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Call for Revolutionary Mass Action in France

Fourth Internationalists Alone Follow Liebknecht Slogan in Rhineland Crisis

With the courage that immortalized the name of Liebknecht, the Fourth Internationalists of France—the Bolshevik-Leninist Group and Revolutionary Socialist Youth—hoisted the banner of revolutionary action while Stalinist and social democratic leaders climbed on the patriotic bandwagon when Hitler occupied the Rhineland. Their appeal to the workers, peasants and soldiers of France is reproduced in full below:

Hitler Germany's repudiation of the Locarno and Versailles treaties which "demilitarized" the left bank of the Rhine brings the world to the brink of war once more. Once more capitalism under the guise of fascism or the cloak of "democracy" blindfolds the masses of the different countries for a new slaughter.

Hitler and the Nazis have smashed the German working class parties with terror and corruption. Now the Brownshirt leader of the international counter revolution imposes new and more crushing burdens upon the German working class and blindfolds it for coming destruction and death on the plains of Eastern Europe or on the Rhine. The French bourgeoisie, the Schneiders, the de Wendels, the Herriots, the la Rocques, the Lavals and the Sarrauts are redoubling their efforts to blindfold the French proletariat for the new holocaust.

Bribing and promising, the French bourgeoisie once more preaches Sacred Union of the exploiters and the exploited, of the oppressors and the oppressed. The leaders of the French working class parties of the Second and Third Internationals, prostituted to the pseudo-democracy of the Bourgeoisie and the capitalist press, rally to Sarraut as they rallied to Laval on Dec. 6th, 1935.

Thus the monstrous pact of 1914 between the men who pretend to speak in the name of the workers and the governing capitalist and militarist oppressors of the workers is consummated once more.

We, Bolshevik-Leninists and Revolutionary Socialist Youth, soldiers of the growing Fourth International, we on the contrary speak from the heart of the exploited masses. In their name we reply to the capitalist governments, to Sarraut and his agents: **Off with the masks! The proletariat will take no part in preparing your war, unshaken in the name of rapacious capitalism which oppresses hundreds of millions throughout the entire world.** Today as in 1914, the hired press pretends that "democracy" is legitimately defending itself against

"barbarism". With this criminal lie the opportunist parties would make the French soldiers once more the docile slaves of the General Staff, of Creusot and the Bank of France. History repeats itself not as a farce, but as a gruesome tragedy. The Jouhauxs, the Blums and Cachins of yesterday repeat their roles. Thorez, Duclos, Doriot and others lend them new and energetic support.

Against the Kaiser, in 1914, these same men preached defense of "republican traditions," of "liberty," of "democracy." And for the defense of liberty they led us under an all-powerful militarist dictatorship to frightful suffering and the slaughter of a million and a half of our men and of ten million throughout the world.

Today as yesterday we must unmask this shameless lie, a hundred times more cynical in 1936 than in 1914. Italian and German fascism prepare and launch the war; but so does the French Republic, the English Monarchy, the American Democracy, so do the Balkan tyrant lackeys of French and English capital.

It is not the form of government that is responsible for war. It is imperialist capitalism, the inhuman exploitation of man by man, that breeds war as "clouds breed the storm." Capitalism rules not only in Hitler's Germany but also in Sarraut's France.

The Lie of the Defense of Democracy

In every country of the world armament grows incessantly. In the United States billions have just been appropriated for an immense armament increase. In Great Britain too a gigantic plan has just been formulated for the investment of billions in airplanes, cannon and battleships. In Japan the army and navy can no longer restrain their impatient lust to conquer Asia. Italy continues to put the Ethiopian people to fire and sword. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Balkans, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, eventually defending itself against

Picket N.Y. W.P.A. Unions Aid Sac'to Victim

For the past few weeks the W.P.A. administration in New York, with Victor Ridder at its head had initiated a campaign to fire forty thousand W.P.A. workers in the local vicinity. Already the axe has fallen on some thousands and will continue to fall each week until June 15, when the estimated "economy program" of the Administration will be completed.

Faced with the prospect of "seasonal pickup" in the Spring and Summer, the Administration has sent out releases to the effect that the workers they are "releasing" will have no difficulty in finding work at their normal trades. The absurdity of this statement is obvious.

Daily picket lines are being maintained before the Port Authority Building. Workers picketing have been slugged by armed guards. Daily arrests have been made. The police in several instances have taken up their patrol wagons on the huge freight elevators and arrested the representatives of the City Projects Council and the Workers Alliance. An order for the use of tear gas against pickets and demonstrators was reported though Mr. Ridder testily denied that he had issued any such order.

It is obvious that on the projects that are well organized, the order to pare off ten or twenty percent will not go through. On Project 1621 over thirty enumerators were fired. At this writing it is reported that they are to be reinstated in a week without the loss of pay.

On April 4 a huge demonstration is planned at the office of the W.P.A. All unemployed workers, all W.P.A. workers, white collar and laborers should attend.

Do not let the "economy program" go through, it is economy at the expense of the workers! Be there on April 4th.

Broad sections of the trade union movement are lining up behind the National Sacramento Appeal Committee in its effort to win a minimum term for the eight Sacramento "criminal syndicalism" prisoners.

The State Board of Prison Terms will meet soon to fix definite terms for Norman Mimi and his seven fellow prisoners, who are under indeterminate sentence of one to fourteen years. The minimum term of one year will end April 1.

Six international unions, either by adopting formal resolutions, or through the action of general officers in signing a petition, are supporting the drive initiated by the Sacramento Appeal Committee. They are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Lithographers, the United Textile Workers, the International Jewelry Workers, the United Wall Paper Crafts.

Among individual signers of the petition are Sidney Hillman, Joseph Schlossberg and August Belanca, officers of the Clothing Workers, and David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini and Julius Hochman, officers of the Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

Other signers are Paul Blanshard, Commissioner of Accounts of New York City; Lewis Mumford, member of the Board of Higher Education; Alfred Bingham and Seldon Rodman, editors of Common Sense; Adolph Held, President of the Amalgamated Bank; Louis Waldman, Attorney; Rose Schneiderman, Women's Trade Union League; A. J. Kennedy, president of the Lithographers; Samuel Beardsley, secretary of the Jewelry Workers and James Starr, secretary of the Textile Workers.

Other local and state A. F. of L. bodies have also lined up with the defense.

Strike Sweeps Pa. Projects

Spanish Masses Demand Results

Unemployed and Land Workers Begin to Take Matters into Own Hands; Azana Dismayed

By ALFREDO ROJAS

The Spanish proletariat has shoved its fist through the electoral agreement under which the republican bourgeoisie was elected and is governing.

Four weeks of demonstrations for unemployment relief, culminating in a huge march on Seville, forced the Azana government to throw into the discard its pompous declaration against unemployment relief.

This declaration was point V of the electoral agreement with the workers' parties, in the following terms:

"The Republicans do not accept the subsidy to unemployed men solicited by the workers' delegation. They believe that the measures of agrarian policy and those to be carried out in industry, public works and, in sum, the whole plan of national reconstruction, will fulfill not only its own ends but also the essential task of absorbing unemployment."

Unemployed Forcing Action

No systematic agitation against this position was carried on by the Socialist and Communist press either before or after the elections. But spontaneously the demonstrations which celebrated the electoral victory found the masses raising unemployment relief as one of their chief demands. With a million unemployed in a comparatively small population, relief to the unemployed became a burning issue, which broke the bonds of the agreement and of the passivity of the proletarian leaders.

Finally, on March 23, the whole countryside converged on Seville and marched on the office of the civil governor, who was forced to promise that the government would alleviate the situation. The governor also ordered the owners of a closed pottery factory to re-open and pay wages.

Shortly afterward, the cabinet announced it would ask the Cortes to create a special fund out of which to pay emergency unemployment relief.

Struggle Sharpens in S.P.

The speed with which the masses drove the government to take action on this basic question is evidenced by the fact that it caught the right-wing Socialists completely unawares. Only two days before, the Socialist organization of Gallarta in Viscaya Province, stronghold of the "moderate," Indalecio Prieto, passed a resolution for "old-age assistance" but passed by in silence the question of unemployment relief.

The movement of the masses is reflected in the sharpening of the struggle inside the Socialist party. The Gallarta organization passed a resolution denouncing the left-Socialist groups of Madrid on the pretext of violations of party discipline. They also voted to recommend that the national convention approve organic unity between the Socialist Party and the Stalinists, and to authorize the Socialists together with the Stalinists to enter a bourgeois coalition cabinet.

The left-Socialists of Madrid have refused to accept the right-

wing National Committee's decision to hold the convention in Asturias, and are demanding its transfer to a more central location. Their leader, Largo Caballero, has declared his organization will boycott the convention unless it is moved to Madrid.

Two fascists convicted of firing shots at the home of Caballero received light prison sentences of two months each.

Bourgeois Parties Consolidating

Signs are multiplying of a rapprochement between the various bourgeois parties. The Catholic and right-wing press carries numerous declarations of the reactionary leaders, announcing they will unconditionally support the Azana government in all steps it will undertake to maintain public order. As a necessary step in coming to an agreement with Azana, the Ceda Catholic party has announced that it will eliminate from its ranks all monarchists and upon the opening of the Cortes will formally pledge itself to the republican form of (Continued on Page 2)

Police Aid Hearst in Guild Strike

Milwaukee Workers Hold Firm Against Arrests and Sluggings

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Mar. 23.—Guildsmen and their sympathizers in the strike against the Hearst-owned Wisconsin News were defendants in three courts as the strike entered its sixth week Monday with the picket lines unbroken and augmented in front of the News building.

Three guildsmen and four sympathizers, who were arrested Saturday during the mass demonstration in which 1,500 persons took part, were in the district court on various misdemeanor charges. Foremost among the defendants was Heywood Brown, president of the American Newspaper Guild, charged with resisting an officer.

Others were Hymie Polinsky, striking photographer and picket captain; Alfred Lauterbach, striking editorial room employee; Raymond Disch, Abe Holzman, Martha Hart and Mike Porter, strike sympathizers.

Brown was arrested after he

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Easy Terms for Socialists Victory for Austrian Labor

The trial of the thirty Austrian social democrats in Vienna last week came to a surprising conclusion. Eighteen of the defendants were acquitted and twelve received six to twenty month sentences.

