

NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

Editor

JOSEPH FREEMAN

Managing Editor

ALEXANDER TAYLOR

Associate Editors

THEODORE DRAPER

CROCKETT JOHNSON

Contributing Editors

ROBERT FORSYTHE, MICHAEL GOLD, HORACE GREGORY,
GRANVILLE HICKS, JOSHUA KUNITZ, LOREN MILLER,
BRUCE MINTON, WALTER RALSTON, ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Business and Circulation Manager

GEORGE WILLNER

Advertising Manager

ERIC BERNAY

★

Washington Weathercocks

IF the actions of Madame Perkins and Governor Earle during the past week are supposed to be commentaries on President Roosevelt's cryptic remark damning the "extremists" in both camps of the labor conflict, then the President meant something other than what he said. Madame Perkins's about-face on the sit-down issue lacked even the tact necessary to cover such a headlong retreat. Governor Earle's invective against the "Communist menace" at the Johnstown mass meeting was a thinly disguised effort to let the steel workers down by placing all blame on a convenient but innocent scapegoat. Both statements went far beyond the President's comment, which committed him to neither side.

One sentence in Secretary Perkins's letter on sit-downs was especially revealing: "It [the sit-down] is also full of hazards to the progressive democratic development of trade unionism and to the orderly process of collective bargaining and coöperation with employers on the basis of a recognized status." Madame Perkins knows, as we do, that sit-downs have never once prevented employers from dealing with a union. Unions resort to sit-downs, and strikes generally, after employers have refused to bargain collectively.

The tycoons of steel are masters at this type of misrepresentation. First, they refuse to bargain with the union. The union calls a strike. Then they refuse to bargain because the union has called a strike. "Coöperation with employers on a recognized status" indeed!

Elections in Ireland

IN most respects, the elections in Ireland followed Brian O'Neill's prophetic analysis in last week's NEW MASSES. "In Dublin, Cork, and other big centers, the disillusion of the masses, who are paying with an inflated cost of living for the industrial-protection policy, may find expression in an anti-Fianna Fáil vote," wrote O'Neill. Only this circumstance explains the failure of De Valera

to get a large majority in the next Dail. The defeat of former President Cosgrave's United Irish Party was nowhere as great as was expected nor as decisive as democratic institutions in Erin (or Eire, as it should now be called) required. A substantial bloc of seats is again held by the Labor Party.

De Valera's vote bore out O'Neill's contention that Fianna Fáil's strength with various employer groups has greatly increased since 1932, whereas his influence among the masses has significantly declined. This shift in the social base of the De Valera forces may hold the key to Ireland's future political alignment. The voters used two ways to show their disgust with pro-British and pro-fascist Cosgrave and their dissatisfaction with De Valera. Some voted Labor against both old parties. Some voted for De Valera in order to defeat Cosgrave, but voted against De Valera's new and reactionary constitution. As a result, the constitution scraped through by a slim margin.

The most hopeful element in the elections is to be found more in the results in single constituencies than in the vote as a whole. Where individual candidates crystallized the issue of democracy versus fascism, the people voted in unmistakable fashion. Northeast Dublin elected Jim Larkin, militant labor leader, worthy son of the great Irish trade-union pioneer of the same name, thereby defeating General Richard Mulcahy, one of Cosgrave's chief war-horses. Another labor candidate defeated Patrick Belton, chairman of Cosgrave's new fascist experiment, the "Irish Christian Front," and one of Franco's chief lieutenants on the island.

Alertness Credit

MANY teachers at the National Education Association convention in Detroit last week were alarmed when the executive committee announced "last-minute changes" permitting employer representatives to address the gathering. Foremost among the privileged was William J. Cameron, the suave and arrogant spokesman for the Ford Motor Co., who accused the teachers of giving their students a distorted view of industry. Every advance in social justice, he said, was due not to labor leaders but to "altruistic industrialists." In reply, Dr. William H. Kilpatrick of Teachers College, Columbia University, declared that "Labor people have been the surest friends of education in this country."

The majority of the teachers supported Dr. Kilpatrick. Their decision to increase the executive committee from five to nine members is undoubtedly an attempt to limit future last-minute changes. The report of the committee on tenure, censuring Yale Uni-

versity for the dismissal of Prof. Jerome Davis, was unanimously adopted. With the adoption of a more aggressive policy with regard to teachers' salaries, tenure and retirement, the N.E.A. has begun to see eye to eye with the more progressive American Federation of Teachers on many issues.

