

REVOLT

Vol. 2, No. 6

Published by Demos Press for the Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Workers League, U. S., Box 141, Alfred Station,
Detroit, Michigan

April 29, 1939

May Day

REACTIONARY TIDE RISES IN U. S.
Story of the Barcelona Uprising in 1937

Strike Dodge Truck vs Company Bulldozing

What is the Foreign Policy of the U. S. Gov't?
Tragedy of the Political Emigration in Russia
Spanish Refugees Put in Concentration Camps
Stop the Persecution of Marcus Graham!

Concentration Camps for Aliens

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Struggle for Bread

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CAPITALISM

Professor Henry B. Hass, head of the Department of Chemistry at Purdue University, made an accidental discovery in his laboratory last summer as a result of which he opened up the possibility of making, synthetically, some and possible all of the amino acids which are the most important constituents of protein which, in turn, is the most important constituent of protoplasm out of which all life is created. The secret of his discovery lies in combining nitrogen in a vapor phase with elements with which it could not be combined in liquid form. He has worked out a process known as vapor phase nitration.

Professor Hass has explained that the possibilities of synthesizing protein is at present only of scientific importance. But his process has already yielded practical results.

One of these is a method for making cheap and unlimited production of high explosives from air, steam and natural gas. The United States controls 98% of the world's supply of natural gas. As a result Dr. Frank C. Whitmore of Pennsylvania State College foresees new industries valued at \$3,000, 000.

FINANCED BY HERCULES

Dr. Hass' investigations were financed by the Hercules Powder Company. Hercules Powder Company and Atlas Powder Company were split off from duPont in 1913 by the U.S. government under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. But both companies have foreign subsidiaries which they own jointly with duPont, and duPont men are on the directorates of these companies. Hercules, Atlas and duPont are the largest explosive manufacturers in the United States.

In 1918 Col. E.G. Bruckner, Vice-President of duPont, said: The total value of all our contracts for military business to date is: \$1,011,000,000...(in) the year in which the company did the largest amount of business prior to the War, when our total sales of all commodities aggregated a little over \$36,000,000." With the second world war about to break out, Dr. Whitmore's estimate is therefore not one bit utopian, but entirely reasonable.

So a scientist makes an important discovery which advances mankind toward the creation of life; it is immediately adapted to the destruction of millions of human beings out of which a few men anticipate billions in profit. That is capitalism.

"Among the natural sciences biology has the opportunity to do the big new things so far as their immediate effect on human living is concerned, and I have no doubt that in the field of public health and control of disease, the cessation of the continuous production of the unfit, etc., big advances will be made...the foregoing forecast was based on the assumption that our present civilization would not be destroyed..."

- Professor Robert A. Millikan at a dinner arranged by the Merchants Association to herald the opening of the New York World's Fair.

M A Y D A Y

REACTIONARY TIDE RISES IN U. S.

SLOGAN FOR DEFENSE: STAND UP AND FIGHT

May 1, 1886 saw enormous demonstrations in the United States for the eight hour day.

In 1889 the Socialist International, at that time, the leader of the revolutionary workers of the world, proclaimed May first as a day of international solidarity.

May Day is the contribution of the American workers to the world wide struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors.

May 1, 1939 finds the workers of the United States on the defensive all along the line as their enemies, the capitalists, launch attack after attack on their standard of living and their rights which have been won by long and often bloody struggle.

In 1933 and 34 and again in 1936 and 37 the greatest strike waves in the history of the country swept the land. Wages were increased, hours shortened, conditions improved, unions organized. The peak of this struggle came in auto in 1937 where hundreds of thousands of fighting auto workers tied up the greater part of the most highly concentrated industry in the world and changed class relations in their favor. At that time a strike was brewing in the steel industry, and on the west coast the sailors were striking for improvement of their conditions, and for the first time all the contracts with the United Mine Workers were expiring simultaneously on March 31. Battles of greater scope with profound implications for revolutionary development was looming up. The working class was moving with seven league boots to make up for lost time. The capitalists trembled with fear.

CIO LEADERSHIP HALTS STRIKE MOVEMENT

But the strike movement was halted. The Lewis leadership of the CIO signed an agreement with the U.S. Steel Company's subsidiaries without consulting the workers and put the lid on their stirrings. In auto agreements were reached with the corporations which sold out the auto workers upon whom they were imposed by the corporations and the union leadership.

Then came the swift drop in production and wage cuts on a national scale. Today the attack of the capitalists is rising to new heights in a determined drive to wipe out the gains of the strike waves.

Minnesota Votes Curb on Unions, Bill Restricts Picketing and Outlaws Sit-Down Strikes--United Press. Wisconsin Votes to Limit Picketing and Outlaw Sit-Down Strikes--Associated Press. The California District Court of Appeals ruled that closed shop union contracts were illegal in California. The New York State Assembly voted a bill prohibiting employment by the state government and the teaching system of persons advocating the overthrow of the government.

Aliens are thrown off WPA. Colonel Harrington has announced that WPA rolls have been cut 150,000. The President is reported favoring the Byrnes bill in Congress which would abolish all WPA white collar projects, throwing three quarters of a million more workers off the rolls to starve.

The National Labor Relations Board has ruled that it is o.k. for craft unions to operate in plants where industrial unions have the majority of the workers. The bituminous coal operators refuse to remove the penalty clause on strikes from the new contracts to be signed with the aim of permitting the A.F. of L. to raid the United Mine Workers.

Lewis and the Stalinists on the one hand, and Green and his gang on the other, continue to pit the workers against one another while the corporations are advancing all along the line.

RULING CLASS PREPARES FOR WAR

Congress is appropriating millions to speed military, naval and air armament. Shipyards report orders for the next five years. The aircraft industry is booming. The ruling class is preparing for war. One of the most important plans in its strategy is to make the workers stand the cost by beating down wages and wiping out unions.

This May Day reaction is on the march. How far will it go?

It will go just as far as the workers let it go. If they don't stop it it can go all the way to complete and open dictatorship. But if they stand up and fight they can stop it in its tracks. More. They can turn the tide the other way.

That is what we need, a nation-wide struggle against the rising tide of reaction; a determination to beat it back before it breaks the backbone of the labor movement; the perspective of developing the struggle into an offensive for the improvement of conditions, hours and wages, for the construction of strong unions, for unity in the union field.

Against every attempt to cut wages, fire stewards, prohibit or limit picketing there should be determined resistance. The attempt to throw hundreds of thousands off the relief rolls ought to meet with the biggest demonstrations ever seen.

Strikes and demonstrations--MASS ACTION--is the way to stop the tide of reaction. The no-strike policy of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. leadership must be scrapped if the workers are going to defend themselves against their enemies.

When the workers move forward again the opportunities to build a revolutionary party in this country will be increased a thousand-fold. But to do that we must sound the alarm, awaken the workers to the danger and show a clear road to struggle. Today-defense; tomorrow-victory.

LOS ANGELES, April 12.- For Buddy Merriel, 17 year old high school student, President Roosevelt's hint that America would back the British and French against further German expansion carried the implication of war. Buddy's widowed mother found him in the garage, garroted by his bookstrap, which was looped around an exercise bar.- Chicago Tribune.

STRIKE DODGE TRUCK vs COMPANY BULLDOZING

NO-STRIKE POLICY OF TOP UNION LEADERSHIP EXERTS REACTIONARY PRESSURE

DETROIT, April 21.- At eleven this morning two thousand workers employed at the new Dodge truck plant at 21,500 Mound Road, Macomb County, Michigan, went on strike in protest against the dismissal of Johnny Kuhns who refused to be bulldozed by the company's foreman, Wagner. Johnny Kuhns is the oldest man in Department 81, holding the highest seniority in that Department.

Department 81 men cut heavy rivets and bolts, rivet frames and, where extra long frames are demanded for trucks, they cut the frames, drill the holes for and rivet on the extension pieces. This is heavy repair work, not line work. The men of this Department have a feeling of resentment against line work. What the company foreman did was tell Kuhns to do riveting on the line while he put another man with less seniority in his place. When Kuhns refused he was fired.

FIRED FOR INSUBORDINATION

Kuhns figured that working on the line was working out of his classification. Only when the President of the Local, 140 of the U.A.W., prevailed upon Kuhns for the sake of peace to accept the new assignment for at least one day did Kuhns submit. Nevertheless the plant manager, Hyde, insisted that the foreman fire him for insubordination.

