

REVOLT

Vol. I, No. 8

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

July 6, 1938

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Detroit Grocery Clerks Fight Wage Cut
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WILL BROWDER BE SHOT?

On June 30th and July 1st Earl Browder, chief Stalinist in the U. S. appeared before the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate the Administration and Enforcement of the Law of the State of New York, and gave testimony on the policies and attitude of the Communist Party.

For his cynical lying and hypocrisy Browder should be cited in the Committee's report as the compeer of any demagogue now holding office in the capitalist government.

Reams could be written about Browder's testimony. We are concerned now with what we think is the most important.

Senator MacNaboe, chief inquisitor, as ignorant and vicious a fool as can be found, asked Browder if he would fight for the United States in case of a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. A really marvelous question; one which affords a Marxist an opportunity to explain that the biggest imperialist power in the world, the United States, is by that fact the greatest enemy of the Soviet Union; and that the clear duty of a revolutionist in the United States, in the circumstances in MacNaboe's hypothesis, would be to work for the defeat of the armies and navies of American imperialism as the surest and only means of overthrowing our ruling class and establishing a workers government right here.

Browder didn't make that answer. Stalinists are not Marxists. Stalinist leaders are potential or actual counter-revolutionists. Browder replied "I refuse to admit the possibility of such a war" — a cowardly evasion!

But he was pressed for an unequivocal answer. And he finally admitted that he would "fight for the United States".

This story was run in the capitalist press. The Stalinist press suppressed this part of it.

Browder admitted that he would fight in the interests of American imperialism whose aim in such a war could be only the overthrow of the Soviet Union and the reintroduction of capitalism with a Fascist form of government. For Browder it's "my country right or wrong".

But what Browder admits is exactly what Kamenev, Zinoviev, and all the others were accused of doing; working for war in the interests of foreign imperialists. Browder's testimony reveals the chauvinist poison of the Communist Party policy and organization. It is a deadly enemy of the working class.

His testimony is, also, another link in the political exposure of the Moscow Frame-up Trials. Kamenev, Zinoviev and others were shot on charges which Browder admits. On his next trip to Moscow will Browder be shot? Will the GPU shanghai him as it did Julia Stuart Poyntz? Or will it do the job here? We can't say whether Browder will be shot by his Stalinist masters. No doubt he was told to answer as he did — which wouldn't prevent them from killing him as a scapegoat. "We shall see what we shall see."

BRITISH IMPERIALISM CRUSHES JEWS AND ARABS

UNITY OF OPPRESSED NECESSARY AGAINST COMMON FOE

The news from Palestine is full of terrible and dramatic events, as each day the toll of dead and injured mounts higher, and British imperialism mobilizes more death dealing machines and troops. What is behind it all?

Learned gentlemen write long books to explain and justify either the Jews, the Arabs or the British Mandate Government. For us the situation is epitomized by one incident out of thousands.

On June 29th, His Imperial Majesty's officers hanged a nineteen year old Jew, the first Jew to be hanged in Palestine in 22 years.

What was Solomon Ben Joseph's crime? He had fired at an Arab owned bus in April. No one had been hit, no one hurt, no damage done. But he had to hang. It is the law.

Ten months before Solomon Ben Joseph had left Poland where he had been born. In that country the Jews have been oppressed and tortured for countless years. His mother, like many other Jews, "lives with her daughter and son-in-law and their two children in a one room log cabin in a poor suburb".

So Solomon Ben Joseph must have gone to Palestine seeking a better life. What poisonous ideas must have been lodged in his head that he, the victim of oppression, and the son of poverty, should fire at Arabs who live in oppression equal to his and in worse poverty!

ARABS EXCHANGED TURKISH OPPRESSORS FOR BRITISH

Solomon Ben Joseph's shot symbolized the entire program of Zionism. Consider the situation! For centuries the Turks have suppressed the aspirations of the Arabs for freedom. During the war British imperialism won the Arabs with promises of freedom. They have exchanged their Turkish oppressors for British oppressors.

On the other hand, the Arabs are forced to witness an attempt to create in their midst a new, national state composed of Jews from many countries, under British rule.

In such circumstances, it is easy for the Arab landowners to divert the bitterness and hatred of the Arabs from its proper, class mark — British imperialism and the Arab landowning class — to the Jews. And, also, in such circumstances, it is inevitable that the attempt to construct a national Jewish state must proceed by arousing violent opposition and depending upon violence for defense against the violence which it arouses.

So the Zionist leaders on the one side and the Arab land owners on the other play Britain's game against the oppressed Jewish and Arab masses. By stimulating race hatred they obscure the class issues and the

real enemies appear as friends or neutrals.

Zionism is too weak to fight the Arabs. It must depend on the British Government. Now, Ben Joseph's shot challenged this idea. It contained the germ of the idea that Jews should meet terrorism with terrorism. The idea behind his shot is as reactionary as the whole Zionist program of which it is an extremist outgrowth. But it threatened the program of British imperialism by teaching that Jews should take the solution of the Jewish-Arab problem into their own hands. And so he had to die.

Ben Joseph's hanging precipitated a new reign of arson, bombing and shooting. Hundreds have been killed. Hundreds more apparently, will die before the Jewish masses learn that so long as they strive to create a capitalist state in Palestine there never will be peace; before the Arab masses learn that if they succeeded in exterminating every Jew in Palestine their poverty would not be less; the Arab landowners will starve them to death; their oppression would not be lighter. British planes and tanks and soldiers would still come to grind them into the desert sands.

ONE SOLUTION: UNITY AGAINST THEIR COMMON OPPRESSORS.

Blood must flow, lives must be spent before there penetrates into the consciousness of the oppressed masses of Jews and Arabs that there is only one solution: unity against their common oppressors. That is the first, most outstanding lesson of Ben Joseph's shot. It is so obvious that it requires fanatical hands and profound prejudices to hide it from the sight of millions.

