

# REVOLT

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## MAY DAY

“United National Will” or Working Class  
Solidarity Against Capital

Revolutionary Situation Maturing in U. S.

C.I.O. Sets Up New Federation in Michigan

Coughlin Calls for Fascism

French Workers Face Decisive Issues



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## MAY DAY

# "UNITED NATIONAL WILL" OR WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY VS. CAPITAL

Through Roosevelt the capitalist class has called for a "united national will" to combat the crisis. In Germany, Hitler has shown the way to achieve a "united national will". In Spain, Franco stands on the threshold of achieving it. In France, Daladier is going about the job of forging a "united national will" with the support of the Stalinist and Socialist leaders. In every capitalist country the ruling class is preparing to slaughter the workers and peasants in the coming imperialist world war and is demanding a "united national will" to speed its preparations.

A "united national will" means subjection of the workers to the rule of their exploiters. It means submission to their program of unemployment, hunger, Fascism, and war.

Against the capitalist class the working class must raise the banner of revolt, of revolution to overthrow capitalism. Under the banner of a workers' state, a Soviet America, the workers can find freedom from starvation and unemployment, can put an end to persecution and oppression, can exterminate Fascism, can assume the dignity of human beings, can lead the oppressed of the entire world in abolishing war.

Not unity with the capitalist class but eternal struggle against it everywhere, at all times under all circumstances, until it has been conquered and the workers rule in its place!

Let May Day be the day when the workers resolve that they will oppose the coming war by their solid organized strength; that they will not consent to pay the cost of waging it by accepting wage cuts, longer hours and speed-up in the name of patriotic sacrifice; that they will not submit to the strangling of their trade unions; that they will bear no hatred for workers wearing the uniform of the "enemy" but will fraternize with them to stop the war; that they will work for the defeat of the army and navy of American imperialism in order to turn the imperialist war into civil war against the capitalists!

Let May Day be the day when the workers rally to the banner of the Communist Fourth International to follow it to victory!

Long live solidarity of the working class in all countries against the capitalists of all countries!

Long live the world revolution!

Long live the coming proletarian revolution in the United States!

# NEW C.I.O. FEDERATION IN MICHIGAN

## STALINISTS TAKE CONTROL FOR NEW DEAL

DETROIT, April 10. - The first C.I.O. city and county convention in Michigan took place at 51 Sproat Street, Detroit on April 10 and resulted in the setting up of the Greater Detroit and Wayne County Industrial Union Council. There were 504 delegates seated from 79 locals, representing 18 international unions, 9 internationals by locals and 6 local, industrial unions. Four executive officers and 15 members to the Executive Board were elected. There was no analysis of the delegates, as to how many were Negro workers, how many were women workers, etc.

The convention was controlled by the pro-Murphy, pro-Roosevelt forces who used it to strengthen themselves. Adolph Germer, State C.I.O. director wound up the convention with an appeal to make the coming state convention in Lansing on April 23-24 a "hip hip hurrah affair" for Murphy and F.D.R. Due to the fierce opposition to the New Deal policies and politicians in the State of Michigan and since the last municipal election in the city of Detroit they have felt the need of a wider base of support in the labor movement. No doubt the factional struggle in the United Auto Workers between the Martin-Lovestone machine on the one hand and the Unityites controlled by the Stalinists, on the other, was embarrassing to the New Dealers and encouraging to the anti-New Dealers.

### DEAL INDICATED

The indications point to a deal having been made behind the scenes. Just when the Unityites were pushing their fight to a showdown, calling for a special convention to oust Martin and his crowd because of their bureaucratic practices, the leading Communist Party members backwatered on that count. The Martinites boycotted the convention while the Stalinists were the most conspicuous element at it. and it is almost a foregone conclusion that they will control the Lansing convention and the structure which it will set up parallel to the Michigan State Federation of Labor.

Germer, who organized the County, and is organizing the State convention of the C.I.O. here has repeatedly stated before the Detroit District Council of the U.A.W. and in interviews with individual members that they should by all means see to it that their locals elect delegates. He stated that secretaries of various locals carried the convention calls in their pockets and "forgot" about them. At the convention he made it impressively clear that the state convention was being sabotaged.

The old friction between Lewis and Martin seems to have been revived with Martin criticizing Lewis for the agreement with the U.S. Steel Corporation as compared to the agreement with General Motors.

In regards to his W.P.A. and unemployment program for organization Martin encroached upon the jurisdictional rights of the A.F. of L. and the other unions of the C.I.O., too, and the Workers Alliance. For doing so he was pressed by the C.I.O. director here and the C.I.O. in Washington, D.C. to change his program. But he not only did not carry out their instructions, he forced them to call a special conference of all executive members of C.I.O. locals in the Detroit area (the U.A.W. has seventy five locals in this area) and here he had his original program endorsed by a majority vote.

#### LEWIS AND THE STALINISTS

So if Lewis has a different attitude toward the Stalinists in this area than in the rest of the country it must be for some very good reason. The fighting spirit of the workers and the heavy attacks on the New Deal make it necessary for the New Dealers to open new channels for their servants, separating the points of friction and put the false face reds out in front to head off the coming revolts.

While the far-sighted capitalist politicians know what they are doing in entrusting this additional power to the Stalinists at a time when the war clouds are growing thicker, as well as when the attacks upon the politicians themselves are sharpened, the chauvinistic position of the Communist Party on the war question has resulted in a rift in the camp of the Unity caucus that was plainly noticeable at the convention. Many times the Chairman hammered with his gavel and shouted for the unofficial meetings to be called off. These meetings were held by leading Stalinists trying to whip into line Socialist Party members with whom they have been functioning cheek by jowl in the Unity caucus until this war issue began dividing them. As there were present a few delegates of tendencies to the left of these parties, who were able to widen this rift, the unofficial meetings continued. Ground was being prepared for the new phase of development of the opposition to the Unityite-Martinite combination of class collaborators in control of the unions here.