This must be considered a victory for the Austrian working class—for the judge was reported to be unusually harsh on political prisoners and at least two of the defendants were liable to death.

The prisoners have not yet been freed, and they can be sent back to concentration camps by the police under the present Austrian law. The whole proceeding was a tribute to the fighting strength of the Austrian workers, who instilled a healthy respect in the Austrian capitalists on February 1934. Compare the conditions of this trial with the conditions in Nazi Germany, where the working class went down without struggle. The policy of the defense in the

courtroom, however, completely failed to recognize its own strength. The New York Times correspondent reported on March 17th that the defendants said in substance, "Restore democracy and our stolen property and we'll fight even under your standards against the increasing Nazi danger. . . . Other prisoners pointed out that the present weak regime in Austria could not rely on its small professional army for defense. . . . They said such defense could come only from the mass of Austrian workers." On March 18th it was reported, "Roman Pelles, one of the leading defendants. . . said the underground movement was not directed at the state but was an opposition party of men holding the same principles as those who in democracies could enter parliament and even form governments. The socialists in Austria demand the same right to agitate as. . . the

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From Fish to Browder

Marcantonio Takes Another Leap on His Flying Trapeze

The local Stalinists in their frantic efforts to find an American edition of a French Daladier, a Czech Benes or a Spanish Azana upon whom to hang the mantle of People's Front leadership, finally found it in the person of one Vito Marcantonio.

Who is Vito? Vito is everything. A Republican congressman, a soothsayer for Italian fascism, a Stalinist stooge, a one hundred and some odd percent American, a silver-tongued demagogue and a shrewd vote-catcher, in other words, the best possible representative (of Stalinism) to lead a local all-inclusive, all-class, petty bourgeois and not-so-petty bourgeois; intellectual and illiterate; "incipient fascist" and anti-fascist farmer and labor party.

Wherever local Stalinism rears its head in the mass organizations there Marcantonio rides the crest of the waves. There Marcantonio is chief spokesman. There Marcantonio leads. . . . whether it be in the singing of the Star Spangled Banner or in calling for the above mentioned farmer and labor party.

Marcantonio hails formation of farmer-labor party, screeches the Daily Worker and immediately the ex-"gin-soaked social fascist" and now comrade and class-brother Heywood Brown rises to nominate Vito as candidate for mayor on the farmer-labor ticket.

Marcantonio hails. . . the king of Italy. Marcantonio aids. . . the Italian (fascist) red-cross. Marcantonio toasts. . . the regime in Italy, reports an Italian fascist paper. Marcantonio defends the rights of the "peepul" in congress, hiccoughs the New Masses.

Marcantonio urges support of people's candidates in fight for farmer labor party, gurgles the Daily Worker.

Marcantonio urges support of arch red-baiter, Hamilton Fish Jr. as a delegate to the Republican national convention, reports the New York Times.

Marcantonio gives Ham Fish clean bill of health for his past anti-labor activities by declaring: "He (Fish) has served in congress for sixteen years and has stood for social and industrial justice and a square deal for labor and small business interests." Nothing less!

Marcantonio is the white-haired boy of People's Front and Farmer-labor Stalinism.

Marcantonio is for Stalin in Russia—for Mussolini in Italy and for William Edgar Borah in the United States.

Sit Down Wins In Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, March 25.—The first sit down strike here ended in a complete victory for the three hundred workers of the J. R. Clark woodware factory on March 25, after three days' occupation of the plant during which the members of Furniture Workers Local 1859 played checkers, ping pong, and cards while waiting for the management to come across.

The strike was called after a union member was fired for "using foul and obscene language" to a supervisor. The supervisor had been trying to provoke an outburst so that the company could have an excuse for an attack on the union which had previously gained a written agreement by the threat of a strike.

The sit-down was called for March 23 when the men all entered the factory, sat down at their machines, but refused to work. Out of three hundred workers, three hundred refused to work.

All doors to the plant were guarded from the inside by strikers and a large sign saying "No help wanted" was hung out for the attention of any would-be-scabs.

Food was carried in to the strikers by members of Local 574. An officer of Local 574 was also active in negotiating the agreement which contained all the union's demands including the reinstatement of the fired worker and a provision that future firing would have to be referred to a union committee which would have final say until the arbitration.

Eastern Part of State Tied Up

7,000 WPA Workers Respond to Call of Joint Action Committee of Unemployed and Unions

ALLENTOWN, March 24.—More than two thousand WPA workers on sixty-two Lehigh County projects went out yesterday in a well-planned strike against the Federal time order and for better conditions.

Today they were joined by five thousand more WPA men from Carbon county as the strike is spreading throughout Eastern Pennsylvania.

The strike came after a mass meeting in Allentown on March 22 had been called by a joint Action Council of Pennsylvania unemployed organizations. The men reported for work on the morning of March 23 when their elected shop stewards on each project informed the authorities that they were going out. "Mr. Mack's Funeral Procession," the strikers' name for a flying squadron, closed down all the outlying projects in the county.

The authorities are reported to be frantic. The Federal Administrator for the district, Henry J. Mack, hastened to issue a statement saying he was not "excited" about the strike, and threatening to cut all strikers off WPA and relief.

A significant event during the strike was the march on the City Hall of eight hundred WPA workers, who camped there until five over-worked clerks had changed their registration from Democratic and Republican to Socialist.

The authorities' threats to cut the men off relief were answered by preparations for a tremendous three county mass action for relief. "You can't starve 10,000 workers and get away with it," was the statement of one of the unemployed leaders.

The strike is unusually well organized, with job stewards on each project, a joint action committee to coordinate the activities of all unemployed organizations in the field, and highly efficient flying squadrons which have been formed entirely by the WPA workers. Although police were put on extra duty and served out nightsticks at the first news of the strike, the authorities retracted this order when they found that the strikers' ranks were solidly organized and so well-coordinated that there was little chance of provoking a riot.

Blacklist Ruled Out in Akron Fact

Workers Feel Strengthened Though Settlement is Compromise

AKRON—After five weeks of valiant battle the striking rubber workers finally compelled the Goodyear company to offer terms of an agreement, which by no means represented all that the strikers desired, but nevertheless became acceptable to them. This agreement was ratified by an overwhelming majority vote in a meeting of 5,000 Goodyear strikers. It is a compromise, and while it does not rectify many of the serious evils out of which the strike arose, the qualified union recognition that it contains, marks a distinct forward step for the rubber workers union.

Perhaps the best testimony to this fact is given by the enormous strides this union made during the strike and immediately upon the conclusion of the agreement. The Goodyear local experienced a veritable mushroom growth and it counts within its ranks at the time of this writing 5,000 more members than when the strike began. Many new members also joined the Firestone and Goodrich locals. And finally, following the meeting which ratified the agreement, strikers and sympathizers numbering over 10,000 staged a mammoth demonstration fanning the entire downtown district and displaying their defiance in front of the vigilante headquarters. Showing their continued solidarity the demonstrators shouted: "We will make this the greatest victory possible."

No Discrimination

The agreement arrived at contains several points that are vague and capable of interpretation by the company to suit its purposes. But the very first point provides for the return of all strikers without discrimination. Usually this is considered by the workers as one of the cardinal features of a strike settlement and this guarantee means a distinct gain scored by the Akron strikers. Besides this guarantee cancels the series of lay-off notices which precipitated the strike and it marks a considerable change of attitude from the recent announcements made by the company spokesmen that under no condition would (Continued on Page 2)

ALLENTOWN, Pa., March 20.—Thousands of WPA workers throughout Eastern Pennsylvania are preparing for strike action under the leadership of a regional Joint Action Committee set up by the affiliates in this district of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League; the Pennsylvania Security League and Central Trades and Labor Councils of the American Federation of Labor.

The bone of contention between the project workers and the Works Progress Administration is the new order issued as WPA Bulletin No. 812, which requires that time lost by workers through "circumstances beyond their control" shall be made up, the hours not to "exceed the maximum of eight per day and 40 hours per week. Organizations of the project workers as well as organized labor as a whole, feel that this step is but a preliminary to the imposition of the forty-hour week in place of the thirty-hour week now in force on WPA. Organized labor feels that should this move succeed, a serious blow would be dealt to the thirty-hour week movement endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

County organizations of project workers that have already been affiliated to the Joint Action Committee and joined in the strike movement include those of Lehigh, Northampton, Carbon, Monroe, Berks and Bucks counties. Organizations in outlying regions have requested representation on the Regional Committee and are also preparing for action.

Demands Formulated by Committee

1. The enforcement of the principle of the "Security Wage," no time lost by "circumstances beyond their (the workers') control" to be made up.
2. Strict enforcement of the original WPA provisions for the thirty-hour week and 120-hour month.
3. The minimum \$94-a-month wage for all project workers.
4. The ouster of state WPA administrator Edward N. Jones for his "record of vicious anti-labor activities."

Ouster of Jones One of Main Demands

The demands for the ouster of administrator Jones is the culmination of a long dispute between labor organizations and Mr. Jones over the entire period of his incumbency. This dispute was brought to a high pitch when Mr. Jones recently issued a circular under the letterhead of the WPA, attacking Mr. Stephen Rauschenbusch, formerly counsel for the Senate Committee investigating the munitions manufacturers and their financial backers. Mr. Rauschenbusch is at the (Continued on Page 4)

Call for Revolutionary Mass Action in France

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en in the traditional havens of neutrality, works of defense, armaments, and military construction grow monstrously.

And in France? The same scene! Aviation, steel, shipyards, chemicals, all the war industries are booming. This year 20 billion francs are devoted to so-called "national defense". A plan for "organizing an armed nation in case of war" is about to come before parliament: it will reduce the country to Hitler German slavery.

The French General Staff is perfecting military plans for the coordination of the Belgian and Swiss armies. It is tightening its alliances with Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Finally it has concluded a military alliance with Russia.

Where is democracy in all this? What Sarraut and Maurin want to defend is the power of French imperialism, the domination of the French bourgeoisie over 60 million people in Indo-China, Madagascar, Morocco and Northern Africa, the exploitation of 30 million French workers, the dividends of the Bourne and the Bank of France, the profits of the mine, steel and textile barons! That is what stands behind the lie of "defense of democracy," of "national defense," in 1936 just as in 1914.

