

REVOLT

Vol. 2, No. 5

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

April 8, 1939

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A PROTEST
AGAINST
CENSORSHIP
of the
LABOR PRESS
by the
POST OFFICE

THE FACTS

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They

[REDACTED] (censored) **[REDACTED]**

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

—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."

THE SIGNIFICANCE

This is censorship of a labor paper because of its political views. It is an arbitrary abridgement of freedom of the press. Unless it is stopped it will be extended to muzzle the entire labor press.

Central Committee of Revolutionary Workers League of the United States,
Box 141, Alfred Street Station, Detroit, Michigan

- r e v o l t -

Published by DEMOS PRESS for the Central Committee of the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE, U.S., Box 141, Alfred Street Station, Detroit, Michigan

5¢ per copy. \$1.00 per year (26 issues) - 50¢ per half year (13 issues)

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 5 (WHOLE NUMBER 18)

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DESPERATE CAPITALIST. MADMEN HURTLE WORLD TOWARD WAR

UNBEARABLE TENSION GRIPS EUROPE AS DESTRUCTION LOOMS FOR MILLIONS

With swift strokes Nazi Germany extinguished the independence of the Czech state, established protectorates over the Czech and Slovak peoples, compelled Rumania to grant favorable economic concessions and brought Memel once more under the heel of German capitalism. Now it is badgering Poland over the status of Danzig and the Corridor. Naked force was used but almost no blood was spilled. Terror, misery, desperate flight attends the second rise of German imperialism.

In the democratic countries a great wail of horror went up. The capitalist statesmen of England pronounced solemn verdicts of anathema against the Teuton barbarians. The seizure of Czechoslovakia is illegal, said the British moguls, and promptly impounded a hundred and twenty million dollars of Czech capital deposited in British banks and invested in British industry and finance. Perfection of a gas mask for babies was announced.

The French government took these events as an occasion to reaffirm its previous refusal to consider immediate freedom for the Arabs of Syria and to execute further acts of suppression against the independence movement in that country. At this writing a general strike is under way and there are reports of a movement for an armed revolt against French authority. At the same time the Daladier government asked and received power to rule by decree. Parliament is suspended. Decrees are issued to speed war preparations at the workers' expense.

REACTIONARY TIDE RISES IN THE U.S.

In the United States the State Department refused to recognize the seizure of Czechoslovakia as legal thereby tying up millions of dollars of Czech money in this country. Liberal columnists like Dorothy Thompson grew alternately bitter and hysterical. "Stop Hitler!" they shrieked. At the same time the reactionary forces in the country increased their attack all down the line.

"Change the Wagner Act," demands the National Association of Manufacturers and that good old friend of the employers, Bill Green, President of the American Federation of Labor. "Investigate the WPA!" clamored the Republican and Democratic New Deal opposition. "We refuse to negotiate with either faction of the auto union," said General Motors. "Cut the WPA rolls," ordered Colonel Harrington. Relief is being cut; wages are being slashed; anti-strike laws are being considered in many state legislatures; the Supreme Court outlawed the sitdown strike. But all hands agree on arming to the teeth. Millions for air armament; millions for naval armament, for the biggest navy in the world; millions for military and civil air fields!

In totalitarian Italy the air is agitated by the bellicose rantings of the arch-buffoon of European politics, Mussolini. "Bravo, Hitler!" shout this stuffed sausage, "now comes our turn." He knows, this sausage, as well as the gentlemen in Downing Street and the Quai D'Orsay that when the show-down comes Italy will play second fiddle to the strongest combination and will be permitted only a jackal's share of the booty. "War is beautiful," says the mad son. And "Woe to the weak. We will wipe out civil life," says the mad father. Yet there are seven hundred thousand men under arms in Italy and about 5,000,000 men in the trained reserves, all of whom can be hurled into the inferno of war on the orders of these madmen.

Learned writers and commentators solemnly assured the world that Hitler was marching according to schedule. They quoted from Mein Kampf. To what purpose?

Neither Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier, Mussolini, Roosevelt nor any other watchdog of imperialist interests knows on one day what the next will bring forth. In each country there is only a general plan. German imperialism must march to the East or the Near East or perish. British imperialism must defend its world empire against the rebellion of its slaves and the attacks of its rivals. French imperialism declines in direct ratio to the rise of German imperialism. As its sun sets in Europe it is threatened in the Mediterranean. Only a war in which German society is laid waste can give the two hundred families a new lease on imperialist life. Italian imperialism must seek empire in the Mediterranean or collapse. Japanese imperialism is dying for lack of iron ore, oil and gold. Unless the Rising Sun rules the Far East it will be extinguished. But the hope of United States capital to solve its cancerous economic crisis lies principally here.

NO TIME SCHEDULE

Not one of these imperialist powers can hope to solve its problems except at the expense of the other. Each day is an occasion for fresh maneuvers, new schemes, new betrayals.

Hitler did not march according to schedule. He had no time schedule. Nazi strategy is to seize on favorable moments to smash the remnants of the Versailles system; to smash the economic and political domination of France on the European continent; to expand toward the colonial domains of England; to seize the fruitful soil of the Ukraine. The steps by which Hitler came to Munich have been told over and over again. Everyone is familiar with them.

But after Munich the economic crisis in Germany called a temporary halt to its diplomatic and political aggression. The attention of the regime was concentrated on such palliatives as the expropriation of Jewish wealth and the organization of pogroms. In this period, too, the Spanish civil war began to draw to an end and the condition was being realized whereby the economic superiority of Britain over Germany and Italy could again give her the upper hand over them in Spain through loans and credits for reconstruction. The French bourgeoisie crushed the general strike of November and capital began to flow back into the country. National defense was spurred and vast armament plans were executed. Chamberlain's appeasement policy was winning the necessary time for Britain to rearm. Italian

maneuvers in the Mediterranean, deprived of the objective support of crises created by German challenges to France and Britain, were relatively easy to withstand. And Stalinist Russia, leaving little nations to their fate, withdrew behind its borders, waiting to see whether the antagonism between Germany and England would make possible an alliance between itself and the former in order to divert the line of German expansion from the Ukraine to the Near East or an alliance with the latter against Germany.