The Vanderbilt Cup Race

THE VICTORY of a German-made entrant in the Vanderbilt Cup race last weekend casts a shadow which stretches ominously from 1914 into the near future. Twenty-three years ago a German Mercedes team took the first three places in the French Grand Prix from the previously invincible French Peugeot and DeLages. Within a few weeks, Baron Richtofen and Lieutenant Guynemer were fighting out larger issues in the air.

The result of the Vanderbilt Cup race, in which Italian cars also performed brilliantly, is the end-product of a Nazi-fascist drive on popular opinion which has been practised longer and organized more consciously and skillfully in its propaganda aims and effects than that which led up to 1914. An official statement reveals that the Nazi government subsidizes Mercedes and Auto Union racing cars to the extent of at least a million dollars a year, and from the production this year the actual subsidy probably exceeded a million and a half. Mussolini also subsidizes Alfa Romeo. The democratic countries do not have such subsidies (with the possible exception of England, where backing is furnished for attempts to set new time records), and hence only our specially built professional racing cars can compare. The German Auto Union machines get 246 m.p.h. as against 160 m.p.h. for our Indianapolis jobs; Mercedes wins races at 162 m.p.h. as against our 130 m.p.h. for Indianapolis.

Today's Nazi-fascist racing organization goes deeper into the international social structure than the providing of occasional admiration-exciting items in the newspapers. One of the few arts remaining in Nazi Germany provides international middle-class youth with impressive photographs of these beautiful machines in victory. Such things influence an especially crucial group, the aviators. Note the expert young English drivers, like Dick Seaman, in the Nazi camp.

Like Hitlerism generally, much of all this is on an unsound foundation. For its \$10,000 stock jobs, Mercedes-Benz recently adopted side valves because the materials available for its type of inset valve would not stand modern compression ratios. Overhead valves can of course deliver more power. But for hippodrome productions such as that on the Roosevelt Raceway, Hitler can get enough

good materials to retain the overhead valves.

But it would be criminal for democratic sympathizers to underestimate the meaning of the show on Long Island, especially as it correlates with Nazi and Japanese war threats. Two hundred and forty-six m.p.h. means planes in the background as deadly for this period as the Fokkers were in theirs. Despite certain generalizations by non-technical observers in Spain, it would seem that mechanically and from the standpoint of internal organization, Hitler is as ready for *der Tag* as he is ever likely to be.

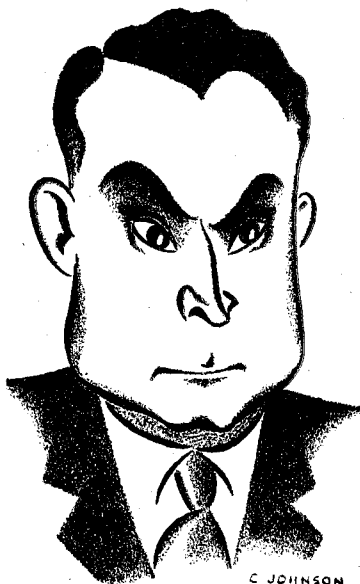
Bumper Crop Ahead

NO MORE bloody labor history has been written in America in recent years than that which has come from the agricultural regions. The lettuce strike in California is fresh in all our memories, and Charles Bradford's story in this issue reflects the kind of thing which has been the all-too-common fate of the workers of the field. It is heartening, therefore, to report that this week fifty-four agricultural, cannery, and fruit and vegetable packing-house unions, representing more than seventy-five thousand members, will meet in Denver in a first national convention. Forty-four of the unions are A. F. of L. affiliates, and all the large independent unions in the field will be represented.

The main questions before the convention will be the formation of an international union and C.I.O. affiliation. At this writing prospects seem bright for both, and for the new international's presidency to go to Donald Henderson, militant strategist of the Seabrook Farms strike and other agricultural struggles. The major objective of the new set-up will be the organization of three million farm workers and half a million cannery workers throughout the United States on a program which will aim at: (1) a maximum ten-hour day instead of the present dark-to-dark stretch; (2) wage increases everywhere to replace the present coolie levels with something resembling a decent minimum standard; (3) a share in the benefits of all forms of social legislation, such as child labor and unemployment insurance, which at present consistently excludes agricultural workers from benefits; (4) closer coöperation with the Farmers' Union, progressive organization of small farm owners.