The Versailles Treaty

One of the direct causes of Hitler's gesture was the Versailles Treaty. This monstrous robber pact allowed the French capitalists to arm their frontiers to the teeth. It forbade the German capitalists to keep troops on their own territory to the West of the Rhine. The Locarno Treaty consecrated this law in 1925 at the moment when the Steel Trust with the aid of American capital gave German heavy industry a new start.

Today Hitler has rejected this subjection to the Versailles Treaty. And Sarraut, the champion of democracy, begins to mobilize because the German troops have entered . . . Germany! Once more this democracy is unmasked as a "pacifist" cover for the Versailles Treaty, the direct cause of all the conflicts in Europe since the war.

All this, Sarraut's government knows very well. It was for this very reason that Sarraut, as he revealed in his radio speech on March 8, entered into secret negotiations with Hitler after the latter declared his intentions. For Hitler relentlessly drives forward his plan for uniting the world counter-revolution to smash Soviet Russia.

This example shows, that secret diplomacy continues to plot for the real aims of capitalism while journalistic hirelings continue to shout about "defense of liberty" and other lies.

How Can U.S.S.R. Be Defended?

But a section of the press, with l'Humanite at its head, plans to put over the lie of national defense by means of the slogan of defense of the U.S.S.R.

The Stalinist bureaucracy which has crushed the conquests of the October Revolution one after another, which even now has re-established Marshalls and Cossacks, finds allies in French, English and Belgian capitalism and the White Guard dictatorship of the Little Entente. By fanning the flames of chauvinism among the masses of the people under the national flags of these "allies", the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union pretends to "defend socialism."

Under the pretext of "defense of the U.S.S.R.," the Stalinist bureaucracy delivers the French working class bound hand and foot to both the "right and the left wing" of the General Staff and the munitions makers. In reality it is interested only in defending its own privileges. Thus is prepared the enslavement of both the French and

Workers!

To the incitements of the chauvinists and partisans of the sacred union, fight with us for the methods and the aims of the international working class, the aims of Marx, Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Trotsky.

Down with secret treaties!
Publish the war aims of imperialist France!

The workers refuse to fight for the profits of de Wendel or Mercier.

Down with the policy of military alliances practiced by France, England, Germany and the League of Nations!

For an offensive against the Sarraut government and its policy of the sacred union! Mass action for workers' power and the expropriation of big capital!

When the young workers in uniform at home or the barracks show their alarm, demand political rights for the soldiers and labor papers in the barracks. Elect soldiers' delegates to deal with the soldiers' problems.

If the bourgeoisie mobilizes the troops: coordinate the struggle to direct the discontent of the masses threatened with a new slaughter toward an immediate peace and the overthrow of capitalism.

If war is declared: struggle for fraternization between the French and German workers on the battlefield!

Down with imperialist war!
Long live the international working class revolution!
Long live the Fourth International!

(signed)
Central Committee, Bolshevik-Leninist Group, C.C., Revolutionary Socialist Youth.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
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Blacklist Out In Akron Pact

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they consider re-employment of the strikers.

The company further agrees to meet and negotiate with the workers individually or through their duly chosen representatives, but the Goodyear Industrial Assembly, a company union whose removal was demanded by the strikers, still remain in the picture. It is this qualified recognition that the rubber workers' union, by the continued solidarity and determination of its membership, now has the possibility of making real. Granting that the determination displayed in such splendid fashion during the trying and difficult days of the strike remains after the return to work, the foothold already gained by qualified recognition should serve as a means of strengthening the union in continued struggle to eliminate the company union outfit.

Points in Agreement

Other points in the agreement establish certain rules for working hours, changes of wage rates or contemplated lay-offs. The tire and tube division is put on a thirty-six hour weekly schedule and in all other departments hours per week are not to exceed 40 nor to be less than 30 unless arranged by a vote of employees affected. Temporarily a week of 24 hours is to be worked in all departments to avoid lay-offs. And in case of contemplated lay-offs in the future lists in duplicate are to be made available to the representatives of the workers.

Notice is also to be given to representatives of the workers affected of any changes in wage rates before they are posted. In regard to this question, however, no provisions were gained to wipe out the numerous wage cuts that have already taken place and which even the federal fact finding board criticized.

In addition to the actual agreement a special memorandum was accepted verbally by the company representatives as binding upon them which provide for the setting up of machinery in the plant to handle grievances of the workers. By the terms of this memorandum each division within the plant is to have a shop committee for the union and is entitled to take up matters of adjustments during working hours and to be accompanied by union representatives when conferring with the management.

Union Officials Wavering

While on a whole this strike settlement marks a distinct forward step for the rubber workers' union there need be little doubt that the vacillating attitude of the major officials and their fear of following up in the same spirit set by the strikers on the picket line accounts for the gains not being more definitive. Representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis shared in this weakness.

Only this failure accounts for the company union still being in the picture. Insofar as the strike is concerned, it must be said that seldom before has such a complete solidarity and such a magnificent determination been displayed on any picket line. Strikers went to their posts at any time of the day or night without balking for an instant at sacrifice or hardship.

Centering around the more than three hundred established posts, or "shanties," the pickets took care that all gates were guarded and closed so tight that nothing could move in or out. These pickets were in dead earnest in their fight to establish a union of their own choice and they knew what the struggle meant. Hence their determination and their rejection of several previous settlement offers inferior to the present agreement. The strikers had a continuous battle, not only to keep the scabs out and to compel the company to come to more reasonable terms, but also to stiffen the backbone of the union officials. This responsibility the strikers discharged in magnificent fashion.

Obstacles in the Road

Viewing the agreement that has been made, and noting its specific compromising features, the situation described above has to be taken into account. And besides this there were factors of even greater consequences, all playing a serious role in the strike settlement. First of all it must be remembered that the organization of any of the gigantic mass production industries is in itself a most difficult task. Terrific obstacles stood in the way in the Akron rubber industry. All the open shop employers concentrated their forces to bolster up the Goodyear company and if possible to defeat this strike and thereby stave off the hour of a campaign of organization in other mass production industries. It is in view of this fact that the partial victory won in Akron, that the present forward step made, assumes real significance.

Then in addition to these factors already mentioned the Akron strikers faced a large scale organization of vigilante forces. Composed of a combination of what is usually called the better people, together with thugs, gunmen and professional strike-breakers, these would be vigilantes had at their disposal a war chest of many thousands dollars made available by the various rubber companies. Deputies badges were freely issued to these high-jackers and plug-uglies by Sheriff Jim Flower, who often managed to appear in appropriate ceremonies with the vigilante leaders. A "red" hysteria continued without abatement throughout the period of the strike.

Even some of the union officials stooped to the level of imitating this "red" hysteria, directing their attacks mainly against the Workers Party and against Comrade A. J. Muste personally, who was in Akron during the strike. These particular gentlemen made clear that what they feared was the courageous militancy displayed by the strikers which was consciously aided by the progressive forces within their ranks.

Despite these weaknesses, the results of the magnificent battle fought with unprecedented fury by the Akron strikers is that now the union has a solid basis. It is firmly established, and with the spirit that has been displayed by the rank and file membership up to now, carried forward to the new stage, a gain of momentous importance will be recorded for the American labor movement. Akron has made its valuable contribution. The struggle is not completed. It must go on, and no doubt it will go on until not only the rubber industry is solidly organized, but the example set is taken up elsewhere and the mass production industries are solidly organized.

Austria Trial Is Victory

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monarchists."

There is a great temptation to conciliate the capitalist government during a trial. . . But the effect of such conciliation is disastrous. The defense followed exactly the same policy which led to the defeat of 1934. In effect the defense promised support of the Government in return for a few democratic favors, just as Bauer promised Dollfuss support in 1933 in return for continued legality.

This policy may have been successful with the presiding Judge who was "usually stern with non-Nazi prisoners" and who "conducted this case with extraordinary liberality, which won tributes from the defense."

A Serious Error

But the policy of the defense while it may have conciliated the court must have tended to demoralize the Austrian working class. As the letter of the Austrian Socialists to the Second International after the February defeat revealed, the Austrian workers definitely do not want democratic favors; they want more than the same right as the monarchists; they have broken with the coalition policy practiced in democracies, and their movement is decidedly directed against the state.

The spectacle of defendants fresh from Austrian capitalist prisons expressing their fears for the national defense of capitalist Austria must also have been repugnant to the Austrian workers. In effect the defense practically promised that the socialist workers were ready to join the Versailles imperialist coalition armies in a war against Germany.

Throughout the whole trial it was reported that mass arrests

Police Aid Hearst News

(Continued from Page 1)

protested the arrests of Lauterbach and Polinsky in front of the News building and an hour and a half of mass picketing. Police several times tried to break up the picket lines, guldsmen charged.

Strikers Storm "Safety" Building

After a parade along Wisconsin Avenue, the marchers stormed the safety building to demand the release of Brown and the others. About 125 policemen charged out of the safety building and drove the crowd into a vacant lot across

N.Y. Painters Defend Rights

The New York Painters District Council has obtained a temporary injunction in court restraining the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood from revoking the Council's charter and from asking employers not to comply with agreements made with the Council. The judge ruled that the council is entitled to function with the newly elected officers and to receive per-capita tax from the local unions.

The attempts of the G.E.B. to revoke the Council's charter grows out of the special elections held by the Council on February 29, which the former has declared to be unconstitutional. It is, however, necessary to understand the reasons for these special elections.

Committee Finds Irregularities

For years, with but brief interruptions, the New York Painters District was ruled by the corrupt Zausner gang. Honest elections had passed out of practice altogether; working conditions deteriorated. The crookedness of this officialdom in the last regular elections, held last June, provoked a revolt. Several local unions requested the Civil Liberties Union and the Socialist party to constitute a committee to investigate the elections and if the charge of irregularities was substantiated this committee would supervise new elections to insure their fair conduct. The committee found flagrant irregularities and Zausner resigned the secretaryship, usurped through the crooked election deal. But the G.E.B., fearing the consequences with its special henchmen discredited, refused to accept the committee proposed to supervise special elections and ruled that these elections would be unconstitutional.

