Participant Tells How Revival in Labor Movement Is Met by Savage Police Repression and Betrayed by Stalinists and Reformists

pregnant women.

The representatives of the P.P.S., ards." "Traitors", etc. . . the "Bund" (Jewish Socialist Party) and the K.P.P. (Communist to struggle. On the next morning Fascist aggressors. Party of Poland) addressed the thousands of workers continued the workers in extremely moderate lan- strike against the orders of the guage. The masses became impa-"We must demonstrate." One felt that nothing could quell work to 5 p. m. The workers of the names the Fascist aggressors: "It the will to struggle. Finally the other cities waited only for the demonstration formed. 15,000. They strike call. shouted: "On to the Waywode." "Down with Minister Svitalski."

Massacre on the Streets

We arrived at the Mateyeka square. The police fired. First in victory of the People's Front. the air. Then into the crowd. There were dead and wounded al-Buses, streetcars and wagons were arrested were tortured. overturned to serve as barricades. We lacked the training and am- confectionary workers headquar- Communists will recognize the movement. "But", he adds, "the not sure that the editor of Le munition (at least partial armam. ters. ent). And everywhere there were ist state prevailed.

speak of those slightly wounded. . . ! trayed masses.

CRACOW, March 28.-Following i On the same evening delegates of are some facts concerning recent the trade unions, the P.P.S., deevents here. The workers of the manded that the strike be immedirubber products factory "Semperit" ately called off. The representative struck and at the same time occu- of the Bund wanted to continue it. pied the plant to prevent the em- The Stalinists demanded: 1. continployer from hiring scabs and to ue "until victory"; 2. proclaim the force him to acquiesce. On the general strike in the entire counnights of Friday and Saturday of try; 3. the immediate removal of the past week the police attacked Svitalski. But outside of the conthe sleeping workers (it was about ference a secret meeting of several 4 in the morning) and ejected them | leading bureaucrats was in process, from the building, horribly mas- composed of Stalinists and reformsacring them, not even sparing the ists. Suddenly, the Stalinist delegates, after having received the Alarming rumours circulated "high sign" from a superior, dethrough the city. Two were said to clared themselves in favor of the have been slain. The official com- immediate cessation of the strike. muniques denied this. The trade Nothing remained of their "rrrevunion leadership and the National olutionary" position in favor of the Executive Committee of the Polish strike "until victory", that is up Socialist Party (P.P.S.) under pres- to the overthrow of capitalism. In sure of the masses declared a 24 vain the building union delegates hours general strike for Monday, and several others protested. They shouted in the direction of the Stal-The city was almost completely inists. "You have betrayed us as paralyzed by the strike. Only the have the socialists". "You have street car workers remained onthe sent our brothers to their death job. A crowd of 15-20,000 workers and you use this now as shameful congregated in Varshavska Street, bargaining with our blood," "Cow-

> In actuality the workers wanted "leaders", lackeys of the bourgeoi- Party position on war and the comsie; the streetcar workers did not ing Presidential elections Browder

But the movement was abandoned and betrayed.

But that did not prevent the Stalinists from celebrating it as a great And at the very time the union of social patriots and communo-paready. But we did not surrender, triots was being established on the the danger of losing their State and Arms were obtained. Fences, bench. corpses of working class heroes, the national independence, countries es and paving stones were torn police arrested hundreds of work- like Czechoslovakia, Austria and up. "The cops will pay for this." ers. A real massacre began. The Belgium." In Czechoslovakia, says

A number of militants disappear-Window glasses of stores were ed without a trace. Daily new the military budget." He is not of these national states? Obviously smashed. The workers behaved victims were secretly buried. The sure! for you see, the situation- he relies upon the bourgeoisle but splendidly and defended themselves cops made expeditions against the not the bourgeois rule-but "shifts not entirely. In face of the war heroically. But the arms of the op- trade unions killing on the spot from moment to moment." In threats he demands the complete inponents were much more superior. those present, as for instance at the any event he assures us: "The dependence of the working class

wounded. In reality there were at of a new international was more least 20 dead and 100 wounded mor- easily making its way into the contally or seriously wounded, not to sciousness of the shamefully be-

The Crisis in the Pilsudskyist Dictatorship

is passing through dark days. The unemployed at Chrzanov led to a working and peasant masses are delivering it the most serious blows. The recent demonstrations and strikes to which the Koscialkowski government replied with massacres, mark a revival in the militancy is obliged to recognize that the maof the toiling masses of the country as a whole. The barricades at Cracow and Lvov terrified the ruling literally dying of hunger. classes.