In this period, American diplomatic pressure was thrown into the scales to bolster Britain and France against Germany. Cunning Uncle Sam, spouting his love for peace and his hatred of dictatorship, strove to aggravate the antagonism between Germany and England and to strike a balance of power in Europe. Bitter experience since 1931 has shown him that European convulsions create the opportunity that Japan needs to gobble up the Far East.

In short the situation began to turn to the advantage of the so-called democratic countries in Europe. The totalitarian countries faced the need of acting while there was time. Hence the crushing of the Czech state and the aggression against Lithuania and Poland.

WHEN WILL WAR BREAK OUT?

When will war break out? Who can tell? German policy is calculated to strain the tension to the breaking point without actually going to war. So far this has paid rich dividends. This policy can be successful only as long as Britain is not far enough advanced with her preparations to go to war. On neither side is there a desire for immediate war. To the extent that these powers and their allies control the pawns with which they play their game of empire they can maintain the present so-called peace.

But the suppression of the Czech state, and the events which followed it have seen the introduction into the picture of another factor which is not subject to the control of the imperialists. Little states have now seen that for them there is no safety in the protection of the Versailles system, nor in the policy of the Soviet Union. They stand helpless before the march of the German juggernaut. Driven to desperation they may tip the dangerously balanced equilibrium of European peace and start the war. How else explain the crazy course of Hungarian policy these last months? It declared its adherence to the German-Italian-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact but it smashed the Nazi party. When Germany marched into Bohemia and Moravia Hungary marched into Carpatho-Ukraine. Why? To add to her territory? Yes, but also to block the path of Hitler? How dangerous is this game! The occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine led to fighting with the Slovaks in Moravia. Most likely no general war will result. But tomorrow it will be the turn of Poland. Loss of the Corridor means economic death. Will the Poles fight? We think they will. But if they do not the struggle between Poland and Germany may create precisely the opportunity some other small state needs to embark on a desperate adventure to "rectify" the injustices of the Versailles system with which the map of Europe and the world still abound. And that may be the fatal spark.

War is very close. It may be a matter of hours or days or weeks. It cannot be a matter of more than months. The tension in Europe is unbearable.

Aside from considerations of strategy one thing holds the madmen back. Mad as they are they know that from the coming war capitalism will never emerge. Millions of men are grimly awaiting the moment when their imperialist masters must place guns and planes in their hands and when the authority and discipline of capitalist government and general staffs collapse before the pressure of the billion-masses of the world's oppressed. Out of the muck and horror and destruction of the coming war will rise the star of Communism.

Ninety two years after the publication of the Communist Manifesto the specter of Communism is haunting the imperialist world.

It is the hope of humanity.

AUTO CORPORATIONS STEP UP ATTACK AS UNION SPLIT WIDENS

RETURN OF OPEN SHOP LOOMS UNLESS WORKERS CAN CLOSE THEIR
RANKS AND ORGANIZE STRUGGLE AGAINST EMPLOYERS

DETROIT, March 31.- In a statement made early this week General Motors refused to deal with either faction of the UAW or any plant committee, regardless of its composition as far as union composition is concerned. At the same time it said that it was ready to negotiate with any worker who had a grievance. This is a long step toward the reintroduction of the open shop rule which has been Ford's policy right along and which was the policy in the entire auto industry before the great sit down strikes of 1936-37 changed the picture in favor of the workers.

Reports from workers in the GM and Chrysler plants show that the corporations are becoming more and more aggressive. Orders are being given that would have resulted in sharp protests and even sit downs two years ago. Speed-up is increasing. Militants are being fired. Shop stewards who go to bat for workers' grievances are losing their jobs.

These developments follow the decision of the Supreme Court outlawing sit down strikes. They follow the Martin convention which directed its fire against the militants in that faction under cover of a vicious red-baiting campaign. And they came on the eve of the Cleveland convention of the CIO faction. In other words the corporations, with the backing of the Supreme Court, sized up the situation, decided that the pie card artists on both sides had the workers under control and that it was O.K. for them to go ahead with their plans to make the industry safe for the open shop.

Judging from the reports coming out of the Cleveland convention the auto magnates hit the nail exactly on the head. There was a lot of talk in Cleveland about the main job being the organization of Ford. That was to cover up the fact that the membership and dues payments have taken a terrific drop and that nothing is being done about getting down to brass

tacks and organizing a real fight to stop the washout of the workers' gains in GM, Chrysler and other plants of 1936-37. The questions occupying the main attention of the convention are the division of the spoils among the factional sell-out artists and control of the Executive Board. Murray and Hillman came to sit on the lid and spent their time arranging compromises. The interests of the workers have received no consideration.

The Martin convention did not take a single step toward unification of the auto workers. It did not even make a pretense of doing so. On the other hand it laid the basis for widening the split by its reactionary decision that no member of the Communist Party can hold office in the union set up by the convention. This decision is being interpreted to apply to all militants whether they follow the Communist party policy in order to get Martin, or are bitter enemies of the Stalinist machine.

The Lewis convention has matched Martin's game. It, too, has done nothing to unite the auto workers. Factional interests have been placed above the needs of the workers to close ranks and fight back the growing attacks of the employers. Never was it clearer that the interests of the high priced gentlemen on both sides of this split have nothing in common with the interests of the broad membership.

MARTIN'S LEAFLET

Homer Martin may not wind up in the A.F. of L., as his factional enemies have predicted. But he is working hand in glove with Bill Green as far as policy is concerned - and with the auto corporations, too. While Bill Green has been concentrating his red-baiting attacks on the Stalinists in the C.I.O. in an effort to drive a wedge between the John L. Lewis crowd and their Communist Party agents, the Homer Martin faction has been doing some red-baiting of its own, going far beyond what Bill Green, Matthew Woll and John Frey have dared to unload.

