## Bonapartism Rules In France As Parliament

powers renewed until November, alley of the lesser evil. has sent its dutiful parliament home for summer vacations.

Fired with courage by the their illusions. Seeking the causes cept of advancing any proposal dissolution of the People's Front and of parliament as well.

#### Working Class Stifled

would have sufficed to call into the with discouragement and bring things were proved conclusively: streets the French working class, back to life the moribund fascist that the fight against Hagueism including the tens of thousands movement." of state functionaries, among whom there is a strong strike have crumbled overnight. The a revealing light on the confusecret of his "power" lies pre- sion and disorientation which haphazard, unorganized manner. cisely in the consistent stifling dominate the Socialist Party. But of working class militancy by the this does not alter the fact that the dissatisfied working class bankruptcy. and the bloodthirsty fascists, Daladier, under the tutelage of Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain, has established for the nonce a more efficient Bonapartist regime.

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 short-lived cabinet. The masses ask fearfully: What will come after Daladier? Opposition to the vote in support of Daladier is strong in the ranks of both the Socialist and Communist Parties.

#### Tolerating Daladier

foreign policy with 4,817 votes for his motion. A motion of the semi-Stalinist deputy Zyromski, asking for the immediate reestablishment of a People's Front government and a termination of Spanish non-intervention policy, mustered about 1,700 votes. The left opposition, whose leader, Pivert, as well as the other delegates of the expelled Seine Federation (Paris and its around the demand for a

"People's Front of struggle." Blum achieved his majority at the congress with great difficulty. Chief credit for this victory goes to the Yezhov of the party, general secretary Paul Faure, who intimidated the party membership by brutal organizational slugging of the Parisian left wing. The organizational steps were supplemented by the clever political propaganda of Blum and uine Marxist party, ready to ophis majority. The second-rank pose boldly the priests of the leaders played a radical tune. They asked that an end be put to the Daladier government "at the earliest possible moment."

#### Taste of National Union

Even Paul Faure wrote it 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 establish itself as a centrist forwould be. The Royan congress mation which, though it may gain 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. The maintenance of the external which originally had the same shell of the People's Front is name. the only way to prevent mass outbursts against Daladier's reactionary course and to provide a formal cover for the continual betrayals of the S.P.

Blum therefore has recourse to THE SOCIALIST APPEAL arguments of pure "legality." He says: "The engagements of the People's Front still bind by law (!) the parties who entered into them." And by means of this unique conception of "law" the sophisticated bourgeois attorney Blum engages the working class to accept passively the complete reversal of even those modest measures which the People's Front forced through because of mass pressure.

#### In A Blind Ally

Thus the Socialist party has bitious promises, to fill decadent | ed at 36 West 15th St. bourgeois democracy with genuine | 6th Floor. Phone Algonproletarian content, exactly at | quin 4-7823. the point where the German

The Daladier government, hav- | Social Democracy stood before ing had its plenipotentiary Hitler's victory-in the blind

majority are beginning to lose cowardice of his People's Front of the defeats, one of them wrote admonishers, Daladier took a in Populaire during the prefirm stand against the very con- congress discussion: "The program (of the People's Front) in labor's interests, threatening was actually incapable of realization because, although its end The slightest sign of a willing- policy of the Daladier govern- Park on June 4, in order to let ness to fight on the part of the ment-endorsed by his own party in the band and the hoodlums Stalinist and reformist leaders - "will rapidly instill the masses that broke up the meeting, two

of a Blum supporter and enemy City officials, or Jersey City sentiment. Daladier's power would of the Socialist left wing throws cops alone, and that the fight labor bureaucracy. Maneuvering the writer has touched upon the between the restless campis of secret of the People's Front's

#### 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, to meet the growing mass radicalization after the German defeat with radical phraseology. Paul Faure and Zyromsky wrote about the "dictatorship of the unions. But in Newark, unions proletariat." Blum, with his toy already exist. Byrne, recognizing cannon, fired shots in Populaire the way to take from Newark against the right wing Socialists workers the few advantages they laboration with the party of Da- existing unions, began with his ladier and Herriot.

ism" of the People's Front, more militant organizations, the whose main task was to stifle Workers Alliance, demanding that Nevertheless, at the congress the revolutionary offensive of the it be refused recognition and the of the S.P. held in the early French proletariat. And now the right it had won by many picket days of June in Royan, Blum Socialist Party has reached a new lines to bargain for its members won support for his proposal to turn, naturally under the pres- in the relief stations. Duffy, of take the second. As a matter of talegrate Delegier's demonstic and turn, naturally under the prestolerate Daladier's domestic and sure of the main party of bour- the "liberal" bloc, in charge of breekers and sure of the main party of bourgeois class collaboration, the the police, helped them by turn-Stalinists. It consists in the to- ing over police and detectives to leration of the pre-war Bona- make Malady's investigations. partism of Daladier-Chamberlain.

