

# REVOLT

Vol. I, No. 6

Published by the Central Committee of the Revolutionary  
Workers League, U. S. 28 E. 14th St. N.Y.C.

June 4, 1938

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Trotskyites For Sale - Cheap  
Thieves Fall Out In Pennsylvania Primary  
"Anti-War" Congress - A Delegate's Report  
Tool and Die Makers Sold Out  
Pontiac Sit-down - An Inside Story  
WPA Racket Run By Martin & Co.

ABC of Marxism Study Course

Lesson Six: The Decline Of Capitalism



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# TWO BATTLES: AKRON = DETROIT

## UNION DEFENSE CORPS THE NEED OF THE HOUR

As we go to press, news arrived of the wanton attack by the Akron police on the Goodyear Rubber strikers. At 11 PM Thursday, May 26, two hours after the United Rubber Workers Union announced the strike, a mass of cops converged on the 3000 union men and sympathizers gathered in solidarity with the 10 pickets legally allowed at the main gate of Goodyear plant #1.

Hundreds of unemployed rubber workers and former Goodyear men now on W.P.A. left their jobs in support of the strikers. Nine projects were forced to close down.

"Clean them out", shouted Police Captain Williams. The police charged firing gas shells and swinging right and left with their sticks. Two persons were shot and 55 required hospital treatment for head and body injuries and gas burns. The men were determined and gave ground slowly. But they had no organized defense against the training and weapons of the cops and the company guards.

Thomas B. Burns, vice-president of the U.R.W.A. informed the Chief of Police he was forced to call off the pickets into a meeting at union headquarters. The police then fired a barrage of tear grenades into the union hall shattering the windows and breaking up the meeting.

"Responsible leaders", complained Burns, "will find it futile to argue against the sit-down strike when the irresponsible companies and public officials deliberately order police to club and shoot working people peacefully picketing."

Mr Burns apparently considers himself one of these "responsible leaders" who deems it necessary to prevent sit-down strikes.

The issues of this strike are surprisingly similar to those of the American Brass (see page three) which occurred almost at the same time: a dogged determination by the workers to resist wage-cuts. These two battles reveal crystal clear the necessity for more organized forms of resistance against company and police attacks.

Organized workers throughout the country have founded defense or flying squads as permanent adjuncts of the union and unemployed organizations to defend themselves against company thugs and police brutality. The experience of other unions has been that these defense units greatly facilitate successful strike action and help establish respect for the union picket line. When controlled by the rank and file of the union and responsible to it, they are also useful in heading off thuggery and violence on the part of union bureaucrats interested in victimizing militant rank and file members of the union.

In the coming wage-slashing onslaught by the corporations every local union in the country should take measures to protect itself with organized defense squads.

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We publish below a partial list of victims of police violence in both battles - Akron and Detroit. Let their example serve to steel our determination to organize a powerful resistance to capitalist attack.

## HONOR ROLL

### AKRON

Donald Dixon  
 Mrs. Edith O'Hara  
 Travis McWhorter  
 L.L. Beers  
 Thomas Durank  
 John Molkin  
 William Paul  
 R.G. Peters  
 J.R. McCorry  
 H.H. Rymer  
 -- Thomas  
 George Grimes  
 Paul Everhart  
 J.R. Carter  
 Edward Long  
 Claude Wilhite  
 George Swartz  
 Claude Sumstine  
 Joe Kusy  
 Charles E. Sullivan  
 Joe Hartman  
 U.S. Schmutz  
 Miss Lavada Wilson  
 Jesse Foster  
 D.E. Farrand

### DETROIT

Murteza Husein  
 John Broberg  
 Felix Stankevitz  
 Walter Dally  
 Harry Simpson  
 Matuszas Gritenos  
 Philip Hanson  
 Roy Curtis  
 Henry C. Johnson  
 John Nowak  
 Renaldo Chebas  
 Edward Stang  
 Carl Kolberg  
 Harvey Fleishman  
 Forest Rule  
 Wilbert Daniels  
 Walter Scherer  
 Rupert R. Henley  
 John A. Krull  
 Frank Peroud  
 Havagim Oskianian  
 John Hrycko  
 Sam Olshansky  
 Tipton Milburn  
 Charles Kovacs  
 Harry Harwins

Terry Leedon  
 R.S. Taylor  
 Joseph Skrentner  
 Otto Ottilla  
 Vernon Hodge  
 Daly Frank  
 Al Marsh  
 Bill Birchfield  
 M. Sliomo  
 A.S. Deptula  
 Walter Diomka  
 Gilbert Neal  
 Joseph Pongoris  
 William Dalunt  
 Joseph W. Bonno  
 Robert H. Gear  
 Norman Otis  
 George J. Saul  
 Lawrence Griewik  
 Wilkes Refoe  
 Charles Bethel  
 Albert D. Jackson  
 Fred H. Belmore  
 John Sasiela  
 Stanley Sokol



# BRASS WORKERS SLUG IT OUT WITH COPS

## MILITANTS SERIOUSLY INJURED

DETROIT, May 26, 1938.- All the bitterness and fury caused by months of unemployment, by starvation relief, lay-offs, and the campaign of the capitalists here to cut wages all down the line, rampant among the auto and brass workers, broke out today in full force, when approximately 1500 pickets gave battle to some 1000 police and detectives in a battle at American Brass in which 100 workers were injured, and many cops sent to the hospital, one on the verge of death. The auto workers displayed their customary militancy in turning out to assist the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO) against the attempt of American Brass to lower wages a flat ten percent. In waging this fight against wage-cuts, the workers here are combating one of the most vicious anti-union companies in the history of the labor movement, Anaconda Copper, of which American Brass is a subsidiary. While its earnings increased 100% in 1937 over 1936 - (\$31,387,861 over \$15,881,829) and there is on hand enough surplus and undivided profits to pay 8% dividends on the capital stock for the next eight years (figures taken from strike issue of Brass Workers News of May), Anaconda has been subjecting the workers to lay-offs, low wages, and now a 10% wage-cut in Kenosha, Waterbury and American Brass, where the 10% cut falls on the 65¢ an hour minimum (altho few workers get above this) gained in a contract with the union last year. During the last five or six months, the workers have been averaging 20 hours of work a week. Up to the strike only 540 out of 1300 normally employed were working. One skilled worker had earned \$191.50 during the first 15 weeks of 1938.

The Anaconda company refused to even negotiate with local 385, the American Brass unit, and a sit-down took place April 19. The workers succeeded in holding the plant until May 9, at which time they were evicted. There had been few pickets mostly from local 385, but yesterday a picket call was sent out by the city-wide strike committee.

## EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT

Two o'clock this afternoon the workers began to line up in threes at the union headquarters near the plant with their placards, ready to march on the police cordon. The line began to march at 3:30 P.M. The police had been given orders to seize the union sound trucks. The pickets, however, piled up all over the trucks and formed a solid phalanx from the sidewalk clear across the street in front of and immediately behind the trucks. On entering the forbidden territory, bystanders and residents from the right side of the street cheered the pickets, and this raised their spirits tremendously. Cops were in solid formation at the sixteen gates of the plant. The plant itself covering four blocks requires a vast number to picket it effectively. The pickets formed into lines concentrating on the strategic points. In each case the police concentrated opposite.

At first there were minor skirmishes on the West Jefferson side when police took thirty or forty scabs through the picket line. One anxious cop brought the anger of the pickets down on him when he drew his gun at some little provocation. The struggle began in earnest when scabs attempted to leave the plant in cars. Bricks were hurled through the windows of the scabs' cars, and one car almost overturned. This precipitated the fight on West Jefferson. Pickets began using their two by twos on cops heads, and the cops retaliated with night sticks and tear gas. Bricks, cobblestones, and sticks flew through the air; blood flowed in the streets. Above the battle, the singing of "Solidarity Forever" could be heard. Workers rushed into nearby saloons and barber shops. One worker was caught in a barber shop and beaten mercilessly by the police.

At the McKinstry Street entrance, just around the corner from the West Jefferson side, the pickets held back a couple of hundred mounted and foot policemen for several minutes, but due to their lack of training and their anxiety to get into the Jefferson Street battle, they depleted their ranks. The cops attacked the remaining pickets at the McKinstry Street entrance who were outnumbered 10 to 1. As a result they were beaten without mercy; cops pounced upon individuals who fell, kicked them, beat them on the body and head, poured tear gas on them. One of the pickets who had been brutally beaten, finally got to his feet and reported he saw pickets stretched out on the pavement and sidewalk with blood streaming from their heads. A similar battle took place on South Clark. At West Jefferson and Summit, a group of pickets barricaded the street with panels, and the scab cars were forced to stop. The scabs were pulled out of the car and given a sound beating.

#### COPS ATTACK UNION HALL

These skirmishes lasted for twenty minutes, mounted cops chasing pickets and bystanders. The cops were turned back at the stairs of the Union headquarters, although one picket was beaten up on the stairs. The police, in a spirit of revenge, ploughed into pickets waiting for street cars, pursuing them individually over vacant lots and railroad tracks, and even beating them up on West Fort Street, quite a distance from the plant. During all this, the spirit of the pickets remained undaunted. Two workers riding to the hospital in the street car with blood all over their faces broke out into "Solidarity Forever". Two cops riding next to them remarked "How are you going to beat a spirit like that?"

