

# NEW MILITANT

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# Workers Party Calls All Revolutionary Workers to Join the Socialist Party

**T**HE Cleveland convention of the Socialist Party finally smashed the Old Guard domination, and the Old Guard withdrew. By rejecting the Old Guard, the convention ratified the slogan of an inclusive, democratic party, open to all who stand for the goal of socialism and who are willing to work loyally within the framework of the party.

From these two significant developments we draw two conclusions:

1. By breaking with the Old Guard and by opening its doors to revolutionary workers, the Socialist Party becomes the best rallying ground for the revolutionary forces in building the party of the American proletarian revolution.

2. Taking the militant Socialists at their word, the revolutionary workers outside the Socialist Party should immediately join it.

Acting on these conclusions, the National Committee of the Workers Party, exercising the authority expressly given to it by the party convention, has formally dissolved the organization and all its members are joining the Socialist Party. The Spartacus Youth League has taken similar action to join the Young People's Socialist League.

These conclusions, and the actions proceeding from them, are the result of a careful and concrete analysis of the course of development of the Socialist Party during the last two years.

## Turning Point at Detroit

The Detroit convention of the Socialist Party in 1934 marked a decisive turning point in the history of the movement. The Declaration of Principles then adopted, despite the ambiguity and confusion of its formulations, made a sharp break with the classical reformism of the post-war Social Democracy, and gave evidence of a determination not to repeat the terrible mistakes and crimes of the parties which had led the Austrian and German masses to the yoke of Fascism. The Waldmans, Pankens and Oneals rightly characterized the document as a break with "democratic Socialism," i.e., the cowardly and treacherous Social-Democratic reformism of the war and post-war years.

Though the leftward tendency of the Socialist Party has not achieved programmatic clarity and, in some respects, retrogressive steps were taken at Cleveland, nevertheless the general trend of the party, as measured by the activities of its membership and the increasing violence of its collisions with the extreme right wing of the party, is undoubtedly progressive. This is to be seen, for example, in the fruitful work of the Socialist militants among the unemployed—a field completely neglected in the past; in the tendency to coordinate the work of Socialists in the trade unions, despite the resistance of party reactionaries allied with the trade union bureaucracy; in the firm stand of the Left Wing in breaking with the hidebound reactionary opposition to the United Front; and in the steadily increasing interest of the party membership in the fundamental questions of the revolutionary program, above all in the consistent development within the Socialist Party on the question of the struggle against war.

## The Question of War

War is the most crucial issue of this epoch. On this question the Social-Democracy foundered and collapsed in 1914. On this question, today, both the international Social Democracy and the degenerate Third International reveal their ideological bankruptcy and their readiness to betray the working class to the imperialists. It is this question that divides the proletariat today into the two camps: those who will and those who will not fight against imperialist war.

Alone of all the important parties in the Second International, the Socialist Party of America took a firm and courageous stand against capitalist government "sanctions." Alone of all these parties, the American party repudiated the fictitious distinction between "peaceful" and "aggressive" capitalist nations. In spite of the terrific barrage of Stalinist pressure, the Socialist Party has continued to develop more clearly and decisively toward a genuinely revolutionary

## Statement of National Committee

The Cleveland convention of the Socialist Party has brought to an organizational climax the internal struggle which had arisen out of the Leftward development in the party. The break with the Old Guard shifts the center of gravity to the Left and facilitates the growth and activity of the party. This, as well as the militant position the party has taken on the crucial question of imperialist war, confronts revolutionary workers throughout the country with a new situation. The composition of the Socialist Party today is no longer what it was under the domination of the Old Guard. Into its ranks have entered a new generation of class-conscious militants, inspired by the spirit of the class struggle, who want to make the party a party of revolutionary Marxism. They represent a movement of great potentialities for the cause of a mass party of socialist revolution in the United States.

The Workers Party, formed to advance the interests of revolutionary internationalism, cannot stand apart from this movement. It is fully conscious of the tremendous importance of this movement for the future of the American and international working class and of the fact that this movement can be advanced more speedily and consistently in the direction in which it has traveled only by the closest, most loyal and direct contact with it.