#### Left Wing Perspectives

What are the forces and perwing? Its membership, amounting to 4,000 at the outside, is concentrated mainly in Paris. It carry out his recommendations. suburbs), were not admitted to commands certain sympathies the convention, rallied 1,400 votes among the Socialist youth, a section of which was expelled for solidarity with Pivert. It also has mination of the Alliance to stop vague sympathizers among the this anti-labor measure (like the Stalinist rank-and-file, Undoubt- determination of the Hudson edly there are favorable objec- County Crucible Steel workers tive possibilties. But in view of not to permit the Hague cops to the past and present political ac- break their recent strikes) and tivity of the leaders, there is their show of strength in mobillittle doubt that they will do izing hundreds of unemployed everything within their power to workers in the City Hall the day lose these possibilities.

> The situation calls for a gen-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. Un- of talks, addressing the veterans' derstandably, they are not pleas- organizations, commending them ed by the hindrances placed in on the fine stand "their leaders" the way of their centrist schemes had taken. "And when it comes by the criticisms of the Fourth to the reds, communists, pinks

The near future will show whether this group will definitely a certain mass influence, will provide another instrument for burying the French revolution. The fact that the party has chosen the name. Workers and Peasants Party, shows that it intends to follow in the footsteps of the Spanish P.O.U.M.

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# apartism Rules In ance As Parliament Is Sent On Vacation Anti-Hague Drive Launched By SWP

A vigorous campaign against the blighting menace of Mayor Hague's reactionary dictatorship, already near-absolute in Jersey But many partisans of Blum's City and extending into other parts of New Jersey, is being conducted by the North Jersey District organization of the Socialist Workers' Party. Following is an abridged version of a leaflet published by our comrades as the starting point in their drive to arouse a mighty movement of the working class to end the Hague dictatorship. -Ed.

When the Newark police open-9 was well established, the means ed up the crowd around Norman to attain it were not foreseen." Thomas as he attempted to speak And the writer feels that the from a stand in Newark Military and what it stands for is not con-Such a statement on the part fined to Jersey City, or Jersey cannot be conducted in a slipshod,

> Now Newark is supposed to be 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

#### Attack On Unions

As Hague met each new attempt and won, Byrne grew more vicious in Newark. He knew 1934. First the Socialists tried the difference between his function and Hague's. Hague was the workers in Jersey City by preventing the organization of who favored governmental col- have was by tearing down the man, Overseer of the Poor, Mal-Then came the "reform radical- ady, an attack on one of the

Then Byrne and Malady called on the veteran's organizations to support them. Reactionary leaders of the Veterans Alliance spectives of Pivert's new left came across nobly, passing resolutions supporting Malady and demanding the City Commission

#### Alliance In Action

It was only the resolute deterthe 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

Temporarily, the anti-labor forces had been checked. But not for good. Byrne made a series or the Workers Alliance," he told them, "rock 'em and sock 'em all the way through!" (Newark Evening News, May 17,

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 Commission or the cops or anythey are successful at this and ized strength! their red scare, they become bolder, enter and wreck union halls, how to smash Hagueism there by kill labor organizers, terrorize showing them how we can smash the wokers, prepare to make the it here! labor movement illegal, and ins-

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 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. Consernumber of unemployed at 13,000,-

#### Bosses On Offensive

In the face of this new depres

sion 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 preventing better conditions for the Newark City Hall. They must they are, in the Jersey City or be stopped short-no one is going to "rock and sock" the labor movement around here and get bosses and the Hagues and the

The enemies of the workers have just taken their first steps along these lines in Newark. They must be stopped before they 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 or workers in the face of this new threat. Organize workers' defense committees! All workers are threatened; all workers must 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

When another Thomas meeting s 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 meetings, beat up workers. If thing else-but your own organ-

Teach the Jersey City workers Build workers' defense com-

## **Build The Socialist Appeal! Forward To** 10,000 Circulation!

## 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 transit did in the first three years of ferred during the past week from the 1929 depression. Quoted stock 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 invative estimates again place the terferring 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 boards for attacking the militant tics. The Federal Judge permitted him wide latitude.