The union clinic was jammed full of injured workers, nearly all had to be given stitches in the head. Several injured were treated by private doctors in the neighborhood. Others, picked up by police ambulances, were taken to numerous hospitals. Through this experience, the workers are beginning to have doubts about the police being such "good fellows", and are learning to realize their true role as defenders of private property.

#### MILITANTS SERIOUSLY INJURED

Among those seriously injured with head and arm injuries are Rupert Henley, Havigan Oskiman, John Boberg, Carl Kolberg, Henry Johnson, Philip Hanson, John Sasiala, George Saul, Defoe Wilkes, Harry Simpson, and several women pickets, Helen Terwilliger and Margaret Rules were

treated at Grace Hospital for minor injuries.

The sentiment after the battle among the majority of the workers was for closing down all the plants and calling a general strike to throw a 5,000-10,000 picket line around the plant. This is only the expression of the rank and file, however. If the bureaucrats allow it, it will only be because of the pressure of the rank and file which they must heed in order to keep face among the workers. At the meeting of the city-wide strike committee at 8 PM tonight, plans were made for a greater mobilization for tomorrow. This committee is much closer to the rank and file than the International officials and is determined to put teeth into the resistance of the workers against wage-cuts.

### BRASS VITAL TO WAR PREPARATIONS

The present struggle at American Brass is tied up part and parcel with the war plans of the American capitalists. This wage-cutting campaign is carried out for the purpose of weakening the resistance of the workers to the next world war, and of making them pay for it. Furthermore in the case of American Brass, there are government contracts for copper plating for warships and submarines to be met. The capitalists of Anaconda won the contract by bidding low. It therefore has to keep up its profits by cutting wages. Furthermore, the contract has to be met by a certain date, or else the government withdraws it. For this reason, Anaconda will go to any lengths to keep the plants running.

The government is aware of this. Roosevelt knows this well. Our war-monger President recently asked 25 million dollars for warships, not waiting for the financing of the more than 1 billion dollar appropriation. This very moment the Navy Department seeks legislation from Congress to prohibit strikes in plants making war materials for the government. The government is just the agency of the capitalist class.

But the C.I.O. leadership is working with the government of the capitalists to put its program across. When you come down to it they are on the side of Anaconda Copper and American Brass because they are on the side of the New Deal. That's why the top leadership is against strike action and does everything it can to hold the workers down. If they make speeches against the corporations and the cops it is only because they know the workers are dead set against them and they have to go along - in words - or be exposed. But every chance they get they outlaw, break, or prevent strikes.

We can expect the leadership to talk big against the company now. And especially against Mayor Reading and Commissioner Pickert. But they will find a thousand reasons for opposing wide scale action in support of the American Brass workers. The men who sold out the Tool and Die-makers and who made a deal with General Motors to fire the leaders of the Pontiac Fisher Body sit-down strike of last November aren't going to organize a fight against Anaconda Copper and the New Deal naval expansion program, no matter what they say. They're going to fight the workers who try to act on the words of these fakers and make a real fight against the capitalists.

The fight against American Brass and General Motors and Ford is also a fight against the present leadership for a new, fighting leadership.

# COMPANY AND U.A.W. LEADERS PUNISH MILITANTS

## WHAT HAPPENED TO THE PONTIAC SIT-DOWNERS

PONTIAC, MICHIGAN, May 24:- The demotions of Frankenstein and Houser can be easily accepted by us members. Even more acceptable to us would be the demotion, and even elimination, of the entire wrecking crew at the top of the UAW. When international officers collaborate with the General Motors Corporation to fire militant unionists and otherwise penalize them with loss of pay, we ask ourselves: in whose interests do our officials function?

The press announced May 15th that in Pontiac, George Method, strike leader, and Charles Souter, Pat Brooks, and Alton Lemon, all shop stewards at the Fisher Body plant, had been fired, and that Matt McAuley, Les Sizmas, and Rod McLean, committeemen, Bill Jacquin, chief steward, and Tommie Welch, Otto Rawlins, and Merrill Parent, shop stewards, had been reinstated without pay and prevented from holding any office in the union for one year; and that in Bay City, Reuben Peters, president of the local had been fired, and fifteen other workers penalized.

All this had been done with the consent and authority of the International Board. The reactions of the employers and their agents, and of the workers in the union, were immediate. The capitalists lauded Martin to the skies in the press and over the radio for bringing the union into line with the employers. The workers clamored for strike action. The International refused. Realizing that they might be handled like the Pontiac and Bay City strikers the men began easing down the trouble shooting in the plants. In the Michigan Steel Casting strike, instead of thousands turning out for picket duty, the number dwindled down to practically nothing. The strike was lost, with a 10% wage-cut accepted.

To add infamy to injury, Martin labled George Method and other militant sit-downers as "company stool-pigeons", "screw-balls" and the like. His stooges, especially in Pontiac local #159, repeat these slanders. He attempts to justify his slander against these workers by declaring that the strike action was not authorized by the International. In the interests of the men, the Fisher Body strike should have been authorized before it took place. The International should have assisted. The workers in the plant had just grievances which they presented to the International Executive Board and the President. Nothing was done by the International. Over a month before before the sit-down took place, grievances from the Fisher Body, including the famous "cough-barrel" case were presented to the International at the time of the General Motors conference by a committee from the plant. Martin told the committee to go back to Pontiac and "take a damn good strike vote".

### NOW IT CAN BE TOLD

Last November 14th, on a Sunday, a committee from the plant consisting of George Method, Matt McAuley, Macpherson, Bob McLean, Del Boti, Zulke, and Ditmeyer went to Martin's hotel in Detroit with 500 grievances against the Fisher Body. Martin gave the committee an evasive answer



about writing up the grievances. He ignored the real grievances, which were, to have E.R. Leader, plant manager, fired for having stated at the time that "this was open season on shop stewards and committeemen", to reduce the speed, to re-employ 1000 workers, to re-instate eight men who were fired in the dough-barrel case, and abandon decentralization of the plant to New Jersey, not to mention other grievances such as union discrimination. On Monday afternoon the same committee met again with Martin.

While they were sitting with him in Detroit, the first sit-down began at the supper hour of the night shift, 8:25 P.M. On the following day, at a mass meeting of 2000 in Pontiac, Martin admitted that the bargaining committee had met with him on Monday. At the same time he accused the members of this committee of instigating an unauthorized strike. But a strike vote had been carried 12-1 by the Fisher unit. This was attested by the fact that the stoppage in this first sit-down was complete, involving the entire 3000 men in the plant, with the exception of 300 girls in the sewing room. When the workers marched through the plant, everybody ceased work. The usual strike committee and captains, guard, etc., were set up. The workers had taken the "damned good strike vote" seriously. They were of the opinion that this advice and the vote itself authorized the strike.

#### MADDEN STEPS IN

Charles Madden, UAW regional director for Saginaw-Flint-Pontiac, rushed down to Pontiac Tuesday morning and succeeded in getting the workers to evacuate the plant at 1 P.M. by pointing out to them that all the constitutional provisions for an authorized strike had not been taken, and assuring them that the International was behind them in their demands. Madden and Martin were really interested in impressing these workers with the authority of the International and the "sanctity of contracts".

Tuesday nobody worked. In the evening Martin addressed 2000 people at a mass meeting, in which he promised that "no men will be fired for their strike action". It was at this meeting that Charles Souther challenged Martin for trying to get an evacuation vote from a meeting composed of workers from Pontiac and other plants. He demanded that the ones directly involved in the strike should have the decisive vote. This defiance swung the sentiment of those present still further against Martin. Nevertheless, the Fisher men took Martin's word that no one would be fired, that their grievances would be taken care of, and returned to work.

The next day just as the night shift was going on, it was learned throughout the plant that George Method, Matt McAuley, and Les Sizmes, all committeemen with seniority, had been fired, and that on the day Martin had spoken at the mass meeting (Tuesday) E.C. Leader, Fisher plant manager, had given him a list of workers to be fired, 14 to be laid-off, and 60 to be investigated. Martin had picked up the list and walked out, without saying one word. Double-crossed by Martin, the workers determined to hold the plant at any cost and did hold it for 6 days and 6 nights. Pickets, publicity, trade union, and finance committees were set up, which shows that this sit-down as well as the first was well organized. The Switchmen's Union refused to move anything out of the plant, on request of the Fisher workers.

On the following Sunday, Nov. 21, after the workers had held the plant for almost five days, the International Board met and refused to authorize the strike on the grounds that the Fisher unit had not gone through the proper grievance procedure. On the same day, the International

refused to meet a committee from the shop. Meanwhile, Fred Peiper, member of the Board, was sent to get the workers out of the plant. Nobody paid him any attention. Martin was advised by his close colleagues to abandon the idea of pleading with the sit-downers, as "the feeling against him was a little touchy". The sit-downers threatened to take him prisoner and to turn the high pressure hose on him. In spite of this, he entered the plant with his secretary. Martin's stakes in the game of worker-capitalist collaboration must be pretty high for him to have taken that risk. At 11:30 AM on Monday, Nov. 22, the workers evacuated the plant.