The following leaflet was distributed on orders by Pat McCartney, Martin's man in charge of work involving the Chrysler plants. The quotation marks are ours. Otherwise the reproduction is exact. The original was mimeographed.

"This is a copy of a letter, the original letter is in the files of the International U.A.W.A.

"Comrades: Workers: Friends: To all enemies of oppression: To all fighters for the Social Revolution.

"The hour of the working class has struck at last. At last we are given the chance of election to the common Council of the City of Detroit a member of the Communist Party, a man who knows our needs and who will lead us in obtaining the good things of life for ourselves. A man who knows what it is to suffer from the damnable government which oppresses the working class. A man who has served time in one of the dungeons of capitalism for refusing to fight in the last war. The man we refer to is Maurice Sugar, who is nationally known as a fighter for the Communist Party.

"Negroes: This man will fight for your right to marry white women. This man will fight for your right to live in any white neighborhood in which you choose. Follow him and he will show you how to

(Continued on page 17)

BRITISH DEMOCRACY AT WORK

The following are extracts from the Indian Press Service issued by The India League in England, March 14 issue:

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN JAIPUR

The agitation for fundamental rights and civil liberties in Jaipur State is becoming more intense. Batches of volunteers offer Satyagraha (passive resistance) and are arrested every day. Jaipuris from Bombay, Calcutta, Wardha and other parts of the country are pouring into Jaipur to court arrest and imprisonment.

Mr. Chandrasekhar, a prominent State official, resigned his post as a protest against the repressive policy of the State. Later he led a batch of volunteers who courted arrest and was jailed.

About twenty prisoners are on hunger strike as a protest against ill-treatment in the State jail.

BURDWAN PEASANT OPPRESSED

Latest reports from Burdwan show that the Peasants' determination to resort to civil disobedience if the Government adopted the certificate procedure to recover unpaid taxes is strong. The Government have promulgated the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 17,000 certificates have been issued by the Canal Dept. and strong police parties have been directed to attack the movables of the peasants. About 200 soldiers of the 20th Gurkha Rifles have been lodged in the police barrack for emergency. Sec.144 has been promulgated for a period of two months.

TERROR IN LIMBDI

A reign of terror prevails in the whole of Limbdi, a small State in Kathiawar. According to a statement issued by Darbar Gopaldas, President of the Limbdi Peoples Conference, there is no safety of life or property in the State. The local leaders are in constant communication with Mr. Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The State authorities attempted to break up the session of the Peoples Conference by force and about 730 persons were injured. Darbar Gopaldas, the President, was arrested. Nevertheless, the Conference was held under the presidency of Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, M.L.A. Bombay.

STATE PRISONERS ON HUNGER STRIKE

Three State Prisoners in Delhi District Jail have entered on hunger-strike as a protest against the Government's refusal to release them unconditionally. The Government of India in their half-yearly review had laid down certain conditions on which the release of these prisoners could be obtained. One of the conditions was that the prisoners should give an undertaking that they would not participate in revolutionary activities after their release, but they refused to give any such undertaking.

EYE - WITNESS ACCOUNTTHE FLIGHT FROM BARCELONA

TRANSLATED FROM THE FEBRUARY 16TH ISSUE OF S.I.A., ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL ANTIFASCIST SOLIDARITY, PUBLISHED IN PARIS

No one understands what has occurred. Barcelona's nerves have snapped and the people roll in waves along the roads leading to France. On Wednesday, the Great Diagonal Way is glutted by a swarm of human ants flowing in but one direction. In autos, trucks, carts, afoot, everyone flees. The fronts are still far away; the roar of the cannon has not yet been heard. But the terrified populace emigrates en masse. Until one learns the explanation, the reasons for what has occurred, I can be only a simple reporter of the great historic exodus.

I also took up the march at 3:30 in the afternoon in a car belonging to the air service. The number of automobiles in Barcelona is rapidly diminishing.

There is a control station at San Andres where the documents of drivers are examined. The cars are stopped and form interminable lines blocking the highway. The occupants are restless, as they feel that the enemy aviation may appear at any moment and open up on this "military objective."

At last our car gets ahead of the tide by travelling over secondary roads. At twenty kilometers from Barcelona the enemy planes are sighted. The cars are stopped and their occupants lie in the ditches alongside of the highway. Death is awaited from one moment to the other by the earth-shaking explosions. But the planes pass us by at a great height without loosing their loads of death. They are headed for Barcelona which has been bombarded at ten minutes intervals all day and all night on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th.

TERROR

We are now driving up the coast highway. We pass Mataro where the whole populace is in the streets watching the great flight. The towns that we encounter farther along are living through a different tragedy: for a number of days the aviation has hovered about these defenseless villages and the inhabitants are forced to spend the greater part of their time in the refuges and in the brush. Spain is living in constant terror, the villages live the fright and uncertainty of the first eras of history. Human caravans are machine-gunned, villages are wiped out.

From time to time, we pass an automobile in a ditch wrecked by shrapnel. Our caravan rolls on, pauses, and one is oppressed by the thought that perhaps a few kilometers farther the same fate awaits us.

In all of the little villages by the way, houses bear deep shrapnel scars. Not even the most insignificant hamlet has been spared.

Our car has orders to spend the night in Blanes. We alight and four persons are allocated to a room with a single bed. Ten minutes after arrival the scream of the sirens gives warning of the aviation.

"We spent all last night in the refuge," the woman of the house informs us.

The whole village rushes to scatter out over the adjoining fields. The refuges are insufficient to hold everyone. The planes roar overhead. In hundreds of terrified breasts, the fall of the aerolites, perhaps instant death, is awaited from one moment to the next.....the planes pass on. The roar dies down. Death has gone elsewhere on its grim mission.

