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Japanese Invasion Threatens Soviet Union

Massed Goodyear Pickets Throw Back Police Army for First Major Victory in Rubber Strike

Support The Rubber Workers!

By FARRELL DOBBS
Secretary-Treasurer of Local 574

A VISIT to the front lines in the struggle for industrial unionism at the Goodyear Rubber plant in Akron lends new courage to union men who have struggled hard for the great day that is now dawning.

The almost unbelievable resourcefulness and the splendid courage and determination shown by the rubber workers proved beyond the question of a doubt that the strength of a giant lies smouldering within the ranks of the American workers in the basic industries.

The solid ranks of industrial unionism are fanning this spirit into a flame. We do not have to witness the demoralizing sight of the members of one craft union walking through the picket lines of another striking craft union to go to work. There is no question of craft distinction in this strike. If you work in the Goodyear plant, you are either in the rubber workers' union and out on the picket line or you are a scab.

On Tuesday morning, February 25, the embattled workers, picketing in violation of a court injunction, calculated to destroy their strength, faced down an army of police and special deputies sent out to enforce the injunction. The picket line holds solid with a picket post at each of the 168 gates of the plant. Around the eleven mile fighting front the slogan is: "Nobody goes in the plant." Those hard bitten cynics who say that the American worker will not fight shall have to change their minds after this forceful demonstration.

The suddenness with which the strike came made it difficult for the strikers to prepare adequate facilities for its conduct. These deficiencies are being rapidly overcome. The present headquarters is not adequate for an assembly hall for the strike but will serve very well as a commissary and headquarters for the strike leaders and field captains. A second and larger assembly place is needed for large gatherings of the strikers and, of equal importance, so that the workers from the other rubber plants and all other Akron workers may come to the proper place to get correct information regarding the strike and to get instructions as to how they may best assist.

On this question there is a second important factor. The management of the company has complete access to the radio, to the advertising columns of the daily papers and to a very large extent to the news and editorial columns also. It is vital that this propaganda of the bosses be counteracted by the strikers. The most effective weapon for this purpose is the daily strike bulletin issued at a regular hour and widely distributed. Once started, the strike bulletin easily becomes self-supporting. The experiences of the Minneapolis truck drivers, the Toledo Chevrolet strike, the St. Louis Gas House strike, and many others stand as living proof of the value of a daily strike bulletin. The rubber workers will find such a paper eagerly received and closely read by all workers.

Outside the city of Akron it is difficult to get accurate information about the strike because of the manner in which the daily papers are suppressing it. This is done because the bosses in steel, auto, and the other big industries do not want the workers to know of this powerful demonstration of industrial union strength. But the rubber workers do want the other workers to know about their fight and they want their support. The strike committee should send systematic press releases to all papers in the country. The daily strike bulletin is the best instrument with which to do this.

It is heartening to observe that the Committee for Industrial Organization is sending money and men to aid the Akron strikers. This strike is of vital interest to the industrial union movement and the most practical work that the C.I.O. can do is to give the strike unstinted support. The Akron strike must be won. The craft unionists must not be permitted to sell the strike out in an effort to stifle the rising sentiment for industrial unionism. There is a grave danger of such a thing happening. Especially when Secretary Perkins' "ace mediator," McGrady, is reported to have been ordered to Akron to effect a "settlement." A very large part of the responsibility in this strike rests with the C.I.O. The workers are furnishing the fighting forces. They must have leadership, a leadership conscious of the full import of the forces moving today in the national struggle and capable of guiding the strikers through the treacherous "settlement" proposals which have wrecked every attempt at unionizing the big industries.

The Goodyear strike in Akron must be won. All labor must rally to support the fight. The workers in every city can aid by opening an intensive organization drive in all Goodyear agencies.

Carry the fight to Goodyear! Get the strike news from the rubber workers, not from the bosses' papers! Fight to build industrial unionism!

Nations Jockey for War at London Naval Conference

The London Naval Conference is still dragging along. It has lost the participation of Japan and is about to lose the participation of Italy. It has degenerated into an open game for allies and positions in the next war—not that Naval Conferences are ever anything else, but the London Conference is the last of the series and comes nearer the actual outbreak of the war, when the nations are less concerned about concealing their true purposes. In the earlier conferences they made some pretense of peaceful intentions, now they practically admit that they are jockeying for war.

Liberals represent Naval Conferences as struggles between Good and Evil, struggles between peace and war. Actually they are nothing more than the sum of the warring forces involved. Japan has withdrawn from the London Conference because she couldn't get the United States and Great Britain to agree that she needed a bigger navy to protect her interests in the Pacific and in China from Great Britain and the United States. Italy is reported about to withdraw because she can't get Britain and France to agree to withdraw sanctions against Italy. (Continued on Page 2)

Union Threatens General Strike if Militia is Called Out

By CARL OSHEA
AKRON, Feb. 25.—The Goodyear rubber strike is more firmly entrenched tonight than ever, with 168 picket posts being maintained on an eleven-mile front. This morning the 15,000 strikers had a showdown with the forces of "law and order," which resulted in a smashing victory for the union. Early in the day word reached strike headquarters that Sheriff Flower Police Chief Boss, with 300 deputies and 130 cops, were going to charge the picket line at ten A.M., and attempt to break the back of the strike with violence.

As the zero hour neared, hundreds of pickets packed into the strike headquarters across from the struck plant. Thousand more took the streets in front of the picket posts. Each picket was well provided with "fire wood." Up the hill marched the forces of law and order. Grimly the strikers waited. The cops in the lead, the strike-breakers marched closer and closer to the massed rubber workers. The line refused to budge. Finally Boss halted his men a few feet from the taut strikers. Nervously, he looked the situation over. He was out-stared. Breaking down, he cried out, "I've never led anyone into a goddam slaughter-house, and I'm not going to now." The cops broke ranks, the deputies marched down the hill again, to the accompaniment of tremendous jeers and boo's from the massed pickets. One of the deputies suddenly clutched his stomach and became violently ill. The strikers, with their magnificent demonstration of militancy and determination, had carried the day.

Inside the strike headquarters this evening was a milling crowd of proud strikers enthusiastically discussing the way in which they had called the bluff of the hard-boiled Sheriff Jim Flower, and his strike-breaker. Each picket post had its allotment of ten strikers, huddled around a stove inside a wind-break. Every two hours, cars came around delivering hot lunches.

Women Very Active
One of the best weapons that the (Continued on Page 2)

Perspectives of the Akron Strike

By JACK WILSON

It is highly significant that precisely in that factory—Goodyear—where the company union is 17 years old and the rubber workers' bonafide union admittedly the weakest, that the strike in the rubber industry should begin! This happened because Goodyear workers were given absolutely no concessions but driven downward constantly, thus storing up an explosive force which blew up when the last sitdown provided the spark. Other rubber workers' unions have obtained minor concessions and thus basic antagonisms were dulled.

Sit Down Hits Chem. Plant in Akron Boro

500 Barberton Workers Force Managers to Vacate

BARBERTON, Ohio, Feb. 22.—Company officials of the Columbia Chemical Co. in Barberton, a large industrial suburb of Akron, Ohio, finally moved to negotiate a strike which started last Wednesday when 500 workers seized control of the factory and forced the management to vacate. The men are firmly entrenched and refuse to leave the plant until the company, which is owned by the Mellon interests, grants a 4 cents hourly increase in wages and full pay for every day of the strike.

The "it-down" strike resulted when the management refused to meet the demand of 50 pipettists for a 4 cents hourly wage raise. The union took up the fight under the militant leadership of A. E. Lee, union president, and called for a general wage increase. Wednesday, 500 men entered the plant, stopped the machinery, and despite the threats and pleading of the company have remained in the factory since.

Meanwhile, 400 other workers are (Continued on Page 2)

War Looms as Anti-Soviet Gang Seizes Nippon Gov't

Military Clique Wreaks Vengeance on "Moderates" in First Step to Hasten Drive of Imperial Conquest and Assault on Soviet Union

By LO SEN

Establishment of an open military dictatorship in Japan as a result of Wednesday's putsch in Tokyo, will bring war against the Soviet Union on to the immediate order of the day for Japanese imperialism.

The drive of Japanese-controlled Manchu-Mongol forces across Chahar and Suiyuan for the conquest of Inner Mongolia will be accelerated. Border conflicts along the Manchukuo-Outer Mongolian frontier will be carried to the point of major hostilities.

Along that vast border between two worlds, from Vladivostok to Manchui, the long-heralded war of predatory imperialism against the Workers' State will finally blaze.

This is the immediate threat, the immediate meaning of Wednesday's bloody events in Tokyo. This is the immediate alarm for the working class of the entire world.

Green Urged To Organize Steel Plants

CIO Challenges Old Guard in Answer to Threat of Mass Expulsion

By ARNE SWABECK

Some new verbal broadsides have been fired in the ever sharpening conflict between the A. F. of L. craft union bureaucrats and the official leaders of the Committee for Industrial Organization. At the same time the repercussions from this conflict begin to penetrate deeply into the broadest layers of the movement.

In the name of the Executive Council, Wm. Green has issued a warning to all local and federal union, to all State Federations and city central labor bodies, that it will not tolerate any organization that "gives allegiance, assistance or support to the Committee for Industrial Organization, or any other organization which attempt to usurp the functions of the American Federation of Labor." While no exact penalties were specified, it is reported that the intention is to revoke the charters of any organization found guilty of giving such allegiance.

In reply the C. I. O. once again defied the Executive Council and indicated that it would continue its work. Not only did the C. I. O. refuse to dissolve but it challenged the A. F. of L. to undertake a serious campaign of organization in the steel industry, to which the committee would contribute a half million dollars and the services of trained organizers. Two conditions, however, the C. I. O. considered necessary for success: Firstly, that the "organization must be along industrial lines," and, secondly, "the leadership of the campaign must be such as to inspire confidence of success."

With these developments it becomes increasingly clear that fundamentally the conflict in the A. F. of L. centers around the issue of organization of the millions of unorganized workers, and especially those employed in the basic industries.