Martin was able to swing George Method, the strike leader, on the grounds that you can't fight General Motors and the International at the same time; and that Gov. Murphy would send out the National Guard to put down the strike.

The Fisher Body and Yellow Cab plants were about 98% union, all departments represented with stewards, committees functioning effectively, and the union a living, throbbing institution. As soon as Madden was made "a one man board in full charge of the local" by the Intl. Board, the union went backwards. He nullified the gains made in the Yellow Cab unit by its efficient plant committee. He fired the union lawyer in the Fisher body unit. He suppressed the local 159 paper. He ignored any decision passed in the local not in accord with the International. Membership in the local fell off from 23,000 to 1960 in good standing. Over 300 of those now in good standing have out-of-work slips. Today there are only 152 members in the Fisher body unit, about the same in the Pontiac plant. The vast majority of the remainder are members of the Yellow Cab unit. Only Homer Martin and his stooges can call militants who organize strikes as efficiently as the Fisher Body strike "company stool-pigeons".

The Trotskyite workers during the sit-down strike in November denounced the breaking of this strike by the International. Today these workers evade the question with the remark, "who wants unauthorized strikes anyhow?" They do not seem to realize that Martin is against any kind of job or strike action.

#### FAKE INVESTIGATION

The strike investigation committee established by the International recommended that all the strikers be reinstated with the exception of G. Method, Charles Souter and Alton Lemon, who were to be given 90 days suspension with no pay, for not advising the sit-downers to return to work. The investigation cost the International \$1000. The workers were called in one at a time behind closed doors, and no one was allowed to see the full evidence presented against him. The negotiating committee (Elmer Dowell, Larry Davidow, Loren MacPherson, Del Coti, Nertzog and Paul Willie) refused them their rights. The International Board made this anti-working class procedure into a law of the International. It is a constant threat over workers whose grievances the International refuses to recognize.

But the workers' reaction is healthy. Last Wednesday the Fisher Body unit unanimously protested the decision of the International against the Pontiac sit-downers. Similar resolutions will be brought before other locals and bodies of the UAW in the near future.

Pontiac workers are convinced that union officials collaborate with the corporations in the firing of militant unionists, they ought to be ousted from office. Leaders who do not pursue a class struggle policy inevitably become labor lieutenants of capitalism. When this lesson is thoroughly understood by the membership, the union will be prepared to choose leaders responsible only to the workers' interests.

# TOOL AND DIEMAKERS SOLD OUT

## STALINISTS GIVE MANUFACTURERS GUARANTEES AGAINST STRIKES

DETROIT, May 26.- A little over a month ago Homer Martin, President of the International Union, U.A.W., negotiated an agreement with General Motors in which the time allowed at company expense to settle grievances was cut from four to two hours; the size of grievance committees was reduced; the powers of the stewards was practically eliminated. Most important of all it shifts the expiration date from December, the height of the production season, to April, which is toward the end of the season. This agreement was a sell-out.

The Stalinists who dominated the Unity Caucus at that time attacked the agreement and, also, the fact that it had not been submitted to the membership for a vote. They posed as militant fighters in the workers interests and defenders of democracy in the union.

The agreement which the Stalinists just negotiated with the Tool and Die Manufacturers Association of Detroit and the way in which they put it across shows that their policy is the same as the Martin-Lovestone policy insofar as the interests of the workers are concerned. Both factions are on the side of the employers against the workers.

The old agreement between the Tool and Die Manufacturers Association and Locals 155 and 157 terminated the first of May. The new agreement terminates January 1st. May 1st is in the heart of the season. Tools and dies must be ready for production which begins in October so the new models come off the assembly lines in time for the auto shows the first part of November. By January 1st tools and dies have been completed at least a month. Work on new tools and dies are not scheduled to begin until three or four months later.

The January first expiration date gives the employers a powerful weapon against the union and the workers. It enables them to practically dictate their own terms on hours and wages. The employers regarded this point as so decisive they did not raise the question of hours and wages at this time in order to give the Stalinists an argument to put over the sell-out. But next January they will be in a strong position to smash existing standards.

The publication of the agreement in the plants shows that the union has agreed not to strike. This information was not given at the membership meeting on May 15th. Nor was it in the Auto Worker. The bureaucrats had to conceal it until the agreement was ratified.

### STALINIST SELL-OUT

This agreement was negotiated by John Anderson, President of Local 155. He is the leading Stalinist in the auto industry. Anderson was ably assisted by Larry Davidow, member of the Social Democratic Federation, chief attorney for the Executive Board.

Although Anderson is not a member of the International Executive Board and has not been assigned by it to handle tool and die problems; and is a Stalinist bitterly opposing Martin in the faction fight for offices and control, the Martin-Lovestone faction has supported Anderson in

putting over his sell-out of the tool and diemakers. On May 14th the Auto Worker, edited by Munger, a Lovestoneite, showed that the editor was familiar with the terms of the agreement which was to be acted on by the membership one day later. It did not say a word, however, about the expiration date. At the membership meeting on May 15th a sharp fight was made against the agreement from the floor by left wing workers. The sell-out was exposed. But the Stalinists were strong enough to put it over. The May 21st issue of the Auto Worker did not contain a single word about the agreement or the May 15th meeting.

#### MUST BUILD STRONG UNION

There are 20,000 workers in about 175 shops in the tool and die division of the industry in Detroit. These shops produce approximately 75% of the tools and dies that go into the manufacturing of the new models. Without a strong union in this division of the industry the union will be weaker in the entire industry. The blow struck at the tool and diemakers by this agreement is a blow at the entire union. It extends the policy of setting expiration dates when the employers are in a stronger position and the workers are in a weaker one.

As long as this policy is continued the tool and die workers will be unable to overcome the present division in their ranks. It will be impossible to unify the workers in the U.A.W. locals, the Mechanics Educational Society of America, the Tool and Die Craftsmen and the International Association of Machinists. For the leaderships of these organizations point to the policy of the U.A.W. as a justification for the existence of separate organizations.

The Stalinists use this state of affairs to justify their policies. Anderson argued for the acceptance of his sell-out agreement on the ground that to reject would mean a general strike and that this is impossible by which he meant that the other unions would try to break the strike.

If the treacherous policy of the Stalinists and Martin is not defeated it will result in the annihilation of the entire U.A.W. and of the other unions among the tool and diemakers.

There is a way to build a powerful union of tool and diemakers - by a policy of struggle against the employers, turn the present retreat into an offensive against them. The auto workers have shown in the Pontiac Fisher Body sit-down last November, in the Federal Screw, Bohn Aluminum, Bay City Chevrolet and Michigan Steel Casting strikes in March, April and May, that they want to fight against the attacks of the employers. What they need is a leadership to organize the struggle. The present leadership stands for retreat and sell-outs. It must be supplanted by a new one which enjoys the confidence of the rank and file.

How is this leadership to be created? By the election to leading offices of workers who fight for a policy of struggle against the employers, and who prove it in action.

# W.P.A. WORKERS MILKED BY U.A.W. OFFICIALS

## EXPOSURE OF MARTIN-LOVESTONEITE DUES COLLECTING RACKET

DETROIT, May 22.- The closing down of the auto factories here on a large scale has resulted in a serious unemployment situation. A few figures will show this clearly. Assigned to the W.P.A. at the present time are 92,000 workers. The Welfare rolls show 34,333 families on relief. This means that approximately five out of thirteen people, or almost 40% of the entire population of 1,500,000 in Detroit are dependent on W.P.A. jobs and relief. This appalling total is lower than the average for the country. John D. Biggers, director of the Federal unemployment census, which has not been made public, in a report this week to Congress calculates the jobless at One-sixteenth of the entire population of the U.S., or 8%, which would make the number of persons depending on W.P.A. or relief nationally about one out of four, or 25%. However, the report of Biggers is incomplete, and therefore, as might be expected, prejudiced in favor of the capitalist system. If we take as a more accurate figure 15,000,000, this makes the national, jobless figure one out of eight people, and those depending on W.P.A. and relief for their existence about 50% of the entire population of the U.S.

But the figures for Detroit are due to go beyond the national average in the next few months, in spite of the assertion of the state W.P.A. administrator that a decrease in W.P.A. or relief in Michigan will begin after June 1st. Lay-offs on Friday, May 20 in three Chrysler plants left 1240 out of 14,000 workers normally employed in the plants (Plymouth edition of United Automobile Worker, May 21), and 10,000 were laid off this week at the Ford River Rouge plant. Hopkins estimates a rise in W.P.A. rolls in Detroit and other industrial cities of 200,000 in the next few months, and that by next winter the national total will be 3,000,000.

