

THE FIGHTING WORKER

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UNITE!



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LOYALISTS DICKER OVER SELL OUT



FIGHT CAPITALISM TO FIGHT FASCISM!

Peoples Front Paves Way for Fascism

Workers Must Build Illegal Party and Continue Struggle

Although the Spanish Civil War has not yet terminated, the fall of Catalonia and the various "peace" negotiations are drawing the conflict to a close. But for the working class this only opens up a new stage and a different form of terror by the exploiters.

The conflict started on the basis of the internal decay of Spanish economy, with the bourgeoisie seeing the need of the strongest measures to suppress the developing social revolution of the working class and peasants — a war of classes. But the imperialist powers intervened for their own interests at the very beginning. Gradually, the betrayals of the working class and the imperialist pressure elevated to the foreground the imperialist conflict, while, with the aid of Peoples Frontism, the class war of the workers was derailed into support of the "democratic" bourgeoisie and relegated to the background. It remained, nevertheless the underlying and determining factor in the Civil War.

On February 16, 1936, the Peoples Front coalition won an electoral victory — the majority of the Cortes (Parliament). The parliamentary gain was hailed by the reformists as a victory of the workers and a rout of the Fascists. Actually, however, it was a victory of the "democratic" capitalists OVER the workers. The Peoples Front lulled the masses to sleep, while the Fascists almost openly prepared their attack.

THE JULY UPRISING AGAINST THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

By July 19th the Fascists were ready to begin their offensive. It was an offensive against the THREATENING PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. It was an attempt by the capitalists, through

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\$300 Drive to Print Magazine Under Way

The campaign to raise \$300 for the Press Fund to launch the printed monthly theoretical organ of the Revolutionary Workers League — THE MARXIST — got under way February 1st. By February 15th, 11% of the total had been raised.

The first issue of the magazine will appear on or before April 1st. It will contain articles on Workers Control of Production, the Road to the Fourth International, Can a Four Power Bloc in Europe be Established, and others.

Meanwhile, however, the PRESS FUND campaign must be speeded up if the magazine is to appear regularly. With a new imperialist war approaching like a hurricane and the

offensive against the working class in the United States gaining momentum, we know our sympathizers and friends feel the urgency for such a magazine.

Contribute your share today! Take advantage of our two-for-one subscription offer — two yearly subscriptions to the FIGHTING WORKER and THE MARXIST, both for \$1.00 — and mail your sub in NOW!

I am enclosing \$..... for the special subscription offer and/or \$..... contribution to the RWL Press fund.

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FDR TALKS PEACE AND PREPARES WAR

Utilizes France Against European Bloc

The senate opposition to the Roosevelt foreign policy in relation to the sale of airplanes to France, and the so-called Anglo-American-French alliance is just so much clever propaganda for the 1940 elections. Both sides conceal the real facts.

Every imperialist country and its

agents, (such as the Loyalists and Fascists of Spain) has been purchasing war materials in the United States according to its financial ability to pay. For Loyalist Spain the United States Lines carried war supplies to France. Germany does not need planes, but she buys all other war needs except Helium in the United States.

Where there are profits in war materials there will be sales to all, EVEN TO THE ENEMY IN WAR TIME, as was the case in the last war.

The sale of planes by the United States to France is part of Roosevelt's policy of disrupting any attempt by Great Britain to consummate a four power bloc in Europe. Such a bloc is obviously aimed against the United States and the extension of the October Revolution.

America's sale of war supplies — including certain "military secrets" — to France, is an attempt to utilize France against Great Britain in an attempt to block further concessions to Germany and Italy and to sharpen the antagonisms in Europe. This is the opposite of Chamberlain's policy of "appeasement."

The U. S. tries to play off one European power against another, to keep a balance of power in European "power politics." Roosevelt's aid to France is not based on love of France, but on fear of the British plans. America's foreign policy in Europe is one of DISRUPTION to checkmate the British plans.

FEAR OF REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

The most important aspect of the sale to France is fear of revolution. After the last World War it was the American dollar that saved European Capitalism from the extension of the October Revolution, just as today the

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OHIO WORKERS FIGHT BABY DIES COMMITTEE

Columbus — The campaign against "subversive" activities is being extended to the campus. A Baby Dies Committee is investigating "Communism" and the "Red Menace" at Ohio State University, at the behest of the American Legion in Ohio.

