

Bonapartism Rules In France As Parliament Is Sent On Vacation

The Daladier government, having had its plenipotentiary powers renewed until November, has sent its dutiful parliament home for summer vacations.

Fired with courage by the cowardice of his People's Front admonishers, Daladier took a firm stand against the very concept of advancing any proposal in labor's interests, threatening a dissolution of the People's Front and of parliament as well.

Working Class Stifled

The slightest sign of a willingness to fight on the part of the Stalinist and reformist leaders would have sufficed to call into the streets the French working class, including the tens of thousands of state functionaries, among whom there is a strong strike sentiment. Daladier's power would have crumbled overnight.

Since the collapse of the People's Front government of Leon Blum, the Socialist and Stalinist leaders have found themselves in a most embarrassing situation. Blum himself stated openly in Populaire that the Socialist Party has been deeply shaken by the defeat of his short-lived cabinet.

Tolerating Daladier

Nevertheless, at the congress of the S.P. held in the early days of June in Royan, Blum won support for his proposal to tolerate Daladier's domestic and foreign policy with 4,817 votes for his motion.

Blum achieved his majority at the congress with great difficulty. Chief credit for this victory goes to the Yehov of the party, general secretary Paul Faure, who intimidated the party membership by brutal organizational slugging of the Parisian left wing.

Taste of National Union

Even Paul Faure wrote in Populaire, a few weeks before the congress, that "the atmosphere in which he (Daladier) rules, the guarantees which he gives to gain the confidence of the trusts, provide us with an advance taste of what a National Union... under his leadership would be. The Roan congress should say this clearly."

Another member of Blum's majority states: "The People's Front is dead, whether one wishes it or not. The truth of the matter is that no party has the courage to bury it." But this lack of courage is easily explained.

Blum therefore has recourse to arguments of pure "legality." He says: "The engagements of the People's Front still bind by law (!) the parties who entered into them."

Thus the Socialist party has now arrived, after all its ambitious promises, to fill decadent bourgeois democracy with genuine proletarian content, exactly at the point where the German

Social Democracy stood before Hitler's victory—in the blind alley of the lesser evil.

But many partisans of Blum's majority are beginning to lose their illusions. Seeking the causes of the defeats, one of them wrote in Populaire during the pre-congress discussion: "The program (of the People's Front) was actually incapable of realization because, although its end was well established, the means to attain it were not foreseen."

Such a statement on the part of a Blum supporter and enemy of the Socialist left wing throws a revealing light on the confusion and disorientation which dominate the Socialist Party. But this does not alter the fact that the writer has touched upon the secret of the People's Front's bankruptcy.

S. P. Enters Third Period

Afraid of the masses, and fearful of losing the last vestiges of favor from their bourgeois colleagues of yesterday, the Socialist Party has now entered the "third period" of its opportunism since the events of February, 1934.

Then came the "reform radicalism" of the People's Front, whose main task was to stifle the revolutionary offensive of the French proletariat. And now the Socialist Party has reached a new turn, naturally under the pressure of the main party of bourgeois class collaboration, the Stalinists.

Left Wing Perspectives

What are the forces and perspectives of Pivert's new left wing? Its membership, amounting to 4,000 at the outside, is concentrated mainly in Paris. It commands certain sympathies among the Socialist youth, a section of which was expelled for solidarity with Pivert.

The situation calls for a genuine Marxist party, ready to oppose boldly the priests of the People's Front and to raise the banner of the proletarian revolution. However, Pivert and his friends continue their courting of the Socialist leadership, and even attempt diplomatic maneuvers with the Stalinists.

The near future will show whether this group will definitely establish itself as a centrist formation which, though it may gain a certain mass influence, will provide another instrument for burying the French revolution.

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Anti-Hague Drive Launched By SWP

A vigorous campaign against the blighting menace of Mayor Hague's reactionary dictatorship, already near-absolute in Jersey City and extending into other parts of New Jersey, is being conducted by the North Jersey District organization of the Socialist Workers' Party.

When the Newark police opened up the crowd around Norman Thomas as he attempted to speak from a stand in Newark Military Park on June 4, in order to let in the band and the hoodlums that broke up the meeting, two things were proved conclusively: that the fight against Hagueism and what it stands for is not confined to Jersey City, or Jersey City officials, or Jersey City cops alone, and that the fight cannot be conducted in a slipshod, haphazard, unorganized manner.

New Newark is supposed to be a liberal city, under a liberal City Commission, with its mayor elected on the slogan "Keep Hague out of Newark," and with only one of the five commissioners (Byrne) an acknowledged Hague man.