Bad Neighbor Policy

THE appointment of Jefferson Caffery as American ambassador to Brazil was a most unfortunate choice at a most critical moment. No man in the American foreign



Crockett Johnson

Jefferson Caffery, master meddler

service was so unsuited for the job—if President Roosevelt's pretensions at the Buenos Aires Peace Conference are to be taken seriously. Caffery, until now ambassador to Cuba, is the exponent and practitioner par excellence of active intervention in the internal politics of the country to which he is appointed. It is he, more than any other single force, who saddled the Cuban people with the brutal dictator Batista, and only with his departure has oppression in Cuba begun to abate.

Caffery once explained his conception of his position to the American Chamber of Commerce in Havana as follows: "Diplomacy, as I interpret it, nowadays consists largely in coöperating with American business." Translated into the terms of Brazilian conditions, this means that the powerful German interests in Brazil are in for a period of stiffer American competition than before. On good authority, Caffery has been accused of having inspired the terrible "massacre of the Bananeras" in Colombia, in which hundreds of men, women, and children were slaughtered. In Brazil, he will find a willing accomplice in President Getulio Vargas, who is now casting about for a puppet to succeed him when his term expires next year.

Brazil now stands at the turning of the way. The dictatorship of Vargas has begun to relax owing to pressure from the masses and strategy dictated by the political exigencies of the coming election. One sign of the times was the release of the brave Senator Abel Chermont, imprisoned merely for acting as counsel for Luis Carlos Prestes and Arthur Ewert, leaders of the Brazilian National Liberation Alliance. Chermont celebrated his release by reappearing in the Senate and delivering a speech which exposed the brutal methods of the prison administration.

Brazilian liberals want this answered:

Will Caffery find a Brazilian Batista to carry on the Vargas reign of terror?

Storm Warning

AS WE go to press, the national executive committee of the Workers' Alliance, organization of W.P.A. workers and the unemployed, is in session in the nation's capital to decide on emergency action to counter the present unbridled attacks upon relief workers. The struggle between the administration and the W.P.A. workers over dismissals has assumed the characteristic aspect of war: the more stubborn the resistance to attack, the more merciless the assault becomes.

This past week the local and federal authorities wreaked serious violence on relief workers who sat in or went on the picket line in defense of their jobs. New York saw some of the terror that has been frequent in other cities, federal agents in one instance resorting to a third-degree which imprisoned W.P.A. sit-downers in a windowless room into which steam and cold air were alternately introduced. The police went in for clubbing pickets and sit-down strikers in strange contradiction to Mayor LaGuardia's recent declaration that economic problems cannot be solved with a nightstick. And the W.P.A.'s own guard force was suddenly augmented by a flock of new plug-uglies, some of whom were recognized as part of the Chicago mob imported to smash the taxi strike.

These developments signify the administration's bull-headed determination to cut down relief rolls come what may. The law does not require it, for the recent appropriation can be spent as fast as the administration pleases. It could continue payrolls on the former or an expanded scale and ask a deficiency appropriation at the opening of the next session of Congress. Its determination to cut is therefore purely a political concession to the Right which must and will be accepted as a political challenge from the Left.

And the latter forces may return the gauntlet with such force as to cause the administration a disagreeable surprise. Already congressmen who voted for the President's appropriation bill on the assurance that no one in need would suffer are rising in wrath over reports from their constituencies that the layoffs are proceeding regardless of need. Administrator Hopkins's office has been the scene of several unpleasant interviews with these congressmen. The probability is that by the time this issue of the NEW MASSES reaches its readers a resolution will have been introduced in Congress declaring that a state of emergency exists and

asking an additional billion and a half dollars for the W.P.A. which will raise the existing appropriation to the figure of the original Boileau bill. In support of the measure the Workers' Alliance will mobilize demonstrations throughout the country the week of July 22, and relief workers will besiege congressmen everywhere demanding its support. Readers of the *NEW MASSES* should individually and through their organizations press their federal legislators to vote for this measure. Let the local and federal relief administration fry in the heat of your indignation at the present layoffs and the violence that is accompanying them.