That lesson will make its way. Thousands of revolutionists all over the world will help spread it. When ideas penetrate masses they become a force, said Marx. This lesson of Ben Joseph's shot will yet become a mighty force to sweep away the Zionist leaders, the Arab landowners and British imperialism.

That will be achieved, can be achieved only, under the banner of the proletarian revolution. That is the only force in the world capable of unifying the Arab peoples of the Near East and lifting them out of age old poverty, illiteracy and oppression, of guaranteeing freedom to racial and national minorities.

How far off is such a revolution? Sooner, much sooner, than many people believe. The revolution in the Near East is already afoot. It has reached its first stage: the fight for freedom against imperialist oppression, but this has been skillfully canalized, as we say, into anti-Jewish channels. This is only a temporary phenomenon.

As soon as the revolution overcomes this barrier it will go forward. What does it need to find its true course? A revolutionary leadership; a revolutionary party to teach the oppressed, to organize them and to lead them in action.

The day of the rise of such a party can not be far off. The time cries out for it.

DIRTY WEATHER AHEAD FOR MARINE WORKERS

COMING STRUGGLE WILL SHOW UP REAL FRIENDS AND HIDDEN ENEMIES

The convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific finally adjourned after almost three weeks of spellbinding and chestbeating by the Stalinist-controlled delegates to the convention. As the West Coast Firemen, reports from San Francisco on June 28, the Federation Convention ended in "Powerlessness and Panic" and "self-capture climaxed by isolation from industry". It is true, that the convention adjourned in self-capture by the Stalinists of the Federation, but another story may be written of its "powerlessness" as a strike-breaking agency in the coming struggle in the Marine Industry on the Pacific Coast when the present agreement expires between the marine workers and the shipowners on September 30.

STALINISTS COOKING UP KETTLE OF ROTTEN FISH

Those who know Stalinism in all of its phases as a strike-breaking, stool-pigeon agency of the boss class take the enthusiasm of the West Coast Sailors and Firemen over the impotence of the Stalinists to rally the West Coast marine workers behind them, with a grain of salt. All the steps leading up to the convention, climaxing in the convention itself, smell like well prepared steps to finally smash once and for all, all expression of class struggle policy in this important war industry, the marine industry. All steps taken by the Stalinists on the East and West coasts in selling out the marine workers tend to prove that these fakers are surely working in the interests of the government and the shipowners associations to smash the militant unions on the West coast. Did not Harry Bridges himself try to smash the strike of the automobile workers in Los Angeles May 11? Did he not try his damndest to smash Local 34 of the United Office and Professional Workers Union? Did his stooges not break the picket line of sailors? And, finally, did not Harry Bridges himself come out openly in a statement, that relations between himself and the shipowners association are of the best?

The policy of the Stalinists and their stooges in regards to the government policy of smashing the unions in the marine industry are well known. Sufficient for us to point out one example; their willing acceptance of the Copeland ball and chain act and the fink book. All of this bears out our belief that the Stalinists are cooking up a nice kettle of fish for the sailors and firemen of the West coast. If a fight breaks out over renewal of the contracts we can count on the Stalinists to fight for the shipowners interests.

A word of warning to the sailors and firemen should go a long way at the present time. Their enthusiasm, no doubt, flows from the just concluded agreement between the sailors and firemen on the one hand, and the Teamsters of the Pacific coast on the other. For the infor-

ation of all our readers we print the agreement in full:

AGREEMENT

For the purpose of solidifying our economic power in view of the pending question of September 30th agreements, we, the undersigned union representatives, endorse the following five-point program and recommend same to the organizations which we represent for adoption.

1. No compromise on the union control of hiring thru our own hiring halls.
2. No wage cuts—no increase in regular working hours—no chiseling on the working conditions.
3. United front for possible wage increases and better working conditions.
4. Uncompromising fight against any form of attempted governmental control.
5. Against the arbitration of any of these fundamental union principles.

THIS AGREEMENT AND PROGRAM is designed to serve notice on the employers that any attempt to destroy the conditions won thru bitter struggle the past three years by the maritime workers on the Pacific Coast will be met with the united resistance of those unions signatory to this agreement.

Nothing in this agreement shall be construed as infringing upon the complete autonomy of the organizations involved in the conduct of their own affairs; and organizations signatory to this agreement shall be limited to bona fide unions directly engaged in the marine transport industry on the Pacific Coast.

* * * *

AGREEMENT MUST BE TESTED IN ACTION

The above agreement is a reprint from the West Coast Firemen of June 28, 1938. The agreement, in itself, is one of the best we have had the fortune of laying our eyes on. But, still, to us the agreement is only on paper, and we know only too well what can happen to agreements. Too often have we seen agreements turn into scraps of paper. And the history of Dave Beck, the head of the West Coast Teamsters and his boss, Dan Tobin, head of the Teamsters International, is one of the smelliest in the history of organized labor. When it comes to a show-down they'll be on the other side fighting the workers who are fighting for this agreement.

How far do the Sailors and Firemen think the officialdom of the A. F. of L. will support them in case of a strike in which they have to fight the government? As long as the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. officials are scrapping amongst themselves, the A. F. of L. bureaucrats can very well go out of their way to support the Sailors and Firemen against the onslaught of the C. I. O. and the Stalinists. But, in the last analysis, neither the A. F. of L. nor the C. I. O. top leadership can allow a union with a class struggle policy to remain in their midst. To do so would spell suicide for the fakers. And the Sailors and Firemen of the Pacific should keep that in mind.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

What is to be done? First of all: don't depend on the leaders of the Teamsters! Work, and work conscientiously for the support of the rank

and file of the Teamsters! Be prepared to fight their leaders! At the same time appeal to and work towards a better understanding with the rank and file of the East Coast National Maritime Union. This is important for the reason that the Sailors, the Firemen and West Coast unions cannot exist for any length of time isolated by themselves on that coast but must expand to the Gulf and East Coast. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy wants to take advantage of this by using the West Coast Sailors and Firemen for a labor civil war against the National Maritime Union rank and file on the East Coast, to the ultimate ruin of all marine workers. So it's national expansion, but on a fighting policy of the unity of all marine workers against all the fakers: A. F. of L. and C. I. O. alike.