Those who can see the developments in connection with or accompanying the organization of this convention only as they manifest themselves from the standpoint of the immediate situation are in for a rude disillusionment from the Stalinists in the Unity caucus, who raised their prestige recently in fighting against bureaucratic measures, a sell out agreement and in the militant struggle in the Federal Screw Works strike, etc. They are in for seeing sell outs from these same Stalinists in the near future, too; for bureaucratism that will make Martin appear like an amateur at it, for jingoism that will make even the 100% Americans apologize. The workers who have seen these Stalinists protesting against the red baiting of Martin will soon witness the former accused "reds" baiting the real reds with a vengeance! Of course, the Martinites were able to see this, and so as to make the Stalinists fully responsible to the membership for it, they boycotted the convention. But the correct course for the membership aware of what has occurred and what will occur is to continue their fight for a class struggle policy in the unions.

## FAKE DEMOCRACY

The Stalinists are boasting about the democratic conduct of the convention which was chaired by Adolph Germer and contrasting him with Martin as a chairman at the Milwaukee convention. Of course we know that had there been a unified minority of considerable proportions opposed to the designs of Germer and the Stalinists, Germer would have resorted to any arbitrary measures necessary to gain their ends. Though there were three tendencies at the convention in opposition to the Stalinists, not counting the fig-leaf of a Martin tendency that never even tried to influence the convention, they were not united.

The Socialists were behaving like so many disgruntled individuals, not desirous of registering even an open protest with motions, votes, or speeches. Their protests were to Stalinist leaders in the unofficial meetings.

But the Stalinists voted down Luke Fenell, a U.A.W. delegate to the Executive Board in spite of the fact that they themselves had failed to nominate any Negro delegate. There was indeed quite a stir on the floor of the convention, after Emil Mazey had responded to the suggestion that he nominate a Negro for the Executive Board. It was the Stalinists who were upset by this nomination.

On the committees of the convention were, with very few exceptions, just those whose names had been decided upon previously and recommended to the convention. Of course they carried out the wishes of those persons or tendencies that first proposed them. Resolutions were handled in the resolutions committee as that committee saw fit: thrown into the waste basket; referred to the incoming Executive; referred to the incoming Executive; referred to the committee on organization of the work of the convention, etc. None of the resolutions presented by workers advocating a class struggle line, were presented before the convention for approval or disapproval, acceptance or rejection. This committee was indeed interested in having no debate over the very questions that have gone the rounds with the automobile workers in the past weeks: democracy in the union, the war question, union policy.

But it is by taking the correct stand on these issues that the workers can improve their conditions and build the unions. The opposition to the present factional leadership and its policy will have to find a way to present its position to the workers.

-ADTO WORKER

# REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION MATURING IN U.S.

## I-THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

After several years of "pump-priming" - artificial attempts to restore purchasing power through the agencies of W.P.A., F.W.A., CCC, farm benefits and other New Deal measures, resulting in a temporary alleviation of the paralysis of the productive forces, American capitalism seemed to be on the road to recovery. By the beginning of 1937 the economic situation has shown such an improvement that relief appropriations were drastically cut, the number of persons employed by the W.P.A. and the CCC was reduced by 30% or more, the P.W.A. was practically liquidated and a balanced budget within a few years was predicted by the Roosevelt Administration.

The combined result of artificially stimulated production beyond marketing possibilities and the reduction of artificial stimuli was a sudden reappearance of the crisis. According to the index prepared by The Annalist, business activity dropped from 109 in May, 1937 to 80.4 in January, 1938. While "recovery" reaching its peak in 1936-1937 did not reach the 1929 level, the "recession" has shown a much faster rate of decline than that of 1929. The decline in industrial production in the last seven months of 1937 was as much as in the eighteen months following the outbreak of the crisis in 1929. This means an approximately two and a half times faster tempo of decline. In correspondence with this decline, payroll index in January has shown a drop of more than 25% since August, 1937. The estimated number of the unemployed is 15 millions, the same as the estimates at the lowest depths ever reached between 1929 and 1936. The result of the nation-wide unemployed census taken at the end of last year, more complete and accurate than any previous attempt, is not revealed. One of the indications that it has shown a tremendous increase in the number of unemployed is the passing by Congress of the Deficiency Bill for relief, the stopping of lay-offs from the W.P.A. and rehiring of substantial numbers on the various projects.

## CRISIS DEEPENS

It is obvious that all the gains due to the New Deal palliatives were wiped out in a few months and the crisis continues unabated.

The situation is worsened by the steady growth of several contradictions inherent in the capitalist system of production. Thus, while industrial output even at the 1936-37 peak of "recovery" was under the 1929 level, the productive capacity of this country is considerably greater today - due to continuous technical progress - than it was in 1929. This ever widening gulf between production and the capacity to produce deepens the paralysis of the profit system and is a powerful factor in making the crisis permanent. Again, while productive activity is on the decrease, the rate of profit shows a

continuous rise. A compilation by the N.Y. National City Bank of the profits of 1600 companies shows a 52% increase of profits in 1936 over 1935. A compilation of profits by the New York Times (Feb. 6, 1938) for 151 industrial companies speaks of a "sharp rise of profits" in 1936 over 1935 and a 16% increase in 1937 over 1936. The compilation by the Standard Statistic Co. of 335 industrial companies shows an increase of 12.4% in net profits in 1937 over 1936. This contradiction between decreasing productive activity and increasing rates of profits is another powerful factor in making the crisis permanent. Finally, while capital is accumulating and, consequently, the export of capital is an ever growing need for American capitalism, in the last few years the export of American capital to foreign countries has practically ceased and cannot serve as a stimulus for foreign trade, not only deepening but extending the crisis.

