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Workers Press for Action in Spain

Shuffle New War Cards at London

Revolutionary Working Class Can Upset Apple-cart of Capitalist Politicians and Warmakers

Statesmen and diplomats of the Powers met at London this week not to decide the issue of war or peace in Europe, but to decide, if they could, how and by whom and against whom the inevitable war shall be waged.

Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland and his open offer of a bloc of western powers against the Soviet Union has once more precipitated the bubbling and uneasy solution of European alignments and forced the search for a new formula and a new compound. Irregularities abound and the hurried chemists at London feared momentarily to see their whole laboratory go up in the smoke and thunder of a shattering explosion carrying issues, conflicts and men beyond their control.

Nazi Army on the March

For while diplomats parleyed at London, Germany was marching more thousands into the Rhineland. The French War office claimed that 90,000 German soldiers now stood poised at the French frontier. Estimates which included the Storm Troops, labor corps and police carried the total to more than 200,000. Along the French border into the chain of mighty forts that France has built since the last war, more than 150,000 troops were moved and the border towns placed on a war footing. From Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and Italy came reports of mobilizations, preparations and the wheels of the whole war machine of Europe started to turn more rapidly.

At London the ironic comedy of imperialist horse trading was being played on with a number of important changes in the dramatic personae.

Only a few months ago French imperialism was the buffer between Britain and Italy over the issue of Ethiopia. Today it is Britain who stands with arm upraised to protect the Third Reich from the blows of an angry France. Italy is carefully straddling while she waits for one side or the other to pull her chestnut, an Ethiopian settlement, from the fire. While three months ago it was Italy who thundered threats to quit the League, today it is France who says she will bolt if in this crisis the League fails to serve her purposes.

By marching into the Rhineland ten days ago Hitler set the long and tangled European fuse spluttering. It splutters still and no man can say whether today or tomorrow it will end in the weak pop of a firecracker or blow up the works. Meanwhile what is going on today is the scramble for safe positions.

Main Positions in Rhine Conflict

At present it is possible to summarize the main positions somewhat as follows:

France would like to crack down on Hitler if it were possible to do so without throwing either Britain or Italy or both to Germany's side. This being unlikely, France will retreat to its second line of defense, which demands of Britain a hard and fast military alliance with automatic guarantees of British military aid the moment Germany attacks. At the same time France will move to wean Italy away from the dangerous threat of an Italo-German rapprochement and possible alliance by forcing a settlement of the East African issue on Mussolini's terms. Lastly, France will announce that the "collective security" racket has petered out and continue to build its armaments and alliances to the maximum extent possible.

Britain fundamentally would like to come to terms with Hitler and at the same time retain the indispensable friendship of France by weaning the latter away from Moscow and giving Hitler a free hand in the East. In other words, while French imperialism considers a re-armed Reich on its borders as its immediate enemy, Britain sees more logic in tying the Third Reich into a series of pacts which will consummate Hitler's offer to preserve the Western European status quo and open the valve to let off steam at the expense of the Soviet Union. An inter-imperialist war will hasten the disintegration of the British Empire. Nowhere is that better realized than at No. 10 Downing Street. (Whatever the zig-zags or middle roads it takes, British imperialism will orientate itself

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Service Strike Terminates in Compromise

N. Y. Realty Board Refuses Reinstatement of Many Strikers

The Building Service strike is over. Under a compromise settlement on the question of firing all strikebreakers and rehiring all strikers, the union leadership agreed to call off the strike and to leave all questions of wages, etc. to arbitration. While some dissatisfaction exists in the union with the way negotiations were carried on, and the compromise reached, yesterday's union membership meeting indicated that the settlement, hailed as a victory by the leaders, would be accepted.

Different interpretations of the agreement have been given by union leaders and spokesmen for the Realty Board. The former, basing themselves on one clause, claim that it meant the rehiring of all strikers. On the other hand, the bosses claim that a qualifying clause left the door wide open to any landlord to refuse to hire union men who had been guilty of "violence" during the strike, and to retain strike-breakers hired in "good faith."

The final interpretation of this section will be determined by the militancy and solidarity shown by the returning strikers and the leadership given them. Already, in some cases, building crews have met and decided that all or none go back to work.

The Settlement

The terms of the settlement are in part as follows:

The terms of the agreement entered into between the parties on Nov. 21, 1934, and of the Curran award shall continue in effect, except that there shall be an immediate arbitration of the minimum standards of wages, such standards to become effective from the date of the award.

At the end of one year, from this date, there shall be upon application of either party the further arbitration of minimum standards of wages and hours, the award to be effective for the second year hereof. There shall be a further arbitration of minimum standards of wages and hours at the end of the second year upon the application of either party, the award to be effective for the third year hereof.

This agreement is to continue in effect for a period of three years.

Signatory members who ratify this agreement are to immediately proceed to restore their employees to their former positions. If individual disputes arise in connection with the return of the employees to work, such cases shall be submitted at once to Mr. Hugh S. Robertson as impartial arbitrator, who shall consider all circumstances and whose ruling shall be final.

The representatives of the union hereby agree to send their members back to work.

The immediate arbitration of the minimum standard of wages herein provided for is to be conducted by the Hon. Ferdinand Silcox.

Mr. Hugh S. Robertson, who is to have final say on whether men are to return or not, is an architect. The head of the arbitration board, Ferdinand Silcox, is an as-

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Goodyear Picket Line Retains Firm Control; Prepared to Counter Bosses' Vigilante Terror

Union Plans to Mobilize All Ex-Soldiers

AKRON, Ohio.—In its fifth week of the furious struggle, conducted by the Goodyear rubber workers for the right to have a union of their own choice, enters a crucial stage. On Saturday, March 14, the union rejected the so-called settlement proposal advanced by the company, as promptly as it had previously rejected the McGrady conciliation proposal. The company thereupon again served notice that it intended to reopen the plants, and that it would refuse employment to all strikers. The next morning at 4 A.M. more than 6,000 men were on the picket line.

Vigilante forces which have been organizing under cover for some time have now come out in the open under the high sounding name of a citizens "law and order league." The former Mayor in a prepared statement has announced his acceptance of an invitation to lead strike-breakers into the plants through action of these vigilantes. Ominously there appear simultaneous reports that a quantity of guns and ammunition has disappeared from the national guard armory.

The company's offer included: Return of all employees without discrimination; meeting with all groups (this would ostensibly include the company union); notice to be given of wage changes; negotiation on working hours; advance notice of layoffs.

While the union did not place itself in the position of rejecting all of the points in this offer it nevertheless declared for non-acceptance in view of its most pressing demands being ignored. These demands were reiterated at the Saturday meeting and they include: Restoration of all wage reductions since Jan. 1; a uniform thirty-six hour week; straight seniority rights; notice of layoffs. However, it is now clear that the company never meant to negotiate in the first place. It should be remembered that last spring the company agreed to meet representatives of the workers and then promptly made a farce out of it.

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WPA - 1936 Football

(Special to the New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS

WASHINGTON, D.C.—There is a degree of prosperity—in political speeches. Certainly, the President himself is a picture of prosperity. Just take a look, folks, at that great big smile which will increase in breadth from now until the November election. Of course, the Democratic jackass has gone a bit lame under Franklin's jockeying; but depend on Old Doc Farley to get the beast in prime shape for the coming sweepstakes.

The other side of the picture is considerably darker. In an article, last week, I commented upon the decision of Federal Administrator Harry L. Hopkins to fire 700,000 WPA workers, under the pretense that the majority would be re-employed by private industry. It is not necessary for us to go into an extensive analysis of this lie. Roosevelt's own Bureau of Labor Statistics reported an unemployment increase of 650,000 in private industry during January of this year. The National Industrial Conference Board went the Bureau one better by estimating the increase at 700,000. Finally, the conservative statisticians of the American Federation of Labor declared that 1,200,000 workers were dismissed in January, the largest turn-over in five months. Profits, incidentally, increased fourteen percent during 1935.

Roosevelt finds himself faced with a dilemma. Opposition to his new tax bill, an exceedingly mild measure, must be muffled by firing enough relief workers to balance any increase in taxes. At the same time, WPA must be used as a po-

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Extracts from the Rabble-Rousing Radio Speech of Former Mayor of Akron

AKRON, Ohio, March 15.—The speech was devoted mainly to an attack on "labor agitators and Communist leaders who brought with them all the tricks of their trade necessary to create riots and civil commotion, lawlessness and disorder in our peaceful and law abiding community. I could not address them as fellow citizens, nor could I stretch a point and call them fellow Americans."

No one before, he said, has come to the radio "and told you the real truth about what is back of the whole strike problem here in Akron." The henchmen of these outside agitators "were busy arming the pickets with clubs, iron pipes and revolvers. . . . They came into our community with the sole intent to either make the Akron rubber industry 100 percent unionized or to wreck the industry! And wreck the city in the effort! . . . Patience has ceased to be a virtue."

He stated that Sparks, a private citizen, had a right to speak the same as any private citizen on this matter affecting the whole community. He also represented Goodyear men loyal workers who had asked him to speak. "The specter of sickness and hunger now makes it imperative that these men go to work."

"For the past three weeks there has been no semblance of law and order nor any apparent desire on the part of those in authority to correct the situation. Homes have been bombed, windows smashed." Thereupon Sparks mentioned about twenty alleged instances of "violence" ascribed to the strikers.

"Right at this moment out of town leaders and agitators are

bringing in firearms and gas to create a regime of terror in this community when the non-striking workers attempt to enter the plant. . . . Are we going to permit this condition to continue in this city?" He then referred to strikers "bedeviled and coerced by the Pesotas, Gerners, and Kryczkys. . . . Workers must run the gauntlet of bullets, clubs and brickbats in order to go to work. . . . Out of town radical and Socialist leaders have had the affrontery to praise our supine officialdom for preserving the peace and maintaining law and order." Then he referred to "long-haired Hapgoods, wild eyed and loose tongued Tates (chairman of the Central Labor Union of Akron and A. F. of L. organizer) chiseling leeches, labor agitators, radicals, communists, red orators—like jackals around a carcass."

He warned that radicals who now rule in East Akron (a workers district) will presently also "rule with lead pipes in South Akron and West Hill" (residential districts). So what?

He announced that an agency had been created in the last twenty-four hours to deal with the situation, namely the Law and Order League. He gave two telephone numbers with which any who were desirous of joining the League could communicate.