### LOW LIVING STANDARDS

Another factor adding to the misery of the unemployed in Detroit is the sharp lowering of the standard of living of those families depending on W.P.A. and relief. Auto workers, proclaimed by American capitalists as receiving, as a group, among the highest wages in the world are suddenly forced to get along on an average of \$22. a month relief per family or \$60. per month on W.P.A. (60 cents an hour for 100 hours). Although there are skilled workers on W.P.A. who get over \$60. a month they are a small minority. The cost of living, however, has not fallen; and some necessities like eggs and beef have increased, respectively, from 19 cents a dozen to 25; and from 20 cents a pound to 25.

The results among the workers have been starvation, rent evictions and the loss of automobiles to the finance companies controlled by the auto manufacturers. By paying rent the Welfare helps the banks which control the real estate. The Mayor, for example, is a big real estate operator. So the policy has been: pay the rents but cut food allowance. Petty thievery is widespread. Unemployment compensation does not go into effect in Michigan until July 1st. But this is a drop in the bucket.



We have good reason to expect serious struggles, mass demonstrations on the part of the unemployed and W.P.A. workers. Strangely enough, this has not been the case. Why? Because the leadership of the unions here and of the unemployed organizations supports the New Deal administration in Washington and the Murphy machine in Michigan. They fight like hell against any attempt to develop a struggle against the capitalist state. They are its watch dogs in our ranks.

The Workers Alliance, small in numbers and totally inactive, controlled as it is by Stalinists, who support the Roosevelt and Murphy starvation and war program, cannot organize a struggle against it.

The W.P.A. auxiliary unions of the U.A.W.A. which were created by Martin against the opposition of John L. Lewis, about ten weeks ago, represent an interesting and dangerous development. As their name states they are auxiliary to the auto union. They are supposed to embrace all workers on the W.P.A. projects - within the framework of the U.A.W.A. and the C.I.O. Nothing could be more calculated to divide the workers than this mechanical scheme to unite them. What Martin is saying is that all workers must belong to the auto union and the C.I.O. or nothing can be done for them. Well, a worker who is a member of a laundry union and is out of a job shouldn't be required to join the auto union because he wants to fight for relief. He has to be persuaded that he can get more by collaborating with the auto workers and the auto union, and with all unions. But the chances are ten to one that he will resent being told by a set of officials in whose election he had no voice or vote that he has to join their union.

It is even worse where the worker is a member of an A.F. of L. union. He is a member of it because he feels loyal to it. Or because he can't get a job in his line of work unless he is a member of it. He isn't going to change his loyalty and conviction just because Homer Martin tells him to. The thing is unreasonable and bureaucratic on the face of it.

#### WHY MARTIN FLOUTS LEWIS

Now Martin is aware of these things. It shows that his interests are opposed to the interests of the broad mass of the workers. But he must have compelling motives for this scheme of his, compelling enough to make him oppose his chief, John L. Lewis and insist on his carrying it through. What are those reasons?

We have to remember that Martin is engaged in a desperate struggle in the U.A.W.A. for control of it against forces that are pressing him hard. He has to prove to his real bosses, the capitalists, that he can do their work better than his factional opponents who must try to prove exactly the same thing. Martin thought, no doubt, that by "organizing" the W.P.A. workers into the U.A.W.A. on his program of supporting the New Deal he would have a big advantage over his Stalinist opponents. A leaflet issued by Martin and his Lovestoneite assistants called on the W.P.A. workers to collaborate with the W.P.A. administration in establishing harmony. To bolster up this scheme the Workers Age, organ of the Lovestoneites, came out for support of the "spending features" of Roosevelt's program.

Martin has another reason for his scheme. Because of the crisis in industry the U.A.W.A. has suffered a tremendous loss in membership and in the collection of dues. In some locals dues payments have decreased

almost to zero. Some way had to be found to pay for the expensive offices in the Hoffman and Griswold Buildings; and for the salaries of the bureaucrats and their expense accounts. Martin is allowed an unlimited amount for expenses. Thus far this year Martin's expenses has exceeded \$15,000 in addition to his salary which is \$4,000.

The dues in the W.P.A. auxiliary union is fifty cents a month. Of this  $12\frac{1}{2}\%$  is supposed to go to the local if the worker is a member of the W.A.W.A., and  $37\frac{1}{2}\%$  to the International. If the worker is not a member of the U.A.W.A. the International gets all of the dues. In these cases the International gets more per capita than it does from workers in auto plants whose per capita is  $37\frac{1}{2}\%$  out of a monthly due of \$1.

What is the W.P.A. worker supposed to get in return for this due? The Martin crowd have stated that the W.P.A. auxiliary unions will fight for 75¢ an hour and 120 hours a month. Wide spread sentiment has been expressed for these demands. But Martin doesn't intend to organize a struggle for them. He issues leaflets for harmony with the W.P.A. administration. He takes the lead in settling with employers of auto plants for forty cents an hour. He and the rest of the Executive Board refuse to authorize strikes against wage cuts. He outlaws strikes against wage cuts. He expels workers from the U.A.W.A. without a hearing and gets them fired from their jobs because they led a strike of Pontiac workers against 500 grievances in the Fisher Body plant last November after Martin had approved of the strike. The plain truth is that Homer Martin and his Lovestoneite assistants are double-dealing hypocrites, just like the Stalinists.

All they are interested in is collecting dues. Their unemployed scheme is a dues collecting racket. That's why they haven't issued any membership cards; haven't organized locals on the projects; and haven't established machinery for handling grievances. But they have appointed job stewards whose sole function is to collect dues. And when any move is made to organize the W.P.A. workers to fight for their interests Martin's thugs are sent around to put an end to it.

#### WHAT THE W.P.A. WORKER SHOULD DO

What we need is an organization in which every worker on W.P.A. shall be eligible for membership regardless of what union he belongs to. It must not be a condition for membership that a man shall either give up his affiliation to his union or join another union outside of the W.P.A. union. But this W.P.A. union should work with all existing unions, A.F. of L. and C.I.O., for a united struggle against the employers and their government to make them stand the costs of relief.

Seventy five cents an hour and 120 hours a month is a just demand. So is the demand for procedure to handle grievances. And other such demands. But these are not enough. In the present circumstances the workers, employed and unemployed have to raise the demand for the six-hour day, and the five-day-week with increased pay to meet the rising cost of living. And they should demand that the employers should pay the full costs of an unemployment insurance and relief program adequate to allow workers to live like human beings, the distribution of this insurance and this relief to be in the hands of the workers organizations.

# TROTSKYIST SERVICES FOR SALE = CHEAP

## BID FOR POSTS IN AUTO UNION APPARATUS

The Trotskyists are in the market. Not to buy. But to sell. They are offering their services to Homer Martin in his fight against the Stalinists for control of the union. The Lovestoneites did it. And they got a number of lucrative posts. As everyone knows, Lovestone has no monopoly on double dealing at the expense of principle and the working class. What the Lovestoneites can do the Trotskyists profess they can do better. Or, so they think.

At any rate the Stalinist-Frankenstein combination in the auto union must have given Cannon, lily white leader of the Trotskyists, ideas. He gets them occasionally. And they are uniformly bad for the working class. Some time ago Cannon got the idea that the Stalinists were going to take over the Socialist Party. He jumped the gun, by liquidating his organization into the Socialist Party. As a result, Cannon claims he stopped the Stalinists, got richer in members and influence. It cost him a few principles he never really believed in. So it was a profitable deal. Now he's ready for another deal. He's going to save the auto union from the Stalinists. A regular St. George is James P. Cannon. Let's look close because the hand of the old faker is quicker than the eye.

### CANNON VIEWS THE FIELD.

In an article in his paper, the Socialist Appeal of May 14th, Cannon looks around the country and sees that the crisis is deepening. The employers are preparing a campaign of "organized and determined assaults... to batter down wages and destroy the unions...". At this time says Cannon the unions should be united against the employers. But the unions are sick; they are wracked by internal dissension.

All this is correct. But here is the pay off. Cannon says the cause is the bid for power of the union wrecking Stalinists. This gives a false picture of the situation in the unions.

The cause of the nation wide struggle in the unions is, at bottom, a struggle over program and for leadership to meet the present situation. On the part of the workers it is a struggle to work out a program to beat back the attacks of the employers in the deepening crisis, to find the means to win a larger piece of bread; and to find leaders who can show them how to do it. On the part of the top leadership - A.F. of L. and C.I.O. alike - it is a struggle to hold the workers back from a struggle in their own interests, to tie them tight to the program of the capitalists for transferring the burdens of the crisis to the shoulders of the workers; and for fighting in the coming war.

That is the line of division in the present struggle - in the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unions alike. The workers are not organized for a struggle against their misleaders. The misleaders, on the other hand, are

well aware of what they are about. They are conscious lackeys of the employers doing their rotten work in the workers ranks.

The Stalinists are only one division in the ranks of the misleaders. And not the most important, yet. In time if we do not succeed in creating a new leadership they may become the decisive misleaders as they have in other countries. But today they are, taken nationally, an opposition section of the labor lieutenants of capitalism. We have nothing to gain by their victory over other sections of these misleaders. Nor by their defeat at the hands of their opponents among the labor fakers. Ours is a fight against all of these enemies of the workers, to formulate labor's program and to create a new leadership.