Unlike the Communist (Stalinist) Party, which has sunk deeper and deeper into the mire of reformism and social-patriotism, the Socialist Party has freed itself from the strangulating domination of the Right wing and has advanced towards the position of revolutionary Marxism on a number of basic questions, notably on the question of war, the central question of our time.

Unlike the Communist Party, in which the bureaucracy has stifled every last remnant of party democracy, outlawing all views contrary to those imposed upon the ranks by an appointed officialdom, the Socialist Party openly takes a stand for internal democracy, welcomes revolutionists into its ranks and offers the possibility of putting forward in its

midst the rounded views of consistent revolutionary Marxism.

At its last convention, the National Committee of the Workers Party was instructed to follow closely the developments within the Socialist Party and was given full power to take appropriate action in the event of a favorable outcome of the internal struggle. By virtue of this authority, the National Committee herewith decides to dissolve the Workers Party as a separate organization and calls upon all its members to enter the ranks of the Socialist Party of America. It appeals to all revolutionary workers to follow this example.

The comrades who have been grouped in the Workers Party join not as a separate faction, and take their places side by side with the militant fighters in the ranks of the S.P. with the aim of building it into a mass party of revolutionary socialism. We aim to work loyally and devotedly in the ranks of the Socialist Party and to observe discipline in action. We enter the Socialist Party as we are, with our ideas. We assume all the obligations and duties of party membership and ask no special privileges. On the basis of equal duties and equal rights we obligate ourselves to work loyally and devotedly to build the Socialist Party into a powerful, united organization in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,  
WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

The National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League endorses the declaration of the Workers Party. By the authority of the last convention, the National Committee hereby formally dissolves the Spartacus Youth League and calls upon all its members and sympathizers to take their place in the ranks of the Young People's Socialist League.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,  
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE.

lutionary conception of the nature of the proletarian struggle against war. In this field the Cleveland convention made its most important theoretical contribution, adopting a detailed resolution which goes further in the direction of a Leninist position against war than any Socialist party has ever done.

Naturally, it remains to be seen to what extent this developing position on war has been and will be assimilated by the party membership. Undoubtedly, this position will not become fully integrated into the actions of the Socialist Party without a systematic educational campaign. Such an educational campaign will scarcely be complete unless it involves all the basic questions which are inextricably involved in the war question—the international nature of the class struggle, the road to power, the nature of the workers' state, etc.—questions on which clarity in the Socialist ranks lags considerably behind the development of the war issue.

## The Break With the Old Guard

Indeed, the most basic and far-reaching gains made by the Socialist Party do not yet lie in the realm of theoretical clarification. The revolutionary potentialities in the Socialist Party have been best-expressed by

Roosevelt camp; comfortable, aging Philistines, stern and implacable only against revolutionists and militants,—for a decade and a half these traitors poured their poison into the minds and hearts of Socialist workers. The socialist worker, seeking a way out from capitalism, could find guidance, in all those years, only in the venal and corrupt Jewish Forward or its English version, the New Leader. The worker or student seeking to learn something of scientific socialism was delivered into the hands of the Algernon Lees and the Rand School! Groups of workers engaged in struggle against repressive administration in their unions, if they were naive enough to bring their problems to the Julius Gerbers, were betrayed to the bureaucrats not only by being restrained from struggle, but also by the direct process of stool-pigeoning. The Old Guard gave aid to not a single one of the important struggles for democratic rights on behalf of political prisoners! They did not lift a finger to aid the organization of the millions of unemployed. Under their regime, the Socialist Party had all the vices of the European Social Democracy without even the advantage of being the party of the masses.

## Degeneration of the Communist Party

Now the Socialist workers are freed of this horrible, parasitic excrescence. At first thought, indeed, it appears incredible that thousands of militant workers and youth could have joined the Socialist movement while the Old Guard ruled the party. They joined, of course in spite of the Old Guard. The main influx has come since 1928. That influx was only possible because of the degeneration of the Communist Party.