#### Hague on Offensive

On the stand, Hague belliaway with it. If anyone is going gerently transformed himself leaders (except John L. Lewis) New York City, and sympathizers as "Reds." One of the most thorough Among them were the Socialist, studies of German imperialism Norman Thomas, and his fellow-Democrat, Representative Jerry been published in England by O'Connell. He accordingly justi- Secker and Warburg under the fied his denial of free speech and title of "Germany; World Empire free assembly to all of these or World Revolution." The author

fied his coup d'etat by the Reich- originally commissioned to make stag fire frame-up. He alleged this study for the Communist that Harry Bridges had sent 500 International but completed his 37 seamen's strike broken up by rule on the shaky foundations of who seized it on January 3, 1927, ants. 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 character and aims. Any selfagainst 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

#### 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.

on them again and again.

tely 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. "America's 60 Families" have their eyes glued upon the captain of their gen-

#### 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

## 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. Hague cleverly used as spring- The volume will have approximately as many pages as "The labor movement and all his cri- 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 to do any socking, it should be from a witness into a prosecut- for \$3.50. The Labor Book Shop Kai-shek dropped her more-acthe workers who for so long have ing attorney. In real fascist has contracted with the publishbeen denied all the things they fashion the Jersey Fuehrer as- er for a paper cover edition produce for the profits of the sailed the C.I.O. movement as which will sell at \$1.50. Advance "un - American," "Communist," orders are being taken at 98c up and "revolutionary," aiming to to the date of publication. Mail overthrow the government and orders postmarked on that date organized religion by force and will be honored at the advance violence. He branded all C.I.O. price, Address 28 East 12 Street,

> is Gunther Reimann, Marxist eco-He falsely accused the C.I.O. nomist with a long record of actof making Jersey City the spear- ivity in the German labor movestrong-arm men and killers" into work after his break with Stamiss this book.

> > darmes, hoping that Hague will emerge the victor in his fight against the C.I.O. His triumph cool to the proposal. That also road alone lies victory in the

#### labor by the bosses in all fields. For a Real Struggle

Meanwhile, the C.I.O. concentrates its struggle against Hagueism almost exclusively upon will enforce it in New Jersey? as the result of the arrest of two Hague is the law there. He has men last week for selling a Sotinue defying the decision of the is contended by the defense that U.S. Supreme Court on the the law is unconstitutional in right to distribute handbills. Will view of the U.S. Supreme Court Unemployed League and later in he be any the less lenient in re- decision in the Griffin City. gard to union organization?

There is only one power in the ing any court decree against ly against labor and radical or-Hague that will benefit labor or- ganizations as the ordinance ganizations and restore the free against leaflet distribution was exercise of their democratic used in Hagueville until even rights to the people of Jersey Hague's minions were forced to tended the funeral. Reuben Plass City. That is the power of or- recognize its violation of the conganized labor itself.

not go unanswered. The C.I.O. must counter his declaration of war against it by taking the and into the streets and parks where it began. The masses must be organized and prepared Throughout the hearings, Hague for the struggle. The program mocked his questioners, laughed of action, proposed by the North in their faces, turned the tables Jersey District of the Socialist Workers Party and published in The signifiacance of Hague's this issue, indicates the way actions, featured by the whole Hague's offensive can be beaten American press, must be clearly back and the political and police understood. Hague has delibera- 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

By LO SEN

Flood waters of the Yellow River, rushing through breached dikes in northern Honan, have stopped the Japanese threat to Hankow from the north. They are at the same time bringing the aid of the "armed masses of death and untold privation to scores of thousands of peasants abandoned to their fate in the flood area.

The Japanese drive on the provisional Kuomintang capital is now being concentrated along the Yangste River, where Japantheir way through barriers in in the river channel.

#### U. S. Seeks "Incidents"

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 inking of the Panay last Decem-

Meanwhile at Hankow itself

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. In a series of syndicated articles published in the American press, Mme. Chiang customed pose of hypocritical hand-raising to God and the democracies, and hinted very broadly that her husband might be smarter to think in terms of the new "realism" in world politics than to wait until the democracies in their own good time came

#### Offer Britain Concession

more effectively to China's aid.

ors to save it from Japan was has done so much to sap the report to the effect that the of committees in all towns and Chinese had actually offered to villages which will see to it that head of a drive to overturn the ment that dates back to the return their former Hankow con- the wealthy landlords and mergovernment, just as Hitler justi- Spartacus Bund. The author was cessions to the British in the chants pay the largest share of hopes that British troops would the necessary war levies without be sent there.