Last but not least, isolate Bridges from the marine workers on the East Coast the way he stands isolated today on the West Coast! Win the fighting friendship of the N. M. U. rank and file. Make it a united, national fight against Bridges and his Stalinist backers. To take a hostile attitude toward the N. M. U. rank and file would be a mistake that would only help their Stalinist leaders divide the marine workers still more.

The Sailors and Firemen of the Pacific may well become the rallying center of all militant trade unions. But before this can be achieved the five point agreement must be tested out in action in the coming struggles of the marine workers on the Pacific Coast. In that struggle the friends of the Sailors and Firemen and their open and hidden enemies will have to show themselves in their true colors.

MARINE WORKER

EDITORIAL

In the article, Dirty Weather Ahead For Marine Workers, the author correctly calls attention to two tactical aspects of the complicated problem confronting the workers in the marine industry; and which confronts the entire American working class, since it has a vital stake in the success or failure of the marine workers in defeating the coming attacks by the shipowners and turning their own struggle into an offensive against the shipowners and their government.

The approach of the expiration of the agreements between the shipowners and the marine workers on September 30 finds the workers divided. The shipowners, no doubt, are counting heavily on this division to enable them to worsen conditions and possibly, smash the unions all along the line.

The acute line of division among the marine workers at present is the conflict between the class struggle policy of the West Coast Sailors, Firemen and Teamsters on the one hand. And the open, class collaborationist, pro-government policy of Bridges, Curran and the Stalinists who control the National Maritime Union on the East Coast and Longshoremen and Warehouse workers on the West Coast, on the other. Of course, as always, there is a great variety of shades of policy, but these are the two basic lines of policy.

The class collaborationist policy of the Stalinist leadership, Bridges and Curran has been demonstrated by them in action, especially in re-

cent months, and has been reported in REVOLT.

The class struggle policy has also been demonstrated in action. And, also, has been reported in REVOLT. It has now been concretized in a five point agreement to fight the shipowners. As the author says, it is a very good agreement.

But, as he points out, so far it is only a paper agreement. Coming events will test it and reveal whatever shortcomings it may now contain which is not visible on first inspection.

It would be a mistake to assume that all the class collaborators are in the camp of the Stalinists, Bridges and Curran. That would be a fatal error. There are hidden enemies among the West Coast Sailors, Firemen and Teamsters, agents and representatives chiefly of Dave Beck and Dan Tobin, but also of the entire A. F. of L. top leadership whose notorious record as strike-breakers and class collaborators proves them as bitter enemies of the workers interests as Bridges and the Stalinist leaders.

GAME OF TOBIN AND BECK

These gentlemen see an opportunity to smash their class collaborator, factional enemies in the present situation and plan to give the West Coast militants enough rope to do it. But should a struggle unfold, as a result, which threatens to exceed the bounds to which they intend to confine it they will exert themselves as energetically as Bridges and the Stalinists to betray the workers. Their record proves it in advance. The leopard does not change its spots.

In taking advantage of the rope which Beck and Tobin are forced to pay out, the West Coast marine workers and all other workers should put no faith or trust in any of these pie-card artists but should be ready to fight them as soon as they make even the smallest move which is hostile to the workers interests as laid down in the five point agreement.

On the other hand, it would be an equally fatal error to adopt the same attitude towards the membership of the unions controlled by the Stalinist leadership and Bridges as toward the latter. The latter must be set down as conscious traitors of the workers, including their own followers.

But the rank and file are not traitors at all. It is a mistake to put the betrayed and the betrayers on the same plane. Similarly the problem of the West Coast militants is to open the eyes of the membership of the N. M. U. to the false policy and treachery of their leadership and join with them to fight Bridges and Curran and the Stalinists; and also, Beck and Tobin and all other enemies who are in the leadership of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O.

AVOID PLAYING STALINIST GAME

To do otherwise would be playing the Stalinists game under the mistaken idea of intransigently opposing them. The Stalinists want to divide the marine workers. It must be admitted that to a great degree this is the way they proceeded. To take a bitterly (continued on Page 10)

POLITICAL LINE-UPS SHARPEN IN THE U.A.W.

CAPITALISTS USE FACTIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST WORKERS

DETROIT, July 5.- The internal struggle in the U.A.W. is being turned into a smokescreen by capitalist political tendencies, behind which they are sharpening their offensive against the working class. Furthermore, the present line-up of the Martin group and the Stalinist group in the factional fight merely shows in what manner the capitalist class finds itself divided at this point of the class struggle over the perspective of how best to beat down the revolutionary development of the working class. Behind the Martin faction is a peculiar combination, consisting of J. Frank Norris, organizer of company unions and Baptist strike-breaker, Father Coughlin, the clerical fascist, and other members of the black reaction they represent, plus the Lovestoneites; and, now, the Trotskyites who serve to give a "political labor" cover to Martin's support. Through them the anti-New Deal section of capitalism is utilizing the present U.A.W. factional strife to snipe-shoot at the New Deal. In doing so it runs counter to the section of the capitalist class which supports the New Deal as the best means of bribing the working masses, with its "political" following of the Stalinists, John Lewis and his hirelings, etc.