The revolutionary workers have been joining the Socialist Party since 1928 because the relative autonomy of state and local organizations made it possible for them to function in it, even though under fearful handicaps. In the Communist Party, they could not function at all. It is no mere coincidence that the Socialist Party has grown precisely in the years since the Communist Party, yoked to the "national Socialism" of Stalin, ceased in actual fact to be a party. It is no accident that the growth of the Socialist Party began in the same year that we, then the Left Opposition, were expelled from the Communist Party. The C. P. became nothing more than a rigid apparatus-clique; even the memory of party democracy disappeared; scoundrels and nonentities were appointed by Stalin and consecrated overnight as "beloved leaders"; party policies are infinitely closer to those of the Old Guard than to those of militant Socialism. From this repellent caricature of a revolutionary organization, an organization neither revolutionary nor a party, thousands of revolutionary workers recoiled. Instead, they joined the Socialist Party. From the first they chafed at the Philistine passivity imposed by the Old Guard, and now they have smashed through the Old Guard.

It is extraordinary, indeed, to contemplate the dialectics of this swift development. The Socialist Party is left an empty shell by the surge of revolutionists to the Communist Party in 1919. But the Communist Party becomes a stifling apparatus. Workers recoil and enter the Socialist Party and give it new life. But in the process they have also transformed the party and driven out the Old Guard Democrats who controlled it. Thus the drive of the proletariat to revolutionary organization asserts itself in spite of all obstacles.

## Party Democracy

That drive is, of course, not completed. It is just beginning and will not end this side of the American proletarian revolution. The Socialist workers are now in a state of evolution toward a consistent Marxist conception of their tasks. Not the least of the forms that dialectics takes is the conflict, the give and take, of ideas about theory, strategy and tactics. Only that which is dead—like the prison regime of the Old Guard and the caricature of monolithism which is the Communist Party—provides no arena for ideological differentiation. The mature revolutionist seasoned in the front lines of the class struggle, conscious of the manifold practical problems of the party and the significant

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# WHY WE ARE JOINING THE SOCIALIST PARTY

SPEAKERS: (JAMES P. CANNON  
(A. J. MUSTE  
MAX SHACHTMAN, CHAIRMAN

Friday Evening, June 12, 1936  
at 8 o'clock

IRVING PLAZA HALL  
154th STREET & IRVING PLACE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.



# Stalin Destroys Conquests of October Revolution

## Bolsheviks Hounded; Class Enemy Granted New Rights

It is possible to learn how "Trotskyists" are unearthing by reading a telegram from Kazan printed in the January 17 issue of Pravda under the following scorching headline: "The Trotskyist Calumny of Surovtzev." It appears that during a district membership meeting in Bougoum, Surovtzev, the director of the machine and tractor station criticized the party regime or, as Pravda puts it, "he openly and brazenly calumniated the party, denying that conscious discipline exists in the party."

The indignant correspondent states in his telegram that "One would imagine that such a speech would have met with harsh repudiation." However, those present at the meeting listened to Surovtzev without any protests. Taking into account the Stalinist regime this implies that the meeting sided completely with Surovtzev. Not only the secretary of the District Committee but even the representative of the District Committee, i.e., the important party summit kept mum, not daring evidently to proceed too much counter to the mood of the meeting. "Only towards the end of the meeting, as a consequence of the indignation expressed by individual (!) Communists—reads the telegram—did the secretary of the District Committee briefly remark that the criticism of Surovtzev was incorrect and was a repetition of everything 'the Trotskyists said in their time'." The entire mechanism of the meeting stands clearly revealed before us. "The individual indignant Communists"—is, of course, the author of the correspondence himself, the henchman of Pravda, i.e., of the General Secretariat: it was only upon his direct insistence that the secretary explained to the meeting that the very same criticism of the party regime received by those present with obvious sympathy, was nothing else than "Trotskyism". The secretary was unable to do more. It ought to be added that similar episodes occur at hundreds and thousands of party meetings. Whether Surovtzev is actually a

conscious Bolshevik-Leninist or simply arrived independently at certain conclusions, is immaterial.