For the New York locals there was hardly anything else left but to go through with the planned special elections. They did, and the result was a defeat for most of the remnants of the Zausner gang. Twelve business agents were elected, a part of whom were supporters of Louis Weinstein, who won the election for secretary of the District Council with a vote of almost three to one. This became the signal for action by the G.E.B. It revoked the council charter arbitrarily and without a hearing. Its representatives visited the painter bosses in an effort to inveigle them into a refusal to honor the agreement formerly concluded with the council when the Zausner gang held the reins.

Naturally the New York painters union membership resented this attitude of the G.E.B. Its understanding is that an election was held and conducted without any violations of trade union democracy. There can be no doubt that the rank and file membership supports the newly elected officers and there need be no doubt that in a choice between these and the attitude taken by the G.E.B., the membership is entirely justified in this support.

Officials Watching the Wind

At the present moment the whole issue seems to hang in the balance. The affairs of the council and the local unions are still in a chaotic condition. Some of the elected officials, notably some of the business agents, are hiding their time, not knowing where to place their allegiance, since as ordinary bureaucrats they want to feel assured first of which side will win out. Louis Weinstein is supported by the Daily Worker, and his group for the time being is in the leadership. But it is pursuing a tactic often witnessed before and usually with results detrimental to the movement.

Instead of really consolidating the membership in the fight that has been carried on against the Zausner clique and which now necessarily must be continued against the arbitrary actions of the G. E. B., this group concerns itself with meaningless endorsements. In the street. In that melee the other four persons were arrested. Fists flew and several women were mauled, including Jean Dessel, striking librarian and Mrs. William Oviatt, wife of a striker and head of the commissary.

The roughhouse tactics of the police drew not only the criticism of the strikers but also that of the sideline spectators.

Brown was scheduled to speak at Miller's Hall, near the safety building, but he refused to leave on bail until the other six under arrest had bail arranged for them also. The banks were closed and problem was to raise \$40 in cash. An appeal was made to the crowd in the hall. It responded with \$68.

Carl Minkley, organizer for the brewery workers' union, told the crowd that Hearst was "competing with WPA by paying reporters \$15 and \$20 a week."

Brown, who got to the meeting after two hours in jail, brought the crowd to its feet several times in a rousing strike speech.

Trial began Monday before a circuit court jury of the News' charges that the guild has violated terms of the secondary picketing injunction of the court. Herbert Langendorff and George Bergstrom, arrested 10 days ago, will go to trial Tuesday in the municipal court on disorderly conduct.

Spanish Masses Taking Matters in Own Hands

(Continued from Page 1)

government. The Republican and Catholic press both sound the same note of hope that the opening of the Cortes will stop the disorders by acting as an escape valve. An agreement has been concluded between the Republican Left of Azana, the Republican Union of Martinez Barrios, and the Catalan Esquerra, bourgeois nationalist party, establishing one joint executive committee, thereby making this group, with 150 seats in the Cortes, the most important single voting force. The center republicans, under the last premier, Velarde, have also announced their support of the Azana government.

A general fist fight broke out at a preliminary session of the Cortes on March 19, when a center republican struck the Socialist deputy Escrivano.

A general strike has been going on for several days at La Coruna, in protest against the murder of a construction worker by a Catholic. In Santander and in a town near Seville, workers attacked two prisons where some political prisoners are still being detained. Fights in the last ten days between workers and reactionaries have resulted in over a score of deaths.

The estate of the monarchist, Count de Romanones, in Toledo province, has been expropriated by two thousand land-workers. It is one of the largest estates in Spain.

Azana has taken two significant steps in an effort to consolidate his regime against the proletariat. All police forces in the country, hitherto decentralized in control, have been taken over by the Madrid government "to eliminate local influences on them."

Azana has also announced that, under the pretext of giving the cabinet members more time to do government work, he plans to limit sessions of the Cortes to a few each month, according to an Associated Press dispatch of March 20. This is obviously an effort to reduce to a minimum the use of the Cortes as a tribunal of the proletariat.

Azana is particularly anxious to postpone discussion of the land question. But it is precisely this question which is the most basic issue in Spain today. In the electoral agreement, the republican bourgeoisie declared:

"The Republicans do not accept the principle of the nationalization of the land and its free distribution to the peasants, solicited by the delegates of the Socialist party."

Instead, the bourgeoisie proposed in the electoral agreement signed by it and the workers' parties, a series of measures which do not begin to ameliorate the plight of the peasantry and the land-workers. The right-wing Socialists and the Stalinists are aiding Azana in this issue by making no criticism of his land program.

Double Fakery

Like the Spanish Stalinists, the American "Daily Worker" is covering up the fact that the republican regime forced upon the workers' parties in the electoral agreement a flat declaration against the nationalization of land. Harry Gannes, on March 23, wrote: "Today a new democratic government holds power by the same votes (as 1931) but this time it has a specific mandate to give the land to those who work it—and just to make sure, the workers have taken the land in trust until the law shall be passed." This is double fakery: first, the electoral agreement included no mandate to give the land but on the contrary a repudiation of this principle by the republicans; secondly, except for a few instances, the workers are not taking the land but, deceived by their own leaders are waiting for further action by the Cortes.

At a meeting in Madrid on March 22 (not reported by the Daily Worker), the Communist Party came out for a coalition with the bourgeoisie in the municipal elections to be held April 12, and called for a permanent coalition "Popular Front" to go on after the municipal elections.

The Socialists are rent by a sharp struggle on this question, left elements insisting that whatever was to be gained from a coalition with the bourgeoisie in the national elections has been achieved, and that the Socialist party should put up its own candidates in all cities and towns where it has strength. It will be recalled that in the elections of 1931 and 1933 the Socialists showed their greatest strength in these local elections.

Mr. Laski Advises

The right-wing Socialist line was given classic expression by Harold J. Laski in last week's "New Leader," old-guard Socialist organ. Laski declares, "Ten years of profound progressive legislation are essential if Liberal Spain is to be given its letters of credit"—presumably while the workers sit around and wait! Instead of recognizing that the struggle is fast developing into a struggle for proletarian power, Laski declares, "the breakdown of the present union (bourgeois coalition) means something like Fascism" and "the next four years are, above all, a breathing space." To declare as Laski does, that "if the left (including the bourgeoisie) are wise enough to maintain their present unity—there will be four years in which to consolidate the ideals for which the Revolution of 1931 was made"—means, reduced to blunt terms, to give the bourgeoisie four years in which to consolidate bourgeois state-power. After the German and Austrian events, Laski wrote a theoretical work on the nature of the state which approached a Marxian position; but at the first sign of the resurgence of the proletariat, when theory must be transformed into practice, Laski reverts to traditional socialism.

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AFTER FIVE MONTHS OF SANCTIONS

Its Effect upon the Italo-Ethiopian War, The Great Powers and the Workers

By JOHN WEST

One of the crucial issues of the present war crisis has been the problem of so-called "sanctions." Sanctions, moreover, are not merely a question for theoretical analysis. Sanctions are being tested also by experience: during nearly five months they have been in operation against an "aggressor." In the light of the experience of these five months, therefore, I wish to test the analysis we have made of the problem of sanctions, and the position which we hold with respect to them.

The first point to make clear is that the sanctions which I am discussing—namely, the real sanctions which have really been in operation during these months—are in actuality certain economic, financial and commercial measures carried out by certain national states: Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and various of their satellites. This point may seem either so trivial or so obvious as to be hardly worth making. In fact, however, it is crucial. The reason why it must be understood is that these measures are usually referred to not as they really are but as "League of Nations sanctions." From this it is concluded that they differ fundamentally from measures carried out by national states, that they are collective acts of collective body which aims to uphold world stability and world peace.

The truth is that the idea of "League sanctions" is a mere legal fiction. The League of Nations is not a sovereign political unit nor an economic unit. It has no citizens nor army nor navy nor industries nor trade nor finance (other than the unimportant Bank for International Settlements, which to some extent it controls). Consequently there are no sanctions which the League could put into effect, no matter how desirous it

might be of doing so. Sanctions, as defined in the League Covenant, can be put into effect only by sovereign political states. The only reality they can even conceivably have is as acts of sovereign political states.

It is this basic fact which determines the attitude of the various tendencies within the working class toward sanctions. Revolutionary Marxists are opposed to sanctions, because they are on all occasions opposed to bourgeois national states; the strategy of Marxists aims always toward the overthrow of bourgeois states. The social-patriots, on the other hand, favor sanctions, because at bottom the social-patriots rest on bourgeois national states, and rely on collaboration with them. The social-patriots of the standard social variety, here as in every other crucial issue, function as the agents of the bourgeois bureaucracy within the working class. The new-style Stalinist social-patriots function within the working class as agents of the class enemy through an indirect route. These latter, committed to the building of socialism in one country, are consequently led to aid in maintenance of the status quo internationally—to enable socialism to be built "without interruption"—and thus must collaborate with and rely on the bourgeois states to whose immediate interest such maintenance is or seems to Stalin to be. In both cases, social-patriotism in general, and support of sanctions in particular, means nothing other than alliance with the class enemy.

Let us examine briefly what has happened in the case of sanctions, since their invocation in November:

Most of the nations belonging to the League have put into effect certain measures relating to their trade with Italy. These measures have included prohibitions on the

export to Italy of a number of materials and products related to the carrying on of war (implements of war, horses, trucks, etc.); and also certain restrictions on granting loans and credits to Italy. The United States, also, though not a member of the League, has carried out certain sanctions: the prohibition of the export of certain implements of war, as provided in the Neutrality Act; and restrictions on loans and credit, through the Johnson Act.

It is to be remarked that all these nations, including the Soviet Union, have been very zealous in sticking to the letter of the law on sanctions. They have been careful not to step over the bounds of "collective action" by extending sanctions to anything not specifically agreed upon—to, for example, oil.

Italy, on her side, however, has gone a little further, and has expanded the reign of sanctions by instituting what she has called "counter-sanctions": restriction of imports, prohibition of the sale of certain products from sanctionist nations, freezing of credits and other financial restrictions to prevent payment to these nations, etc.

What has been the effect of these measures?

First, it will require no argument to prove that their effect on the conduct of the Italian military campaign in Ethiopia has been zero. There is no indication that they have affected the campaign in the slightest. From a military point of view, Ethiopia has fared neither better nor worse than if sanctions had never been thought of. As means of stopping the war or of saving ravaged Ethiopia, sanctions have accomplished nothing.