Strangely enough the "investigation" comes just at the time when a new president is to be chosen by the Ohio university trustees. It is an at-

tempt to push through a reactionary president and to limit academic freedom still further.

The Columbus unit of the Revolutionary Workers League is organizing a broad campaign to fight this "red scare". Leaflets distributed at the campus gates aroused the Legion and most of the newspapers in the state. State intelligence men "visited" the headquarters of comrades in Clevel-

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Peoples Front Paves Way for Fascism

Workers Must Build Illegal Party and Continue Struggle

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the Fascist movement to save Spanish Society from a Workers (Soviet) Government. It was an attempt of the Fascists to do just what had been done in Italy and Germany. The Fascists, unlike the "leaders" of the working class, realized that bourgeois democracy had outlived its usefulness, and could not any longer hold the workers in check. The revolutionists, on the other hand, understood that if society was to move forward the workers and peasants of Spain would have to establish their own rule, and spread the struggle to France and the rest of Europe.

The workers were ready. Against the orders and wishes of the Peoples Front they armed themselves. Taking the means of struggle away from the helpless "democratic" capitalists the workers put up a heroic resistance against the Fascists and organized a counter-attack. Without this independent working class resistance the Fascists would have defeated the Peoples Front in a few weeks. The revolution had broken loose. It could not be stopped. The workers took over the industries and the peasants the land. They drove back the Fascists hundreds of miles from the centers of commerce and industry, and the proletarian army — the various militias — grew in numbers and energy. The "democratic" bourgeoisie had to change the government. By August 1st a new Government of the Generality was placed in power. By September 4th the Peoples Front called in Caballero's Stalinist-Socialist Government. But to no avail. The workers had already moved to the left of these reformists, as they did in Russia in July 1917.

DEVELOPING DUAL POWER AND THE WORKERS OFFENSIVE.

On the basis of control of industry and land the workers and peasants established Soldiers Committees at the front. In the rear Anti-Fascist Committees (Soviets) were established, especially in Catalonia; and instead of the police, Workers Patrols were keeping order. It was the first stage of dual power, of an embryo Workers State arising beside the bankrupt capitalist state, and beginning to take over the management of society and the war, against capitalism and its open dictatorship, Fascism.

In this period, the first three months after the July uprising, the working class could and should have taken power and destroyed the remnants of the Capitalist State. But the "leaders" of the masses instead put forth the idea of first winning the war against Franco. Tied by the Peoples Front to the tail of the bourgeoisie, lacking the boldness and policy of a revolutionary Marxian Party, the POUM and anarchist leaders also found it impossible to lay down a line of independent working class action that could have rallied the peasantry, Moroccan masses and the working class to a victory in the war and the social revolution both. Instead they tailended the betrayals of the Stalinists and Socialists, permitted the capitalist state to remain in power, and finally capitulated completely by entering the capitalist government and liquidating their own forces, thus enabling the exploiters gradually to regain their former power.

THE IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE AND THE LIQUIDATION OF DUAL POWER.

The imperialists in Europe became alarmed by the workers and peasants victories not only against the Fascist capitalists, but also against the "democratic" capitalists. The Anglo-French imperialists and the "democratic" capitalists feared a Fascist victory, but they FEARED A PROLETARIAN VICTORY A THOUSAND TIMES MORE. So while continuing to fight for their own imperialist ends, they at the same time united against the Anti-Fascist Committees and Peasant Committees. To destroy the growing workers power the "democratic" capitalists had to give concessions to the Fascists.

At the front the Fascists shot down the workers, and in the rear the "democratic" capitalists and their Stalinist and Socialist agents step by step destroyed the workers power. First they refused shipments of war materials unless the Anti-Fascist Committees and the Soldiers and Peasants Committees were liquidated. For this job Stalinism was the willing tool of Anglo-French imperialism. The Stalinist traitors demanded from the Peoples Front the liquidation of dual power before arms would be sent. Only AFTER this was accomplished was Russian aid given.