German capitalism can afford to then we see how far from the present calculations of the the fighting strength which will Kuomintang leaders is the wag- make it impossible for the ining of a real war for national vaders to sit secure in a single liberation for China. The report square mile of Chinese territory. went on that the British were | Along this road and along this will be the signal for a concert- shows how far the present meows struggle for Chinese national ed campaign against organized of the ailing. British lion are liberation.

from the roars of a decade ago. 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 Wuhan workers" on the basis of "revolutionary positions." Value to Moscow

The "National United Front' for which the Stalinists trampled on and destroyed these "revese warships are trying to shell olutionary positions" rests entirely upon continued Kuomintang resistance to the Japanese, because this is the principal value of the pact to the Soviet bureaucracy. Should this resistance cease, the whole situation would naturally be transformed.

But it is precisely for this contingency that the Stalinists have least prepared themselves and the masses by their wholesale capitulation to Chiang Kaishek and the bourgeoisie, their signs of an internal political abandonment of the struggles of crisis have been multiplied. A the workers and peasants. It is week ago it seemed that Chiang indeed, however, u p o n the Kai-shek had decided to abandon strength of the "armed masses" and upon revolutionary policies based upon the "revolutionary position" of those masses that the successful prosecution of the struggle in reality depends.

#### Road to Victory

The empty threats of the Sta-

linists 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' commit-The extent to which the Chinese the handling of these supplies tees to exert vigilant control over bourgeoisie is looking to its and to rout out the widespread Anglo-American imperialist ment- sabotage and corruption which indicated by a New York Times Chinese defense; the setting up passing them on to the peasants: When we recall that this con- and above all, the organization cession was restored to Chinese of peasant unions and the launch Jersey City to destroy the ship- linism. No one interested in the sovereignty by the independent ing of a vigorous drive for the ping business during the 1936- question of how long Hitler can action of the Hankow workers, seizure of all land by the peas-

Out of such forces will come

#### LEAFLET LICENSE LAW TO GET TEST

NEW YORK CITY.-The new Georgia case.

It is obvious that such a prostate capable of really enforc- vision could be used as effectivestitutional rights of free speech. mand its repeal.

#### CARTER MACK DIES LOSS TO N. JERSEY

NEWARK, N. J .- Carter Mack, the Memorial Day Massacre!) the courts, although so far nei- city code, prohibiting the sale of a Negro comrade and charter and the sit-down strike itself ther the courts, the capitalist pamphlets and other literature member of the Socialist Workers were to Hague conclusive evidence politicians, nor the preachers on the streets without a license, Party, Lenin Branch, of the of the C.I.O.'s revolutionary have advanced their struggle a which requires the payment of North Jersey District, died June step. Even if the court should a fee and wearing a peddler's 13 of illness resulting from defensive actions of the workers render a favorable decision, who badge, is to receive a court test pneumonia and overwork. unionist and shippard worker announced his intention to con- cialist Labor Party pamphlet. It who for many years was also a

leader of unemployed and W.P.A. workers, first in the National 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 atkett, chairman of the Alliance local to which comrade Mack be-Hague's cynical challenge must If it is upheld, labor must de- senting the S.W.P. spoke at the longed, and Marc Davis, repre-

## struggle against Hague out of the courts, lobbies and backrooms Stalinist Wreckers Organizing To Break Up Auto Union

(Continued from page 2)

cratic missteps fade into insig- pression. The issue is clearly presented by the Stalinist cam- fying anybody for his opinions. paign. The attitude of such as A full and open trial will reveal Walter Reuther, who says "a the facts and the workers will plague on both your houses" and be able to judge for themselves then votes for the Stalinist re- whether these men were justly solutions, is cowardly and delib- suspended. erately misleading.

structive action and rebuilding against their attacks.

the union into a powerful force to meet the challenge of the denificance compared to the danger put. It is not a question of cruci-

In the meantime, the job of The auto union can survive every militant, of every honest this crisis but it must beat the rank-and-filer, is to stop the Stal-Stalinist campaign. The 20-point inist crew of wreckers and splitprogram sets the pace for con- ters, and to defend the union