All indications point to the conclusion that the anti-New Deal capitalists are succeeding in making Roosevelt back down time after time. For example, the New Deal has backed down on the Supreme Court, the relief appropriation, anti-lynching, wage and hours, and more recently the anti-trust investigation into auto corporations, which Roosevelt called off, causing auto stocks to rise in Wall Street. In other words, by the success of the most reactionary section of the capitalist class in watering down the New Deal, the capitalist class as a whole is becoming more openly reactionary against the workers and is preparing to take the road towards Fascism.

ROOSEVELT POLICY CHEAPER

By more reactionary capitalists we mean that section of the capitalists that believes in more brutal, out-right military-police suppression of the workers; whereas the section represented by Roosevelt believes in throwing sops and bones to the workers as a means of keeping them in their place. It is cheaper for the capitalists to spend a few billions for relief and enjoy the support of the workers than to maintain a tremendous military apparatus to club and shoot them down and drive them to revolt.

If such an introduction to an article on the auto union situation seems long and broad, it is precisely because only when these larger issues are explained can auto workers gain a full understanding of the present U.A.W. crisis. That there are tremendous issues at stake in the U.A.W. fight for the capitalists can be seen from the manner in which a certain important section of them consider the internal struggle.

The Saturday Evening Post, which is the unofficial voice of a goodly section of American capitalism, announced today in the Detroit papers that a special article by Stanley High on the U.A.W. would appear in its pages soon. It promises an "expose of communism" in the union. The important thing, however, is the characterization that the author seeks to give Stalinism as "having changed its spots, discarded open threats of revolution and violence, and adopted a Trojan Horse policy of outward respectability in order that it may better accomplish its purpose of infiltration." In other words, the author by the use of the term, "Trojan Horse", creates the impression that the Stalinist party is still communist and revolutionary, but that it has just adopted a new means of gaining its ends.

COVERING UP THE STALINISTS

Why, when all over the world the Stalinists have been playing an open counter-revolutionary role in support of the capitalist class; when in the Soviet Union they have been assassinating the old revolutionists; when in Spain they have actually put down a proletarian uprising in Barcelona May, 1937; when in France they have helped Daladier break strikes of metal trade workers; and when in the United States, they openly support the war plans of the capitalists and use terror against the militants and revolutionists; why, then, does this paid prostitute writer of the Post distort the truth about the Stalinists? It is obvious. The capitalist class needs its scapegoats, its strawmen. More significantly, the anti-New Deal capitalists, by painting a red herring on the Stalinists, get in punches at the New Deal. Because, the Stalinists, who, among the working class political organizations, are the New Deal main supporters.

But more! This quack journalist, by attacking the Stalinists in this fashion--and it must be said that the Saturday Evening Post is read by many thousands of workers--bolsters up their prestige with a good many confused workingmen, by giving them the illusion that the Stalinists are pro-working class precisely because the Post attacks them. Thus, the Post helps the Stalinists play their role of support of the capitalist class and their war plans. This has an element of conscious planning on the part of the capitalist tendency that pays the author for such prostituted scribbling.

Not to be outdone by journalists, the clericals play their puppet role as well, if not better, for the anti-New Deal capitalists in this U.A.W. struggle. They do it in different ways. Father Coughlin's Social Justice very recently came out with two portraits: one, on the front cover, of John Lewis charmed by the serpent communism, and dubbed the "Man of the Hour"; the other, on the back cover, of Homer Martin knighted "the advocate of Christian unionism" and labeled "The Man of the Week". They support Martin by taking advantage of the backward religious ideas of many workers. "Christian unionism" is pacifism, teaching the workers to turn the other cheek when the capitalists are starving them, police assaulting them, and politicians of the ruling class conniving against them.

Whereas Coughlin speaks primarily to the Catholic workers, J. Frank Norris, whose father made his wealth by exploiting convict labor in Texas, speaks for the Southern and Fundamentalist religionists of

Protestant faith. Coughlin supports Martin openly in his paper, but Norris is much more clever. He blasts John L. Lewis as responsible for the "lawlessness and disorder" of 1937. This is Norris' way of attacking and helping to liquidate the New Deal, sharpening the spearhead of fascism. Of course, neither Martin nor Lewis wanted any job or strike action of the workers, any more than did Norris or Coughlin. These struggles grew inevitably out of the changed conditions of capitalist society, and what Martin and Lewis did was to head them in order to keep them from developing into the higher phases of the class struggle.

Another attack on the workers is the Congressional investigation into "un-American" activities which is scheduled to take place in this important, industrial center this fall. This investigation which will be directed primarily at the Stalinists, for factional reasons and to disguise its real purpose, will be utilized as another step in the capitalist offensive against the workers.

MULHALLS OF TODAY

In the face of this threatening situation, which may necessitate the raising of the level of the class struggle generally, what are the various political tendencies represented in the U.A.W. doing? The Lovestoneites, whose revolutionary interests are only a worn out tradition with them, are telling the union members to accept the dictates of the strike-breaker, Homer Martin, in his undemocratic moves in the union. The Trotskyites who are rapidly shedding all of their pretenses of being working class revolutionists for the sake of a few posts in the union are giving "open and aggressive support" to Homer Martin. Together with these are a section of fixers of the old line Democratic and Republican parties--the Mulhalls of today.

On the other side of the picture in the U.A.W. fight are the Stalinists, the Socialists who are experimenting with unity and third group solutions on the same class collaboration policy as the Stalinists and Martin, and another section of the fixers of the old line parties. If the Stalinists manage to gain control of the U.A.W., the terroristic accompaniment to class collaborationism against militant workers would overshadow all the traditions of Loren Hauser's brass knuckles squads and resemble their dirty work in Spain.