To hold the workers in check the "democratic" capitalists called into the Peoples Front Government the Anarchist and POUM leaders as their "left" aid. With the Stalinist - Socialist-

Anarchist - POUM leaders in the capitalist government the slow process of strangling the revolution continued. Under the slogan of one unified command to do away with waste and confusion the Stalinist-Socialist leaders helped reestablish the capitalist army. Instead of taking over the Peoples Front army and putting it under the control of the Workers Militia the Independent Workers Militias were given up and incorporated into the bourgeois army, under bourgeois generals and control. The liquidation of embryo dual power and the entry of the leaders into the government was an unforgivable crime and betrayal of the working class.

IMPERIALIST STALEMATE AND CAPITALIST CONSOLIDATION.

While in Spain the Peoples Front and its labor agents were strangling the revolution, Anglo-French imperialism was also busy internationally. The first steps toward the non-intervention committee were taken. The strategy and purpose of the Non-Intervention Committee was to see that no aid reached the proletarian revolution; to see that just enough aid reached the Loyalists to create a stalemate and prolong the struggle, thus bleeding the masses white and exhausting their energies; and to cost Germany and Italy as much as possible, so at the end the British Pound could scoop up the victory over all.

The imperialist powers were united against the proletarian revolution but were unable to carry out their crime without suitable agents. In the past it was the leaders of the Second International. But now they used Stalinism and its control of the Soviet Union to perform this counter-revolutionary task, ably assisted by the Socialist traitors, with the POUM and Anarchist leaders forced by their false policies to go along.

With the State and army back in safe hands, the attack upon the workers and peasants in the factories and the fields was carried on night and day, while the Fascists shot down the revolutionists in the front. Terror, armed clashes with revolutionary forces, mass arrests, persecution and murder behind the lines reflected the day to day conflict and class struggle of the "democratic" capitalists against the workers positions and interests — even though at the same time the workers bore the brunt of the struggle of the front against Fascism.

With the liquidation of dual power FASCISM TOOK THE OFFENSIVE and step by step made rapid gains. The Peoples Front in command could not successfully fight and defeat Fascism. They gave up city after city with little or no struggle in order to protect private property. Peoples Frontism can only give ground and capitulate to Fascism. Only the working class, unleashing social forces that will rally the rest of the oppressed to the struggle, can defeat Fascism by defeating all sections of Capitalism.

THE MAY UPRISING.

The Anglo-French imperialists and their Peoples Front agents were gaining against the workers in the rear, while the Fascists were gaining at the front. These clashes and the attempt to take away the gains of the workers too fast resulted in sporadic armed clashes all over Loyalist Spain between the workers and exploiters' representatives until a culmination was reached in the May 1937 uprising in Barcelona and Catalonia.

Again, as in July 1936 the conditions were favorable for the workers seizure of power, but again the leaders betrayed, again there was NO REVOLUTIONARY MARXIAN PARTY. In this struggle the Stalinists openly went over to the exploiters side of the barricades AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS OF BARCELONA.

Without a Revolutionary Party there can be no successful revolution. Thus were the workers betrayed and strangled on two fronts, murdered by the Fascists at the front where they were short of war needs, while behind the Loyalist lines there was plenty in the hands of the exploiters' representatives to keep the workers down and to smash their dual power.

THE PARTIES OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The Stalinist and Socialist parties were the outstanding parties of defeat. In essence there was no difference between the Prieto right wing and Caballero left wing of the Socialist Party. The guns and the treachery from the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union and the Spanish Stalinists played a major role in smashing the workers power in Spain.

And the Anarchists, largest group in Spain next to the Socialists? These people who are against ALL STATES, became part and parcel of the CAPITALIST STATE of the "democratic" bourgeoisie until they did their dirty role, like the POUM, and then were kicked out.

The POUM, "Workers Party of Marxian Unification," play-

(Continued)

NEGRETE TOURS ON REFUGEE AID

Rosalio Negrete Blackwell sent by the Revolutionary Workers League to Spain in 1936, arrived in New York February 4th, after more than a half year in Loyalist jails.

Charges against Blackwell presented on October 28th, 1938, in Valencia, include such "criminal" things as the fact that he "came to Spain in the month of November 1936 for the sole purpose of influencing the POUM and the FAI, political parties and the CNT, trade union organization, against the support of the policy of the legitimate government of the Republic, breaking the Peoples Front Bloc, and following this up by the violent seizure of public power, re-establishing in the country the methods employed in the early period of the Militia Committees".

