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History Repeats!

(Continued from page 1)

into Marseille to break a strike of the dock workers there. Subsequently the government took the extreme measure of militarizing the port and mobilizing the workers for work under military rule. This was the advance notice in France of what war "for democracy" means to the working class. Far from protesting, the General Confederation of Labor, whose chief, Leon Jouhaux, was in Mexico this week, mouthing wordy threats "against Fascism" and whooping it up for war, issued a communique announcing its support of the government's drastic anti-labor stand. The Socialist Party has dutifully followed suit.

Most rabid of all the war-mongering traitors in the labor movement are the Stalinists, the once-revolutionary Third International which has now become, with the degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy, the most reactionary force within the international labor movement. In France and Britain today they stand most openly for war against Hitler because that today serves the aims of the reactionary Soviet bureaucracy. In this country Earl Browder and his Communist Party have already announced their readiness to fight for American imperialism and have as the main core of their agitation the demand that this country join in the war alliances of Europe.

It is at this fateful, historic moment that a new voice is raised in the international labor movement, a voice that speaks for the community of workers' interests in all lands, for the real fight against war through the fight against capitalism, "democratic" or fascist, for the fight to free the world of heltery and starvation through the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order and the building of world socialism—the voice of the Fourth International! Small today, it shall be heard with increasing insistence, for it alone translates the burning desires of toilers everywhere for a real democratic peace, a workers' democratic peace, and an end to the false legends of capitalist democracy which are only a miserable, ragged cloak for the worst exploitation of the working masses over the entire world!

The great masses of workers today, ground under the heel of war-mongering Fascist rulers, will be inspired to rise against their masters only by the most militant working-class action of the workers in other countries against their own masters, not by a war of horror waged viciously against them.

The solution of the anguish that now rides the world lies not in turning the masses of toilers against each other in every land under false pretenses of "defending" democracy. That fight will be fought on a world-wide front by all workers against all the masters with whom they have nothing, no interests whatever, in common.

"Democratic" Britain rules nearly half a billion people in its empire with the harsh iron hand of a military dictatorship. "Democratic" France not only enslaves the blacks of equatorial Africa, but is already lashing its workers at home with the whips of military rule. "Democratic" United States has plans completed for the militarization of labor in the event of a war emergency.

Democracy is a lying myth under capitalism. Let us not be fooled into thinking otherwise. That myth took twenty million of our best working-class lives only two decades ago. Today under the shadow of war we must learn how to cram it down the throats of those who are trying to lead us into a new slaughter that shall be a hundred times more horrible and more costly than the last one.

Let us raise high the banner of the Fourth International, the standard of workers of all lands to follow to the destruction of capitalism, to a socialist peace, to the genuine democracy of free workers' rule. It alone leads away from barbarism. It alone speaks at this dark hour for the brave new world of the future.

Guard the Security of Trotsky!

It is no accident that another plot against the life of Leon Trotsky is laid by the American agents of the G.P.U. at this time. At a time when the nations of Europe, "democratic" and fascist, are teetering on the edge of a new war, and the organized labor movement and the Stalinists are doing their utmost to lead the workers to the slaughter of a new imperialist war, it is necessary to silence, if possible, the one voice that will speak loudest against this shameful treachery.

Agents of the G.P.U. are in Mexico today for the sole purpose of trying to kill Trotsky. Acting under orders from New York City, the

G.P.U. center in this hemisphere, they are trying to create a "favorable atmosphere" for a terrorist act against Trotsky. Hernan Laborde, leader of the Mexican Communist Party, returned to Mexico City from New York after an illegal visit here, with orders to hasten the accomplishment of this task, now a primary one in the eyes of the international Stalinist mafia whose list of victims is already so long.

Not all the persecution of his followers in the Soviet Union, the murder of his son Leon Sedoff and of his other three children, nor the murder of his closest aides and collaborators, like Erwin Wolfe, kidnapped in Spain, and Rudolf Klement, who "disappeared" from the heart of Paris, have been able to silence the firm voice of revolutionary Marxism in Leon Trotsky. The G.P.U. will seek now to do so directly.

Vigilance must be doubled and trebled. Revolutionary militants must throw a steel wall of protection around Trotsky. Guarding him with all the resources at our command, we answer the G.P.U. mafia with the creation of the Fourth International and the forging of the tempered revolutionary weapons which will know how to provide the antidote for the poison of Stalinism in the international labor movement.

