

REVOLT

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Farmer - Labor Party Expels Reds

Newspaper Guild Strikes at Hearst

Agnes Markarian Murdered by Capitalism

Jews Smash Chicago Fascist Meetings

Negro Grievances Educate U.A.W.

W. P. A. Set For Show-Down

BOSSSES, LABOR SKATES GIRD AUTO PLANTS FOR WAR

Jim Crow in S. Africa

Letter From Germany

Unity! But What Kind?

by Karl Liebknecht

LINEN - LIEBKNECHT - LUXEMBURG INSPIRE US!

FLASH!

NEGRETE ACQUITTED!

FLASH!

NEW YORK, Jan 4 - YESTERDAY, ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE SUMNER WELLES, WIRED THE RUSSELL NEGRETE BLACKWELL DEFENCE COMMITTEE OF H.S. FREEDOM AND ACQUITTAL:

"Consul at Valencia reports Russell Blackwell acquitted by the court and is now at the consulate. The Consul will report his departure which will be by the safest means available and you will be informed."

It is clear from this news that the vicious frame-up has been decisively smashed. It did not have a leg to stand on.

The Defense Committee, however, warns its friends to be on guard against last minute flim-flamming of the kind that occurred last August, when, after release by Spanish authorities and placed in the custody of the American Consul, he was unceremoniously kidnapped by the secret police and held in a Loyalist prison since that time, as has been the fate of dozens of other courageous anti-Fascist fighters WE DEMAND HIS SAFE RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES!

WATCH FOR THE COMPLETE STORY IN THE COMING ISSUE OF REVOLT!

I N D E X

LENIN-LIEBKNECHT-LUXEMBURG INSPIRE US! (Editorial)	3
UNITY! BUT WHAT KIND? by Karl Liebknecht. (1918)	5
MINNESOTA FARMER-LABOR PARTY EXPELS REDS	6
CHICAGO NEWSPAPER GUILD STRIKES AT HEARST	7
AGNES MARKARIAN MURDERED BY CAPITALISM	9
NEGRO GRIEVANCES EDUCATE U. A. W. MEN	10
JIM CROW IN SOUTH AFRICA	10
JEWS SMASH CHICAGO FASCIST MEETINGS	11
W.P.A. WORKERS SET FOR SHOW-DOWN FIGHT	13
A LETTER FROM A GERMAN WORKER	17
BOSSSES AND LABOR SKATES GIRL AUTO FOR WAR	20
WHAT WE STAND FOR	25
WHAT THE WORLD WAR COST	26
WHAT! NO MONOPOLIES?	26
LESSON NINE OF ABC OF MARXISM COURSE (Conclusion)	27

LENIN-LIEBKNECHT-LUXEMBURG INSPIRE US!

No better tribute to the memory of these great revolutionary martyrs can be made by workers than to resurrect in life, to apply in action, today, the simple lessons they taught. Their wisdom, their courage, their indomitable will, the scientific principles they carried into life in the last World War, must be revived and rescued from the mystic mausoleum in which the opportunists of today have stored them.

World capitalism teeters on the brink of a new war, compared to which the last war was mere child's play. Every section of capitalist civilization today marches toward a war which they are as powerless to prevent, as they are the revolutions they induce. War is the final, desperate, futile attempt by the ruling classes the world over to avoid being wiped out in their crazed competitive struggle for markets. The entire burden of war - before, during and after the actual slaughter - falls on the working class. The normal anarchy of capitalist production is intensified in war to the point of complete collapse. Proletarian revolutions rise as a natural product of this breakdown.

In order to head off, side-track, crush this inevitable revolution, the frightened capitalists are more than willing to allow their coterie of "friends of labor" to come to their aid. They are eager - if only they may keep their wealth - to put socialists, liberals, anarchists, stalinists, anyone - into the seats of their government. They are willing to promise the workers anything to secure "unity" with them, even, at some future time, to get off their backs.

Lenin in exile, Karl Liebknecht in the Reichstag, Rosa Luxemburg - fearless Red Rosa - lashed out mercilessly against these servile patriots and piddling pacifists. During the war and in the revolution - decisive moments in history - they steadfastly refused to compromise with the bourgeoisie. They worked for the defeat of the army and navy of their own capitalists. They organized the workers in uniform to rebel against their officers and the imperialists who sent them to the front. But above all they concentrated their whole energies on the key problem which included all the others - building the revolutionary Marxist party as the only effective answer of the proletariat to the blood and insanity of imperialist war.

Long before the war began, they exposed as an empty bluff the threat of the syndicalists to call a "general strike if the capitalists dared declare war". They tore to shreds the deception practiced by the advocates of the abolition of war by the ballot - the forerunner of the present-day Ludlow Amendment - as a capitulation to the bourgeois democratic hoax that "the people" control capitalist government.

On January 12, 1919, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered secretly in prison by the agents of Noske and Scheidemann of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, leaders who had achieved "unity" with the Junkers, and as a reward, were placed at the head of the government. They were murdered because they really worked for the overthrow of their capitalists, not just talked about it. The Spartakus League which they founded was becoming a popular organizer of the German revolution which finally did break out a few months after they were killed.

Is it difficult to put your finger on the Noskes and Scheidemanns of today? Not very. Wherever workers struggle these bloodhounds and butchers arise to do their dirty work. Out of the ranks of the socialists, the anarchists, and above all the stalinists, they crawl. In May, 1937 with their help the bourgeoisie crushed the Barcelona uprising. In the Moscow "trials" and in the "trial" of the POUMists in Barcelona and in the assassination of Andres Nin and in the present frame-up and persecution of Rosalio Negrete (Russell Blackwell) in Spain, these jailors and persecutors of the revolution hope to intimidate, to terrorize, and crush the workers and head off the growth of the revolutionary party, to prepare the defeat of the proletariat.

But we are not dismayed. History has given us not only the teacherous strategy of the social-patriots but also those scientifically tested principles of Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg by means of which the proletariat - "trotz alledem" - in spite of everything - will conquer.

* * *

UNITY! BUT WHAT KIND?

Unity! Who craves and works for it more than we! Unity, which makes the proletariat strong so that it can fulfil its historic mission!

But all "unity" does not make for strength. Unity of fire and water only extinguishes one and vaporizes the other. The unity of the lamb and the wolf gives the lamb to the wolf as prey. Unity of the working class and the bourgeoisie sacrifices the working class. Unity with the traitors means defeat.

Only forces working in the same direction are reinforced by union. Forces working in opposite directions bind and paralyze.

To unite similarly oriented forces, that is our task. To join together contrary forces so as to impede or sidetrack the revolutionary explosion of forces in society, that is the task of our contemporary apostles of unity, just as it was the task of the priests of the sacred union during the war...

Our criterion is action. To act together presupposes a common route and destination. Whoever agrees with our objective and immediate methods of action is welcome in our ranks as a comrade-at-arms. Solidarity, union of spirit, of feeling, of will and of action - that's the only real unity. Unity in words is only an illusion, self-deception and deceit.

Those priests of unity aim to liquidate the revolution even before it has begun. They strive only to force the movement into the channels of conciliation in order to preserve capitalist society. They aim only to deprive the workers of all power, to reinforce the State, the product and arbiter of class contradictions. They want to maintain the economic domination of one class, while we remain hypnotised by phrases of unity. They attack us because we upset their plans, because their interests are opposed to ours, as they attack all true and serious emancipation of the working class, attainable only by world social revolution.

Can we be united with those who are nothing but hardened defenders of socialism under a regime of exploitation?

Can we unite with them without associating and sacrificing ourselves to their designs? Can we join with them? Ought we?

Union with them would be a crime against the proletariat. To join with them would be to abandon socialism and the workers international. With social-traitors one cannot even exchange a fraternal handshake. It is not unity which we must bring to them, but battle!

The working masses alone are the makers of social revolution....Dissipation of all fogs of verbal unity, unmasking of all half-truths and all self-interested apostles, unmasking of all false friends of the working class; that is the first commandment of the workers struggle, today more than ever. Only through fearless criticism can clear views develop; only through clear views is achieved unity of thought, aim, plan, and understanding; and it is that unity only which gives workers power with which to create a new social order. -- Karl Liebknecht (1918).

MINNESOTA FARMER-LABOR PARTY EXPELS REDS

REVEALS ITS CAPITALIST CHARACTER AND NEED FOR REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The State Central Committee of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association voted unanimously at its meeting of December 10th to expel all known communists "and any such persons as advocate the overthrow of the government by force or by revolution." All locals and affiliates are advised that unless this decision is strictly adhered to their charters will be revoked and their delegates barred from state and local conventions.

"The State Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota hereby repudiates communists and other disruptive forces and advises all local Farmer-Labor clubs and affiliates that they must forthwith expel from membership any member of the Communist Party and also such persons as advocate the overthrow of the government by force and revolution."