"Help us to gang up for Constitutional law and order. Those who dare to stop you (referring to non-union workers) will have to take the consequences. Help us to say to the out of town leaders get the hell out of here, and we are not going to be too much interested in the dignity of their going."

Appeal Hearings on Sac'to C. S. Cases Expected Soon

Final steps toward obtaining a transcript of the record of the trial of the Sacramento criminal syndicalism prisoners are being taken this week by the defense, and the attorneys will begin work on the appeal briefs in a few days. It is expected that date for the appeal hearing will be set in the near future.

Repeated efforts by the defense to force the State to provide several copies of the transcript were blocked by the prosecution. Attorney Raymond W. Henderson, retained by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee on behalf of Norman Mini, tried to compel enforcement of all the prisoners' rights to copies of the transcript. He, as well as Leo Gallagher acting for the other prisoners, was denied relief by the higher courts of California.

In effect the court's attitude would deny the defendants their right to appeal. The only alternative has been for all the defendants to waive their right to separate copies of the transcript and to unite in applying for the single copy which the State is willing to provide.

Defense Difficulties Overcome

Some time ago Attorneys Henderson and Gallagher agreed to apply jointly for this transcript on behalf of Norman Mini and two prisoners represented by Gallagher. This did not break the log-jam, however, because five other prisoners, defended by the I.L.D., were technically representing themselves rather than retaining an attorney. A short time ago the I.L.D. finally agreed to advise these self-defendants to give Gallagher a retainer as the only way to realizing an appeal. They have now done so.

The hearing of the State Board of Prison Terms, at which sentence will be set for Norman Mini and the other prisoners, has been postponed for a few weeks. In the meantime, the N.S.A.C. is pushing its drive to win support for the idea of minimum sentences for all the Sacramento prisoners. A number of trade unions are sending resolutions to the Board, and petitions and other resolutions.

As part of its campaign on behalf of all the Sacramento prisoners, the N.S.A.C. is supplying friends with post-card appeals to the State Board of Prison Terms. Last week the League for Industrial Democracy distributed 3,000 such cards to

its members throughout the country.

The Hearst and other reactionary forces in California are bringing pressure to get the Board to set long sentences. The Board can set sentences anywhere from one to fourteen years. If it were to set one-year terms, the prisoners would be free in April. The Board's action, in the last analysis, will be a reflection brought upon it.

Letters appealing for minimum terms should be sent to Chairman Frank C. Sykes, State Board of Prison Terms, Kohl Building, San Francisco. They should stress the fact that none of the prisoners was convicted of any overt act, and that one of the convicting jurors has testified in an affidavit that he never believed in the guilt of Carol-ine Decker or Norman Mini and that the whole verdict was a compromise.

Warnick Persecution Continues

The Federal Government is continuing its persecution of Jack Warnick, one of the Sacramento defendants who was acquitted of the charge of criminal syndicalism last year. In its effort to deport Warnick, who emigrated from Canada at the age of 18 months, the Government has dug up the fact that in 1926 he visited Juarez, Mexico, for two hours, and Niagara Falls, Canada, for a similar length of time. He is charged with illegal entry on his return from these jaunts.

Warnick, who resigned from the Communist Party last year in protest against its campaign of slandering Norman Mini, is now a member of no organization whatsoever. The immigration authorities are now charging him with Trotskyism, for which he was also denounced by the C.P. He has, of course, no connection with the Workers Party, and his only "crimes" remain that he helped organize a trade union, expressed views critical of the existing social order, and refused to submit to the orders of the Stalinist bureaucrats when the latter set out to hide their own sabotage by assassinating the character of Mini, an honest working-class prisoner.

Gum Miners Reject Bad Settlement

By PAUL FIELDING

AKRON, O., Mar. 15.—"No, no, a thousand times no, 'I'd rather stay out than say yes!'"

sang five thousand Goodyear strikers in answer to the company's proposal to go back to work.

Five thousand fighting gum miners, on strike for the fourth week, shouted down a plan to go back to their jobs with nothing, and left for the plant to tighten the picket lines.

For two hours the men stood in line, braving rain and snow, waiting to get into the Akron Armory, the largest auditorium in the city. But it even it was too small. They formed a double line around the building, and when they finally got in the hall, they packed the seats and aisles, and stood on the window sills and balcony.

Across the street company men watched the crowd, and went back to their bosses with an unfavorable report.

The meeting climaxed a week of jockeying between the company and the union leaders. But the strikers were ready for anything. As each union official entered the hall—from the highest generalissimo to the lowest petty officer—the men shouted NO!

Secret Ballot Howled Down

It had been planned to cast secret ballots, but the workers flatly refused. Each time they spied the ballot boxes, a howl went up: "Take them out! Take them out!"—shouts rose to the rafters. The meeting could not go on until the boxes were taken from the building.

The company plan was put before the group. A rank and filer took the floor and substituted a resolution which rejected some points, amended others, and proposed new ones. All in all, it was little more than Goodyear had proposed a week before but had withdrawn.

"Those supporting the resolution raise their hands," John House, union president, said.

Every hand but one went up. "Those opposed?"

One lone hand rose

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Soil & Profits 'Conserved'

(Special to the New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS

MEMPHIS, Tenn., March 7.—Their immaculate clothing flecked with the blood of the share-croppers, the wealthy planters and landlords of this region gathered here to make a deal, under the guise of "soil conservation," with the Department of Agriculture. The participants spoke to each other in soft, insistent voices; the air being heavy with Southern courtesy and the smoke from two-bit cigars. It was a gentlemen's gathering, suh! The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, representing 25,000 croppers and having headquarters in this city, was not invited to send any delegates. The gentlemen lost their temper only once: when the representative of the Department insisted upon paying them five, instead of six, cents per pound for ungrown cotton.

United States Senator-elect Allen Ellender, of Louisiana, did offer a resolution asking Secretary Wallace to give "due consideration to the small farmers." Nobody took Al's resolution very seriously, not even Al himself. Everybody knew that the Senator had to make some sort of gesture in order to keep Huey Long's political machine going. A round dozen of the smaller landlords voted for Al's proposal on a standing poll.

Dividing the Spoils

The conference recommended a division of benefit payments that naturally gives the tenant zero. Thirty per cent will go the person responsible for the "conservation," and, needless to say, tenants who claim such responsibilities will be endangering their lives. Thirty-

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Azana Lays Ground For Suppression

Leaders Still Playing Fatal Game with Rapublicans

By ALFREDO ROJAS

The first sessions of the Spanish Cortes are taking place in the midst of wide, but still sporadic, battles of the workers and peasants against landowners, police and troops. Partly concealed by the press censorship of the Azana government, and especially suppressed by the bourgeois news-services to other countries, the clashes have grown in extent throughout the month since the elections.

The continued initiative of the masses is especially evident in the south of Spain, where the landed-estates predominate and where the land-workers and peasants have been exploited most bitterly. To say, however, that the masses are seizing the land would be an exaggeration. Powerful demonstrations involving the whole population have demanded the expropriation of the land, in many places in the southern provinces, and these demonstrations have often gone over to popular raids on the estates of particularly-hated landowners, some of whom have been killed in such clashes.

Peasants Waiting

The raiders have usually withdrawn even before police and troops have arrived; for, by and large, the peasants believe that the new Cortes will decree the land to them and are waiting for that. When they discover that Azana's land program is merely a repetition of that of 1931—division of a few grandees' estates and the Jesuits', preceded by interminable legal steps plus a scheme for government purchase of estates for distribution; in other words, no serious move toward solving the agrarian problem—there is no doubt that the peasants will overrun the estates.

Whether they will thereafter be decimated and driven off the land or whether they will remain on the land depends primarily on whether they are backed up by the workers in the cities, which can only happen if the workers' parties take the road of intransigent struggle against the bourgeois regime of Azana.

The workers' struggles in the cities have received more attention in both the Spanish and the American press, these facts being less easily suppressed. What has not been made clear is that in practically every instance where a worker has been killed, the proletarian organizations have answered not only with huge mass funerals but with 24-hour general strikes in the localities involved.

The Firing of Churches

In an effort to stir up resentment against the workers, the world press has widely publicized the burning of churches by demonstrators. The press has naturally concealed the peculiar role of the church in Spain, which is not merely a reactionary institution serving to bind the masses spiritually to their masters, but is the most powerful landowner and industrialist in its domination of its land-workers and wage-slaves.

For peasants and workers to burn a church in Spain today, is the exact equivalent of the burning of the castle or manor of a hated lord in feudal France. The brutality of the Spanish priesthood evokes spontaneous retaliation from the masses they oppress; but we can be assured that the mere loss of a church here and there is as nothing to the frenzy which the clergy will display when they are threatened with no bodily violence at all but with systematic expropriation by the organized proletariat.

Azana Consolidating Power

Azana follows a clever strategy of superficial conciliatoriness toward the proletariat, biding his time until his government has been consolidated. Arrests of the handful of those who officially term themselves Fascists, a mild censorship of the Right press—but also of the labor press—numerous declarations of loyalty to republican principles—Azana has given little more than this in return for solid support from the proletarian or-

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The Great Marxist Teachers on the Commune

Karl Marx

Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators, history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them. (Civil War in France, 1871.)

On the dawn of the 18th of March, Paris arose to the thunder-burst of "Vive la Commune!" What is the Commune, that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?

"The proletarians of Paris," said the Central Committee in its manifesto of March 18, "amidst the defeats and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the country by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs. . . . They have understood that it is their duty and their absolute right to become the masters of their own destinies, by seizing in their own hands state power."

But the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes. (Karl Marx: Civil War in France.)

If you look over the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire* you will find that, in my opinion, the next attempt of the French revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it. This is the necessary premise for every real people's revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic comrades in Paris are attempting. What flexibility, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused rather by internal treachery than by the external enemy, they rise, beneath the Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war be-

V. I. Lenin

Forty years have passed since the proclamation of the Paris Commune. According to their custom, the French proletariat are honoring the memory of the revolutionary workers of March 18, 1871, by meetings and demonstrations. At the end of May they will again bring wreaths to the tombs of the Communards who were shot, the victims of the fearful "May Week," and over their graves they will once more take the oath to fight untiringly until their ideas have conquered, until their cause has been completely victorious.

Why do the proletariat, not only in France but throughout the entire world, honor the workers of the Paris Commune as their fore-runners? What was the heritage of the Commune?