The workers, without even a suggestion from their union representatives in the plant, certainly with full knowledge of the fact that the misleaders heading the International Union put thumbs down on such action, walked out of the plant in solidarity with Kuhns. At eleven thirty the export workers in another building added their strength to the protest by also walking out.

The no-strike policy of the top leadership of the U.A.W. played a reactionary role. Out of fear of reprisals the International leadership the membership and certainly the union representatives in the plant refrained from picketing and shied away from the use of the word strike. They called it a walk out. As if a walk out were not a strike.

It is reported that a settlement has been reached between the International President, R.J. Thomas, and Weckler of the Chrysler Corporation and that the men are to return to work Monday morning. The Company has not promised to take Kuhns back but the union members have been told that Kuhns is to return to work along with them.

If Kuhns is not reinstated the settlement is apt to be a very short-lived one as the workers in the truck plant are well aware of the fact that anything done in their interests will be through their own initiative and activity. If the management does reinstate Kuhns it will be because of this spontaneous demonstration of solidarity on the part of the union membership in the plant which the company cannot easily ignore. If it refuses to reinstate Kuhns it will be because it feels that the time is opportune for them to undermine the union in the truck plant so as to proceed further with speed-up and bulldozing.

AUTO WORKER.

WHAT IS THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE U.S. GOV'T?

WHAT IS BEHIND ROOSEVELT'S BLASTS AGAINST THE DICTATORS?

What is the foreign policy of the United States Government? Ever since Munich a great discussion has been going on in the press and now in Congress over what course the government should take in the present situation and in the event of war. Whatever is finally crystallized will be shaped by the following vital considerations.

Munich was the lightning flash which showed the ruling class of this country that the time had finally come when the Second World War was an imminent reality. Immediately it became necessary to adopt a policy and apply it with the utmost vigor to protect the foreign and domestic investments and interests of the richest ruling class on earth. The President was the first to act. He made a vast increase in armaments on land, on the sea and in the air a major plank in his program. In the 1938 elections no one challenged this plank although other New Deal policies were made the issues in a number of states.

In more recent months he has made several speeches against dictators and on April 14th he dramatically addressed a note to Hitler and Mussolini in which he practically asked them to admit that they are a menace to the peace. His administration has aided French and British armament in various ways and imposed new restrictions on German exports to this country. The slogan of continental solidarity has been issued to line up Latin America, ostensibly against German and Italian aggression. And pledges have been made to Canada to defend that country against aggression.

At first sight it would appear that the foreign policy of the government is based on the proposition that the interests of the ruling class are directly menaced by German and Italian expansion. But it must be obvious to anyone with any knowledge of the situation of these countries and with that of the United States that there is no fundamental antagonism between the totalitarian states and the United States. In fact there is a sharper antagonism between German and Italian imperialist interests over south-eastern Europe than there is between them and the United States.

GOLD RESERVES

Neither on the economic, commercial nor military planes do the totalitarian states menace the interests of America's sixty families. One fact above all others should settle this question. 58% of the estimated gold reserve of the world resides in the underground vaults of Fort Knox in Kentucky - almost fifteen billion dollars. Germany acknowledges only twenty nine millions in her gold reserve. There are secret reserves for which no figures are obtainable. But that is probably likewise true of the United States. Italy is reported to have about two hundred million in her gold reserve.

(Continued on Page 28)

CHICAGO TRUCKERS STRIKE FOR UNION SCALE

REACTION MOBILIZES TO BREAK THE STRIKE

CHICAGO, April 15.- The truck drivers of the Baggage, Parcel, Theatrical, Armored Car Drivers and Helpers, affiliated with the Teamsters International of the A.F. of L., are striking against the six Chicago Wieboldt general retail stores for a standard union scale which at no time was ever paid by the large retail stores. The union scale is \$32 for a forty hour week with time and a half for overtime. Wieboldt has been paying an average of about \$25 with straight time for overtime. When the strike began on April 5 Wieboldt paid \$50 a week for strike breakers and is now paying \$20 a day plus \$20 for each load above the first one delivered. Even with this inducement it takes thugs and cops to get trucks through.

The strike which is being bitterly fought has resulted in the death of one fink and severe injuries to several more. The shooting of the fink, Lawrence, on April 12, was the signal for a tremendous hue and cry against the strike. A reward of \$5,000 has been offered for "information leading to the arrest and conviction of the murderers" by the Cook County Retail Council consisting of Marshall Field Co., Sears, Roebuck Co., Walgreen Co., Kresge Co. and others. The police say they have no clue to the identity of the murderers. But if enough heat is turned on they will produce someone. The union's lawyer charges that the shooting was organized in order to give enemies of the strike a chance to crack down. Fifty squads of cops have been assigned to guard the stores and trucks.

INJUNCTION ISSUED

Judge McKinley has issued an injunction against mass picketing. The capitalist press is screaming for law and order. The company has refused to negotiate until the pickets are removed. The union officials have expressed a willingness to concede but demand proof of the company's good faith in writing. This is a formula for a sell-out or a capitulation because even if the company puts it in writing it can find a dozen excuses for breaking off the negotiations. It has been done before.

The strike was forced by the men themselves who have been in a bad mood for several years because of the discrimination against union drivers. The union leadership is going along so far because they have to. But their heart is not in it. If the strike is successful and the union scale is enforced on a city wide basis as it can be, these pie card artists stand to lose out with hundreds of business houses which pay union drivers less than the union scale.

It is the fighting spirit and solidarity of the men that can win this strike.

BEN PALIFERRO

IF THEY COME BACK

Under a contract signed April 20 by the S.W.O.C., workers of the J.H. Williams Co., Buffalo who are called to the colors for war duty are guaranteed retention of their seniority rights - if they come back!

STORY OF THE BARCELONA UPRISING IN 1937THE TRAGIC WEEK IN MAY

Two years ago the Spanish Republican Government prohibited the Spanish workers from holding their traditional May Day celebrations. Two days later, on May 3rd, 1937, an insurrection broke out in Barcelona. The capitalist state in Catalonia, acting through its Stalinist agents, provoked the uprising. Anarcho-syndicalist workers and members of the P.O.U.M. (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) predominated in the uprising. As is known, the uprising failed.

In his pamphlet, The Tragic Week in May, extracts from which we publish below, Augustin Souchy (leading German anarchist) shows very clearly that the uprising could have succeeded. The workers could have seized power. That they did not do so, that their struggle never went beyond a defense against provocation, never pass over to the offensive, was due, above all else, to the fact that there was no revolutionary leadership. Souchy explains that the policy of the anarcho-syndicalist leadership was to bring the movement to a peaceful conclusion within the framework of the then existing capitalist state. They worked to subordinate the workers to the capitalist state.

Anarchist theory rejects all states, all governments as instruments of oppression. But Souchy shows that in practice the Anarchist leadership supported and even participated in the Spanish capitalist government. Thus when submitted to the highest test in the class struggle, the struggle for state power, Anarchist theory is shown to be false and a trap for the working class.

CONVINCING EXPOSURE

Souchy's exposure is all the more convincing because he believes the policy he describes in action to have been correct. The pamphlet was published by the Spanish Anarcho-syndicalist organization in Barcelona in the early summer of 1937. The reader is warned against the false political picture which Souchy draws of the conflict. He depicts it as a "fratricidal war" within the anti-fascist front between the Anarchists and the Stalinists. It is true that the Anarchists were the main political working class force in Catalonia and that the counter-revolutionary Stalinist agents of capitalism directed attacks against them. But the struggle was much broader than that. The Barcelona events were provoked by the capitalist state. The workers defended themselves against that capitalist state. The Barcelona insurrection was a class war of the workers against their exploiters.

The aim of the capitalist state was to destroy the workers' control over industry, liquidate the Workers' Patrols; destroy their influence in the armed forces of the Aragon front and break up the peasant collectives; in short, to prepare for the end which has now come about. In this strategy the Stalinists were the spearhead of the attacking forces for the capitalist state. The Anarchist and P.O.U.M. workers in Catalonia were the chief obstacle. The P.O.U.M. was suppressed. The Anarchist organization was to strong at that time to be dealt with in the same way. Caballero was ouste

from the government and Negrin took his place. The Negrin regime was far to the right of Caballero.

For American workers Souchy's pamphlet has a great lesson. The Anarchist movement is not strong in this country. It never will be. But when our time comes to face the decisive question of life or death, if we are to avoid the fate of the Spanish workers, we must be prepared to seize power. For that we must have a revolutionary party which can lead us. Now is the time to build it. Tomorrow may be too late.