Here is the latest proof in the accumulated experience of the workers in Minnesota that the Farmer-Labor Party, after 19 years, remains an essential part of the capitalist state apparatus, to be used by it at all times against the interests of the labor movement.

As far back as 1923 the Stalinists led by Lovestone agitated for and maneuvered in the labor party movement, deceiving the workers with the hope that this type of party could be used for working class ends. Lately the Trotskyites for opportunist reasons of their own, have jumped bag and baggage on the Labor Party bandwagon.

A "labor party" which baits and expels communist workers is obviously doing the dirty work for the boss class. The F.L.P. sings tenor in the reactionary anti-red chorus. But this should not be surprising, because it is a capitalist agency. That the Stalinists are getting it in the neck is a fitting reward for their "Twentieth Century American" hokum. But that the degenerated Trotskyites swim blissfully in this swamp and cast goo-goo eyes at leadership in it is a revolting spectacle. Pity the poor dogs who retain their vogue in this "mass" movement by giving up the right to advocate revolutionary principles. But why shouldn't they? They have long ago done so in practice.

The blind alley of the Labor Party and the People's Front into which the opportunists of all countries attempt to switch the working class should be marked by all class conscious workers for what it is: a DEAD END. In its place must be built the genuine party of labor, the revolutionary Marxist party, the independent political force of the workers, independent of all capitalist politics and politicians, independent of the capitalist state, the oppressor of mankind, which must be destroyed. Then, in the words of Liebknecht, will the tremendous creative powers of labor be released to build a new social order.*

The new revolutionary party is the first step towards that goal.

* See Karl Liebknecht's brilliant statement on Unity, page 5.

CHICAGO NEWSPAPER GUILD STRIKES AT HEARST

THUG ACTION FAILS TO HALT WORKERS' MILITANCY

CHICAGO, Dec. 24.- 600 out of 1,000 writers, reporters, photographers, circulators, advertising and commercial department workers went out on strike December 5th against the Hearst Chicago Herald-Examiner and the Chicago Evening American. 500 of the strikers were members of the Newspaper Guild (C.I.O.). In the 17 months previous to the strike 500 workers had been fired. The remaining workers were compelled to bear the brunt of the additional work. Protests made by them were met by loss of privilege, threatened lay-offs, dismissals, and other like measures.

Hearst fought viciously to destroy the solidarity of the Guild local. Two A.F. of L. unions, the Editorial Association of Chicago, headed by Larry Kelly, and the Newspaper Commercial Association of Chicago, were set up. Workers in the plant were intimidated into joining for fear of losing their jobs.

The powder keg exploded when 30 circulation managers were fired in one day. The Local met immediately to consider action. Representatives approached the management. All attempt to have the discharged men reinstated failed, and the local voted 2-1 to strike. When the strike was called, 100 workers, not members of the Guild, also left the plant. The strikers are demanding collective bargaining and security.

On the first day of the strike 71 out of the 91 Hearst home circulation offices were closed. On the second, the American advertised "\$5 FOR PHOTOS". Later the Herald-Examiner offered, "\$50 WEEKLY FOR NEWS TIPS AND NEWS PICTURES...ALL INFORMATION CONFIDENTIAL."

HEARST REPEATEDLY VIOLATES CONTRACT

Last January 20, the Chicago Hearst management and the Guild signed a one year contract. Since then the Hearst management has done everything possible to weaken and destroy the Local. The Local has protested at least 60 violations. When the strike was called, the slimy Hearst lackeys screamed that the workers had broken their contract. They failed to mention that Hearst had broken it five dozen times. The workers had no choice. They struck.

The importance of the strike is recognized by the Chicago bosses. The other capitalist papers have kept the strike dead in their columns. The broadcasting stations have dilligently avoided commenting on the strike. However, despite the slander and lies of the Hearst management and the silence of the newspapers and radio the militancy and morale of the strikers is growing.

"Freedom of the press" Hearst has introduced hoodlums and gangsters. At the beginning of the strike 300 workers assembled in a mass picket line in front of the Hearst building. The strike-breaker Hearst had newspaper delivery trucks back up to the sidewalk, motors were turned on full blast, and carbon-monoxide gas was poured on the strikers. This was done again

and again until some strikers picketed the lines wearing gas masks. The strikers held their lines. The hired Hearst thugs then attacked the picket line, clubbing workers with lead-filled rubber hoses, clubs, and auto cranks. Unarmed strikers were beaten into unconsciousness. The Mayor Kelly police force stood by anxiously waiting to intervene if the strikers offered too much resistance. When the attack was over, Publisher Meig of the Evening American pointed out the strike leaders to the police who arrested the beaten and bloody workers for "disorderly conduct". None of this "Headline News" succeeded in reaching the working class - either through the newspapers or the radio.

Saturday night, December 17, locals of the Steel Workers, Automobile Workers, Office and Professional Workers, plus 37 other organizations participated in a gigantic auto parade. Over 200 cars, stretching about a mile and a half, paraded through the Loop and north side neighborhoods. The workers in the cars threw leaflets at the hundreds of thousands of workers walking the streets. A sound truck explained the strike and called upon everyone to boycott Hearst. The demonstration, although not thoroughly organized, was extremely effective. Workers on all sides shouted, "What! A strike? That's the stuff." "Hope you win, buddy. Boo Hearst!" It is interesting to note that immediately prior to the demonstration the broadcasting stations gave the strikers the first bit of publicity. The workers were informed that the strike was over - the strikers had gone back! This deliberate falsehood is a concrete demonstration of the use of the radio by the boss class to weaken and demoralize the strikers.

On December 19th, the strikers led a foot parade through the Loop. The strikers carried signs asking the workers to withdraw subscriptions and the advertisers to retract ads. To date, over 150 advertisers have responded.

N.L.R.B. INTERVENTION CAN ONLY BRING PITFALL

The rank and file of the Local has revealed a healthy spirit. The strike has taken on a planned and organized character. The workers of Chicago are interested in the strike. The continuation of the militancy of the strikers, their spirit of solidarity, and the broad cooperation of workers are the best guarantee for the successful outcome of the strike. All attempts to sidetrack the strike by calling in the N.L.R.B. should be fought as strenuously as the fight against Hearst. To permit the N.L.R.B. to decide the outcome of the struggle will not strengthen the strikers - it will weaken them. The strikers will be compelled to return to work under the same miserable conditions while the N.L.R.B. leisurely "arbitrates". Hearst will not sit by with folded hands, praying for the defeat of the strikers. Not by a long shot. On the contrary. He will unleash a campaign of lies, slander, coercion, lay-offs, and discharges that will place the Guild in a very weak condition. The most militant fighters will be fired.

Militant strike action alone can bring Hearst to his knees. The successful progress of the strike thus far more than confirms this. If the militancy of the rank and file continues, the terror of Hearst will suffer a bitter defeat.

IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

AGNES MARKARIAN MURDERED BY CAPITALISM

DETROIT, December 29.- This was a sad Christmas for auto worker Charles Markarian. The capitalist system saw to that. On Friday, November 4th, his wife, Agnes, committed suicide out of sheer economic desperation. All the fanfare and opium that was poured into the working class around Christmas time can never erase that indelible fact.

A year ago this month Charles Markarian was working for the Ford Motor Company. His foreman, Tom Tour, had a brother-in-law who was a Ford dealer. At the same time a big lay-off was approaching. For Charles it was either purchase a car or lose his job. Exercising his "freedom" as a worker, he bought a car. One week later Markarian was walking the streets, looking for work.

In January Charles and his two boys were pushing the car down the street, as the battery was dead. The car skidded and smashed into a 1929 Model A Ford. Judge Murphy fined Markarian \$10 and two days in jail. On top of this he was to pay \$195 damages for a car which was not worth over \$125 at the time of the accident. He was given a W.P.A. job with which to do this. In September he went off W.P.A. to receive unemployment compensation--\$16 a week maximum.

Of course, Markarian could not pay the car damages, let alone feed and clothe his family on this money. Again he was brought before Judge Murphy, and this time he was sentenced to thirty days in jail. To insure "justice" being done, he was declared unable to accept unemployment compensation during this period, as he was not available for work!

Agnes Markarian applied at the welfare station for relief for herself and her two boys who were going to school. Repeated daily visits failed to bring her aid. The charity agencies were no better. Leaving a suicide note, Agnes hanged herself on Friday, November 4th. The next day a \$2 check came from the welfare.

This is the capitalist system in the richest country in the world!

WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL

HEADLINE: "Roosevelt Drafts Military Program of 5 Billions". We should be grateful they could spare the \$2 for the Markarian family.