Steel Industry Pivotal

Naturally the steel industry occupies in this respect a pivotal position. To the trade unionists, real security of organization is unthinkable without the inclusion of the steel industry. The full extension of the powers of union organization is well nigh impossible with the steel industry remaining unorganized. Moreover, the steel barons, fighting to preserve their feudal power, have for a long time been the backbone of the employers' resistance to every working class advance. An aggressive campaign for the organization of the steel industry is therefore becoming an ever more pressing necessity.

Thus the threat made by the craft union bureaucrats of disciplinary measures to be taken against the unions that may give allegiance and support to the C. I. O., has been met by a challenge to organize the unorganized. There need be little doubt which is the most effective. And this applies not only with (Continued on Page 4)

Early Wednesday morning a band of officers of the First Japanese Division, about to entrain for duty in Manchukuo, murdered Premier Okada, Finance Minister Takahashi, Lord Privy Seal Viscount Saito and Gen. Watanabe, a high-ranking military officer.

Censorship Clamps Down

Japan was immediately blanketed in one of the most complete censorship ever established in the Far East. For four hours the world waited to learn what had happened in Tokyo while hints of the morning's work seeped out through Manchukuo and along diplomatic circuits from Singapore to London.

Finally came a laconic War Office Communiqué, confirming the assassinations.

Fumio Goto, Minister of the Interior under Okada, was ordered to take over the premiership. He did. His first announcement was that "all was absolutely calm." A few hours later he resigned. Martial law was clamped down on Tokyo. Lieut. Gen. Kashi, commander of the capital garrison, was appointed Military Governor of the city with full authority to administer rigid martial law. The full First and Second Fleets were ordered to Tokyo and Osaka Bays and bluejackets were landed. Tokyo was completely in the hands of the Supreme War Council.

Military Wants No "Moderates"

At present writing, 24 hours after the events, Feb. 26 it was still not clear whether Japan would pass from a semi-military to an open, undisguised, untrammelled dictatorship of those representatives of Japanese finance capital who believe that the present moment is the moment to strike on continental Asia for the further glory of the Empire. Whatever government emerges from the coup, it is clear that its orientation will be in the direction of a hardening intransigence and surrender to the impatience of the military arm of Japanese imperialism.

Wednesday's coup was an answer to two tendencies which have recently shown signs of making headway in Japan.

One was the clear and unmistakable turn of the masses away from the propaganda in favor of the imperialist drive of expansion on the continent, as shown in the elections in which the more "moderate" Minseitō was given preference over the more "aggressive" Seiyūkai party and in which, what was more important, the Japanese Social Masses (Socialist) Party polled 629,000 votes, an increase of 500 per cent and an unmistakable sign of awakening in the ranks of the Japanese workers.

Assassinated Ministers too "Slow"

The second tendency was represented to a certain extent by the government heads who were assassinated, Okada, Takahashi and Saito. This was the tendency to let the program of imperialist expansion proceed at a somewhat slower, less costly tempo, to consolidate the gains thus far won in China (conquest of Manchukuo and establishment of a virtual protectorate over North China) by getting the Nanking Government's signature on a treaty, and even to postpone for the time being the attack on the Soviet Union, at least until the European situation boiled over and created a European diversion which would serve Japanese imperialist purposes, as in 1914.

In pursuance of this policy, the Okada government had been pursuing a policy of exerting strong diplomatic pressure upon Nanking accompanied only by military demonstrations along the Manchukuo (Continued on Page 2)

Terror Rages as Arkansas Bosses Battle with Starving Sharecroppers

Death by Hunger Stalks On Pres. Roosevelt's Poor Farms

By James Evans.

EARLE, Ark.—The share croppers of Crittenden county are going through hell. This whole area is a picture of starvation, eviction, and terror. Every militant cropper lives under a perpetual sentence of death. Any day, he may be shot from ambush by one of the planter despots. Any night, some mob of landlords may drag him from his hovel and string him up to the nearest tree.

Two meetings were raided recently by mobs composed of planters, landlord, deputies, and riding bosses. Howard Kester, Secretary of the Central Defense Committee of the Union, and H.I. Goldberger, lawyer retained by the organization, were dragged from the platform of a church, beaten and threatened with lynching. The five hundred cropper attending the meeting were attacked with clubs and axe handles. One of the deputies, an extremely drunken Southern gentleman, threatened to bring machine guns if the cropper dared to hold another meeting.

The "Law" Breaks into a Meeting
At a second meeting held in St. Peter's Church, Constable Everett Hood and a posse entered with shotguns manifesting the evident intent of firing into the gathering. Hood was at first disarmed by Doorkeeper Jim Ball. The doorkeeper was arrested on charges of assault with intent to kill. After Ball had been jailed, the posse

scoured the road, firing on the croppers who were going home from the meeting. Two unarmed men were shot in the back by these hired guerrillas.

Simon Bas, leader of the Earle local, and three others were arrested the next day while returning from a conference with union officials in Memphis. The drumhead court at Marion refused them legal counsel and hurriedly sentenced them to one year each on charges of "rioting." This case is now under appeal, and widespread mass support is needed to prevent the broadening of these fighters against Southern feudalism. District Attorney Denver Dudley, alert to prosecute croppers and the Union, naturally refuses to take any action against the official banditti of this section.

Even middle-class humanitarians are being threatened if they try to assist the croppers. A liberal minister attempted to find temporary shelters for the evicted croppers. The planter deacons held a special meeting and forbade him from "engaging in further subversive activities." The minister complied; a revolutionist would have defied.

Meanwhile, the planters have decreed that all Union members must go. People are living in tents on cold dirt floors, in abandoned railway stations, and in church buildings belonging to share-cropper congregations. Some families are huddling nine to a room in cabins of croppers who have not yet been evicted. Very often, these dispossessed rural laborers must live entirely on hoe-cake and green beans.

A number of families have been settled on the Anderson Rehabilitation Farm, a project that was advertised to cure the ailments of the Earle County croppers. Contrary to the promises of the case workers, the remedy seem about to kill the victims. One six-year old child starved to death on this Roosevelt poor farm, last year. The tenant remaining hid themselves up against the same old proposition: their cotton taken to pay for "furnish"—with Mr. President substituted for Mr. Planter. Floyd Sharp, Arkansas State Administrator, lyngly maintains that all evicted families are being supplied with food and shelter.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is very confused politically, still relying to a great extent on "law and order" although the croppers have been disfranchised by the sovereign state of Arkansas. Nevertheless, it's a growing challenge to the whole plantation system, perhaps the greatest expression of mass upheaval in the South since the pre-war slave rebellion. Highly significant is the formation of defense squads for exclusively Negro local by white croppers.

The dying agricultural system of the South must be overthrown, and its beneficiaries expropriated by the tenants themselves. This is a task for the future. Today, the Union must be supported by protest actions and by donation: if it is to continue its work. Funds are urgently needed and should be sent to the Union at Box 5215, Memphis, Tennessee.

MASS PICKET LINE WINS FIRST STRIKE CONFLICT

Throw Back Police Army In First Major Skirmish

(Continued from Page 1)

strikers have is the energy and high spirits of the women, who have turned out in great numbers to back up the strike. Fifty girls are on duty at the strike headquarters: 24 hours a day. Every two hours, a thousand sandwiches are made and delivered to the picket posts. The women, organized in the Union Buyers Club, have proven tremendously effective in neutralizing the prejudices of the local merchants and small business men. An illustration of the spirit of the wives and daughters of the strikers is shown by an incident that occurred the second day of the strike. The weather was way below zero, and some of the strikers were rather loath to venture out into the cold to take care of the picket posts. The women caucused, and finally delivered the following message: You men cook! We'll take care of the picketing! With such a spirit, from that moment on there was never any trouble in getting dozens of candidates for each picket post.

Besides the picket posts that are maintained by the Goodyear local, 22 cruiser cars are constantly on the job. Apparently the strike committee has borrowed a lot of ideas that were developed by the Minneapolis truck drivers in their strikes of 1934.

There is the strike headquarters, with hospital, commissary, loud-speaker, etc. There are the cruiser cars. There is everything in Akron today but a printed daily strike bulletin, and there is a possibility that even this will be established in the near future.

Goodyear President Broadcasts

Tonight at 10:40, the president of the Goodyear Company, Litchfield, spoke over the radio, presenting the usual boss line: Our company union has been in existence for seventeen years—eventeen years of peace and harmony. . . . This is not a question of wages and hours, but a question of whether the government is to be transferred into the middle of a lawless mob. . . . We must avoid anarchy or chaos, etc., etc., in the usual boss manner. Full-page ads appear in all the Akron papers, containing the usual run-of-the-mill slanders which bosses always use against any group of workers who have the courage and determination to organize and fight in defense of their rights. Incidentally, Litchfield announced he was broadcasting from inside the plant, "because if I get out, I don't know when I can get in again." This will give some idea of the rigorous discipline which the strikers are maintaining around the struck plants. No one enters or leaves the plant without the permission of the union. Up until a few days ago, the union was permitting the office workers to enter the plant. But four ink production workers were caught trying to sneak through, and since then no one gets by the picket line.

Real Industrial Union

Needless to say, the rubber workers have taken in almost all the craftsmen who work around the plant—carpenters, electrician, painters, sheet metal workers, pipe fitters. These men saw that their place was with the mass of organized rubber workers, asked for admission into the union, and were readily taken in. Even the machinists have cracked under the stress of the strike, and a large section has already entered the Goodyear local.

Lewis Forces Strong

John L. Lewis is continuing to throw more and more strength behind the strike, as the tremendous importance of the situation becomes apparent. Last night Brophy was in town and spoke at strike headquarters, promising full support from the Committee for Industrial Organization. Adolf Germer will remain in town until the strike is over. Tomorrow crowds of organizer from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers and the United Mine Workers are scheduled to arrive. Should the strike end in a smashing victory for the union—and there is every evidence that it will—the star of industrial unionism will be on the heights. Trade unionists from all over the country are dropping into Akron and carefully observing what is going on. In case of an impressive victory in Akron, industrial unionism will loom large before the eyes of mass production workers throughout America. The situation will unquestionably have an immediate effect in the auto industry, in the steel mills and the packing house industry.