Very characteristic, in this connection, was the declaration of Mr. Bartel on April 24th:

These were very serious events. If the crowd is fired upon and it does not move to save itself for ear of death; these are not riots. They smack of revolution."

For several months strikes followed one upon another uninterruptedly. They embraced the entire country. After the textile workers of Lodz, came the turn of the petroleum workers of the Boryslaw cents) per day. district, the miners of upper-Silesia, the strike struggles at Cra-

The conflicts assume a very acute character. The workers who strug- As they say in French: "Qui dort gle to maintain their miserable wages lock themselves in with their families, in the factories and the cording to the official figure it has the Pilsudskyist bloc also reflects pits and it is only with difficulty reached a half-million which is two international orientations. The that the forces of the police dis- surely more than a third of the pro-Hitler policy of Beck is vigorlodge them. Demonstrations of un- entire working class. employed have taken place all over the country. First at Cracow and by ruined. To that must be added takes into consideration the danger "Spontaneously, without waiting conduct investigations into espion- were not penalized, is flagrant sothen at Lvov, blood was spilled.

Police Fire on Funeral

On April 14th at Lvov the police opened fire during one of these and in White Russia. demonstrations. Two were killed. The city seethed. There were 30,-000 people present at the funeral of the worker Kzak, a funeral organized by workers organizations and trade unions. The police opened fire, preventing the workers from to resolve the contradictions of the passing through the center of the regime by drawing inspiration from city to the Janowski cemetry. The the Italian and German example. | ler) results rather from the objectivy must be taken into considerapolice fired again. This time it was a real massacre. The workers courageously defended themselves chinery of the dictatorship is much and erected barricades. According to official reports there were 18 killed and 200 wounded. Only with covert struggle broke out between difficulty did the police re-establish the different cliques in the Pilsudorder. Then followed the repression, 2,000 arrested and a hundred The conflict between the "colonels" militants were sent to the concen- of the Gazeta Polska and the "mod- In any case, now, the opposition in said in 1914 under the auspices of

hour protest general strike in Lvov, basis of the dictatorship by bribing is orienting itself on the strength- ly, as Frenchmen and as socialists

The white dictatorship in Poland | The next week a demonstration of

To understand the meaning of the Lvov events, the general situation in the country must be taken into account. Even the bourgeois press jority of the peasantry (threequarters of entire population) is

A volume edited by the "Economic Institute" of Warsaw and which prints numerous letters from peasants, reflects this unprecedent- of danger we do not leave the faed misery. "In many sections", a therland in the lurch." peasant writes, "the only resources are the veterans pensions. The only ones with small incomes are invalids. But there are not many such lucky fellows." Agricultural laborers who work a few weeks in the year earn 1 zloty 50 (around 2

A peasant from the Radom discow, Sosnowice, Poznan, Czesto- a letter: "Winter is easier to sur- latter have had a rebirth of popusleep more and forget the hunger." dine." (He who sleeps dines).

Unemployment is widespread. Ac-

the police regime more severe than that of Czarism, the reign of the Defenzywa (Polish Okhrana), the of Poland. This policy "independ- government) has appealed to our punitive expeditions in the Ukraine ent of the great powers' also iso- party. Our party has replied:

The Clique Struggle niversary (in May 1926 the Pilsudskyist coup d'etat occurred) wished But Pilsudsky had not succeeded in creating a mass party. The ma-Upon the death of the Marshal a S.R. and Germany is very difficult credits squandered. He wants it sky camp.

Warsaw and many other localities. the leadership of the left parties, ening of the Franco-Polish alliance. faithful to the International."

bloody conflict with the police.

Poverty, Unemployment and Terror

trict makes the following remark in speculates on anti-semitism. The vive than summer because one can

The Pilsudskyist dictatorship which is celebrating its 10th anweaker than in Italy and Germany.