The struggle among the misleaders in the auto union, as in other unions, is an unprincipled struggle for posts. In this kind of struggle Cannon is right at home. There is not a vestige of principle in it. To suit his purpose Cannon has to do some fancy work with his pen. The auto union, under the Martin administration, remains, Cannon says, "the most progressive of the C.I.O. unions and by far the most democratic". The man who wrote those words is a conscious liar. Cannon is well aware of the facts which prove the Martin-Lovestone administration corrupt and gangster-ridden. Cannon knows about the dues-collecting racket which Martin works on the W.P.A. workers. He knows about the outlawing of strikes; the deals with General Motors and Chrysler; the deals with Murphy; the use of strong arm squads against the rank and file and the Stalinists; the red baiting in the Auto Worker; the red baiting of Socialists, Stalinists and revolutionists; the collaboration with General Motors to fire militant workers from their jobs; the expulsion of these workers from the union without a hearing; innumerable other bureaucratic acts of the same kind.

#### WHITEWASHED MARTIN FACTION AS LESSER EVIL

Cannon is as well informed of these things as anyone can be. He gives it all a coat of whitewash. The Martin administration is progressive and democratic, he says - by comparison. What if others are worse? That simply shows in which direction the Martin administration is moving. Cannon is covering up Martin, just as he tried to cover up the Socialist Party as progressive and democratic when he was scheming to liquidate his organization into it. He is scratching Martin's back and for this service he hopes for payment.

Furthermore, he blows up the danger from the Stalinists beyond its true proportions. "The Stalinists are a greater danger to the trade union movement than all the bosses...", says Cannon. The danger from the Stalinists is great and real and immediate. They are a danger precisely because they are agents of the bosses. But so are Martin and the Lovestonites.

The theory that one set of labor fakers are a greater danger than the class enemy is a formula for all kinds of opportunist deals with the employers against the interests of the workers. It is Martin's formula for the struggle against the Stalinists by which he tries to justify his deals with his real bosses, the capitalists. It is the formula by which the Stalinists cover up their deals with the employers and capitalist politicians all over the world. Now it has become Cannon's formula for bidding for a deal with Martin.

Cannon figures that the rising tide of struggle of the workers against the bureaucrats in the U.A.W.A. of which the Stalinists are taking advantage to pursue their factional aims against Martin, creates a need on Martin's part to pass himself off as a more radical leader than the Stalinists. An endorsement from the Trotskyists should help, Cannon calculates. From that the thing can be developed and who knows how far it may go? If Cannon's calculations are correct, Cannon calculates, Martin may have to pay the right price. So it's Trotskyist services for sale.

Cannon knows the position he took in his article will antagonize those auto workers who have already come into conflict with the Martin machine and experienced its thuggery and treachery. On his part it must be set down as a deliberate step in a calculated plan. We think it is a good thing. It makes very clear just where the Trotskyists stand; with the agents of the capitalists in labor's ranks. It makes easier our task of organizing the workers against the auto manufacturers and their agents in the union. The Trotskyist workers in the auto union should learn a lesson from this declaration by Cannon in their party's official organ and join with those forces in the union which are fighting the Martin administration and the Stalinists in order to build a union which will fight for the workers' interests.

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## THIEVES FALL OUT IN PENNSYLVANIA PRIMARY

### INNER NEW DEAL STRUGGLE REVEALS ROTTEN CAPITALIST POLITICS

PHILADELPHIA, May 29.- For the first time since the Civil War, the Democratic Party in 1934 defeated the Republican machine in Pennsylvania. Grundy, Pew, Loucheim and others were put to rout not merely because they opposed the New Deal, but because of the crusade against their corrupt and reactionary political machine.

No sooner did the Democratic Party come into office than it became apparent even to the most naive that the Democratic Party aimed to outstrip the Republicans in building a well-oiled political machine in Pennsylvania. By means of the enormous Federal funds pouring into the state, and through manipulation of the W.P.A. and P.W.A. funds, contracts and jobs the Democratic Party has entrenched itself in the state. Considering that Pennsylvania is the leading industrial state in the union, producing nearly half of the steel in this country, with a population and wealth second only to New York, it is easy to see why this state is important to the Democratic Party nationally.

But in the recent primaries, the Democrats split into three parts, each putting forward its candidate for Governor. Jones, a comparatively unknown man in Pennsylvania politics prior to the primaries received the Democratic nomination, beating out Kennedy, Lieutenant Governor and Vice-President of the United Mine Workers of America, and Margiotti, an officeholder of years standing. This clearly proves that the new Democratic McCloskey machine headed by Governor Earle, like its Republican prede-



cessor, not only selects but also elects its candidates.

### POT CALLS KETTLE BLACK

The Kennedy-C.I.O.-Guffey faction attacked Jones as a puppet of the McCloskey machine. The McCloskey-Earle machine smeared the state with the horror of the Lewis dictatorship as opposed to the New Deal which the machine claimed to defend. Margiotti, on the other hand, attacked both these factions as unprincipled political machines. Perhaps of the three Margiotti comes nearer the truth, since Jones is obviously the puppet of the McCloskey forces and Kennedy of the Guffey machine. Margiotti's fight, however, was not based on any principle, but simply on the fact that his political ambitions were not considered by the rival machines. If Margiotti had not been double crossed by the McCloskey machine he would have forgotten all about the graft charges made by him during the primary campaign. To further his political ambitions and make himself a popular candidate, Margiotti demanded an investigation of the \$30,000 Governor Earle "borrowed" from McCloskey, who was getting the cream of the W.P.A. contracts in Pennsylvania. In order to forestall the investigation, Earle fired Margiotti in the midst of the campaign.

Campaign muckraking revealed not only McCloskey's rake-off on W.P.A. trucking but also the little deal of Mayor Wilson, Guffey candidate for Senator, with Phikco Radio Corp. which paid for a "concession" granted by the mayor at Convention Hall in Philadelphia.

In its publication Economic Security, Vol.1,#3, page 6, the Guffey machine stated that "Regardless of what happens the Democratic Party in the general election campaign will have to answer for Philadelphia's Contractor-Boss Matt McCloskey". The paper was full of similar threats and ranting. Yet, as soon as the McCloskey machine won out in the Democratic primaries the Guffytes immediately forgot the past and began negotiations with it for posts and spoils in the coming struggle against the Republican Party. McCloskey is all too willing to negotiate since the Guffey outfit with its roots in the C.I.O. and especially in the U.M.W.A machine controls enough votes to defeat Jones and elect a Republican in the general elections by running an "independent" ticket. This proves beyond question that the Guffey and McCloskey factions are birds of a feather, typical capitalist labor demagogues in whom the working class should have no truck. Margiotti is too weak to be a factor.

### REPUBLICANS OF SAME STRIPE

The Republican primary also had its "heated" and "bitterly opposed" faction fight. Pinchot forces attacked the Pew machine and its gubernatorial nominee, James. "A vote for James is a vote for the Sales Tax!" they cried. The old war-horse Pinchot, campaigned the state with this platform. As a matter of fact, Pinchot himself introduced the sales tax when he was in office. No sooner was Pinchot defeated than he sent a note of congratulations to James which proves that this was a smoke-screen to dupe the electorate. So now the Republicans have buried the hatchet proving again the sham character of these "bitter" and "principled" struggles. The stage is now set for the next sham battle, the general elections.

The purpose of these faction fights in the old line parties and between the Republicans and the New Deal is not how best to benefit the toiling masses but how best to suppress them and divide the juicy plums in doing so. The working class has nothing to gain from supporting the capitalists or their agents.

The A.F. of L. leadership got behind Earle and Jones. The C.I.O. leadership threw its support to Kennedy and Wilson. They showed that their political line is the same as the capitalists. In fact they are capitalist agents.

The workers need a political party of their own, a revolutionary party which works for the overthrow of the whole rotten capitalist political system.

- Lou Roberts

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## PACIFISTS PREPARE WORKERS FOR WAR

### WASHINGTON CONGRESS PROGRAM SUPPORTS AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The revolutionists have said for many years on the basis of the experience of the world war that pacifists, despite their good intentions and opposition to war only help the capitalists prepare for the war. By their failure to understand that the cause of war is the capitalist system itself, they are unable to advance the only solution: the proletarian revolution. What their opposition amounts to, therefore, is to obstruct the fight against the war.

The National Anti-War Congress, organized by the Keep America Out of War Committee, in Washington, May 28-30, proved to the hilt what the revolutionists have been saying. As reported in the last issue of REVOLT the Congress was a combination of bourgeois pacifists like General Smedley D. Butler; Socialists, Lovestoneites and labor fakers like Homer Martin. By their combined efforts they induced about nine hundred delegates to attend. It is impossible to give an exact figure. No credentials committee was elected and we have to use the figure given by Clarence Senior of the Socialist Party for the Presiding Committee.