Though the company is maintaining its position of refusing to deal with the union or to open negotiations over grievances until the strike is called off, it is difficult to see how they can smash the strike. They have appealed for the national guards, but the understand quite clearly that martial law would mean a general strike in the whole

eastern section of Ohio. The Goodrich and Firestone workers are ready to come out at the drop of a hat. Even now, the brothers from these other two plants spend all their free time on picket duty. The Central Labor Union in Akron has sent a delegation to Governor Davey warning him not to try to bring in the militia.

A victory in Akron today will mean the rubber industry has been conquered at last by the union movement, and will be the signal for tremendous campaigns in the other mass production industries throughout the country.

Every Aid Promised by Akron C.L.U. Committee

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 22.—A general strike movement was rapidly gaining impetus here to support 4,000 Goodyear strikers against armed vigilantes and hundreds of deputies who have announced their intention of using a sweeping injunction as an excuse to smash the picket line.

A progressive-dominated committee of fifteen was chosen by 300 cheering delegates at the Central Labor Union special meeting last night with full power to do "anything they advise to help the Goodyear strikers."

The Goodyear strikers have adopted the slogan, "Hold that picket line injunction or no injunction," issued by progressives and they prepared to resist any of the attacks which are being openly prepared by Sheriff Flower, a National Guard captain.

Already national guard observers have been sent in and troops have been told to be ready for immediate call.

Company union meetings have been packed by Goodrich and Firestone foremen, businessmen, supervisors, and other rats, crying for "a right to go into the factory."

Nearly 5,000 Goodyear workers refused to enter the plants even though promised protection and efforts are being made to swing their sympathy into active support.

Union Officials Timid

John Houe, union president, declared in the injunction hearing that the strike was an "outlaw" strike, thus giving an excuse for the granting of the injunction and reducing sympathy to the union. Pressure from progressives, backed by the rank and file, has forced Houe to change his stand a little.

The union officials were afraid to come out openly for demands as they hoped for quick settlement and want the men to go back to work as they fear facing a real strike.

But progressive pressure became too strong and the union has announced it wants to abolish the flying squad, a company scab organization, the company union known as the Goodyear Industrial Assembly, and no lay-offs.

Signs urging the 30 hour week, seniority rights and return of wages out recently were made by picket captain and the union officials will have to ask for these demands too.

Strike Events To-Date

Monday night the Plant Two workers decided to go on strike immediately as the company refused to rescind lay-offs. A picket line of 500 was formed despite bitter weather and a blizzard.

Tuesday the plant was shut tight

by the pickets and many employees coming to work joined the strike movement.

A sitdown in key departments in Plant One was begun early Tuesday in sympathy with the strikers. A committee was sent to the union asking if the picket line should be formed.

Two police attempts to smash through the Plant Two line failed Tuesday as more workers joined with the strikers instead of trying to get in the factory.

By Wednesday morning, sixty picket lines were marching in chain fashion around entrances and Plant One and Three were closed by the 'sitdowns' who came out on strike.

Militancy and determination to win despite all obstacles were marked features of the picket talk as the temperature dropped to nine below zero for two nights.

The union officials wouldn't sanction a strike bulletin for Wednesday morning although hundreds of Goodyear workers were coming to the picket lines instead of going to work. No effort was made to win the non-strikers over primarily because the union officials feared a strike.

Combating Company Maneuvers

Valuable days were lost by not giving out statements to non-strikers and to the papers which kept howling for "reasons why the men are striking." Unfavorable comment began to be heard on the streets but the mistake was corrected when key workers adopted completely a correct program which had been hammered home by militants.

Pickets took charge of traffic, closed liquor stores, and generally ran East Akron under direction of a special strike committee, all week.

A company trick of sneaking in scabs instead of office workers in the payroll department while workers were waiting for checks brought a complete stoppage of every movement in and out of the factory. Even the company president, P. W. Litchfield was kept within the plant along with 500 flying squad scabs who have tear gas bombs, clubs, gas masks, etc. to use tomorrow against the workers.

The First Set-back

First break in the picket line came Friday night when a court order was given during the injunction hearing that coal be allowed hauled in by train. Strike captains had trouble re-training pickets from stopping the train as the company tried to provoke trouble so that the injunction would be given.

However, the company received the injunction easily as House and Zeiger flopped terribly in the court fight as progressives had said they would.

The situation began to look dark for the strikers but the Central Labor union meeting was called just in time to rally the disheartened workers and put new life blood in the pickets.

CLU Gives Support

The resolution adopted unanimously by the CLU delegates bristled in defiance of any injunction proceedings and called on all organized and unorganized workers to support the strike on the picket line and financially.

Other rubberworkers locals officers met after the CLU meeting and planned support for Goodyear strikers. Already workers at Goodrich demanded that they be called out on strike.

Exactly as Goodyear's strike was a spontaneous movement of will all organized workers walk out even though certain local union leaders will beg them with crocodile tears in their eyes not to.

have won the rank and file to that view, naturally for the average picket has been two miles ahead of the leader on every issue that arose. The union leaders hoped and prayed and declared time and again that the court couldn't grant an injunction because this is a peaceful strike!

All Akron Will Reply

Since easily 2,000 rubber workers from other plants have aided the strikers on the picket line, spreading the walkout throughout the entire industry will come as soon as the sheriff tries to slug his way into the factory no matter how much any union leaders plead to the contrary. In fact, Monday will probably see half of Akron's rubber workers out at the picket lines ready to battle the sheriff, so strong is the sentiment for the strikers.

Quite obviously this strike is a make or break proposition for unionism in the tire industry. The companies have fully realized this. The rank and file has forced the union leaders to see it. Since this is a mass production industry capable and demanding of industrial unionism, both William Green and John Lewis are aware of the issues involved. So the center of the craft vs. industrial union fight within the A. F. of L. has been shifted to Akron.

Green took honors in round one by telephoning the international

union officers of the United Rubber Workers of America that he would support them. Lewis has sent Adolph Germer and Leo Kryzyski, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to the strike scene.

Already valuable lessons have been learned by the workers which will increase the power of the working class because of this struggle. After 21 years of complete terrorization by the companies, smashing of all attempts at strikes and unionism, the companies have been foiled in their attempts to curb the present walkout. The workers are learning their own strength. "No matter what Goodyear does, they can't build tires without us," the firebuilder says, determined he won't go back until a good settlement is made and realizing the company can't run without workers. That workers are the basis of all production. That profit is stolen from workers.

Throughout the preliminaries to these negotiations the Japanese military openly announced that they preferred the direct method of open conquest. They continued to doubt the "sincerity" of Nanking's groveling capitulation and continued to rattle the sabre in the North. This only helped swing Nanking into line.

Planned to Test U.S.S.R.

Similarly with regard to the U.S.S.R. The multiplication of border incidents along the Soviet and Outer Mongolian frontiers in recent weeks represented direct provocation by Japanese imperialism, in an attempt to "feel out" Moscow's temper, especially along the Outer Mongolian frontier, which Japan's militarists wanted to test as a potential battleground to discover the exact extent to which the Soviet Union would regard Mongolia's fight as its own.

This was dangerous "testing" which was compensated for diplomatically by an agreement to set up a "border commission" to adjudicate the frontier disputes.

The common theory about "disagreements" between the "military clique" and the civilian tools of Japanese imperialism must always be qualified by the realization that the two arms supplement each other far more than they conflict. The Japanese military arm is driving forward to serve the interests of Japanese imperialism. The civilian arm wants to keep that drive within certain limits dictated by self-interest and factors over which the Japanese bourgeoisie alone has no direct control.

Aid to Japanese Diplomacy

Seemingly militarist "truculence" has proved very useful to Japanese diplomacy. The appearance of helplessness before uncontrollable military forces has enabled Japanese diplomacy to prevent itself from being laced into the straitjacket of some imperialist horse trade around conference tables. It has enabled it to maintain a striking independence in Japan's own imperialist interests, although that has not been an unmixed blessing for Japanese imperialism.

How regretful the Tokyo Foreign Office was when the Japanese army marched into Manchuria! With how straight a face could ambassadors visit the chancelleries of Europe and America and deny the march of conquest during the very hours that it roared across the plains of Manchuria!

No, let no one fall for the notion that those naughty soldier boys are doing anything that Mitsui and Mitsubishi & Co. (the Morgan and Wendels of Japan) do not want them to be doing!

"Conflict" of Master and Servant

Only in one sense can "conflict" be said to exist. It is the conflict between a master and an arrogant servant, a servant moreover who has known how to reach out to the pea nut to establish a Fascist base of his own. Japan's drive of imperialist conquest in China, its march toward war on the Soviet Union represents the basic necessity of Japanese imperialism, crowded within the geographically and economically limited confines of a tiny archipelago. To carry out that drive Japanese imperialism has created a mighty military machine to which it must extend power and with whom it must share no small part of the spoils.

However, it wants to conduct the drive at a tempo and a rate of expenditure commensurate with its possibilities and seeks to keep its unwilling instrument within those limits. That is the role Takahashi has played. He has opposed not the huge appropriations for the drive but the excess which could be pared

off and make the burden a little lighter. For this he earned the hatred of the swashbucklers.

The Price of the Hireling

But the Japanese bourgeoisie cannot avoid paying the price of its hireling. Just as the French bourgeoisie had to pay its Napoleon III, like the Chinese bourgeoisie has to pay Chiang Kai-shek, the German its Hitler, and so on down the line, the Japanese bourgeoisie may be finding itself compelled tomorrow to pay its Araki, its Hayashi or its Kawashima or whatever general emerges to take the helm.