No Peace in Palestine

AFTER a careful and skillful process of releasing newspaper feelers along the lines of a pre-determined policy in order to soften the inevitable, the British government through its Royal Commission finally decided that last week was the time for official announcement of the tripartite partition of Palestine. As Zionist spokesmen hastened to point out, this new arrangement solves no old problems and raises several new ones. It is likely to precipitate a long-impending life-and-death crisis for the Zionist movement.

The Zionists, hopeful of controlling a Palestine state with possibilities for expansion at some future date, are firmly opposed to any "solution" at the present time, which would freeze them into but half the mandated territory. The Arabs, according to the plan, are likewise deprived of hegemony over the whole of Palestine, but they are said to be compensated by the addition of Transjordan. The loss of Transjordan is a bitter pill for the Zionists who have always regretted the fact that the Palestine mandate for a national Jewish home specifically excluded this sparsely-settled territory. The British are assured of a permanent sphere of influence with a mandate over a small slice of land, including the cities of Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem.

The best proof that the partition solves exactly nothing is the fact that the Royal Commission's report was introduced by large military reinforcements. Both the leading Arabian and Zionist bodies rejected the plan in advance. Nevertheless, the British will probably succeed in weakening both sides because various elements in both camps are sure to accept the "compromise." The Arab High Committee is having difficulty holding in line an opposition party content with the plan. Similar tendencies are to be expected among Zionists tired of bucking both the Arabs and the British in the interminable controversy.

The British have little to lose under their

plan. They will continue to exercise complete control during the "transition" period—a period known in the past to possess unlimited possibilities of extension. They will operate from a mandated base strategically situated in the center of Palestine. A corridor under British control from Jerusalem to Jaffa will cut Palestine almost exactly in half. Above all, it will not be necessary to use British troops against the Arab national forces. The Jewish state will, presumably, possess its own army and police force. Arabs will fight Jews; the British will continue to hold the balance of power; Tommy Atkins will be just as effective, but he will meet with less unpleasantness than a year ago.

Just to Be Helpful

SPEAKING of violence, communism, and the C.I.O., three Chicago policemen, testifying before the Senate civil liberties committee, declared that "dope, communism, and liquor" were the causes of the Memorial Day massacre of ten strikers in Chicago. Phillip Igoe, patrolman, "heard hilarious laughter" as the strikers approached, and concluded that many were under the influence of marihuana cigarettes. The proof was that they were marching to the "monotonous chant of C.I.O.—C.I.O." His superior officer, no doubt of higher police intelligence, testified that the marchers were "infatuated with communism."

May we suggest to the Chicago commissioner of police that he import some of the famous "Moscow truth drug"?

Permanently Impermanent

"PERMANENT substitute" may sound like a contradiction in terms, but it designates a category of long standing in the New York City school system. Paid only one to three quarters of the regular teacher's pay, the permanent substitute performs a service in no way different from that of the regular appointees. Qualifications for both jobs are identical. Nevertheless, some permanent substitutes have been held down to the lower status for as long as ten years. They receive no pay for the summer months, and their tenure is insecure.

In essence, the permanent substitute is a regular teacher at about half the salary. Solely as a result of a reclassification, the wages of a considerable part of New York's teachers have been cut to a scale which threatens the salary standards of the teaching profession as a whole.

As a result of an excellent campaign by the New York City Teachers' Union, three bills designed to help these substitutes were passed in the last session of the State Legislature,

only to fall foul of a pocket-veto by Governor Lehman. The Neustein Bill would have increased the daily salary of elementary school substitutes from \$6 to \$8.43 and that of high school substitutes from \$7.50 to \$11.50. The Fischel-Steingut Bill called for limited examinations to substitutes and teachers-in-training, enabling them to obtain regular teaching positions in recognition of their experience. The Schanzer Bill would have increased the minimum salary of junior clerical assistants from \$900 to \$1200 per year. Governor Lehman expressed sympathy with the Neustein and Schanzer measures, but acted on the advice of Mayor LaGuardia, who claimed that the city administration had made no appropriation for the additional expenditures the acts would involve.