Extracts from the pamphlet follow:

* * *

On July 19th, 1936, the Spanish generals rose against the people. The workers of Barcelona, under the leadership of the Anarchists, succeeded in smashing the fascist rising within two and a half days. The Anarchists did not want to conquer power for themselves, nor did the unions seek to establish a dictatorship.

...The C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor, Anarcho-syndicalist trade union center) entered the government on September 28th, 1936, after the dissolution of the Antifascist Militia Committee, which had been functioning for two and a half months....

The C.N.T. acted loyally when the new government was formed. It wanted to stop the fighting among the political parties. It made the proposal, and succeeded in having it accepted, that the Trade Unions, and not the political parties, should be represented in the new government.

On October 22nd, 1936, a pact was ratified by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) on one side, and the U.G.T. (General Union of Labor) -P.S.U.C. (United Socialist-Communist Party affiliated with the Third International) on the other. They agreed to a program of minimum demands. Both organizations, especially the C.N.T., made concessions in order to strengthen the antifascist front in the struggle against the rebel generals. The workers rejoiced over this pact, and a great mass meeting in the vast bullring of Barcelona, where all of the city's workers were assembled, sealed it by acclamation.

...At the same time the workers organizations of the C.N.T. demanded the reform of the Department of Food Supplies and therefore, the resignation of Comorera. A new crisis of the Generality (the Catalonian government) was precipitated on March 27th.

The solution of the crisis proved to be very difficult. The demands of the P.S.U.C., hiding behind the U.G.T., became ever more arrogant. When, after a week of negotiations, a new program for the government of the Generality had been agreed upon, the U.G.T. broke it at the very last moment. Unity, so painfully achieved, was again spoiled. Companys, president of the Catalan Generality, created a provisional government, with a peaceful coup d'etat. The syndicalists and anarchists would have been perfectly justified if they had rejected this arbitrary solution. They had proved their good will and patience; they could face public opinion; justice and

sympathy were definitely with them. Yet, not to break the antifascist front, they swallowed this bitter pill too. On April 16th, the crisis was finally solved, the C.N.T. proving very complying. They renounced their former demands, modified the desires of the proletariat by pointing out the necessities of the war against fascism, and urged them to concentrate their forces for the period after the defeat of the fascists.

On April 25th, Roldan Cortada, prominent member of the P.S.U.C. was killed near Molins de Llobregat. With this lamentable act as a pretext, the P.S.U.C. tried through their authority over the Public Forces (police forces) to take measures of repression against the sympathizers and members of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.....

A few days later the Anarchist mayor of Puigcerda, Antonio Martin, and three of his comrades were shot. The members of the F.A.I. became very indignant over the murder of their comrade, Martin, whom they all loved and respected as one of their best. Political tempers rose. The First of May was approaching. The negotiations between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. for joint demonstrations failed, owing to the maneuvers of the communists, who controlled the U.G.T. Bitterness turned gradually into hate. Political passions dominated the scene....

MAY 3rd

On May 3rd, Rodriguez Salas (Stalinist police chief) launched a new attack against the C.N.T. Following a preconceived plan and carrying out the orders of the Minister of the Interior, issued behind the backs of the other Councillors, he broke into the Telephone Building with a force of 200 police. This was the last straw. The patience of the workers at last was at an end. They took action against this provocation.

The workers defended themselves. A machine gun covered the police from an upper story. They could not go beyond the first floor. While all this was taking place inside the building, word of the assault spread in the square and soon after, throughout the city. It was as though a match had been set to gunpowder. The workers of Barcelona, belonging to the C.N.T. in an overwhelming majority, feared that this might be only the beginning of still further actions against their rights....

Workers and police ran about excitedly in every section of the city. The union headquarters were full of people. Everybody wanted arms. Everybody wanted to be ready to defend other buildings from similar assaults.It was impossible to stem the indignation of the masses...

A few hours later, the entire city of Barcelona was in arms....

From the dungeons of the dictatorship until today, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. have always had their defense committees. These committees began to function at once, their members taking up arms.

To prevent this incident from leading to even greater collisions, the president of the police, comrade Eroles, the general secretary of the Patrols, comrade Asens, and comrade Diaz were sent as representatives of the defense committees to the Telephone Building to persuade the intruders

to withdraw. The workers refused to work under the threat of the police and it was obvious that calm would not be restored until the police were removed. The efforts of our three comrades came to naught.

The Regional Committee of the C.N.T. announced by radio that they would do everything possible to compel the police to withdraw from the building. The workers were asked to maintain their calm and dignity. In the course of the negotiations, the government promised to order the retreat of the police. The armed workers also retreated. For the time being everything seemed to be normal again. But soon the news began to spread that Sala's police were disarming the workers, and once again the masses became anxious.

The workers demanded guarantees....On the following day general strike broke out....Toward morning the workers became building barricades in the outer districts of the city....In the district of Sarria some hundred workers armed themselves, built a barricade, and disarmed the civil guards who consented to such a course. There was no bloodshed there. The workers were masters of the situation....

...In the district of Hostafranchs the workers built barricades during the night of May 3-4. The civil guards were disarmed without resistance by the workers. The big bullring, situated in this district, was also occupied by militiamen on permission in Barcelona. In Lerida street, 300 civil guards left their arms to the workers.

No fighting took place in the outer districts of the city, partly because the Police were on the side of the workers, and partly because the workers were in such an absolute majority that resistance seemed futile.

MAY 4th

...The C.N.T. issued an appeal to the police saying:
 "....It is necessary to come to a quick solution of this conflict.
 ...Neither the C.N.T. nor the F.A.I. want to establish a dictatorship. Nor will they ever tolerate dictatorship so long as a single one of their members is alive. We do not fight against fascism out of love for war; we are fighting to secure public freedom and prevent the massacre and the exploitation of the people by those, who without calling themselves fascist, nevertheless want to establish a regime of absolutism, in complete violation of the feelings and the traditions of our people.

Soon after, a new manifesto of the C.N.T. was broadcast to the workers of Barcelona:

"Men and women of the people! Workers!....We are not attacking. We are only defending ourselves. We did not start this; we did not provoke it. We are merely answering the abuse, the calumny, and the force that has been directed against the C.N.T. and the F.A.I., the most implacable anti-fascists of all, rather than against fascism....

"Workers of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T!....Put down your weapons! Embrace as brothers! We shall be victorious if we are united. If we fight among ourselves we must go down to defeat. Consider! We extend our hand without weapons. You do the same and everything will be forgotten.

"Unity among ourselves! Death to Fascism!"

One hour later, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. broadcast a message to the people of Barcelona again:

"The C.N.T. and the F.A.I....appeals to you today, to all of you, to put down your arms. Think of our great goal, common to all the workers in the rear and at the front,....."

"Workers of the C.N.T! Workers of the U.G.T!...Put down your arms. Only one slogan: We must work to beat fascism! Down with fascism!"

Despite all these appeals and demonstrations of good will to the police and the population of Barcelona, the hostilities, once started, were not to be held back. Indignation and bitterness increased on all sides.

...This united front of all the left bourgeois parties with the communists against the syndicalists and the anarchist F.A.I. was ample proof that they were trying to create a situation in which they could remove the syndicalists and the anarchists from the government and discredit them among the workers.

Not only the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. and the assemblies of their delegates, not only the representatives of the various districts of the city who were at the head of their barricades, favored a peaceful solution of the conflict, the National Committee of the C.N.T. and its representatives in the Valencia Government also demanded it.

MAY 5th

...When reports came in from Coll Blanch, that further collisions were feared, the Committee of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. took steps to call upon the workers to desist from their efforts to occupy the barracks. Again the workers did everything possible to avoid conflict.

At five in the afternoon the Regional Committee proposed the following:
 "Hostilities to cease.
 Every party to keep its positions...."

The proposals for armistice were accepted by the government, but the armed forces, supposedly acting in defense of said government, paid no attention to it. During the afternoon they tried to encircle the quarters of the Regional Committee, the Casa C.N.T.-F.A.I. The rebels built new barricades, closer to the Regional Committee. The shooting never stopped.

Rumors of the events in Barcelona reached the front....The militia at the front were concerned over the fate of Barcelona....They did not want it to fall into the hands of these counter-revolutionaries in disguise....