At this critical time, more than ever before, vigilance around Trotsky! Vigilance and determination to put an end to the terrorism of Stalin's G.P.U. by arousing against it the fury of the workers it so shamefully betrays!

Minneapolis Leads the Way Again!

Once again General Drivers' Local 544 has gone to the front for the entire labor movement! The Executive Board has taken steps (reported elsewhere in this issue) for the organization of a union defense guard to protect it against boss class violence.

Continued and open threats against the Minneapolis union movement by vigilantes, fascist Silver Shirts and other employer-paid mobsters found a fitting retort in the organization of this fighting phalanx. If the workers of Minneapolis, admitted by the Department of Labor to be one of the best organized towns in the country, found it necessary to set up a defense corps, certainly the need is far more pressing in other sections.

The workers in New Jersey, harassed and terrorized by Mayor ("I am the Law") Hague's pensioned thugs cannot move a step forward without a defense organization to protect their strikes, their unions, their halls, their meetings and their leaders. Steel workers clubbed and murdered by Girdler's gang of jailbird deputies during the "little steel" strike, strikers driven from their homes by vigilantes in Westwood, California—over the wide expanse of the United States the labor movement faces annihilation at the hands of the fascist bands unless a wall of steel—of guards standing ready to exchange blow for blow in defense of their organizations—is built around the unions.

The progressive unions of Minneapolis in organizing the defense guards are again demonstrating that great self-reliance which made their existence possible and assured their success. They built the unions themselves—the workers did it on the picket lines—they did not beg the capitalist politicians or their boards to do the job for them. Now the very men who built the unions are being called upon to defend them. They alone can or will.

They have profited from the lessons of the steel strike: the leaders called on the Governor and the National Guard for protection. The Governor and the National Guard smashed the strike. They profited from the lessons of Jersey City: the wind-jamming liberals invoked their constitutional rights and pleaded with Roosevelt to do something about Hague. Hague knocked the constitution into a cocked hat, and Roosevelt's Department of Justice gave him a clean bill of health.

Minneapolis is not waiting on mayors and governors and laws and begging with outstretched hand. A concentration camp lies at the end of that road, as the workers of Germany and Italy so tragically discovered. They are acting. The rest of the labor movement cannot afford to ignore their example. The unions cannot postpone the organization of workers' defense guards for a single day!

The New Deal Speaks On Hague

The Department of Justice's G-men have made quite a reputation for themselves chasing kidnapers of wealthy children and spying out radicals.

In their files they have more than 8,000,000 U. S. fingerprints neatly catalogued, and they add many thousands daily. Their ample quarters in the imposing new Department of Justice Building feature the very latest in chemical, X-Ray, and microscopic equipment.

But, somehow, all of this fancy apparatus seems to have developed a simultaneous blind spot.

For the last five months it has been submitting the Principality of Hague to examination. The report of the examination has just been issued: No evidence of violation of civil liberties or infringements of Federal statutes in Jersey City.

This verdict will certainly be a relief to the C.I.O. organizers who have been thrown out of Jersey City, to the Hague opponents who have been jailed, to the candidates counted out of office by stuffed ballot boxes, to Norman

Company Unionism In New York Primaries

A.L.P. Is Tail To Kite of Boss Parties

By JAMES BURNHAM

Recent developments in the New York state primary campaign are serving to bring out the futility of the coalition policy adopted by the leadership of the American Labor Party. The result of the coalition policy, originally argued for as giving the A.L.P. the key position in New York politics, has been to send the A.L.P. further and further into the background, and to leave the field of the current elections under the clear domination of the two bourgeois parties.

The outstanding contest for those nominations to be decided in the direct primary, September 20, is occurring in the Democratic struggle in the Sixteenth Congressional District between Representative O'Connor, incumbent chairman of the House Rules Committee, and the Administration-backed James H. Fay. In this fight the A.L.P. acts only as an obedient ward heeler for Farley. The A.L.P. meekly forbore putting up an independent candidate of its own, and is running Fay, unopposed, on its ticket.