Many hold the erroneous impression that Governor Lehman's veto killed the bills for the time being. The truth is that the scene of the permanent substitutes' campaign has, for the time being, simply been shifted from Albany to the Board of Estimate and the mayor of New York. All three measures can be passed immediately by the Board of Estimate in whose power it rests to make an adequate appropriation. The injustice done these teachers and the dangers inherent in this whole wage-cutting technique to the whole profession are obvious. The substitutes deserve the support of the entire community in their plea for justice.

In the Shadow

MONDAY, July 12, according to present plans, the State of Alabama will reenact the brutal farce of trying to convict and send to their deaths the eight innocent Negro youths known to the world as they will be known to history as the Scottsboro boys. The ninth, Haywood Patterson, has already been reconvicted, and his case will come before the next session of the United States Supreme Court on appeal.

The Scottsboro Defense Committee, a united-front organization, is in charge of the defense at the coming trials. Samuel Leibowitz will again be of defense counsel. The defense witnesses, including Ruby Bates, are standing solid. Virginia Price, who has been kept by the prosecution in the style to which she would have liked to become accustomed, is expected to shine darkly again as the state's star witness. Attorney General Knight is dead, but his successor, Carmichael, is bent on a conviction. Judge Callahan—"Speed" Callahan—who sat when Patterson was tried, will be sitting again.

There is a slight change, however, since the last trials. The C.I.O. has forged ahead in Alabama, raising to some extent the level

of social consciousness among the masses. The liberal elements of the state are more definitely aroused. But the state political apparatus, representing the great industrial and land-owning interest who want to keep the Negro terrorized, is largely unchanged. Whether the influence of the liberals and trade unionists of Alabama can make itself felt effectively at once is questionable. But there is no question that the forces of the prosecution are on the defensive as never

before, and that the forces of the defense are broader and more powerful than ever before. They can and must drive forward to the ultimate victory of freedom for the Scottsboro boys. Even when that victory has been achieved, however, one grim fact will remain: nine innocent boys will have been in jail for seven of the best years of their lives. Retribution for this crime can come only by the sweeping away of the bourbon system which perpetrated it.

The Socialists Go Round and Round

CONSIDER the case of Norman Thomas. Immediately after his return from Spain, not long ago, Thomas wrote a column for the *Socialist Call* [June 19] in which he denounced the Spanish Trotskyites in strong and bitter terms. He said the P.O.U.M.'s putsch "played into the hands of fascism in Europe." He called the rising "an example of left-wing infantilism at a critical moment." He said that its effect upon working-class and anti-fascist sentiment in Europe was "disastrous." He said that "Bilbao need never have been so sorely pressed if a proper offensive could have been begun in time on the Aragon front." There was, however, no such offensive; according to Thomas, "one factor in the delay was the rising in Catalonia for which the Anarchists and the P.O.U.M. were responsible."

That was Norman Thomas standing erect.

Within two weeks, Thomas moved completely around and landed on his head. In the name of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party he dispatched telegrams to the Labor and Socialist (Second) International, former Premier Largo Caballero, Premier Juan Negrin and the Socialist Party of Spain, which read: "Urgently request Labor and Socialist International in joint conference with Comintern insist that all working class organizations protect civil liberties of other workers loyally fighting fascism and cease organized repression against C.N.T., F.A.I., P.O.U.M., Left Socialists."

Slander is the word for it. Only a small portion of these charges can be substantiated—exactly that portion about which Thomas himself, two weeks earlier, had given such eloquent testimony. It is true that the Spanish government has, after much delay, taken decisive action against the leaders of the Trotskyist P.O.U.M. for reasons discussed by James Hawthorne in this issue. It is absolutely false to state that there is any "organized repression" against either the Syndicalist C.N.T. or the Anarchist F.A.I. or the Left Socialists. What are the facts?

Only a short time ago, the *Socialist Call* treated Largo Caballero with contempt and hostility. That was when Caballero worked in harmony with the Spanish Communists. Today, because Caballero is at odds with the government, he is considered a martyr by the very people who yesterday denounced him. That is unscrupulous factionalism at the expense of the Spanish cause.