In other words, Blackwell tried to re-establish — according to the charges — Workers Power in Spain as it existed in the first months of the war. Certainly a dangerous character!

Negrete was released as a result of class pressure in the United States and a dozen other countries. Since his return comrade Negrete has manifested a number of important differences with the RWL, including differences on Spain and on labor defense.

These are being discussed with him. Comrade Blackwell is touring on refugee aid under united front and under RWL auspices in the various cities. He will speak at a number of meetings in Chicago.

SPAIN TODAY Blackwell Chicago Meetings

March 2 - 8p.m.
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Sunday March 5
Workers Center
1904 Division Street
Chicago, Ill.

Paris Commune
Meeting
March 18

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CAPITALIST DECAY AND
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FIGHT AGAINST THE ROOSEVELT WAR PLANS

FIGHT FASCISM — DEFEND
REVOLUTIONISTS IN
SPAIN

BOSS RULE OR THE WORKERS VOTE?

1904 W. Division Street
Chicago

Aid Spanish Refugees

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ed a similar role. These centrists paraded under the flag of Marxism. For them the "workers government" was Companys' Generality. They helped liquidate dual power. They entered the capitalist state. They forgot to smash the state. They tailed behind the Anarchist leaders, not the Anarchist workers.

A similar tragic role was played by the Trotskyites. Just before the revolution they had a large force in Spain and internationally. But Trotsky decided to liquidate his groups into the parties of the Second International. When the Civil War broke out they had no organization in Spain and no effective force in France or internationally. They were all hogtied by the Socialist Parties. Their international "Geneva" conference, meeting as the struggle began, in true sectarian fashion gave no directives and ignored the struggle. Later a number of militant elements from European countries entered Spain, but they were doomed to failure by their centrist line. Three times they tried to enter the POUM, instead of carrying on independent work to build a revolutionary force and carrying on fraction work. Most of them were decimated by the Civil War. The United States Trotskyites played the most treacherous role. As part of the Socialist Party they helped the North American Committee, which supported the Peoples Front. They called the POUM Marxist. They sent recruits to the Stalinist-controlled International Brigade. Later, when the Socialists kicked them out they covered their support of the Peoples Front by calling for material aid (which is a form of political aid) and political criticism of the Peoples Front. Even after May 1937 the Trotskyites called for a "left" Peoples Front government — a Caballero-Anarchist government!

LESSONS OF THE STRUGGLE.

Bourgeois Democracy cannot defeat fascism. The Peoples Front and the Labor Party are instruments to subordinate the workers to the "democratic" capitalists. The support of bourgeois Democracy paves the way for Fascism. Only independent working class action can defeat Fascism. Without workers control of production, without Soviets, without a Revolutionary Marxian Party the decisive defeat of Fascism is not possible.

When the class war reaches the stage of open armed conflict against Fascism it is correct in our line of march towards the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to use a two-fold strategy of marching separately (from the "democratic" capitalists) and striking together with them against the Fascists. But this must at all times be carried out within the framework of INDEPENDENT working class action. It is the opposite of subordinating the working class forces to the bourgeoisie, or what amounts to the same, giving material aid (with or without political criticism) to the bourgeoisie. It is a policy of no support to the "democratic" capitalists, of continued struggle for immediate and other demands.

The working class to achieve power must SMASH THE CAPITALIST STATE. It is not enough to start towards workers power, anti-Fascist committees, etc. They must be developed and matured, and REPLACE the smashed capitalist state.

The workers must establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This means DEMOCRACY FOR THE WORKERS, and a dictatorship against the former exploiters. This does not mean that a Party is the dictatorship. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is carried out through the democratically elected Soviets, under the ideological leadership of the Revolutionary Marxian Party. Above all the workers in every factory, mine and mill MUST BE ARMED.

The developments in Spain, just as in Russia in 1917, called for a SOCIAL REVOLUTION. This is what Lenin's April thesis pointed out. It is the road the Bolsheviks marched. It should have been the road for Spain. Those who pointed out a different road: support of bourgeois democracy, for an agrarian revolution (which can only be a PHASE in the revolution) made defeat inevitable.