Fay Machine Politician
 Farley, as is to be expected, gave the A.L.P. absolutely nothing in return for this capitulation. The A.L.P. had not the slightest voice in naming Fay. Fay himself is an old-time machine politician, a Tammany stalwart, and one of the chief links between Tammany and the national Administration. From the point of view of the workers, there is not two cents' worth of difference between O'Connor and Fay.

The humiliating consequences of the coalition policy, of the failure to launch resolutely into one hundred per cent independent working-class politics, are, however, to be seen even more strikingly in the case of the state-wide offices (governor, short-term and long-term Senators), nominations for which are to be decided at the party conventions following the primaries.

In the case of these offices, the A.L.P. leaders have made not one single move toward the naming of independent candidates, and the organization of a genuine independent campaign. From the beginning, they have let it be known that they will make a deal with one or the other of the old parties.

A.L.P. Trails Along
 The illusion was spread that in this way the A.L.P. would have the deciding voice in picking the nominees of at least one of the old parties. Naturally, nothing of the sort is happening.

When the old party bosses saw the tactic of the A.L.P., saw that the A.L.P. was subordinating itself wholly in these instances to capitalist politics, they realized that they no longer had to take the A.L.P. into account. They are simply going ahead to straighten out their own internal difficulties, knowing that when they have finished, the A.L.P. will have to trail along whatever has been the outcome.

Their difficulties are, it is true, embarrassing. The Republicans now plan to nominate Tom Dewey, riding high on the crest of his racket-busting wave, for the governorship. With Lehman already declared for the two remaining years of Copeland's unexpired term, and Senator Wagner a candidate to succeed himself for the six-year term, the Democrats feel they have no candidate for the governorship strong enough to put against Dewey. Strenuous efforts are being made to get Lehman to reconsider, and to run again for the governorship; but if these fail, they will doubtless have to fall back on Representative Mead of Buffalo.

Face Predicament
 If, however, Lehman runs against Dewey, the A.L.P. will be placed in an absurd predicament. Dewey was supported with great fanfare by the A.L.P. when he ran for the office of District Attorney. Lehman, during the last

two years, has publicly fought the New Deal bills such as the Executive Reorganization Plan and the Supreme Court revision—upon which the A.L.P. leaders have claimed the progress of the country depended. Nevertheless, the tie-up of the A.L.P. leadership with Roosevelt would in virtual certainty compel it to support Lehman.

The result of such backings and fillings can only be to disillusion workers about the whole conception of working-class politics. They see the party which they are trying to build as the expression of their own political interests being batted back and forth like a shuttlecock between the two old capitalist parties.

Bosses Pick Candidate
 No trade unionist would ever stand for a situation in which, when choosing a business agent for his union, he was told to endorse one or another of two candidates named by committees of the bosses. This, however, is exactly comparable to what the A.L.P. leadership is proposing with respect to the state-wide offices. The Republicans and Democrats will name their candidates during the week following the primaries. The A.L.P. State Committee will then meet, and, according to present plans, will argue merely as to which of these sets shall be put on the A.L.P. ticket.

This outcome would not occur so placidly and automatically if, between now and that time the voice of the actual members of the A.L.P. and of the unions which adhere to it were heard to the effect that workers have as little use for company-unionism in political as in economic affairs. The time has come for New York workers to remind Alex. Roso that the American Labor Party is their property, not a blank check issued in his name. If the reminder is too long delayed, there will be nothing but a deficit left in the bank.

What Good Work, Mr. President?

(Continued from page 1)

tion of grain means a smaller income for the farmer without satisfying the millions of hungry, so long is it a mockery to boast about any improvement.

One need not go outside of Roosevelt's Labor Day speech to discover why the present administration has not been able and will not be able to achieve a real improvement in the condition of the masses. To Roosevelt the unity of all groups, excluding perhaps the few "economic royalists," is something worthwhile to strive for. To include only the workers, poor farmers and the lower urban middle class but also the "good" capitalists is his idea of unity.

Roosevelt wants to represent all classes; in fact he stated that he defends the capitalists to the farmers and workers and he defends the farmers and workers to the capitalists. And that is exactly why he has failed miserably in his attempts to get out of the economic morass in which this country has been immersed since 1929.