#### "PUMP-PRIMING" NO SOLUTION

To combat the crisis, to keep the growing unrest of the great mass of starving workers under control, to save capitalism, the Roosevelt administration proposes a renewal of "pump-priming", an expenditure of three billion dollars for work relief, public work projects and many other enterprises calculated to restore purchasing power and to stimulate business as "a supplement to normal processes". The program in its essence being but a repetition of the 1933 program, its futility as a means for the liquidation of the crisis is amply demonstrated. And since all the "normal processes" of capitalism inevitably lead to crises, the propositions of the Roosevelt administration are not a supplement to them but a palliative for their results. They hold out the perspective for the workers of a miserable existence at a starvation level. And the workers are called upon to pay a price for this charity. They must help "to drive the economic system at higher speed," - more speed up. They must help to raise the national income to eighty billions a year, - submission to greater exploitation. They must subordinate themselves to the "national will", to the will of the capitalist class, their masters, oppressors and exploiters. More class collaboration with - or rather more subordination to - the capitalists as a measure of preparation for the impending imperialist war.

Such are the perspectives held out for the working class of the United States. All labor leaders are called upon to persuade the workers to submit to such perspectives. The labor leaders, class collaborationist defenders of the profit system, will agree, but their agreement is not decisive. What the answer of the workers should be and will be --? That is decisive.

#### II- PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR.

Capitalism, based upon class division and competition, must of necessity carry on a struggle for its existence on two fronts: an internal struggle against its own working class; an external struggle of one national group of capitalists against others. As we pointed out in the first part of this report, the two greatest antagonists on the external front of struggle are Great Britain and the United States.

The foreign policy of the United States reveals a keen consciousness of the fact that the outbreak of a new, imperialist, world war is imminent and that the United States cannot stay out of it. The foreign policy of the United States in every direction is primarily a preparation for the coming world war.

Great Britain's attempts to create an European bloc under her leadership at the price of concessions to both Germany and Italy is counter-balanced by the State Department with a friendly and helpful attitude toward the same imperialist powers. Germany is given a free hand by Great Britain to annex Austria, but the U.S. Government is among the first to approve it. Great Britain, under the cloak of "non-intervention" gave free hand to Germany and Italy to intervene in the Spanish civil war. The government of American imperialism is guilty of no tardiness in showing its own deep concern for the success of this intervention. Under the cloak of neutrality an embargo is enforced against Spain. No American war material can reach Loyalist Spain but shiploads of war material are sold to Germany, war material turned over by Germany to Franco.

Recent press reports mention three shipments of aeroplane bombs to Hamburg within a week, destined for reshipment to Franco; sixty thousand bombs, enough to destroy scores of cities. Both the British and American interests are endangered by Japanese aggressions in China. Each submits to it for the time being for fear that aggressive action against Japan would facilitate a bloc of its rivals with Japan.

#### USE MONROE DOCTRINE TO HIT BRITAIN

In Mexico both the British and American oil interests are ousted. America, by instant economic retaliations and a tremendous pressure on Mexican finances, forced Mexico to a settlement but when a similar settlement was demanded by Great Britain, the Monroe Doctrine was reasserted by President Roosevelt, telling all whom it may concern (in this instance, Great Britain) that "we are firmly resolved to maintain" peace on this hemisphere (that is, the hegemony of Yankee imperialism over the Western Hemisphere) and "we will not permit it to be endangered from aggression coming from outside of our hemisphere."

In step with all these diplomatic moves, the internal preparations for war are proceeding with great haste. Huge appropriations are voted for the army and navy; the war industries are organized; the youth of the CCC are propagandized as a first line of recruitment; the Phillipines are to be retained as strategically important outposts. Plans have been projected for a mobilization of the entire resources and man power of the country immediately following the outbreak of war.

Since in modern warfare industries play a decisive role, a smooth, undisturbed functioning of industry must be assured, class collaboration must be firmly established, the class struggle must be suspended. We must stand ready to work for, to fight for, and to die for the interests of our exploiters. This is the meaning of the demand that in return for the projected Roosevelt work relief and



home relief we should submit to the "united national will". As in 1917, the class collaborationist labor leaders will cheerfully respond to this advance call to arms. But again, their response is not decisive. The fate of the American working class will depend on their own answer to this demand.

### III-RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS IN THE AMERICAN CLASS STRUGGLE

In the general scheme of the New Deal to secure collaboration by the working class in preserving capitalism at the expense of the workers through a greatly reduced standard of living, the organization of great masses of unorganized workers, mainly in the mass production industries, had a place of major importance. Class collaboration is well nigh impossible with millions of individual workers, unorganized for and undisciplined in action. In their spontaneous mass actions, free from the influence of the labor lieutenants of the capitalists and unshackled by a treacherous union bureaucracy, their class instinct and class militancy will assert itself. Organized under the leadership and discipline of class collaborationist labor leaders, they can be cajoled, fooled and forced into class collaboration. Another fact had to be taken into consideration. By the time Roosevelt was sworn into office, the unrest of these unorganized masses took on such tremendous proportions that the capitalists became thoroughly frightened. Urgent steps had to be taken to switch this unrest from a potential revolutionary trend into class collaboration channels. Hence the prompt and effective aid the C.I.O. leadership received from the Roosevelt administration in its campaign for the organization of the mass production industries. Due to the concessions gained and the temporary improvement in the economic situations, Lewis and Co., the leaders of the C.I.O. were quite successful in keeping the militancy of the workers in check and in steering the new mass unions in the direction of class collaboration, but they were not able to dissipate the militancy of the workers.

Once the great masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers are organized in the mass productive industries, it is no longer possible to pursue the traditional policy of granting special privileges to the organized few at the expense of the unorganized masses. Mass unions today cannot be turned into an aristocracy of labor. A bitter struggle must go on over the division of value produced by labor, a struggle intensified by every new intensification of the crisis, continuously upsetting class collaboration and threatening with collapse the whole scheme of the New Deal.

### GOVERNMENT PRESSING FOR C.I.O.-A.F.of L. UNITY

This danger is recognized by the Roosevelt administration which is exerting tremendous pressure upon the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. for amalgamation through which it hopes that the hands of the class collaboration leadership in the C.I.O. would be strengthened. This pressure is reflected in the action of the recent conference of the C.I.O. leaders, authorizing Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to reopen negotiations with the A.F.of L., in spite of the fact that the conference was called for the purpose of putting the C.I.O. on a permanent basis and parallel city and state bodies to the A.F. of L. Central Trades and Labor Councils and State Federa-

tion have been set up. As the outbreak of the new world war becomes more imminent, the pressure on the two organizations will grow until the two camps of the class collaborationist labor leaders will be organizationally united in support of the "united national will". But the driving forces of the class struggle cannot be weakened by such an amalgamation. The antagonism between the union leadership and membership is bound to grow and the inevitable revolts against the coming betrayals will serve as a lever in the hands of revolutionary forces to widen, deepen and consolidate these struggles and to fill them with revolutionary political content.