Nor has this military machine failed to reach out for its own base. Not a small part of War Office propaganda has been directed "against" big capital on behalf of the horribly impoverished Japanese peasantry. This was in part propaganda designed to knit the ranks, composed of peasant youth, largely, to the High Command. But it was also consciously in part the development of an independent weapon which the High Command could hold over the heads of the money bags. The army has posed as the champion of moral righteousness as against the notorious corruption of Japanese politician. It has even raised the

banner of "social justice." And it has allocated to itself the chief defense of the divinity of the Emperor.

In this lie the bases of a Japanese military-Fascist dictatorship of a type which is likely to emerge when Japanese imperialism enters its final life and death struggle for its future.

Path Is Not Smooth

But the path of Japanese imperialism, whether in khaki or in mufti, has not been entirely smooth, even during these years of imperialist victory. In Japan itself the drain of the war cost has reduced the proletariat and peasantry to the barest levels of existence. They are paying not only for the war being waged on the continent with bullets and bomb but for the war being waged on all world markets by Japanese products cheapened through sweated labor. In the army itself wide cracks have appeared in the imposing facade of rigid, indoctrinated discipline. There have been mutinies hushed by censorship ever since the beginning of the Manchurian campaign. A thick stratum of the Japanese petty bourgeoisie has felt the sharp pinch. Nothing demonstrated this more definitely, even though in disguised form, than

the recent election turn to "modernism."

On Guard!

All this provides the basis for a new intervention of the Japanese masses in the determination of their own destiny. The war policy of Japanese imperialism can dig its own grave. War, especially war against the Soviet Union, can and will accelerate the development of revolutionary forces deep within the Japanese mass. Solid with a world proletariat defending the Soviet Union by taking up the struggle against imperialism on a world scale (not supporting the capitalist regimes of the Soviet Union's temporary bourgeois allies!), the Japanese proletariat can step into the van of that struggle and help swing it to victory.

Let us be on our guard! American imperialism will greedily lap up the fruits of a Soviet-Japanese conflict which it will turn to the advantage of its own aims in the Pacific. When the inevitable conflict finally comes, as now, our task will be to grid for battle against American imperialism. We will defend the Soviet Union by fighting its and our enemy in our own country.

Japanese Intervention Threatens Soviet Union

(Continued from Page 1)

North China border. This pressure was bearing fruits. Chiang Kai-shek openly announced his readiness to make his deal with Japanese imperialism. The very day of the Tokyo coup, Hachiro Arita, the new Japanese ambassador to China, arrived in Shanghai enroute to Nanking to open formal negotiations.

Throughout the preliminaries to these negotiations the Japanese military openly announced that they preferred the direct method of open conquest. They continued to doubt the "sincerity" of Nanking's groveling capitulation and continued to rattle the sabre in the North. This only helped swing Nanking into line.

Planned to Test U.S.S.R.

Similarly with regard to the U.S.S.R. The multiplication of border incidents along the Soviet and Outer Mongolian frontiers in recent weeks represented direct provocation by Japanese imperialism, in an attempt to "feel out" Moscow's temper, especially along the Outer Mongolian frontier, which Japan's militarists wanted to test as a potential battleground to discover the exact extent to which the Soviet Union would regard Mongolia's fight as its own.

This was dangerous "testing" which was compensated for diplomatically by an agreement to set up a "border commission" to adjudicate the frontier disputes.

The common theory about "disagreements" between the "military clique" and the civilian tools of Japanese imperialism must always be qualified by the realization that the two arms supplement each other far more than they conflict. The Japanese military arm is driving forward to serve the interests of Japanese imperialism. The civilian arm wants to keep that drive within certain limits dictated by self-interest and factors over which the Japanese bourgeoisie alone has no direct control.

Aid to Japanese Diplomacy

Seemingly militarist "truculence" has proved very useful to Japanese diplomacy. The appearance of helplessness before uncontrollable military forces has enabled Japanese diplomacy to prevent itself from being laced into the straitjacket of some imperialist horse trade around conference tables. It has enabled it to maintain a striking independence in Japan's own imperialist interests, although that has not been an unmixed blessing for Japanese imperialism.

How regretful the Tokyo Foreign Office was when the Japanese army marched into Manchuria! With how straight a face could ambassadors visit the chancelleries of Europe and America and deny the march of conquest during the very hours that it roared across the plains of Manchuria!

No, let no one fall for the notion that those naughty soldier boys are doing anything that Mitsui and Mitsubishi & Co. (the Morgan and Wendels of Japan) do not want them to be doing!

"Conflict" of Master and Servant

Only in one sense can "conflict" be said to exist. It is the conflict between a master and an arrogant servant, a servant moreover who has known how to reach out to the pea nut to establish a Fascist base of his own. Japan's drive of imperialist conquest in China, its march toward war on the Soviet Union represents the basic necessity of Japanese imperialism, crowded within the geographically and economically limited confines of a tiny archipelago. To carry out that drive Japanese imperialism has created a mighty military machine to which it must extend power and with whom it must share no small part of the spoils.

However, it wants to conduct the drive at a tempo and a rate of expenditure commensurate with its possibilities and seeks to keep its unwilling instrument within those limits. That is the role Takahashi has played. He has opposed not the huge appropriations for the drive but the excess which could be pared

off and make the burden a little lighter. For this he earned the hatred of the swashbucklers.

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London Naval Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

It may be wondered how the nations ever got together in a Naval Conference in the first place. In 1921 the Washington Conference actually saw an agreement between Great Britain, the United States, and Japan to limit their navies to a 5-5-3 ratio. But times were different then, and the nations had other immediate interests. To a certain extent they were satisfied for the moment with the conquests they had made in the World War at the expense of Germany and Austria. They were economically exhausted by the war and did not feel they could stand the expense of an immediate naval race. And they had to make some convincing gestures to pacify their war-weary population. All these interests combined to make them amenable to some real naval limitation.

Since that time the capitalist world has been steadily preparing for the next war, and every succeeding naval conference has registered the decline of the forces that made for the Washington Naval Agreement of 1921. The negotiation undertaken to modify and improve the Washington Agreement in 1927 broke off without any results. In 1930 another grand gesture at disarmament went up in smoke. And now the London Conference has lost Japan and is about to lose Italy, two of the signers of the original agreement.

Learning on Eve of New War

The London Conference meets on the eve of the next World War. The economic contradictions which prevented the nations from embarking on an active war policy in 1921 have to a certain extent been solved. Debts have been cancelled and tottering finances reinforced at the expense of the working class and the unemployed. The political situation is much more favorable to war since the decline and fall of the revolutionary movement under the misleadership of the Stalinists. Now the imperialists have the openly expressed assurance of both the Stalinist and Socialist leaders in the "democratic" countries that they will have the support of the organized working class for their next robber war. The nations vanquished in the last war are rearming and getting ready to fight for a share in the spoils.

The nations don't bother to hide their maneuvers for allies and position. Britain proposes an Anglo-

German-American pact. Such a pact evidently has absolutely nothing to do with the limitation of armaments. It is merely a proposal for a war alliance between Britain, the United States, and Germany.

Britain's Stake

Britain has two big iron: in the London Conference fire. They are trying to come to some agreement with the United States for concerted action against Japan for the protection of American and British interests in the Far East. At the same time the British diplomats are trying to drag Germany into the conference against the opposition of France. This is in line with their recent policy of playing Germany against France.

As for France, she is still trying unsuccessfully trying to play Italy against Britain. While Britain is using Germany to try to frighten France into giving up her overtures to Mussolini, France is trying to use Italy to frighten Britain into giving up her overtures to Hitler.

Germany apparently will not join the conference. But she has been invited to sign a separate treaty under the same terms with Britain alone. No doubt she will accept Britain's protection for her efforts to build up her naval war machine.

America's Game

It is more than likely that the United States will come to some agreement with Britain over the Pacific. If not at the London Conference, sooner or later in a secret or open treaty. The question for American diplomats revolves around the relative merits of the British colonies and China as markets. While Britain finally the biggest obstacle to American expansion, nevertheless American policy in the past has centered on China as an easier market to secure first.

The capitalist press reports that the London Conference is a failure. But this is hardly true. It was never intended to be anything more than an opportunity for the various nations to get together and observe each others' war policies at close range. The conference itself is nothing more than an incident amid the continuing war preparations of the imperialists. The conference may be a failure for some of the imperialists who were outmaneuvered and fall to get all the allies they wanted—but in the same measure it will be a success for their opponents. The only complete failure is the failure of liberals, who still think war is caused by Bad Statesmen and Bad nations, to learn anything from the conference.

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Perspectives of the Akron Rubber Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

bourgeois press which is doing its damndest to swing sympathy to the company; arming of hundreds of special deputies to break the picket line tomorrow; etc., etc.

In view of these facts, it would seem nearly inconceivable that anyone would consider a possibility of defeat. But that would ignore exactly those factors which now have become the balance between victory and defeat—the union leadership.

The Progressive and Leadership

In the news report of this strike, you can see the details of the bungling job done by the union officials. That is the potential Achilles heel of the giant Labor. The no doubt sincere but incorrect policies of the leadership would have ruined the strike already if a group of progressives hadn't emerged under pressure of events. Suffice it to say, that in so far as the strike has been placed on a class struggle basis it has been successful. The union leaders, while talking of class-consciousness, etc., etc., act in an impeccable class-collaborationist way which has been greeted with joy by the company.

For example, progressives insisted since Tuesday that the company would be given the injunction in its own money-dominated capitalist court and that plans to break the injunction were necessary. They

have won the rank and file to that view, naturally for the average picket has been two miles ahead of the leader on every issue that arose. The union leaders hoped and prayed and declared time and again that the court couldn't grant an injunction because this is a peaceful strike!

All Akron Will Reply

Since easily 2,000 rubber workers from other plants have aided the strikers on the picket line, spreading the walkout throughout the entire industry will come as soon as the sheriff tries to slug his way into the factory no matter how much any union leaders plead to the contrary. In fact, Monday will probably see half of Akron's rubber workers out at the picket lines ready to battle the sheriff, so strong is the sentiment for the strikers.