Unity is essential but a unity of those who are exploited, of the workers and poor farmers. How can the economic crisis be abated if the profits of the bosses are to be given consideration? When factories are idle and workers unemployed the most natural solution is for the government to take over the idle factories and put the unemployed to work. But since Roosevelt and his liberal followers believe in the sanctity

Hathaway 'Forgets' London But Doesn't Deny Murder

"Noah London was not a contributor to the Daily Worker; he was not a member of the Communist Party; I never heard of him; there never was such a person."

With these words Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, speaking in Lynn, Mass., for the Communist Party, last week, disavowed a leading Jewish militant and founder of the American Communist Party, now reported shot in Moscow.

Though Hathaway's memory conveniently failed, other members of the C. P. still remember that Noah London was a leading spirit in the foundation of the Freiheit, communist daily newspaper, and member of its editorial staff during the early years of its existence. Some will remember also that he was a member of the party's Educational Committee and director of the Workers' School since its foundation.

What the members of the C. P. would like to forget is that Noah London went to the Soviet Union with his wife, to place his technical talent at the disposal of the Soviet Union. Since then it has been reported that London has been executed by the Soviet bureaucracy. The complete silence of the Communist Party and London's old friends still in the Party is tacit proof of the report's truth. The shameful lies of Hathaway confirm the fears that another revolutionist has been murdered by Stalin's executioners.

Power Prepare World Conflict

(Continued from page 1)

the specter that is feared most of all in Downing Street, at the Quai d'Orsay, the Wilhelmstrasse, and the Chigi Palace alike—the specter of revolution that will put an end to the Fascist dictators and their "democratic" counterparts in Western Europe.

The world stands at a fateful crossroad. The status quo is intolerable for all the class forces in conflict. For the capitalists caught in the insoluble contradictions they themselves created at the end of the last war, the only remaining solution increasingly appears to be a plunge into a new war, with its concomitant Fascist control over the workers in all countries.

For the workers the alternative is to fall victim to the capitalist deception once more or to raise their heads and in resolute conflict to dissipate it once and for all. To the latter aim, the Fourth International dedicates itself and all its forces.

Thomas, run out of town when trying to make a speech, to unionists beaten up and terrorized, to workers slugged and arrested when trying to distribute leaflets or sell labor papers.

Some of these have felt in the past that their rights were being overthrown by Hague. Now they can take comfort. The New Deal itself has spoken. And the New Deal explains to them that Hague has acted exactly in accord with its own ideas of democracy and good government. Since—as everyone knows—the New Deal represents progress against reaction, all should now be willing to drop these petty complaints against Hague's bad manners, and should join hands for a sweeping vote in November for the Hague-Roosevelt Democratic Party.

There may, of course, be a few habitual grumblers who will not be satisfied with the verdict of the Department of Justice.

They might even be drawing rather sharp lessons from that verdict. They might be deciding that the verdict shows that Hague and Hageism are part and parcel of the New Deal, that Hague is simply Roosevelt without so charming a smile. They might be concluding that the workers of New Jersey are going to get rid of Hague and Hageism by themselves, through their own strength, or are not going to get rid of them at all. Not even the Great Liberal in the White House, sad to say, is going to do the workers' job for them.

Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

A PROPHECY COME TRUE

Shortly after the last war, while covering a National Guard encampment for a duPont-owned newspaper, I attended a class session in anti-aircraft warfare. The instructor, an army captain, in discussing the possibilities of another world holocaust, "skinned it as primarily a war of the air in which whole cities would be wiped out. At one point in his talk, he hinted of the probable use of germs to snuff out populations.

I quoted the officer in a story sent to the Wilmington (Del.) Morning News and when he read it on the following day, he waxed indignant. Such military classroom information was solely for those on the regimental grounds, he argued, and not for public consumption. In a word, the people must be kept in ignorance as regards the plans of the war-makers and of the fate that awaited them.

Developments of the last few weeks have stirred up memories of the army captain's lecture. It seems now, some eighteen years later, that he spoke as a prophet.

With the world on the verge of a new conflagration, two significant announcements have come from the War Department. The army's national air base is to be shifted to Illinois. From the military viewpoint this removal from the East to a central point in the land is calculated to better coordinate and facilitate warplane operations in the Atlantic and Pacific areas as well as in Mexico and the Latin-American countries.