#### CAPITALISTS COUNT ON AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

With the advent of the C.I.O., class collaboration was extended to the political field on a higher level than that of the A.F.of L. By the foundation of the American Labor Party a vehicle was created for delivering organized political working class support to the Roosevelt administration. With the acceleration of the break up of the Democratic Party on the issues of the New Deal, the American Labor Party is bound to play an increasingly important role in the political life of the country and the class collaboration of its leadership may take the form of a coalition government. Even the taking of leadership in such a government is not excluded when the situation for American capitalism will be made more and more desperate by the combined effects of the crisis and an imperialist world war. The social patriotic Socialist and Communist Parties will go along as loyal opposition, laying the emphasis on their loyalty. All these developments, already in process, make it possible for a revolutionary group, with the necessary Marxian understanding and revolutionary boldness, if it is rooted in the class struggles of the masses, to crystalize the unrest, resentment and militancy of the masses in a revolutionary party, the indispensable subjective prerequisite for turning the imperialist war into civil war and leading the proletarian revolution to victory.

All the objective prerequisites for a proletarian revolution are rapidly maturing in the United States: growing contradictions for which capitalism can offer no solution, rendering the crisis permanent; a steady intensification of the class struggle; the approach of a new imperialist world war. Other important factors to be taken into consideration are: great unrest among the small farmers; growing class consciousness of the Negro workers; the fact that the American working class has not suffered a crushing defeat and if once aroused, is militant and bold.

Under these circumstances a revolutionary Marxist group, no matter how small today, can grow by leaps and bounds into a party and can conquer leadership of the American proletariat.

Thus, and only thus, can the working class give a revolutionary answer to the demand for class collaboration and for support of the imperialist war. Thus and only thus will the working class be able to oppose its own class solidarity to the "united national will" and overthrow capitalism. (This is the 2nd part of the Resolution for our Convention Apr.30-May 1, The Objective Situation Confronting The League. The 1st part appeared in the March 26 issue under the title, The War Situation).

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# MURDER BY LOTTERY !

## GOVERNMENT TO CONSCRIPT ALL MALE CITIZENS IN COMING WAR

As the midnight hour which will usher in the next imperialist war approaches, the bourgeoisie of this country are beginning to unmask their faces. Class-conscious workers are therefore able to see the hypocrisy which lies behind the war preparations of the U.S. capitalist government.

One of the boldest statements ever to issue from the military representatives of the U.S. boss class came from the lips of the Assistant Secretary of War Johnson, last week at Washington. Its importance for the American workers cannot be exaggerated. The occasion for his speech was the banquet of the Military Order of the World War, held last Wednesday, April 6, at the swanky, aristocratic Hotel Mayflower. A successful (from the capitalist viewpoint) Army Day parade had been held that same afternoon. Poor negro and white workers from Southwest Washington with hardly bread in their mouths and clothes on their backs, were awed by the new army tanks, the field pieces, the 6000 or more uniformed marchers.

After wining and dining at the Mayflower, the military "heroes" of the last imperialist slaughter were in a fit and proper condition and spirit to wax eloquent about their plans for a new slaughter. Asst. Secy. of War, Johnson, supplied the key note. What this country needs, he orated, is a better system of recruiting, of enlisting the entire male population in time of need.

## VIGILANTES TO ENFORCE REGISTRATION

The plans for enlisting the entire male population would be simple. Indeed, the plans for throttling the opposition of the American working class to the war could not be more simple! "All male citizens between 21-30 are to be registered on a single day by the election machinery of the states. Public opinion (meaning by this patriotic organizations, vigilantes, etc.) will demand a 100% registration in the designated areas". "Each registrant will be issued a numbered card, and names and numbers will be published in each local community. Following registration, national drawing will decide who will be first and who last. It will then be the task of boards of local citizens of 6000 communities to decide whether his neighbor shall serve his country as soldier, or sailor, or whether he is more valuable to the government as a munitions worker or farmer." Needless to say, the local citizens on the boards will be bankers, lawyers, business men, industrialists, etc., and the militant trade unionists and politicalized left workers will most surely be chosen for the front line trenches abroad, while the "loyal" citizens remain at home.

But the storm is brewing! The working class is becoming conscious of the need to overthrow American capitalism and abolish war from the earth.

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# COUGHLIN CALLS FOR FASCISM.

## ADVOCATES CORPORATE STATE FOR THE UNITED STATES

"The Catholic Church stands four-square behind the capitalist, although it dares condemn the abuses which have grown around him. When his voice is silent and weak, and his hands unclean, we will confront the communist and Socialist in his defense - and if necessary die in defending the Constitution under which he gained his wealth". (Coughlin, Radio Sermon, November 23, 1930.)

For this open declaration the working class owes Coughlin a great debt of gratitude. Coughlin and the Catholic Church stand on the side of capitalism against the working class. We have always said so. Coughlin leaves no doubt in anyone's mind.

To defend, support and consecrate capitalism today is to defend, support and consecrate fascism. In his organ, Social Justice, Coughlin proves this. In the April 4th issue, Coughlin advocates a Corporate State for the United States. In the April 11th issue, he says: "Fascism is really a Corporate State...". Correct. Coughlin is a clerical-fascist demagogue.

As early as the 1934 A.F. of L. convention, Coughlin had been sharply condemned for his anti-labor policies. As far back as 1932, he had already initiated a movement to incorporate trade unions under the direction of the government. This is the policy in all fascist countries.

Today, a restless working class, giving ever greater evidence of its willingness to fight against hunger and unemployment, is driving the capitalist class to try every measure to prop up its tottering system. That is why Coughlin and others come forward now with their propaganda for the corporate state.