Without a revolutionary Marxian Party, a Communist Party, there can be no successful revolution. A Party, a program, a leadership is essential. The masses in Spain showed on innumerable occasions that they were ready to seize power, as they have in over two dozen revolutions since 1917 — but their reformist and centrist leaders again and again betrayed them. Only a Marxian Party can guide this revolutionary action to success. THIS IS THE OUTSTANDING LESSON OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.

More lessons can and will be drawn. We have drawn only a few important ones.

For the Spanish workers there can be no ceasing of the conflict with Fascism or with the Peoples Front that paves the

way for Fascism. Unconditional surrender, Negrin's "fight to the finish," or an "armistice" — all mean blood-baths for the workers. They must try to save what they can out of the defeat, reorganize their forces, build their illegal organizations, build a new Communist Party. The working class internationally must help the Spanish refugees, find new homes for those who escaped from Spain, and help those inside who escape the firing squads rebuild their forces to fight Fascism.

The workers in America must prepare now against the Fascist menace. Organize Workers Defense Corps. Drive the Fascists out of the workers areas. Smash Fascism. FIGHT FASCISM BY FIGHTING CAPITALISM.

FOR A NEW COMMUNIST (4th) INTERNATIONAL!
JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE!

FDR PREPARES WAR

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subsidies to Mexico are expected to play the same role.

Since the Fascist victories in Spain, and as an aftermath of Munich, France is running into big class storms — struggles between the working class and Fascism. A successful revolution

in France would be the beginning of the end of European capitalism, and of Stalinism in Russia. Roosevelt and the American dollar fear such an eventuality above everything else. The aid to France has the purpose, among other things, of strengthening the Daladier Bonapartist regime against the working class.

REMEMBER THE COMMUNE

On March 18, 1871 the workers of Paris drove the army of their treacherous government out of Paris and by the end of the month established the great Paris Commune. For seventy days the heroic Parisian masses democratically administered their own affairs. Those seventy glorious days of Workers Power are stamped indelibly on the pages of the history of the working class, as the first Workers State.

The workers in Paris made many errors in 1871. They expropriated many industrial establishments, but they failed to take over the large State Bank. They failed to push an offensive against the capitalist government in Versailles. Eventually they were smashed.

LESSONS OF THE COMMUNE

But the lessons of the Paris Com-

mune were utilized by Lenin and the Bolsheviks first in 1905 and then in October 1917 to seize power in Russia and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Today, as the Spanish workers are being smashed by Fascism and Bourgeois Democracy and Stalinism is paving the way for Capitalism in the Soviet Union, the working class must study and restudy those lessons of the Paris Commune, in order to avoid the pitfalls that faced the Commune.

No faith in "democratic" capitalists, such as Thiers, Blum, Azana, Roosevelt! Smash the capitalist state, don't let it stand! Extend the revolution to the whole nation and the whole world, if final victory is to be achieved! Build a Marxian Party that will give leadership to the struggles! These are the lessons of the Paris Commune.

HELP THE VICTIMS OF FASCISM

In the Fascist countries of Europe there are an increased number of class war victims and Jewish People who need the help of the working class of the United States. In behalf of these comrades the Revolutionary Workers League calls upon its members and sympathizers and the working class to give to this Red Aid.

The Austrian section of the International Anti-Fascist Red Aid has written us, pointing out the terror and great need to help the large number of working class revolutionists caught in the Hitler trap.

Funds are needed for the workers who have escaped and are living a precarious life in "democratic" countries.

Funds are needed for women and children of revolutionists who have entered concentration camps and have not been heard of since.

Funds are needed to get as many as possible of these victims out of Germany (and Austria and Czechoslovakia).

Some of the revolutionists have escaped out of the German hell and are living precarious lives in the "democratic" capitalist countries, but the majority are still in Germany and need your aid to get out and to enable others to organize their fight against Fascism.

Send in your contribution at once. Visit your fellow workers and have them contribute. Remember, every small amount will help make a large amount in the Red Aid against Fascism.

ALDINE GUNN, SEC.