**Privileges and Repressions**

By means of a special decree, the Soviet government has abolished all social restrictions in the sphere of education. Henceforth children of former noblemen, capitalists and kulaks will be accepted into the highest institutions of learning on the same plane with the children of workers and peasants. "Today there is no longer any need for these restrictions," announced Molotov at a session of the C.E.O. in January, 1936. One would imagine that these words as well as the privilege itself were to be understood in the sense that the established socialist society is no longer in need of an artificial defense against the youth of bourgeois descent. The only thing to do would be to greet the new decree! But against the background of liberal measures of this sort, all the more monstrous is the new flood of bureaucratic viciousness against the oppositionists, the savage repressions against the working class youth, the moment that the latter raises a voice in criticism. As a matter of fact there is no contradiction here. The luxuriant growth of bourgeois relations in the sphere of the distribution of the articles of consumption, the re-establishment of ranks in the army and the creation of a privileged stratum of the "best people" on the basis of personal performance open up the possibility of a career for the self-seeking progeny of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand the self-same manifestations of the bourgeoisification of the ruling class engender opposition on the part of the working class youth, and at the same time make this opposition especially dangerous and hated in the eyes of the bureaucracy. Thus the removal of restrictions upon those who emerge from the bourgeois milieu and the strengthening of the repressions against the working class youth naturally supplement one another.

## The Class Nature of the Soviet State

*A Letter from Leon Trotsky*

You ask the question of whether the present Soviet system can give way to a "third" form of society, which would be neither capitalist nor socialist. Urbahn believes that precisely this is "state capitalism," identifying the soviet system with a fascist capitalism. In doing this he completely forgets a small difference: fascism hems in the highly developed productive forces in the framework of the national state by cutting short their further development. The Soviet system, even in its present form, imparts a rhythm to the development of the productive forces never before attained. Urbahn thus does not know how to distinguish between what is historically progressive and what is arch-reactionary.

I see that you have nothing in common with Urbahn's formulation. But you think that the Soviet bureaucracy, in its further development, will be able to adapt the forms of property to its own interests to such a point that it becomes in reality a ruling class. You do not specify these new forms of property. You content yourself with the general statement that living evolution is inexhaustible in its new forms and formations.

In this general form, I find it difficult to adopt as to reject the "third" possibility, because too many factors must be abstracted for that: in the first place those that are decisive for our revolutionary activity.

Now, forms of property are social forms par excellence. You cite examples—moreover taken from the pre-capitalist epoch—where certain forms of property had no great significance. These examples only prove that it is necessary to distinguish the real from the supposed forms of property, i.e., from juridical fictions (which also have a real function, but on a higher plane).

Precisely the bourgeoisie has reduced the forms of property to their barest expression. The proletarian revolution nationalized capitalist property. The question therefore arises: cannot this nationalization itself degenerate into a fiction, real property, under one form or another, returning to the new ruling class emerging from the bureaucracy?

Nationalized property stands or falls with planned economy. Thus, it is not a fiction, but a powerful reality. Nationalization, however, does not only signify that the productive forces are organized and directed according to a plan, but also in the interests of all. The bureaucracy prejudices the new system in these two ways. On the one hand, it reduces the efficiency of planned economy and on the other it consumes an enormous portion of its surplus.

If we speak of a "third" system, we must answer the question as to whether it is a matter of the rights newly acquired by the bureaucracy to an ever larger party of the national income—which would be equivalent to the right of parasitism, or if what is involved is the virtual liquidation of planned economy. Only the second hypothesis would constitute a new social base.

We must clearly understand that the abolition of planned economy, and by the same token also the nationalization of the productive forces, will inevitably and automatically lead to parasitism and disintegration of the latter. We would then no longer have before us a progressive system, but one in decomposition, which would inevitably lead to fascist capitalism. It is conceivable that a development so rich in possible formations creates something original. But in the essence of the matter there would be hardly any change.

Let us suppose that planned economy remains basically intact,

that the productive forces continue in their rise, there will remain—in your hypothesis—nothing but the fact that the bureaucracy has succeeded in stabilizing, fortifying and eternalizing its parasitism, juridically, ideologically and politically (and why not religiously?). This perspective assumes that the great mass of the population patiently accepts the new yoke despite the raising of the level of economy and culture and endures it without opposition, ideologically and forever. That is not at all probable. To a certain degree the progress of economy opens great sources of power to the bureaucracy. But this very progress is more and more turning against its autocracy and its parasitism.