Reports came in from all parts of Barcelona and from the provinces of Catalonia that the overwhelming majority of the population were with the C.N.T., and that most towns and villages were in the hands of our organizations. It would have been easy to attack the center of the city, had the responsible committee so decided. They only had to appeal to the defense committees of the outlying districts. But the Regional Committee

of the C.N.T. was opposed to it. Every proposal of attack was unanimously rejected...

The Anarchists were persecuted; the Anarchists were murdered; the Anarchists were outlawed. Still they limited themselves only to defense, and never attacked. Yet when the lie was circulated that the Anarchists were doing the attacking, the world press seized upon it eagerly and spread it to the four corners of the earth.

MAY 6th

During the night of May 5-6th, the two trade unions, the U.G.T. and C.N.T. agreed to call upon the workers to return to work again. It published the following manifesto:

"...The local federations of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. have agreed to ask all their members to resume their work as usual. It is necessary to return to normal life. To continue the present inactivity in the factories at this time is to weaken our forces and strengthen that of our common enemy...."

This appeal was broadcast over the radio and appeared the next morning in every paper in Barcelona. But to no avail. Work was not resumed any place....The fighting was resumed. Bitterness and discontent filled the workers.

The situation inside the Telephone Building had become rather strange.... To end these discussions and to show their willingness to restore peace, the members of the C.N.T. agreed to leave the building at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The assault guards were supposed to leave also. However, instead of leaving that part of the building which they had occupied earlier in the week, the assault guards proceeded to occupy the entire building, and brought in members of the U.G.T. to take over the posts of the C.N.T. workers. (Author's emphasis).

The broken agreement aroused great indignation among the workers of the C.N.T. Had the workers in the outlying districts been informed immediately of this development, they would surely have insisted upon firmer measures and turned to the attack. But when the matter was discussed later, the more moderate point of view won out.

...Had the F.A.I. really gone into action, the entire military force would have been on their side and victory would have been certain. But the F.A.I. did not want a terrible fratricidal war within the ranks of the anti-fascists.

At six o'clock they telephoned that 1,500 assault guards had reached Tortosa on their way to Barcelona....these troops had come from the trenches of the Jarama front, where they had been fighting for four months alongside the International Brigade. The Anarchists could also have called in their columns from the Aragon front, as well as armed forces from other parts of Catalonia, and there is no doubt that they could have been victorious within 24 hours. But they did not want to break up the anti-fascist front. They never did more than defend themselves against the attacks

directed against them.

...At the same time they (united committees of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.) addressed the general public all over the world by manifesto on Thursday, May 6th, reading as follows:

"....We are authorized to state that neither the National Confederation of Labor, nor the Iberian Anarchist Federation, or any of its dependent organizations, broke, or had any intention of breaking the antifascist front. The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. continue to collaborate loyally as in the past, with all political and trade union sectors of the antifascist front. The best proof of this is that the C.N.T. continues to collaborate with the central Government, the Government of the Generality, and all the municipalities.

"When the conflict started in Barcelona, the Regional and National organizations of the C.N.T. offered every means to the government, to help solve the conflict as quickly as possible. On the second day of the struggle, the secretary of the National Committee of the C.N.T., and the Minister of Justice, also a member of the C.N.T., came to Barcelona and did everything possible to end this fratricidal struggle....

"A further proof that the C.N.T. did not want to break, and did not break, the anti-fascist front, is that when the new government of the generality was formed, on the 5th of May, the representatives of the C.N.T. of Catalonia offered it every facility, and the secretary of the C.N.T. formed part of the new government....

"...When the Central government took over public order, the C.N.T. was among the first to put at the disposal of the representative of Public Order, all the forces under its control. When the Central Government decided to send an armed force to Barcelona in order to control the political forces which would not obey the public authorities, the C.N.T. was once more the one to order all the districts to facilitate the passage of these forces, that they might reach Barcelona and establish order."

The night of May 6-7th was decisive for the immediate future. The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. had not yet exerted the full pressure of their strength. They still continued in a position of waiting. Should they summon all of Catalonia to take up the fight against the nationalists and the provocateur elements among the police and some of their chiefs? They could have rallied a tremendous force, but they did not want to continue this fratricidal conflict.

At a quarter past five, the government answered. They agree to the armistice. All parties shall leave the barricades....

Neither victors nor vanquished. That is the will of the Syndicalists and Anarchists. The antifascist front shall not be destroyed. War against fascism. Unity of all workers...

* * * * *

Confirmation of Souchy's charges about Stalinist provocation of the working class of Barcelona is contained in the amazing exposure of Stalinist policy in Spain by W.G. Krivitsky, former head of the GPU Military Intelligence service in Western Europe, in the Saturday Evening Post of

April 15, 1939. Krivitsky says:

The fact is that the Barcelona outbreak was a conspiracy successfully carried off by the OGPU. The fighting began with a raid led by OGPU agents on the Telephone Exchange. Five days of bloodshed followed; five hundred persons were killed and more than one thousand wounded.*After the bloodshed in Barcelona the Spanish Communists led by Diaz demanded the suppression of all other parties and of the trade unions in Catalonia; the placing of newspapers, radio stations and meeting halls under OGPU control, and the immediate and complete extinction of all anti-Stalinist movements throughout Loyalist territory."

* Our own comrade, Russell Blackwell, was among those wounded in the fighting.

POPE BLESSES MURDERER

On March 29th and 30th Franco's victorious government arrested over one hundred thousand Republicans, making a total of six hundred thousand prisoners.

On March 30th a virtual state of martial law was proclaimed for Madrid. General Espinosa de los Monteros who proclaimed the state of war said that Franco's forces brought "peace, order, pardon and affection." The government decreed death, for, among other things, "interrupting the normal functioning of labor through strikes" and "meeting without authorization in groups of more than three persons."

On March 30th Pope Pius XII sent Franco his blessing.

On April 3rd the court martial machine began to work and heads began to roll.

On April 16th Pope Pius extended his "paternal congratulations for peace and the victory which has been granted by God." He commended Franco as the "illustrious chief" of the state who has given "unequivocal proofs of Christian sentiments and regard for supreme religious and social interests."

When he landed in New York City on his return from the coronation of Pius, Cardinal Mundelein declared, according to the New York Times, "that Pope Pius XII would be one of the greatest leaders of the Catholic Church in the history of the Christian world."

Why not? In former centuries Pius' predecessors sent their blessings to the torturers of the Spanish Inquisition.

join the league!

SPANISH REFUGEES PUT IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

REPUBLISHED FROM PRESS AND INFORMATION BULLETIN NO. 2,
MARCH 15, 1939, ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COM-
MISSION FOR THE AID OF SPANISH REFUGEES, PARIS

Statements made before the Parliamentary Group of the Chamber of Deputies by General Dr. Peloquin of the Retired List:

In order to make a first hand study of the problems raised by the lodging of soldiers of the Spanish Republican Army, who have taken refuge in our territory, we undertook a journey to the concentration camps on February 17, 18 and 19th.

We visited the camps of Argeles-sur-Mer, Saint Cyprien, and Prats-de-Mollo. En route, we saw several other camps from the outside, notably at Boulou and Arles-sur-Tech. In all these camps the Spanish soldiers of the refugee army, mixed in together without distinction of rank, are herded in an enclosure surrounded by barbed wire and guarded either by Mobile Guards or by French, European or colonial soldiers.

The camps of Argeles and St. Cyprien extend along the sands of the seashore. The longest diameter of the two seemed to us to be over 2,000 meters.

The camp of Prats-de-Mollo is a mountain camp along the sides of a closed-in valley.

The soldiers at the Argeles camp probably number, we were told, from 60 to 65,000. At St. Cyprien 95,000 and at Prats-de-Mollo from 25 to 30,000. These estimates are approximate.

At Argeles, civilians, some women and children, were thrown in with the soldiers.....

HUTS OF REEDS

On the beach of Argeles the refugees have built little individual huts out of reeds. At St. Cyprien they have dug pits in the sand with tops over them to serve as covering. At Prats-de-Mollo and in the valley camps huts made of boughs could be observed.

The men are dirty but their clothes and shoes are in good condition. They have a lean and hungry look.

We saw no shower baths or toilet paper.

At Argeles and St. Cyprien pumps were drawing from a pool of underground water which was about three meters deep. Drinkable water, without prior purification, was thus added to the diet. The commissary seemed to furnish meat, bread, chick peas and rice brought from the Spanish trucks. The chick peas and the rice probably came from the stores of the refugee army.