ONLY HOPE IS A CLASS STRUGGLE POLICY

Of course, class collaborationism only paves the way for fascism; and in this serious historical period the weapons of the workers for class struggle cannot be completed, let alone wielded effectively, by class collaborators. So the internal controversy offers nothing in the way of solution of the present problem as long as it is waged over personalities and posts in the union. The only hope is that it be posed on the basis of policy. Only a class struggle policy can solve the internal problem of the U.A.W. The best way to defeat a class struggle policy is to support Martin in his bureaucratic moves as the fake revolutionists are doing, or to demand of Martin that he reinstate the five suspended class collaborationist officers, or to appeal to the class collaborator chairman of the C.I.O., John Lewis, that he intervene in the situation. Any one of these moves would block or delay a working class solution to the problem of leadership and policy in the U.A.W.

We workers in auto must again exercise the initiative we displayed in the fall of 1936 and through the first half of 1937; but this time against our misleaders as well as against the employers. We must organize ourselves in spite of the edicts of the bureaucrats. We must organize our special convention for a class struggle policy and leadership against any orders that may be handed down. We must organize our industry which is disorganized, repudiate the present bureaucratic constitution of the union and condemning the entire set of sell-out artists squabbling over the high posts of our union.

Forward with industrial unionism means forward with a policy of struggle against the employers and all their agents both within and outside our organization! AUTO WORKER

LABOR ACTS IN JAMAICA

On June 4th of this year Acting Governor, C. C. Woddley, of Jamaica, British West Indies, announced that the island government was ready to spend 500,000 pounds on a "back-to-the-land scheme" as a step towards solving unemployment. The plan is an attempt to stem the militancy of hitherto agricultural labor on the absentee owned plantations. The various disturbances on these plantations resulted from such oppressive conditions as pay as low as 12¢ for an 18 hour day's work; super-oppression by the paid overseers who sought to take out their lack of sufficient salaries by adding to the misery of the workers; and the age-old caste system inherent in British imperialist policy.

Since the beginning of the crisis of 1929 labor in Jamaica and other British possessions has shown militancy that it hitherto lacked. Its first sign of independent action came in 1931 when L. P. Wason of the People's Political Party led a demonstration to the Governor's mansion demanding food and shelter for unemployed workers. This resulted in Wason's arrest and an 18 months sentence in the island's prison. Nothing has since been heard of Wason. But this urge for independent action reoccurred later in a clash between the white troops stationed on the island by England, and the inhabitants which is largely Negro.

The most recent clashes this year resulted in over ten deaths and scores of injured. British imperialism now attempts to hide its real face by bribing the black workers in this colonial possession by its usual method of promising an Utopian boon. It succeeded in putting out the fire of revolt in Jamaica in 1865 when Gordon, a Negro petty bourgeois member of the island Legislative Council, struck a blow for independence. Through Gordon's execution and the repeal of a few offensive laws peace was restored. But the present disturbances are not so easily disposed of. Britain is not only confronted with a hostile colonial population, but with the disgruntledness of labor in its entire empire. British capitalism, like "our" own, is sick and its colonial problem is but one expression of its decay. WILLIAM SMITH

The above article was written by a Negro worker who is familiar with conditions in the West Indies from personal experience and observation. Comrade Smith is not a member of the League but the League is publishing this article in line with its policy of making the pages of REVOLT available to workers who want to expose the capitalist system and rouse the world's oppressed to revolutionary action against it.

DETROIT GROCERY CLERKS FIGHT WAGE CUT

A. F. of L. - C. I. O. WORKERS UNITE AGAINST KROGER COMPANY

DETROIT, June 28.- The wage-cutting and union-busting campaign which the bosses have been carrying on here in Detroit with great intensity among the auto and brass workers reached out to touch the retail workers when, several weeks ago, the Kroger Grocery Company announced a 10% cut for its truck-drivers, warehouse and bakery workers, and refused to renew or sign a contract with these workers and the retail clerks and butchers. The Kroger Company, with thousands of stores throughout this section of the country and the South and 540 stores in the Detroit area alone, has a working surplus of about 27 million dollars and pays 12% dividends. But so bitter is the competition between this huge chain system, the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, the C. P. Smith Company, and other large chains that Kroger must try to undersell its competitors by lower prices without taking it out of the surplus, that is by cutting wages and smashing the union.

The conditions of the workers in the stores are wretched. Wages range all the way from \$5 a week for girl clerks to \$35 a week for store managers, and the average wage for the retail clerk is between \$12 and \$15 a week. On top of all this, the hours of work per week mount up as high as 65; and the company pays nothing for overtime.

Immediately that the wage cut and the refusal to renew contracts were announced by the executives of the company, the A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions involved called out their members on strike. The following went out on strike: 800 retail clerks, managers and butchers (C.I.O.); and 250 warehousemen, bakers, and truck drivers (A.F.L.). However, at the present date the number out is a little less, since some of the clerks, managers and drivers, the former especially inexperienced in unionism, and imbued with the psychology of those in the service industry having direct contact with their superiors, have gone back to work.

JOINT A. F. of L. - C. I. O. ACTION

The joint A. F. of L. - C. I. O. strike committee has put forward these demands: the closed shop for the unions involved in the strike; no reduction in wages; minimum wages for the retail clerks of \$16 a week; elimination of unpaid overtime; grievance procedure; seniority; and in the case of the warehouse and bakery workers and truck drivers, guarantee of 40-hours-a-week work, since in refusing to renew the contract with the truck drivers and warehousemen and the verbal agreement with the bakery workers, the company refuses to continue the 40 hour guarantee provision.

The activity of the rank and file in the strike has presented an encouraging picture, although there are additional measures which should be taken, as we shall point out. The enthusiasm of the pickets is high. The fact that many of the workers, especially the retail workers, are just beginning to go through experiences of unionism and are reacting favorably to it is a favorable sign. The truck drivers have been showing the meaning of solidarity by stopping their milk and beverage wagons on the street and helping to quench the thirst of the pickets. The bakery drivers, as usual, are contributing to the commissary end of the of the strike. It is a hopeful sign to see store managers, artificially separated from the clerks by the company, picketing and deploying pickets in their cars. This breaks down much of the middle class and service psychology of these managers and welds them closer to the body of the working class as a whole.