HEADLINE: \$100 PER PLATE AT DEMOCRATIC PARTY GAMBLE

WHY THEY LEAVE SCHOOL

Lack of funds is the principal reason young workers quit school before completing their education, according to a W.P.A. survey of youth in the labor market now being conducted in seven cities - Binghamton, Birmingham, Denver, Duluth, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Seattle.

NEGRO GRIEVANCES EDUCATE U. A. W. MEN

The task of getting organized labor to take up the Negro question has two important aspects. Along with getting the companies to change their policies toward Negro workers, the stewards and committeemen in the unions must carry on a campaign of educating the white membership to the acceptance of improvement of conditions for Negro workers.

In Detroit, for example, we face the contradiction of unorganized companies such as Ford employing the greatest number of Negroes for office, line, and janitor jobs, while the organized Chrysler plants hire a noticeably small number of Negroes, and for janitor jobs mostly. We nevertheless bump into resistance on the part of the white unionists to proposals and moves to oppose racial discrimination.

Too many white workers resist the idea of getting Negroes to work on the line with them; they are not aware that good unionists endorse the principle of promotions wherever ability and seniority justify it, regardless of color; that good unionism for the working class does not draw color lines. Even worse, too many white unionists share the fears taught them by the capitalist theoreticians - those fears of social equality - even in industry, and, as a result, content themselves with a feeling and expression of sorrow when confronted with grievances due to racial discrimination in the plants - Jim Crow, cold dressing rooms, etc. What is necessary, of course, is that the union educate its members in the teeth of ruling class lies that all this Jim Crowism, segregation, disenfranchisement, lynching, discrimination, and other bad features of the Negro question opposes and contradicts the basic principles of unionism, that whereas tyrants divide so as to rule, unionism unites so as to resist and end oppression.

-- Auto Worker.

JIM CROW IN SOUTH AFRICA

Three news items in recent issues of the Cape Argus (Cape Town, South Africa) illustrate how universal segregation and Jim crowing of Negroes exist on both sides of the Atlantic. Workers should not forget while protesting the barbarous treatment in Europe the daily social plight of the Negro which is ten times worse.

1. "A 28-year-old native, Vika Gama, was sentenced to four month's hard labor today for writing an impassioned letter to a European girl. The magistrate...in passing sentence, said it was very fortunate for Gama that the law did not allow him to give lashes." (October 6, 1938).
2. "It is announced in the Gazette today that written permission must be given by the railroad authorities for a non-European female nurse accompanying her mistress who is travelling by train with small children to visit the compartment in which her mistress is travelling at reasonable intervals during the daytime for the purpose of assisting with the children, provided other passengers do not object." (August 19, 1938).
3. "The average native in Northern Rhodesia will have to pay one-twelfth of his annual income to the State whether married or single, under the revised income tax ordinance which will come into force in January, 1939." (October 7, 1938). The tax must be paid even by the poorest natives, many of whom earn less than 10 shilling a month (roughly \$2.50).

JEW'S SMASH CHICAGO MEETING OF FASCISTS

SPONTANEOUS MOVEMENT AROUSED BY NAZIS, SILVER SHIRTS

CHICAGO, Dec. 14.- The savage persecution of the Jews in Germany and in other countries is affecting wide layers of Chicago Jewry. In the past month three meetings organized by the German-American Bund and the Silver Shirts have been smashed with a fury and violence, indicative of the profound hatred and fear of anti-Semitism which is developing in the United States. A spontaneous movement of unusual proportions, without apparent leadership or organization, has arisen, and is ruthlessly smashing these Fascist meetings.

Out of the poolrooms, barber shops, gambling joints, homes, TRADE UNIONS, and off the street corners pour hundreds of Jewish youth armed with rubber hose, lead pipe, machine tools, and more deadly weapons - to wipe out these Fascist meetings IN THE ONLY WAY IT CAN BE DONE.

It is rumored that the B'nai Brith, a Jewish Fraternal organization, is the leading instigator of these demonstrations. There is no positive evidence of this. A phone rings; the address of a Fascist meeting is passed on; and hundreds of demonstrators congregate at an appointed time at a given address. The instructions are simple: SMASH THE PLATFORM AND EVERYONE STANDING ON IT. Chairs and windows are smashed, drapes and curtains are torn; in a few minutes, the entire hall is a shambles. Roy Zachary, Midwest Marshal of the Silver Shirts, slugged and beaten, his skull fractured, is in hiding.

At the last demonstration over a dozen demonstrators were arrested. They appeared in court the next morning; an attorney was present to defend them; and bond which was set at \$150.00 each was supplied by a Jewish gambler. It is significant that two of the men arrested, members of a C.I.O. union, had a representative from their union in the courtroom prepared to demonstrate for their release. Many of the trade unionists can be brought to a courtroom only with difficulty when members of their union are arrested on the picket line. This is only a small indication of the intense feeling that has been aroused over these Fascist meetings.

FASCISTS AIM TO DESTROY WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS

The program of these Fascist organizations is to smash working class organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, sport clubs, etc.; to defend American Imperialism in case of war; and to promulgate the doctrines of race hatred against Negroes, Jews, Catholics, etc. Both the German-American Bund and the Silver Shirts are nation-wide set-ups. Measured by their increased activity, these groups are growing in Chicago.

In the pre-election campaign the German-American Bund backed a candidate for Congress, who openly declared that Jewry must be destroyed. This anti-Fascist movement has its origin in the breaking up of election rallies.

Now it has been extended throughout the city. On the West Side this week a group of a hundred Jewish youth broke into the Vorwaerts Turner Hall. They found a basketball game in progress. The owner of the hall informed the group that he would not dare rent his hall to the German-American Bund or the Silver Shirts. He didn't want to have his hall smashed to bits. Other hall owners are rapidly learning the same thing.

The driving force behind this movement is Jewish "nationalism"; and even many Gentile youth are participating in these demonstrations because of their trade union connections. But there is a grave danger that clever demagogues will direct this movement against working class organizations; against Socialist, Communist, and even trade union meetings. To guard against this danger, participation of trade unionists which is a healthy sign, should be extended into a movement not only against anti-Semitism, but against the ANTI-WORKING CLASS character of fascism. To confine this struggle to anti-Semitism is to prevent the intervention of Polish, Bohemian, Italian, German, and other workers who have a bitter hatred for fascism and all that it represents. They must be involved. The smashing of Fascism is the task of the whole working class.

The struggle against Fascism is a struggle not only for freedom of religion, for democratic rights, but above all a struggle for workers' rights, and working class organization. The successful efforts of Chicago's Jews in smashing Fascist meetings points the road for American workers to stop Fascism in this country before it has the chance to get going. LET'S GO!

W.P.A. WORKERS: FIGHT AGAINST CUTS AND STARVATION!

The government's intimation that relief funds will be diverted to the war machine does not mean that lay-offs take place only because there is a shortage of funds. Lay-offs have been and still are constantly taking place on projects all over the country in twos and fours, plus the many thousands shoved off W.P.A. rolls on completion of numerous projects throughout the nation; hundreds of thousands are forced out into the streets without public notice and pushed back on relief.

A huge army of impoverished workers is constantly being shifted from relief rolls to W.P.A. and vice versa. The money that is supposed to be saved during these transitional periods when neither pay nor relief is received goes for graft.

These deplorable conditions are undoubtedly due to the fact that organized labor has not, up to this very day, made a serious effort to remedy this situation. Though the W.P.A. workers and unemployed generally have received many set-backs and had their organizations actually torn to pieces; and though somewhat demoralized by these incessant experiences, their morale is not so low that they cannot be organized to such a numerical strength as to command respect from the forces that are constantly striving to drive the unemployed, W.P.A., and the working masses generally into the gutter. The progress now being made by the W.P.A.O.C. Local in the northside district of Chicago proves that it can be done. Based on militant, independent, democratic principles, a real mass movement can develop on a grand scale and explode the hokum that W.P.A. workers cannot be organized.

-- Ben Paliferro.

W.P.A. WORKERS SET FOR SHOW DOWN

MUST CONDUCT STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CAPITALIST STATE

DETROIT, Mich., Dec. 27.- "Automobile production soars to new levels.... thousands of workers being re-employed....greatest season in auto forecast...." These and other catch-phrases that have appeared in the press certainly sound ironical to auto workers who eke out a bare existence on W.P.A., whose unemployment compensation benefits will soon run out, and who find trying to get on relief almost impossible.

It is true that auto production is above last year. Ward's Automotive Reports states that production for the week ending December 18th was 102,905 units, compared with 82,025 units for the corresponding week last year. However, an increase in the number of workers employed has not resulted. What has taken place is an actual decrease. The installation of new equipment, the construction of new, more efficient plants like the Briggs and the Dodge Truck plants, and the decentralization of other plants, like Chevrolet to Tawanda, N.Y., and General Motor units to New Jersey, has resulted in the permanent displacement of thousands of auto workers.