What perspective opens before us? Very probably a new revolution. This will not be a social revolution, but a political revolution. The bourgeoisie too in its evolution has known of "great" revolutions, i.e., social revolutions, and purely political revolutions which took place on the basis of already established property. . . . The theoretical prognoses of Marx and Lenin did not foresee, in any case, the possibility of the political revolution on the bases of property nationalized by the proletariat. But they did not also foresee the bonapartist degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship. Both these things belong to those stages, transitory forms, etc., in the formation of which history is so rich. The general laws of the evolution of capitalism to socialism, as they are established by Marxism, do not lose their force by these "episodes" (very disagreeable "episodes").

These are a few considerations on the subject of the interesting problem which you have posed to me—and which I send you in all haste.

January 1, 1936

## Bureaucracy Strangles the Factory Committees

When a worker abroad asks a question about the conditions of the workers in the U.S.S.R., he is not interested only in the material conditions of labor (wages, length of the working day) but also in the place of the workers in production. The most important conquest of October was the occupation of the factories by the working class. It had become proprietor of all the means of production. The factory committees had two extremely important tasks: the control of production, struggle for the improvement of the conditions of labor under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What is the role of the factory committees at the present time? Nothing remains of the role they played in the past. With the degeneration of the party, the government, the trade unions, the factory committees have also undergone a transformation. Their role now is that of a superintendent, an aid to the economic organs, closely connected with the entire bureaucratic apparatus of the U.S.S.R. It is no longer the representative of the working class, controlled by the workers in the factory, but rather a group of functionaries under orders of the bureaucratic top.

There is rarely any information in the Soviet press on the real life of the factory committees and their relation to the working class. Only when it is impossible for them to remain silent on some repugnant fact does the bureaucracy itself go in for "self-criticism" and assume the air of seriously struggling against the "bureaucracy."

To allow the reader to form his own judgment on the real life of the factory committees I will cite several facts culled from the central organ of the Soviet trade unions—Trud. These facts do not pretend to give a complete picture of the life of the factory committees but should however provide useful information.

Trud (Jan. 1, 1936) gives the following report of the life of the factory committee of the textile corporation at Tashkent: "For the first time in three years, the working men and women of the corporation met in conference to hear the report of the outgoing factory committee and to elect a new one. Out of the 19 members elected three years ago only one remained. All the other members of the committee were appointed."

It is clear that the workers learned nothing from the report of activity of the committee. During the discussion the indignation of the workers was expressed in the speeches of some 50 of those present. (The small number indicates the interest the workers have in conferences of this kind). What did they speak about? They told of "70 men in the apparatus of the committee who did nothing but were paid and that thousands of rubles were expended to maintain them." They told of the relations of the leader of the paymaster section with the women workers: "When we came to him to obtain authorization for a sanitarium, he unshamefully proposed to us to call for the authorizations. . . . in the evening at his home." When the workers pleaded with the president of the factory committee, he replied:

school they decree:

"To establish one uniform for scholars." (Pravda, Sept. 4, 1935).

In comparing the decree of 4-9-1935 with that of 1918, we see that all that the victorious revolution had annulled of the cursed heritage of the past, is now re-established.

Autonomy and independence in 1918—strict discipline and "politeness" towards the adults in 1935.

Abolition of the uniform in 1918—re-establishment of the uniform in 1935.

Abolition of marks and examinations in 1918—re-establishment of marks and examinations in 1935.

Abolition of surveillance in 1918—re-establishment of the uniform in 1935.

Of the "Charter of the United School of Labor" nothing remains, nothing remains of the school itself.

• • •

We have dealt at length with the reform of 1918 and that of 1935-36. Thus the recent scholastic reform (annulling that of the October Revolution) is only a link in the chain of the degeneration of the Soviet regime. The party is smashed, all rights for the workers are suppressed and the Soviet pupil is dressed in the pre-revolutionary uniform, dyed in a new tint. Thus is "Socialism being built in one country!"