The Commune broke out spontaneously. No one consciously prepared it in an organized way. The unsuccessful war with Germany, privations during the siege, unemployment among the proletariat and ruin among the petty-bourgeoisie; the indignation of the masses against the upper classes and against the authorities who had displayed their complete incapacity, an indefinable fermentation among the working class, which was discontented with its lot and was striving towards a different social system; the reactionary make-up of the National Assembly, which roused fears as to the fate of the republic—all this and many other things combined to drive the population of Paris to revolution on March 18, which unexpectedly placed power in the hands of the National Guard, in the hands of the working class and the petty-bourgeoisie which had joined in with it.

First Time in History

This was an event unprecedented in history. Up to that time power had customarily been in the hands of landlords and capitalists, i.e., in the hands of their trusted agents who made up the so-called Government. After the revolution of March 18, when the Thiers Government fled from Paris with its troops, its police and its officials, the people remained masters of the situation and power passed into the hands of the proletariat. But in modern society, enslaved economically by capital, the proletariat cannot dominate politically unless it breaks the chains which fetter it to capital. This is why the movement of the Commune inevitably had to take on a Socialist coloring, i.e., to begin striving for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, the power of capital, to destroy the very foundations of the present social order.

At first this movement was extremely indefinite and confused. It was joined by patriots who hoped that the Commune would renew the war with the Germans and bring it to a successful conclusion. It was supported by the small shopkeepers who were threatened with ruin unless there was a postponement of payments on debts and rent

tween France and Germany and the enemy were not at the gates of Paris. History has no like example of heroism. If they are defeated, only their "good-nature" will be to blame. They should have marched at once on Versailles after first Vinoy and then the reactionary section of the Parisian National Guard had quit Paris. The right moment was missed because of conscientious scruples. They did not want to start the civil war, as if that monstrous abortion Thiers had not already begun the civil war with his attempt to disarm Paris. Second mistake: the Central Committee surrendered its power too soon, to make way for the Commune. Again from a too "honorable" scrupulousity! Be that as it may, the present uprising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our party since the June insurrection in Paris. Compare these Parisians ready to storm Heaven with the slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian, Holy Roman Empire, with its antediluvian masquerades, reeking of the barracks, the Church, cabbage-Junkerdom and, above all, of philistinism. (Extract from Marx's letter to Kugelmann, April 12, 1871.)

That after the most tremendous war of modern times, the conquering hosts should fraternize for the common massacre of the proletariat—this unparalleled event does indicate, not as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society upheaving, but the crumbling into dust of bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war: and this is now proved to be a mere government humbug, intended to defer the struggle of the classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out in civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national governments are one as against the proletariat! (Civil War in France, 1871.)

V. I. Lenin

(the Government did not want to give them such a postponement but the Commune gave it). Finally, it had, at first, the sympathy of the bourgeois republicans, who feared that the reactionary National Assembly (the "backwoodsmen," ignorant landlords) would restore the monarchy. But the chief role in this movement was of course played by the workers (especially the artisans of Paris), among whom Socialist propaganda had been energetically carried on during the last years of the Second Empire and many of whom even belonged to the First International.

For a Better Future

Only the workers remained loyal to the Commune to the end. The bourgeois republicans and the petty-bourgeoisie soon broke away from it, the former afraid of the revolutionary Socialist proletarian character of the movement, and the others dropping out when they saw that it was doomed to inevitable defeat. Only the French proletariat supported their Government fearlessly and untiringly, they alone fought and died for it, for the cause of the emancipation of the working class, for a better future for all toilers.

Deserted by their allies of yesterday and supported by no one, the Commune was doomed to inevitable defeat. The entire bourgeoisie of France, all the landlords, the stockbrokers, the factory owners, all the great and small robbers, all the exploiters, combined against it. This bourgeois coalition, supported by Bismarck (who released a hundred thousand French soldiers who had been taken prisoner to put down revolutionary Paris), succeeded in routing the backward peasants and the petty bourgeoisie of the provinces against the proletariat of Paris, and in surrounding half of Paris with a ring of steel (the other half was held by the German army). In some of the larger cities in France (Marseilles, Lyons, St. Etienne, Dijon, etc.) the workers also attempted to seize power, to proclaim the Commune, and came to the help of Paris, but these attempts soon failed. Paris, which had first raised the flag of proletarian revolt, was left to its own resources and doomed to certain destruction.

Conditions Unripe

For the victory of the social revolution, at least two conditions are necessary: a high development of productive forces and the preparedness of the proletariat. But in 1871 neither of these conditions was present. French capitalism was still only slightly developed, and France was at that time mainly a country of petty-bourgeoisie (artisans, peasants, shopkeepers, etc.). On the other hand there was no workers' party, the working class, which in the mass was unprepared and untrained, did not even clearly visualize its tasks and the methods of fulfilling them. There were no serious political organizations of

The Tradition of the Communards

By MAURICE SPECTOR

"... Look at the Paris Commune. . . . That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!"—Frederick Engels.

SINCE the end of the Franco-Prussian War, the proletariat has experienced great victories and great defeats, in widely-separated fields of parliamentary activity and of civil war. But so far from reducing it, our epoch has actually enhanced the significance of the Paris Commune.

The Paris Commune was the first attempt of the modern working class to seize political power. Like the great Russian Revolution, the French Commune arose on the ruins of the military defeat and social collapse of an Empire. Louis Bonaparte pretended to rule as an arbiter of conflicting class interests, to defend the workers from the rapacious capitalists and the bourgeoisie from the "exorbitant" demands of the workers. In reality, the State was a tool of financial buccaneers and its hall marks were corruption and exploitation. When Bonaparte realized that he could no longer alleviate the social contradictions, he unleashed chauvinism. But the newly-united Germany of Bismarck broke Napoleon's neck and the Empire crashed. On September 4, 1870 the workers of Paris proclaimed the Republic.

It soon became manifest that there were two governments, a dual power. The Government of National Defense headed by Thiers was the government of the propertied classes. Its principal objective became to disarm the Parisian proletariat, who were the majority of the National Guard and who had heroically carried out the defense of the starving city against the Prussian armies.

Realizing the national treachery and class aims of the bourgeoisie, the workers resisted. On the eighteenth of March, 1871 the Central Committee of the Paris Commune proclaimed the "absolute right of the proletarians of Paris amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing the governmental power."

The proclamation of the Commune was the negation of bourgeois authority and the bourgeois state. All the Labor governments since the war have not the slightest shred of reality compared to the fact that the Commune, short-lived though it was, realized the necessity of shattering the state machine of the bourgeoisie as the prerequisite of social reconstruction. The Commune was the anticipation of the Soviet.

If the social legislation of the Commune seems to us very modest, it was due to the theoretical shortcomings of the leadership and the exigencies of the military struggle. The city was beleaguered by the Versailles troops of Thiers and his virtual allies, the Prussian junkers. But what the Commune did was nevertheless significant. The column of Victory on the Place Vendôme, the symbol of chauvinism, was demolished. Plans were worked out to take

the proletariat, no strong trade unions and co-operative societies.

But the chief thing which the Commune lacked was the time to think out and undertake the fulfillment of its program. It hardly had time to start working, when the Versailles government, supported by the entire bourgeoisie, opened military operations against Paris. The Commune had to think first of all of defense. Right up to the very end, May 31-28, it had no time to think seriously of anything else.

In spite of such unfavorable conditions, in spite of the brevity of its existence, the Commune found time to carry out some measures which sufficiently characterize its real significance and aims. The Commune replaced the standing army, that blind weapon in the hands of the ruling classes, by the armed people. It proclaimed the separation of church from State, abolished the State support of religious bodies (i.e., State salaries for priests), gave popular education a purely secular character, and in this way struck a severe blow at the gendarmes in priestly robes. In the purely social sphere the Commune could do very little, but this little nevertheless clearly shows its character as a popular, workers' Government. Night work in bakeries was forbidden, the system of fines, this system of legalized robbery of the workers, was abolished. Finally, the famous decree was issued according to which all factories, works and workshops which had been abandoned or stopped by their owners, were to be handed over to associations of workers in order to resume production. And, as if to emphasize its character as a truly democratic proletarian Government, the Commune decreed that the salaries of all ranks in the administration and the government should not exceed the normal wages of a worker, and in no case should exceed 6,000 francs per year.

Menace to Slavery

All these measures showed with sufficient clearness that the Commune was a deadly menace to the old world, founded on slavery and exploitation. Therefore bourgeois society could not sleep peacefully so long as the Red Flag of the proletariat waved over the Paris City Hall. When at last the organized force of the Government had managed to defeat the poorly organized forces of the revolution, the Bonapartist generals who had been beaten by the Germans and who were brave only when fighting their defeated countrymen, these French Renneukampfs and Meller-Sakomelskys, organized such a slaughter as Paris had never known. About 30,000 Parisians were killed by the ferocious soldiery, about 45,000 were arrested and many of these were afterwards executed, thousands were imprisoned or exiled. In all, Paris lost about 100,000 of its sons, including the best workers of all trades.

The bourgeoisie were satisfied. "Now we have finished with Socialism for a long time" said their

over factories shut down by the manufacturers and have them run by the workers on a cooperative basis. The Commune decreed the separation of Church and state and nationalized church property. Foreigners were declared eligible for election to the Commune—"the flag of the Commune is the flag of the world republic."

That the Bank of France could escape nationalization reveals the state of confusion, the lack of a scientific program, and the dire lack of a far-seeing revolutionary leadership in the Commune. The economic ideas of the Commune were provided by the Proudhonists, socialists and the small craftsmen and peasants as their social ideal, and theories of "equitable exchange" as their panacea. The result was that the resources of the bourgeoisie which was making war on the Commune, were left intact. The immaturity of the Commune was further exhibited in the half measures characterizing the conduct of armed struggle against Versailles, which was permitted to consolidate its forces and take the offensive. The proletariat paid a bitter toll for its indecision. After the victory of the possessing classes came the White Terror and thousands of workers were cold-bloodedly butchered at the "Wall of the Federal" at the Pere Lachaise Cemetery.

The study of the lessons of the Commune enabled Marx to work out in more concrete fashion his theory of the State and it is not wrong to say that the Bolsheviks' insight into the Commune decisively influenced the struggle for the Soviets in 1917. Commune and Soviet are equally the antithesis of parliamentarism.