An Eye-witness Account of Events in Poland 1914-1936: The Same Social Patriotic Tune By ARNE SWABECK Marxists have always taken the Dividing World into Good and Bad Nations, Browder inverted form he proves that the modern im-By ARNE SWABECK

position that the question of war in the modern imperialist epoch is as inseparable from the capitalist system of society as is the class struggle. Our attitude towards war is therefore the same as our attitude towards the class struggle: our aim defeat of capitalism and to secure day Browder proclaims: "And when other countries against France. the victory of the working class.

This fundamental criterion the Stalinist leaders have thrown overboard long ago. Having abandoned the Marxian position the Comintern and all its sections now reincarnates in new form s and under new conditions the ideas of social patriotism which characterized the great betrayal in 1914.

To the Stalinist leaders the funent day world does not proceed osing and antagonistic classes. To italists, between which the workand against, to rely on ces for war, not divided along class countries and nations of warlike in- scist Austria." tentions: a world divided between the capitalist democracies and the

Gottwald-Browder Apes Haase In his report on the Communist is clear to the whole world," he says. "where the threat to peace comes from. It comes immediately from Hitler, Mussolini, the Japanese imperialists." On the other hand, he informs us, "we now have a number of countries which are directly threatened by the military aggression of the fascists and face Browder, "the Communists will pro-

On Wednesday the funerals of possible Hitler invasion requires detachments of police armed to the the 8 "official" victims (the number that there be available the utmost however, that the peace policy of teeth. The machine-gun went into admitted by the police) were held possible fighting weapons against the working class movement of action. After three hours of furious More than 50,000 participated. The Hitler." The Czechoslovakian Sta. each question and in each country resistance the forces of the capital-|same fighting spirit which animated |linists have likewise declared that is directly opposed to the policy of the masses three days earlier no they will defend the fatherland the capitalist government—the gov-. . . The official communiques longer prevailed. The betrayal was Their "beloved" leader, Gottwald, ernment of the bourgeoisic within spoke of 8 dead and a few score bearing its fruits. But also the idea came straight from Moscow to the that country." seventh convention of his party to reassure his hearers that this "new

> triotism. But this is not necessarily position this way." How else can it be interpreted? least much more frank. On August 4th Hugo Haase rose in the Reichstag session, the only speaker on the list, to proclaim in the name of the

have always stressed: in the hour

In 1914 these fatherland defend-

applause from the Junker reaction:

worsened concurrently with the difficulties of the regime. The rulers have serious rivals in the nationalists of the N.D. (National Democratsan, old type reactionary party, clerical, anti-Semitic and partisan of the French orientation) which larity and are in a small measure cure" they took for the past ten years.

The conflict of the cliques inside ously combatted by a goodly sec-The petty bourgeoisie is complete- tion of the Polish bourgeoisie which French Socialist Party proclaimed: to federal government agencies to shooting of five of our men recently of submission to Germany which for any other manifestation of the age and "other unlawful practices" would culminate by the absorption popular will, he (the head of the on the company's part. lates Poland from the economic Here!" And in 1936 Jacques Dupoint of view and costs it very clos, leader of the Wrench Commundearly by estranging it from the ist Party: "We are for the safety

Franco-Polish alliance and at the act in which the struggle against same time collaboration with Hit- fascism inside and outside the countive situation of the Polish bour- |tion." geoisle than from the personal nu- Duclos is faithful to the Francoances of the butcher of Brest-Lit- Soviet pact and to the "new line" of ovsk. The choice (between the U.S. Stalinism. He does not want the for Poland. And if in France the actually to go for the strengthening policy of Laval is continuing with- of France's military means. And out Layal, in Poland that of Beck Marcel Cachin, his equally faithful can be continued by his successor. co-worker, may now repeat what he tration camp of Bereza-Kartuska. erates" supported by General Rydz the country is clearly opposed to the Social Democratic Party: "We The workers answered with a 24 Smigly, who wanted to extend the pro-Hitler policy of Beck and promise to fulfill our duty complete-

Voices Same Phrases as Social Democrats ers in the various nations entered France had then been atacked by cording to this has the choice, not position in regard to the question the services of their respective the Kaiser's troops, so he maintain- of building a revolutionary party of war leads inevitably to an equalbourgeoisies to the tune of the war ed. And now again we are told that for the overthrow of capitalism, but ly false position toward the every-

Hitler fascism goes beyond the borders of Germany it must be met by military means (!!!). At the moment the greatest threat of the military forces of Hitler are against Czechoslovakia, Austria, France and Belgium."