Caballero is not the only left Socialist in Spain. Julio Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Minister in the Caballero government, is a much more virile and able left Socialist. Del Vayo has not followed Caballero into embittered impotence. On June 15, the Communist organ, *Frente Rojo*, published an article by Del Vayo supporting the organic unification of the Communist and Socialist parties. Yes, the very Communist Party which Norman Thomas ridicules as "to the right of the left Republicans." Del Vayo attended the recent plenum of the Spanish Communist Party, a symbol of solidarity between the Spanish Communists and Socialists.



Scott Johnston

Thomas—landed on his head

In fact, the U.G.T. (General Workers' Union), of which Caballero is secretary, was forced to repudiate Caballero's policies. At the time of the cabinet crisis, the U.G.T. announced that it would not support any cabinet which Caballero did not head. A few days later, the voice of the masses in the organization began to be heard, and the U.G.T. reversed its former position completely.

Neither are the Anarchists and Syndicalists suffering "organized repression." They are not represented in the present government; they refused repeated pleas to participate. They made their choice, but against the wishes of the Communists and Socialists. Since then, the C.N.T. has drawn up a program for winning the war which the Spanish Communist Party greeted as a genuine basis for a joint anti-fascist program. The C.N.T. program explicitly denounces those who would call the present government "counter-revolutionary."

Thomas's telegram is intended to defend the Trotskyites and no others. It is intended to befuddle the uninformed and the unwary. No other interpretation can be placed on this distortion of easily ascertained facts. Thomas is the American counter-part of those "conciliators" in Spain mentioned by Hawthorne. They condemn the putsch as counter-revolutionary, yet defend the right of the Trotskyites to organize counter-revolution. They admit that the putschists played into the hands of the fascists, yet refuse to take action to prevent the repetition of such a putsch. And this in the midst of a terrible and savage war!

Was it "organized repression" for the people's front to defend itself? Is it "organized repression" for the government to punish the leaders and participants in the crime? Is it "organized repression" to prevent another outbreak which would play into the hands of the fascists in Europe, react disastrously upon working-class and anti-fascist sentiment in Europe, and lead to another and more catastrophic Bilbao?

The telegram is not without an element of double-dealing. Very carefully, it demands that the civil liberties of "workers loyally fighting fascism" be protected. The P.O.U.M. is smuggled in among those who come under this category. This is somewhat less than candid. The P.O.U.M. was able to stage a rebellion because it withheld and hid arms from the front. Instead of fighting fascism, its main emphasis was against the "enemy at home," against the people's front. To oppose their repression on the grounds that they are "loyally fighting fascism" is to stand the truth on its head.

How long will Norman Thomas continue his travels around the political merry-go-round?

Trotsky's Agents in Spain

The activities of the P.O.U.M. have had a measurable relation to the war's vicissitudes

By James Hawthorne

THE word "counter-revolutionary," applied to "opposition" parties, used to irritate me. Out of respect for the many who still feel that way about it, I should like very much to discuss the "left" critics of the people's front in a frank and friendly manner.

For all practical purposes the P.O.U.M. is not only a Trotskyist organization, but *the* Trotskyist organization. Weak as it is, it is yet the most powerful section in the International of Discord. It was formed of anti-Communist groups headed by Joaquín Maurín and Andrés Nin, both of whom are rejects of the Comintern. It was for a very short time represented in the Catalan Generality by Nin, avowed representative of Trotsky. Its language and line, verbal revolutionism, are pure Trotskyist. Any document picked at random will serve to illustrate the connection of the P.O.U.M. with the exile of Coyoacán.

The Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (P.O.U.M.), which in its ideological struggle with the official Communist Parties pointed out the dangers to the Russian Revolution and to the cause of the workers of the world, concealed in the theory of 'socialism in one country,' which criticized the false line of the Third International in recent years . . .

During the last few months, in Catalonia particularly, they carried on a campaign which was incredible in a war situation. By way of illustration: their attacks on the international brigades. By this time everyone knows the remarkable service the German, Italian, French, British, European, and extra-European anti-fascist volunteers have rendered to the people of Spain. Their great moral influence and military value hardened the militias to the burden of defending Madrid. Yet the Trotskyist P.O.U.M., in its tireless labor of pouring salt on wounds, publicly addressed the Anarchists of Catalonia as follows: "Comrades, do you realize what you are doing when you allow the international brigades to enter here? Don't you know that these men of the international brigades, once fascism has been conquered, will be the instrument of the Communist Parties of Spain and Catalonia, turned against you to annihilate you, as in the early days of the Russian Revolution?"