Sanctions seem to have had some effect in adding to Italy's economic and financial burdens internally, in cutting down supplies of certain goods and in raising prices. How great a percentage of such dislocation can be traced to sanctions, however, and how much to what would have occurred in any case under the given circumstances, without sanctions, it is difficult to estimate. Certain economic and financial difficulties have also followed with the sanctions-invoking countries. Indeed, it is probable that sanctions have been as burdensome to Great Britain and France as to Italy.

This, then, is the sum of the effects of sanctions as pretended instruments for stopping war and maintaining peace. This does not, however, complete the story of the effect of sanctions.

National Unity

The outstanding effect of the policy of sanctions has been: to aid in bringing to a new high point national unity within both the sanctions-invoking nations and Italy. The united support of sanctions by the dominant sections of the bourgeoisie together with the leadership of the dominant working class parties and organizations has meant in practice a coalition between the bourgeoisie and the working class. The crucial result of sanctions, thus, from the point of view of the working class, has been the weakening of the position of the bourgeoisie, a shift in the relationship of forces in favor of the bourgeoisie, a set-back to the revolutionary struggle.

In Italy, the policy of sanctions has played neatly into the hands of Mussolini. He has been able to direct the resentment of the masses away from the enemy at home, away from himself, the Fascist state and Italian finance-capital, to the "enemy abroad"—to the sanctionist nations and particularly to Great Britain. Thus the process of conscious class differentiation in Italy, which might well have gone on at a rapid rate during this period, has had substituted for it a merging into patriotic support of the nation—that is, support of the class enemy.

Of even more importance, in the long run, is the degree to which sanctions have aided in accomplishing national unity within France and Great Britain (the same process has of course occurred within the lesser nations). In Great Britain, support of sanctions by the Labour Party and the Communist Party identified these parties with the Conservative Party on the war question, which has been, of course, the decisive question. It was this which made possible the sweeping victory of Baldwin in the November General Elections—since, with the same policy on the crucial question, the Labour Party could not furnish effective opposition. It is this, moreover, which is enabling Baldwin to carry through his armament program with hardly a voice raised loudly, and none convincingly, against it.

The same developments have occurred in France. Laval, Sarraut, and the WAA. Out of this unity will spring a stronger and more powerful organizing force for the coming battles.

to re-unite France to a degree which would have seemed unimaginable a year ago. At that time, France was making rapidly ready, through a division into the two great class armies, for the struggle for power. The internal crisis in France has not of course been solved in favor of the bourgeoisie by the unification achieved with the help of the pro-sanctions policy of the People's Front. But the process of class differentiation has during these five months been set back heavily. The temporary weakening of the Croix de Feu and the Fascists generally, pointed to with such smug complacency by the Stalinists as proof of the great "victories" of the People's Front, in actuality demonstrates just the opposite. The Fascists have retired a little precisely because the policy of the People's Front has so weakened the position of the working class that it does not so immediately threaten the foundations of bourgeois rule. Consequently, in France, the attempt at a Fascist coup can be further postponed. Finance-capital does not call in the Fascists until it has to; if it can maintain itself securely with the aid of the working class parties, so much the better, and less troublesome.

Likewise, as in England, the pro-sanctions policy in France has made meaningless any opposition to the increased armament measures and speeded militarization. And it has played a great part in making the masses ready to defend, with full patriotic fervor, French finance-capital against Hitler. "Humanitarian" and "Popular" outdo Flandrin in their denunciation of the re-militarization of the Rhineland. And, quite naturally, they fail to notice that Flandrin represents the class enemy at home—since their policy and Flandrin's are fundamentally identical.

Independent Action

Secondly, the pro-sanctions policy has sabotaged any effective independent working class actions against the war. With their customary hypocrisy and cynicism, the Stalinist spokesmen inform us that they are for both governmental and working class "sanctions"; and that the latter are more "basic." The C. I. "criticized" at length the British Labour Party because it advocated only governmental sanctions and neglected working class actions. But this is only rhetoric, only phrases to temper the social-patriotic wind. Governmental sanctions and independent working class "sanctions" do not supplement each other, as the Stalinists pretend, but contradict each other. The reason is easy to understand. Supporting governmental sanctions is supporting the government; independent working class actions are necessarily directed against the government (the representative of the opposing class) and its policies. You cannot simultaneously fight with and against the government. You cannot pretend to do so, in words, as the Stalinists do; but the logic of facts, not phrases, governs your actions. And, as the last five months proves, the logic of facts prevented those who stood for governmental sanctions from organizing any significant working class actions. The contradiction is somewhat obscured in the Italy-Ethiopian conflict, where the working class is on the side of one of the contestants and against the other. It would be glaringly obvious in the more important case of a conflict between two or more imperialist nations (e.g., France and Germany), where correct working class actions would have to be directed equally against all the contesting states, including the home government, but where any governmental sanctions would be directed against only one side.

To carry out working class actions would have meant a consistent policy against the government, against the national state. Such a policy, though under the given conditions it too would doubtless have been unable to bring about peace and stop Italy's campaign, on the other hand would have acted in a manner just the opposite of the pro-sanctions policy in its influence on the relationship of class forces: however unsuccessful it might have been "practically," it would have promoted the class differentiation, strengthened the independent struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, and hindered the building up of national unity. It would have provided the basis for agitation to dispel and not to consolidate illusions. In short, it would have been the foundation for revolutionary, and not for social-patriotic strategy.

The Real Meaning

To explain the role of sanctions intelligently, we must first understand what they are. And if we understand this, we know that they are not means for enforcing peace, but simply instruments of the policies of the national governments which invoked them, or consider invoking them. We judge and explain them, therefore, in the light of the whole policies of the given governments. For Great Britain and France, for example, they are part of the imperialist policies of two imperialist governments—that is, part of two war policies. For the Soviet Union, they are part of the world policy of Stalinism—of socialism in one country, preservation of the international status quo, and preparation for defense of the Soviet Union by alliance with capitalist states.

To understand sanctions in this manner—that is, as they are, not as pacifists and social-patriots dream of them—makes explicable what has actually happened, and the conflicts that have arisen. In the Chaco War, the policies of France and Great Britain did not require any flirtation with sanctions. Indeed, Great Britain preferred that the Chaco War should continue, since Royal-Dutch-Shell had an important stake in the victory of Paraguay. Sanctions were therefore never mentioned. Likewise in the case of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Here was a perfect legal instance for the application of sanctions. But France, and particularly Great Britain, saw nothing to be gained from the use of such a risky weapon. Their imperialist interests were not immediately and directly affected to a sufficient degree. They consequently decided that the best "means for enforcing peace" at that time was to do nothing openly, to carry on diplomatic negotiations and financial transactions as be-

cause the policy of sanctions was not sufficiently vigorously and extensively enforced. This is in fact the conclusion which the pro-sanctionists reach in trying to explain why sanctions have not worked in the Italian affair.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that this is correct, and let us imagine that sanctions had been enforced to the limit by the League nations. What would have followed from this? To be thoroughly "effective," sanctions would have had to include embargoes on virtually every import to and export from Italy. But such embargoes would have had to apply to goods to and from non-sanctions applying nations in order to accomplish their purpose. Thus, they could have been enforced only by a military and naval blockade (what diplomats have been calling "military sanctions"). But a military and naval blockade is an act of war, and must necessarily have led to armed retaliation by Italy, since the life of Italy as a nation would have been at stake, as well as retaliation by the non-sanctionist nations, whose sovereignty would be threatened by the blockade.

We see, therefore, that a "fully effective" sanctions policy would—nothing less than war. The "peace policy" of sanctions turns out to be a war policy. The belief that sanctions are a means for enforcing peace thus puts us into a flat contradiction: peace can be genuinely enforced only by war. The reason for this is, of course, that the original belief—that any belief which leads to a contradiction—is false. Sanctions are not a means for enforcing peace.

(Continued on Page 4)

WORLD OF LABOR

Stakhanov Campaign Gripped by Serious Crisis in the Soviet Union

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

For months now the Stalinist press has been filled with ballyhoo for Stakhanovism. The February issue of the Communist International boasts that: "The words 'Stakhanovism' and 'Stakhanov methods' have become famous far beyond the confines of the first socialist state in the world." (p. 351)

At the very height of this campaign, news comes from Moscow, as reported by Harold Denny in the New York Times, that: "Stakhanovism has fallen back so completely in its birthplace that only one of the many Donetz Basin coal mining units was not falling in its production quota." (N. Y. Times, March 18.)

The breakdown is not limited to the coal industry. The situation is so serious that, according to Denny's dispatch, it "caused Communist party and government leaders to demand... that it (i. e. Stakhanovism) be revived and strengthened."

Is Denny perhaps vilifying Stakhanovism? Is there really a "breakdown", and how serious is it?

It is impossible as yet to gauge the situation fully, but sufficient facts are already available to enable us to outline it.

The introduction of what Denny calls the "Stakhanov speeding system" indubitably produced results at the outset. If we take the key steel and coal figures as the basis for a general orientation, we find that the output of steel increased from an average production of 35.5 thousand tons in September to 38 thousand tons in December; a like increase was gained in the production of coal (the Donetz Basin) which rose from the average daily output of 178.2 thousand tons in September to 229 thousand tons in December.

These were, so to speak, the honeymoon months of Stakhanovism. In January, we find the steel production still increasing. It rises to an average daily production of 42 thousand tons. But the figures for the coal industry already show a small but indubitable decrease. In January, the average daily output in the Donbas region fell to 223 thousand tons of coal. The February figures indicate a leveling off in the production of steel, the industry apparently maintaining its January output of 42 thousand tons per day, while a further decline is indicated in the Donbas coal production (221 thousand tons of coal). The figures of the Second Five Year Plan call for a daily production of 46 thousand tons of steel, and 230.1 tons of coal from the Donetz basin. (The above figures have been averaged from the daily data published in Pravda.)

In short, instead of steadily increasing, the output is either remaining stationary or declining. The question naturally arises how are we to reconcile these facts with the claims made by the Stalinists that the "Stakhanov movement ensures a gigantic growth of the productivity of labor," etc., etc. (Communist Int. Feb. 1936, p. 35). The answer is that the facts give the lie to the Stalinist boasts.