But the question arises: by whose military means is this aggression to be defeated? Who will organize and direct the military operations? damental differentiation in the pres- Do the Stalinists answer: the proletariat! No. This is to be left in along the irreconcilable lines of op- the hands of the "forces of peace" -the bourgeois democracies among them the main division occurs be- the capitalist nations-supported by tween good capitalists and bad cap- the Communist parties and such workers as the Stalinist leaders can ing class is to take sides, for mislead by their deceptive slogans the of defense of national independence. former against the latter. On the Obviously this defense is also to one hand in this division the forces include Austria where the Stalinfor peace and on the other the for- ists and the Heimwehr may take up the cry in unison; "Long live the lines, but divided into peaceful independence of Democratic Fa-

Handmaiden of the Capitalist State

tural development of humanity. The therefore a reactionary worthy only of the depraved handmaidens in the service of decaying capitalism. Not the defense of the fore the Forward should not be supnational state, but the wiping out of all national state borders is the task of the proletariat.

And how does Browder really bably (?!) refrain from voting on propose to defend the independence Not directly opposed to the policy

of the capitalist government! In line" does not really mean social other words, follow the war map patriotism: "Comrades," said Gott- and not the map of the class strugwald, "there is no doubt but that |gle; this is the advice of Browder. the defense of the republic against You may make your reservations, fascism can be interpreted to mean but do not oppose directly the policlass peace, reformism, social pa- cy of the capitalist government. Like Plekhanov, the one time brilthe correct interpretation. And we liant Marxist, who stooped to the Communists do not interpret our level of defender of Czarism in 1914: "The marauders (the Kaiser's armies) are at the border of The social democrats of 1914, al- my country and are ready to rob though equally treacherous, were at and murder." "Make your reservations." he urged the Duma deputy, Durianov, "-this is absolutely necessary-but vote for the credits. The rejection of the credits would social democratic fraction, and amid be a betrayal (of the people) and abstention would be cowardice, Now we are making good what we vote for the credits." Today this is implemented by Browder: "We are not pacifists . . . when Hitler fascism goes beyond the borders of Germany it must be met by military presented not as an inevitable outmeans." -Make your reservations growth of the capitalist system, in times of war or preparations for caused by the forces that capitalism war-but do not oppose directly, the policy of the capitalist government! What a frightful parallel with the betrayal of 1914.

Vote the Credits!

Vote the credits! Not only Czechoslovakia, Austria and Belgium. "There are other countries," says Browder, "like France and the rejuvenated by the "opposition United States, which for their own particular interests are interesteed in maintaining peace, which are not agement for fomenting "unrest and vigilante force known as the 'Law bargaining. Only that method can furthering the development of war, turmoil" by the provocatory acts and Order League, another more solve the present situation. which are resisting these develop of its company union and vigilante subtle and vicious means has been ments." And the French Stalinists organizations. Full support was adopted. echo: vote the credits!

stock exchanges of Paris and Lon- and freedom of our country. We do not want to vote credits blindly. We and file leaders on the plea that It is obvious that this "equilibri- want to know what is done with um" policy (maintenance of the them. The budget vote is a political

cry, "Kultur versus Czarism" or the greatest threats of the military purely the choice between the good day issues of the class struggle. It is in both instances to work for the "Democracy versus Kaiserism." To- forces of Hitler are directed among and the bad capitalists.

Bourgeoisie Pleased

the answer thus: "If Hitler should home capitalism."

dence among capitalist nations. Stalin or Browder. More than that Marxists recognize as well estab- they cannot even ask from Mr. Browder remains entirely consistent lished the fact that the national Olgin, whose articles printed in the and he remains faithful to his Stastate became a frightful impediment Daily Forward, after the United long ago to the economic and cul- States had entered the war in 1917, tends also to his position, and to defense of the national state is Abe Caban as proof that the Fortask, ward was patriotic, that it called upon the American mothers to give their sons for the country and there-

Forces for Peace"

But imperialist France is not only Browder. Together with the United States it is interested in maintaininsists, are not furthering the de- would this be possiblevelopment of war; they are "resisting these developments." We are necessity of military resistance to complete independence of the work- Temps, even in his most exalted not merely as an auxiliary to the moments of bourgeois hypocrisy, would guarantee that much for France. As for the United States, Browder has unquestionably acabout the strongest armaments being the best guarantee of peace. No doubt the rival capitalist powers dollars military budget. They have struggling aggressively for world hegemony and not hesitating to use Browder also gives a warning.