Attack On Unions

As Hague met each new attempt and won, Byrne grew more vicious in Newark. He knew the difference between his function and Hague's. Hague was preventing better conditions for the workers in Jersey City by preventing the organization of unions. But in Newark, unions already exist. Byrne, recognizing the way to take from Newark workers the few advantages they have was by tearing down the existing unions, began with his man, Overseer of the Poor, Malady, an attack on one of the more militant organizations, the Workers Alliance, demanding that it be refused recognition and the right it had won by many picket lines to bargain for its members in the relief stations.

Alliance In Action

It was only the resolute determination of the Alliance to stop this anti-labor measure (like the determination of the Hudson County Crucible Steel workers not to permit the Hague cops to break their recent strikes) and their show of strength in mobilizing hundreds of unemployed workers in the City Hall the day the question came up for a vote before the Commission, and the support given them by the C.I.O., that forced the Commissioners to refuse to act on it one way or the other, preferring to drop the matter.

Temporarily, the anti-labor forces had been checked. But not for good. Byrne made a series of talks, addressing the veterans' organizations, commending them on the fine stand "their leaders" had taken. "And when it comes to the reds, communists, pinks or the Workers Alliance," he told them, "rock 'em and sock 'em all the way through!"

When Germany and Italy reached a crisis, the bosses turned from so-called "peaceful" and "democratic" rule over the workers to fascism.

How Fascism Begins

It began in the same way things have begun around North Jersey. First small bands of thugs, claiming to be patriots, veterans and so on, aided and protected by the police, break up meetings, beat up workers. If they are successful at this and their red scare, they become bolder, enter and wreck union halls, kill labor organizers, terrorize the workers, prepare to make the labor movement illegal, and institute fascism.

America is reaching a real crisis too. The new depression has hit United States capitalism hard and fast. Production has fallen more in eight months than it did in the first three years of the 1929 depression. Quoted stock values on the N. Y. Exchange have been reduced by \$27,000,000,000 in the course of a year. Steel is working at 30 per cent capacity. Millions are working one or two days a week. Conservative estimates again place the number of unemployed at 13,000,000.

Bosses On Offensive

In the face of this new depression the American bosses are preparing a new offensive against the labor movement—to put the burden of the crisis off on the workers. They look hopefully toward Hague in North Jersey. Every victory of Hague's gives them new hope and new confidence. It is for that very reason that Hague must be stopped—Hague and his allies, wherever they are, in the Jersey City or the Newark City Hall. They must be stopped short—no one is going to "rock and sock" the labor movement around here and get away with it.

The enemies of the workers have just taken their first steps along these lines in Newark. They must be stopped before they take the second. As a matter of fact, these thugs, like all strike-breakers and scabs, are really yellow. A good scare, a mighty demonstration, determined, persistent opposition, will send them scurrying back to their poolrooms and saloons like the rats they are. There were really only about a hundred of them. A few more may get up some nerve on booze next time too. But they can be routed easily. This last affair need not have been another victory for Hague's forces—if the workers here had been prepared to protect it.

Labor Must Fight

Workers cannot afford the luxury of "crawling in a corner and wanting to die" when the bosses and their agents attack them. Because then their enemies will crawl right in after them to really finish them off. When the bosses try to lower wages, etc., in the factories the workers must organize defense committees to protect and extend those rights.

That is the program of action for workers in the face of this new threat. Organize workers' defense committees! All workers participate in the fight! Whether they are in the C. I. O. or A.F. of L., whether they agree politically or not (we certainly don't agree with Thomas's politics), this is the step they must take.

When another Thomas meeting is held, when any similar meeting is held, when any workers' meeting is held, the workers of Newark, organized through their unions and other organizations for action in defense committees, trained and ready to fight back, must be present in mass.

On To Struggle

Workers, prepare for struggle! Place no confidence in anything—be it promises of probes and greater protection by the city Commission or the cops or anything else—but your own organized strength!

Teach the Jersey City workers how to smash Hagueism there by showing them how we can smash it here!

Build workers' defense committees!

MAYOR HAGUE HOLDS STAGE IN N. JERSEY

Uses Forum Of Court To Expound His Fascist Views On Labor

The struggle between Boss Hague and the C.I.O. was transferred during the past week from the streets and parks of Jersey City and Newark to the Federal Courtroom at Newark where the C.I.O. and American Civil Liberties Union had brought injunction proceedings to prevent Jersey City authorities from interfering with labor organizing activities.

Taking advantage of the forum presented to him by his opponents, Mayor Hague held the center of the stage while he defended his dictatorial conduct and expounded his fascist views and politics before the whole nation. His performance was aided by the C.I.O. attorneys who acted as stooges by feeding him leading questions, designed to "expose" the despot, but which Hague cleverly used as springboards for attacking the militant labor movement and all its critics.