Lenin considered it the fatal error of the French Socialists that they combined the contradictory tasks of patriotism and socialism. "Let the bourgeoisie bear the responsibility of national humiliation—it is the business of the proletariat to fight for the socialist liberation of labor from the yoke of the bourgeoisie."

The Commune was defeated both by objective and subjective factors. European capitalism was on the eve of a period of expansion. The workers of Paris lacked an understanding of capitalist economics, they lacked a Marxist program, and above all they lacked the conception of the disciplined revolutionary party, that indispensable lever of power. Let us feel too superior to those workers of 1871, let us remember our vast advantages. We live in the epoch of imperialism, of the world crisis, of all the requisite conditions for the struggle for socialism. We have witnessed the debacle of the Second International, and have had the tragic experiences of the degeneration of the Third International—and our task in America still remains the supreme one of building the powerful revolutionary party of the working class!

Towards that goal we shall march forward undaunted and the memory of that gallant generation of proletarian fighters of 1871 will remain an abiding inspiration.

The picture of its life and death, the sight of a workers' government which seized the capital of the world and kept it in its hands for over two months, the spectacle of the heroic struggle of the proletariat and its suffering after defeat—all this has raised the spirit of millions of workers, aroused their hopes and attracted their sympathies to the side of socialism. The thunder of the cannon in Paris awakened the most backward strata of the proletariat from deep slumber, and everywhere gave impetus to the growth of revolutionary Socialist propaganda. This is why the cause of the Commune did not die. It lives to the present day in every one of us.

(Rabochaya Gazeta, No. 4-5, April 23 (15), 1911.)

WPA Election Football-1936

(Continued from Page 1)

litical machine to re-elect the Dragon Killer from Hyde Park. The dilemma will undoubtedly be solved by dropping workers who live in safely Democratic states, particularly those South of the Mason and Dixon line where the unemployed organizations are comparatively weak. In Texas, for example, the time for the expiration of all projects has been shortened from November 30 to June 30. In doubtful states such as Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, the percentage fired will be proportionately much less.

Meanwhile, the whole principle of relief is being attacked in terms that are viciously insulting to the unemployed. Private employers are refusing to hire workers who have ever been relief clients or who have been jobless for a considerable period of time. Thus, the bosses are able to get at ridiculously cheap prices the young workers forced out of school into the streets. Industry now has not only an enormous group of workers whom it is turning out to starve. The reserve of cheap, surplus labor is also being augmented by the actions of those high-powered official humanitarians: Roosevelt and Hopkins.

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Frederick Engels

The renunciation of the belief in a hereditary monarchy and the programmatic adoption of a democratic republic are often deemed an extraordinarily audacious step. In reality, however, the state is nothing other than an instrument of oppression of one class by another; this applies equally to a democratic republic and to a monarchy. In the best case, the State is an evil to which the proletariat will fall heir after emerging victorious from the struggle for class domination. Just as in the case of the Paris Commune, the proletariat will inevitably be compelled to lop off immediately, in so far as that is possible, the worst aspects of this evil, until a new generation, growing up in a new and a free social system, will have sufficient strength to do away with all this rubbish of all State institutions whatsoever.

The German philistine has recently been struck with wholesome fear again at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well, then, gentlemen, do you want to know

how this dictatorship looks? Then look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Engels' Introduction to Marx's Civil War in France.)

Revolution is undoubtedly the most authoritarian thing in the world. Revolution is an act in which one section of the population imposes its will upon the other by means of rifles, bayonets and guns, all of which are exceedingly authoritarian implements. The victorious party is necessarily compelled to maintain its rule by means of that fear which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. If the Paris Commune had not employed the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie, would it have maintained itself more than twenty-four hours? And are we not, on the contrary, justified in reproaching the Commune for having employed this authority too little? (Frederick Engels: Ueber das Autoritaetsprinzip.)

Leon Trotsky

Revolution has often followed war in history.

In ordinary times the working masses toil from day to day, docilely performing their slave labor, bowing to the great force of habit. Neither overseers, nor police, neither jail-keepers nor executioners could hold the masses in subjection were it not for this habit which does faithful service to capitalism.

The war which tortures and destroys the masses is dangerous to the rulers as well—precisely because with a single blow it tears the people from their habitual condition, awakens with its thunder the most backward and dark elements, and compels them to take stock of themselves, and to look around.

War and Revolution

Impelling millions of toilers into the flames, the rulers are obliged to resort to promises and lies in place of habit. The bourgeoisie paints up its war with all those traits which are dear to the magnanimous soul of the masses: the war is for "Liberty," for "Justice," for a "Better Life!" Stirring the masses to their nethermost depths, the war invariably ends by duping them: it brings them nothing except new wounds and chains. For this reason the tense condition of the duped masses produced by the war often leads to an explosion against the rulers; war gives birth to revolution.

This happened twelve years ago during the Russo-Japanese war: it immediately aggravated the dissatisfaction of the people and led to the revolution of 1906.

This happened in France 46 years ago. The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871 led to the uprising of the workers and the creation of the Paris Commune.

The Commune

The Parisian workers were armed by the bourgeois government and organized into a National Guard for the defense of the capital against the German troops. But the French bourgeoisie stood in greater fear of its own proletarians than of the troops of Hohenzollern. After Paris had capitulated, the Republican Government attempted to disarm the workers. But the war had already awakened in them the spirit of rebellion. They did not want to return to their benches the self-same workers they had been prior to the war. The Parisian proletarians refused to let the weapons out of their hands. A clash took place between the armed workers and the regiments of the Government. This occurred on March 18, 1871. The workers were victorious; Paris was in their hands, and on March 28, they established, in the capital, a proletarian government, known as the Commune. The latter did not long maintain itself. After a heroic resistance, on May 28, the last defenders of the Commune fell before the onslaught of bourgeois cohorts. Then ensued weeks and months of bloody reprisals upon the participants of the proletarian revolution. But, despite its brief existence, the Commune has remained the greatest event in the history of the proletarian struggle. For the first time, on the basis of the experience of the Parisian workers, the world proletariat was able to see what the proletarian revolution is, what are its aims, and what paths it must pursue.

The achievements of the Commune The Commune began by confirming the election of all foreigners to the workers' government. It proclaimed that: "The banner of the Commune is the banner of a World Republic."

It purged the state and the school of religion, abolished capital punishment, pulled down the Column of Vendôme, (the memorial to chauvinism), transferred all duties and posts to genuine servants of the people, setting their salary at a level not exceeding a workman's wage.

It began a census of factories and mills, closed by frightened capitalists, in order to initiate production

on a social basis. This was the first step towards the socialist organization of economic life.

The Commune did not achieve its proposed measures: it was crushed. The French bourgeoisie, with the co-operation of its "national enemy" Bismarck—who immediately became its class ally—drowned in blood the uprising of its real enemy: the working class. The plans and tasks of the Commune did not find their realization. But, instead, they found their way into the hearts of the best sons of the proletariat in the entire world, they became the revolutionary covenants of our struggle.

And today, on March 18, 1917, the image of the Commune appears before us more clearly than ever before; for, after a great lapse of time, we have once again entered into the epoch of great revolutionary battles.

The World War

The world war has torn tens of millions of toilers out of habitual conditions under which they labor and vegetate. Up to now this has been the case only in Europe, tomorrow we shall see the same thing in America as well. Never before have the working masses been given such promises. Never before have such rainbows been painted for them. Never have they been so flattered as during this war. Never before have the possessing classes dared to demand so much blood from the people in the name of defending the life which goes by the name of "Defense of the Fatherland." And never before have the toilers been so duped, betrayed, and crucified as today.

In trenches filled with blood and mud, in starving cities and villages, millions of hearts are beating with exasperation, despair and anger. And these emotions, correlated with socialist ideas, are being transformed into revolutionary fervor. Tomorrow the flames will burst into the open in mighty uprisings of workers' masses.

The proletariat of Russia has already emerged onto the great road of Revolution, and under its onset are tumbling and crumbling the foundations of the most infamous despotism the world has seen. The revolution in Russia, however, is only the precursor of proletarian uprisings in the whole of Europe and in the entire world.

Remember the Commune!—we, Socialists, will say to the insurgent workers' masses. The bourgeoisie has armed you against an external enemy. Refuse to return your weapons, like the Parisian workers refused in 1871! Heed the appeal of Karl Liebknecht and turn these weapons against your real enemy, against capitalism! Tear the State machinery from their hands! Transform it from the instrument of bourgeois oppression into an apparatus of proletarian self-rule! Today, you are infinitely more powerful than were your forefathers in the epoch of the Commune. Tumble all the parasites from their thrones! Seize the land, the mines and the factories for your own use. Fraternity—in labor; equality in enjoying the fruits of labor!

The banner of the Commune is the banner of the World Republic of Labor!

(The above article was written in America and appeared in *Novy Mir*, New York, March 17, 1917.)

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Socialism in Words but Treacherous Patriotism in Action

By JOHN WEST

There is—and naturally enough—a widespread confusion about the nature and meaning of "social-patriotism". Indeed, if it were not for this confusion, social-patriotism would not be capable of producing the powerful effects which it does in fact produce; and, consequently, would not represent the mortal danger to the working class which it does in fact represent.

The confusion can be illustrated by a reply frequently heard from Stalinists, whether party members or sympathizers, to the accusation that the policy of the Comintern is social-patriotic. "This accusation," they protest, "is libellous slander. Why, look at such and such an article and this or that resolution. You can see for yourself, the C. I. theorist puts forward the great Leninist slogan, 'Turn the imperialist war into a civil war'. Here are the paragraphs which state that war can finally be eliminated only under socialism, that capitalism inevitably in the end leads to war, etc., etc. How, then, can you continue to call the C. I. social-patriotic in the face of such evidence?"

To many honest people, not fully clear about the nature of politics, such a reply is convincing. To Marxists, however, it is entirely meaningless.

We have here an example of a technique of betrayers familiar since the beginnings of the revolutionary movement, and typical of demagoguery in every form. It is the same argument that is used in general by supporters of reformism and social-democracy. Do not the social-democrats declare in favor of socialism and against capitalism? How, then, can you say that they are an obstacle to the working class, that they actually serve to uphold the continued rule of capital and to foster the basic interests of the bourgeoisie within the working class?

Unfortunately, the effects of the actions of men are not measured or determined either by their hopes and wishes or by the abstract slogans which they from time to time formulate.