We could not calculate the measure of an individual ration. The distribution which we witnessed was made without any order. The likelihood is that all have not been taken care of. The men claim that only one distribution a day is made.

We saw no rolling kitchens. The food is distributed cold. Some men prepare their meals in empty preserve tins over little fires fed with twigs. In the mountain camps the large fires are kept going with wood from the neighboring forests.

From the French and Spanish doctors we learned that the sanitary conditions of the under-nourished men are poor. The majority are swarming with lice. The scurvy is widespread (30%). A great number of men complain of diarrhea (of an indeterminate nature). Venereal diseases are very abundant. Lung diseases are relatively numerous.....

NAKED SOIL

In short, in the camps the Spaniards are lodged on naked soil, except at St. Cyprien where they have constructed huts. The shelters which some have supplied are their own personal work.

The food appeared lacking in quantity and in preparation.

The men cannot wash themselves nor change their linen. The most elementary precaution to guard against the contamination of the soil and of the underground water (toilet paper, latrines, etc.), to prevent the spread of transmissible diseases, to purify doubtful water - these are not taken.

THE MEN ARE IN THE SAME CONDITIONS AS THE ANIMALS, MULES, HORSES AND CATTLE WHICH ARE HERDED IN ENCLOSURES BORDERING THE CAMPS OF THE SOLDIERS.

The attempts which have been made to ameliorate the situation of the Spaniards have hardly served at all to lessen their terrible condition.

The food is measured with a dropping tube. One tent appears where ten are necessary.

On the other hand, everything is carried out with an obvious sluggishness and passiveness which produces fatal results for all concerned.

It is the same thing every morning; deaths are discovered in places other than the hospital units. There are even suicides which are well understandable when one views the inhuman suffering to which these unfortunate people are subjected.....

The spectacle which we have just witnessed leaves us sickened.

Paris, February 23, 1939

CLARIDAD

PROLETARIA

All Spanish-speaking workers are advised to get their

April number now --- WHILE THEY LAST!

-----ORDER

FROM-----

Demos Press - Box 141 - Alfred Street Station - Detroit, Michigan

TRAGEDY OF THE POLITICAL EMIGRATION IN RUSSIA

WHAT HAS BECOME OF GUISEPPE SENSI?

(Reprinted from Seme Comunista, March, 1939, Organ of the Italian Fraction of the International Communist Left).

Centrism in the USSR, which has physically suppressed the old Bolshevik guard, all those who "were of Lenin's time", has at the same time acquired full control over foreign political emigration, especially over that Italian emigration which as a whole would tend to be "infected with leftism". Callugaris was re-arrested in the vast net that was spread in 1937 prior to May 1 and the elections - not to mention along with him, Mosca da Silva, Lazzaretti, Manservigi, Cerquetti, Visconti (Allegrazza). All the Italian political emigrees were taken to Odessa at the end of last year. Their fate? It is unknown and for many we can fear the worst.

Today we examine the case of Guiseppe Sensi. Sensi, if we are not mistaken, is from the province of Arezzo. He had become a political emigree when he was sentenced to more than twenty years in the galleys of Fascism. He was arrested the night of April 22, 1937 by the GPU which was lying in wait for him on his return from work. Sensi had been expelled from the party on suspicion of belonging to our fraction, or of being a "Trotskyist", according to the formulas. He was one of those who could have re-entered the party, if he had permitted himself to be convinced; moreover he had committed the error, which must have proved fatal to him as well as to many others, of becoming a Soviet citizen. This placed him in the power of Stalinist terror, while the Italian authorities could wash their hands of the case. Since the day of his arrest, little or no news has leaked out. Only in December, 1937 en route to his deportation, did Sensi obtain a means of getting word to his wife - Sensi had a Russian wife and child. To her he wrote that he had been sentenced to five years of deportation in Siberia "for having been a member of the 1927 Opposition", and he concluded by advising her to "seek another life for it may be that I shall never see you again."

In this brief line one feels a certain presentiment of the fate which awaits many communists, Russian or foreign, accused of having been members of the 1927 Opposition.

NO INFORMATION

The brother of Sensi, a communist militant, who served ten years in Italian jails, has sought for information in vain. All his efforts at the Soviet Embassy have borne no results, although at the beginning they were supported by that good centrist, Deputy Duclos. The brother of Sensi did not ask that the party intervene, but only begged to know that had become of his brother, if he were still alive, and, if not, that they should give him news of his brother's son and wife. The laconical reply of the Soviet Ambassador was always the same. Here are his exact words: "We have no information about your brother and thus we are unable to furnish you with any news of him." The GPU does not reveal whether or not it has already assassinated its victim. The assassin, centrism, will have to render an account of its misdeeds, and as far as we are concerned, that account will

reveal responsibility for these crimes. The banditti who framed them was the Communist Party of Italy. Have no illusions about that! In the debt which the Italian Communist Party will have to pay to the Italian proletariat the name of Sensi will not be forgotten. Nor will the names of all those others assassinated in Russia and Spain.

(The International Communist Left are known as Bordigists. The Bordigists consider Stalinism a variety of centrism, i.e., all those currents and tendencies in the labor movement between reformism and Marxism. Duclos is a leader of the French Stalinist Party. The 1927 Opposition was the Left Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by Trotsky, Rakovsky, Zinoviev, Kámenev, Radek and others. It was crushed at the 15th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in December, 1927).

TERROR IN JAIPUR

REPUBLISHED FROM INDIA PRESS SERVICE, MARCH 29, 1939
ISSUED BY THE INDIA LEAGUE OF ENGLAND

"People taken to the jungle chased and beaten"....."Old men and women not spared". People turned out of their houses and shops looted." Such are only a few of the headlines which announce the harrowing tales of terrorism in Jaipur. Below we quote from the report of Mr. Damdardas, secretary to Seth Jammalal Bajaj, who was asked to go to Jaipur with a view to collect first hand information regarding the above alleged atrocities. A medical practitioner, Dr. Basu Chaudhari, and a pleader, Mr. P.N. Shiromani, both of Agra, were present. The report was published in the Bombay Chronicle on March .

"The function arranged by the Prajamandal to defy the ban placed on a peasant demonstration was met from four sides by horsemen, military police and Meenas (criminal tribe). The gathering was charged with lathis by the foot police while the horsemen charged through the crowd.

"Kisans from all over Shikhawati had assembled at Jhunghunu to observe Kisan Day. They were taken to the jungle in lorries by the police, asked to prostrate themselves on their stomachs and they were beaten with shoes and lathis.....some of them being stripped at the time of the assault. The leaders of the Kisan Jats were asked to declare that they had no connection with the Prajamandal. Dr. Basu Chadhari made examinations of the injuries sustained by the Kisans.

"On February 7th Chaudhri, Jhabar Sinha and others were escorted by the police to Vavalgarh in connection with the payment of taxes. Two of the victims aged seventy years had their eye-brows and beard shaved from one side of their faces, were beaten with shoes and released after payment of Rs. 21.

"The one common feature in these incidents," states the report, "is the completeness with which the spirit of non-violence is observed by the Kisans."

STOP THE PERSECUTION OF MARCUS GRAHAM!

"Under democracy," said the Associated Press on March 5, in summarizing President Roosevelt's speech to the joint session of Congress the day before, "...Americans enjoy safety against unwarrantable searches and seizures, ...freedom of speech, which he said had never been so widely exercised - freedom of the press...."

Consider the case of Marcus Graham and the anarchist paper, Man!, which he edits.*

Arrested in April, 1919, at Paterson, N.J. Imprisoned in County Jail two weeks. Taken to Ellis Island and imprisoned another two weeks. Charged with possession of literature expounding the philosophy of Anarchism. Ordered deported to Canada. Canada refused to accept him.

Arrested a second time in February, 1921, in the Main Public Library of New York City. Brutally maltreated by the Bomb Squad during a 24 hour third degree. Jailed at Ellis Island six months. Government renews attempt to execute 1919 deportation warrant.

Arrested a third time in 1930 at Yuma, Arizona. Charged with possession of two copies of "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry", a volume that he had compiled and published in 1929 and which represents 400 poets of world renown. Held imprisoned for two weeks in the Jails of Yuma, Arizona, El Centro, San Pedro and Los Angeles, California.

In January, 1933 Man! made its appearance in San Francisco. Marcus Graham was the editor.