1904 DIVISION STREET
Chicago, Ill.

LAND OF THE FREE

They're not hiding war preparations any longer. They're playing them up big... Uncle Sam's Navy Games are in the Atlantic this year, with strictest secrecy about the manouvers except that they simulate an attempt from Europe to establish a base on this continent... He's giving his factories practice, too. There's a little item of \$32,500,000 in the defence bill now before Congress for immediate "educational orders" to manufacturers of munitions and war materials to give them a chance to test new production methods...

In the meantime the good Uncle's financial fingers are digging in. During the week ending February 11, \$60,000,000 of foreign gold arrived to make the European war chest held here over \$600,000,000 of "earmarked" gold (shipped now while seas are safe to insure purchasing power in the U. S. when the war starts.)

TODAY AND YESTERDAY

Just how many millions are being spent to make America war conscious is not yet known. We'll bet it could feed at least a million people...

In the last World War the Committee on Public Information — sweet name — headed by George Creel, was set up and published a daily official bulletin which filled 20,000 columns a week in the newspapers. This Committee issued 6,000 press releases; had 75,000 Four Minute Men who gave 755,190 patriotic talks to 300,000,000 people; had 5,000,000 copies of Wilson's Flag Day address delivered by Boy Scouts; issued 75,000,000 pieces of literature; sent fortnightly periodicals to 600,000 teachers; circulated 200,000 lantern slides; distributed posters, ads, cartoons, seals, buttons, etc. using 1,438 different designs... Who said the American people are permitted to make up their own mind?

CASE HISTORY OF AN ATROCITY

The good honest allies!... In 1926 Brigadier General John Charlier of the British Intelligence Department confessed the following hoax in May 1917. Two pictures were taken from Germans, one showed bodies of German soldiers being carried behind the lines for burial, and the other bodies of horses being hauled to factories for extraction of fats. The caption on the latter read "German Cadavers on Their way to the Soap Factory"... The good General merely put this caption on the picture with the human bodies... Everyone was shocked.

One very widely circulated Belgian "Atrocity" picture was a painting now in the Avenarius collection by Maimon, of the Russian pogrom of 1906, suppressed in Russia at the time... Nothing is so atrocious it would seem as the atrocious reporting of news by the capitalist press.

SOME REAL ATROCITIES

Here's the kind of war they never publicize — the class war... Chris Claridge of San Antonio Texas led a strike of agricultural workers in protest against cutting of wages from 10 cents per bucket of hulls to 5 cents.

The good boss organized some goons and Chris was beaten with clubs until his arms were broken in three places and his skull fractured. While almost unconscious Chris pulled a gun and killed one of the rats and wounded another. The capitalist courts gave him 20 years for defending his democratic rights... No doubt you never read in your local paper how "democracy" was saved from Chris Claridge!

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Workers Control of Production For Use

New Unemployed Movement Must Be Built

Delegates from eight unemployed organizations, most of whom have broken from the Workers Alliance because of its bureaucratic leadership, met in Philadelphia recently to lay the basis for a new unemployed group nationally.

The new outfit, dominated by the Socialists and Trotskyites, sad to say, pulled a few tricks out of the bag which might even have embarrassed the Workers Alliance leadership. But the main weakness of this group was its program — a left class-collaborationist program.

The key point of the program was a demand for the extension of WPA. Other demands included direct federal cash relief, and unemployment insurance without any contributions from the workers. By themselves these demands are meaningless.

IDLE MEN AND IDLE FACTORIES

The problems of the unemployed are much broader than such immediate demands. Decay capitalism can not and will not grant most of the immediate demands of the unemployed. This is true even in the U. S. where the crisis proceeds at a much more rapid tempo than in any other country.

What shall the 9 million unemployables look forward to? Ten dollars a month more relief? Or the 10 million part time employed? What shall they look forward to? Or the dozens of thousands of workers whose plants are being moved out of the large cities to smaller towns where labor is cheaper? It is clear that the IMMEDIATE needs of these workers is something much more drastic than any demand for WPA or unemployment insurance. It can only be a demand for Workers Control of Production - for Use. True enough, this demand can be realized only under dual power and under a workers government, but the first steps toward it must be taken TODAY. Only when raised in relation to this central demand can the other demands of the unemployed achieve meaning and significance.