A Perfumed Poison

Above all is this true in the case of social-patriotism. The truth of the matter is that if a social-patriotic policy were openly and explicitly stated as such, it would make no headway among the masses, and would be of minor importance. It would be merely repudiated. Social-patriotism gains its influence precisely because it is disguised, because it is clothed outwardly in the noble raiment of proletarian and revolutionary phraseology. Only thus can social-patriotism gain access to the consciousness of the masses. The deadly poison of social-patriotism must on all occasions be heavily perfumed.

It is the critical insight of Marxism alone that can penetrate to the poisonous core. And Marxism is able to do so because it judges programs—any program—not on the basis of ideals and wishes, nor of abstract phrases and distant goals, but on the specific answers to specific questions, the concrete policies on concrete issues, and on the actions which follow from such answers and such concrete policies.

Social Patriotism in 1914

In 1914, the European social-democratic parties carried through a social-patriotic betrayal of the working class to the war, turned their following over to the guns of imperialism. But, of course, this was done entirely—for the sake of socialism. Not for one moment did the leaders of the social-democracy abandon the ideal of a socialist society. None of them made declarations for the support of the class enemy. Many of them—Kautsky included—continued even to advocate "the proletarian dictatorship".

But, in spite of all this unexpected conduct, they supported the imperialist war; they recruited the workers into the army; they voted for the war credits; they took their places in the war machines. It is for this, and not for their phrases and ideals and words that we characterize their policies as social-patriotic.

How could these concrete acts be reconciled with the abstract ideals? The social-democratic leaders were skilled and ingenious men. They found little difficulty. It was necessary, in Germany, for the social-democracy to defend the gains and achievements of the German working class against the tyranny and despotism of Russian Czarism, the most reactionary government in the entire world, which, if victorious, would have destroyed those gains and achievements. This was a very plausible argument, and could be defended by most convincing "socialist" reasoning.

Its plausibility is decreased, however, when it is compared with the equally convincing socialist reasoning which was employed by the social-democrats of France and England. The latter pointed out, of course, that it was necessary to defend democracy and freedom (and the possibility for the advance to socialism which democracy and freedom allowed) against German militarism, which would, if victorious have destroyed democracy in France and England, and thus turned back the struggle for socialism.

Beware of Social Patriotism Masking its Judas Game Behind Empty Revolutionary Phrases

In each case, the concrete content of the policies of the social-democrats meant simply: support of one's own government—that is, support of the class enemy through its representative, the state. In other words, it means and, could only mean, the betrayal of the workers' struggle for socialism, which is necessarily the struggle against the class enemy and the state; and thus it meant also the abandonment of the struggle against war, which is inseparable from the class struggle for socialism.

The basic characteristic of social-patriotism remains the same: support, within the working class, of the capitalist state and through it of the bourgeoisie in the war. The specific forms of social-patriotism, however, necessarily change, since these must be adjusted to the concrete circumstance of the given war crisis. It is by these specific forms—not by the general and abstract phrases—that we must always judge any "anti-war" policy.

In the present war crisis, therefore, it is irrelevant to argue over the appearance of phrases about "civil war", the "dictatorship of the proletariat", or "the struggle for socialism". These are, on the proper occasion, important. But they do not at all determine the meaning of the "anti-war" policy, do not at all mark it as on the one hand, revolutionary, or on the other, social-patriotic.

Four Forms of Social Patriotism

We must examine the specific and peculiar issues of the present crisis, since it is with respect to these that the differentiation between revolutionists and social-patriots takes place.

In the present war crisis, the specific and peculiar issues have been four: (1) Defense of the Soviet Union; (2) Wars of democratic nations against fascist nations; (3) Neutrality Legislation; (4) League and governmental sanctions.

This does not mean that other issues are not present. All the old issues remain, and take on new meanings in the new crisis. But these four appear in a special manner at present, offering problems not wholly solved in previous crises.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

The defeat of the combined reactionary-monarchical-fascist forces in Spain, even though confined as yet to the parliamentary sphere, has sent a wave of joyous confidence and daring through the hearts of millions of toilers in town and country. The flames of proletarian and peasant revolt, all but extinguished under the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, have burst out anew and even more fiercely. The brutal repression suffered by the workers after the defeat of the last insurrection have called forth a spontaneous outburst which carries the movement far beyond the electoral stage. For the moment the reactionary forces are being scattered like chaff before the wind. In the agrarian regions—Badajoz, Cadiz, Salamanca, Caceres—the starving peasants have begun to seize the land, driving out the big landowners. Under the tremendous pressure developed in the new situation, the government has been forced to legalize this "distribution" of land temporarily, "pending passage of necessary laws by the Cortes".

A revolutionary situation exists. But equally clearly, all the dangers that threatened to engulf the Spanish proletariat previously and give the victory to the counter-revolution, remain.

The "People's Front"

The People's Front by means of which the proletariat was completely subordinated to the "democratic" bourgeoisie, is already breaking up into its irreconcilably antagonistic elements, the moment the workers resort quite spontaneously to independent action in their own interests. The petty bourgeoisie have taken immediate alarm at the uncontrollable power shown by the masses. Azana, republican mainstay of the bourgeoisie, has been extended credit anew among the masses by the betraying People's Front of Republicans-Socialists-Stalinists, in order to derail the workers' revolution for the second time. With the reported consent of Caballero, so-called left socialist, Azana has prohibited all demonstrations. The order was applied in particular against Socialist farm laborers who had planned to hold monster demonstrations in Madrid and all provincial capitals in favor of immediate parcelling of grandees' estates. It remains to be seen whether Azana will succeed in "normalizing" the situation. Meantime, as is always the case with the "liberal" bourgeois elements boosted into power with the aid of the masses, Azana is already making overtures to the reactionaries to whom he feels in-

and around which new and basic re-groupments consequently take place.

On these four issues the dividing line between Marxists and social-patriots is sharp and unmistakable. It is indeed characteristic of a war crisis that it tends more and more clearly to reduce all the complex divisions within the labor movement to the basic two: revolutionary Marxism and social-patriotism. The divergence here can be summed up as follows:

(1) Defense of the Soviet Union.

The Marxists stand for the defense of the Soviet Union by the extension of the October revolution to the capitalist nations, by the overthrow of the bourgeois state by the revolutionary working class. The Marxists maintain that this policy holds equally in "peace" and in war, and is the only way in which the international proletariat can defend the Workers' State. The social-patriots stand for the defense of the Soviet Union by the defense of the nations (i.e., the bourgeois states) which may be (for whatever reason) in military alliance with the Soviet Union in the war. Within any capitalist country, they stand for support of the war, if the country in question is allied with the Soviet Union.

(2) Wars of democratic nations against fascist nations.

The Marxists make no distinction between democratic and fascist nations with reference to the policy on war, since they regard both as merely two different forms of capitalist class rule, and recognize that democracy necessarily leads to fascism in the decline of capitalism, unless capitalism itself is overthrown. Within both democratic and fascist states, Marxists call for struggle against the war, against the state; they insist that the chief enemy is at home—the class enemy. The social-patriots call for the support of democratic nations in a war against fascist nations.

(3) Neutrality Legislation

(This is a problem chiefly for the United States.) The Marxists are against all forms and types of Neutrality Legislation, and for an independent revolutionary working

class closer to the proletariat. Azana was placed in power to prevent Gil Robles from attaining control. But just as Hindenburg invited Hitler to take over the reins of government, so there are already negotiations between Azana and Gil Robles on the possibility of a parliamentary bloc against the "left". At the same time Azana kindly "advises" young Primo de Rivera, fascist leader, to leave the country until things blow over. The demagogue of the People's Front threatens to be a very speedy one indeed—at the expense of the workers.

The working class of Spain is today celebrating a great electoral "victory". That "victory" leaves the bourgeoisie in power. True, that section of the bourgeoisie in power prefers the republic to the monarchy. But the character of the regime is determined finally by the nature of the class holding power, in this case the propertied class. Once before it was the power of the ballot, to all appearances, that brought about the downfall of the monarchy in favor of the republic. It was the continued faith in that (bourgeois) republic under the self-same Azana, that led to the previous defeat of the proletariat revolution. It was the fact that no revolutionary party existed, basing itself on a Marxist program, capable of planning the revolution carefully, step by step, able to assist the masses in assimilating their experience, that held back the revolution. Spontaneous action of the masses, without a clear plan and a firm program and without the leadership of a party, can only lead to defeat, however courageous the struggle of the workers.

In every country where the blight of the capitalist crisis has finally resulted in a revolutionary crisis, it has been demonstrated that a vanguard party of the most class-conscious and militant workers is a prerequisite for a successful struggle against the capitalists. Will a second demonstration of this Marxist principle be necessary for the Spanish working class? The Stalinists, by their class collaborationist policy of the People's Front, have again brought the Spanish workers to the brink of defeat. The militant socialist workers have been hampered from reaching firm Marxist ground as the only logical result of their own experiences, by the false and betraying course of Stalinism. Correct leadership can only be built on the clear plans and the firm principles of the New International.

class policy against the imperialist war. The social-patriots are for various kinds of Neutrality Legislation, differing among themselves on the most "desirable" kind. (It should be remarked that advocacy of Neutrality Legislation is not always social-patriotism in the strict sense of the term. In the "isolationist" form, it is rather a variety of pacifism, which is not here under discussion. Pacifism, however, tends always to pass over into social-patriotism though it does not necessarily do so. In any case, the revolutionary struggle against war must always include the struggle against every variety of pacifism.)

(4) League and Governmental Sanctions.

The Marxists are against all forms of League and governmental sanctions, and for independent working class "sanctions". The social-patriots are for League and governmental sanctions against so-called "aggressors".

The social-patriots will of course, say that such a bald outline grossly "misrepresents" their position, that the questions are "not so simple as all that", etc. And it is certainly true that in the writings and speeches of the social-patriots the questions are not so simply put. They are covered over a cloud of modifications, provisos, additions, justifications, exceptions, and "but" clauses. The social-patriots inform us that they are for not merely governmental sanctions, but also for working-class sanctions—and "the latter are basically the more important." They assure us that when fighting in the armies of France or the United States against Germany or Japan, they will not "really" be fighting in support of the governments of France and of the United States, but against Nazi Germany and despotic Japan, and for the Soviet Union; and as soon as the threat against the Soviet Union and the menace of Fascism is put out of the way, they will turn their arms against the bourgeois governments of France and the United States. (Similarly, in 1914, the social democrats fought not to support the Kaiser and the Junkers and industrialists, but against the Czar; and not for the English bankers, but against the Kaiser.) They will quickly grant that Neutrality Legislation "cannot permanently ensure peace, which can only be done by the victory of the working class, but we must utilize every means at our disposal."