The workers on strike who are new to unionism, have much to learn, however, about the nature of the capitalist system. For example, some strikers boasted of the fact that G-Men were helping them to win the strike by investigating the importation of strike-breakers from other states. This summer G-Men will investigate "un-American" activities for the Dies Congressional committee which will come to Detroit in the Fall, to investigate Communist and Nazi activities.

The Kroger Company cunningly plays off workers against workers. Knowing the misery and poverty to which great sections of the Detroit working class has been subject, Kroger is trying to break the strike by putting out "leaders" to attract customers. The sale of a 2 lb. loaf of bread for five cents these days is so choice a morsel some housewives cannot resist it, even though their sympathies are with the strikers.

Again, the U. A. W. members have taken the initiative in closing stores and forming militant picket lines. In one Hamtramack store a week ago last Saturday several U. A. W. members closed a big Kroger store, and hundreds of U. A. W. members with their wives and children formed a mass picket line around the store, forcing the police to re-route traffic.

The rank and file workers of both the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. are beginning to ask themselves and one another why, since in action they are united, they should not be so organizationally? We must explain to them that this unity is possible, but it must be based on a correct policy of fighting against the employers. Otherwise, the capitalists will use unity of the unions for the purpose of corraling the workers into the war the easier by collaborating to produce munitions and implements of war.

STRIKE TACTICS

Picketing of the individual stores is a correct tactic to influence customers, especially the families of union men, from not buying, but as a sole means of winning the strike it will not be enough. The warehouse where the Kroger trucks depart every morning should be a point of concentration. As long as the trucks are allowed to deliver to the stores and keep them supplied the strike will be in danger. For this it is necessary to have mass picket lines at the one exit where the

trucks come out. Of course, this will bring the strikers into direct conflict with the police, and the union officials might regard this as a calamity, but the rank and file militants, especially the U. A. W. members, who have fought on such picket lines as Federal Screw, Michigan Steel, American Brass will welcome such action.

Another tremendous weapon in the hands of the strikers is the opportunity of extending the strike to Kroger stores in other states. As a matter of fact several rank and filers have expressed the thought that the "union will spread the strike over the country", but this is what the leaders have been demagogically telling the workers. The rank and file unionists must push this action from below, since the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. class collaborationist leaders can barely be expected to embarrass their masters by extending the strike. A huge company like Kroger might be able to withstand the effects of a strike in one city like Detroit, and it will only be when their profits are cut into throughout the entire country that they will be brought to terms.

FROM THE KROGER PICKET LINE

NEW YORK, June 27.- The elections held in Local 906, Retail Cigar Employees Union, affiliated to the United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America, C. I. O., on June 14, were concluded with a partial victory for the Stalinists and a partial defeat for the right wing and militants in the union. While they were successful in electing almost their entire slate, the Stalinists will not get solid support from the majority of the union membership and the majority of the Executive Board for the policies they are introducing into the union.

The issues in the union are clear enough. Most of the workers and even the right wing, for reasons of their own, want to build the union. The Stalinists want to dump it into Local 1180, the Pharmacists Union, which is completely controlled by them. But they haven't dared to propose this openly yet.

They are fighting in the union for a policy of collaboration with the capitalist government. In a letter to the membership urging his election as Business Agent, Irving Goldberg, chief mouthpiece for Stalinist policies, wrote: "...Roosevelt's policies will bring us better conditions... I think that the American League for Peace and Democracy is carrying out Roosevelt's peace policies".

This is the first experience of the membership with Stalinist policies and methods. As the Stalinists push their program into the open the resistance to it will grow and the opportunities for building a fighting group for policies which can build the union will increase.

CIGAR CLERK

ROOSEVELT POLICY STARVES UNEMPLOYED

MILITANT CALLS FOR BOLD TACTICS

This is the second article by comrade Polifero, a militant, unemployed worker, active in the unemployed movement in Chicago. Comrade Polifero is not a member of the Revolutionary Workers League. His article is published in line with REVOLT's policy of making its pages available to workers who want to expose the capitalist system.

CHICAGO, June 25.- Roosevelt, coming into office as he did, riding on the wave of resentment against the twelve years of Republican administrations, with a sizable Democratic majority plus the good will of many so-called independent members of Congress, instilled a certain measure of confidence in business circles. True the President inherited the burden of general banking and business failures; but it is also true that he found a functioning, federal set-up for dealing with the unemployed.

We find that he lost no time in holding a series of conferences with bankers and captains of industry before and immediately after his inauguration; that he lavished huge sums on the ones who brought about the chaotic conditions in the country, so they could again reestablish themselves in a favorable position to continue their exploitation of the workers. In connivance with the Manufacturers' Association, he led the industrial worker to believe that N.R.A. minimum wage standards would be beneficial to him. But, in reality, they were efficiently used by the big monopolies as a club over the higher paid toiler's wage to beat it down to the lowest possible level. Our ever-smiling President came rushing into office with a new deal-- for the employers.

If we take a little stock it will be found that the little food, clothing and shelter received by the suffering masses, was forced out of Hoover's administration and was not the result of the goodness of heart of Roosevelt. In agreement with the Stalinists the unemployed were disorganized by the virile elements among them being cajoled into the C.W.A. at \$72 per month. Though this was of only four months duration it was long enough to take the sap out of the unemployed movement.

FROM \$72 TO \$55 PER MONTH

The relief administrators, being encouraged by the disintegration of the unemployed organizations, strove more and more to reduce the budgets. The situation however, reached again to such an acute stage that, despite the desertion of their leaders, there came into being among the unemployed, a reborn spirit of activity on the part of small but militant rank and file groupings which, though comparatively loose and weak, were sufficiently strong to awaken the government to the danger of a rising tide of discontent. This time with Roosevelt's honeyed words about security wages the government was able to appease the unemployed with a measly \$55 per month; and, later, to do away with the guarantee of a \$55 monthly wage. This was made possible by the treachery in the leadership in the Workers Alliance.