HOMES RANSACKED

In the middle of the night on April 11, 1934 Immigration officials entered the private residences of Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto, arrested them and ransacked their homes. Both of these men are anarchists who rented office space to the editor of Man! (They were held for deportation. The proceedings for deportation against Sallitto have been dismissed. But Ferrero has been ordered deported to Italy where he faces death).

During the same week of April, 1934, agents of the Labor Department visited readers in various parts of the country and in some instances officially ordered them to appear at the immigration offices. Every reader was questioned for hours, as to his relation, if any, with the publication of Man! or with its editor. Photographs of the editor were shown to most of those who were questioned. Warnings of deportation proceedings were given to each, and all were urged to desist from any further reading of Man! or from subscribing to it.

* See REVOLT, April 23, 1938.

Graham was arrested a fourth time in October, 1937, at Los Angeles, Cal. Charged with being editor of an anarchist monthly, "Man!", since its inception in January, 1933. Imprisoned over a week.

Jailed a fifth time January 14, 1938, at Los Angeles, Cal., when the "liberal" Federal Judge, Leon R. Yankwich, sentenced him to six months imprisonment for refusing to testify against himself in the Immigration Department's attempt to execute the 19-year-old deportation warrant. Imprisoned again over a week.

Graham was released on a thousand dollar bond pending disposition of his appeal.

Now Graham is ordered to appear before Judge Yankwich on May 8th. He says that he will again refuse to give testimony against himself. Unless the working class makes its indignation felt Graham may be put away in jail by "our democratic" government.

ATTENTION WPA WORKERS

CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR ALIENS

The arch-reactionary Detroit Free Press has come out in support of a bill approved by the House Judiciary Committee, which provides for the detention of aliens who cannot be deported because their homelands have been forcibly absorbed by their neighbors and the new rulers disown them. The bill further stipulates that these aliens shall be held in camps. Though these camps are not called concentration camps, for all intents and purposes, that's what they will be.

"The thought of establishing concentration camps in the United States", piously writes the Free Press in an editorial on April 6, "is not a pleasant one, although the thing was done successfully in World War times."

"But," hypocritically resumes the Free Press, "unpleasant measures sometimes are necessary...By placing these aliens in detention camps without hope of getting bail, until some foreign government will consent to receive them, the problem they represent probably will be handled cheaply and as well as possible; and their situation will not be tempting to others of their ilk on the outside."

"And, who knows, perhaps the fact that these people are being detained at public expense in the sight of the whole country may end a government lethargy which has permitted too many of the breed to accumulate."

The voice of the Detroit Free Press is the voice of its owner, Edward D. Stair, director of Graham-Paige Motors, the Detroit Trust Company, and the First National Bank of Detroit; and the leading spirit in the Ann Arbor Railroad. The First National Bank of Detroit was formed when General Motors joined with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in supplying 25 million dollars as capital. The capital supplied by GM had appreciated approximately 140% in 1935. The First National has become

one of the nation's largest banking institutions. It has been profitable almost from its inception and is on a dividend basis.

The Stairs are for economy in government. They are against taxing the corporations in order to foot the relief bill for fifteen million unemployed. They are for throwing aliens off WPA and deporting them from the country. But with the refugee problem what it is it seems that there are difficulties. This creates quite a problem in statesmanship and finance. Good old Hitler! He puts "undesireables" in concentration camps. The Stairs are for that. They pay W.B. Lowe, manager and director \$19,251.67 and M.W. Bingay, editor and director \$17,033.34 to write such stuff. The Stairs believe it is cheaper to pay taxes to put a few thousands in concentration camps where you can starve them for next to nothing than it is to foot the bills for WPA and other New Deal insurance against working class revolution. If it works with aliens, it can then be made to work for undesirable citizens like strikers and union men and women. If it comes to that the Stairs will be for shooting or lynching revolutionists.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The Stairs are organized in the American Newspaper Publishers Association. The ANPA is for freedom of the press. Roosevelt is for freedom of the press. The Constitution guarantees freedom of the press. In fact everybody is for freedom of the press.

BUT

The Stairs are free to advocate concentration camps for workers; the Detroit Free Press goes through the mails without let or hindrance; so do all the papers of the ANPA.

REVOLT is forced to submit to censorship by the Post Office because it stands for working class revolution.

Man! is persecuted because it is an anarchist publication.

Freedom of the press!

We have to thank Mr. Stair for one thing. He is helping us make it clear to workers that the issue in this country is becoming:

Concentration camps for workers; or

Revolution to overthrow the system of exploitation which produces starvation for millions and profits and freedom for Stairs.

"403 THE S. O. B.!"

This is what WPA hollers if you are so unlucky as to be sick or have an accident. A WPA worker can't be sick - it's against the law!

It makes no difference how promptly and how often you notify your project and the Timestealing Department. It makes no difference even if the WPA work itself was the cause of the sickness or accident. If, through no fault of your own, you lose five working days in a row, then automatically you lose your job as well.

But a strong union can smash this ruling! Organize and fight!!!
CHICAGO WPA WORKER.

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO RULED MAILABLE

POST OFFICE MAINTAINS CENSORSHIP OF REVOLT

DETROIT, April 19.- Two rulings by the Solicitor of the Post Office, Vincent B. Miles, makes the Post Office ban of the January 7 issue of REVOLT and the censorship on all current and future issues, more arbitrary and contradictory than ever.

On April 11 Detroit Postmaster Roscoe B. Huston advised the Solicitor had ruled that the pamphlet, the Communist Manifesto, was mailable. One of the passages objected to by the Solicitor in the January 7 issue as violating the law was a quotation from the Communist Manifesto. On April 6 the April 8 issue was submitted for mailing. It was held up for a ruling as to its mailability by the Solicitor. Word received today from the Post Office states that the issue is mailable.

From the point of view of common sense it would follow that if the Communist Manifesto is mailable excerpts from it should also be mailable. But that is not the way that bureaucrats operate. From a pamphlet, The Post Office Censor, published by the National Council on Freedom from Censorship organized by the American Civil Liberties Union which sent us the pamphlet when it heard of the ban of REVOLT, we learn the following illuminating details:

In July, 1923 the Italian ambassador made a speech in New York in which he said, "A certain paper in the United States is embarrassing to the Fascist government and should be suppressed."

On July 21 Il Martello, Italian anti-fascist paper edited by Carlo Tresca in New York City, was held up without explanation.

On August 10 Tresca was arrested for an article, "Down with Monarchy", which was three months old at that time.

On August 18 the Post Office ordered the deletion of the announcement of a raffle. Two other papers carried the announcement but were not molested.

The September 8 issue was held up because of a two-line ad of a birth control book. The papers were withdrawn and the ad deleted with black crayon after which the issue was accepted for mailing. Other papers carried the same ad and were not molested.

The October 27 issue was held up because of an account of how Fascisti had forced an Italian women to drink a large dose of castor oil. Most American papers carried a similar story and were not molested.

And more of the same.

Appeals to the courts against the arbitrary decisions of the Post Office have resulted in decisions like the following, according to this pamphlet:

The effect on the child is the test of obscenity.
The effect on the average person is the test of obscenity.

The intent of the author is the test.
The intent of the author is immaterial.

Excerpts from the Bible are obscene.
Nothing in the Bible is in violation of the law.

A letter from the Civil Liberties Union advises that they have protested to Farley against the censorship of REVOLT. They also say that experience has shown that recourse to the courts will be useless. They advise pressure on the Post Office Department. We will do our best to follow this advise - with the help of other organizations. The rising tide of reaction in this country makes it necessary to fight every encroachment on the democratic rights which workers have won through a long series of battles, before they are destroyed.

WARNING!

BEWARE OF PICKPOCKETS

WARNING!

Recent issues of the Fighting Worker, published in Chicago by Hugo Oehler, have carried appeals for money by a Red Aid Committee, for aid to Austrian and Spanish refugees. The Committee has been "established" by Oehler's group and has the same address. Who composes the Committee and how it operates are not explained.

WORKERS ARE WARNED AGAINST CONTRIBUTING MONEY TO THIS COMMITTEE.

This warning is based on the following facts:

When Blackwell (Negrete) was arrested in Spain last year this same Fighting Worker carried appeals by a Negrete Defense Committee which had the same address as the Red Aid Committee gives now.

Blackwell was released on December 31, 1938.

NO PUBLIC ACCOUNTING OF THE FUNDS COLLECTED BY THAT DEFENSE COMMITTEE HAS BEEN MADE.