With the brutal selfishness let loose in the human mind by the crime of war, the villagers give vent to sighs of relief, abandon the refuges and return from the fields. We return to the little hut where the room has been placed at our disposal.

A half hour later the aviation returns. Once again to the brush and the refuges, the sole alternatives of terror or death. These villages have passed a hellish two and a half years. All through the night we are disturbed by the alarm sirens.

At last about nine in the morning, five trimotors appeared without warning and dropped their loads on the miserable houses of the little town. No one has had time to flee and we glue ourselves against the walls of the houses that tremble as though shaken by an earthquake. The birds of death have flown onward. Four dead and eleven injured. More scarred buildings, with great gaping holes like staring, horrified eyes. The "crusaders of civilization" have left new evidence of their passage.

Our drivers decide to leave the town at once. On the main highway leading towards Gerona endless lines of cars. Traffic is heavy and progress is slow. Near noon, Gerona is sighted. For some unknown cause the caravan is held up for a long time, without it being possible to advance a single meter. There is a general presentiment that the aviation may come and finally it is announced by the alarm sirens of Gerona. The hundreds of passengers flee to the fields and one sees the inhabitants of Gerona pouring out of the city.

AN INDESCRIBABLE SPECTACLE

A half hour later calm is restored. The aviation has not put in an appearance. We enter the provincial capital. The streets of Gerona offer an indescribable spectacle. Thousands of persons are camped in the streets, in the plazas, around the railway station. Cars enter and pass incessantly. It is a fantastic chaos in which Catalonia's life-blood is escaping.

This unprecedented exodus is too much for Gerona, already completely worn out by the war. There is neither food nor lodging for those who arrive. We have ourselves been 36 hours without food.

On Thursday afternoon the S.I.A. takes up the task of succoring the immense multitude that has gathered at Gerona. Comrades Baruta and Lucia Sanchez Saornil multiply their feverish efforts and that night reach Gerona with truck loads of foodstuffs that have come through from France. Food is distributed. Thanks to the S.I.A. there is now a sufficient supply to go around. The C.N.T. activists of Gerona are also on the job, organizing expeditions to distribute those who arrive in the capital

among the smaller towns and villages. A certain nervousness can be noted in those of us who have come from Barcelona. The people in Gerona are still calm.

We spent Thursday night in Gerona, and on Friday morning visited the headquarters of the S.I.A., a vital throbbing center of activity. I have lost the vehicle in which I had been travelling. At the S.I.A. I learn that a train is being organized to take refugees to the towns near the border. We are given passes authorizing us to travel to Figueras on this train.

At the station groups of orderlies of the S.I.A. efficiently organize the expeditions that are about to leave. Herrero is in charge of this work. At one o'clock he is called to the S.I.A. offices and I am assigned to take his place. The expedition is made up in groups of ten with a leader for each group, and myself as general leader over all the groups. I am in constant touch with the military chief of the station. But the train is not yet made up and the number of people who must travel on increases every minute. Rapid decisions must be made.

I spot a switch engine at work in the yards and signal the engineer to stop. I speak with him pointing out the necessity of making up a train at once....The engineer places himself under my orders. Within fifteen minutes a train is made up by hitching together a string of cars of all categories from the sidings. At last we are off....

EMMIGRANTS

We arrive at Figueras at nine in the evening. But the train is on its way to Port Bou, so that no one wants to get off at Figueras; we continue on to Port Bou. At Culera, one station before reaching this destination, we receive orders from the government forces to get off the train. The night is spent in the waiting rooms and sheds around the station. It is intensely cold. Most of the emmigrants are women and children. The picture of these people sprawled about on the ground, ill clad in blankets, hungry, fatigued to the point of exhaustion, reflects crudely the tragedy of this collective drama lived by the masses of Spain.

At the first rays of dawn, people set out on foot along the road from Culera to Port Bou. Some follow the highway while others go over the mountains. By four in the afternoon Port Bou is overflowing. On the highway, the flow of automobiles grows like a flood. At night their lights form a fantastic procession. One gets the impression that all Spain is rolling up to the Pyrenees like a mighty wave.

It has been my sad privilege to witness these mass flights from the plains of Talavera to the barrier formed by the Pyrenees. No man can ever have felt his spirit more weighed down by such a barbarous tragedy as this spectacle of a whole people fleeing en masse from death. I do not know if some day I shall regain sufficient spiritual tranquility to be able really to describe the magnitude of the catastrophe. For the moment I can only offer these pages written while yet under the natural neurosis of the events.

BENIGNO BEJARANO
(France, February, 1939)

1871 - PARIS COMMUNE - 1939

On March 18th, 1871, sixty eight years ago to the day the workers of Paris seized power and ruled over society for the first time in history. Their rule lasted seventy one days after which they were defeated. The maddened rulers took a ferocious revenge. Tens of thousands of workers were shot down in cold fury. The Paris Commune fell, primarily, because the workers did not have a revolutionary party to lead them and because they did not extend the revolution to the rest of France.

Forty six years later Lenin led the Bolshevik party of Russia in the establishment of the second Commune which has endured to this day. So strongly did the Bolsheviks build that in fifteen years the Stalinists have not yet succeeded in wrecking the revolution beyond repair.

In the cities of republican Spain in 1936 the workers had a marvelous opportunity to establish the Spanish Commune. Again in the Barcelona uprising in May, 1937, the workers could have created their own state.

Had they done so they could have gone on to smash Franco and his Italian Fascist allies. That they did not do so signifies that the Spanish workers had not learned the great lessons of the Paris Commune and the Russian revolution. They had not succeeded in creating a revolutionary party. Without it all their heroic courage and endless capacity for sacrifice have proved unable to stem the sweep of Fascism. That is the tragedy of the Spanish Revolution.

