postpone war, necessary the fact that Trotsky,

100 percent record of failure on all and remains loyal to it, because he our policies. Everybody else saw it accepts the C. P. argument which years ago. Even we see it now, runs something like this: The Consequently, we are the only qual- | Soviet Union is the only workers' ified revolutionary leaders of the state in the world. It is the workers' fatherland. It is in terrible 4. A Dictatorship of one man, danger today. Our main, practic-Stalin, exists in the Third Interna- ally our sole task, is to defend it. tional. Earl Browder, secretary of Save the Soviet Union and all is the C.P.U.S. is his messenger boy, saved; lose it and all is lost. "At-Under these conditions the C. P. is tack" the C. P. today and you atutterly incapable of correcting its tack Stalin; attack Stalin who has mistakes. It can only execute zig- the full support of the workers in zags. Consider what happened a the S. U. today and you attack the month or two ago. The C. P. is S. U. Any one who does that is

lines up with Hitler, he is an assassin of Soviet leaders, he is that You say that quite a few of the revolution? How many more years | against a "labor" party. Browder vilest of all creatures, one who unmen you have been talking to have have to go by without a Congress steps off the boat; just returned der the disguise of a revolutionist been impressed by my arguments of the C.I. before the C.P. will ad- from Moscow. He hurries to would destroy the Soviet Union and the October Revolution.

We too believe that the Soviet Union is a workers' state. We point to the achievements of the workers in the S. U. as evidence of how a labor party. Using the type of and when as yet only the beginargument at which they shine most nings of the foundations of a sobrightly, the Stalinists tore up the cialist system exist alongside of vesleaflets and beat up the Lovestone- tiges of capitalism, can do more ite distributers! Then the meeting for the masses than capitalism can.

real defense of the Soviet Union. To hold that you can defend the S. U. and advance the interests of the Soviet workers only by accepting the Stalin regime and not criticizing Stalin is like saying that in order to defend unionism in the U.S. and advance the interests of organized labor you have to accept the regime of Bill Green, John L. Lewis, Matty Well and Dan Tobin and have to regard any criticism of these bureaucrats as treason. Our contention is precisely that in both cases the interests of the workers can be advanced only by defeating the present leadership.

The Stalin theory is that Socialtee that the Committee can act become lukewarm about the revoluin the second place, in the C. P. dis-centrate all their attention on "building Socialism" in the S. U.,

What is the result of the worknational revolutionary movement is years, as we have pointed out. The one breathed the least doubt of the their line mechanically as the ex-The Soviet Union not being able

revolutionary force in capitalist effected was part of a counter-rev- the S. U. enters the League of Na- who does not identify the Stalinist C. P. "conversion", a conversion olutionary plot to assassinate tions which Lenin described as a clique with the proletarian dictaleague of imperialist robbers, and torship and sharply criticizes their Stalin proclaims this as a victory bureaucratic machinations in an the C. P. and outside finally swal- for the workers. A military alli- attempt to correct them. (It is to lows all its mistakes and crimes ance or "understanding" is entered be observed that Hearst does not into with imperialist France. Non- even hesitate to use Lenin's critaggression pacts are signed with ique of the Paris Commune for the various countries. "Leagues against same purpose, but the Daily Work-War and Fascism" mainly composed er conveniently ignores this fact.) of middle class intellectuals, are organized. Workers are imbued with the pacifist illusion that peace can pamphlet (that would be treading be maintained by these means. But on thin ice), even though they Stalinism can do and has done.

> The Bolshevik party in the S. U. has been destroyed. Of the Political Bureau of the party in Lenin's time no one but Stalin remains. All the rest are in prison, exile or retirement. Party opponents of Stalin are sent to Siberia or shot. In their place men like the present Soviet ambassadors to London, Paris, Berlin, Washington, who were bourgeois professors or Mencounter-revolutionary activity at from the necessary and correct sheviks or actually engaged in the time of the October revolution criticisms launched are elevated to office, and along with professors and social workers in the U. S. who discovered Russia yesterday, become authorities on

how to defend the Soviet Union! Recently one of these 1935 model Bolsheviks, Troyanovsky, Soviet against terrorists, much publicity lost its real content, in so far as ambassador to Washington, spoke ations on peace and socialism of to the big shots of the Bond Club the Social Democratic leaders beof New York about non-aggression fore 1914. The defense of the Soviet pacts (with capitalist powers) as Union today and the liberation of a means to preserve peace. He ar- the masses in capitalist countries gued that the nations must go fur- depends today upon the building of ment of electoral districts is of ab- ther-"dig to the bottom of con- new revolutionary parties and the temporary troubles". How? "It is new International. necessary to work out practical plans for the economic rehabilita- ed that these are "Russian" question of the world, but especially for tions and do not concern American Europe." In order to make it perfectly clear that he meant rehabiliand only right: to vote for Stalin. tation under capitalism he added: more directly than questions of the The secret ballot may at first "Probably the advice of broad-mind- trade union policy, labor party, ed business men would be available war, and on all of these the situa-

> official slate? An oppositionist, if Communists (Stalinists) to work elected by "secret ballot", would, for the rehabilitation, not the over- ever weakens the revolutionary indeed, be declared an open class throw of capitalism and to fight for movement and strengthens Fascism some imperialist nation when war anywhere directly concerns us, in comes on the ground that this nation is allied with the Soviet Union and that failing to fight for it will Bonpartist masquerade-and noth- mean to weaken the "defense of new international economy or pering more. The very need of such the Soviet Union". Thus also the ish in the slaughter created by the a masquerade is unmistakable tes- destruction of the workers' state in nationalists and imperialists. timony to the growing sharpening the Soviet Union is prepared, for a in the relations between the bureau- war in which the S. U. is involved, cracy and the tolling masses. Nei- while the revolutionary working a powerful revolutionary party in ther the workers nor the peasants class movement is demoralized and the U.S. that we must deliver the have any need for democratic fic- impotent can only end in the overtions. So long as Stalin keeps both throw of the workers' state in the his hands upon the throat of the S. U .- and the triumph of Fascism C. I. and the C.P.S.U. That can be

> > leadership of the S. U. lead in that in them under the regime of Staldirection. Their paper protesta- inism.