## COUGHLIN FINDS MODEL IN PORTUGAL

Coughlin has found the model of his corporate state, of all places, in Portugal! Here is Coughlin's own description of Portugal's Corporate State:

"The Corporate Assembly - a body of delegates from Guilds representing virtually every vocation - is given a definite status by the Constitution of Portugal. It is vested with the duty to study and report in advance of all motions and bills brought before the National Assembly. The latter may request any technical advice or information it may need, and the Corporate Assembly is exceptionally competent to furnish it.... The sessions are held in private and members are divided into separate specialist sections, doing the work of a permanent investigating committee. Although the body cannot enact laws, it has full representation in the National Assem-

bly. In common with parliamentary forms of government, the National Assembly has legislative powers and is returned by popular vote. The Council of State is selected by the president himself, and the appointments hold good for life, independent of the confidence of the National Assembly. The president, with his Council of State, of the members of the National Assembly initiates laws, but the government's tenure of office does not hinge on whether the Assembly approves of its policy or not." (Social Justice, April 4th).

Lest there be any misunderstanding, Coughlin quotes Salazar, dictator of Portugal:

"The government is independent of the Legislative Assembly and, in that way, of the electoral body, so that it has not to be preoccupied with the confidence of the chambers, nor with the artificial movements of opinion, nor with the canvassing of party support."

Under Salazar all working class organizations have been violently suppressed. No opposition is permitted. In the colonies the masses are ground into the dust. This is what Coughlin wants to impose on the American workers.

But he knows that the American workers are beginning to rebel against the dictatorship of capitalism which the "Democratic" form of government strives to conceal. This obliges him to attempt to conceal the real character of the Corporate State.

He asks: "Does the Corporate State favor dictatorship?"

And answers, "On the contrary, the Corporate State favors democracy....."

#### COUGHLIN DEMAGOGY

In his explanation of the transition, in Portugal from "democracy" to the Corporate State, Coughlin assures us: "Portugal quietly cast off its parliamentary form of government..... The death knell of democracy in Portugal was sounded..." One can have only the utmost contempt for this charlatan who tells us that the Corporate State "favors democracy" and then openly acknowledges that with its introduction "democracy" disappeared. He hides the fact that the Corporate State was introduced as in Italy: the violent seizure of power by the army.

Coughlin is not opposed to the Corporate State or Hitler. "Chancellor Hitler's brand of order - which we must not forget is the German will, - may in the alchemy of time, prove to be preferable to a communistic coup." Coughlin knows that Hitler is the head of one of the bloodiest dictatorships in history; that it does not spare Catholics; that Strasser, Schleicher and other leading Catholics have been assassinated; that several hundred Catholic priests have been sent to concentration camps. To Coughlin, all of this is preferable to a worker's state. That is what he meant when he said that the Catholic Church is ready to die in defending the government under which the capitalist "gains" his wealth. Coughlin can reconcile himself to Hitler, but he cannot openly advocate Hitler's regime as a model for the United States without immediately coming into the deepest conflict with resentment of the American working class.

He cannot offer Austria as a model, because it is well known that Dollfuss, Chancellor of Austria, before his assassination by Austrian Nazis based his attempt to form what he called "a Corporative Authoritative State" on the famous Papal Encyclical, Quadragesimo Anno, of Pope Pius XI. Dollfuss murdered between fifteen hundred and two thousand men, women and children before he himself was murdered. Eleven leaders of the worker's rebellion of 1934 were hanged; and more than one thousand workers were given long prison sentences. Dollfuss was motivated by the same reasons that Coughlin gives; the defense of his country from Communism. But all of Coughlin's prodigious demagogic accomplishments cannot conjure away the gruesome character of the corporate, fascist state.

That is why Coughlin says: "These proposals I have not imported from Communistic Russia, Socialist Germany. or Fascist Italy."

"It Can't Happen Here!" So say the "democrats" who desire to lull the workers into a sense of false security. "It's going to happen here!" say Coughlin and others who justify poverty and starvation. "But we must not alarm the workers. Turn on the demagogy!"

The Corporate State is the last defense of capitalism against the rebellious working class. The history of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Corporate Portugal shows that the Corporate State is enslavement for the working class. Against the Corporate State, the workers must fight for a worker's state. Real freedom for the workers and farmers of the United States can be achieved only under a workers state, a Soviet America.

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#### PLUMBERS APPRENTICES FIGHT BUREAUCRATIC LEADERSHIP

NEW YORK, April 16.-- There are rumblings of revolt in Local 374 Plumbers Assistants, affiliated to the A.F. of L. This local, consisting of Brooklyn's plumbers apprentices, is quite fed up with the bureaucratic policies of "Czar" Wm. McLoughlin, Business Agent of Local 374 and President of Plumbers Local 1. At the last membership meeting, a few weeks ago, the workers showed resistance to McLoughlin's methods. But it was unorganized. A hand-picked Ex. Board, an appointed Job Delegate, no opportunity for rank and file expression, have made this local a first rate, dues-collecting agency. and the monthly dues of \$3.75 must be paid even when the men are not working. Of course, McLoughlin makes certain that his clique gets work.

If the men are really serious about correcting this situation their first task is to organize a progressive group. On the following program they can rally the majority: 1. Elected and not appointed officials; 2. Regular financial accounting to the membership; 3. A rotating unemployed list; 4. Elimination of the fine system; 5. Democratic conduct of the affairs of the local; 6. No discrimination in job selection.

To put this program across the group must publish a paper. That's the most effective way to expose discrimination in job assignments.

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# FRENCH WORKERS FACE DECISIVE ISSUES

## COMMUNISM OR FASCISM?

The fall of the Blum government and the succession of the Daladier government signifies the close of one stage and the opening of another in the development of France toward a resolution of the issue which it confronts: Communism or Fascism. The swing to the left which began in the winter of 1934 under the pressure of the workers is being followed by a swing to the right.