Quite obviously this strike is a make or break proposition for unionism in the tire industry. The companies have fully realized this. The rank and file has forced the union leaders to see it. Since this is a mass production industry capable and demanding of industrial unionism, both William Green and John Lewis are aware of the issues involved. So the center of the craft vs. industrial union fight within the A. F. of L. has been shifted to Akron.

Green took honors in round one by telephoning the international

union officers of the United Rubber Workers of America that he would support them. Lewis has sent Adolph Germer and Leo Kryzyski, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to the strike scene.

Already valuable lessons have been learned by the workers which will increase the power of the working class because of this struggle. After 21 years of complete terrorization by the companies, smashing of all attempts at strikes and unionism, the companies have been foiled in their attempts to curb the present walkout. The workers are learning their own strength. "No matter what Goodyear does, they can't build tires without us," the firebuilder says, determined he won't go back until a good settlement is made and realizing the company can't run without workers. That workers are the basis of all production. That profit is stolen from workers.

The Hunt for Trotskyist Contraband HISTORY BOOKS FOR SALE! The New Revision Under Way in U. S. S. R

By JOHN G. WRIGHT From the Kremlin down, the Stalinists in the Soviet Union are having the jitters from a recent epoch-making and horrible discovery made by none other than Stalin.

While Stalin and his suite were marching from one "irrevocable" triumph to the next, an unbelievable situation continued to develop in the rear: "On the Historical Front." While Stalin was busy making history in the very front lines, his flunkies in the rear were manufacturing it according to the day-to-day prescription.

But now it turns out—as a matter of incontrovertible fact (for, Stalin himself says so)—that the science of history in the Soviet Union is, by and large, in the camp of counter-revolution!

The gravity of the situation is illustrated sufficiently by the fact that on January 26, 1936, a special Commission of Twelve, with Zhdanov as Chairman, was appointed by Stalin to save what can be saved.

Naturally, the Commission faces a colossal problem. In its work it runs up against tremendous difficulties. In the words of Pravda itself: "Strange as it may seem, this work has run up against difficulties in the sphere of the History of the U.S.S.R. It is well worth dwelling upon these difficulties because they concern not a small group of authors but the condition of our Historical Science."

"Liquidating" Pokrovsky On the 19th year of the October Revolution, on the very threshold of Communism, after all classes had been irrevocably eliminated, "our historical science" is in such an awful and ominous condition that Stalin must intervene and appoint no less than twelve specialists (including Radek and Bukharin) to relieve the situation.

This late and unlamented scholar was one of the recognized figureheads of the official school of Stalinist historians. In the textbooks he was invariably referred to as the "Great Historian", which translated into English means that his particular version of history was assumed by the bureaucracy to be entirely in its own interests.

The decree issued by the C.E.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Peoples' Commissars makes no reference to Pokrovsky or any "chqol but bluntly states the following: "A Commission composed of comrades Zhdanov (Chairman), Radek, Svanidze, Gorin, Lukin, Yakovlev, Bytrianski, Zatonski, Faisulla Khodjajev, Bauman, Bubnov and Bukharin is appointed to examine and improve and wherever necessary revise the already written textbooks on history."

"The Commission is empowered to organize groups to examine specific textbooks, and also to announce prize competitions to replace those textbooks which it will find necessary to revise fundamentally. First and foremost are to be examined the textbooks on the elementary course in the History of the U.S.S.R. and Modern History. (Our emphasis).

We reprint this decree in full because it best characterizes the real appraisal of the condition of the Stalinist Science of History. Stalin (in the name of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union) has repudiated lock, stock and barrel his own "science." To our knowledge, this is the first public admission of failure on such a wholesale scale by the Infalible and Beloved Scientist.

But the causes for this remarkable admission, for this sudden re-evaluation of historical values are very plain and rather simple. Indeed, they can be summed up in a single word: Trotskyism!

Yes, "Trotskyism", so often liquidated, exterminated and buried by Stalin and his henchmen is now a mass movement in the Soviet Union. During the recent "technical check-up", thousands of Trotskyists were "expelled" from the party. No sooner was this cleansing concluded than it was immediately necessary to institute another purge (this time, a mere exchange of "new party cards for the old and tattered ones"). A persistent drive on a vast scale is now going on to prepare and execute this new purge.

We shall content ourselves here by quoting an eloquent paragraph from an article by V. Shubrikov, secretary of the Qubikhev District: "We must not forget revolutionary vigilance for a single moment. We have no right whatever to think all the alien and hostile class elements have already been exposed and driven out of the party. We have no right to allow our class vigilance to flag for a single moment. We have learned a great deal during the check-up of party credentials. But we must not forget that the class enemy, too, has learned something. For, we exposed not a few double-dealers, Zinovievists, Trotskyists, and all sorts of other anti-Soviet elements whose party papers were in perfect order. As is well known, a section of the Trotskyist, Zinovievists had a close conservative organization, carrying on their undermining activities under the mask of 'honest' and 'devoted' party members."

These words hardly require any comment. Every syllable sounds the alarm. The entire Soviet press is now urging full blast all its local G.P.U. agents to be on guard not to relax their vigilance for an instant, and not fail "this time" to do a thorough and final job of "unmasking and expelling" the Trotskyists.

Contraband in Official Textbooks The bureaucracy is in a frenzy over the "great deal" that it has learned during the last check-up, and the "great deal" it obviously expects to learn from its present purge (February 1 to May 1)—evidently a great deal more than it had ever "learned." In their fury, the Stalinist usurpers are seeking to plug any possible channel through which revolutionary ideas might seep into the consciousness of the student youth and the new generations of workers.

Today, the Stalinists think that they have uncovered one of the important leaks through which "Trotskyism" finds its way to the masses. No more, no less. The fallifiers of history are certain that their own textbook are not false enough. The trouble, you see, lies with the way history is being taught in the schools!

"Our historical science" is in a terrible condition, says Pravda. Why? Listen:

"... In the sphere of Russian history, there has not yet (!) been accomplished the work of scrapping non-Bolshevik traditions which... comrade Stalin (posed) in his work 'Some Questions Relating to the History of Bolshevism', which, as is well known, posed in its full scope before our historians the question of liquidating semi-Menshevik, semi-Centrist ideas, and Trotskyist contraband in our historical literature."

Radek Whines A task set by Stalin in January, 1932 remains "unfulfilled" by January, 1936. What was Stalin doing all this time? He was very busy. Small wonder, that Radek was instructed to write a tremendous article in the self-same issue of Pravda (Jan. 27). Our Mademoiselle Fif in Journalism, too, whines:

"Our historians have not yet assimilated the great historical legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin; this is very clearly proved by the very fact of the supremacy of the school of Pokrovsky in the sphere of Russian history, by the fact of the insurmountable influence of Luxemburgism and Trotskyism, in the treatment of modern history as a whole, at a time when the 'torrid course of history has placed the historians face to face with a whole series of questions of paramount importance.' (Our emphasis).

Their own falsified history looms as a source of danger in the storms they see ahead. The "enemy" lurks in most unexpected places. Even the Captain himself is no great comfort against the tempter. He adds his own thunderbolts to the already overcast skies, and only provide: the enemy with ammunition.

A "Faction of Communism" He is thundering today as he did in August 8, 1934 against the fact that the textbooks do not properly treat: "the struggle of tendencies in the ruling Communist Party in the U.S.S.R., and the struggle against Trotskyism as a manifestation of petty bourgeois counter-revolution." (Decree signed by Stalin, Zhdanov, and Kirov, August 8, 1934).

But in January, 1932 he also thundered against the wrong line of his historians: "There are some Bolsheviks who are of the opinion that 'Trotskyism' is a faction of Communism, and though it is erroneous and commits foul and even anti-Soviet acts still it is a faction of Communism"; and he called upon all historians: to struggle against Trotskyism as the "advanced troop of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie" (On Some Questions Relating to the History of Bolshevism," see The Communist, p. 75, Jan. 1932). Yet Stalin himself insisted that Trotskyism was (once upon a time) a "faction of Communism". Back in the same year, 1932, after Stalin had already "posed in its full scope before the historians the question of liquidating... Trotskyist contraband in our

historical literature," one of his zealous historians immediately tried to oblige him by broadcasting the historical fact that Trotskyism never had anything to do with Communism, being an unadulterated and permanent species of counter-revolution. What did Stalin do? Absorbed as he was constructing socialism in the Soviet Union, and helping Hitler come into power in Germany, he nevertheless took time off to reply to this historian, one Olekhovich. Chiding him, he wrote:

Stalin's Letter Dear Comrade Olekhovich, Your letter received. Excuse the delay as I am overloaded with work.

I find myself utterly unable to agree with you, comrade Olekhovich. And here is the reason why: It is not true that Trotskyism was never a faction of Communism... IT WOULD BE LUDICROUS TO DENY FACTS THAT ARE KNOWN TO EVERYBODY, as a faction in the C.P.S.U., recorded in the resolutions of conferences and congresses of the C.P.S.U. (Our emphasis).

Ergo: It is impermissible to assert that Trotskyism (Trotskyites) WERE ALWAYS a faction of Menshevism, for such a supposition must logically lead to the notion that during the period from 1917 to 1927 our party was the party of a BLOC between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, and not a MONOLITHIC Bolshevik party, which is utterly incorrect and incompatible with the foundations of Bolshevism...

What other way out remains? Only one, namely: let us agree upon the fact that during a certain historical segment of time, Trotskyism represented a faction of Communism—a faction vacillating between Bolshevism and Menshevism. (Signed) J. Stalin. (Dated) Jan. 15, 1932.

Today, any historian, any time, anywhere in the U.S.S.R. who would dare to repeat this species of Stalin's permanent vacillat on would find himself rotting in jail for life.

Only four years ago (see, Bolshevik, No. 16, Aug. 30, 1932, pages 46-48) the Jovial Captain himself was of the opinion that it is absurd to deny "fact known to everybody," and was obviously convinced that the task of historical "science consisted in fitting well-known (and unfortunately recorded) facts into a tissue of "interpretation" and falsifications. That, in his eyes, was the great merit of the "Pokrovsky school in history". Under the guise of erudition, facts, dates and documents, they falsified history to meet the needs of their master.