CLEVELAND GROUP SHOWS PROMISE

There is no other solution for idle men and idle factories.

An organization in Cleveland, the Association of Unemployed on Direct and Work Relief, has already issued this slogan and is and has been rallying broad sections of the unemployed in struggle against the Burton administration.

The concretization of this line of action — struggle for Workers Control of Production — lies in such things as mass action to open the warehouses, to control the relief funds, etc. But it also includes the organization of Defense Squads, Factory Committees, various types of Workers Councils to coordinate the activities of the employed and unemployed, and seizure of mines, mills, factories, land, etc., abandoned by the capitalists, or about to be abandoned, to be run by the workers themselves for their own use.

Certain "Marxists", like the Trotskyites will no doubt call this adventurist. On more than one occasion the Trotskyites came out for a bill to have the capitalist state take over sick industries and allow the workers to "control" production. In the end this is no different than the reformist nationalization of industry which the Trotskyites claim they are against. There can be no workers control under the capitalist state ownership.

DECLINE OF U. S. RAPID

The objective situation in the United States is very likely to "skip stages." The development towards the pre-revolutionary situation is very rapid. The ability of the capitalists to grant economic concessions has already reached its limit even though the U. S. capitalists can still give some political reforms. The workers and middle class are showing that they instinctively understand this and are groping for an answer when they rally in increasing numbers to the various Townsend, Direct Credits, \$30 every Thursday, Mahoney Bill and other movements. Only those demands which act as a bridge to revolutionary

struggles can rally the unemployed.

The concrete slogan that fills that bill today is the demand for Workers Control of Production — for use, and the various partial actions and slogans leading up to it. The new national unemployed movement that arises in this period will be effective only if it is built around this line. Demands for cash relief and unemployment insurance, class struggle policies and actions must fit into it. Otherwise it will become another class-collaborationist outfit.



THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

AUTO BARONS ATTACK WORKERS GAINS AS BUROCRATS SPLIT UNION

FACTORY COMMITTEES MUST BUILD 3RD GROUP

Detroit — Two separate conventions, one in Detroit at the beginning of March and one in Cleveland at the end of March face the auto workers. The UAWA is split. The struggle is reaching down to every local, to the bourgeois courts, and to the various "goon squads" used by both sides to intimidate and beat up honest workers.

In a decision in Detroit, Martin has gained control of the funds and supplies of the Plymouth Local. Other court decisions are pending in a

dozen places. The A. F. of L. is making overtures to the Martin group in an attempt to obtain a base in the auto industry.

The paws of the auto manufacturers can clearly be seen in the maneuvers of both unprincipled groups — the Martin group and the Thomas-Frankenstein-Stanist group. Henry Ford's manager H. Bennett is fairly open in his support of Homer Martin and has obligingly liquidated the company union — Liberty Legion — for "good old Homer."

LARGE UNEMPLOYMENT

The split comes at a time when over half the auto workers are unemployed and when the auto industry is on part time basis. 40,000 Ford workers are doing as much as 110,000 did in 1927. The bulk of the employed work 2 or 3 days a week, and the seniority principal is being used to play the unemployed against the employed. None of these problems have been touched by the now-split bureaucrats. Their program has been acceptance of the New Deal dole regime and the 32 hour "share-the-work" scheme.

The "Ford issue" between Martin and the Stalinists is a fake if ever there was one. Frankenstein — of the Stalinist caucus today — had charge of the campaign but failed to do anything. Now Martin is using the same class-collaborationist tactics. Organization of Ford's was merely a move by both bureaucratic cliques to harass Ford to meet the labor conditions of his Wall Street rivals who control G. M. and Chrysler. Frankenstein, when he was in charge, hastily "settled" all out of town Ford Assembly plant strikes.

BOTH AGREE ON POLICY

On all crucial issues of class struggle policy both sets of "leaders" have stood together. They have worked systematically to give up the sit down strike. They stand together for the "divide the work" program, and reject any struggle for the 30 hour week with 40 hours pay. They have been strangely silent on Governor Fitzgerald's proposed labor law outlawing the sitdown, mass picketing, and setting rules for the calling of strikes which practically outlaw them.