The proceedings were carried on in the most bureaucratic manner. The Presiding Committee was chosen by submitting names for approval. No provision was made for nomination and discussion from the floor. The Congress was organized into ten Commissions. The Presiding Committee appointed the personnel and Chairman and Secretary of each Commission. Delegates were supposed to have access to the Commissions for the purpose of presenting material to it or resolutions. But they were not permitted to participate in the discussion of the Commission itself. When the Commission had formulated its report delegates attending the Commission meetings were to have the opportunity to discuss the report.

Following this the Commissions were to make their reports to the full Congress. To make sure that there would be no loopholes in this tight fist control the rules for the discussion by the Congress provided: "III. If there is no minority report, proposed amendments must be submitted in writing and speakers thereon are limited to 2 minutes. IV. No propositions involving matter not acted upon by a commission or by the presiding committee shall be considered".

Even with these arrangements the fuhrers of the Congress were so jittery that they went out of their way to prevent the possibility of a revolutionary point of view. When they learned through Wolfe, the Lovestoneite, that a resolution on imperialist war by Delegate Wm. Miller of Detroit (published elsewhere in this issue) the Commission met in secret. It could not be found at the place called for by the schedule of meetings nor anywhere else in or near the Congress hall. After it had adopted its position it emerged to discuss it. The resolution submitted by Miller was ruled out of order on the ground that it had not been submitted to the Commission in time. By the rules of the Congress, it could not be presented to the full Congress. The governing body of the Keep America Out of War Congress, the permanent body set up in Washington was chosen in the same way as the Presiding Committee.

Why was this Congress organized on such bureaucratic lines? The political decisions adopted makes it clear. The Congress was organized to put across the program of the ruling class of this country.

The report of the Commission on Building a War-less World, of which Lewis Corey was the guiding genius, gave the whole show away. That is why it was not read to the Congress. "It is necessary, says the report, "to implement a peaceful, constructive program of ... easing the economic crisis... capable of creating full employment of our economic resources and labor ... of moving toward continuously higher standards of living". How is this program to be achieved? "... capitalist economy.. is unable to solve its crises by the old methods and resorts increasingly to state intervention in economic activity. Reactionary intervention assumes the form of government investment in armaments.... and moves toward the catastrophe of war. Progressive intervention must assume the form of government spending in economic and social betterment ... All progressive forces ... particularly the labor movement, must demand a planned government program capable of increasing the level of economic activity and of destroying the pressure driving toward armaments, war and fascism!"

#### CONGRESS TIED UP IN CONTRADICTIONS

This program is exactly what capitalism cannot do. Crises, unemployment, starvation, armaments, war, fascism are inevitable under capitalism. That is exactly why it is necessary to overthrow the system to solve the social and economic problems of human kind. In calling on the government to plan the execution of such a program and advocating such a course for the labor movement this Congress put itself in the camp of those forces that are advocating the reform of the capitalist system to remove its effects which horrify them. Since that is impossible and the revolution is the only solution the Congress took its position on the side of capitalism against the revolution.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Congress also took its stand with American Imperialism. "American economic power is dominant in the world today. We propose the use of that power in an economic offensive against the nations dominated by the armament system of economics. On this line the report calls for the denial of "the economic resources of the United States to all countries now dominated or in process of being dominated by the armament system of economics"; and for offering these resources "to the arming powers only on condition that they shall not be used for armament purposes"; and, if the "fascist nations" "abandon armament economics and gear the production of their industries to the consumption of their people, they can secure American raw materials"; and "the United States should agree to institute a sliding scale whereby it will make supplies available to the nations needing raw materials at the same rate at which they begin to relax their restrictions upon consumption and to divert their productive resources away from armaments"; and more of the same.

This fits into the strategy of American imperialism as a finger fits into a glove. American imperialism being the strongest economic power in the world could defeat its rivals, other things being equal, by the superiority of its productive apparatus which enables it to produce more cheaply than any other country on earth. It is against this mighty threat that other countries must resort to blocs, deals, political combinations, and, eventually to war. For them armed defense is a matter of life or death. Disarmament for them means their peaceful conquest by the stronger powers. That is why Uncle Sam is the most wholehearted pacifist diplomat in the world.

But the deepening crisis in the United States is forcing it to prepare for desperate attempts to ease its situation by reaching out on the world market for world-wide domination. Like the others the American imperialists have no choice. For them, too, it is a matter of life or death. They know that this program will encounter armed resistance. That is why Uncle Sam is building the biggest war machine in the world beginning with the billion dollar naval expansion program and other measures.

#### SKILLFUL DECEPTION

The Congress proposals are suggestions to the American ruling class on the best way to cloak economic aggression with pacifist diplomacy. The whole program leads to war, as surely as night follows day. The devil of it is that they are put so skillfully to the workers who are not trained to look behind the high sounding words for their real meaning, that the workers are taught to think that those countries which are opposed to such proposals are the war mongers, the aggressors, the disturbers of the peace. They are thus prepared for the next proposition of the American imperialists; to go to war in defense of the United States against these bandits, peace destroyers, barbarians, enemies of prosperity and good government. That is the whole dastardly plot. The Congress was only one scene in the play. There will be others.

It is true that many of the participants in the Congress were unaware of the significance of what was taking place. This is true, without a doubt, of the workers from the anthracite and auto. But it is just as true that there were others who were fully conscious of what was

afoot and lent themselves to it for reasons of personal or organizational profit in one way or another. Among these must be included the Lovestoneite chiefs who dominated the trade union section and other activities of the Congress and who are prominently represented on the governing body. Wolfe, S. Zimmerman, Lovestone, Benjamin, Barney Her- man, I. Zimmerman, Eve Stone, these people know the difference between pacifism and a revolutionary position on war. They spent too many years in the Communist International defending its Marxist position against such pacifist outfits as this Congress not to know what they were doing. That they are willing to throw dust in the eyes of the working class on this life and death question means that their stake in the apparatus of the auto union and other unions where they have gone down the line with the labor fakers against the workers, makes it necessary, now, for them to take this additional step against the best interests of the working class. And it shows that they are people without principle, integrity or conscience.

Let these and all enemies of the workers show themselves in their true colors. That will make it easier to build a revolutionary movement to overthrow the capitalist system which alone can abolish war.

A DELEGATE

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The following resolutions which present a revolutionary point of view were submitted to the Congress and were widely distributed among the delegates. The fakers in control of the Congress saw to it that they were not acted on either by the commissions or the Congress as a whole. These facts speak volumes about the political character of the Congress and of the people who organized and ran it:

ONLY CIVIL WAR CAN END IMPERIALIST WAR

War is inevitable under capitalism. This is true for all capitalist countries, democratic and fascist. Disarmament is impossible under capitalism. Disarmament schemes are propaganda to conceal this fact. The pacifism of Roosevelt is a hypocritical mask for the gigantic preparations of American Imperialism for war.

The coming war will be a struggle for conquest of the earth. No big power can escape it. For each the problem is the same; to alleviate the economic crisis at the expense of the workers and its rivals. Roosevelt's war program is designed to equip the United States to extend its economic superiority into undisputed, world supremacy, primarily at the expense of British Imperialism. For the subject peoples of the earth the war will be a battle to change imperialist masters.

There is only one way to put an end to imperialist war. That is to put an end to the system which breeds it; to overthrow all existing social relations; to overthrow the capitalist class; and to supplant them with the rule of the working class which will reconstruct society on Communist--not Stalinist--lines.

There is only one way to overthrow American imperialism--by proletarian revolution. There is only one way to overthrow world capitalism--by world revolution.



In war time, proletarian revolution is civil war. The aim of the working class in an imperialist war is to transform the imperialist war into a civil war.

Military defeats facilitate the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war. To fight war is to work for the defeat of the armies of one's own country by developing the mass struggle of the oppressed against their exploiters.

The struggle against war is the struggle to overthrow American imperialism, is the struggle to build a revolutionary party to lead the workers in the achievement of this task.

The struggle against the war must begin before the war, during the preparations for the war, around the concrete issues of the class struggle. To prepare for the war the capitalists need class peace. Strikes, especially in the basic industries, obstruct their program. Today, in the United States, on the eve of the second world war, the struggle against the war is the struggle to beat back the capitalist wage cutting campaign; to turn the present defensive struggle of the workers into an offensive against the capitalists; for the six-hour day, five-day week with increased pay to meet the rising cost of living; for adequate unemployment insurance and relief at the capitalists' expense, to be administered by the workers; for an intransigent struggle against the capitalists' agents in the ranks of labor, the leaders who support the New Deal starvation and war program of American imperialism.

If the Roosevelts cannot hold the workers down, the American capitalists, like the German capitalists, will resort to fascism. The reply of the American workers must be: the proletarian revolution. That is the road to peace, bread, freedom. There is no other.

(Resolution submitted May 29, by W. Miller, Delegate from Branch 296, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Detroit.)