What can we expect from a man who preaches organization while becoming the greatest employer of scab labor? How can we have faith in one who represents private property and a high market price for the exploiters of labor? What can we expect from a government that has been relentlessly tightening a cord of regimentation around the necks of the workers so as to make them ready as cannon fodder? What can we expect from those who forced the old, feeble and the sick to accept W.P.A. jobs or starve? What can we expect from one who can look down upon the sick, the diseased, the starving children of the nation with a smile as he sits high above the mass with his brother vultures, ever ready to pounce on those workers that dared to raise their heads? This government like the government of the previous administration is the enemy of the unemployed.

Neither can anything be gained by waiting for the present leaders of the unemployed to put up a fight. They have proved time and again that they are in league with the parasites they so willingly serve.

The rank and file members of the Workers Alliance should organize themselves within the organization to oust these renegades. Failing in this task they must take it on themselves to organize their forces within or outside of the Alliance in order to be free to carry on real constructive work to win adequate relief.

Being that conditions change with the passing of time tactics must be changed accordingly. It used to be in the early stages of the crisis that an entire neighborhood could be aroused by an eviction; the furniture put back into the flat; electricity and gas turned on.

HOW TO FIGHT EVICTIONS

Such spontaneous actions are rare today for various reasons. The government has learned a lesson and the relief agencies have a policy of paying all or part of rent of unemployed workers. But mass evictions are sure to take place in the near future. The best way to ward them off is to expose the rottenness of the relief administration in dealing with the unemployed. One way is to place the evicted furniture in front of the relief stations around which will gather entire relief districts. Such a procedure if carried out on a broad scale can easily arouse workers to action, as it will bring out a glaring exposure of the shameless callousness of the relief administrators. With the proper directions such protests could lead to the seizure of district relief stations which could be used as headquarters to organize a systematic securing and distribution of food and clothing.

A movement of this kind will be contagious as it gains the sympathy of other mass organizations, the rank and file of which, very likely, will force the leaders of their respective organizations to take action. Along this line a broad national, mass movement of huge proportions can be built.

The task, however, cannot be left to the unemployed alone. It is high time that all workers of the nation, organized and unorganized as well, awake to the fact that nothing can be gained in their interests from this time-worn, capitalist system; that it has, for long, lost its usefulness to man; and that the toiling, suffering masses can free themselves from the ever-recurring, man-made depressions only by rising against the inhuman monsters who rule the country and setting up a workers state which can give us security.

(continued from Page 9) hostile attitude toward the rank and file repels these workers and enables the Stalinist leaders to justify their course by pointing to the derisive attitude of their critics. And, again, it must be admitted they would have an element of truth on their side.

Incidentally the Stalinists used this same tactic to divide the workers a number of years back when they declared the A. F. of L. was Fascist and built their own unions. They succeeded to an extent here. But in Germany they succeeded on a much larger scale. The division which this policy helped to create served Hitler well in his rise to power. Let us learn well the lessons of experience here and abroad and not make the Stalinist policy under guise of fighting Stalinism.

WAY TO DEFEAT STALINIST PLANS

The way to overcome this disunity and to create a united union movement among marine workers is to separate the rank and file from their Stalinist leaders. The five point agreement should serve as a basis for this tactic. The West Coast militants should appeal to all marine unions and to their rank and file, simultaneously, for unity on the basis of this agreement. Since it is a good one it must appeal to workers everywhere. Those leaders who must oppose it because their interests are opposed to those of the workers must reveal themselves. The workers who follow them now will see them in their true light and the fighting cause of a united union movement of marine workers will be advanced.

If these tactics are vigorously applied nationally, the fighting strength of the marine workers on September 30 and thereafter, will be much greater. That is the road to defeat the shipowners and their government. There is no other.

This would have great positive repercussions throughout the entire union movement in the United States. It will point the way to unity on a class struggle basis.

The remarkable flight of the aviator, Hughes, and his four companions, from New York to Europe in so short a time proves again that the technique and production have been developed to the point where regular Trans-Atlantic air travel is possible. In fact it has been possible for a number of years.

What, then, holds it up? Obviously considerations of safety demand that the flight over open water shall be reduced to a minimum. That means that the two outposts must be located in Newfoundland and Ireland.

British imperialism is still powerful enough in both places to block the creation of terminals. Why? It wants terms very favorable to itself, the obvious commercial reason.

But there is another. It is afraid that once regular travel is established hundreds of men will know the route, acquire the experience and Britain will be at the mercy of bombers from the United States as well as the European Continent.

CONFLICTING OPINIONS ABOUT REVOLT

Up to the present we have heard only a chorus of praise for REVOLT with now and then a sour note. Lately, however, unkindly criticism has been getting heavier. We take that as a good sign. No revolutionary publication can live without stepping on the toes of some and without making enemies. So adverse criticism means we're reaching the mark --as long as the praise keeps up.

From Chicago the unit organizer writes:

Visited Carl Keller in the throes of getting out the Industrial Worker. There on his desk as big as life is REVOLT from which he seemed to be culling information. He was glad to see me and to enquire where we get our reports. He certainly was impressed when I told him they come from the field.

A worker sent us a quarter in stamps for the pamphlet, ABC of Marxism Study Course.

In Chicago, on the other hand, the unit organizer reports, a worker thinks that the study course material is a "blemish" on an otherwise excellent job.

And from a few people, mostly former comrades, we have heard the criticism that REVOLT is what they call an "economist organ". That is their way of trying to say it ignores, or underestimates political issues and devotes too much attention to trade union questions. We will hear more of this.