Why were the Spanish workers unable to create their own party of revolution? Not the least factor was the dismal state to which the Soviet Union has come under the Stalinist regime. Men aspiring to be free are repelled by the poverty of life in the Soviet Union, horrified by the crimes which are committed in the name of socialism. The revolutionary shield of Bolshevism has been so defiled with the counter-revolutionary slime of Stalinism that millions of workers cannot distinguish the true from the false. In their eyes Communism is a badge of infamy which they would rather die than wear. That is why in Spain the Stalinist party was made up almost entirely of people from the middle class.

Of this unfortunate fact the leaderships of the socialist, anarchist and syndicalist movements took full advantage. Fattening on the decline of the Russian revolution they fought Stalinism but they served it too. For they fought the ideas and teachings of Marxism. Denouncing all governments as evil the anarchist leadership nevertheless entered the service of the Spanish capitalist state to take responsibility for its anti-working class policy. And when the workers of Barcelona rose in May, 1937 these gentlemen told them to go back to their chains.

For the errors they make the workers always pay in blood. Franco will take a terrible revenge. Already hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers are exiles. In France the capitalist government herds them into concentration camps, "stinking centers of misery." Tomorrow hundreds will arrive in Mexico which has signified its willingness to grant them a asylum. They will need aid. Helping them will be a good revolutionary investment. For they will give a good account of themselves in the coming revolution.

On the sixty eighth anniversary of the Paris Commune we can do no better work than to aid the Spanish worker refugees. March 18, 1939.

LEAGUE CHALLENGES POSTAL CENSORSHIP OF REVOLT

SEEKS SHOWDOWN ON MAILABILITY OF COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

DETROIT, March 28.- Developments since the last issue of REVOLT in the fight the League is making against the censorship established by the Post Office are the following:

On March 15 Roscoe B. Huston, Detroit Postmaster, informed us that he was in receipt of a letter from the Solicitor of the Department in Washington which reads:

The March 4th., issue of Revolt does not contain matter of the character which rendered the January 7th., unmailable and the publication should not be refused admission to the mails, full responsibility for any violations of the law involved to rest with the publishers. This ruling, like that given on the January 7 issue, covers only the March 4 issue.

Huston adds:

Kindly see that copies of subsequent issues are presented at this office, room 106, Roosevelt Park Annex, for submission to the Solicitor.

Here we have black-on-white proof of intention to maintain a censorship over REVOLT. In a letter to Solicitor Miles on March 21st the League's attorney, Francis Heisler of Chicago, protested the censorship as "an illegal, unwarranted censorship in advance."

A copy of the leaflet which will be found before the index page was sent to every member of Congress and to the capitalist and labor press to bring the fact of the existence of the censorship to the widest possible circles in all classes.

TEST CASE OVER COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

A copy of the Communist Manifesto, Charles H. Kerr edition has been submitted to the Detroit post office for a test as to its mailability. It will be recalled by readers of REVOLT that one of the passages in the January 7 issue which the Post Office ruled violated the law, was a sentence from the closing paragraph of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, great classic of the revolutionary movement. EITHER THE POST OFFICE MUST RULE THAT ALL PAPERS, MAGAZINES AND BOOKS WHICH CONTAIN THIS PASSAGE ARE UNMAILABLE OR IT MUST REMOVE THE BAN ON REVOLT. We are confident that it can be compelled to withdraw the ban as the lesser evil to inviting a broad protest movement in which even bourgeois publishing houses must be interested because of their investments in books which contain the famous Manifesto.

Striking proof of the contention of the League in the March 4th issue of REVOLT that the motivation for the ban was fear of revolutionary ideas and movements because of the acute war danger, was contained in an item in the New York Times of March 6th.

...a few days ago, Acting Secretary of the Navy Charles Edison requested, in the name of the Navy Department, the enactment of legislation to curb the activities of individuals and organizations "seeking to undermine the morale of the services"...

These individuals and the membership of the organizations, it is said, are largely American in their citizenship.

That those directing the propaganda are fully cognizant of the laws involved is indicated by the fact that in the distribution of propaganda urging disloyalty and disobedience of orders and regulations they are careful to avoid the use of the mails and booklets, pamphlets and leaflets are carefully worded to avoid the sedition and insurrection provisions of the Criminal Code of the United States.

The nature of the propaganda which these individuals and organizations are using in efforts to undermine the morale of the army and navy tells its own story. The evidence involves practically every ship in the navy, but principally the battleships, cruisers and other combatant units,...

"We all know that the fleet is being greased up for another war," an excerpt from one pamphlet reads. "What will this war be for? Your officers tell you that you are the defenders of American democracy and liberty. Yet the Articles of War deprive you yourselves of any democracy or liberty. If you would organize to protect yourselves against wage cuts, bad food or bad conditions the officers would at once be calling it 'mutiny.' You don't even have the chance to vote for the government you are defending.

The truth is that you will be used to fight for more profits for the same bankers and bosses who piled up fortunes in the last war. You may be sent to China or Cuba to help the Wall Street bankers. You may have to fight men like yourselves sent out from another country to protect the profits of their own millionaires. You may even be ordered to shoot down your fellow-workers in this country fighting for a living wage and the right to organize."

Under the caption, "The Officers' Navy," another leaflet addressed to the enlisted personnel of the fleet, said:

"On board ship you have to take any kind of treatment

your officers care to give. On shore you find that the officers are given big receptions and welcomed everywhere. Why? Because the officers are the representatives of the capitalist class, while you are in the same boat with the workers on shore."

We don't know who did distribute this propaganda. The Times article insinuates that foreign espionage is behind it. We'd like to see the entire leaflet and pamphlet quoted. The passages quoted by the New York Times article sound like revolutionary propaganda and coincide with our ideas.

The sedition and insurrection provisions of the Criminal Code referred to are those which were invoked by the Post Office to ban REVOLT. So we can safely assume that the government is frightened and struck out first at what it thought would be the easiest case to get away with. As far as we are concerned it has made a bad mistake.