Hague on Offensive

On the stand, Hague beligerently transformed himself from a witness into a prosecuting attorney. In real fascist fashion the Jersey Fuehrer assailed the C.I.O. movement as "un-American," "Communist," and "revolutionary," aiming to overthrow the government and organized religion by force and violence. He branded all C.I.O. leaders (except John L. Lewis) and sympathizers as "Reds."

He falsely accused the C.I.O. of making Jersey City the spearhead of a drive to overturn the government, just as Hitler justified his coup d'etat by the Reichstag fire frame-up. He alleged that Harry Bridges had sent 500 "strong-arm men and killers" into Jersey City to destroy the shipping business during the 1936-37 seamen's strike broken up by his own "strong-arm" squads.

Jersey Boss Sees Red

He also declared that William Carney of the C.I.O. had threatened to invade his domain with 3,000 armed men, although he later admitted that Carney's men, whom his cops slugged, arrested and deported last November, numbered less than two hundred and were unarmed.

"The riots, bloodshed and disturbances" accompanying the strikes of the C.I.O. (such as the Memorial Day Massacre) and the sit-down strike itself were to Hague conclusive evidence of the C.I.O.'s revolutionary character and aims. Any self-defensive actions of the workers against the attacks of the bosses or their strikebreaking and any struggle for their rights were proofs of "revolution."

Hague defended all the gangster tactics of his storm troops in expelling "radicals" who tried to speak under his totalitarian regime.

Admires Roosevelt

He humbly professed great admiration for the head of his party, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has not lifted a finger against him, although he repudiated the financial and political support accorded the Democratic Party by the C.I.O.

He urged that all "reds" be exiled to a concentration camp in Alaska and that all radical aliens be deported. "Reds," he said, have no constitutional rights.

Throughout the hearings, Hague mocked his questioners, laughed in their faces, turned the tables on them again and again.

The significance of Hague's actions, featured by the whole American press, must be clearly understood. Hague has deliberately assumed the political leadership of the reactionary offensive in the United States. He voices the sentiments, protects the interests, and carries out the program of Big Business and the most reactionary section of the capitalist class.

Attempt Made To Bar Appeal Sales

NEW YORK.—The owner of a newsstand at Broadway and Marcy Avenues, Brooklyn, reports that a group of youths threatened to withdraw the Daily Worker and Freiheit from his stand if he continued to carry the Socialist Appeal.

This is but another incident in the campaign of the Stalinists to squelch the voice of the revolutionary proletariat in America. Although recently the Stalinists wailed about the attempts of the fascist followers of Father Coughlin to keep the Daily Worker off the newsstands, they find it perfectly consistent to emulate the fascists.

We feel sure that all workers will support and patronize the newsstands that carry the Appeal, and will repel all attempts, by whomsoever made, to ban working-class papers therefrom.

Labor Book Shop Suggests Books For Militants

The entire radical movement and all others interested in the Moscow Trials will be glad to know that Harper & Bros. have finally set a definite publication date for the Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry, June 28. The volume will have approximately as many pages as "The Case of Leon Trotsky." To Miss Suzanne LaFollette, hard-working secretary of the Commission goes the credit for the striking title the volume will bear: "Not Guilty!"

The regular edition will sell for \$3.50. The Labor Book Shop has contracted with the publisher for a paper cover edition which will sell at \$1.50. Advance orders are being taken at 98c up to the date of publication. Mail orders postmarked on that date will be honored at the advance price. Address 28 East 12 Street, New York City.

One of the most thorough studies of German imperialism yet to have appeared has just been published in England by Secker and Warburg under the title of "Germany: World Empire or World Revolution." The author is Gunther Reimann, Marxist economist with a long record of activity in the German labor movement that dates back to the Spartacus Bund. The author was originally commissioned to make this study for the Communist International but completed his work after his break with Stalinism. No one interested in the question of how long Hitler can rule on the shaky foundations of German capitalism can afford to miss this book.

darmes, hoping that Hague will emerge the victor in his fight against the C.I.O. His triumph will be the signal for a concerted campaign against organized labor by the bosses in all fields.

For a Real Struggle

Meanwhile, the C.I.O. concentrates its struggle against Hagueism almost exclusively upon the courts, although so far neither the courts, the capitalist politicians, nor the preachers have advanced their struggle a step. Even if the court should render a favorable decision, who will enforce it in New Jersey? Hague is the law there. He has announced his intention to continue defying the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on the right to distribute handbills. Will he be any the less lenient in regard to union organization?

There is only one power in the state capable of really enforcing any court decree against Hague that will benefit labor organizations and restore the free exercise of their democratic rights to the people of Jersey City. That is the power of organized labor itself.