#### A TRADE UNION PROGRAM FOR FIGHTING WAR

WHEREAS The striking metal workers of American Brass Co. in Detroit, subsidiary of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co., are fighting a 10% wage cut, put through by the corporation in order to maintain its profit on its government contracts for copper plating for war ships and submarines in line with the government's billion dollar naval expansion program;

AND WHEREAS These workers have been mercilessly clubbed by the police;

AND WHEREAS The rubber workers of Akron have been brutally clubbed and shot by the city and plant police in their effort to close down the plant to enforce their just demands;

AND WHEREAS The auto workers and other workers in the industries of this country and, especially in the basic industries, which are in the highest sense of the word, war industries, are manifesting an intention to resist the wage cutting and union smashing campaign of the employers, whose government is organizing the biggest war machine in the history of the world;

AND WHEREAS This is the most effective method of fighting the war preparations of the capitalist class at this time as the report from Paris in the capitalist press shows, in which it says that the arbitration of the metal workers strike by the government "solved one of the government's most difficult national defense problems - strikes and strike threats in industries manufacturing armored cars, tanks, gun carriages and other war materials";

BE IT RESOLVED That the task of the American workers is to organize the widest possible struggle against the wage cutting campaign of the capitalists with the aim of turning present defensive struggle into an offensive for the six-hour day, the five-day week with increased pay to meet the rising cost of living; for adequate unemployment insurance and relief at the expense of the employers and their government, to be administered by workers;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That the organization of the unorganized workers into unions and unemployed organizations on this program is a vital part of the struggle against the war;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That the united action of the unions and the organizations of the unemployed for this program is a necessary condition for the success of the struggle against war;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That the leaders of unions and unemployed organizations shall be chosen on the basis of their support of this program which they must prove in action by organizing and leading the struggle for this program;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That the struggle to realize this program is, at the same time, a struggle against those leaders in the unions and unemployed organizations who stand in words and deeds for the interests of the employers, which they show by practicing collaboration with the employers by opposing and outlawing strikes against wage cuts, by making sell-out agreements, by suppressing the democratic rights of the rank and file who oppose their policies; and by advocating support of the capitalist political system and capitalist politicians of all shades, from outright reactionaries to the slickest fakers of the New Deal like Governor Murphy of Michigan, Mayor LaGuardia of New York and the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That, if despite the opposition to the war, the capitalists succeed in plunging this country into the war the workers will continue to oppose the war and will refuse to bear the cost of waging the war by submitting to lower wages and longer hours and speed-up, and will continue their struggle against the capitalists by the same methods which they use today;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That, should the government nationalize key industries, the workers will struggle against any attempt to suppress their unions or their rights to strike in the name of sacrifice to win the war;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That if the workers are conscripted, as is sure to be the case, they will bear no hatred for the workers wearing the uniform of the "enemy", but will attempt to fraternize with them with the aim of converting the war into a war of the workers of all countries against the capitalists of all countries.

SPREADING R=E=V=O=L=T

READ!  
SPREAD!!  
SUBSCRIBE!

Here are a few experiences selling REVOLT among the auto workers in Detroit:

"On Saturday afternoon as soon as we got the fifth issue of REVOLT, I went out and covered two union meetings. Although auto workers today are broke, I was able to sell 25 copies. One worker approached me and bluntly asked: Are you for collective security? I replied that we would not fight for any capitalist nation, democratic or fascist, but only in the ranks of the working class. He bought a copy.

At a meeting of tool and die workers last Sunday, a burly individual walked up to me. Looking down on me with a stern eye, he asked: Who puts this out, Trotsky in Mexico? After explaining that we are not Trotskyites and why, he dug up five cents for REVOLT.

On still another occasion I went to cover a U.A.W. meeting of the Hudson local. The A.F. of L. moulders happened to meet in the same hall. A moulder came up timidly and stated as if afraid someone might hear: "I believe in communism, too, where we can all work and share together." Of course, he bought a REVOLT.

Worker after worker pass me at union meetings, broke from being out of work six, seven months, and even a year. They make such remarks as: "You tell them, buddy, that's the stuff". "Unemployed starving in Chicago? I could tell them about it right here in Detroit." It is too bad we cannot give out free copies to these workers so anxiously seeking a way out of their difficulties under capitalism. I do give away one or two at every meeting to workers who have no money for it. We must expand and increase our sales, so that we can give away more free copies, spread revolt where the ground is fertile for growth."

\*\*\*\*\*

Comrade Jack Sherman of Chicago sells from 30 to 35 REVOLTS every week. And he has, according to his latest letter, been increasing his sales. How does he do it? Well, let Comrade Sherman speak for himself.

"I find REVOLT sells like hotcakes. Its message to the worker is simple and concise. It tells him what his problems are and, furthermore, what he had to do to solve them.

I have found that REVOLT sells very easily around factory gates.

With hundreds of workers being laid off, our message hits the nail on the head.

I have also sold many REVOLTS at Stalinist street-corner and indoor meetings. The attempts of the Stalinist leaders to call our magazine fascist, Trotskyist, and all sort of idiotic names has fallen flat.

Because of its simple and powerful message REVOLT will continue to grow. It is the magazine of the proletariat.

Comradely,  
Jack Sherman"

Be like Comrade Sherman. ORDER A BUNDLE TODAY. Sell REVOLT. Become an agent of REVOLT. SUBSCRIBE TO REVOLT.

# STEEL MASSACRE MEMORIAL MEETING

SOUTH CHICAGO, MAY 29.—One year ago tomorrow the owners of Republic Steel, through the Chicago city police, shot and killed ten striking workers. Today, at the scene of the massacre (114th St. and Greenbay Ave.), about 1500 workers attended a memorial meeting organized by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO.

Instead of calling for unconditional, unceasing war against the capitalist class and the system that murdered the ten workers, the speakers called for cooperation with that class and preservation of its system. Rev. Albert W. Palmer, President of the Chicago Church Federation, led off with an invocation that included a prayer for the owners of industry and for the Chicago police force! The Rev. Father John E. Nugent followed calling upon labor to dwell in harmony with capital, for workers to be "cooperative" toward the owners.

For his "splendid" message, the Father was cordially thanked by Nicholas Fontecchio, SWOC District Director, the chairman. Philip Murray, chairman of the SWOC, spoke next, passionately advocating "the perpetuity of this form of government and the preservation of our institutions" - "in this great country of ours". He spoke like a shareholder in the system, not like one who organizes its victims for struggle. A benediction on the whole mess of talks was pronounced by Rabbi Benjamin L. Keller, of the Am Echod Synagogue.

REVOLT was prominently sold throughout the crowd. From the start, however, members of the Communist Party "ordered" the distributor to stop, warning him that: "It isn't safe for you around here." Stalinists dogged his heels, telling workers not to buy REVOLT, calling it "Trotskyist" and "fascist". But despite this provocation, 20 copies were sold. The bold REVOLT cover made an impression on the entire crowd. Finally one Stalinist hatchetman grabbed the comrade from behind, three stood at his sides, and a fifth tore away the five copies held by the struggling distributor.

Thus the minister, the priest, the rabbi, the union misleader, and the Stalinist GPUman all unite against the idea and the organization of the revolutionary struggle of the workers--just as do the steelmaster and the policeman, and the government, who killed the ten strikers. But we are organizing to smash their offensive, and call on you to join the RWL and fight for the international workers revolution.

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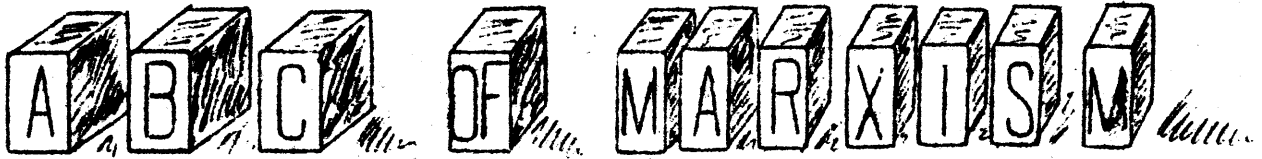
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7. Imperialism - the Final Stage of Capitalism
8. The State. Dictatorship of the Proletariat
9. The Struggle for Power. The Revolutionary Party
10. The Fourth International

APPENDIX: Guide for Organization of Study Groups

\* \* \* \* \*

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 Six

## CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS AND DECLINE

A. CAPITALISM CHARACTERIZED BY CONSTANT CHANGE. The capitalist system like every material entity undergoes constant and rapid change owing to the inherent laws of its development. In their competition for profit the capitalists are forced to seek cheaper and better ways to produce commodities for exchange on the market. The continuous transformation and revolutionizing of the methods and instruments of production makes a perpetual disturbance of social conditions, an everlasting instability affecting relations of production as between boss and worker and in society in general. "The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for the earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones." (Communist Manifesto)

B. COMPETITION THE BASIC LAW OF CAPITALISM. Capitalists compete with each other for control of the market. Similarly workers content against one another for the sale of their commodity, labor power. Engels says: "Competition is the most complete expression of this war of all against all which dominates modern bourgeois society. This war, a war of life and death, for existence, for everything, is waged not only between the various classes of society but also between the individual members of these classes. Everyone is in everyone else's way; and consequently everyone tries to thrust aside and take the place of those in his way."