No "Buts" in Anti-War Struggle

But this is all merely evasion, equivocation and deception. At heart, the questions are really as direct and simple as here stated. Yes and No answers are the only two possible. There are no "butts" in the revolutionary struggle against war. All the modifications in a 20,000 word thesis serve only to hide and in no way to alter the social-patriotic betrayal. It is for this very reason that the issue of war provides so unerring a touchstone whereby to distinguish the tendencies and developments within the labor movement.

These four specific forms which social-patriotism has taken during the present war crisis are not, of course, unrelated. The Marxist position on each of the four issues follows not accidentally nor arbitrarily, but from one fundamental underlying set of principles, in terms of which the concrete answers are given. Marxists hold that the struggle against war is inseparable from the class struggle in general; that the class struggle means in the present era the struggle of the proletariat (in alliance with colonial and subject peoples and sections of the middle classes) against the bourgeoisie, and its representatives, the bourgeois states. No compromise in this struggle is permissible. Nor can it be suspended because of "exceptional" situations—such as, for example, war. Rather must it be intensified and brought to culmination in "exceptional" situations. Consequently, the Marxists must always reject any policy which involves a subordination to, compromise with, collaboration with, the class enemy and the state.

Collaboration with Class Enemy

But the policy of the social-patriots is exactly a policy of subordination to, compromise with, the class enemy and the state. The social-patriots propose to conduct the struggle against war in collaboration with the bourgeois states: to defend the Soviet Union along with bourgeois states allied with the Soviet state; to defeat Fascism in collaboration with the bourgeois democratic states; to stop war for the United States by collaboration with the imperialist U.S. government in enacting and enforcing Neutrality Legislation; to punish "aggressors" by relying on the "sanctions" of imperialist states and the imperialist League against the "aggressor."

The Marxists point out that a struggle against war cannot conceivably be conducted in collaboration with those who make war; that "collaboration" with the class enemy and the bourgeois state can only mean for the working class subordination to the class enemy and the bourgeois state; that, in general, the struggle against war cannot be formulated within the framework of capitalism, since capitalism inevitably breeds war, but must always be the struggle against capitalism, for workers' power and for socialism. Consequently, they pose the problem of the struggle against war—in whatever manner it appears—sanctions, Neutrality Legislation, defense of the Soviet Union, attitude toward Fascist states—as always the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state.

The programs of all the parties, organizations and groups of the working class can be rigidly tested by reference to the four special issues of the present crisis.

By making this test, we discover at once the fact of major importance: that, on all four, the most vigorous, relentless and unceasing advocate of the social-patriotic position is Stalinism—the Communist International and its national sections throughout the world. The Communist parties have become the material embodiment of social-patriotism in the thorough and fatal form it can take in the present crisis. The primary historical function remaining for Stalinism to fulfill is to act as the chief functionary for imperialism within the working class in the coming war.

"Defense of the Soviet Union"

The same test, secondly demonstrates with equally crystal clarity that the leaders of the Second International, together with the leaders of the chief parties affiliated to the Second International, continue unchanged the social-patriotic tradition of 1914. On all four of these basic concrete issues they have given exactly the same answer as Stalinism: the social-patriotic answer. The four answers are embodied, for example, in the Dan Zyzanski-Bauer Thesis, as well as

in the positions of Blum and his associates. This is particularly revealing in the case of "defense of the Soviet Union." It should hardly be necessary to comment on the record of these gentlemen with reference to the Soviet Union. They were at the beginning, and have remained consistently, the bitter enemies of the October Revolution. Nevertheless, in the face of the war crisis, they are able to formulate a policy with regard to the defense of the Soviet Union which is indistinguishable from the policy of Stalinism. The reason for this is not far to seek. Stalinism, too, has now ranged itself on the side of the enemies of the October Revolution. Stalinism translates "defense of the Soviet Union" in "defense of bourgeois states"—and this naturally coincides with the aims of Messrs. Blum and Bauer. Blum and Bauer are not afraid of words: If the slogan "Defense of the Soviet Union" can aid them in making the social-patriotic pill palatable to the working class, they are perfectly willing to borrow it from Stalin. They go thus a step beyond the leaders of the British Labour Party and of the Old Guard Socialists in this country. These stick mainly to the three other issues for their social-patriotic platform giving to them exactly the same answers as the Stalinists and the Bauers, but still balk at the first. They will doubtless learn, however. And, if it is needed in order to speed up recruiting for the army, we shall find that Waldman, Oenel, and the chiefs of the British Labour Party have overnight become among the loudest of the defenders of the Workers' State.

These four issues thus provide us further with a decisive test of the nature of the two Internationalisms. They prove beyond any possible doubt that the Internationalists are on the side of the war, that they will function for the war during this final period of preparation as well as during the actual conflict. From this it follows necessarily that, as one integral part of the

struggle against the war, the revolutionists must proclaim the Fourth International; and that the struggle against the war is inseparable from the struggle against the old International and for the new. This conclusion and this task cannot be hidden: we know in advance what the task must be, and to fail to declare it openly is betrayal in the struggle against the war.

In addition, these four issues provide major criteria by means of which to measure the new differentiations within the labor movement. The approach toward a revolutionary position is signalled by clarification on these issues. For example, we discover by such an examination that the Militant Socialists in this country have given—though not without certain vitiating "modifications"—the revolutionary as opposed to the social-patriotic answers to three of these four questions posed by the present crisis. They retain a blend of pacifism and potential social-patriotism in their answer to the fourth—Neutrality Legislation—which is of particular importance for a party in the United States, since this is almost exclusively a U.S. question (our revolutionary policy, one might say, must begin at home). The Y.P.S.L.'s have taken a revolutionary position even on this fourth, and have fairly consistently opposed all forms of Neutrality Legislation.

It would be an error to conclude from this that the Y.P.S.L.'s—and, consequently, still less the Militants—have reached the full clarification of a Marxist program, in general, or specifically on the war question. This is not yet by any means the case. In spite of their on the whole correct stand with respect to these four crucial present questions, they retain, on the issue of war, other confusions carried over from their earlier heritage: confusions, for example, with reference to pacifism and particularly concerning the proper concrete attitude of Marxists toward pacifist organizations; they have romantic ideas about such matters as "the general strike against war"; and they have so far failed entirely to draw conclusions from their war position with respect to the international question. Nevertheless, the answers they have given on these four questions establish, for the time being at least, the direction in which they are moving. Whether this movement will be completed in adherence to the full and uncompromising program of revolutionary Marxism is of decisive importance for the building of the revolutionary party in this country.

Of these four issues featuring the present war crisis, the question of sanctions, though not the most important, is yet the most controversial and raises the largest number of new and consequently hitherto unanswered questions. Furthermore, sanctions are not merely theory, but have already had their test in practice.

during the critical situation in Greece, and the furious offensive against the workers' movement.

"During the events that unfolded, after the sanguinary clash in March (1935), the Stalinist party, compelled by the events to take a clear-cut position, one way or the other, went the whole hog, and revealed its true nature. During this whole period the C.P. has openly and cynically collaborated not only with the supposedly democratic parties but even with the Liberal Party."

"The Liberal Party is the party that conducted all the wars from 1912 to 1922. It is the party that has applied the most bestial terrorism against the workers' movement. It is this party that created and voted for the 'Idonome' (a rigorous law against communists), for the law against the press, the exile law, etc. In particular, during the recent period of the last four years of the Venizelos Government, this party dissolved several workers' organizations and organized at Salonica and elsewhere the anti-Semitic gangs of the 'Three E's'."

"The coup d'etat of last March was originally evaluated by the Stalinists, with their usual and inherent stupidity, as a Fascist attempt on the part of the Liberal Party. And so, they then proceeded to collaborate with this very same party of Venizelos!"

"In all their documents, the Stalinists present themselves as consistent democrats. At the outbreak of the Italo-Abyssinian war, they took the initiative in addressing a burning appeal to all political parties in the country, exhorting them to unite for the defense of 'National independence and National integrity'!"

GREECE

The Daily Worker has of late made a great fuss about the "slanders" cast at its sister party in Greece. Under the date-line of December 24, 1935, our Greek comrades wrote us a very illuminating letter. We have just received it. The delay was due in a large measure to the fact that our comrades in Greece have been functioning under extremely onerous conditions. During the period of illegality (prior to the fall of the Kondylis government), they suffered very severe blows in proportion to their forces. Six of our Greek comrades, among them Georges Vitoras, have been exiled to various islands. Another leading comrade was court-martialed to three years in prison. Here is what our Greek comrades report about the activity of the Stalinists

the Lithuanian people. It is they themselves who are really prepared to defend the country. It is self-evident that our directing Fascist clique (whose social base is relatively very narrow), who rely in the main upon the "independence of Lithuania," find it easy to parry such "charges" and are able to compete with great success with the Stalinists so far as the "national sentiment" is concerned.

"Nevertheless the Stalinists are prepared, in the event of war, to defend bravely their own country" (and, consequently, also the existing government).

"A Stalinist (one of the most 'class-conscious') expressed himself as follows, during a conversation with one of our comrades: 'I have spent seven years in jail, but if Hitler actually attacks Lithuania, I will enlist as a volunteer in the Lithuanian army.'"

"There you have the true spirit, stripped of all veils. Once upon a time, in Czarist Russia, the Mensheviks, staunch defenders of their country, were likewise clapped in jails."

"In their leaflets, for August 1, the Stalinists officially declared: 'We will not put obstacles in the way of the Fascist Government in its measures against Hitler.'"

In other words, they accept in reality the increase of the army, and of the military budget, etc., etc., as if it is possible to determine beforehand whether these measures will be directed against Hitler, or somebody else. In any case, up to now these measures have been directed against the peasants who are rebelling. Such is the miserable state in which the Stalinist party finds itself at present."