But these things show that there is a very real threat to the labor press of the country. In fighting the ban against REVOLT the League is, in reality, fighting the cause of the entire labor press. This is as it should be. On the other hand the League should not be left to fight the issue alone. The importance of the issue imposes a duty on the entire labor movement to defeat this danger before it is extended to other labor papers.

SOMETHING OUGHT TO BE DONE ABOUT IT!

TIME: 3:00 P.M. Tuesday, March 28

PLACE: In front of the massive Masonic Temple, Detroit

CHARACTERS: Spectator, First Worker, Second Worker

SCENE: A line of pompously dressed old men, Masons all, are slowly filing from the side entrance of the Temple. They walk erect with their cocked hats and swinging swords at their sides. The police are lining the streets, blocking traffic. Everything is show, costly.

SPECTATOR:(To First Worker): They must be burying someone.

FIRST WORKER: Yes.

SPECTATOR: He must have been wealthy to deserve such a funeral.

FIRST WORKER: He was a big coal man, Buchanan or some such name, from Canada or some place.

SECOND WORKER: A pretty picture. Men starving, unable to buy a pair of shoes, and thousands of dollars spent to bury that guy. Something ought to be done about it!

AUTO CORPORATIONS

(Continued from page 8),

"kill the white capitalists who are grinding the negro race back into a condition worse by far than slavery.

"Foreign Born: Do not vote for the misleading of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Vote for comrade Sugar, who is a friend of the foreign born and he will aid in making the revolution against the exploiters of the foreign born. Comrade Sugar has come out defiantly against the church which has kept the people in darkness and ignorance for 1900 years. His slogan is: Close the churches and make the buildings into shelters for the homeless men and women. Down with religion which is the opium which the ruling class feeds to you to keep you satisfied with the miserable existence which you lead. There is no God.

"To all friends of suffering humanity: To all whose hearts bleed at the sight of starving babies in midst of plenty: To all those brave fighters for a better world: To all who hate the smug priests of the Catholic Churches, and the slimy hypocritical ministers of the Protestant Churches. There are a few exception to the above, such as our good comrade the Rev. J.H. Bollens. To all those who are oppressed by this damnable government we address this message.

"Vote for our candidate, the candidate of the only party which fights for the workers. The Communist Party. Our candidate is Maurice Sugar, the international labor defense attorney and member of the Communist Party. Remember the election is November 5th. The only candidate the Communist Party is running this election is Maurice Sugar. For further information about the Communist Party, call or write to 5969 - 14th. St. Telephone - Garfield 9660.

"Comradely yours,

District Organizer; Dist N-No 7

Communist Party, U.S.A."

THIS IS A FORGERY!

This is the rottenest leaflet ever issued around here. It appeals to the most backward prejudices of the workers. It is an attempt to divide the workers on racial and religious lines. It is a frame up of the Communist Party by its own filthy methods. Only the employers and the most reactionary elements in the working class will benefit from this degenerate propaganda. The men who are responsible for this leaflet are conscious tools of the employers' interests; enemies of the workers, white and black. Not until these scum are driven clean out of the labor movement will the workers be in a position to put up a fight against the employers.

The man most responsible is Homer Martin. It is a perfect expression of his policy. This is the man of whom James P. Cannon, leader of the Trotskyists in the United States, said in May 1938, in his paper, Socialist Appeal, that his administration was the most progressive and

democratic in the C.I.O. And of whom this same prostitute rag still said on March 28, 1939 that: "...he might have been America's greatest progressive labor leader." This is the rat whom the Lovestonites have consistently supported and still do. This is the measure of the shame of these people who call themselves revolutionists.

Only those serve the workers' interests who tirelessly expose the corruption of the employers agents, naming names, fearlessly telling the truth.

To meet the attacks of the employers the workers need unity and fighting leadership. They cannot get it in either the Martin or Lewis camps. Time will be needed to heal the breach these scoundrels have made in labor's ranks. In the meantime the workers can do no better than to close ranks in the plants, to MAINTAIN SOLIDARITY IN THE PLANTS!

Let the workers resolve that they will turn a deaf ear to the pleas of the pie-card artists for jurisdictional strikes and back-to-work movements! Let the plant committees stand solid regardless of factional differences! Let the workers, despite their rotten leadership, present a united face to the employers - in the plants. That way the attacks of the employers can be stopped.

Behind this solid wall of working class strength the breach can be repaired. In these struggles a new and fighting leadership can develop and the old-line and new-line fakers can be swept away.

FIFTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

On March 11 and 12 the Central Committee of the League met in Detroit to hold the Fifth Plenum.

The Plenum discussed the development of the war danger since the Czech crisis in September, 1938; and other important questions. Lessons were drawn from the Civil War in Spain and the League's work in that country; and also from the League's trade union, unemployed and labor defense work in this country.

In this and subsequent issues REVOLT will present the positions adopted by the Plenum. The analysis of the developments in Europe on pages 4-7 is based on the political report made to the Plenum.

Don't miss reading...

"THE NEGRO UNDER CAPITALISM"

STUNNING MARXIST ANALYSIS AND
PROGRAM OF ACTION

- * How Race Hatred Arises
- * Historical Background
- * Negro and Labor Movement
- * Marxism Solves the Problem
- * Program for the United States
- * Organization of the South

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de la L.C.I.

ORDER TODAY FROM

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

VIEWS OF A W.P.A. WORKER

CHICAGO, March, 21.- Since the inception of the work relief program, there has been one continuous drive to cut to the very bone the living standards of the unemployed. From \$72 per month on C.W.A. to \$55 per month on W.P.A., and finally, the present rate of 50¢ per hour here, is the "progress" of the New Deal.