C. THE FALLING RATE OF PROFIT. No business can stand still and hope to survive in modern society. To compete successfully the boss is forced to expand his scale of operations, to increase production, and to take the market away from his competitors. To do this he seeks continually to lower the price of production, the value of his commodity. For this purpose he introduces newer, more productive machinery. Such machinery is more expensive and can only bring profits thru mass production. Now the factory building and machinery are not consumed directly in production. Hence they are called fixed or constant capital. Capital used to pay wages is directly consumed in the process of production. This is called variable capital. The boss may lower the value of his commodity by (1) paying less wages; (2) working his help longer hours and/or speed-up. And as capitalism develops "labor saving" machinery the composition of capitals changes - the percentage of constant capital increases while variable decreases. This change in the composition of capital produces a fall in the rate of profit, because while profit is derived from surplus values realized by the employment of variable capital, the rate of profit is calculated on the total capital (both types) invested. Constant capital cannot create new values; it can only pass on to the commodities produced its own value as it is consumed in the production process. As the proportion of constant to variable capital increases, therefore, the rate of profit falls. This iron law of capitalist production drives the ruling class to attempt to overcome this falling rate of profit by increasing the mass of profit through the employment more productive (labor saving) machinery and large scale production.

D. ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION. Under capitalism production is not planned according to the needs of society. On the contrary each capitalist produces blindly for the world market, hoping to make a profit. He is not aware in advance how many other capitalists are producing the same commodities, nor how much each is throwing on the market. Thus, although he carefully plans production inside his factory, in society as a whole, complete anarchy reigns. When profits are high in any field capital rushes in, overproduces and brings down the profit and stifles production.

E. OVERPRODUCTION AND CRISES. Capitalism is the only system in history in which periodically - once a decade, now much oftener - a colossal volume of commodities are thrown on the market and cannot be sold. There is an overproduction for the market. The result is a capitalist crisis. Industry and commerce come to a standstill, factories close, workers are thrown out of work to starve in the midst of "too much". In other words the forces of production have broken through the capitalist property relations which fetter them. "We have seen that the ever-increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into compulsory law that forces individual industrial capitalists always to improve this machinery, always to increase its productive force. The bare possibility of extending the field of production is transformed for him into a similar compulsory law. . . . The extension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution, the collision becomes periodic as long as it does not break the capitalist mode of production into pieces. Capitalist production has begotten another 'vicious circle'." (Socialism, Utopian and Scientific - Engels) "Things cannot be otherwise in a mode of production where the worker exists to promote the expansion of existing values, as contrasted with a mode of production where wealth exists to promote the developmental needs of the worker. Just as, in the sphere of religion man is dominated by the creature of his own brain, so in the sphere of capitalist production, he is dominated by the creature of his own hand." (Capital, Vol 1, p 685) Marx shows the effects of crises on money and commodity prices: "A crisis occurs whenever the returns of those merchants who sell at long range, or whose supplies have accumulated also on the home market, become so slow and meagre that the banks press for payment, or the notes on the purchased commodities become due before they have been resold. It is then that forced sales take place, sales made in order to meet payments. And then we have the crash, which brings the deceptive prosperity to a speedy end." (Vol III, p 359) The crisis is invariably international in character: "And once the crisis has broken out say in England, it compresses the succession of these terms of payment into a very short period. It then becomes evident that all these nations have simultaneously overexported (and overproduced) and overimported (and over traded); that prices were inflated in all of them, and credit overdrawn. And the same collapse follows in all of them." (Vol III, p 578)

The crisis is a violent attempt to readjust the equilibrium of the capitalist mode of production, just as fever in case of human infection is the attempt on the part of the organism to readjust physiological equilibrium. Economic cycles and crises must be analysed in terms of the stage of development or decay of capitalism under consideration. In the present epoch of capitalist decline, contracted, spasmodic periods of revival or prosperity are invariably followed by violent periods of depression and crisis. "In crises the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation ends in a violent explosion." (S-U&S - Engels)

**F. OVERPRODUCTION AND UNDERCONSUMPTION.** Underconsumption is a natural result of exploitive society, but it is not the cause of crises. "The underconsumption of the masses is a necessary condition of all forms of society in which robbers and robbed exist, and therefore of the capitalist system. But it is the capitalist system which first brings about the economic crisis." (Anti-Duering - Engels, p 236) "It is not a fact that too many necessities of life are produced in proportion to the existing population. The reverse is true. Not enough is produced to satisfy the wants of the great mass decently and humanely. It is not a fact that too many means of production are produced to employ the able bodied portion of the population. The reverse is the case. . . On the other hand there is periodically a production of too many means of production and necessities of life to permit of their serving as means of exploitation of the laborers at a certain rate of profit. Too many commodities are produced to permit a realization of the value and surplus value contained in them under the conditions of distribution and consumption peculiar to capitalist production, that is, too many to permit continuation of the process without ever-recurring explosions." (Vol III, p 303) "Overproduction of capital is accompanied by a more or less considerable relative overpopulation." (Same)

**G. CONSTRICTING WORLD MARKETS.** To overcome the declining rate of profit, the capitalists are compelled to introduce large scale industry. The home market cannot absorb the enormous mass of commodities produced by large scale industry. In the early period of capitalist development, crises were overcome by colonial conquest; by wholesale destruction of excess commodities and capital; and by more thorough exploitation of the old markets. But in the modern world, all markets belong to one or another imperialist country. No part of the earth remains unclaimed. Capitalism can no longer expand its world markets on a world scale. On the contrary, markets are progressively restricting, strangling the economic life of society as a whole. The capitalist system, therefore, is said to have reached its stage of decline. "While the productive forces increase in a geometric, the extension of markets proceed at best in an arithmetic ratio." (I-p365)

**H. MONOPOLY CAPITALISM.** In the competitive world the capitalists find it to their advantage to combine forces to make the most profit out of a given market. Trusts and monopolies come into being, controlled and manipulated by bankers and financiers through the credit system. Far from eliminating competition, monopoly creates a deadlier competition on a higher plane: between vast international monopolies. These tremendous concentrations of capital reach out and seize hold of the backward countries and make of them colonies or semi-colonies for the purpose of exploitation. The national rivalries for control of these markets lead inevitably to war. The imperialist powers are today marching rapidly toward such a war.

**I. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE BIG AND LITTLE CAPITALISTS.** Monopoly capitalism and large scale production tends to drive the small manufacturer, farmer or banker out of business. He is powerless to compete with such overwhelming forces. Many of them exist by working for larger capitalists. They are mortgaged to the hilt and at the mercy of the banks. The falling rate of profit hits hardest the individual with small capital. Large sections of the middle class are being driven into the proletariat.

**J. THE INDUSTRIAL RESERVE ARMY.** Large scale production has another important effect - the development of a reserve army of workers who are superfluous to industry. The continual introduction of new machinery to reduce costs means unemployment for more workers. Under capitalism unemployment must always exist. A vast army of permanently unemployed now exists which the capitalists use as a club over the employed worker to extract more surplus value. The problem of the employed and unemployed is closely bound up.

K. THE SLUM (LUMPEN) PROLETARIAT. There comes into existence a completely ruined and demoralized "class" which has lost all power to resist the bourgeoisie. It is devitalized. It produces tramps, thieves, drunkards, prostitutes. This "class" has forgotten how to work. It is the slum proletariat.

L. THE ROLE OF REFORMISM IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE. Up to the beginning of the 20th century the conditions of the working class was gradually improving at the expense of the colonial peoples. Much of the labor movement of the pre-war period was permeated with the idea that by reform and the ballot-box the worker could improve his lot and bring about more and more socialism. This idea dominated the Social Democratic parties of the Second International. It has now conquered the Third. It governs much of the labor movement today. It is based on the illusion that the capitalist class controls its own destiny, that it can continue to improve social conditions. Following the world war, capitalism had entered the stage of decay. In order to keep profits up the capitalist class must force down wages. Wage-rates as a whole are falling. This leads to an intensification of the class struggle which undermines the basis for reformism in society.

M. IRRECONCILABLE NATURE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE. The capitalists exist only at the expense of the working class. The latter can gain better conditions only by irreconcilable militant struggle. The worker can gain complete freedom from exploitation only by overthrowing the capitalist class and taking over the means of production. The struggle between the worker and capitalist is incessant. On the economic plane it takes the form of strikes for wages and conditions. On the highest plane, when the worker becomes conscious of his position in society, it takes the form of building the revolutionary party aimed at the overthrow of capitalism.

N. THE CENTRAL CONTRADICTION IN CAPITALIST ECONOMY. Competition, inherent in the very nature of capitalism, tends to develop its opposite - concentration and centralization of the productive forces. Production is socialized. Yet the relations between men in the productive process remain anarchistic. Continuous warfare rages amongst the classes in society. The dialectics of capitalist development are now clear. Capitalism bears within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

#### Required reading

The Gotha Program - Marx  
The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte - Marx  
The Decline of Capitalism - E. Varga  
Capital - Marx; Vol III, Chapter on Crises

#### Suggested Reading

History of Great American Fortunes - G. Myers  
The Decline of American Capitalism - L. Corey

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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.

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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.

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