The Daladier government comes into power in the midst of the realignment which is taking place in Europe as England drives ahead toward the consummation of its European bloc against the Soviet Union and the United States. The expansion of Germany toward the Near East via Southeastern Europe beginning with the annexation of Austria is blocked by the Anglo-Italian accord which provides for joint resistance to any attempt to change England's domination of this area. Thus, by concessions to Germany and to Italy -- the recognition of certain rights in the Near East and in Africa and a pledge to work for recognition of the conquest of Ethiopia by the League of Nations-- Britain has weakened the partners of the Rome-Berlin axis and made them each more amenable to her pressure for a European bloc. The new situation which Britain is creating hits France hard. French domination of the European continent is a thing of the past. The task which British imperialism faces with respect to France is to force her to adjust her policy to the new situation. That is the task of the Daladier government. The first important essay of French foreign policy under Daladier is to supplement the Anglo-Italian accord with a Franco-Italian accord. The last agreement between France and Italy was aimed at Germany. French diplomats give assurance in advance that the impending agreement will not have that aim. And in Germany Hitler's diplomats state that the next step in Chamberlain's realistic policy is a British-German accord.

## DEFEAT OF SPANISH WORKERS FAVORS FRENCH CAPITALISTS

The defeat of the Spanish revolution creates the necessary condition for French capital to take a more aggressive attitude toward the French working class. Step one in the strategy of putting down the turbulent struggles of the French workers was to isolate them from their revolutionary brothers in Spain. Non-intervention to hold the French workers back from giving direct material aid to the Spanish workers divided the class front and permitted the Fascist dictatorships which had already crushed the working class in those countries to act with freedom against the Spanish workers. That was the accomplishment of the Popular Front. Now the French capitalists are ready to apply the second stage of their strategy.

From now on they will drive French internal policy to the right. Blum has been thrown aside like a whore whose wares are no longer needed. With him in reality goes the Popular Front. The Stalinist and Socialist leaders have shown a lackey's readiness to submit to every new master and have voted in the chamber of Deputies to support the new government. They will go to any length to fight proletarian revolution. Socialist and Stalinist deputies alike voted for the stupendous expenditure of thirty five billion francs for war preparations while the metal and auto workers raised red flags in their struggle for higher pay to meet the rising cost of living.

#### DALADIER'S FIRST TASK

The first task which Daladier had to accomplish in dealing with French labor was to induce it to call off the strikes of the metal and auto workers. For that purpose the French labor leaders were sufficient. Like Homer Martin and John L. Lewis they got the auto sit-downers to quit the plants while agreements are negotiated. Time is what Daladier needed. Time is what the labor leaders gave him, at the cost of a small increase in wages.

As the French capitalists drive to the right the workers will fight back. The recent strikes will be followed by greater strikes. Wider masses will be drawn into the struggle. The ability of French capital to compromise with its wage slaves is practically exhausted. The situation now is revolutionary. On the order of the day stands the final struggle: either the workers will find the way to overthrow capitalism or capitalism will establish a Fascist dictatorship and crush the working class.

The unfolding of this struggle will involve the sharpest struggle by the workers against their present political and trade union leaderships. In one sense that is where the issue will be settled. Will the opportunist servants of capitalism be able to hold the workers in check as they did in Germany? Or, if they cannot, will they be able to ride at the head of the masses and derail them from revolutionary action as they did in Spain? Or will the workers create out of their midst a Bolshevik party like the party of Lenin which will sweep the opportunists aside and battle its way to victory, to a Soviet France, to freedom. On that depends the fate of the French workers and the fate of Europe.

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WASHINGTON, April 10- A few months ago, Secretary Hull asked Congress for the enactment of a law to prevent embarrassment to foreign governments. The result was the law of Feb. 15th prohibiting picketing within 500 feet of an embassy or ridiculing the nation the embassy represents, with placards, songs or slogans. The law has drawn results. On March 14, 39 persons were arrested for picketing the Austrian Legation and the German Embassy. The final total to date is: 27 released on personal bond; 6 fined \$50 or 30 days in jail; 1 fined \$25 or 30 days in jail; and 1 sentenced to pay \$25 or 25 days in jail. One comrade reports that six members of the Communist Party are still serving in jail!

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# "FRIENDLY GOVERNMENT" JAILS NEGROES

## HELEN LEE SENTENCED FOR FRAUD

"For \$250,000...Mrs. T. Wallace Orr has bought a new ring. Because Mrs. T. Wallace Orr's favorite color recently changed from blue to green...it's off with the sapphires and on with the emeralds..." N.Y. Post, April 12, 1933.

WASHINGTON, April 10. -Behind the display of official pomp and dignity in the national Capital, lies a story of bitter exploitation and oppression of Negro workers in the District of Columbia. On one hand, the high officials of the government, retired army and navy officials, the usual wealthy and aristocratic society and old ladies (the Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of 1812, have their headquarters here); on the other, the Negro laundry, hotel, domestic, and construction workers, whose wages and living conditions are the lowest.

But more illustrative than pictures, more telling than volumes is the story of a 180-day sentence given a Negro domestic worker here, Tuesday, April 5. What was the crime which Helen Lee committed?

Helen Lee was charged with "fraud", for receiving unemployment compensation checks of \$4 a week while working in the domestic service of Assistant Corporation Counsel Lloyd Harrison for the munificent salary of \$8.25 a week in a country "where other people are out of work, all but starving to death, often unable to get relief"-- to quote the judge.

The judge accused Helen of taking bread out of the mouths of others, as well as money from the government. No one mentioned in court that Helen Lee lived in the southwest section of Washington, one of the most horrible tenement districts of Washington under the shadow of the American flag atop the Capitol and had to wait at least six weeks for those huge checks of \$4. No one brought out that Helen Lee had to live and support others during that "waiting period", a polite name the compensation board gives to weeks of starvation. No one testified that everywhere bosses are committing far greater crimes, by taking billions of dollars of the surplus value created by the American working class every year, while Helen Lee was just taking an infinitesimal part of what belonged to her. Helen Lee got 180 days. Friday, the 8th, two more workers were sentenced to 60 days for violation of the compensation act, and one was let go on the understanding that he repay the money!