The capitalist United States is interested in maintaining peace. . not furthering the development of war. . . resisting these developments," that is, provided power is not taken out of the hands of the Roosevelt administration. In these coming elections, "the victory of the Republican Party - Liberty League - Hearst combination," exclaims Browder, "would throw power on the side of the war makers." The question of war is here again itself sets into motion, but as something instigated only by the bad In taking this position Browder proletarian revolution as the only capitalists. The working class, ac- also remains entirely consistent. In way of eliminating imperiaist war.

The Bad American Bosses

"The main enemy of the people of What kind of a war would it be, America today is the Republicanshould these threats be carried out? Liberty League-Hearst combina-The Daily Freiheit of May 19 gives tion," says Browder in his statement on the C.P. position in the attack France it would be an imper- coming elections. He adds; "We ialist attack on his part, and if must place as the center of our France should in that situation de- work in the election campaign the fend herself, it would be a natural need for combatting this reactionease of self defense which has noth- ary bloc and defeating its plans in ing to do with imperialism because 1936." This is where the emphasis imperialism means the grabbing of is to be placed according to Browforeign lands in the interests of der, not direct opposition to the capitalist system, far from it, but French imperialism would not merely opposition to the bad capitgrab foreign lands; God forbid! alists. In line with this it was French imperialism does not want quite natural for him to make the colonies. It didn't in 1914 either announcement at a press conference said the French social patriots. It a few days before: "We would not was just plainly and simply attack- do or say anything that would tend ed. Did not Vaillant write in to turn Roosevelt support over to l'Humanite, then the official social- the Republican candidate." ,What ist party organ: "In face of the is the objective meaning of this aggression, the socialists will ful- statement? Can it be anything else fill their whole duty to the father- but to support Roosevelt? or at land for the republic and for the least to take care that none of the protested: "I do not advocate an imrevolution." "More than that," potential supporters are lost from answered the satisfied editor of Le the Roosevelt camp, which God for-Nothing shows more clearly than Temps on August 4, "we do not ask bid, may mean the victory of the this the completely anti-Marxist at- of M. Edouard Vaillant and his Republican-Liberty League Hearst titude of the Stalinists toward the friends." More than that no bour- combination—the victory of the bad problem of national state indepen- geois can ask from Duclos, Cachin, capitalists over the good capitalists.

Surely in taking this position were presented in Washington by the C.P. position, on the farmerlabor party question. Browder wants to "collaborate organizationally with those who are committed to the support of Roosevelt in 1936" -Labor's Non-Partisan League. "he explains in his usual "lucid and learned" fashion, "not merely the continuation of the role of labor as in danger of attack, acording to auxiliary to the old parties." He wants to see in it also the beginings of a farmer-labor party. But ing peace. These two countries, he to ordinary mortal beings how

Pro-Labor and Pro-Roosevelt?

Can a movement fulfill the role old parties, i.e., to the capitalist parties, or even to the one of them which carries the Roosevelt label, and at the same time be a begincepted in earnest and is ready to ning toward a working class politidish out the bourgeois demagogy cal movement? Obviously this question is not decided merely by forms or by labels but by the ideoogical position and by the program have a different understanding of it stands for. And in this case, in President Roosevelt's one billion particular, no doubt need exist that this very thing which is the old and learned to know the capitalist at the same time is supposed to be United States as a powerful force the beginning to something new still would retain its previous ideological position and program. At any means at its command to gain its best the same auxiliary to the this objective. But in this respect old capitalist parties, possibly minus the Roosevelt label, possiby with a brand new farmer labor name would continue the tradition and the program of the Roosevelt New Deal. But it would continue under new objective conditions as a more effective barrier damming up the path of advance for the revolutionary movement. For as we have emphasized often before, in such a case the shedding of the old shell of Rooseveltian bourgeois reformism can be expected to coincide with the time when objective conditions make the new clothing of farmer-labor party reformism a more effective means of arresting the revolutionary advance.

question of war in the modern imperialist epoch is as inseparable from the capitalist system of society as is the class struggle. A false leads not to the victory of the working class but to its defeat.