When Germany and Japan were negotiating a pact directed against the Communist International, the Trotskyites provided the supporting arguments. And when, in the international landscape, the giant figure of the Soviet Union stands firmly and unconditionally beside the Spanish government, the

Trotskyites fiercely attack the U.S.S.R. International fascism prepares an attack on Catalonia "to prevent it from becoming a Soviet colony," and the P.O.U.M. echoes the charge that the Soviet Union interferes in Catalonia's affairs.

In February 1936, the people's front victory seated some one hundred Socialists and Communists in the Cortes. Joaquín Maurín had profited from the National Confederation of Labor's refusal to place their own representatives, and their reluctance to vote for the regular parties, to obtain the P.O.U.M.'s one seat. The workers were now in a position to win back the wages and hours stolen from them by the regime of the "two black years." Landlords and employers were desperate, and sought to create disorders which would turn the great mass of the population against the workers. The reactionary scheme was to prolong and embitter every strike. The Syndicalists, with impatient revolutionary slogans, tended to play into their hands. The Trotskyites seized eagerly on this straw, and in June, with the reactionaries waiting for a "legal" excuse to turn the army and police against the people's front, Maurín called for a general strike. The workers of the U.G.T. returned to their shops with scant respect for Señor Maurín.

Now observe the line of the P.O.U.M. from July 1936 to late September. In the early days of the military-fascist rising, a huge poster covered Barcelona walls. It was a reprint from the Anarchist daily, *Solidaridad Obrera*, complaining that crime was covering itself with the mantle of the revolution. Looting and killing, the paper declared, were being practiced by groups flourishing the "insignia of membership in the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T." So much for the practical activities of the P.O.U.M. in July.

Politically, the P.O.U.M. quickly found the exact "revolutionary" position to complement that of international fascism. General Franco's allies abroad and voices from the Vatican were endeavoring to cover up the treason of the military caste by denying that the February government was actually representative of the Spanish people. The P.O.U.M. obliged by an attack on the

people's front and a demand for a Constituent Assembly to elect a "representative" government. But when the Syndicalists insisted on a place for the P.O.U.M. in the Generality, the Trotskyites found that government sufficiently representative without a Constituent Assembly.

In the period from late September to mid-December, the P.O.U.M. continued its sabotage. It entered the Catalan Generality in contradiction to its barely completed denunciations of the Socialist and Communist parties for their participation in the central government. At this point the Trotskyites officially adopted the policy of setting the National Confederation of Labor against the Marxists. The P.O.U.M. would maintain "close relations with the C.N.T. because that organism, remaining independent of the bourgeoisie and having the importance which its numerical strength gives it, provides the highest guarantees that the social content of the revolution will not be frustrated." This statement followed closely the decision of the Anarcho-Syndicalist C.N.T., declining to accept government control of their militias, despite the urgent need for a regular army. In its eagerness to guarantee the social revolution, the C.N.T. was rejecting every common-sense guarantee of victory over the fascists, without which there would be neither proletarian revolution nor democratic revolution, nor Marxists nor Anarchists! The Barcelona organ of the Trotskyites never tired of repeating: "There are two organizations in Spain that fight and will fight until the end for the victory of the proletarian revolution. They are the C.N.T. and the P.O.U.M., with their respective youth groups." Until the end—"hasta la fin." That was the vague slogan that covered every "revolutionary" act of sabotage tending to lessen the chances of victory over the fascists in the grim and unequal war waged in October.

The Unified Socialist Youth, rid of the cancer of Trotskyism, had become one of the principal forces of the people's front. It did not halt, but turned at once to the task of uniting the Marxist and non-Marxist youth in one great democratic body. Just when it was able to announce the formation of a youth front including the Libertarian youth in Valencia, just when it had negotiated a national liaison committee with Anarcho-Syndicalist youth, just when it was putting its great prestige to work to obtain a meeting of the two great youth internationals, just that moment was chosen by the P.O.U.M. to introduce a new splitting device. They launched the Iberian



William Sanderson