But our Captain, as usual, proved infallibly wrong. Today, he is a danger to himself. Today, his old falsification of history is no longer adequate—it is only 99.9 percent falsified: here and there a fact floats to the surface, and muddies the clear waters. A new school of historians is therefore necessary. Men unaccustomed to dealing with facts are needed. Men more cunning than the schemer in the fairy-tale who tried to steal Aladdin's magic lamp.

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Daily Worker Distorts Lenin's Teachings WHAT PRICE ALLIANCES? Social Patriotism Scorns World Revolution

By DAN EASTMAN Almost daily in the last week or two in the Daily Worker, Theodore Repard has turned his weighty theoretical artillery on the Young Socialists. The noise is terrific. On Monday, February 24th, page 2 of the Daily Worker he delivers a 'salvo' under the title, "Young Socialist Leaders Are Beginning to Run Amuck on the Question of War."

It is time to sound the alarm, says Repard, (order: from Moscow—see the last issue of the New Militant), the Young Socialists are drawing close to "all that vile which parades in the name of 'revolution.'"

He begins with Gus Tyler, one of the YPSL leaders: "How does Tyler approach the war question?"

"To begin with Tyler believes that the whole question is 'comparatively simple,' as he stated at the debate. We, of course, part company with him right here. For us the question of war raises some fairly complex questions, some of which cannot be settled by an epigram. We make no bones about it. Neither did Lenin."

This profound observation is the um and substance of "Article I" of Repard's attack. He goes on to show that Lenin, in his instruction to the Hague Delegation on December 4th, 1922, urged the comrades not to be taken in by the "simple" declarations of the reformists that they would answer war with "strike or revolution." Then he attacks Tyler for taking the "simple" definition of the slogan, "Turn the imperialist war into civil war."

That is all. In other words, the whole of "Article I," is devoted to an attack on any "simple" attitude toward the war question. A rather "simple" trick in itself for concealing the fact that Repard has completely failed to answer "the fairly complex questions" put to him and the YCL by Tyler and the YPSL.

What Lenin Said Repard failed to give the full quotation from Lenin's instructions to the Hague delegation. After urging them not to be taken in by the reformists "simple" declarations, Lenin said: "First, therefore, clarification of the question of 'national defence.' Second, clarification of the question of 'defeatism.' Third, clarification of the only possible way to struggle against war—by means of the creation and maintenance of an illegal organization for continuous war against the war... all this must be primary."

It seems that Repard "makes no bones" about bare faced treachery. He gives the first part of the quotation, omits the second, and then spend the rest of the article attacking Tyler for doing what Lenin urged in the second part of the quotation. It was exactly the question of national defence, defeatism, and war on war that Tyler put to Green again and again in his debate. And it was exactly these questions that Green "simply" failed to answer.

"When Tyler says that we must threaten revolution it follows that we must be in a position to threaten revolution otherwise we will be playing with words." From this Repard concludes that, as Tyler is not in a position to threaten revolution, his attitude leads to "passivity" and "playing with words." But it is not Tyler who is playing with words.

Lenin "threatened revolution" in Russia for more than twenty years but was in a "position to threaten revolution" twice; once in 1905 and once in 1917. Was Lenin merely "playing with words" the rest of the time?

Repard neglects to answer the question: about national defence, defeatism, and war on war. But they have been answered for him. The Stalinists are in favor of national defence of countries allied with the Soviet Union, they are opposed to revolutionary defeatism in such countries, they abandon the war on war.

In France, for instance, they are in favor of national defence according to the terms of the Stalin-Laval pact which specifically approves the activities of the French Imperialist Government in building up its national defence machine "to the level of security." They are opposed to revolutionary defeatism, for in a war with France allied with the Soviet Union revolutionary defeatism would be "treachery", according to one of the leaders of the YCL, Chemedanov. What is left of the war against war in France? Nothing.

Repard says that he "parts company" with Tyler on the "simplicity" of the war problem. He says it is "fairly complex". But there is nothing complex about the Stalinist position—it is "simple" treachery according to the very tests that Lenin urged the Hague delegation in the quotation which Repard so dishonestly neglects to complete. So much for "article I."

Article II appears on page 5 of the Daily Worker for Wednesday, February 26th. "Certain of the Socialist Youth leader like Tyler are drawing dangerously close to all

that is vile that parades in the name of 'revolution.'" Perhaps Repard forgot that he said the same thing in the same words in the last article. This "all that vile that parades in the name of revolution" seems to haunt Repard. Maybe he picked up the phrase from Gottwald that Czech leader, who after voting for the war budget in the Czechoslovakian parliament, went home to write an attack on Otto Bauer for flirting with the idea that Stalin and the Soviet Union were anything but "one indivisible whole," "indissolubly bound together."

"We tell our Socialist Comrades; frankly that the next step after Tyler's present position is to call for open struggle against the Soviet Union," says the Stalinist sage. Why? Because Tyler can't answer whether the Soviet Union is a beacon or a burden. "No wonder he replied when asked this question by Green that he could no more answer this question than one whether the A. F. of L. or craft unions, or the Social Democratic union of Germany before Hitler were beacons or burdens."

Indignation is no Reply Imagine comparing the Soviet Union to craft unions, to the A. F. of L., to the German trade unions, says Repard in a fit of indignation—and let it go at that. He fails to answer the question: Is the Soviet Union a working class organization, or is it the Stalinist bureaucracy, beyond mt take and above criticism?

When progressive trade unionists attack William Green all his little hired lackeys begin to howl that they are attacking the trade union. How does this differ from Repard who, when Tyler attacks the policies of the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union, begins to howl that he is attacking the Soviet Union itself? It differs: not at all except that Green's lackeys have not yet sunk so low on the intellectual scale as to claim that the A. F. of L. is "one indivisible whole," "indissolubly bound together." No amount of righteous indignation from Repard can conceal his lackey adoration of the Stalinist bureaucracy to which he is "indissolubly bound", like a "clave" to his master.

Repard then turns his centillating intellect to the problem of alliances: "Almost word for word this argument is repeated in Tyler's pamphlet. On page 12 we find that the Communist International... seeks alliances with the capitalist class of other nations." On page 17 we find that "alliances do not prevent or minimize wars; alliances give rise to counter alliances and finally to world war between bigger and better alliances."

"What does this position amount to? Namely that the Soviet Union will be responsible for the next war." Repard here accuses Tyler of saying that war is caused by alliances. This he does by means of a quotation torn out of context. Tyler correctly presented the Marxist position on war in his pamphlet.

then he went on to analyze one of its aspects. Repard seizes on this last incidental analysis and makes it appear to be the main content of Tyler's pamphlet.

Nonsense on War If alliances were the cause of war, the Soviet Union would be directly responsible for war, and so would every other nation that entered an alliance—and the struggle against war would be reduced to a struggle against alliances. But this is nonsense, and Tyler never said it.

War is caused by the economic conflicts which are incessant under capitalism. The only struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism. Whether or not the Soviet Union enters an alliance will not stop war.

What Tyler was trying to explain in his pamphlet was that alliances cannot stop war—all they can do is alter the line-up.

Repard accuses Tyler of saying that alliances are responsible for war—and then instead of correcting this false impression goes on to attack Tyler as if alliances could stop war. What is there left of the fundamental Marxist conception of war? Nothing. War is reduced to the unfortunate chance of an alliance—and the struggle against war to the struggle for allies for the Soviet Union.

Alliances and the USSR "The Soviet Union is a Socialist power which could never be a partner to an imperialist alliance," says Repard. It is not in the fact that the Soviet Union takes advantage of imperialist alliances that the treachery lies—but in the fact that the Stalinist clique sacrifices the working class struggle against capitalism and its war machines at the price for the alliance. It is not that the Soviet Union has formed an alliance with France—it is that Stalin has recognized the French imperialist army as the price for the alliance that makes it treachery.

Neither Lenin nor Trotsky nor Marx nor Engels could oppose the Soviet Union taking advantage of imperialist alliances. Yet Repard says: that the statement that the USSR is partner to an imperialist alliance is "the most infamous of all slanders." This he qualifies by accusing Tyler of saying that the Soviet Union is an imperialist partner of an imperialist alliance. But neither Tyler nor the Trotskyists have advanced the theory that the Soviet Union itself was an imperialist power. That is also nonsense used by Repard to distract attention from the issue at stake... which is, not the alliance but the price of the alliance.

That price is the betrayal of the working class.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D. DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D. 5 Washington Square North 1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

How the Social Insurance Laws Operate in Capitalist England

EDINBURGH, Scotland—In pre-war day Germany was the scene of experiments in social insurance. Today, Britain is the country where capitalism spends millions of Pounds in the relief of sick, aged, unemployed and disabled workers. A the U. S. A. seems about to embark upon a similar course, it may interest American workers to know just how British capitalism operates social insurance and what effects it has upon the working class.

1. Health Insurance and Old Age Pensions State insurance against sickness or disablement was introduced in the year 1911 and is based upon contributions paid by wage workers and employers and a grant from State fund. The scheme embraces all manual workers (with few exceptions) who earn less than 250 pounds per year. The employer pays 10s per week and the worker 10d per week but the female workers pay less. Should the worker fall sick and be unable to work, he is entitled to receive free medical treatment and medicine and 15s per week for 26 weeks with reduced benefit thereafter. The wife of an insured worker receives 2 pounds upon the birth of a child while the act allow: additional benefits out of any surplus funds for dental treatment, eye treatment or extra cash benefit. Doctors receive payment of a certain sum per year for every person registered on their panel and chemists receive money for medicine so dispensed, so that the Act has been a gold mine for the medical profession.

The scheme is administered by Approved Societies such as: Trade Unions, Friendly Societies, or Assurance Societies who are in turn supervised by District Insurance Committees set up by the state. Like all state schemes it has suffered from a series of weaknesses such as

irritating red tape procedure, faulty medical treatment, adulterated medicine and inadequate cash benefits.