The older men grumble about being over 40, too old to be taken in by any one except Ford. And anybody who has ever worked at Ford's shuns it like a white-hot metal. But these men are not the only victims. Hundreds of young workers between 19 and 25, who come pouring out of the numerous trade schools here each year, find it difficult to get past the seniority barriers which the union correctly safeguards.

UNEMPLOYED A FOOTBALL AMONG CAPITALIST AGENCIES

These unemployed auto workers have been thrown about from one public agency to another. No one wants them. The local relief administration - in the face of a mounting city bonded debt - makes it almost impossible for even married men to get on relief. What happened in the case of the Markarian family (reported elsewhere in this issue-Ed.) is not an isolated one. Workers coming off unemployment compensation must wait eight weeks, if they are single men, and four weeks, if they are married, before applying for relief. The hard-bitten relief officials give as their reason for this instruction that these workers should have saved enough from their compensation to carry them over these periods. By these tactics, and by shoving workers off on to W.P.A. rolls, the relief rolls were reduced from a top figure of 44,000 families last summer to a present figure of about 19,000. Still, the rolls are increasing in these last few weeks, and due to the situation in W.P.A. and unemployment compensation, are due to go up by leaps and bounds in the near future.

The highly-touted unemployment compensation has also sought to throw off the unemployed workers as much as possible in order to protect its funds. One often runs across workers who tell how the unemployment compensation commission works hand-in-glove with the big corporation officials to

give them work for a day or so in order to make them ineligible for benefits. Workers who fail to report on the required day each week are deprived of their benefits for that week. But the hardest provision is that a worker must be available for work at all times. This means that if he is sick, or happens to be called for work while out of town, his benefits cease altogether. When we stated last May * that the unemployment compensation could be only a drop in the bucket we were not exaggerating one bit.

Now - the last straw - 100,000 men and women in the state of Michigan are receiving their last unemployment benefits. With the factories closed to them, and getting on relief a trying hardship - only one agency remains open to them, the W.P.A.

It is precisely this agency, the W.P.A., the last, miserable hope for the unemployed workers in this Detroit area, that is drying up, contracting its rolls. Last August and September 90,000 workers were on the W.P.A. rolls. At the present time it has been reduced to 59,000. Even these figures are being cut down gradually. The New Deal administration accomplishes this in several ways. First, following a national order, all further intakes on to W.P.A. rolls are stopped. This means that whereas before a worker might be readily certified for relief, since he could go on to the W.P.A. rather speedily, now there is no rush to certify him, since he would have to be carried on the relief rolls permanently. The same thing applies to the tens of thousands coming off unemployment compensation. These men were shunted off W.P.A. to take this compensation, because the W.P.A. officials had promised them that as soon as their benefits ran out, "the rolls would always be open". Now the grim reality of capitalist double-dealing against the working class shows itself.

Finally, actual cuts have been made on the different W.P.A. projects, especially among the white collar workers. The latest stunt is to take men and women over 65 years of age and all women with children under 16 off W.P.A. and put them on the starvation dole.

W.P.A. UNIONS SUPPORT NEW DEAL SCHEMES.

Now, what have the various unemployed and W.P.A. unions been doing in the face of such a situation? Fundamentally, what we said of these unions last spring in REVOLT #6 is exactly true today. The leaderships of the U.A.W.-W.P.A. union, and of the Workers Alliance - and now to these we add a third, the W.P.A. division of the United Office and Professional Workers Union (C.I.O.) - have gone along with the New Deal administration on every important and basic issue. On every one of these raw deal tricks it has been pulling on the unemployed and W.P.A. workers.

In union meetings, where these labor fakers confront the fed-up and aggressive memberships, they vomit their false militancy. Outside the meeting hall, in dealing with the administration, they prove themselves willing and able agents of the capitalist class, which of course is doing all this behind the New Deal camouflage.

Let us be specific. On December 1, in reply to these abuses described above - particularly the no-intake order - 300 project stewards of the U.A.W.-W.P.A. union voted a general strike on all W.P.A. projects in

* See REVOLT #6 for the W.P.A. and unemployed situation last spring.

the Detroit area. The next day, Max Barton, Detroit W.P.A. director, issued a statement that the W.P.A. administration does not recognize strikes, and that any worker leaving the project to take part in such a strike, could be considered off the rolls. The issue was clear: more W.P.A. or more misery, for the interests of the workers or for the interests of the New Deal. Proof that the union members were backing the action of their stewards to the limit was shown by a militant picket line and demonstration around the G.A.R. Building Saturday morning, December 10, when the negotiations got under way. On this picket line, anti-Roosevelt, anti-armament slogans were taken up readily by the workers

LABOR FAKERS CALL OFF STRIKE

The rank and file workers had given their leaders the go-ahead signal, but like all capitalist labor agents, they capitulated in the end to the New Deal administration. The strike was called off. What reason did these labor leaders give. At a meeting December 16th to ratify the agreement reached, George Edwards, Detroit U.A.W.-W.P.A. director, and Richard Leonard, national director, stated that the union had won a big victory, and that therefore the strike action could be forgotten about for the present. The Trotskyite and Lovestonite papers furnished a left cover to this deception by parroting the victory talk. The "Workers Age" and the "Socialist Appeal" both came out with headlines the next week proclaiming "victory" and "concessions" won by the U.A.W. on W.P.A.

It is really pathetic when we come down to it. The only real concession won by the union was the reinstatement of five out of eight stewards who had been fired for union activity. Several days after the agreement was made, the W.P.A. officials violated it by firing another steward. The "victory" consisted in getting two "pro-labor" superintendents reinstated. A more reactionary proposition, contrary to the first principles of unionism, could not be imagined.

A statement was gained by the union from the State W.P.A. that it favored a modification of the general stoppage of intakes ordered by Washington, and L.M. Nims, State W.P.A. head, was made to send a telegram of protest on this to Harry Hopkins. Other "gains" consisted of a speedy procedure in the case of fired chief stewards, a promise of a thorough investigation of anti-union practices by W.P.A. supervisors, consideration of permitting fires in the allies, and a promise to investigate quit slips thoroughly before making them final. Minor demands, and at that only promises, which the W.P.A. officials are fond of breaking.

But what about the important demands, to lift the no-intake rule, to stop the lay-offs, to extend W.P.A., to grant the \$90 a month minimum wage for W.P.A. workers? Edwards and Leonard slid over this. No victory, they casually report. And this is supposed to serve as an answer to the crying needs of the W.P.A. and unemployed workers!

The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance here contents itself with sending Stalinist fractions into the U.A.W.-W.P.A. union to agitate for one W.P.A.-C.I.O. union, which they hope to control. An oversight: the Workers Alliance did win one "independent" victory. Its suggestion to the W.P.A. in Lansing to mail out W.P.A. checks sooner this last pay so that the workers could have them in time to do their Christmas buying was accepted, and carried out - to the letter!

The white-collar workers on W.P.A. are also facing a serious situation. Many projects have been broken up, others are expected to go in a month or so. Remaining workers are suffering declassifications or wage cuts. In addition, a blanket cut of 25% on all cultural projects has been posted. The W.P.A. division of the U.O.P.W.A. has been pretty helpless in this situation. To add to the customary lack of militancy of white collar workers, the Stalinists who control the union nationally and locally are carrying on their usual policy of collaborating with the New Deal administration against the interests of the workers in their unions. In this critical period, postcards to Roosevelt and his wife - no less! - and clinging to the coat-tails of capitalist politicians can never solve the needs of the white collar workers - not in a hundred years.

None of these existing unions can meet and solve the needs of the W.P.A. and unemployed workers. This we pointed out long ago. What is necessary is one big W.P.A. union for all workers, which will carry on a class struggle policy against the New Deal administration. In other cities, like New York (the Unemployed and Project Workers Union), Cleveland, and Chicago (WPA Organizing Committee) such an organization is being forged. In Detroit this organization has yet to be built. The peculiar situation in Detroit, the overwhelming influence of the U.A.W., demands that work within that W.P.A. auxiliary be a primary task in building such an independent union. In this union, and in the Workers Alliance and UOPWA, left wing or progressive groups should be formed. They would gather around them militant unionists, would differentiate themselves out from the present union leaderships, and point the way to the necessity of forming one union for all W.P.A. workers.

The program of action for such left wing or progressive groups would be very simple. Fight for abolition of the no-intake rule, for stoppage of lay-offs and wage-cuts. The present defensive attitude which the labor leaders have instilled into the W.P.A. and unemployed workers must be turned into offensive against the capitalist system: for extension of W.P.A. to cover every unemployed worker, for greater unemployment compensation, and for \$90 a month minimum. Progressive groups, consisting of more militant and advanced workers, would point out the need for the 30-hour week in industry, for workers' control of relief funds, for unity with other existing unions in a class struggle program.

