

# World Socialism

## REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM IN SPAIN

By HERBERT ZAM

IN preparation for the national convention of the Spanish Socialist Party, which will begin June 29 in Madrid (not in Asturias, as was first planned) a discussion has begun in the ranks of the Party. The main feature of this discussion thus far has been the adoption by the Madrid organization of a new Draft Program for the Party, which will be submitted to the convention. This Draft Program shows how determined is the turn of the Spanish Socialists toward a revolutionary position as a result of their experiences with monarchy and fascism on one hand and with republicanism on the other.

The Draft Program begins by stating that Socialism cannot be achieved by the gradual transformation of capitalist society. This was an illusion developed during the period of capitalist expansion, when the workers were able to wrest considerable improvements in their conditions from the capitalists. But today this is chimerical. Capitalism is now on a descending curve. It has passed from the expanding to the contracting stage. This is due partly to the industrialization of the colonies and semi-colonial countries, thus reducing their need for imported goods, and partly because of technological progress which has replaced men by machines, creating unemployment in gigantic proportions, creating over-production and reducing purchasing power throughout the world.

### The Madrid Draft Program

There can be only two ways out of the crisis—fascism or Socialism. In essence fascism is the suppression of bourgeois democracy so as to make exploitation of the working class more convenient. It is the dictatorship of capitalism to cover its losses and avoid the final collapse at the exclusive cost of the enslavement of the workers. It inevitably leads to war in order to avoid or postpone the social revolution by encouraging the hope of a victory abroad.

The other way out of the crisis is Socialism. Bourgeois democracy has fulfilled its historical mission in some countries, and where it hasn't, it cannot cope with the capitalist forces which wish to replace it with the totalitarian fascist state. (This obviously refers to Spain, where the bourgeois revolution is in many respects, uncompleted.) The only class which can prevent fascism is the proletariat, not by merely defending bourgeois democracy, but by the conquest of political power through all available means, to achieve the Socialist revolution and complete democracy—a classless democracy.

During the period of transition, the Draft Program continues, the form of government will be the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dictatorship does not necessarily mean arbitrariness and lawless violence. Bourgeois democracy is a legal dictatorship of the bourgeoisies over other classes. Working class democracy will be a legal dictatorship of the proletariat over the others. It would thus be the most perfect and most extensive democracy in history. Gradually working class democracy would convert itself into complete, or classless democracy. The Socialist Party will be the organ of the dictatorship.

The backwardness of capitalism in Spain makes it more imperative than in other countries for the proletariat to conquer political power and establish its democratic dictatorship, else there would be a long period of great suffering for the people. In order to guarantee the success of the struggle for Socialism, it is necessary to unify the activities of the proletariat by uniting all the political as well as

the economic organizations of the working class and by the complete break of the Socialist Party with all reformist and centrist tendencies.

The Draft Program closes with a summary of the political, economic, financial and municipal measures necessary for the realization of the Party's objectives.

### The Right Wing And Its Position

This program has evoked a lively discussion. Its leading exponent is Largo Caballero and its leading opponent is Julian Besteiro. Besteiro argues that the adoption of this program would convert the Socialist Party into a Communist Party. Many Socialists are making analogies between the Russian and Spanish Revolutions, but he denies the legitimacy of such an analogy. A revolution in Spain would not emerge unless hunger and misery increase, and such a perspective is indefensible. What was needed to solve the problems at present before the proletariat was to realize a day-by-day revolution, bringing about the socialization of the means of production and exchange.

Largo Caballero argues that when there was a monarchy in the country, the Socialists placed themselves on the side of the republicans, in the hope that the downfall of monarchy would solve the problems of the proletariat. Now that the immense majority of the working masses realize that the republic is unable to solve their problems, they move to the left. For the transformation of the capitalist society into a Socialist one, there is no other solution than that of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The new regime cannot be installed peacefully, but with the energetic and violent force of the working class; not because Marx said so, or because it was so in Russia, but because it is a historical necessity.

Araquistain, speaking on behalf of the committee which drafted the Program, denied the charge that the Socialist Party was being converted to a communist one. It is being converted into a Marxist Party, and coincides with the Russian Bolsheviks because they coincided with Marx. He referred to the defeat of German Socialism,

## Reading Attack Smashes Illegal Pa. Referendum

READING, Pa.—The Pennsylvania referendum, by which delegates were to be instructed to support the old guard demand for seating in the national convention of the Socialist Party, has been withdrawn for lack of support.

Local Berks County, which includes the city of Reading, had voted unanimously at a membership meeting not to participate in the vote on the referendum on the ground that it was unconstitutional. Shortly afterwards, the state office sent out notices to the effect that referendum "on instructions to the delegates has been cancelled."

The referendum would have bound the Pennsylvania delegates to vote as a unit, to seat the old guard and to oppose the Declaration of Principles adopted at the Detroit convention.

Local Berks has also instructed its delegates "not to walk out of the convention under any circumstances and to fulfill their obligations to Local Berks as delegates and representatives of this Local." The action followed rumors that the old guard has been attempting to induce delegations "to take a walk." A motion was also passed rejecting united fronts with Communists, Democrats, Republicans or "Social Democrats" should such a new party be organized, as the old guard has announced its intentions.

which was commanded by formidable theoreticians who had Marxism on their lips and reformism in their hearts.

### A Correction

In a previous column I made reference to a remark by Monmousseau about the need for answering "cannon with cannon and shell with shell" in his speech at the French Trade Union Unity Congress. The first meager report of this speech gave the impression that the reference was to France. The Daily Worker has kindly (but not courteously) called my attention to an error which, upon investigation, I confirm. The reference was not to France, but to a hypothetical country which had established Socialism. If the Daily Worker were as careful of misrepresentation as the Socialist Call, and as willing to correct errors, its reputation would be considerably enhanced.

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