Also, the army has awarded contracts for rapid fire anti-aircraft guns and carriages sufficient to equip thirty-two regiments for air battle. The magnitude of these war preparations become more apparent if one bears in mind that the anti-aircraft defenses at the present time comprise sixty or seventy guns for only six or seven regiments.

During the last year or so, our civilization was horror-stricken by the repeated barbarous attacks of Spanish fascists on defenseless men, women and children. No less are the world's peoples horrified by the ruthless Japanese raids on Chinese cities, with the killing of innocent and helpless human beings by the tens of thousands.

Yet, in spite of the unprecedented massacres, military men view the present slaughter of non-combatants as a feeble imitation of what will happen when the big war breaks out. It is pointed out that while the Spanish fascists are using 500 and 800-pound bombs, because they have no larger ones, the major powers will shower on city and countryside bombs weighing a ton each and more to wreak death and destruction.

The War Department's preparations dovetail perfectly with the elaborate plans of the New Deal administration for quick mobilization and nationalization of industries in the event of war. Success of the New Deal program would mean fascization of the nation the instant war was declared or hostilities begun without a formal declaration.

Needless to say, the nation's workers and farmers cannot and must not overlook this threat to their liberties. Militant workers must start intensive campaigns at once for unionization of all war industries. Trade unionists should call on the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. to cover every mill, mine, shop and office in the war-danger organization drives.

Only by strong, united ranks will the workers and farmers be in a position to fight off fascist war decrees and act in their own interests when the Wall Street imperialists begin to herd the masses for the new blood bath.

PROSECUTION GOES A-BEGGING

It is most amazing how prosecutors, who lay claim to alertness in weeding out crime and criminals and eagerness to swelling their records for convictions, affect an air of naivete on some matters of gravest concern to the masses of the people.

The circulation of petitions in New York City by the Nazis urging legislation to bar Jews from holding public office or civil service jobs is clearly a violation of a State law enacted more than fifteen years ago to end racial discrimination and attacks by secret societies and all other groups. At the time of its introduction, the measure was aimed at curbing the Ku Klux Klan. Today the Nazis are carrying on the depredations where the K.K.K. left off and with more vigor.

Their activities have brought protests from dozens of organizations, and newspapers have been flooded with letters by individuals against Nazi terrorism.

Many of the lawless actions of recent months were initiated in the little Brown House on Eighty-third Street, which is within the jurisdiction of Thomas E. Dewey, high-powered and ambitious prosecutor, who is ready to accept the nomination for governor by the Republican party. Why has Dewey closed his eyes to the much-needed inquiry into Nazi violence and general law-breaking? Why has he not moved for indictments against leaders of the German-American Bund in Yorkville, who are responsible for a long series of crimes ranging from cajoling retailers into buying German-made goods to kidnaping opponents of the Hitler organization?

Why is Attorney-General John J. Bennett silent? He, too, is ambitious, seeking the Democratic nomination for the governorship. Indeed, he has already appealed for support by the State Federation of Labor.

Evidence is abundant that the Nazis are spreading their anti-religious propaganda throughout the State and that open meetings fanning race hatred are being held regularly in violation of New York statute. Newspapers have published ample accounts of the lawless antics by Hitler's tools, and still the Attorney-General appears to be one of the very few unaware of the rotten mess.

Why doesn't United States Attorney Lamar Hardy get busy quite apart from the gesture of sending assistants to Germany for interviewing some one or other, who couldn't talk even if he wanted? Secret meetings of Nazi leaders have been held even if the German consulate in New York City. At least one prominent ship line official is known to be operating here as an agent for the Hitler government.

There may be many reasons for the astonishing display of naivete on the part of the prosecutors. None of these reasons, however, can be of any benefit to America's masses, who have demonstrated time and again that they abhor fascism and want every semblance of it eliminated.

Pressure on the recalcitrant district attorneys will no doubt put them on the spot and serve to further awaken the masses to the menace that surrounds them. But decisive action must not be expected by any legalized red tape. There can be no illusions about that. To exterminate the Nazi scourge, the workers and farmers themselves must organize and act.

MASS MEETING
"WAR CRISIS IN EUROPE"
 PROMINENT SPEAKERS
 FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23—8 P. M.
 Beethoven Hall, 5th St. and 3rd Avenue
 Auspices: Socialist Workers Party Local New York