Along with this progress have gone other measures to make the life of the unemployed less secure and more "economical." As an example of the pressure for more efficiency and intensity of work, all W.P.A. workers over 65 years of age were given 403's and thrown back on the dole, that is, all except the supervisors, of course. Previous to this we witnessed a blanket cut of wage-rates on all white-collar projects.

At the present time a more ominous measure is being put through: all aliens are being weeded out. The purpose of this is to isolate certain sections of the working-class still further, to minimize the chances of organization; to inspire patriotism against "foreigners"; to sow the seeds of national hatred among the workers to prepare for the coming war.

TO DEPORT ALIENS

The agitation against "aliens" unfortunately finds some sympathy among workers who believe the deportation of non-citizens will help them to secure jobs. All workers should remember that a scrap of paper proclaiming citizenship does not make a worker any more human, any more American, or any less hungry; and that the lack of that scrap of paper has never prevented the bosses from exploiting a worker. In fact it is the custom to exploit the "aliens" even more. When he can no longer sweat profits an "alien" has no value and the capitalist wants to deport him.

Many W.P.A. workers who fought in the last war on the side of the American imperialists still are under the illusion that they have a country. On the other hand there are many others who have come to the conclusion that "they fought for democracy and look where the hell it has got them"; never again.

Every W.P.A. worker who is class-conscious, who realizes that under capitalism he will never be anything but a wage-slave, who is rebellious against that system which is strangling him, experiences a feeling of guilt and shame because he is being used to do scab labor and to lower wages of other workers. Consequently he strives to organize other W.P.A. workers.

What can the program be for such organization? United action with the workers in industry to down speed-up, and shorten the working-day, to absorb millions of unemployed into industry. There are other demands which the W.P.A. and unemployed workers are raising to improve their conditions. But this one is the most important one at this time which both the employed and unemployed workers will agree is a sensible, practicable demand and for which they will put up a fight if they are given the right hand of leadership.

W.P.A. WORKER

BLACKWELL CALLS FOR UNITY OF MARXISTS

URGES REVOLUTIONISTS TO JOIN LEAGUE

The writer was sent to Spain as representative of the Revolutionary Workers League of the United States in October, 1936, and in February, 1937 comrade Oehler was sent over in the same capacity. Oehler returned to this country after a few months while I remained in Spain until January, 1939. After comrade Hugo Oehler's return, his report on the carrying out of our work in Spain was endorsed by the October Plenum of the League and by its Convention in December, 1937.

During the winter of 1937-38, contact between myself and the organization was disrupted due to the censorship and the breakdown of certain other connections. No reports were received on either the Plenum or the Convention.

In February, 1938 I left Barcelona for a trip, and was arrested in Cuenca in March. During the nine and a half months of my imprisonment I was completely out of touch with the developments in my organization which suffered a major split in the spring of 1938. I had no definite news of this split until my arrival in Marseille on January 22, 1939.

Upon arriving in the U.S. I did not identify myself with either group but collaborated with both as regards meetings on Spain. This was necessary in order to orientate myself on the political and organizational issues involved in the split. The clarification of my status had of necessity to await my decision on the issues involved.

A careful study of the material issued by both groups and discussions with their leading committees as well as with rank and filers convinced me that the split could have been avoided. However, the League was torn asunder and for almost a year the two groups had been functioning as separate organizations.

Believing that unification of the revolutionists on a healthy Marxist basis is necessary, I probed the possibilities of achieving this. It has become evident that no practical possibility exists for reunification of the two groups, which I greatly regret.

The main task before us remains the building of a new Marxist vanguard party. The existence of two groups, the unification of which is impossible, creates the obligation of making a choice between them. I am convinced that the Oehler group with its sectarian approach in mass work and in its press cannot be the driving force in building the new party. The REVOLT group with its correct approach can lead in the creation of this movement. On this basis I have made my choice.

I hereby sever my organizational and political connections with the RWL (Oehler Group) and place myself completely at the disposition of the RWL (REVOLT Group). I call on all the other comrades, both those at present in the Oehler group and those outside of both groups to take the same step.

Detroit, March 12, 1939

(signed) Russell Blackwell (Rosalio Negrete)

EDITORIALTHE SIGNIFICANCE OF BLACKWELL'S STATEMENT

The statement of comrade Blackwell, published on the preceding page, is significant for revolutionary workers interested in uniting the revolutionists into a Marxist organization.

As he has explained he knew nothing about the split in the League until he reached Marseille early this year. When he returned to this country he found himself in an anomalous position. Both groups called themselves the Revolutionary Workers League. And both groups had elected him to their Central Committees.

Realizing that a revolutionary Marxist must be organized, Blackwell faced the need of deciding which of the two groups represents the revolutionary position of the League as he had left it; which of the two groups is the Marxist organization. But the problem posed by his position was larger than his individual problem. Not only are workers in the identical situation but there are scores of revolutionists in the United States who are seeking a Marxist organization. The larger problem, therefore, is the task of uniting the revolutionists, a task which only the Marxists can accomplish.

Blackwell made the only decision which a Marxist could make in the circumstances. He declared for the League.

He based his decision on the positive attitude of the League and rejected the sectarian attitude of the Oehler group. It is another timely, concrete proof of the fact that the new Communist party can be built only through revolutionary propaganda and action in the class struggle.

We agree with Blackwell that the League's approach can build a revolutionary movement. But what is needed now is more people to help do the job. Blackwell's action should arouse all serious revolutionary workers to join together with us to help build the new Communist Party.

FIERY CROSS BURNED AT LEAGUE MEETING

DETROIT, March 11.- A burning cross stuck into the mud of an empty lot last night greeted the social organized by the Detroit unit to celebrate the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee which opened today. The cross was made of two rusty lead pipes. The pipes were wrapped in black cloth soaked in kerosene. The blaze lit up the entire neighborhood.

The cowards who planted the cross beat it before they could be chased.

Exactly who they are we do not know. But they must have been either Stalinists or Black Legionnaires. Both of these reactionary outfits have opposed our revolutionary activities in Detroit.