The possibilities for such a development are promising. In the new struggles in the offing, such a leadership, carrying out class struggle policies, can conduct a successful fight for the W.P.A. and unemployed workers. In the face of threatened elimination of W.P.A. in this session of Congress, the class collaborationist leaders collapse and disappear from the scene. The appointment of a U.S. Army officer as the head of the W.P.A. is a first step in the militarization of the whole set-up. The labor "leaders" are already preparing to cooperate. If they dare not struggle against even the "liberal" New Deal, what can be expected of them in the case of the armed forces of the capitalist state?

The struggle in the unemployed field brings the workers directly in conflict with the government, and reveals the function of it as the arm of the capitalist class. Only the left wing workers, and especially the revolutionary workers, can furnish the leadership in such a struggle. The complete overthrow of the capitalist system is the only permanent solution for unemployment.

-- W.P.A. Worker.



A LETTER FROM GERMANY



WORKER DESCRIBES CONDITIONS UNDER FASCISM

(We publish below extracts from a letter written by a worker in Leipsig. The facts contained therein throw light on the daily life of workers living under Fascist rule. All incriminating references have for obvious reasons been deleted. We are indebted to the Belgian "Contre le Courant" for the letter.- Ed.)

Dear..., ...I don't know what to write of interest. There has been no great change in the past year in our life. We still work 9 to 11 hours a day, except Saturday. Wages remain stable, except those of certain categories of specialized workers who get as high as 60 to 100 marks a week, a thing which very often stirs up discontent among the workers.

Besides, the Nazis make a principle of creating as many differentiations as possible between the various categories of workers, between youth and adults, fathers of families and single men, specialists and plain workers, so much so that, for example, in a single category of workers, wages differ sometimes from 10 to 30 marks...It is astonishing the number of women who go to work today in the plants. This shows that unemployment has completely disappeared, so that today it's the employers who line up at the registry bureaux to find workers. This fact explains many things.. My sister works in a shop which makes gas masks. It often happens that she brings more work home, so that she and my mother then work until midnight. Wages are very slight for this work, but by working 16 hours one can always get several score marks per week...

I would rather work for a small boss. You find more "liberty" there, the boss is more obliging because he is afraid you might go into a plant (it is forbidden for a small boss to hire a worker working in a plant or factory, but the big plants always get permission to hire workers employed by small bosses)...Besides, supervision is not so strict in the small shop.

STRICT WATCH KEPT OVER WORKERS' ACTIVITIES

In the plants there are now special bulletin boards where is registered the least infraction committed against "the Community of the People". If you don't attend a meeting of the "Labor Front" or if you leave before adjournment, or if you do not buy each week your pile of so-called "educational" papers such as "People Without Space", "Strength Through Joy", etc.etc., they make a note on your card. Most workers ignored or still ignore this minute control. But they speak of it more and more and it has not been slow to have a noticeable effect: one buys everything, one shows more enthusiasm and one is more cautious. Lately it has often happened that functionaries of the "Labor Front" in the plant demand a written declaration in cases where you don't want to subscribe to a paper or contribute to a collection for the "Colonial League", for example. But, at bottom, these measures only further exasperate the workers and swell their suppressed anger...Then there is the "Blockwart" (confidence man of the fascist party in charge of supervising the tenants

of a house) who busies himself in your private life, and the "Vertrauensman" (confidence man of the fascist party in the plant) who occupies himself with the rest. One is quite careful...

One is sometimes astonished to notice how adapted or rather used one becomes to this life. Monday, for example, there was a meeting of the anti-aircraft defense organization (You have to belong in order not to have to join other organizations). At the meeting one shouts two, three, ten times "Heil", and one is a 100% National Socialist; one even takes seriously the discussions, for example, on the way in which gas masks should be distributed. Besides, since 1936 the cellars of almost all houses were transformed into dug-outs furnished with all necessities: beds, dynamos, radio, phonograph, playthings for the children, dishes, sand, water, etc...During the month of September, stocks of preserves have been stored there...

In August and September I had to go to work in the fortifications. Here for the first time there was a rather serious revolt. We had to work double for a passing wage. Hundreds and hundreds of thousands of workers from all provinces sweated there 9 to 12 hours a day. Discussions on war which everybody believes inevitable, never ceased, in spite of the strain of the work. Old veterans told stories of the "last time", and the morale fell from day to day. To imagine these men going to war tomorrow is almost impossible. Those who dared make the least reference to the necessity of war would incur the anger of their fellow-workers.

PETTY BOURGEOISIE STILL BACKBONE OF REGIME

All kinds of rumors prevailed. It was also characteristic that the workers often got after the salaried people (who were there in considerable numbers) and held them responsible for everything. Perhaps this shows in general that these people were and are still today much more attached to the National Socialist regime than are the workers...

At the end of September, young workers from 17 to 20 got military uniforms and had to go through military exercises in the morning. The rest of us could leave. For this reason, rage swept over the youth whose term was the same, but who find themselves still there and who will remain probably until Christmas. On our return there was already a kind of general mobilization. 40 to 60 percent of the workers of one plant had already received the call. War clouds hovered over everybody and it's quite different from the delirious masses of 1914 about whom our fathers told us. It is an indescribable fever, and there are not a few, especially women, who openly accuse Hitler and his clique of wanting war. In the saloons everywhere discussions go on. I have not met a person who exalted war...

Czechoslovakia- "Sudeten brothers?" One can easily see that this is only a pretext. To rouse people to white heat, the Nazis have brought to each city bands of "Sudetens" in tatters who had to be lodged and entertained. On the eve of the Munich pact we heard on the radio the speeches of Goebbels and Hitler in the Sportspalast in Berlin. Well, never was the abyss so great between the delirious in attendance and the anguished masses listening to this high talk...And still one can understand all this. In the plants, with few exceptions, about 80 to 90 percent of the workers are not fascists, that is, they are not on the

other hand conscious anti-fascists ready for even the least important action, but just the same...

The little shop keeper and the artisan are crushed by taxes and very often do not find enough merchandise for their stores or raw materials necessary for filling orders, because the aim of the four year plan is distribution of raw materials to big industry first. You ask yourself then how it happens that Hitler gets 95% at elections, that the whole system is still so stable. Because it must certainly be said that the apparatus of the National Socialist state still seems unshakeable... The persecutions against the Jews are more unpopular than you believe. There is much more sympathy - at least among the workers - for the struggle against the churches than against the Jews.

Taxes on wages (which at first were generally acceptable, especially in the metal industry) have become greater and greater. There are already a dozen different obligatory and "voluntary" taxes. What exasperates the workers more than the money itself (which must be paid from wages every week) is the hypocrisy as to its "voluntary" character. On the other hand, however, there are some remarkable improvements compared to pre-Hitler times. All holidays are paid; every worker receives extra pay for Christmas; every worker gets one to two weeks vacation with pay; heads of families receive 10 marks extra for each child. All this never existed before. And if you add the fact that everybody can work, sometimes all members of a single family, - and this appears to be absolutely steady, since rush orders have attained a dizzy rhythm - one can understand perhaps the indifference of the masses. It is understood, and you know very well, that this is due more or less to rearmament, but so it goes; there is only the fact of having work, more or less well paid, which mainly matters.

Will this last? For the moment it rather seems so. Numbers of former comrades busy themselves much more in private life than in politics today; they buy plots of ground and give themselves over entirely to raising potatoes; the others go dancing three, five times a week, and still others find other amusements. You feel so isolated and powerless that you determine to save yourself no matter how...

KARL

September 15, 1938.

NAZIS MERGE EVEN CLOSER WITH FINANCE CAPITAL

A decree has just been issued requiring all heads of commercial, industrial and trade organizations to be approved by the party. Says the National Socialist Korrespondenz (Nov. 20): "Politics and business are now less separable than ever."

At the recent Nazi espionage trial in New York City one of the witnesses testified that the German government financed espionage in the United States with money taken from the German Winter Relief Fund, one of the many "voluntary" contributions pressed out of the German people.

LET'S HEAR THE AFRICANS' SIDE OF THE CASE

Belgium's Minister of Colonies, in reply to Germany's demands for colonies in Africa, states: "No, we did not steal the Belgian Congo and nobody will steal it from us."

BOSSSES & LABOR SKATES GIRD AUTO FOR WAR

MILITANT LEFT WING CAN PREVENT REPETITION OF FRENCH DEFEAT

DETROIT, December 25.- "God forbid, if war should come, we can transform our production into the production of munitions almost immediately." These were prophetic words that President Keller of the Chrysler Corporation uttered on December 5th in speaking of the new Dodge Truck plant in Van Dyke, Michigan, just outside of Detroit. Prophetic indeed! This one simple sentence reveals the intentions of the capitalist government to militarize the auto industry and the auto workers for the coming war.