How much was collected? How much spent? How was it spent? Was it used for the purpose for which it was raised? When a group appeals to the working class for money it has to prove that it is on the level. One way to prove it is to publish a full and complete accounting of the money it collects on such appeals. If the group which makes the appeal doesn't do it the workers will think that there is something crooked involved; and nine hundred and ninety nine times out of a thousand they will be correct.

Financial responsibility and honesty is one of the most important needs in the working class movement today. There are too many crooks in it ranging from the Stalinists and trade union fakers to petty pickpockets who rig up committees to filch pennies.

When on the lookout for the big crooks, beware of pickpockets!

IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

11,470,000 UNEMPLOYED IN FEBRUARY - SENATOR TAFT OF OHIO

"Half the people who make up the business and working classes of America at the present time are close enough to the breadline to feel the constant nudge of insecurity and dependency," wrote Dr. George Gallup, Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, in the Detroit News on April 2. "The institute survey shows that a total of 52 per cent of those who do the work of America's towns and cities are either on relief rolls, or say they would have to apply for relief within six months if they lost their present jobs." And "42 P.C. of Farmers on Border of Relief."

The report of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and its principal operating subsidiaries for the twelve months ended on February 28, released yesterday, shows a consolidated net income of \$159,427,198 after all operating expenses and charges. This was equal to \$8.53 a share on the capital stock...N.Y. Times, 4-16-39.

"GENEVA, Switzerland. April 3.- World unemployment figures in the first quarter of 1939, published here today by the International Labor Office, disclosed that unemployment had increased in thirteen out of twenty two countries since the last quarter of 1938. The greatest increase was in the United States..." N.Y. Times, April 4, 1939.

A survey of 100 top New York families who employ at least one butler revealed they collectively tore through 240,000 bottles of beverages in a year, including 11,000 of champagne, 56,000 of whiskey, 20,000 of wine, 28,000 of gin and 38,000 of beer. And among them, the 100 families had a total of 223 homes, with an average of forty-two rooms per family.- New York Post.

"OGDENSBURG, N.Y., April 19.- Lawrence J. McCarthy, Welfare Commissioner, said today that he was considering establishment of a municipal 'soup kitchen' to feed families of men recently dropped from WPA rolls. Mr. McCarthy declared that he was also considering the use of tents to house families evicted from their homes." N.Y. Times, April 20.

The gold-laden galleons of the Spanish hey-day carried 'small change' compared with the vast shipments of gold now fleeing war-jittery Europe for the United States.

The United States held, in January of this year, over \$14,600,000,000 worth of gold reserve, or approximately 58 per cent of the world's entire estimated gold reserves.

These figures, however, do not include gold among more or less secret government reserves, information in regard to which is not available for information.N.Y. Times, 4-20-39.

"C. Skoglund and G. Dunne (pie-card artists of Local 544, Teamsters, Minneapolis) are sporting new Buicks."- Mickey Dunne in the Northwest Organizer, April 20, 1939.

SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY

EXPECTANT MOTHER IS NOT EXEMPT FROM JAIL

"...uring a hearing for Mrs. Betty Biancardo, 29-year-old relief recipient, the mother of four children and expecting another, who was accused of starting a fight at the Home Relief Bureau at 43 Bleecker Street (N.Y.C.)...., "Magistrate Overton Harris said, " 'A female employee of this city was struck by this woman and we have to protect all women working in our city departments. I understand this woman is pregnant and pregnancy has different effects on a woman's health. I am a father myself and I have had some experience with that situation. Just because she is an expectant mother is no reason why she should not go to jail for her action. The Women's House of Detention - the way it's run - is a comfortable place for a pregnant woman for a short time. Probably it would be better quarters than she has now.'" N.Y. Times, April 14, 1939.

MERCY KILLING OF AGED ON DOLE SUGGESTED

"WASHINGTON, April 12. -(International News Service)- Mercy killing of aged persons on relief...was suggested today by Major Edward L. Dyer, U.S.A., retired. In an address before the Washington Society for Philosophical Inquiry, Major Dyer said:

I realize many religions would be against it but I think perhaps if euthanasia (medical term for mercy killing) were good and humane, and would really be a mercy, this is a case where one of the ten commandments - Thou Shalt Not Kill - might be modified. I don't advocate taking every one on the relief rolls and giving them a shot, but euthanasia should be considered in cases of old age, where the persons are no use to themselves or any one else..."- Detroit Times, April 13, 1939.

WHY SHOULD THE WORKING CLASS NOT ADOPT MAJOR DYER'S PROPOSAL FOR GETTING RID OF USELESS PEOPLE, TAKE POWER AND BEGIN WITH MAGISTRATE HARRIS AND MAJOR DYER?

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STRUGGLE FOR BREAD

CHICAGO, April 18.- On Saturday morning, April 15th, a committee of six from the WPA and Unemployed Workers Union reported at the Humboldt relief station as a delegation to obtain an emergency food order for one of the union members.

After adamantly refusing for three hours to take no for an answer, the committee and a woman supporter who was the only one else left in the station, were arrested and thrown into jail. This occurred, however, only after the closing hour. If there had been a few other workers present the relief officials would not have dared to call the police. It was obviously a tactic to break the morale of the committee, to show the futility of putting up such a struggle and the consequences.

However, they did not reckon on the calibre of the committee which never wavered from its course. Throughout all that followed: intimidations, threats, red-baiting and eleven hours in jail, the committee never gave an inch. All six were bailed out Saturday night, and Monday morning in Woman's Court the charge of "disorderly conduct" was disposed of with a sentence of \$1 fine which was suspended.

Almost immediately four of the committee who were still able returned - to the relief station more determined than ever. This was too much for the officials there and after a face-saving, last-ditch stand they gave the worker in need a full two-weeks disbursement order!

OFFICIALS TRY TRICK

But by a trick they got him away from the rest of the committee and while he was filling out an affidavit, lectured him about the evils of joining a union. He was told he would get the order but only if he told the committee to go away.

He repeated this to the committee who decided that as long as there were any other workers present they would not leave. At closing time only the committee was present. So while this worker was getting his order the committee waited outside.

Naturally the relief officials played their last card. They said, "Now, you understand that we are not giving you this order because of the union, but because we have investigated and found you are without funds." They could not have investigated because this worker was in jail as a result of his demands for food.

But our fellow worker was not swayed by this contemptible speech. After all, he had just gone through a brief training course of action against the class enemy. He had faced the various agents of the capitalist state, the police, magistrates, etc. and seen them in their true anti-working class light. He saw that determined, organized struggle of just a small group gained for him in the brief space of two days what he as an individual had been unable to get for weeks.

Here is what he said: "I will never forget what the union has done for me and I will do everything I can to help it."

WPA WORKER.

FOREIGN POLICY

(Continued from Page 6)

In its gold reserve the United States government has a weapon of incalculable might. Add to this the most efficient and modern productive plant in the world, a tremendous source of manpower and it can be seen that it is definitely not in German imperialist and Italian expansionist aims that the United States ruling class sees the danger to itself. When the fleet was suddenly ordered to return to the Pacific during the height of the excitement caused by the Italian invasion of Albania it was made clear that the capitalists of this country see no menace to their wealth in the maneuvers and plunder of Rome and Berlin.

The menace to American imperialism, for it exists, arises from entirely different causes. The ruling class confronts a dilemma which it cannot solve. As the possessor of the largest and most productive plant in the world it is anxious to preserve peace. Peace permits imperialist antagonisms to operate on the economic plane. On this plane the United States ruling class has the greatest advantage. Being able to produce, on the whole, more cheaply and in greater volume than any other country it can outsell all its rivals; it can invest greater amounts of capital in all parts of the world and extract greater profits - provided political conditions permit it. In the end, if circumstances allow, it could dominate the earth. That is, at least, the golden dream of American imperialism. From this arises its pacifism in world affairs.

WORLD DOMINATION

Both the desire of the American capitalists for peace and their desire to dominate the world were reflected in President Roosevelt's speech on Pan-American Day, April 14, when he said:

The issue is really whether our civilization is to be dragged into the tragic vortex of unending militarism punctuated by periodic wars, or whether we shall be able to maintain the idea of peace, individuality and civilization as the fabric of our lives.

We have the right to say that there shall not be an organization of world affairs which permits us no choice but to turn our countries into barracks, unless we are to be vassals of some conquering empire.