Hillquit-Browder Wants U.S. to Act

"We must," says Browder in concluding his report on the war question, "crystallize such a mass opinion in America directed towards restraining the instigators of war that the United States will become an effective international force, will become a positive contribution to the world front of struggle for peace." He does not want the mere slogan Keep America Out of War, because that is the slogan of isolation, of neutrality. Well and good. He wants to link up America with the other capitalist imperialist nations to which he attributes the virtue of restraining war developments. In a somewhat different situation, but still with the same objective meaning Morris Hilquit opposed American isolation in 1917. When Debs went to prison for his courageous anti-war stand Hilquit mediate separate peace, a withdrawal by America. Nothing that I have ever said or written could justify such a sweeping assertion . . I want America to act, not to withdraw." Browder now wants America to

act, not to withdraw. In his statement, cited above, one cannot quarrel with his idea of crystallizing mass opinion toward restraining instigators of war. But who are the instigators of war? Is this a question merely of certain people of certain nations? Marxists reject such a conception and emphasize time and again that war is inevitable concomitant of capitalism regardless of which nation fires the first shot. And much more decisively must we reject Browder's deceptive and delusive prattle about making America a "positive contribution to the world front of struggle for peace." Proceeding from the Marxist conception that the causes of war are inherent in capitalism and that actual war grews inevitably out of this form of society and, proceeding further from the Marxist conception that only the working class achieving its historic mission of overthrowing capitalism can secure peace, it follows necessarily that both of these questions of war and peace are fundamentally the question of class forces, and the relationship of class forces. Petty bourgeois philistines may call upon America-capitalist America—to become a positive contribution to the world front of struggle for peace. Revolutionists will address this call to the American working class and to its allies.

In this lies the fundamental distinction between the Marxist position and the position of Browder and his Stalinist fellow bureaucrats. Their position proceeds from the Stalinist peace policy of the Soviet Union which has for its premise the preservation of the status quo of the boundaries of capitalist nations, of the relations between these nations as well as of their internal equilibriums. In other words the status quo of the capitalist system of society alongside of which the Soviet system is supposed to be able to exist peacefully. This policy cannot tolerate any upsets or any overturns. That would be its antithesis. It leaves no room for a policy of proletarian revolution. The Marxist policy aims directly for the

Rubber Unions and CLU Rally **Against Company Provocation**

(Continued from Page 1)

pledged to the United Rubber In 1914 the manifesto of the Workers Union and a call was sent such company attacks like the

> In protest against the arrests the workers' strength should be struggles ahead.

The Goodyear Local's defense committee on the case blasted the company with the following statement, issued through its chairman, Bill Carney, one of the outstanding militant progressives in the recent strike: "Since Goodyear failed in its efforts during the strike to

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

and Holidays.

"The arrest of our members after cial injustice.

"The method used in making the arrests is nothing short of a public and the scurvy way they were car- outrage. The men were deliberateried out, workers at two Goodyear ly picked up late Saturday night plants sat down late Sunday night, and placed under high bond at first At plant 2 the sit-down lasted 4 because it would be exceedingly hours, only being called off by rank difficult for us to have them released on bond.

"They were questioned in front conserved for possible greater of George Hargreaves, the 'Law and Order League' attorney. Efforts were made through his questioning to obtain statements.

"Counsel for the defense was not permitted to see the men. The entire proceedings were a serious mockery of justice, a challenge to the whole community.

"The immediate support given our men by the entire organized labor movement indicates such methods will not succeed in break-

ing our unions. "The issue involved in this situ-ation is clear. Can the rubber 714 Seneca Ave., B'klyn, N. Y.

the use of legal trickery? We hardly think so, especially with public support behind us in protest over

"We urge the companies to meet with our duly accredited represenbreak our union through threat of tatives to establish true collective

"The rubber workers can't be crushed. They must be dealt with as men."

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