## Workers Party Joins the Socialist Party

(Continued from Page 1)

cance of the day to day drudgery, knows very well what a powerful aid to these tasks is the clarifying word, the sharp arrow pointing out the road ahead. Theory and practice go hand in hand in a healthy revolutionary movement. Naturally, there are differences that arise at every crucial turning of the road. These differences must be threshed out by free discussion among the membership, and not decided by bureaucratic decrees of self-constituted Popes. A party without democracy is not a party. The best and, indeed, the only guarantee for a normal solution of disputed questions is the fullest democracy in educational work and discussion, coupled with an attitude of responsibility and discipline. There is only one cure for the terrible blight of mental stultification which Stalinism and Old Guardism have brought into the labor movement: we must recapture, and make a living part of the heritage of the revolutionary movement, the Marxist principle that the free discussion of ideas is the only method whereby the proletarian vanguard can collectively hammer out the correct program that it needs if it is to work out the salvation of the human race.

We are confident that in such an atmosphere of democracy and discipline, the Socialist Party will grow as never before. Already, with the ousting of the Old Guard in New York and the simultaneous influx of revolutionary elements the party has taken a swift leap forward in membership and activity. The party is still in relation to the American working class, in its practical impact upon it, primarily a propaganda organization. But it is today the party that can, given the correct developments within it, become the party of the masses. We revolutionary Internationalists who are called "Trotskyites" begin our work in the Socialist Party with the fullest confidence in the outlook for the future.

We are not afraid of isolation. There are times when the revolutionists, if they are to remain true to their principles, have no other alternative. For more than seven years we endured repression and slander, contumely and physical assault, in an isolated struggle for principle. We survived. We are proud of our struggle. We retract nothing and repent nothing. We are not afraid of isolation when circumstances impose it. But no less courage is required to turn away from isolation and move toward the mass party when conditions open the way for such a step. It would be sectarian folly to reject the opportunity to participate in a broader movement, bringing to it all our heritage and all our ideas, which have been confirmed by every development in the international working class movement.

Joining the Socialist Party as we are, with our ideas and traditions, we urge all revolutionary workers to do likewise and to add their energies to the efforts of the many thousands of socialist workers in a common struggle to build a powerful party of revolutionary Socialism.

## Czarist Methods Return in Schools

1935 was a year of "great" reforms for the U.S.S.R. In almost all fields of Soviet life, changes took place which remove the U.S.S.R. ever further from the conquests of October. The re-establishment of grades in the army, the monetary reform, the reform of the family and finally the academic reform are landmarks on the road of the degeneration of the Soviet state. We intend to pause here exclusively on the academic reform, and by contrast with the academic reform put into effect by the October revolution, show how in 1936 Stalin is liquidating one by one the conquests of the revolution of 1917 in the academic field and approaching the model of the Czarist schools with its uniforms and respect for uniforms. . . . an institution unknown even in the schools of the capitalist Nations of Europe.

Every government which does not support itself upon the broad masses of the toilers and is the government of a minority utilizes as a guarantor of its power—just as it utilizes the police apparatus—the education of the youth in a spirit of submission by suppressing all free expression on the benches of the school. By creating a state police system of education with supervisors of classes, uniforms, marks, individual memorandums, the State has on the one hand the opportunity of controlling all the movements of the scholar and on the other hand it imbues the scholar with the principles of discipline and "order," i.e. with an absolute submission before the class in power.

The bourgeois school has as its task not to create the free-citizen, but the functionary, the engineer, the doctor, humble and loyal servants of the Government. Such was the school in Czarist Russia and so it is in all capitalist countries. Discipline and order in the school is one of the guarantors of discipline and order in the state. Revolutionary parties have always understood the importance of the free school and struggle for this liberation of the school has always been an integral part of their programs. That is why it is quite natural that one of the first steps of the Russian proletariat in power in 1917 was a radical reform of the school.

**The Revolutionary Reform**

"Voluntary discipline, a spirit of mutual aid, the single school, autonomy on the basis of complete equality, the collective principle everywhere. . . . that is the principle that will create the citizen we need." ("Basic Principles of the United School of Labor," Izvestia, No. 225, Oct. 16, 1918)

The extract quoted shows the complete incompatibility of the free and revolutionary school in a workers state with the old Czarist school.