Who was there to defend Helen Lee? The Domestic Workers Union in Washington numbers only 200 out of, at least, 20,000 workers and is too weak to protect the workers. This means that the task is to build a strong union of domestic workers in Washington and to educate the workers to the larger task of overthrowing American capitalism as the only way to a better life.

# GOVERNMENT PERSECUTES ANARCHIST

## GRAHAM SENTENCED FOR CONTEMPT

In April, 1919 Marcus Graham, Editor of the Anarchist publication, Man, was arrested in Paterson, N.J. In November, a warrant was issued for his deportation to Canada. On Feb. 21, 1921, he was arrested in New York City by the Bomb Squad and given the third degree. For six months he was detained at Ellis Island. In November 1930 the Labor Department dismissed an order to deport him to Mexico. In October, 1937, he was arrested again in Los Angeles in an attempt to execute the warrant of 1919. Judge Leon R. Yankwich, before whom Graham was brought declared from the bench that he would not lend support to the execution of the warrant of 1919. At the same time the judge sentenced him to six months imprisonment in a federal penitentiary for criminal contempt of court for refusing to testify against himself in order to establish a basis in law for the execution of the "stale warrant" of 1919. Graham has been released on a thousand-dollar bond pending disposition of his appeal.

One of the brutes who beat up Graham, when he was arrested in 1921, has since been made Police Commissioner of New York City by the "liberal" "friend of labor", His Honor, Fiorella LaGuardia, aspirant for the presidency in 1940. In Detroit, Police Commissioner, Pickert, under a Mayor who defeated a candidate supported by the C.I.O., ordered his police to attack the Federal screw strikers.

Graham's case is only one of a series of similar cases which altogether prove that Roosevelt's "democratic" gesture to assist refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria is only a hypocritical maneuver which the American imperialists use for propaganda purposes. Graham has been persecuted because of his anarchist beliefs and activity. It is a clear case of capitalist injustice and persecution. Graham's fight to force the American imperialist government to grant him the democratic rights which it professes to defend against the dictatorships in Europe should be supported by all class conscious workers.

"The protesting voice of every true liberty loving man and woman should therefore be raised and directed to the Secretary of Labor.." says the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee which has been organized by the Southern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. The Committee is making its fight exclusively on legalistic grounds.

Only the organized power of labor can free Marcus Graham and the innumerable others who are victimized by the capitalist class. Fight the case in the courts! But more than that, arouse the working class against this flagrant, brutal act of class justice. We want the freedom of Marcus Graham. But it can never be achieved by confining the defense to legal channels. To fight for the freedom of Graham, Mooney, Billings means, above all else, to fight for the overthrow of this rotten system of starvation for the toilers of America and prison and the third degree for those who dare to protest.

## ★ SPREADING REVOLT! ★

REVOLT is being enthusiastically received and read by workers, as the following indicate.

From a Detroit auto worker-

"I am elated over this splendid start. Never before in my experience in the labor movement have I seen a group of Marxists put out so meaty a magazine. In fact it seems that every page comes out of the work-shop, the union and the revolutionary center..... it breathes the atmosphere of the class struggle. It poses the problems the masses in the unions are grappling with, the nationals under the heels of imperialism are writhing under, and the problems the colonials are bleeding and dying under."

"All I want to see is REVOLT coming out regularly and with its same content, quality, branching out into the many ramifications and branches of the class struggle... especially at this critical turn in world events."

From Chicago-

"REVOLT is sold without any difficulty. We have made plans for the distribution and sale of REVOLT and these plans are materializing beyond what has been anticipated. We must increase our bundle to 200."

Washington has increased the size of its bundle to 30 copies. New York is getting rid of its copies easily. Demands from individual comrades for larger bundle orders shows that it is easy to spread REVOLT.

This issue is double the size of the last. We can triple it.

Become an agent of revolt!

Order a bundle of five, ten or twenty five copies at three cents a copy. Spread REVOLT!

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S T U D Y C O U R S E



A basic summary of Marxist theory and practice, intended primarily for new recruits, but excellent for review. In ten lessons.

Outline of Course

1. The Basic Ideas of Marxism
2. The Evolution of Society
3. Dialectic Materialism
4. The Development of Capitalism
5. Surplus Value and Capitalist Production
6. Capitalist Contradictions and Decline
7. Imperialism - the Final Stage of Capitalism
8. The State. Dictatorship of the Proletariat
9. The Struggle for Power. The Revolutionary Party
10. The Fourth International

APPENDIX: Guide for Organization of Study Groups

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NOTE: The above study course is designed to assist in training workers in the principles of scientific communism, knowledge of which is indispensable for effective work in the class struggle and for party membership.

REVOLT is publishing installments of this course serially.

With the appearance of the tenth and final lesson the entire course will be issued in pamphlet form.

Save these supplements. When you will have received the tenth lesson you will have the entire course.

Start your study group today!

Lesson One

## THE BASIC IDEAS OF MARXISM

By a profound study of the modern capitalist system of production, Carl Marx was enabled to discover certain scientific laws that explain the general historical development of mankind. These laws constitute the basis for modern social science. Our work in this course will serve to illustrate and give some content to these laws. It is a preliminary to more exhaustive study.

Briefly, Marx's discoveries may be summarized under 4 headings:

A. THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY. The form of society in which men live is determined by the way they make a living, that is by what is called the mode of production. When the mode of production undergoes a change, the form of society changes accordingly. Economic factors are not the only ones that determine social evolution, altho they are basic ones. Social institutions are based on the prevailing mode of production, but these institutions and the ideas through which man becomes conscious of his environment also become forces in social evolution. Marx expressed this conception in the "Critique of Political Economy" as follows: "In the social production that men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum-total of these relations constitute the economic structure of society - the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness."

B. THE THEORY OF CLASS STRUGGLES. "In the work of production, men do not stand in relation to nature alone but also to each other." These relations are the relations of property. In modern society the few own the property, the many are propertyless. Men thus fall into different classes. Classes are the product of the mode of production. They have divergent and opposed economic interests. In the productive relations these contradictory interests bring about the class struggle. Every class struggle is basically a political struggle. Such a struggle carried to its highest expression becomes a complete revolution. With the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the classless society class exploitation disappears and the class struggle is resolved. Human will enters into the class struggle. It can therefore be said that man makes his own history, although "not out of the whole cloth" but within the material conditions at hand. All history is the history of class struggles.