Hague's cynical challenge must not go unanswered. The C.I.O. must counter his declaration of war against it by taking the struggle against Hague out of the courts, lobbies and backrooms and into the streets and parks where it began. The masses must be organized and prepared for the struggle. The program of action, proposed by the North Jersey District of the Socialist Workers Party and published in this issue, indicates the way Hague's offensive can be beaten back and the political and police apparatus that supports him smashed.

LA NOCHE de la FIESTA See Announcement NEXT WEEK

Kuomintang In Crisis As Japanese Advance Up Yangtse To Hankow

U. S. Courts "Incidents" By Ordering Gunboats To Remain In Zone Of Hostilities; Floods Remain In Zone Of Hostilities; Floods

The surest indication that Chiang Kai-shek is at least thinking in terms of surrender is the fact that the Stalinists in China have come out with a radical threat to defend Hankow with the aid of the "armed masses of Wuhan workers" on the basis of "revolutionary positions."

The Japanese drive on the provisional Kuomintang capital is now being concentrated along the Yangtze River, where Japanese warships are trying to shell their way through barriers in the river channel.

The announcement by Admiral Harry E. Yarnell that American gunboats would remain in the zone of hostilities has paved the way for new "incidents" like the sinking of the Panay last December.

Meanwhile at Hankow itself signs of an internal political crisis have been multiplied. A week ago it seemed that Chiang Kai-shek had decided to abandon the city. Government officials and bureaus had already begun a new exodus farther inland. Evidence was not lacking that high Kuomintang circles, including Chiang Kai-shek himself, were beginning to toy with the idea of seeking a compromise with Japan.

The empty threats of the Stalinists are useless. What is needed is a concrete program that will arouse the masses. This would involve a bold social policy which will satisfy the immediate needs of the workers and peasants who are bearing the chief brunt of the cost of the war; the ruthless expropriation of funds and supplies now hoarded by bankers and merchants in order to provision guerillas and refugees; the setting up of peasants' and workers' committees to exert vigilant control over the handling of these supplies and to rout out the widespread sabotage and corruption which has done so much to sap the Chinese defense; the setting up of villages which will see to it that the wealthy landlords and merchants pay the largest share of the necessary war levies without passing them on to the peasants; and above all, the organization of peasant unions and the launching of a vigorous drive for the seizure of all land by the peasants.

Out of such forces will come the fighting strength which will make it impossible for the invaders to sit secure in a single square mile of Chinese territory. Along this road and along this road alone lies victory in the struggle for Chinese national liberation.

When we recall that this concession was restored to Chinese sovereignty by the independent action of the Hankow workers, who seized it on January 3, 1927, then we see how far from the present calculations of the Kuomintang leaders is the waging of a real war for national liberation for China. The report went on that the British were cool to the proposal. That also shows how far the present meows of the ailing British lion are

LEAFLET LICENSE LAW TO GET TEST CARTER MACK DIES, LOSS TO N. JERSEY

NEW YORK CITY.—The new city code, prohibiting the sale of pamphlets and other literature on the streets without a license, which requires the payment of a fee and wearing a peddler's badge, is to receive a court test as the result of the arrest of two men last week for selling a Socialist Labor Party pamphlet. It is contended by the defense that the law is unconstitutional in view of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Griffin City, Georgia case.

It is obvious that such a provision could be used as effectively against labor and radical organizations as the ordinance against leaflet distribution was used in Hagueville until even Hague's minions were forced to recognize its violation of the constitutional rights of free speech. If it is upheld, labor must demand its repeal.

NEWARK, N. J.—Carter Mack, a Negro comrade and charter member of the Socialist Workers Party, Lenin Branch, of the North Jersey District, died June 13 of illness resulting from pneumonia and overwork.

Comrade Mack was a trade unionist and shipyard worker who for many years was also a leader of unemployed and W.P.A. workers, first in the National Unemployed League and later in the Workers Alliance. His loss is keenly felt both by the local labor and unemployed movement and the S.W.P.

A large delegation from the Workers Alliance, the shipyard workers union of Kearny, and the Socialist Workers Party attended the funeral. Reuben Plasket, chairman of the Alliance local to which comrade Mack belonged, and Marc Davis, representing the S.W.P., spoke at the services.

Stalinist Wreckers Organizing To Break Up Auto Union

(Continued from page 2) The auto union can survive this crisis but it must beat the Stalinist campaign. The 20-point program sets the pace for constructive action and rebuilding

the union into a powerful force to meet the challenge of the depression. The issue is clearly put. It is not a question of crucifying anybody for his opinions. A full and open trial will reveal the facts and the workers will be able to judge for themselves whether these men were justly suspended. In the meantime, the job of every militant, of every honest rank-and-filer, is to stop the Stalinist crew of wreckers and splitters, and to defend the union against their attacks.

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