The inability to maintain levels already attained can signify only one thing: that the gains have been made not so much on the basis of a scientific rationalization of industry as at the expense of an increased physical exertion on the part of the workers. The workers are unable to maintain the intense labor for more than a few weeks. Their physical exhaustion is reflected in the declining output. Moreover, there are many signs that the workers are resisting the attempts of the bureaucracy to load an intolerable burden on their shoulders.

Born a few short months ago, Stakhanovism already faces a crisis. The economic and cultural development of the U.S.S.R. is no longer compatible with the existence of a usurping, self-willed bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is now a brake upon further development, and it must come into an ever greater conflict with the Soviet proletariat. That is the real meaning of the latest news from the Soviet Union.

In 1935, the world production of steel and cast iron was double that of the year 1932. The steel production of the United States has increased 31% over that of 1934. Germany has increased its production 36.5%, taking the lead in Europe. Czechoslovakia showed an increase of 22.6%; Italy, 19.6%; England, 11.9%; Poland, 8.9%.

The rising tempo of the steel production reflects the speed with which the next world slaughter is approaching.

SPLIT IN THE SWEDISH C. P.
The European press reports that a split has taken place in the Communist Party of Sweden (section of the Third International).

A considerable section of the Swedish C.P. refused, it seems, to follow blindly the turn toward national defense that was ratified by the Seventh Congress. The section that split has issued its own organ, "Proletarian Unity", in which it charges the Third International with having betrayed the revolutionary tradition of Leninism.

The split in Sweden is the first open sign of the opposition that has been rumored to be stirring in the ranks of the Comintern, since the "new turn" was officially sanctioned six months ago. There are also continued rumors of a revolt in the Polish C.P.

The indications are that Stalin and his henchmen will not have internally the same easy sailing with their latest turn as they had with all the preceding zigzags.

BELGIUM

A Special Congress of the Belgian Labor Party (P.O.B.) was held on February 22, for the purpose of ratifying the action of Socialist Ministers who had previously approved the military project of Duveze, as demanded by the French General Staff.

These proposals of the Belgian War Department proved somewhat embarrassing to the Socialist Ministers in the coalition Government. They had entered into this coalition ministry with the understanding that no matters relating to the army would be broached until after the next parliamentary elections; and they had been assured by the war ministry that the condition of national defense was perfectly splendid.

Unforeseen contingencies, however, suddenly compelled the Minister of War to demand that the compulsory term of military service be extended 6 months, that more millions be added to the army budget, and so on, in order to guarantee "collective security." The embarrassed Socialist Ministers did not hesitate for a moment to vote in approval of these measures. But, of course, there still remained the task of swinging the trade unions solidly in line. A series of maneuvers and "discussions" followed, culminating in the Special Congress.

It follows as a matter of course that this Congress adopted a resolution which admits "the possibility of a defensive war in certain circumstances." The resolution goes on to emphasize that such a defensive war in the international sphere "coincides with the struggle against Fascism." The P. O. B. went, of course, on record in favor of a collective security on the basis of the League Covenant for mutual aid.

Vandervelde, who had "retired" from active service on account of his age, can still summon sufficient strength to remain true to the betrayal of 1914, in company with Messrs. Spaak, De Man and Co.

Last January 25, Vandervelde celebrated his 70th birthday. On this happy occasion the Soviet ambassador to Belgium sent him a gift, no doubt in token of the fact that the preparation for the Second Imperialist War is proceeding full blast under the banner of the Second and Third Internationals.

STEEL FOR THE SLAUGHTER

While the agents of the imperialists are mobilizing the cannon fodder, the steel plants are working the world over to provide the ammunition.

In 1935, the world production of steel and cast iron was double that of the year 1932.

The steel production of the United States has increased 31% over that of 1934. Germany has increased its production 36.5%, taking the lead in Europe. Czechoslovakia showed an increase of 22.6%; Italy, 19.6%; England, 11.9%; Poland, 8.9%.

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(Continued on Page 4)

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

RELIEF—FOR BIG BUSINESS.

The process of whitening away relief for the unemployed by a halfhearted strategy is carried a long step forward in Roosevelt's latest message to Congress on the budget. This is election year and Roosevelt intends to leave nothing undone in order to carry the support of business. Economy and the avoidance of taxation on business are the forms of relief proposed by the "humanitarian" President—for big business! The real purpose of the WPA is being rapidly unfolded. That purpose was to provide a clever intermediary to get workers off the relief rolls and then, after a short space of time, to lay them off and prevent them from getting back on the relief rolls. Each month a new batch of unemployed will be "laid off" to fend for themselves in this best of all possible worlds. Hopkins has given public assurance to the capitalist class by laying out a definite schedule of cuts in the WPA rolls. Of course Hopkins "hopes" that the needy will get back on relief. Or perhaps they will be shuttled from the WPA to the PWA! No doubt some shifts like this will raise false hopes in the minds of many unemployed that it is only a matter of waiting a short time for renewed work on federal payrolls. But the big majority will be doomed to bitter disillusion. Roosevelt is making it plain that after the elections—a little relief is still necessary for voters!—the Federal Government will wash its hands of the largest burdens of relief. On one condition! That the unemployed remain passive and put up only a scattered fight against the outright starvation being planned for them.

DIVISION OF LABOR

In the division of labor for carrying out the demands of the capitalist class, Roosevelt occupies the position of the liberal damogogue "voicing" the interests of the masses. Thus he points to the NRA as the would-have-been solution of the problem of unemployment—if that other arm of capitalism, the Supreme Court, had not declared it unconstitutional. He is left to appeal to the voluntary action of the employers to "extend their operations so as to absorb an increasing number of the unemployed." And since this will not do if left to individual bosses, he calls for organized effort on a national scale. As though it was not the "voluntary" action of the bosses in the first place that had produced unemployment as the inevitable concomitant of the business crisis! Roosevelt suggests a campaign on the part of big business for shorter hours to provide more jobs. This demagoguery at a time when the average work week has grown three hours longer (from July to December 1935)! The A. F. of L. calculates that this increase in the work week resulted in the loss of

a million jobs to the unemployed. The only difference between Roosevelt and the more reactionary members of the capitalist governing staff is that Roosevelt wishes to act more cautiously and not as bluntly and speedily in letting down the unemployed from their present miserable status to one that is still worse.

It will be the function of Congress to start investigations of the undoubted political corruption that exists in the WPA (as in capitalist institutions in general) to force a quicker end to the system of work relief. Already this pressure is on due to the exposure of conditions in West Virginia. The attitude of Congress is shown by its refusal to continue the Florida and "Quoddy" ship canals by the grant of special fund. No doubt there will be some opposition to the measly sum of one and one half billion dollars asked for by Roosevelt, although it is unlikely that this will be refused. The CCC camps are also due for a liberal application of the axe. One hundred thousand youths are to be discharged from these camps by July 1st.

UNITY OF THE UNEMPLOYED

It is no accident, under these circumstances, that the movement of the unemployed is taking on a new impetus. Objective conditions are forcing the unemployed workers to organize and to seek unity of effort to combat the plans of the capitalist class directed against their very existence. These workers note that in the past 6 months the profits of big corporations have gone up more than 140%. They note that in the "bull" stock market there has been a gain of 55% in stock quotations. They see that with some considerable recovery of business the reemployment of unemployed workers has made only a small dent in their ranks, continually augmented by the new generation of young workers ready and eager to earn a living. There are still some ten and one half million out of work, by conservative estimate. The capitalists make it difficult to obtain complete and reliable statistics on this question. These workers thrown out of industry in the crisis, must struggle for their very lives against the Roosevelt plan to slowly put an end to all relief to the "employables." Roosevelt and his masters are reckoning without the mass pressure that will be exerted by employed and unemployed alike to stave off starvation for millions of workers. For this gigantic struggle a firmly knit mass organization is essential. This organization is in the making in the promising efforts for unity of the unemployed movements, particularly the NUL and the WAA. Out of this unity will spring a stronger and more powerful organizing force for the coming battles.

WPA Strike Sweeps Pa.

(Continued from Page 1)
present time the active head of the Pennsylvania Security League and has been organizing workers on WPA projects.

At a meeting of 2,500 project workers in Allentown on Wednesday night, Sam Gordon, State Organizer of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, denounced Mr. Jones' attack against Rauschenbusch in scathing terms.

"I do not share Mr. Rauschenbusch's political views," Mr. Gordon said, "but Jones' propaganda against him is an attack against an organization of the unemployed. The Pennsylvania Unemployed League will stand shoulder to shoulder with the Pennsylvania Security League in the fight and back it up to the limit against this underhanded and slanderous attack." He indicated that the organizations represented in the Joint Action Committee would push irreconcilably for the ousting of Mr. Jones and presented a resolution to this effect, which was endorsed by the 2,500 present in a rising vote without any opposition or abstentions.

Mr. Jones' circular and Sam Gordon's resolution follow below:

Reply of Mr. Edward N. Jones

"So Mr. Rauschenbusch is back in town."

"Isn't he the gentleman who undertook to smear the memory of Woodrow Wilson in the recent munitions investigation, and who let J. Pierpont Morgan emerge from the inquiry with one nice coat of whitewash? And the same person whom the Pinchots put on the state payroll?"

"Mr. Rauschenbusch is, I understand, senior member of the firm of Rauschenbusch and Ruttenberg, whose chief and only occupation is attempting to form a third political party in Pennsylvania."

"Rauschenbusch and Ruttenberg are quite put out because I will not instruct all WPA directors to compel all relief workers to join their outfit, which when completely organized is to be transformed overnight into a third political party."

From now on until after the November election, I expect that WPA and my administration of WPA will be regularly blasted and denounced by such representatives of the Republican Old Guard and friends of the down trodden as M. Harvey Taylor, G. Mason Owlett and Gifford Pinchot, and by the firm of Rauschenbusch and Ruttenberg, promoters of a third political party in the state of Pennsylvania."

"Mr. Rauschenbusch had nothing to do with the creation of WPA, wherever 300,000 jobless and destitute men and women have been given employment in Pennsylvania."

"He had nothing to do with establishing a security wage for these workers."

"And so far as I am concerned neither Mr. Rauschenbusch nor any other political gigolo is going to capitalize or cash in on this great enterprise, the sole credit for which belongs to President Franklin D. Roosevelt."