C. DIALECTIC MATERIALISM. The material world including society undergoes constant change. It evolves. It is never static in any absolute sense. Dialectics is the method of analysing and explaining the process of material and social change; it enables us to understand and deal with the contradictions inherent in class society. In the struggle between the two opposing and irreconcilable classes dialectics show how society is lifted to a new and higher plane where the opposing elements disappear in a new social synthesis. A change in the mode of production brings about the abolition of classes and a new evolution of humanity begins.

D. The LABOR THEORY OF VALUE. Capitalism can be characterized by the fact that by and large all human needs can be bought and sold in the form of commodities. Among other commodities the worker sells his labor-power to the boss who employs him. Now by capitalist law, whatever the worker produces belongs to the employer, who in return pays the worker only part of the value of his product in the form of wages. The value retained by the capitalist in this exploitive process is called surplus value. Under capitalism the class struggle centers about the relative portions of the value produced by the worker that go to the worker in the form of wages and to the capitalist as surplus value.

#### Required reading

The Communist Manifesto - Marx and Engels  
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific - Engels

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#### Lesson Two

#### THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY

The deepest understanding and demonstration of the laws of social science (Marxism) can be derived from a study of the evolution of society from the beginning of time to the present. This evolution can be divided into four distinct stages: 1) Primitive Communism; 2) Chattel Slavery; 3) Serfdom (Feudalism); 4) Wage-slavery (Capitalism).

A. PRIMITIVE COMMONISM. The earliest known system of society, of which there exist examples today in certain backward spots of the earth. Men lived together in groups known as gens or clans. These were units of a larger group called the tribe. This type of organization is built up on kinship or blood relationship. There was no private property, and hence no classes. The land was owned and exploited in common. While the simple tools and weapons of the period might be held and used temporarily by the individual, the products of labor were owned in common. Each person got what he needed from the common store or supply. Necessarily life was extremely primitive. Great changes in the material conditions of primitive existence brought about changes in social organization. Domestication of animals and the introduction of simple agriculture permitted man to be less dependent upon the hunt for his food supply. Thus he adopted new habits of life. A long period of social development under savagery and barbarism laid the basis for the system of chattel slavery.

B. CHATTEL SLAVERY. The extension of the domestication of animals and agriculture meant that more labor had to be expended and employed by the shepherd and planter in these industries. Labor became more valuable. Various tribes learned not to kill their captives in battle but to use them as slaves, because the captive could thus produce more wealth than was necessary to maintain him. Greece and Rome were the classical slave states of antiquity, although slavery existed in all

parts of the world where society was emerging from primitive communism. Slavery arose through the development of private property in land and the recognition of the "right" to mortgage, to buy and sell land. The debtor who failed to pay his debt became the slave of the creditor. The rise of private property broke down the old tribal system of life. It introduced a new form of social organization: the state. The state was created by the propertied class to protect their property from those who possessed no property. But the very system of slavery proved its own undoing. Freemen could not compete with slaves and themselves fell into slavery. The system was extended to such an extreme, wealth became concentrated into so few hands, that the whole system was weakened from within by corruption and rebellion and fell under blows from without by invasion. The prevailing mode of production under chattel slavery was agricultural.

C. FEUDALISM. Feudalism is a dictatorship of an armed ruling class over an unarmed peasantry based on a system of land tenure. It grows up in the period of incessant warfare following the dissolution of the slave states. A special class of warriors arises to "protect" the toiling peasants in order at the same time to exploit them. The peasants became "bound" to the soil. The military leaders assume hierarchical ranks from a king and nobility down to the knight. Feudalism is a "static" system in that it exists in local isolation with fixed customs. Economy is at a subsistence level. Money economy, trade, the new luxuries from the East, the rise of towns within the feudal economy - all these are alien and inimical elements that arise to break down the feudal system and gives way to the modern system of capitalism. Agricultural production gives way to hand tool production (handicraft). Feudal economy loses its fight with handicraft production which is much more efficient. This development gives birth to what we call capitalism.

D. CAPITALISM. Capitalism arises out of exchange economy, trade, buying and selling in the market. The rising merchant class spread this system over the entire globe and created the world market. Everything becomes a commodity, a useful article produced not for consumption by the producer but for sale on the market. It is this system that we shall study more in detail in this course. The capitalist mode of production, based on the monopoly and private ownership of the means of production, is distinguished from all other past and future modes of production by: 1) wage-labor; 2) commodity production; and 3) surplus value.

#### Required reading

The Origin of the Family, Private Property  
and the State - Engels  
The Communist Manifesto - Marx and Engels

#### Suggested reading

The Evolution of Property - Paul Lafargue  
Two Pages From Roman History - Daniel DeLeon  
The Mark - Engels  
Marxism and Darwinism - Pannekoek  
Ancient Society - Lewis Morgan

# SPREAD REVOLT!

REVOLT is published to present the ideas of Marxism to the working class. The aim of Marxism is to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a workers' government. REVOLT is dedicated to that purpose.

To overthrow capitalism the workers need a revolutionary party. All existing parties are non-Marxian. REVOLT agitates for the creation of a new Communist party in this country and on a world scale. It agitates for the creation of a Communist Fourth International.

To overthrow capitalism, to build a revolutionary party the Marxists must tell the workers the truth about the world they live in. REVOLT exposes the rottenness of capitalist society and will explain the connection between the daily struggle of the oppressed for bread and their need to overthrow the capitalist system in order to obtain it.

We are living on the eve of the outbreak of the second world war. REVOLT agitates against the war before it breaks out and after it has begun. REVOLT will agitate for the defeat of the army and navy of the American imperialists as the means of transforming the imperialist war into civil war against capitalism.

REVOLT will be published in this form as frequently as possible until it can be printed as a paper.