In the last strike wave in France, the French auto workers plied hammers and wrenches against the rifle butts of the Mobile Guards when the latter invaded the Renault auto factory. The workers smashed thousands of dollars worth of valuable machinery in defiance of capitalist made laws. They barricaded themselves in and in many cases came out only of their own free will. An important section of the basic proletariat, the French auto workers reacted and reacted militantly against the attempt to increase their work week and the production of war materials generally.

The auto workers of this country haven't reached the political stage of their French brothers. Yet in the great strikes of 1937 in which they were the spearhead of the C.I.O. organizational drive, they showed a militancy and aggressiveness which placed them along with the steel workers and coal miners in the forefront of the American working class. Only the John Lewises and their Stalinist agents together with the "liberal" governors, Murphy and LaFollette, could prevent the auto workers from pitching Knudsen and Chrysler--and Ford, too--into the waters of the Great Lakes.

The New Deal administration and the General Staff of the War Department have probably mulled over these known facts in drawing up their war plans. Just to mention tanks, trucks, airplanes shows the importance of the auto workers to the military. A militant and aggressive stand by the auto workers would wreck the juggernaut war machine the New Deal militarists are constructing.

THE ROLE OF THE CLASS COLLABORATORS

Not a trick must be missed, not a nut untightened to establish industrial harmony between the auto workers and the great corporations if the war plans are to succeed and the American imperialists are to win the coming war. Of course, the auto workers can always be drafted, mobilized as they were in France. But such an abrupt step is dangerous. First the auto workers must be prepared, their resistance softened. How do the capitalists go about this? Like always: they call in their labor lieutenants, the class collaborators, to do this spade work for them - preparing the auto workers for execution.

For example, Homer Martin, President of the United Automobile Workers. Now, Mr. Martin was the principal speaker at the Keep out of War Con-

ference in Washington D.C. last summer. A brilliant orator, trained in the minister's rostrum, this labor faker spoke glowing words "against" imperialist war. His Lovestonite and Socialist hangers-on perked up with pride and lauded this "great voice of the auto workers in opposition to war". But that was last summer. Homer Martin has since got down to his realistic day-to-day task of stifling the militancy of the auto workers. REVOLT has exposed the strike-breaking methods of Martin. Now Martin is taking one step further, one that fits in efficiently with the war plans of the New Deal administration. He wants to do away with strikes in auto altogether. Like all minister-fakers, he respectfully takes steps to further the war plans of United States Imperialism.

The December 10th issue of the United Automobile Worker published the strongest letter Martin has ever sent to the membership on the question of "unauthorized" strikes. It amounts to this: no strike can take place in the auto union without Martin's consent. But since he is against strikes altogether--except when rank and file pressure forces him to authorize them--this letter constitutes a go-ahead signal to the capitalists, a sure-fire "guarantee" against strikes interfering with the production of war materials. In order to put over this program, Martin maliciously slanders chief stewards and militant union men seeking to settle grievances by the strike method when all others fail. Martin declares that unauthorized strikes are the "work of either misled or deliberately vicious and irresponsible individuals or groups". Harsh words for chief stewards who are usually elected to their important posts because of leadership, ability, and militancy.

Martin outdoes the reactionary American Federation of Labor bureaucrats in disciplining workers responsible for "unauthorized" strikes. Seldom, if ever, has the A.F. of L. thrown a worker out of the union for calling or participating in "unauthorized" strikes. Martin, however, practically labels such workers as "scabs" and has them thrown out of their job and ultimately out of the union. Workers in the Detroit Plymouth plant have felt the hardship of two-weeks-to-six-months lay-off for participating in "unauthorized" strikes. Many other cases are pending. The most recent and glaring case happened several weeks ago when a chief steward at the Dodge Main plant here was fired for "fomenting a wildcat strike". The corporation read Martin's letter better than some union members.

MARTIN AIDS SPEED-UP PLANS OF IMPERIALISTS

Martin doesn't miss a point. He assists the capitalists in maintaining speed-up, so important for future war preparations. About a month ago the workers in the Pontiac Fisher Body plant took a strong strike vote. The main issue was that several hundred men were still on piece work. The company, fearing slow-down strikes, opposed putting these men on straight wages. From both the corporation's and the workers' point of view, the issue was the speed-up. Martin sided with the corporation. Using good hard-earned money which union men had poured into the UAW treasury, he flew by plane to Pontiac and persuaded the men to go back to work. Evidently it will take more than a strike vote to pierce the hard crust of class collaboration. As an interesting side-light in this strike, Governor Murphy who has become a martyr to thousands of deceived workers in Michigan because of his recent defeat by the Republican, Frank Fitzgerald, took the occasion to commend Martin on bringing the Fisher

Body strike to a speedy termination. In advocating that "when grievances occur and disputes develop, work should continue without interruption while negotiations are under way," Frank Murphy repeated an old capitalist policy, and one certainly opportune for the war preparations.

In the light of the war plans, the closed shop agreements which the U.A.W. has signed in the aircraft industry is of extreme importance. Last week local 501 of the Bell Aircraft Corporation in Buffalo signed a closed shop agreement with the company, covering about 1200 employees. This followed the closed shop agreement with the Brewster Aircraft in Long Island, N.Y., with the same number of workers involved. Now on the face of things these contracts appear to be victories for the automobile workers union. But are they? Considering the problem in its broadest social implications, there are pitfalls. Under the correct leadership, such closed shop contracts would be used to struggle against the war plans of the capitalist class. But in the hands of class collaborators comprising the U.A.W. leadership, these closed shops become means for controlling the men on the job, for cutting off any strike action which would interfere with the war plans. And under the darkening skies of war, Henry Ford might well permit Martin to "organize" the huge River Rouge plant on the basis of such a policy.

GRIEVANCES OF WORKERS NUMEROUS

By his bureaucratic action against so-called "unauthorized" strikes, Martin is merely covering up a bad situation. When chief stewards are calling strikes all over the industry, the grievances must be plenty. And they are. Because of lack of space we can only give a few of the most important ones.

In many plants piece work is still carried on. This means speed-up and causes much trouble-shooting. The strike vote noted above at the Pontiac Fisher Body plant is an example. Pay increases for the lower bracket workers is another pressing demand put forward by auto workers. Pay differentials, different wage scales as between corporation plants in different towns, is another point the union men are agitating against. Seniority violations by the corporation or refusal to broaden seniority provisions is another real grievance. Several weeks ago the Highland Park Chrysler plant struck because of the refusal of the Dodge Truck (Chrysler) officials to transfer the seniority of certain men to the new plant along with certain departments moved from Highland Park. This condition can be overcome only by the establishment of a systematized seniority system over areas where corporations, like Chrysler, have more than one plant.

The 32 hour week, an issue which arose several months ago, is again coming to the fore. Production is rising at this time, but many thousands of union men have not yet been called back to work. If they are not called back soon, they will lose their seniority altogether. For this reason the union men are clamoring all over the country for the 32 hour week to take up the slack in employment. At the Flint Chevrolet plant recently the threat of direct action by the union won the 32 hour week. The union men declared to the company that if the shorter week were not granted at once, the unemployed union members would form a picket line around the plant, and the workers would refuse to pass through it. This would mean strike, so the company gave in. Finally, the permit system is

bringing a lot of furor in the locals. By this system new workers are given a working permit by the union, but not until after six successive months of work can he join the union as a regular member. Many workers who joined the union last year without having worked six months are now declared to be out of the union, and the union refuses to take up their grievances. This has aroused resentment not only from the "permit" men, but also from good union members who correctly hate to work beside non-union men in the plant.

You may ask, what connection does the above have with the broad proposition of the coming war? The auto worker, like all workers, is a practical person. He thinks in terms of his every-day needs. If a situation arises which interferes with his needs, he will take the speediest measures to overcome it. The union has a contract with the company against "unauthorized" strikes? Yes, but the company refuses to negotiate on this or that grievance, and only the strike will bring us our gain. The auto workers take this attitude on the questions before them today. Will they solve them against the dictates of their union leadership, or will they keep quiet? That will have much to do with determining the struggle against government contracts. A contract between the company and the government outlawing strikes on government work? Yes, but we have this and that grievance, and a strike alone can settle it. Martin knows the above. He knows well that a wave of strikes would have broken out long ago, if he hadn't put over his strike-breaking activities. But he isn't alone in establishing "harmony" in the auto industry for the benefit of the imperialist war plans. While Martin and the Stalinists fight for control of the union, and the Lovestonites still support Martin all down the line, in the key question: serving the war plans of the American capitalists - all compete for the honor of carrying the torch for the imperialists among the auto workers.

Division in the struggle for union control and personal ends, but unity in serving the capitalist class.