A recent innovation has been the payment of 10 per week Old Age Pensions to all insured contributors upon reaching the age of 65. But the aged person then loses the right of any cash benefit when sick or unemployed when idle, so that the veterans of industry declare that they have been swindled, and so it seems. If a person is idle for more than two years and fall to pay arrears in contributions then he loses cash benefit when sick and if he is idle too long, he fall out of the scheme altogether and loses everything. Old Age Pensions are paid to persons who are not contributor to the scheme only when they reach the age of 70 and only after being able to prove that their income is not more than 26 pounds per year. As not even the mighty minds of the National Government have been able to reveal how an aged person can exist upon 10s per week in capitalist Britain it can easily be understood that there is great poverty in the world of aged persons in Britain.

2. Workmen's Compensation and Assurance Alongside of the Health insurance Act runs the Workmen's Compensation Act which legalizes the payment by an employer of compensation to an employee who meets with an accident or becomes infected with an industrial disease while at work. The victim of an accident is entitled to a lump sum of money or a weekly payment of half wage: up to a maximum of 30s per week for 26 weeks when he must then be tested by a court to see if he is still unfit for work. Before he receives any money, however, the worker must prove that the accident was not due to neglect or carelessness on

his part and must produce witness's testimony to prove that the accident or disease was really the outcome of work. At this point it becomes necessary for the worker to obtain legal advice, and in steps our old friend the lawyer, and by the time the case is settled the worker is often dead or "tarring" or has accepted an offer from the agents of his employer, which usually is an extremely modest sum. Wee betide the worker who has to claim Workmen's Compensation. He may even win his case and then lose his job.

Yet another link in the chain of social insurance is the now legalized business of Assurance Companies who trade in death and endowment policies, whereby a worker can insure his relatives at so much per week and in the event of their attaining a certain age he will receive probably 25 pounds or upon their death 12 pound. In this way the poor pay for death and keep capitalism alive.

3. Unemployment Insurance Probably no legislation has played so prominent a part in post-war British politics as the Unemployment Insurance Acts. Introduced, previous to the war, to embrace a limited number of building trades worker, the scheme was broadened to embrace all manual workers who earn less than 250 pounds per year with the exception of certain corporation, government, railway, agricultural and domestic workers. Like the Health Insurance scheme, the Unemployment scheme has never paid its way while it has brought governments down and has been the means of propping up others. In order to obtain benefit, a worker must report at the local employment exchange where he registers his claim for benefit.

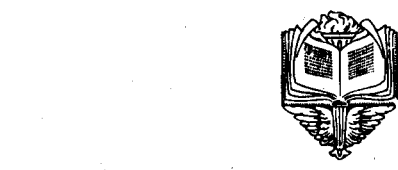
If he can prove that he has paid 30 contributions to the Unemployment (Continued on Page 4)

Two Pamphlets

"THE ROAD FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS"

War and the Workers is written by John West. He needs no introduction to you. The Road for Revolutionary Socialists is written by Fred Zeller. He is the acknowledged leader of the French Socialist youth.

Fred Zeller was expelled from the Socialist youth organization by the agents of Leon Blum and his Old Guard some time ago, together with twelve other youth comrades. The young Socialists, however, remained supporters of the revolutionary position presented by Fred Zeller and his co-workers. They remained supporters in the continuation of the struggle for this position. How this struggle has been carried on and how comrade Zeller and his co-workers came to a revolutionary position, and came to be supporters of the Fourth International, is described in this little pamphlet. The introduction is by Leon Trotsky.



"WAR AND THE WORKERS"

The pamphlet, War and the Workers, presents a searching analysis of the nature and causes of modern war. It deals with the problem of sanctions, neutrality, and the rôle of the League of Nations. It presents a scathing indictment of the various forms of pacifism and social-patriotism and outlines a concrete program of struggle against imperialist war. The price of this pamphlet is 10c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 7c per copy. The price of the Zeller pamphlet is 5c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 3c per copy. Here is an opportunity. Take advantage of it.

Father of His Country Now Sires "People's Front"

CPers Discover Workers' Hero in Slave Owner George Washington

The sentimental outpourings in the Stalinist press on the occasions of the birthdays of Lincoln and Washington outraged many advanced workers. When Stalinism has already revealed a full-blown program of social-patriotism, it may seem superfluous to show how the Stalinists have "forgotten" how to analyze history. Nevertheless, their antics revealed an old truth: to break with Marxism at one point means eventually breaking with Marxism at every point.

The Stalinist celebration of Washington and Lincoln's birthdays was part of the campaign for a Farmer-Labor party. Every article and editorial beginning with Lincoln or Washington ended in a hortatory appeal to the farmer, the middle-classes, and the workers to get together to form a two-class party. To find a warrant for "linking up" Washington and Lincoln with the present Stalinist omnibus naturally involved a great deal of violence both to American history and to Marxism.

Tradition—Bourgeois and Proletarian

Broadly speaking, there are two very different tendencies in modern history, which Marxists have been at some pains to distinguish from each other: (1) the forerunners of the proletarian revolution, (2) the revolutionists of other classes; that is, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionists.

Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mehring and other real Marxists have always made a clear distinction between those revolutionists who constitute direct pre-decessors of the modern proletarian struggle as

distinct from those whose ideology showed no trace of any organic connection with the struggle of the proletariat.

Thus, in treating of the first struggle against feudalism, Engels carefully distinguishes the demands of the middle classes from the more thorough-going demands of the peasant-plebian groups who gropingly and in religious terms already reached beyond modern bourgeois society. Although realistically estimating the more important results at that time of Wycliffe and Luther, Engels makes clear that it is not they who are our direct predecessors, but John Ball and Thomas Muenzer.

So, too, in estimating the French revolution the roles of Danton and Robespierre are in no way minimized, but Marxists have shown that our tradition comes down through figures like Babeuf.

We could give dozens of examples from Marxian historical writings, but the point is really a very simple one. So far as Marxists have gone to history for inspiration, they have sought it in those historical figures whose ideology had a social content connecting it with the proletariat.

Washington's Role

Serious Marxists, therefore, would not for a moment speak of Washington's tradition as connected with that of the working class. As a representative of the commercial planting aristocracy, his aims in the Revolution were far different

from those of the mechanized and small farmers who constituted the left wing in the American revolution. (See "The Spirit of the U. S. Constitution," New Internationalist, Feb. 1936.)

The Stalinist approach, however, logically leaves no place in history for the role of other classes than Washington's in the revolution; for they identify Washington with the "monolithic" aims of the revolution; their very formulations provide no room for distinguishing between the aims of different classes. Say the Stalinists:

"His was the task of defeating the Tories and the Hearst, the Font, Liberty Leaguers of 1775. His was the task of leading the American people in their battle for independence against the English upper class which sought to reduce young America to colonial slavery. . . . A Farmer-Labor Party—of trade unions, middle class and Negro unions, and anti-fascists—is the correct way to carry out the real American traditions championed by Washington." (Daily Worker, Feb. 22.)

And the Daily Worker cartoon shows Washington, with a copy of the Declaration of Independence under his arm, captioned to a policeman, with the exclamation "If He Were Alive Today."

Satire itself is helpless against such gross corruption of history. We may point out, however, that this is no accidental twisting of history. To propose to build a party covering different classes, the Farmer-Labor party, necessitates finding categories which include both classes—such terms as "the people," "the nation," "the country," "American traditions," etc. The ideology of such a two-class party, therefore, is inevitably nationalist and chauvinist, and takes over the nationalist interpretation of the history of the American revolution and the Civil War.

Browder vs. Marx and Engels

Another example is Browder's speech on "Lincoln and the Communists," now being widely distributed in pamphlet form. Browder makes a strenuous effort to find quotations from Marx praising Lincoln, and such as he finds he has to use in truncated form because Marx and Engels were severely critical of Lincoln and the policy he represented. (See "Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels," p. 135 ff., letters dealing with the Civil War.) Marx's estimate was that the Civil War dragged out because Lincoln and his petty-bourgeois policy clung to constitutional methods instead of pursuing a revolutionary course:

"The way the North is conducting war is only what might have been expected from a bourgeois republic, where fraud has been enthroned so long," wrote Marx in September, 1862.

And Engels, in November of the same year, wrote to Marx:

"Despite the screams of the Yankees, there is still no sign whatever available that the people regard this petty business as a real question of national existence. . . . I must say I cannot work up any enthusiasm for a people which on such a colossal issue allows itself to be beaten by a fourth of its own population and which after eighteen months of war has achieved nothing more than the discovery that all its generals are asses and all its officials rascals and traitors. After all, the thing must happen differently, even in a bourgeois republic, if it is not to end in utter failure."

But all this disappears from the Stalinist picture, except a carefully-worded remark by Browder that Lincoln hesitated at times. Why this distorted picture? Because to paint Lincoln in full-face will deprive the "people's party" of the Stalinist tradition that

does not exist and must therefore be faked.

Marxist Conception of History

This whole hunt for a national tradition is, in fact, alien to Marxism not only because of its "classless" character, but also because Marxism does not go to history merely to find direct inspiration from proletarian predecessors. In the writings of the Marxists on previous revolutions, the search for links with the proletarian present is, indeed, but a minor note.

Far more important for Marxist historians has been the task of showing that the history of bourgeois revolutions demonstrates that so long as classes exist all social evolution must take the form of political revolution. By demonstrating that the bourgeoisie has seized its power by force, employed terroristic methods in its struggle, confiscated private property, etc., we show that all power in class societies can be arrived at only by breaking through the myth of legality. It is primarily to teach this profound lesson (I except of course the more purely theoretical lessons which we learn from the history of bourgeois revolutions) that we must seek to popularize the history of the American Revolution and the Civil War.