WORLD OF LABOR

CP's Neutral to Lithuanian Fascist Gov't In a War with Germany

We quote from a letter (January, 1936) written by our Lithuanian comrades:

"The Stalinists claim some 1,000 members, of whom about 200 (including the youth) are in Kovno. But the enormous development of the activities of provocateurs, which is in part due to the bureaucratic leadership, reduces their work almost to nothing. On the other hand, this party, as is the case in the entire world, has made a sharp turn to the right during the past year. The slogan, 'Long Live the International Revolution!' which was still to be found last year on all their leaflets and publications, has been completely deleted today from the columns of their press. The reader no longer gets the jitters from such abusive words as 'socialism,' 'revolution,' etc. . . . Instead of this they broadcast homilies to the 'Narodniki' (in France they go under the name of Radical Socialists); and they appeal to them to engage instantly in a struggle for a People's Front Government with their own participation (i.e., that of the Stalinists), or even without their participation—all for a democratic government in general which they pledge to support. When they are told that such a democratic government had occupied itself intensively up to the year 1926 to clap revolutionists in jails, and then proceeded in 1926 to surrender the power to the Fascists without the slightest resistance, their answer is: 'Oh, but today it will be an entirely different sort of a democracy.' As if there can be any other kind of bourgeois democracy! We, the Bolshevik-Leninists, are naturally not at all opposed to a struggle for the democratic rights of the workers, only we understand very well that under the existing conditions, democracy cannot in general long maintain itself and cannot prove to be anything except a transitional stage either towards Fascism or revolution. But as for the Stalinists, they have discovered, it seems, a new social order, some sort of an 'entirely different democracy.'"

"The second principal plank in their program is the independence of Lithuania. 'Long Live the Independence of Lithuania!' That is their battle slogan today. That is their grotesque point is that this struggle for the independence of Lithuania serves as their point of departure for the struggle against the government. They constantly charge the Government with the intention of selling Lithuania to the Germans, and accuse it of betraying

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33rd Anniversary of the Death of Marx
MARX - LEADER AND THINKER

Engel's Speech at the Grave of his Friend

Karl Marx, the great founder of the modern working class movement, died on March 14, 1883. In commemoration of the fifty-third anniversary of his death we reprint the eloquent speech of his brilliant co-worker, Frederick Engels, delivered at Highgate Cemetery, London, on March 17, 1883.

On the Fourteenth of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in an armchair, peacefully gone to sleep—but forever.

An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the death of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history; he discovered the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, religion, art, etc.; and that therefore the production of the immediate material means of life and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the forms of government, the legal conceptions, the art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which these things must therefore be explained, instead of vice versa as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also dis-

covered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist method of production and the bourgeois society that this method of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem in trying to solve which all previous investigators, both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one, life-time. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated—and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

This was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced a quite other kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry and in the general course of history. For example, he followed closely the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionary. His real mission in life was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capital-

ist society and of the forms of government which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the present-day proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, of the conditions under which it could win its freedom. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first Rheinische Zeitung (1842), the Paris Vorwarts (1844), the Brussels Deutsche Zeitung (1847), the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-9), the New York Tribune (1952-61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in revolutionary clubs in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the International Workingmen's Association—this was indeed an achievement of which Marx might well have been proud, even if he had done nothing else.

And consequently Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his times. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. The bourgeoisie, whether conservative or extreme democrat, viewed him as an enemy in the clouds of heaven. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring them, answering only when necessity compelled him. And he has died—beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have many opponents he has hardly one personal enemy.

His name and work will endure through the ages!

Goodyear Pickets Prepare for Vigilantes

(Continued from Page 1)
and withdrawal of financial support to the Goodyear assembly (the company union).

Thus the struggle goes on. For four weeks it has remained the center of attention of the whole labor movement. With a spirit of solidarity and courage seldom equalled in labor struggles, the strikers held their ground and maintained a mass picket line in the face of a vicious injunction. But more important yet is the fact that two momentous issues hinge upon the outcome of this strike.

Two Aspects of Struggle

First and foremost it has raised the question of organization of the mass production industries. This is not a new question. It has appeared before, in plans and schemes and in debates at union gatherings, but it is the first time that it has been given life and vitality on the mass picket line.

A victory for the Goodyear strikers will undoubtedly mean a sweeping organization of the whole rubber industry. It may set a gigantic organization movement on foot in steel, automobile and public utilities.

In the second place the Goodyear strike has raised the question not merely of union organization in general, but of a specific kind of union—an industrial union. Nor is this a new question. It has been debated intensely. It has already caused serious clashes of views which have shaken the trade union movement to its very foundation. But in this case also, it is the first time that this question has taken on the life and vitality on the mass picket lines.

These two aspects of the Akron rubber workers' strike, both of such imposing magnitude, the union officials were slow to recognize. At the outset they tried to treat it simply as an unauthorized affair. They soon found it to be otherwise and they were compelled to step in line with the movement.

The Trusts Mobilize

There never appeared to be any doubt in the minds of the employers regarding the great and decisive importance of this strike. Time and again the Goodyear company, through its feudal chief, F. W. Litchfield, let it be known that under no circumstances would it give any recognition to the union or consider re-employment of the strikers. In this the Goodyear company found support from the federal barons of other mass production industries. Taylor, the vice-president of the United States Steel Corporation, offered the assistance of the special steel industry strike-breaking agencies. The automobile manufacturers dispatched the assistance of special "personnel." But the strikers have carried on undaunted.

The picket lines have remained virtually air-tight, covering an eight-mile front. The first crisis appeared on Wednesday, Feb. 25 from which the strikers came through with colors flying. Special deputies and police tried to smash through the picket lines but were stopped cold in their tracks. They met a mighty demonstration of 15,000 workers, the proud work of the progressive forces in this strike.

On Saturday, March 7, the attack was renewed. In the hope of catching the pickets unawares, Lieutenant Tom Lynett drove a truck into a picket hut, barely missing four pickets. He next ordered 30 city workers to clear up the wreck while 75 policemen stood by to prevent the strikers from stopping their work. But the city employees refused to work.

vent pickets from stopping their work. But the city employees refused to work.

Defending the Picket Posts

However, the alarm was sounded and within fifteen minutes carloads of strikers, half dressed but well prepared for battle, poured down from Goodyear Heights and began pushing the police down Market Street. 400 General Tire Company workers left work and added reinforcements at the battle front. Lynett tried to drive a truck through the lines but was tossed twenty feet by a couple of husky tire builders and he found himself subsequently in a hospital. Another dozen cops were bounced around as they began to retreat towards downtown and soon the bluecoats were in full flight.

These picket huts have long been a thorn in the sides of the company and the city authorities alike. To the strikers, however, the huts represent their proudest possession. Furnishing a basis for comradeship, the very heart of the strike, the workers have consistently refused to tear them down, even when such proposals were made by the union officials under a plea of avoiding violence. They have effectively repelled every attack.

In view of the threat by the company to reopen the plants, reinforced by the threat of the gathering vigilante forces, company thugs and company hangers-on, the union has issued a radio call to all its members who are ex-service men asking for their mobilization. In the event that trouble should develop, say the union officials, the ex-service men will be placed as captains on the picket lines.

Thus the lines are drawn for a crucial battle. Evidently the union men feel justified by the splendid support they have received in counting upon their own forces to repel further attacks. They know that they can count on the backing of the rubber workers in the other Akron plants and they know that the Central Labor Union is under progressive influence and ready to back them to the limit. A special committee of fifteen has already been elected by the C.L.U. to be ready to take action when necessary.

From the inception the Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis, lent its direct support to the Goodyear strike. The reason for the special interest shown by this committee is obvious. None of its members can fail to see the two basic issues that are involved—the organization of the mass production industries and the organization of an industrial union. These are now crucial issues and for the future progress of the trade union movement much depends upon how this committee squares itself with the Goodyear strikers.

Up to now the Lewis forces have shown an inclination to compromise more than the situation warrants. The strike is in a strong position. The workers understand the importance of the issues that are involved and they are ready to fight them out to a successful conclusion. The progressives among the strikers are on the alert and they deserve full and complete support.

Gum Miners Reject Terms

(Continued from Page 1)

House then suggested a secret ballot. He was shouted down. "Who is going to count the votes?" the men cried.

The strikers left the auditorium, prepared for renewed assaults by the company. They tightened the picket line, and laid plans for a general strike, if necessary.

Strikebreakers Stirring Trouble

Meanwhile a group of "non-strikers" headed by Lyle Carruthers (dubbed Vile Corrupter, by the strikers) met with C. Nelson Sparks, former mayor of Akron. They formed a "Law and Order League" to "protect the rights of the people of Akron."

"I believe it is my duty and the duty of every law abiding citizen of this community to gang up upon the out-of-town radicals and Communist leaders who have brought to our city the threat of a reign of terror," Sparks said.

The workers are preparing for trouble. Well-founded rumors are circulating that the town is full of strike-breakers and professional thugs. Picket lines are being strengthened, plans are made for a general strike in the rubber industry if any attempt is made to break the picket lines at Goodyear, and a city wide general strike if the militia is called in.

The militancy of the workers is at a high pitch. The mass meeting which voted down the peace plan is only one indication of it.

Shuffle War Cards at London Powers Parley

(Continued from Page 1)

more and more definitely on prolonging the period of its own hegemony by helping arm Germany against the Soviet Union.

Italy, Germany and Soviet Union

Italy is playing both sides to its own middle. At London it can afford to watch with silent interest and perhaps even a little amusement. It can choose its allies and make its own terms. Meanwhile it proceeds independently with the construction of its own sphere of influence and domination. This week Austria and Hungary will send their premiers and foreign ministers to Rome to tighten the bonds already established by the Rome protocols of March, 1934. The direction in which this weight will go will be determined by the deal Italy gets. Mussolini can afford now to bide his time. His armies in Ethiopia have at last prevailed over the heroic resistance of the Ethiopians and now occupy commanding positions both on the Eritrean and Somaliland fronts.

Germany banks now, as it banked before it moved across the Rhine, on British support. It cannot nor could it retreat from its position because it is driven forward by insoluble internal contradictions. Germany's economic position has grown steadily worse and the stability of the regime weakened by the accentuated cleavage between it and the German masses. The lid of sheer terror can stifle resistance to economic strangulation for just so long and no longer. It is the Fascist states, driven by the same ineradicable compulsions which brought them into being in the first place, which are forced to take the audacious course and strike out for changes in an insupportable status quo. Thus Italy marched into Ethiopia and Germany today stakes its all on winning Europe to the idea of war against the Soviet Union. For if it fails to accomplish this and the conflagration illumines once more the Franco-German frontier, its stakes will be played out.