In the first paragraph quoted Roosevelt speaks the will of the American ruling class for peace. In the second paragraph he lays down a premise for dictating how world affairs shall be organized - in the name of peace, of course, which is to say, opportunity for the greater accumulation of profits for American imperialism.

The dream of American imperialism cannot be realized. While the process of economic domination requires peace as the condition for its success it is by its very nature an economic aggression on a world scale against the imperialist interests of other countries and a menace to the ruling class of every capitalist country. In self defense they are compelled to erect political and trade barriers in the way of the advance of their

rivals. General Motors may invest millions in Opel cars in Germany but Hitler has frozen the profits in Germany and compelled GM to reinvest in German industry. The self-defense of German imperialism against American imperialism gives rise to friction between the ruling classes and governments of both countries. Roosevelt gives it a political character when he denounces the dictators as disturbers of world peace.

Since 1929 the world crisis has resulted in a great increase in the number, size and forms of such barriers to trade and the investment of capital as the ruling class in each country has been driven to desperate expedients to protect its interests. In short the world market has contracted and is still contracting. The necessary field of operations for American imperialism is diminishing. Its problem, like that of every imperialist power, is, therefore, more acute.

In the end the dams which have been erected against the advance of American imperialism can be broken down only by war. The patient, dogged efforts of Hull to lower the barriers to trade by treaty have met with some small success here and there. But as a solution for the problem of American imperialism they have been proved to be ineffective, and the courteous Secretary of State has been compelled by reality to approve the plan to barter about a hundred and fifty million dollars of cotton and wheat for British, Dutch and Belgian rubber and tin, a policy which he has repeatedly condemned on the part of the German government.

WAR

"War," said Clausewitz, "is a continuation of politics by other means." The United States ruling class will fight, when it does, for world domination. That will be its aim. Out of these considerations arise the plans of the present administration for gigantic naval and aerial armament.

Against what imperialist power or coalition of powers will American imperialism fight? In the last analysis the struggle for world domination involves the sharpest conflict with the British imperialists. Across the road to world domination stands the declining but still powerful world empire of the British ruling class. But it would be foolish for the American imperialists to challenge the British empire directly. There are forces at work which are weakening it, speeding its decline. The second challenge of German imperialism, supported by the flank maneuvers of Italian imperialism, on the one hand, and the growing rebellion of its subject peoples, on the other, constitute the upper and nether wheels of the mill which is grinding the British empire to pieces.

The challenge of German imperialism to British imperialism is a factor which is to the advantage of American imperialism insofar as it engages the attention and energies of British imperialism. But the political and military crises which German and Italian maneuvers and demarches create bring the world ever closer to the outbreak of the second world war. In fact the war may break out - literally - at any minute.

A European war would present American imperialism with two great dangers. The first is revolution. The last war gave rise to a whole series of revolutions which threatened the existence of world imperialism. The imperialists of all countries have a very good idea of what will result from the coming war. Only fear of world revolution still restrains them from plunging the world into another war. Otherwise the smashing of Czechoslovakia and the invasion of Albania would have already resulted in world war.

More than anything else Roosevelt fears revolution. During the Czech crisis in September, 1938, he addressed a message to Hitler and Benes, at that time the President of Czechoslovakia, in which he said:

Should hostilities break out...The economic system of every country involved is certain to be shattered. The social structure of every country involved may well be completely wrecked.

That was not the first time Roosevelt had publicly expressed a fear of revolution. In 1933 he was reported to have said that if the New Deal failed he would be the last president of the United States. In his book, The Roosevelt Revolution, Ernest K. Lindley shows very convincingly that the fear of revolution was very real in circles close to Roosevelt in 1933. The last war gave American imperialism great opportunities to advance its interests but it also threatened world revolution. And this time the danger is even greater.

The second danger to American imperialism from a European war is that it will constitute a favorable situation for Japanese conquest of the Far East. In backward China there are four hundred and fifty million people, living in semi-feudal conditions. If American imperialism can open up this market to capitalist exploitation - for itself - it has hopes of rising to new heights of profit-making. And from British Malaya and the Netherland Indies^{*comes} the bulk of the world's tin and rubber of which latter the U.S. consumes more than half of the world's supply.

The Japanese imperialists have acted on similar ideas and stolen a march on their rivals by invading China. If the Japanese succeed in subduing China they can be driven out only by a greater force than their own. Not taking the possibility of proletarian revolution in China and Japan into consideration for the moment there is only one force capable of ousting her - the United States. But the struggle to subdue China is proving more difficult and long drawn out than the Japanese militarists and capitalists thought. As long as the possibility exists of Chinese resistance defeating Japan or seriously weakening it the American imperialists would be foolish to go to war. Besides, should the Chinese not be equal to the task there is always the possibility that the Stalinist regime may be induced or maneuvered into a war with Japan. The outcome is in doubt. There is no need for American imperialism to take a decisive step. It needs time and a free hand. It needs peace in Europe.

REAL OBJECTIVE

In a word, the real objective of the foreign policy of the administration thus far does not lie in defending democracy against Hitler and Mussolini. This objective lies in the Far East. The immediate menace on the imperialist side is Japanese imperialism. Walter Lippman put this phase of the situation very aptly in the New York Herald Tribune on April 18:

Regardless of American popular sympathy in the European conflict, the sending of another American army to Europe is in the existing circumstances not to be contemplated...In 1917, because Japan was an ally, the United States was able to leave the Pacific unguarded and to concentrate its whole military power in a war on the other side of the Atlantic. Today,

because Japan is itself one of the principal aggressors, the first military move made by the United States in the existing situation has had to be the withdrawal of the fleet from the Atlantic Ocean and its return to the Pacific Ocean...We are too deeply engaged in the Pacific.

War in Europe cannot be prevented by American imperialism but it can be delayed. That is the aim of Roosevelt's intervention in the European crisis. This has two aspects. It seeks to perpetuate the antagonism between German and British imperialism by stiffening opposition to Hitler chiefly in England and France. That accomplishes the purpose of diminishing the possibility of a bloc between Germany and England against the United States.

At the same time Roosevelt seeks to keep this antagonism within the limits of a balance of power by restraining the axis powers from precipitating a general war. That is the aim of his denunciation of the dictators and his appeals to them to keep the peace.

This was the aim of his dramatic appeal to Hitler and Mussolini on April 14th to guarantee the independence of thirty one countries which he named in return for which he promised to undertake the convocation of a world disarmament and economic conference. If such a conference were ever realized it could satisfy the appetites of German and Italian imperialisms only at the expense of British and French imperialisms which would have to part with a good share of their colonies, mandates and spheres of influence. On the face of it this proposal should have excited the keenest interest in Berlin and Rome.

FASCISTS HAVE LONG MEMORIES

But it excited only anger and resentment. The Fascists have long memories. They remember that in 1933 in his very first intervention into foreign affairs, President Roosevelt deliberately, in sight of the entire world, wrecked the world economic conference which was being held at that time in London.

And they are not unmindful of the fact that Roosevelt's offer is conditioned on their agreement to brand themselves as aggressors and war mongers. Should they agree to this condition they would repudiate before their own subjects the position they have taken that they are peace loving men who are correcting the injustices of the peace which followed the last war. It would also drastically weaken their diplomatic position. The result would be that their chances of gaining anything through Roosevelt's conference would be very small. That is, assuming that the conference would materialize which is open to very serious question.

In the end the peace policy of the administration will collapse. The unbearable tension in Europe will explode into world war. The United States will attempt to remain neutral as long as possible. In the end it will be drawn in. But American imperialism will not realize its aims. Out of the war will come world revolution which will usher in a new day in society. The world will go forward to Communism.

(This article is based on the Political Report made to the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee on March 11 in Detroit.)

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—Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The sentence censored appeared in the January 7, 1939 issue of REVOLT. Other passages in the same issue are also banned by the Post Office.

On February 13 Post Office Solicitor, Vincent B. Miles, ruled the January 7 issue unmailable. On February 16 Detroit Postmaster, Roscoe B. Huston, advised REVOLT was "under suspicion" and "will be scrutinized very closely." On March 6 Huston held up the March 4 issue pending a ruling by Miles. On March 15 Huston advised that Miles had ruled that the March 4 issue could be mailed, but that "This ruling . . . covers only the March 4 issue." Huston added, "Kindly see that copies of subsequent issues are presented at this office . . . for submission to the Solicitor."

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