"If Mr. Rauschenbusch is so concerned over the lot of the relief worker, as he professes to be, I would like to ask him where he was when his friend and political god-father, Gifford Pinchot, was paying relief workers—not a security wage—but an hourly wage that amounted to, even when the sun shone regularly, \$10 a month less than the lowest WPA security wage."

"You may as well take off your whiskers, Mr. Rauschenbusch. You're not fooling anyone. You're not interested in the lot of the relief workers."

"You're just a would be political boss."

Resolution Presented by Gordon
Whereas Mr. Edward N. Jones, state WPA administrator, has used the WPA repeatedly as a political football against adversaries, and

Whereas: This is especially evident from a circular Mr. Jones recently had distributed on the projects; said circular attacking one of the unemployed organizations in the state, under the guise of a dispute with Mr. Stephen Rauschenbusch, and

Whereas: Mr. Jones has repeatedly displayed a vicious anti-labor attitude ever since his appointment as WPA director;

Therefore, be it Resolved that this mass meeting of 2,500 Allentown project workers goes on record, demanding the immediate removal of Mr. Edward N. Jones from his post as WPA director.

GT. BRITAIN REARMS

On Land, Sea, Air British Imperialism Girds Itself for New War -- While Workers Starve

By T. C.

LONDON, March 16.—The British Government has rushed through Parliament a new plan for national defense. Claiming that certain foreign powers are rapidly increasing their armed forces. The British ruling class has no intention of being left behind. The air force is to be increased by an additional 1,750 first line aeroplanes. The navy is to be strengthened by the building of two capital ships at a cost of 8 million pounds each and the cruiser strength is to be brought up to 70 modernized ships with air carriers. Four new army battalions are to be raised and certain units are to be mechanized while a special drive is to be made for recruits for the Territorial Army (Citizens). Industry is to be organized with the collaboration of the Trade Unions so that it can be converted from a commercial to a war basis at any given moment. A Minister of Defense has been appointed who is to supervise the working of the new plan and although the cost of the scheme is not known, it is hinted that a 300 million pound loan for National Defense will be floated soon.

1. War in the Air

During the last great world war, London and other British cities were bombed by German Zeppelins and aeroplanes and towards the end of the war, a specially organized British air force bombarded German towns on the Rhine. These events marked the beginning of a revolution in the technique of modern warfare with the aeroplane supreme. Since then great progress has been made in the development of aerial bombing with results entirely unfavorable to the British militarists. The insular position of Britain and the scattered Empire which used to be a great advantage in time of war has now become a heavy handicap. In a war with any Continental Power, London and the great industrial centers would be an easy target for an attack by air. This is now clearly recognized—no less an authority than Sir Samuel Hoare, when Secretary of State of Air, stated that "London was, of all the great capitals in the world, most vulnerable to an air attack, owing to its geographical situation." As to the method of attack, M. Pierre Cot, the former French Air Marshall, has explained in the columns of the "Spectator," 1934: "There are in existence incendiary bombs weighing a couple of pounds and sufficient to create a fire center. A single aeroplane can carry enough of these bombs to start in London more fire centers than there would be the possibility of coping with."

Yet another form of attack is the dropping of gas bombs as described by Lord Halsbury, a chemist of government explosives, in the Daily Telegraph, 1934: "London could be kept in a lethal atmosphere of gas up to a height of 30 feet by the discharge of 40 tons of gas." To meet this rather gloomy outlook, the Government has carried out extensive air maneuvers with searchlights, anti-aircraft guns and gas dug-outs, as well as warning local authorities to be prepared for gas drill. The results do not seem to have been favorable, however, as it now seems that there is no real defense from attacks from the air.

Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Commons on November 10, 1933, declared that attack was the only means of defense in air warfare. "It is well for the man in the street to realize that there is no power on earth that can protect him from being bombed. Whatever people may tell him, the bomber will always get through. The only defense is in offensive, which means that you have got to kill women and children more quickly than the enemy if you want to save yourselves." Acting upon this dictum, the Air Defense League, a jingo propaganda body, carries on its work under the slogan: "Create a new winged army of British bombers to smash the foreign hornets in their nests." The new Defense Plan is an attempt to put these theories into practice by increasing the air force to a strength of 2,500 additional airplanes with additional reinforcement from civil aviation. In this way British imperialism hopes to get in the first blow.

2. A Naval Dilemma

Britain has always pinned her faith in a large navy and, at the present time, the British fleet is probably first in the world so far as numbers are concerned, but the change in the methods of naval warfare has created a division in the ranks of the experts. In order to hold the Empire in time of war, the navy must be in a position to freely police the seas and as the food supply of Britain as well as raw materials come from the far corners of the earth. The danger from submarines and hostile aircraft needs no exaggeration.

The problem has given rise to a series of debates in the press between the old naval school and the new. The modernists swear by the seaplane and the old sea-dogs stick to the dreadnought. Thus the editor of the "Army, Navy and Air Force Gazette," in the issue for December, 1935, declares that the British government has wasted millions of pounds in building super-dreadnoughts which will be blown to smithereens by a few well-directed blows from the air or a few torpedoes from down below.

To these charges, a correspondent signing himself "Navalis" replies with the following weighty arguments: "It would require about 7,000 freight-carrying aeroplanes to transport the same amount of wheat as one tramp steamer. It follows, therefore, that the problem of feeding the country continues, and must continue, to lie in safeguarding the sea-transport of supplies—a naval problem. Furthermore, it is of little use for 100 squadrons to fly to the Middle East in two days if when they get there their ground staffs, armaments, repair installations, spare parts and machines, remain in England. All these things, amounting to many thousands of tons of materials can only be transported by sea."

Other writers support their case by pointing to the results of naval maneuvers where moving targets were either easily hit from the air or completely missed, according to who is telling the tale. The Government has chosen a middle course, and two dreadnoughts and seven cruisers with air-carriers has pleased neither the old school nor the new but probably the real problem will only be solved in the course of actual warfare which may not be so far distant as some people would have us believe.

3. Army Recruiting Revelations

It was generally thought that the prevalence of unemployment and the intensive recruiting campaigns had increased the strength of the army but the parliamentary debates have revealed an entirely different state of affairs. In the House of Commons, March 12, 1936, Mr. Duff Cooper, Secretary for War, was forced to admit that at the end of the year the Army would be 10,000 men under strength and the Territorial Army 40,000 men under strength and he argued that this was the result of an increase in employment and a higher living standard. This, of course, is a Tory joke as unemployment figures have only decreased slightly and even then mostly by government manipulation while the standard of living has remained stationary.

Our old friend, the editor of the "Army, Navy and Air Force Gazette" let the cat out of the bag in his notes for February 1936:

"Out of 79,903 men who presented themselves for enlistment a total of 44,466 or 52 per cent had to be rejected on grounds of health. Most of these rejections would seem to point to a too low standard of living, not in the sense of an absence of luxury but of necessities and this is confirmed by the large number of under-fed. There is a deficiency of 46,773 in the Territorial Army. Like everybody else the potential recruit is convinced that war is a bad thing and the pacifists keep rubbing it in. The Government has taken measures to counter this propaganda."

The said government now intends to get down to business, and special bounties and family allowances are being dangled in front of the workers. Press, cinema and radio are to be brought into action and money prizes are offered for good recruiting suggestions by the "Daily Mail". Employers are asked to bring pressure upon their workers and if all these measures fail, then according to Lord Rothermere, "there is really nothing for it but military conscription." This is no doubt the real aim of the government which is moving cautiously.

4. Industry and War

In order to keep a modern war force supplied with food and arms, industry must be carried on upon a mass basis with centralized control. To accomplish this, the Defense Plan aims at negotiating a deal with certain firms not now on war work, while it is hinted that armament trusts will be asked to cooperate with a Minister for Munitions. Skilled labor is to be diluted with drafts of unemployed apprentices with the permission of the trade union officials who are said to be quite ready to strike a bargain with the Government and risk the protests of the rank and file.

During the last war, workshop committees sprang to life upon the Clyde, the Midland and in South Wales and they wrought great havoc with all such state schemes. The ruling class have not forgotten this, however, and they hope to draft their munition works away from these storm centers and also to pick their men from the ranks of the demoralized sections of the unemployed. There is no real enthusiasm for war amongst the British masses, and with catastrophe looming near, a tremendous ferment is taking place within all groups and parties. The Government will no doubt steam-roller through its plan but if war comes British capitalism will be in serious danger.

Five Months of Sanctions

(Continued from Page 3)

hind the scenes, and to strengthen the fortifications at Hongkong and Singapore. They left it to the United States Secretary of State, Stimson, to express "world indignation against the aggressor" by his blundering and meaningless "non-recognition policy."

But the Italian preparations for the conquest of Ethiopia placed both France and Great Britain in dilemmas. If Italy, acting alone, won undisputed sway over Ethiopia, she would threaten the British Empire lines of communication, the headwaters of the Nile, and Egypt. On the other hand, if Ethiopia defeated the Italian legions or even resisted too strongly, there would be repercussions adverse to the British rulers among the native populations of the British colonies. Consequently, what Great Britain wanted in the Ethiopian matter was "neither peace nor war." The needed a deal—a deal which would have given Italy what Italy could not do without, but would not involve too much fighting, and would leave Ethiopia not unrestrictedly under Italian rule, but in part at least under a more "international" control—that is, a control which would not put the British lines of communication and the Nile too easily at Italy's mercy. Naturally, Great Britain was not concerned over the fate of the Ethiopians.

Great Britain, for the past year, has consistently aimed toward such an end. Through the League, an offer along these lines was made to Italy last summer—but this offer could not satisfy Mussolini's internal requirements. He needed a war. A half-way and muddled sanctions policy was adopted after the fighting started, in order to keep the dispute within an international framework. Then the Hoare-Laval proposal revived the summer plan; its announcement was premature, but it paved the way. Now, reports indicate that the Rhineland crisis will be utilized to clean up sanctions, and fix the whole Ethiopian question up in a Franco-British-Italian compromise.

France's dilemma was equally puzzling. She was quite willing for Mussolini to go ahead, since her own interests were not affected, and had told him so in the early part of 1935. But France also wished to keep the friendship of Great Britain and the League procedure, as useful instruments against the eventualities of Hitler's policy. France was forced, therefore, to go along part way with Great Britain in the Ethiopian question. But her influence was exerted chiefly to aid the projected deal, and to keep the application of sanctions from getting too extensive or serious. Flandin now is jumping the gun, and in his March 20 speech to the Chamber has hailed the early cancelling of sanctions.