And the Soviet Union? The forcing of issues in Europe brings nakedly to the surface the miserable fruits of the nationalist, socialism-in-one-country course of the Stalinist bureaucracy which has today placed the Workers' State in mortal danger of its very existence. "Practical" and "realistic" policies, undressed in the glare of the crisis, reveal yet more clearly that the fate of the Soviet Union has been linked to the chariot of French imperialism. What can Moscow's course now add up to? It can only strenuously support the anti-German orientation of France and polish off its blackball to keep Germany from coming back into the League of Nations!

And the Working Class?

And the voice of the European proletariat? It is stifled in the vise of the sacred union forged by the Second and Third Internationals. Sarraut of France, Benes of Czechoslovakia, Van Zeeland of Belgium, Titulescu of Rumania and similars in their respective general staffs—these are the forces upon which the Stalinist bureaucracy has hung its own fate and to them it has subordinated as far as it could the proletariat in every country across the face of the world. The "peace policy" of the Stalinist bureaucracy has led to a crisis in which the alternatives are bloody imperialism war with the working class chained to the imperialist chariots and the Soviet Union a pawn in the game—or war against the Soviet Union with the active aid or at least the benign tolerance of yesterday's allies.

The threat to the Soviet Union has not only heightened on its western frontier. Optimistic ignoramuses who believed that the military coup in Tokyo three weeks ago ended in a triumph for the "moderates" are now compelled to see that the Hirota regime, dedicated to the more "positive" policies demanded by the army, is reaching out to make terms with Britain and the United States in the Pacific for a free hand against the U.S.S.R. Just as Germany is doing in the West.

These processes will go on hand in hand. Time is foreshortening. The pace toward war quickens, war in which the real defense of the Soviet Union by the revolutionists in capitalist countries will have to be carried on not within the strait jacket of the union sacree (civil peace) but in unremitting, implacable struggle against capitalism, against the war-makers.

Will Leninism be completely obscured in the bog of opportunism parading in a red dress?

"Defense of class collaboration;

renunciation of the idea of a Socialist revolution, and of all revolutionary methods of struggle; adaptation to bourgeois nationalism; forgetfulness of the fact that the frontiers of nationality and fatherland are changing in history; making a fetish of bourgeois legalism; abolition of the class point of view and the class struggle out of fear of repelling the broad masses of the population (read: petty bourgeoisie)—these are undoubtedly the ideological foundations of opportunism. It is on this soil that the present chauvinist-patriotic mood of the majority of the leaders of the Second International has grown." (Lenin, Vol. XVIII, p. 84)

And it is on this soil that the same mood has grown in the ranks of what was once Lenin's International. To say, as the Seventh Congress said, that "the war is conducted for the defence of the freedom and the existence of the nations" is, in Lenin's view, "a total betrayal of all Socialist convictions."

"A propaganda of peace at the present time, if not accompanied by a call to revolutionary mass actions, is only capable of spreading illusions, of demoralising the proletariat by imbuing it with confidence in the humanitarianism of the bourgeoisie, and of making it a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy." Lessons Which Must Be Learned

Was ever a lesson more timely? Or more proven? Can we now, on the brink of war, follow any other course than the one Lenin took in 1915, to unite Marxists all over the world—"to unite these Marxian elements, however small their number may be at the beginning, to revive in their name the words of real Socialism now forgotten, to call the workers of all countries to relinquish chauvinism and raise the old banner of Marxism... Only through a call to revolutionary struggle will the 'peace' demand gain proletarian content... The only real program of action, then, would be the Marxian program which brings the masses a complete and clear understanding of what has happened, which explains what imperialism is and how to fight against it; which declares openly that opportunism has brought about the collapse of the Second International; which appeals to the workers to build up a Marxian International openly without and against the opportunists." (Ibid. p.249)

These are the lessons for us today while the imperialists brew their new cauldron of war. The Third International has followed the historic course of the Second—and Marxian elements around the world, however small their number may be at the beginning," must raise the banner of Marxism, of the Fourth International.

Service Strike Compromise

(Continued from Page 1)

sistant Secretary of Agriculture in the federal government.

As we go to press, hundreds of workers, some reports say thousands, are virtually locked out with strike-breakers continuing at work. Picketing has been resumed in some cases, and great confusion exists. The Realty Board apparently is pushing the advantage which the settlement has given them, in an attempt to break the union completely. Unless the union quickly and militantly takes up every case of discrimination under the general slogan of All or None return in each building, there is grave danger that the union will be wiped out, and unionism given a severe setback, not only in the building service line, but throughout the city.

The strikers fought militantly, responding to every call of their leadership. Organizations of tenants were increasingly rallying to their support. In numerous buildings, where union shops were located, morale, financial and picket support was given generously. Slowly, but surely, the trade unions of the city with the progressive locals well in the lead, were rallying to the support of the strike. Despite the difficulties in a strike of this kind the situation was in good shape at the time of the "settlement."

Azana Starts Repression

ganizations. One further step in the consolidation of his government, and then Azana will be free to turn against his allies.

With the aid of the Right-Wing Socialists, the Azana - Barrios group, despite its admittedly weak place in the actual population, was given more than a majority of the left-bloc seats in the Cortes, thereby making it possible for Azana-Barrios to join with the center and right bourgeois deputies and have a clear majority in the Cortes. It is significant that all the right and center deputies, with the exception of seven die-hards, voted for the "Left" candidate for Speaker of the Cortes, Barrios. It is already settled that Zamora will resign and that, as the Constitution provides, Barrios as Speaker will ascend to the presidency. Once this is consummated, Azana-Barrios will break with their proletarian allies on their own terms and at their own convenience.

Stalinists in Menshevik Role

The Stalinist organ, "Mundo Obrero," is vying with "El Socialista," which is being edited by the right-wing Socialists, in laying down an utterly false and Menshevik perspective. Lenin's famous formula of 1917—"This is a bourgeois revolution and therefore let us mercilessly expose the bourgeoisie and arm the proletariat" is long forgotten; and on the agrarian question the Stalinists take a completely Menshevik position, repeatedly declaring that the bloc with the bourgeoisie must be maintained in order to carry out the expropriation of the land! The Bolshevik analysis, that in the epoch of imperialism the bourgeoisie is incapable of carrying through the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—this is thrown overboard by the Stalinists, whose perspective on this question differs not a hair from that of the right-wing Socialists.

"Claridad," organ of Caballero and the left Socialists, is far to the left of the Stalinists, but confines itself to abstract assertions of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the instrument of land-distribution and socialization. It makes no criticism of Azana, and goes so far, in calling upon the peasants to seize the land, as to assure them that Azana will back them up.

Azana Shows His Hand

Azana, on the other hand, is beginning to show his hand. On the very day that Barrios was elected Speaker, their cabinet prolonged for a month the state of alarm, modified form of martial law, which had been declared by the previous reactionary cabinet. Under the state of alarm the government has extraordinary powers to prohibit and suppress workers' demonstrations and meetings. The Associated Press reports that Azana served notice on Caballero to call off further demonstrations.

Soil Profits 'Conserved'

When workers in Logrono province attempted to fraternize with soldiers, and were shot down by picked troops, eleven being killed and scores wounded, Azana clamped a censorship on the labor press reports, while the reactionary officers responsible for the murders have remained unmolested at their posts. The Associated Press also reports that the army, backed by Azana's appointee, Minister of War Masquelet, has informed Azana that they will take more decisive steps to crush the mass movement. This report has gone uncontradicted.

In spite of Azana's moves to consolidate his power and stem the mass movement, it is clear there is still a period of time in which the proletariat will be able to build workers' councils and prepare for a decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie. Azana's grip on the country is still very weak, making it possible rapidly to build the dual power of workers' councils.

Time to Build Dual Power

An interesting proof of the weakness of the regime is the seizure of a suburban railway by workers in Madrid, after they were refused a conference with the management to state their demands. The workers continue to run the railway on its regular schedule, except that all funds collected are being taken to the union headquarters for distribution among the workers. Since Azana makes no pretense of believing in socialization of industry, he would undoubtedly move against these railway workers; but the support which they are receiving has for five days prevented Madrid authorities from punishing their audacity. Here is a clear sign that the power is not yet in the tight fist of Azana.

But to build dual power, one must have leadership which desires to do so. The Stalinists and Right-wing Socialists, with their Menshevik perspective, will do nothing to break with Azana. The left Socialists are vacillating. Much depends on the outcome of the Socialist convention which will shortly take place, the first in four years. The setting for it is auspicious; it will take place in the heart of Asturias, in the region where the Socialist miners fought most desperately and heroically in the October 1934 revolt; and the agenda will deal with that revolt and its lessons.

READERS, ATTENTION!

Due to circumstances beyond our control we were compelled to skip the issue of March 7. A mishap with our machinery caused the interruption which we shall, however, attempt to make good by special efforts to bring to our readers material that is up to the highest standard of a revolutionary journal. We expect that our subscribers will cooperate and promptly renew their subscription when expired. To our bundle agents we can only say that prompt attention to payments will help to obviate further interruptions.

(Continued from Page 1)

five per cent will be "prorated" between the landlord and the tenant—who, always owes the landlord money. Ten percent will go to the owner of the equipment and livestock—our old friend, the landlord again. Thirty-five per cent will be "prorated" as the crop is divided: the landlord will get the crop and the tenant will get down the road.

At this particular stage, the Democratic party needs the continued support of the landed entrepreneur on a national, as well as a sectional scale. The AAA insured the continuance of this alliance until it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The "soil conservation" proposal is simply a renewal of the subsidy bribe under another name.

GOLD AND DUST

The Stalinists love of the "remnants of bourgeois democracy" does not stretch far enough to cover democracy in a union which they control. This is shown by a leaflet issued by the Furriers Progressive League. In addition to other criticisms of the union, the leaflet contains a report of this gem of purest democracy, right from the democratic crown of the self-styled "most popular man in the labor movement," Ben Gold, Manager of the Joint Council. The leaflet states:

"An incident that happened at the last meeting of the Joint Council will clearly illustrate the wonderful democracy that we have in our union. A member of the minority interrupted 'His Majesty,' Manager Gold. The Manager became hysterical and abused him in the worst fashion. He then gave a command to the chairman that any member of the Council who will dare to interrupt the manager shall be suspended from the Council. This motion was passed."

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