The presence of Negro workers at our social undoubtedly aroused the hatred of these skunks.

IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

NO BATHS AND TOILETS

In the United States there are 4,500,000 dwelling units without water closets, 6,000,000 without baths, according to an estimate by the Standard Sanitary Mfg. Co. in an add in Time magazine.

BURNED TO DEATH

The child death toll of a fire on the night of March 20 in a five-story old-law tenement house in New York City rose to four as two of the three severely burned children died the following day.

DARIEN

In Heart of Riding Country
5 ACRES - PARTLY WOODED

RIDING TRAILS

8-room remodeled colonial, 2 baths, 3-car garage;
large well built barn, box stalls; 4-room gardner's
cottage; old shade, fruit trees; \$21,500.

MABEL S. GLASS

Thatched Roof Cottage, Darien, Tel. 5-0507.

—NY Times, March 19, 1939.

RELIEF TO BE CUT

More than 21,000 of Detroit's welfare clients face a 30% reduction in aid to be received for April, May and June unless aid is forthcoming from some place, the Detroit Free Press reported on March 22. This shortage in aid funds was caused by the \$1,000,000 reduction in the deficiency bill passed by the State Senate and now before the House. Members of the Detroit welfare Commission stated that it had been made quite clear to them that neither the City of Detroit nor the State had additional funds available. The present case load of 21,851 is increasing at a 100 a week due to the factory lay-offs.

"The tenth annual benefit of the Lakeview Players for the New York Women's League for Animals and the free work conducted by the league at the Ellin Prince Speyer Hospital will be given Thursday night and Saturday afternoon at the MacDowell Club, 166 East Seventy-third Street.....

"...the players hope to raise enough funds to materially aid the league's project for the care and treatment of pet animals of needy persons. Nearly 18,000 animals were treated free of charge last year at the Speyer Hospital, many of them being kept in the wards for a considerable time."

NY Times, March 19, 1939



around the world with REVOLT



AUSTRALIA

"I SHOULD be extremely grateful if you would continue to send us a copy of each issue of REVOLT." S. Brisbane, Queensland.

SOUTH AFRICA

"THANK YOU for REVOLT...which I have been receiving regularly." Johannesburg.

INDIA

"I AM ready to sell your paper in India. Therefore kindly arrange to send me five copies of every issue..." Bombay.

"I HAVE found REVOLT of interest and value. I am instructing our office to put your journal on our exchange list." Congress Socialist, Bombay.

CHILE

"...I HAVE received copies of your papers CLARIDAD PROLETARIA and REVOLT ...The undersigned is a member of a group that stands for the Fourth International." Santiago.

FRANCE

"WE THANK you for the materials sent and would like to receive a file of REVOLT." Paris.

ENGLAND

"WILL YOU PLEASE let us have three copies of each issue of REVOLT, beginning with the current issue?" London.

AT HOME

KANSAS

"I'M ENCLOSING a dollar bill for which please send me REVOLT for one year. Yours for the revolution." Whitewater.

"I HAVE appreciated your sending me REVOLT and have read every issue from 'cover to cover'...I'm particularly interested in your analyses of the situation in the auto union although I do not agree with them altogether." Hutchinson.

ILLINOIS

"ENCLOSED FIND one dollar bill for which start my subscription for the REVOLT. Yours for a better revolt." East Moline.

MINNESOTA

"...WE ARE very anxious to receive your paper." Northwest Organizer, Minneapolis.

CHICAGO

CHICAGO, March 15.- The Chicago Czechs held a rally at Pilsen Park Auditorium tonight to protest the Hitler seizure of Czechoslovakia. Jan Masaryk, son of the former Czech premier, was the principal speaker. About 3,000 were present. Outside the hall were ten police and several plainclothes men. A newsboy was hawking the Chicago Herald and Examiner which carried the streamer, "Czechs say Pfui to Hitler."

Three of us were distributing REVOLT near the entrance. One of the distributors said to a worker, "Here's what we've got to do, mister - REVOLT, and he handed him a copy. The worker said, "You're right." While we were selling him a second REVOLT, one policeman, a plainclothes man and a vicious Czech nationalist came up to one of the distributors, and tried to grab the REVOLT.

The cop and the dick told the distributor to "Get the Hell out of here!" They seized the REVOLTS and threw them on the street. Then they held the distributor by the arms, pushed and pulled him, cursing him all the while. The plainclothes man told the distributor, "I'll knock those god-damned glasses off your face! What do you mean coming to this meeting, Who in the hell told you you could give out this magazine here? Come on, beat it." They pushed him down the street.

The worker who was very angry at the fact that the REVOLT was strewn on the street said, "One of these days those cops will get what they got in Russia."

62 REVOLTS were distributed.

J. Drake, Organizer Chicago Unit.

"IF YOU people don't like America - why not go back to Russia. We ought to get Hitler over here and he would chase the whole damn lot of you out of the country. America is pretty good to you Jews - so why all the kick." ANONYMOUS.

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FIGHT CENSORSHIP OF THE LABOR PRESS BY THE POST OFFICE

STOP THE CENSORSHIP OF REVOLT

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They
~~are not ashamed to call themselves revolutionaries and to despise~~ (censored) ~~moderate reformers and to sneer at their compromise~~

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

—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."

This is censorship of a labor paper for its Marxist views. Unless it is stopped it will be extended to other labor papers.

Help us stop it!

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Issued by The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League
of the United States.

Box 141, Alfred Street Station, Detroit, Michigan

F I G H T CENSORSHIP OF THE LABOR PRESS BY THE POST OFFICE

STOP THE CENSORSHIP OF REVOLT

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE OF THE
UNITED STATES

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They
~~are not ashamed to proclaim their purpose~~ (censored) ~~to overthrow the bourgeoisie~~

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The pro-
letarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.
Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

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