These organizers of working class defeats, the Stalinists following the strike-breaking successes of their political brothers in the last French general strike, are preparing to give the auto workers here the same bitter medicine of betrayal. Up to a short time ago the Stalinists fought Martin tooth and nail, denouncing him for the latest General Motors agreement, and even carrying on sit-downs in opposition to his administration. This was part of their struggle for power in the U.A.W. Now, obedient to the dictates of the Stalinist line the American workers and the U.S. government up for a war on the side of the Soviet Union against the Fascist countries--when the struggle against Fascism can only be successfully carried on by the struggle against capitalism at home--their members on the International Executive Board and on leading posts in the union are dropping their opposition to Martin and have found agreement in suppressing the militancy of the workers. The Stalinists have become far more reactionary than any of the other labor bureaucrats, and are doing more than any one section to bureaucratize the U.A.W.

THE STALINIST LINE TODAY

"We cannot strike for higher pay; we must consider the contracts with the corporations". They are for sanctity of contracts, even though the corporations violate them every day. "We want no unauthorized strikes," they say. They are for depriving the workers of their main weapon, the

strike. "We want no sit-downs", they say. They oppose the weapon which won so many victories for the auto workers in the great organizational drive of 1937. And they even come out for the "permit" system. Of course there are a few militant members of the party who cannot stomach the whole thing; they are permitted to break party discipline and oppose their comrades on these matters in the same meeting. Later they too will be brought into line, on the argument that, eliminating the auto workers as a militant, aggressive section of the working class, they can help "defend the Soviet Union", and make possible an alliance with the United States.

The Lovestonites are another miserable example of an opportunist grouping attempting a Dr. Jeckell and Mr. Hyde role in the labor movement. On the rostrum and in their solemnified plenums and conventions, speeches are made against the imperialist war, against the Stalinist patriots. Yet in life they servilely support Homer Martin whose role in aiding the war plans of the imperialists we have outlined. Here is proof: when two of their ranking members, Eva Stone and Francis Henson, were expelled from top posts in the union, like suckers they cling to Homer Martin, reiterating their faith in him, declaring those expelled to be victims of an anti-Martin purge, etc. These people, wherever given the opportunity to lead the workers, will ape the Stalinists in organizing defeat.

The capitalist class is moving fast in this country, eager to put through their war plans. In part, they will take the form of mobilization of industry, and the restriction, if not, illegalization, of the right to strike. The class collaborationists, the Stalinists, Lovestonites, Trotskyists, and Socialists are aiding to prepare the way. The auto workers must learn from the recent defeat of the French general strike.

They must decisively resist any attempt by the capitalist class to restrict their rights as union members to strike and take whatever job action is necessary. The struggles over the 32 hour week, pay differentials, seniority violations, wage increases today, are the important tests for the future. Any decrease in the auto worker's militancy on these issues will be reflected in their struggle against the coming war.

WORKERS MUST TAKE THE OFFENSIVE

Indeed, now that the production season is fully under way, the auto workers must immediately launch an offensive for the complete organization of the industry, for the organization of Ford's, for the 30 hour week without any reduction in pay, for increases in pay to meet the rising cost of living, for the annual wage. The auto workers will not be in a position to enforce these demands again for a long time. But the class collaborationist labor leaders, the Stalinists, Lovestonites and the others, do not, and CAN NOT, precisely because they are agents of the capitalist class, carry on such a struggle.

This struggle, which directly affects the war plans of the American imperialists, can only be conducted by a left wing leadership fight on a policy of class struggle. This leadership must be built immediately before it is too late.

The recent French defeat hangs like a pall over the working class world. It can be removed by victories. The auto workers of the United States will help clear the way.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES:

That in capitalist society the lot of the working class is exploitation, economic and political oppression, poverty, and the horror of ever-recurring imperialist war;

That for the working class there is no escape from this fate except through the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system which, with its destructive wars, chronic crises and permanent paralysis of immense productive forces cannot play a socially useful role;

That the capitalist state is an instrument in the hands of the capitalists for the subjugation of the workers; an instrument of the dictatorship of the exploiters over the exploited, either masked as a "democratic" government, or openly revealing its true role as a fascist or military government;

That the interests of the workers can never be reconciled with the interests of their oppressors and exploiters; and that, consequently, between these two classes a class struggle must go on until the working class overthrow the capitalist class;

That the emancipation of the working class can be attained only by the working class itself.

RECOGNIZING THESE THINGS TO BE TRUE, THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE IS DEDICATED TO THE FOLLOWING AIMS:

The relentless waging of the class struggle to develop it into the proletarian revolution;

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the instrument for the construction of communism, a classless society based on collective work and ownership of the means of production;

The establishment of the council (Soviet) form of government;

The building of a revolutionary party as the leader of the working class in the daily class struggle and in the proletarian revolution. Since the emancipation of the working class is the task of the workers of all countries, the League strives to build a world party, uniting the revolutionists of all countries in the Communist Fourth International;

When the workers are called upon to go to war in defense of imperialist interests, the League will strive to persuade the workers to turn their arms against the imperialists of "their" country, to turn the imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow capitalism.

WORKERS WHO ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH THESE AIMS AND ARE WILLING TO WORK FOR THEM, SHOULD JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE, U.S. (REVOLT).

New York
28 E.14 St.

Detroit
Box 141, Alfred Sta.

Chicago
1806 North Ave.

WHAT THE WORLD WAR COST
(According to War Department compilations)

<u>Powers</u>	<u>Killed</u>	<u>Wounded</u>	<u>Missing</u>	<u>Total</u>
Russia.....	1,700,000	4,950,000	2,500,000	9,150,000
France.....	1,357,800	4,266,000	537,000	6,160,800
British Empire.	908,371	2,090,212	191,652	3,190,235
Italy.....	650,000	947,000	600,000	2,197,000
United States..	126,000	234,300	4,500	350,300
Japan.....	300	907	3	1,210
Roumania.....	335,706	120,000	80,000	535,706
Belgium.....	13,716	44,686	34,659	93,061
Other Allies...	60,222	177,899	183,276	413,397
Germany.....	1,773,700	4,216,058	1,152,800	7,142,588
Austro-Hungary.	1,200,000	3,620,000	2,200,000	7,020,000
Turkey.....	325,000	400,000	250,000	975,000
Bulgaria.....	87,500	152,390	27,029	266,919
TOTAL All Powers	8,538,315	21,219,452	7,750,919	37,494,186

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Testifying before the Anti-Trust investigation Willard Thorp, statistician for Dun and Bradstreet gave the following interesting figures:

<u>INDUSTRY</u>	<u>No. of Co.'s</u>	<u>Pct. of Control</u>	<u>Year</u>
Automobile	3	86	1937
Can	3	90	Not given
Cigarets	3	80	34
Copper	4	78	35
Corn binders	4	100	36
Corn planters	6	91	36
Plate glass	2	95	35
Steel	3	60	35
Lead	4	60	35

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E. STRATEGY OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. "To admit the idea of voluntary submission of the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of a peaceful reformist passage to Socialism, is not only to give proof of an extreme petty bourgeois stupidity, but is a direct deception of the workers, a cover for capitalist wage-slavery, a concealment of the truth.... Only violent defeat of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the annihilation of the entire bourgeois governmental apparatus, parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal - even the individual exile or internment of the most stubborn and dangerous exploiters, the establishment of a strict control over them for the repression of their inevitable attempts at resistance and restoration of capitalist slavery - only such measures will be able to guarantee the complete submission of the whole class of exploiters." - Theses of the Second Congress of the Comintern, 1920. The first task of the proletarian dictatorship, therefore, is to defeat the exploiters completely, to crush their resistance, to render impossible any attempts on their part to reimpose the yoke of capitalism. The second task is to inspire, enlighten, organize, instruct, and discipline the entire mass of workers and those exploited by capital, to wrench this enormous majority of the population in all the capitalist countries out of their state of dependence on the bourgeoisie, to instil confidence in them through practical experience, in the leading role of the proletariat, and its revolutionary advance guard. The third is to neutralize or render harmless the inevitable fluctuations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between bourgeois democracy and the workers' power, on the part of the small owners and proprietors in agriculture, industry, commerce and the layers of intellectuals, employees, etc. The fourth task is to extend the revolution to other countries, as summarized in the theses of the Second Congress of the Comintern, "Proletarian internationalism...demands (1) the subordination of the interests of that struggle on an international scale. (2) the capability and readiness on the part of any one nation which has gained a victory over the bourgeoisie of making the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capitalism." These tasks make possible the great historic objective of the complete reorganization of economy, the transformation of industry and agriculture into a production plant based on social need and the scrapping of the entire profit system, the creation of a new social discipline and a free union of free workers.

F. THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST PARTY. A party cannot be satisfied with the best of programs. A Marxist program is indispensable but is in itself not sufficient. The party must know how to apply this program to the conditions within the country, within sections of the country, within given struggles, and within different stages of the class struggle. By correct application of the program the party is enabled to reach the masses. Theory and action are coordinated in one application. THE PARTY AND THE CLASS. In capitalist society there are only two decisive class forces: the bourgeoisie and proletariat. The historic mission of one is to maintain the capitalist system, that of the other to overthrow it. Under capitalism, the highest political expression of the bourgeoisie is the state; the highest expression of the proletariat is its class party, which has the goal of establishing the proletarian state on the ruins of the bourgeois state. The petty bourgeoisie is unable to create its own party. All parties created by it are bourgeois parties. Where several bourgeois parties exist they serve the special interests of sections of the bourgeoisie. By claiming to represent the interests of the oppressed classes against the bourgeoisie, they really aim to tie them to the bourgeoisie. Anti-trust Parties, Farmer Parties, Farmer-Labor Parties, Progressive Parties, reformist workers parties (Labor or Social-Democratic) - all parties except the class party of the proletariat are therefore bourgeois parties whose special purposes are subordinated

o the common aim of their class, that of defending the rule of the bourgeoisie and its state. The fact that certain parties appeal to and recruit their members from the working class does not make them parties of the proletariat. There is and there can be but one such party, that which aims at the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. TWO CLASS PARTIES. The interests of two classes cannot be represented by one party, without subordinating one class to the other, small proprietors to the big capitalists or proletarians to small owners (and through them to the big capitalists). Under no circumstances may the non-possessors organize together with possessors, "even though they be small ones, even tho they "labor", as Lenin said in 1906. The idea of a Farmer-Labor Party is "deadly hostile not only to the hegemony of the proletariat and the revolution, but to the most elementary independence of the proletarian vanguard. The Workers' and Peasants' Party can only be a basis, a cover, a springboard for the bourgeoisie." (Trotsky in 1927) A Labor Party is a reformist bourgeois party. It cannot be an instrument of the proletariat. It is an instrument of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, and secondly an instrument of the petty bourgeoisie, utilizing the workers for their purpose against the big bourgeoisie. The aim of a Labor Party can only be the reform (i.e. support) of capitalism. Affiliation to a Labor Party means subjectively to most workers in the U.S. a step forward to independent political action. But to the class interests of these workers it would be a step backward. By building up a philosophy of gradualism, legality, parliamentarism, the Labor Party prevents them from taking a real step towards independent political action. Objectively, therefore, the creation of a Labor Party would not be a preparation for the formation of a revolutionary class party, but the most effective way of blocking it. It would be a trap to hold back the workers from the road to revolution. It would not be, as some advocates of the LP argue, a school for the creation of a class party. The role of the British Labor Party as a brake on the development of the English proletariat should be sufficient warning against building this formidable obstacle to the road to power. To build a Labor Party is not to "help a baby walk today in order that it may run tomorrow". The party is to the class an instrument of state power. There is only ONE road to power, and only ONE kind of party that can lead to this goal: the revolutionary Marxist party. It is beyond the power of the class and the party to use the Stalinist and Socialist parties as instruments of revolution, or to reform these parties, and it is equally as futile to endeavor to transform the Labor Party into such an instrument. There can be no such thing as a REVOLUTIONARY Labor Party. All such parties are reformist. The concept of a revolutionary Labor Party denies the role of the Marxian Party. It is a substitute that cannot fulfill the role assigned to it. Only a revolutionary class party can lead the struggle against WAR AND FASCISM. A Labor Party, since it is reformist, can only pave the way to war and fascism, just as the reformist Social-Democracy did in 1914, in 1922 in Italy and in 1933 in Germany. SYNDICALISM. In contrast to Marxism, syndicalism (economism) is the point of view that political consciousness, active leadership, and a mass movement must develop spontaneously from the economic struggle. It glorifies the backwardness of the working class and shirks the issues of a political movement and the necessity of a revolutionary party. "The basic error is the idea that political consciousness can be developed in the workers from within out of, say, the economic struggle; that is, proceeding entirely, or mainly, from this struggle... Political class consciousness can only be impressed on the workers from the outside; that is, outside the economic struggle, outside the sphere of the relations between workers and employers." -Lenin, What Is To Be Done. Without an independent political party, the working class is like a body without a head.

COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY. "Men must be trained who will devote to the revolution not only their free evenings, but their whole lives; an organization must be developed of such dimensions that within it there can be carried out a precise division of labor for the various kinds of work that we want of them." - What Is To Be Done. The Party must be formed of the best, most intelligent, self-sacrificing and far-seeing workers. Advanced workers reach class consciousness in different ways, at different times. The working class as a whole does not participate in the creation and development of the party, but only the advanced workers, the vanguard. The dilution of the party by the inclusion of sections of the masses who are still permeated with bourgeois ideology renders the party unfit for its historical task and its day to day activity in the class struggle. CHARACTER OF THE PARTY. (1) To be Marxist the party must be international in character. Capitalism is world wide. But even under capitalism all countries are interdependent. There is no place on earth that has not come under the rule of capital, and no country that can remain unaffected by economic conditions in other countries. This means that the workers revolution is international in scope. The revolutionary party must therefore be a world party with sections in every country. The strategy and tactics that this world party adopts must be based on the needs of the world proletariat. National parties must make sacrifices for the advancement of the revolution in other countries. (2) "At all times and under all conditions the party must maintain its organizational and political independence. In its relations with other political organizations, in united front actions or other forms of labor cooperation the party, while obligating itself to discipline in common action, reserves its right of criticism and rejects, in principle, all pacts of non-aggression." (3) The party must be Marxist in character, grounded on the bedrock of Marxian theory and practice, and oppose firmly any centrist tendency which tries to divert Marxian principles. (4) Marxist theory becomes a power when it penetrates the masses. It is the duty of the party to penetrate the trade unions, cooperatives and other working class organizations, to imbue them with a common class purpose and to guide them on the revolutionary road by means of its party fractions. Only by being in the forefront of the workers struggles and giving them effective leadership and guidance does the party win the confidence of the class. (5) Democratic centralism is the scientific organizational structure and procedure of the Marxist party designed to secure the party's unity in action through centralized authority and to preserve the power of the membership to shape policies and select leadership.

THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION. The party is not only necessary to the working class in the struggle for power. It is also essential after power is obtained, and during the transition to the classless society. Without the party the working class cannot seize power and hold it, no matter how favorable the objective factors may be. Lacking an experienced and organized party the workers will meet defeat, no matter how heroic and self-sacrificing their struggle may be. THE PARTY AND THE WORKERS COUNCIL. The working class cannot take power through the existing governmental apparatus. It can do so only by smashing the state machinery of the capitalist class and establishing in its place its own state power. This power is the workers councils, a dictatorship by the working class against any and all who would destroy this rule. By gaining wide influence and the majority within the councils, the revolutionary Marxist party enables them to carry out their historic function as instruments of the revolution. The Party directs the work of the councils as well as of the revolutionized industrial unions. The assertions made by "Left" communists that the party must "adapt" itself to the ideas prevailing in the council is a hazy expression of the idea that the party should dissolve itself into the councils, that the councils should

replace the party. This is a reactionary idea. To perform its historic function, a party of staunch communists is necessary who do not merely adapt themselves to the councils, but see to it that the councils do not adapt themselves to the bourgeoisie and to their opportunist agents. Conversely, no concession can be made to those who advocate the "democratic" coexistence under the dictatorship of parties who oppose a complete proletarian revolution along side of the revolutionary Marxist party.

THE PARTY AND THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP. The role of the party after the acquisition of power by the working class becomes more important than before. By having within its ranks the best part of the working class, it is possible for the party to overcome all the difficulties that arise in the dictatorship after the victory of the proletariat. The problem of organizing the Red Army, the practical abolition of the bourgeois governing machine, the construction in its place of a new proletarian state apparatus, the struggle against local and provincial "patriotism", clearing the way for the creation of a new cooperative labor discipline - in all these undertakings decisive leadership is given by the party, whose members by their own example animate, guide the majority of the workers.

THE WITHERING AWAY OF THE PARTY. The necessity for a political party of the proletariat can cease only with the complete abolition of classes. The party will be absorbed into the working class when Communism ceases to be the object of struggle, and the whole working class shall have become communist. "Communists...openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forceable overthrow of all existing conditions." - Communist Manifesto.

Required reading

Communist Manifesto - pp.30-1 (International edition)
 Theses on Role of the Party - II Congress of the CI
 Infantile Sickness of Leftism - Lenin
 Civil War in France - Marx
 What Is To Be Done - Lenin
 Socialism and War - Lenin

Suggested reading

War and the Second International - Lenin
 Militarism and Anti-militarism - Karl Liebknecht
 Road to Power - Karl Kautsky
 Permanent Revolution - Leon Trotsky
 History of Russian Revolution - Trotsky: Vol. III, "Art
 of Insurrection"
 Lenin on Organization -