The Soviet Union pursued the only "consistent" sanctions policy. Frantically striving to maintain the status quo as long as possible, and to prepare for war with Hitler, it put its money on the League, and on friendship with France and Great Britain. Thus, for public purposes, it spoke most loudly of all, for the League, and in favor of peace and international security; and meanwhile played in actuality the sanctions game as the compromise between France and Great Britain decided. During the past two months, the Stalinist press has conveniently allowed the question of sanctions to slip out of sight, in deference to France's wishes, and in order to get through the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Pact. Litvinov is now in a position to allow the whole matter, with a suitable rhetorical flourish, to be dropped. After all, what are 11,000,000 savages compared to a military alliance with French imperialism? We cannot allow utopian ideals to stand in the way of realistic defense of the Workers' Fatherland.

Meanwhile, as Selden, The Times London correspondent, remarked a few days ago, Ethiopia, in the face of the new complications, like Moses in the bullrushes, has been forgotten by all but God. In this manner has the offer

AN ALLY!

C.P. Supports Cardenas of Mexico; He Calls Troops Against Peasants

March 25.—President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico today ordered all provincial governors and military commanders to take steps against attempts of landworkers to occupy large estates. The president's order followed recent seizures of land, the most notable recent case being the occupation of an estate belonging to former president Calles, the workers seizing it announcing that they would make it into a Workers' Home. They were driven off by government soldiers.

In an interview in the Daily Worker of March 24 Hernan Laborde, secretary of the Communist party of Mexico, said:

"The position of the Communist Party of Mexico is to support the government of President Cardenas because it is a progressive, nationalistic government, because it is anti-reactionary and opposed to the penetration of imperialism, and because it is trying to support itself upon the mass of the people for the defense of the interests of the nation. This government, while fighting reaction and resisting the pressure of foreign capital, gives to the people and particularly to the proletariat and its party, the Communist Party, liberty of action necessary for the forwarding of the Mexican national revolution to its ultimate triumph, to the liberation of the country today dominated by foreign capital, to the liquidation of the hereditary, semi-feudal land-holdings—creating these conditions necessary for the transition from a nationalistic, democratic, anti-imperialist revolution to the proletarian revolution."

of sanctions served the cause of peace and the defense of the oppressed. Imperialism has made its sacrifices, but has not gone unrewarded. Great Britain would have preferred no trouble at all. However, since trouble could not be altogether avoided, Great Britain has been able to keep strings on Italy, and has laid the basis for a settlement within an international framework which will not be too threatening to imperial interests. Meanwhile British troops have cleared up awkward resulting situations in India and Egypt (Litvinov somehow forgot to suggest sanctions against Great Britain for its treatment of the Egyptian students and the border tribes in India). France, by throwing first oil and then political monkey wrenches into the sanctions machinery, has managed to keep friendly with Italy while at the same time not breaking with Great Britain. If she has been having certain difficulties in Syria, we must observe that she has the mission of preserving peace within her own domains as well as in Ethiopia. Litvinov has kept in the good graces of his imperialist colleagues, built up sentiment against Germany, and secured the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Pact. If, in the affair, Soviet diplomacy has acted almost exclusively as the pawn first of British and then of French imperialism, we must remember that it is only Trotskyites and such-like counter-revolutionists who believe that the dictatorship should put its reliance on the international proletariat and the extension of the October revolution. The realists of the Kremlin know that the choice now is not between socialism and capitalism but between democratic imperialism and fascist imperialism—and that we had better take the former and like it, even if it leads next month to the latter.

Imperialism has found the policy of sanctions useful enough for one stage of its deepening game. And in that stage, the policy of sanctions has served imperialism sufficiently well. It is, after all, only the position of the international working class that the policy of sanctions has injured. And this would hardly be of central concern to the imperialists themselves or to their social-patriotic agents, who must more rapidly make ready to turn the workers over to the war machine.

But the stage in which sanctions have been useful is dropping behind. The re-militarization of the Rhineland calls for new answers to new problems. The naked bones of the entire League structure stand more rudely revealed by the gesture of the Nazi troops. France complains over England's treachery in refusing sanctions now when she forced France into them against Italy. Litvinov indignantly protests the violation of the sanctity of treaties (alas, the morals of imperialism!). And Great Britain desperately maneuvers to maintain the precarious balance a little longer, before the clouds burst wide open.

Now let us recapitulate. Last summer we quoted Thorez, leader of the French C. P., as saying that "it would be monstrous to consider

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Why the Czechs Had to Eat Crow

By HENRY THURMAN

In preparation for the Seventh Party Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, official Stalinism in the person of Klement Gottwald demonstratively expels the anti-Leninist deviation of the Czech party out the front door, only to immediately smuggle it in again through the rear entrance.

This public absolution is necessitated by "the fact that it (the C.P.) neglected the concrete fight for the concrete rights and demands of the people against the present regime brought them, in the eyes of the masses, dangerously near to this regime." (Rude Pravo, Feb. 13.)

The foreign policy of the Stalin bureaucracy cannot be carried out in the grossly social-chauvinist manner that has distinguished it for the past eight months, because these methods do not sufficiently hoodwink the Czech masses, and enable the party to carry out its betrayal under a safely red-dipped cloak. This is what Gottwald's reprimand tells the Czechoslovakian section.

He warns that "to approve the armament policy which is being carried on by the present government and even to call for increased armaments is perfectly incorrect and impermissible from the standpoint of the workers. Nevertheless this is what happened." To put it bluntly, what is not "perfectly incorrect and impermissible" from the standpoint of the party leadership (else there would have been no months of trial to test its effect) has proved to be too gross a betrayal in the eyes of the class-conscious workers who must be subtly brought into line and kept there! Social Patriotism with a Vengeance

The mentor quotes:
"No honest working man and woman in the Republic is today against the army and against armaments. The army deserves the best and we must arm! Let us all advance with weapons in hands against the fascists who threaten us. And we desire that there shall be as many of these weapons as possible, and that they should be the best!"

"The Minister of National Defense brought forward in the Defense Committee the program of material demands of the army administration. These demands are numerous, but they are necessary! Now if there were no profits which the big armament manufacturers pocket, then the army would have two guns instead of one which the patriotic Czechoslovakian armament factories deliver; instead of one aeroplane, two; instead of one machine-gun, two...."

"Everyone: the workers, the small traders, peasants, civil servants, officials must make sacrifices for the army. They will also sacrifice their lives in war. But they want to have the guarantee that nobody pockets hundreds of millions out of their hard sacrifices."

Gottwald comments on the above quotation:
"Nobody would believe, unless he saw it with his own eyes, that such a statement could appear in a Communist paper. Nevertheless that is what appeared in the 'Rude Pravo', central organ of the Party, on November 27, 1935. The writer of the above-quoted article is obviously an alien element, hostile to the proletariat and the Party. It is true that in other statements of the Party it did not come to such frightful distortions of the class principles of the Party. But the fact that the originator of such a monstrous statement was not ruthlessly driven out of the Party as an agent of the class enemy, immediately after its appearance, shows that there was no clear, consistent bolshevik attitude in the Party to the question of the army."

What Is Monstrous?
Now let us recapitulate. Last summer we quoted Thorez, leader of the French C. P., as saying that "it would be monstrous to consider

a side imperialist which included the country of socialism, the country of the working class." We insisted on the contrary that the formulation of Thorez itself was "monstrous". (New Militant, August 10, 1935) Now Gottwald states that a formulation of position akin to that of Thorez (assuming the non-imperialist character of a nation in war purely on the basis of its alliance with the Soviet Union, without regard to the nature of the government in control) is—monstrous. But as we shall see a little further on, Gottwald is worried not about the monstrous content, but about the monstrous form in which the betrayal is put before those who must be hoodwinked. What is needed are not "frightful distortions" but distortions that can be put across in an acceptable form.

Gottwald's Quick-Change Act

Having accomplished the public renunciation, the mentor now pulls a quick-change act, and ushers in the culprit disguised in carefully retouched falseface.

"No, the toiling people can only trust the army to a government which is a real people's government. Is, however, the present coalition government in Czechoslovakia such a government? By no means, everybody knows this."

"Everybody knows"; "in the eyes of the masses"; "from the standpoint of the workers"; "nobody would believe"; "obviously an alien element"; "great confusion in the minds of many workers": these phrases are the touchstones of the present revision of the party's attitude, and show clearly to those who are alert how the Stalinist Party turns its eyes to the masses—to mislead them better!

And the proposal for supporting the building of the army under a "real people's government", mind you, is made after the forced admission that "the bourgeois army remains a bourgeois army and an instrument of suppression wielded by the bourgeoisie even when the government is a non-fascist bourgeois government, which may even include Socialists, and that therefore the working class cannot grant the means for armaments to such a government if it is not willing to betray its own class interests." (Rude Pravo, Feb. 13; Daily Worker, March 6.)

Why the New Shift?

Two factors probably explain the new shift in the party line. The first is, of course, the discontent of an unstated number of rank-and-file Czech workers, as indicated in Gottwald's text. The second is a sinister undercurrent that Moscow must have sensed even prior to Hitler's occupation of the Rhine region, the pressure being put upon France to loosen its ties and the ties of its tool, Czechoslovakia, with the Soviet Union, and move closer to the united front with Germany and her friends, against the Soviet Union. The Stalin regime, clutching after the will-o-the-wisp of status quo, fears the possibility of fascism in the nations at present allied with it, and evidently has found a too subservient policy toward them by the sections of the Comintern a guarantee that is alarmingly insufficient. As Gottwald points out, the Czechoslovakian government "did nothing whatever against the fascists and to extend democratic rights, on the contrary, it bargained and is bargaining with the fascist reaction; it went and is going still further to the right. And we have expressed confidence in this government by voting for these two budget items (Foreign Ministry and Social Welfare). What else is that but to let the one's hands, to abandon an independent policy and to confuse the masses?"

The policy of the "lesser evil", which is still continued under a different form in the new "change" of line, may well prove disastrous for the future of socialism, even "or" "socialism in one country."

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