Against the Lovestoneite pie-card artists, who are supporting the Martin clique, and the Trotskyite centrists, who can't seem to make up their mind and have finally, after taking two positions to the contrary, decided to "build an independent force" to REMAIN IN THE CIO AT ALL COSTS — against both these policies the RWL proposes unity of the auto workers on a class struggle policy. An independent third force in the union is essential, but the key is a class struggle policy, even if that means split from the CIO and AFL forces.

The initiative can't be taken at the top, it must be taken in the shops. The factory committees must refuse to be the pawns of the contending bureaucrats. Through democratic elections they must enlarge themselves to include representatives from all departments and tendencies.

They must primarily in this crisis DEFEND THE GAINS of the auto workers from the offensive of Fitzgerald and the auto barons. The militants must organize to fight both sets of class collaborationists who are wrecking the union. Above all the workers must beware of the "impartial" local leaders who are only waiting to jump on the bandwagon of the victorious side.

If the auto workers are to defend their victories of two years ago they must build a left wing on the program of: organization of the unorganized — Ford first; 30 hour week with 40 hour pay; workers democracy — workers pay for all union leaders, and autonomy for the locals; organization of the unemployed, against the New Deal scab wages and war program; for workers control of production.

Stalinists Attack RWL Member

CHICAGO — The "non-partisan" Workers Alliance showed exactly what kind of "democracy" it stood for by trying to put an RWL member out of their Mid-City Center for presenting his point of view.

The comrade was giving copies of an RWL leaflet on the WPA cuts to workers who approached him and asked for them during a so called open forum on Feb. 5th. Suddenly, he was attacked by the Stalinist IWA member in charge of the hall who tried to eject him physically. Our comrade stood his ground and the hooligan was pulled away by other workers. After leaving the hall he was physically attacked by another hooligan Stalinist. The IWA local 13 to which they both belong has never repudiated this action.

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Columbus United Front Against Reaction

(Continued from page 1)

land and tried to intimidate them.

EXPOSE LEGION

The leaflet of the Columbus comrades stated in part: "This 'Red Menace' drive is a smoke screen. Behind it the Legion leaders and their fellow advocates of reaction are preparing to smash all labor organizations, to destroy student independence, to lower the criminally inadequate relief standards, to slash wages, and to pave the way for WAR."

There is no doubt that this is only the beginning of a national campaign to establish "Baby Dies Committees" and begin a systematic campaign of terror of workers organizations throughout the country. These semi-Fascist moves must be met by united action of the working class to smash red-baiting committees.

The Columbus comrades have formed a united front committee with the local Trotskyites.

POPE DIES, REACTION CARRIES ON

The death of Pope Pius last month became an occasion for imperialist jockeying to elect a "servant of God" friendly to this or that imperialist nation. Germany and Italy warned the new Pope to be friendly to the Fascists. America's three Cardinals will no doubt give the "democratic" point of view.

The prostituted press built an idyllic story around the Pope's death. They put the word "Peace" in his mouth as he died and captioned all their pictures "The Pope of Peace". But peaceful Pius was an ardent advocate of Franco's murder of the workers in Spain.

FOUGHT WORKERS

He helped break the revolution in Italy after the war and reconciled the Church with Fascism. He was one of the loudest and most fervent defenders of capitalism. He advocated "war to the death" against communism, against independent working class action.

Whoever is elected Pope one thing is sure. The Catholic Church always has been one of the staunchest pillars of reaction. It defended Feudalism against Capitalism a few hundred years ago, just as today it defends Capitalism against the coming Workers State. The new "servant of god" will put his god to work for the money changers just as eagerly as did the old.

Anti Fascist Demonstration

As we go to press we learn of the counter demonstration of 50,000 New York workers against a Fascist Meeting. We greet this action. Workers all over the country must follow this lead and establish Defense Squads against the Fascist menace.

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Trotsky Hooligans in Mexico

The struggle in the Trotsky Mexican section against the line of support to the Cardenas government, puppet of American Imperialism, has culminated in the "expulsion" of the majority. Learning lessons from Stalinism, the Trotsky supporters raided the Mexican headquarters and beat up a comrade of the majority who tried to stop them.

Unless the Mexican comrades lay down a program of full and complete break with centrism towards revolutionary Marxism in program and action their struggle will be in vain.