To teach that the bourgeoisie, in the grip of necessity, has been uncompromising, bold, forthright in its use of illegal methods, in no way requires that we idealize the bourgeoisie. On the contrary: Marx and his successors have always laid bare the narrowness of bourgeois revolutionists, their viciousness toward the lower classes, their pomposity in clothing their special class interests with the language of universality, etc. Marx, and those who wrote in his spirit, have never sought direct inspiration from the bourgeoisie even in its most progressive periods. They have only made clear, again and again, that the bourgeoisie in coming to power have been forced to resort to force and illegality, and that if this was necessary when it was merely a question of shifting power from one class to another, how much more necessary is it when the task before the proletariat is, not only to take power, but to abolish private property altogether.

Engels' Letter to Bebel

In a famous letter from Engels to Bebel, after the Socialist successes in the election of 1884 despite the semi-legal status of the party under the Socialist Laws, Engels showed how an analysis of the illegal sources of the bourgeois rule can serve to teach the proletariat. This letter can serve as a model to us in drawing the same conclusions from American history, and is worth quoting at some length:

"The whole of the Liberal philistines have gained such a respect for us that they are screaming with one accord: Yes, if the Social-Democrats will put themselves on a legal basis and abjure revolution then we are in favor of the immediate repeal of the Socialist Law. There is no doubt, therefore, that this suggestion will at once be made to you in the Reichstag. The answer you give to it is important—not so much for Germany, where our gallant lads have given it in the elections, as for abroad. A tame answer would at once destroy the colossal impression produced by the elections.

"In my opinion the case is like this: "The existing whole of Europe the existing political situation is the product of revolution. The legal basis, historic right, legitimacy, have been everywhere riddled through a thousand times or entirely overthrown. But it is in the nature of all parties or classes which have come to power through revolution, to demand that the new basis of right created by the revolution should also be unconditionally recognized and regarded as holy. The right to revolution did exist—otherwise the present rulers would not be rightful—but from now onwards it is to exist no more.

Austrian Centrist Party Takes the Count

Among the participants in the I.A.G. conference (London Bureau of Left Socialist Organizations) in February 1935 was the Viennese Group, "Rote Front" (Red Front). In order to complete the picture of the famous Sapist (derived from the name S.A.P., Socialist Workers Party of Germany—Tr.) International it is worth the trouble to briefly depict the birth and . . . the collapse of this group.

The Red Front arose immediately after the event of February 1934 and was composed of numerous left wing leaders and of worker elements of the social democracy who had drifted to it. In this period of ferment in the illegal movement, it was the organizational expression of large sections of workers who were breaking with reformism and on the road to revolution, via centrism. For every revolutionary Marxist, it was already clear at this time that only clearly defined revolutionary principles could prevent this new group from collapsing under the impact of the powerful apparatuses of the bureaucratic centrists of the right and the left. However, the Red Front justified its existence by the defense of the idea of the united front and on the sentimental recognition of the U.S.S.R.

"Red Front" Disintegrates

The inevitable happened. The leaders of the Red Front emigrated to Moscow, and the revolutionary workers, not seeing any need for a substitute for a united front between the S.P. and the C.P., returned to the two major parties. Only a small number of stalwarts (about 200), of extremely heterogeneous composition, remained. Sincere worker elements in the ranks, with an understandable organizational patriotism, made desperate efforts to continue the work. The tops were composed for the most part of overcaution: intellectuals, a typical centrist formation eternally preoccupied with not crossing the prejudices of their "masses" and of balancing themselves between "extremes." Their great hope was that the decomposition of the workers parties would create new opportunities for an "intermediary party." The leadership never reached the point of elaborating clear principle. Its political documents were the result of innumerable amputation and mutual compromises of divergent opinions. The result: kneeling before the Soviet bureaucracy with some minor "reservations"; internationally, for the unity of the Second and Third International; nationally, against unity, for a new party.

"Differences" Overcome

The social patriotic division of labor is thereby completed. All that was lacking was the "extreme left" complement. In France the "glorious" Spartacus group took the job. In Austria the Red Front has the distinction of carrying out this work. They declared: "Since there are no great differences between the internal policies of the two parties (Revolutionary Socialists and Communist Party) there are no great obstacles in the road to the formation of a united proletarian party." In order "to more effectively support this process" and in order "to struggle for the united revolutionary workers movement", the Red Front dissolved itself into the Revolutionary Socialist Party. There are no "great differences" between the R.S. and the C.P. The Red Front on its side "no longer has great differences" with the R.S. And for cause! All that was involved was only a minor difference in internal policy on the preparation of a bourgeois coalition (what is called the "peoples front" or "provisional anti-fascist government") and in external policy on the policy of free hands for the "peace action" of Stalin-O.Bauer. Over it all hangs the purple rag of "revolutionary unity". In a word: pure and unadorned social patriotism.

What marvelous progress of the historic progress! What great success for the S.A.P.ist realist revolutionary policy!

December 2, 1925.

Social Insurance Laws in Capitalist England

(Continued from Page 1)

ment fund during the previous two years he is entitled to 17s per week if a single man or 9s per week for his wife if married and 3s per week for each child up to a maximum of six. A woman, who pays a lower rate of contribution, receives 15s per week. At the end of six months (unless the worker has been, previous to becoming idle, at work for five continuous years) he has exhausted his standard benefit and must make application to the Unemployment Assistance Board for transitional benefit—which will be paid upon condition that he can prove that—he is really in need of a assistance from the state. This is the notorious "Means Test."

An army of officials are employed to investigate the circumstances of the applicant for transitional relief. Has he any money in the bank? Has he a pension? If he is a father, have his sons or daughters an income? If he is a son or daughter, has his or her parents an income? This, and a dozen other lawyer-like questions are fired at the unfortunate victim. A man and a wife, it is estimated, can live upon 24s per week. If they have any income in excess of that amount, then benefit is reduced accordingly. Single persons must show desperate circumstances if they are living with their parents before they can receive any benefit. Before receiving benefit he must sign a declaration, declaring that he is willing to attend a training center which is another name for a concentration camp where hundreds of unemployed men are introduced into the gentle art of stone breaking, road-making or munition making. The terror of the "Means Test," which is applied every two months to those in receipt of Transitional Relief, has driven many poor people to

suicide, has broken up families and has forced men into jobs at less than trade union rates. It has also created the most intense bitterness amongst the unemployed but owing to a variety of reasons, this feeling has not expressed itself in rebellion, but on the contrary seems to be turning in on the workers in a wave of sullen apathy and reaction.

2. The Effect of Social Insurance on the Worker

At the end of the 19th century old Chamberlain was canvassing the Tories for Old Age Pensions and in the first years of the 20th Century, the Liberals were toying with the schemes of Health and Unemployment Insurance. In the year 1936 all these schemes are in operation and are now worked up into a well-concoiled system which not only throws a crust of bread to the worker but cunningly splits them into different groups and categories. Thus the aged worker with his 10s per week looks askance at the young man with 17s per week who in turn envies the married man with the large family drawing over 2 pounds per week. The worker in industry claims that—he is paying for it all and looks upon the unemployed as a lot of parasites.

From the working class political parties and trade unions—officials are drawn and corrupted in order to aid in the administration of the different schemes.

When the greedy taxpayers amongst the British capitalist class complained to Lloyd George about the burden of Unemployment Insurance, he replied: "Unemployment Insurance is a bulwark against revolution." This was a remarkably accurate forecast.

Social insurance has become a weapon used by British capitalism in order to demoralize the worker. For how long shall they succeed?

Green Urged In Steel Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

regard to the steel workers, who by several recent manifestations of revolt appearing even in their company unions have shown their growing readiness for reorganization; it applies to the whole trade union movement. The C. I. O. scored a real advantage in these recent broadsides and gained new support. It also made clearer the direction in which it is headed.

As a result new forces are rallying to the movement for industrial unionism. The automobile worker union and the rubber workers union have for some time been on the most friendly terms with the C. I. O. Judging from all present indications both of these union are drawing closer to its standard. The radio workers union and the flat glass worker union have now decided definitely to expand on the basis of an industrial form of organization. It may not be amiss to add that insofar as present trends are concerned, it is characteristic that all of these unions which are the first to rally to the industrial union movement, operate in mass production industries. But the growing support given to the program of the C. I. O. is by no means confined to the unions. Several central labor bodies and numerous local craft unions have expressed their sympathy and support to this new movement.

It is to be expected that the craft union bureaucrats will retaliate, in the face of this growing support, with arbitrary measures of expulsion, not merely of individual members but of whole organizations. When confronted with the possibility that progressive ideas may take root and spread, they know of no restraint. In such possibilities they see a threat to their own reactionary domination. About this they make no mistakes. A real incentive to active unionization, they know will mean new and more bitter struggles against the monopoly corporations which are determined to resist; and of such struggles they are sworn enemies.

Trade Union Democracy

But it is equally reasonable to assume that the industrial union movement will find it necessary to draw closer together in defense of the elementary trade union rights of democracy and freedom of expression of ideas. The industrial union movement will be compelled to rally to the assistance of every

union that is victimized by the craft union bureaucrats. Thus there are hardly prospects of moderation of the conflict in the A. F. of L. Present indications point rather in the direction of a sharpening of the conflict all along the line.

But this is only one side of the present situation. As is already implied in the offer made of active assistance to a campaign of organization of the steel industry, the industrial union movement, in order to rally the support it needs, will find itself ever more actively engaged in the organization of the unorganized. As a matter of fact many unions already call upon the C. I. O. for a assistance in organization campaigns.

The outcome of this conflict is momentous for the American working class. A beginning has been made. An aggressive policy of organization and a program of industrial unionism is the need of the moment. This the C. I. O. has brought forward and on this basis a movement is taking form. Militant workers should have no difficulty in finding their place within it.

The beginning that has been made may open up a new period of union organization such as has seldom been witnessed before in this country. It has the possibility of laying the foundation now of a trade union movement that is geared to modern methods of production. But the struggle that this movement will experience before its existence is assured will have the effect of elevating it to a higher level of consciousness. On the basis of the old craft union ideology and in the spirit of class-collaboration it would be inconceivable. It can be born and grow only in the fire of the class struggle; and from the class struggle it will receive an indelible imprint that will help to shape its outlook and its policies.

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