The proletarian state does not fear the free citizen, it has no need of whips to assure its authority and

that is why all discipline "from above" is superfluous. On the contrary, the youth must develop freely without the pressure of authority exercised by the family, by the school or anything else.

"The appeal to the scholars from the People's Commissariat of Education" in 1917 said:

"Pupils of the secondary schools must not have no right to consider themselves as children and to govern their future according to the orders of their parents and their teachers." (Izvestia, October 15, 1917)

The Government under Lenin accomplished a veritable revolution in the academic system. A series of decrees opened a new era in the education of the youth. Above all their aim was the liquidation of the Czarist system.

"Utilization of the system of marks for an estimate of the knowledge or the conduct of a pupil is annulled in all cases in academic practice." (No. 50 of the collection of decrees and laws, N.38, published May 31, 1918)

"The wearing of uniforms by . . . pupils. . . as also the distribution of insignias and medals at the end of the term are annulled." (361 "Collection of decrees and laws" N. 28 published Feb. 21, 1918).

The most complete collection of all the principles of new education of the youth is the celebrated "Charter of the United School of Labor of the R.S.F.S.R."

"1. All schools go under a single name—The United School of Labor."

"2. The old form of discipline which corrupts the entire life of the school and the untrammelled development of the personality of the child cannot be maintained in the School of Labor. The process of labor itself develops this internal discipline without which collective and rational work is unimaginable."

"3. The assignment of obligatory homework is forbidden."

"4. All punishment in school is forbidden."

"5. All admission tests and tests for the graduation from one class to another at the end of the term—are annulled."

(These detailed extracts are necessary for us for a more complete comparison with the Stalinist decrees of 1936).

The Soviet pupil ceases to be a subject of "labor" in the spirit of the Czarist-bourgeois state, but becomes an independent citizen, with the right to exercise his own initiative, his free thought and his will.

**The Stalinist Reform**

With the death of Lenin began the struggle of Stalinism against Bolshevism, the struggle of the conservative clique of bureaucrats against the representatives of the ideas of October.

After having strengthened its

power, the bureaucracy no longer tolerated any expression of free thought. It demands absolute submission. This regime was similarly introduced in the school. Autonomy of the pupils is supplanted by the police surveillance of adults—this is to guarantee the state from the spirit of opposition.

The decree on academic reform, published by the Council of People's Commissars, Sept. 3, 1935 makes a complete sweep of everything introduced by the October Revolution and returns to the methods of education established by Czarist Russia. Let us examine this decree as published in Pravda, Sept. 4, 1935, closer. The principal clause is the following:

"Underlying the ruling on the conduct of the pupils must be placed a strict and conscientious application of discipline, politeness in relation with teachers, comrades and adults."

What are the measures taken to ensure that the pupils apply this discipline?

"Instruct a commission. . . to elaborate a draft of a ruling for every type of school. The ruling must have a categorical and absolutely obligatory meaning for pupils as well as for teachers. This ruling must be the fundamental document . . . which strictly establishes the regime of studies and the basis for order in the school as well as the rules of conduct of pupils inside and outside of school."

"To introduce in all schools a uniform type of pupils' report card on which all the principal rules for the conduct of the pupil is to be inscribed."

"Every director is instructed to establish a personal record for every pupil." (Pravda, Sept. 4, 1935).

"The People's Commissariat of Public Education has established new models for the pupils' report card and for the pupils' memorandum. Then, for the first time a personal record is to be established for every pupil. . . . Every five days the chief instructor of a class will examine the memorandum, will mark cases of absence and tardiness in it and will demand the signature of the parent under all remarks of the instructor."

"In the personal record there will be marked for the entire duration of the studies, the marks of the pupil for every quarter, his prizes and his punishments." (Izvestia, Jan. 15, 1936).

A special apparatus of Communist Youth organizers is to be installed for the surveillance of the pupil inside and outside of school. They are to watch over the morality and the state of mind of the pupils. They, better than the directors, the instructors and the parents will follow the internal life of the adolescents. (Molodaja Gvardia, N. 10)

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Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$225 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes.

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For further information apply to Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., B'klyn, N. Y.