# QUESTION **BOX**

QUESTION: How do you account for the fact that Hearst makes use of Trotsky's pamphlet "The Kirov Assassination" to attack the Soviet Union so that the Daily Worker of March 20, pointing to this fact, is able to claim that Hearst and Trotsky are al-

ANSWER: To clarify the question let us first consider an analogy. When a trade union bureaucrat is proven to be corrupt, the capitalist press, identifying the corrupt union bureaucracy with the union itself, points to the facts with glee for the purpose of discrediting unionization in general. From the workers' viewpoint, however, which makes a distinction between the union as a workers' organization and its corrupt bureaucracy, it is necessary that the progressive elements within the organizations unceasingly expose such corruption so as to correct it, and only in this way can it be corrected and the corrupt leadership replaced.

The bureaucrats never attempt to reply to this criticism on its merits, i.e., are the charges true or not; that is too dangerous. Identifying themselves with the union to divert from the real issues, they usually answer as follows: "By attacking us you people are attempting to destroy OUR union. See! Even the press of the boss is using the information you are spreading to discredit us so that workers will quit the organization or refuse to join." As a matter of fact many workers, under the pressure of the capitalist propaganda, are repelled by the dishonesty of many trade-union bureaucrats, and consider unions as rackets, but the responsibility for this lies, not in the necessary criticism of the left-wing workers, but in the DEEDS of the bureaucrats.

Except that it is on a much higher historical plane and therefore more difficult to visualize, the degeneration of the Stalinist bureaudulged in a little "discussion", a Communist parties in capitalist cracy in the Soviet Union might be compared to that of the bureaucracy of the trade unions in the capitalist countries. Identifying themand genial leader of our party and tic policies of the present leader- selves with the Workers' State, the Stalinists consider and label any attack on their mistakes and crimes as an attack on the workers' fatherland itself. In this they

The Stalinists have not answered the criticism made in Trotsky's even that is not the worst that have devoted much space to slandering it. The attempt of the Daily Worker to draw on equation sign between Hearst and Trotsky is merely a smokescreen to divert from the real issues, a procedure in no way differing from that used by corrupt trade union bureaucra-

The gist of the matter is this: Analogous to the case of the trade unions, any discredit which may come to the Soviet Union flows, not Stalinist bureaucracy by the revolutionists, but from the DEEDS of this bureaucracy itself.

tions that the destruction and defeat of imperialist powers is their aim mean no more than the declar-

Sometimes workers have protestworkers. But it is clear that nothing can concern American workers tion in the C. I. determines the Thus the way is prepared for policy which the C. P. tries to impose on American workers. Whatthis world where peoples do not live within sky-high national walls, where the workers must build a

It is just because it is so tremendously important that we build revolutionary movement in this country from the domination of the fundamental reasons for the de-All the policies of the present generation which has taken place

"Soviet Democracy"

The Right to Vote for Stalin Is Granted

been created by Stalin's manhandling of his political opponents, under the guise of waging a struggle has been given to a great demo- the bureaucracy has completely decratic reform: collective farmers, prived both the former and the latas members of a socialist society, have been given equal electoral rights with the industrial workers. Upon this score the flunkies have raised a hullabaloo about the entry

#### day?]. The Role of the Party

into te kingdom of genuine demo-

cracy [but what was there yester-

The inequality in the electoral rights between the workers and peasants had its social reasons. The dictatorship of the proletariat in a peasant country found its necessary and open expression in the us the living fountain from which electoral privileges of the workers. The inequality of rights presupposed, in any case, the existence of rights. The Soviet system provided the toilers with a genuine possibilimovement. Even in times of de- ty for determining the fate of the country. The political power was concentrated in the hands of the vanguard-party. Through the Soviets and the trade unions, the party was always submitted to the pressure of the masses. By means of tional has falsified revolutionary this pressure the party kept the Marxism, the fighting proletariat Soviet bureaucracy subordinate to itself.

> It is utter nonsense that the peasantry has seemingly succeeded in proletarian vanguard all constitutor the utter breakdown of modern done only if we understand the the two to three years of collectiv- partist charlatanry. the city and village still preserves | February 10, 1935

In order to erect some sort of a fall of its acuteness. Even today the artial screen to counteract the dictatorship is inconceivable withrepulsive impression which has out the hegemony of the proletariat over the peasantry. But the inequality in the electoral rights between the workers and peasants has ter of political rights. From the standpoint of the mechanics of the Bonapartist regime the apportionsolutely no significance. The bureaucracy might have given the peasant ten times as many votes as he worker-we would obtain the very same result, for each and all possess in the last analysis the one

sight appear to be a genuine concession. But who would dare to and useful in this connection." oppose his own candidacy to the enemy, immediately after the elections. Thus the secret ballot cannot effect any real change.

The entire reform represents reeducating itself socially during tional reforms will remain Bona- civilization.