This gives us the opportunity to explain again, which we are always glad to do, what REVOLT stands for. The most important issues before the American working class are: unemployment; wage-cuts and union-smashing; and the war preparations. REVOLT discusses some aspect of these problems in every issue.

But it does more. It tries in every issue to show that the partial, day-to-day struggles must be broadened into a mass, revolutionary struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and that for this job we have to build a new Communist Party.

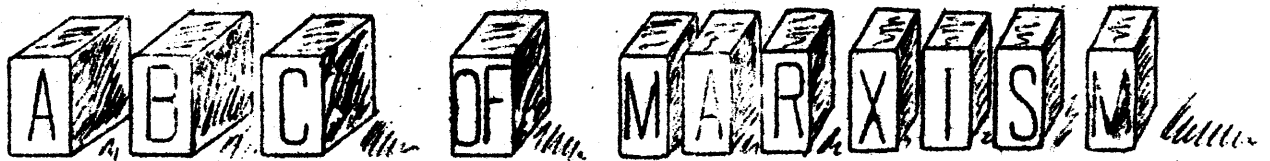
That is the function of revolutionary propaganda. There isn't any other.

REVOLT demonstrates that its writers are workers in industry and trade unions and unemployed organizations and write from first hand knowledge.

That is why workers like it. They can see that REVOLT is not one of those numerous publications which are written by people who haven't the remotest connection with the things they write about. That is why comrade Canter can report from Detroit that the Pontiac workers who receive the paper are "joyful" over it.

If we have to chose between winning the support of the workers in the auto industry for a revolutionary program and satisfying our envious critics we unhesitatingly chose the former.

S T U D Y C O U R S E



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

Outline of Course

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

APPENDIX: Guide for Organization of Study Groups

* * * * *

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.

Lesson Eight

THE STATE AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

A. DEFINITIONS. The Marxist theory of the state can be summarized as follows: it is a machine for the suppression of one class by another; it is "the executive committee of the ruling class" (Marx); and the "summarized reflected form of the economic desires of the class which controls production" (Engels). It is an organization of people by national territory; it is a public power of coercion (police, army, prisons); it exacts taxes and creates public debts; it is a bureaucracy "above society."

The state is a machine created to maintain the domination of one class over another. Before the advent of slavery no classes existed. Altho humanity lived under primitive conditions of equality and low productivity of labor, primitive man had the highest form of social organization of all time. There couldn't possibly have existed groups of people who occupied themselves exclusively with administration and dominated the rest of society. Slavery, the first form of social division into classes, arose when primitive agriculture was able to produce a surplus. (See Lesson Two). This surplus became the means of consolidating a slave-owning class. But in classless society there was no means—because there was no need—of holding captives in slavery. One section of society cannot be forced to work systematically for another section without the maintainance of a permanent apparatus of power. Wherever classes appeared, there rose the state.

B. THE SLAVE STATE. The slave state was an apparatus which empowered the slave owners to control and dominate slave labor and to protect their property from rival slave states. Slave states were relatively small because they had inferior methods of communication and transport. Mountains, rivers and seas were tremendous obstacles. The states consequently developed within small geographical boundaries.

C. GREEK AND ROMAN SLAVE STATES. The forms which slave states took varied. The Greek were republics, democracies; the Roman became monarchic. Literally translated, democracy means rule of the people; monarchy, rule of a royal individual. Despite these formal differences all slave states were states of slave owners. They all regarded the slave as sub-human and unworthy of citizenship. Roman law established the slave as chattel or private property. Laws against murder and for the protection of integrity and dignity of the person did not apply to slaves but only to slave owners. They alone enjoyed civil rights, took part in elections and other political functions. The common principle of all forms of slave states were to deprive the slave of all rights and to oppress him.

D. THE FEUDAL STATE. Essentially the same principle applied under feudalism. The serf was chained to the land he worked. Certain days he worked the land given him by the feudal lord. The rest of the days he worked the lord's land. Class rule remained. The feudal landowners enjoyed all civil rights. The serf was absolutely without political rights. Both monarchies and republics existed under feudalism. But only landowners having serfs under them were the dominating force in society.

E. SLAVE AND SERF INSURRECTIONS. History is an unbroken series of attempts by oppressed classes to shake off their chains. Wars lasting decades were waged for and against the emancipation of the slaves. One

of the greatest insurrections of antiquity was led by Spartacus, a Roman slave who, 2000 years ago, organized and led an army of slaves which shook the all-powerful Roman Empire to its foundations. Feudal history, also is full of serf insurrections and revolts. In Germany, for instance, the struggle of the landowners and serfs in the Middle Ages took on the character of a tremendous civil war. The peasant revolts continued right on into the capitalist system.

F. RISE OF THE CAPITALIST STATE. The development of commerce and commodity exchange led to the crystallization of a new social class, the capitalists. Capital came into being toward the end of the Middle Ages when the discovery of America permitted world commerce to develop to an unprecedented degree. (See Lesson Four). The increase in supply of the precious metals and the introduction of currency permitted the accumulation of tremendous wealth in the hands of the few. Gold and silver were recognized as riches all over the world. The economic strength of the old class of feudal landowners diminished and that of the new class of capitalists developed. Society was transformed. The former division into slaves and slave-holders, serfs and feudal lords, disappeared. Everyone was considered equal before the law, irrespective of how much property or wealth he possessed. The law protected the property of the rich and poor alike from the attacks of the propertyless masses who became impoverished and, finally, were forced to become wage workers. This period opens the capitalist era.

The new society opposed the bondage of serfdom with the slogan of personal freedom. In practice, however, this meant freedom only for those who possessed property. The state recognized the right of the industrialist, the factory owner and the tradesman to private property. Admitting these rights and the complete subordination of the propertyless workers to them, the capitalist state at the same time proudly declared that its rule is based on freedom and equality; that the state is no longer a class state; that it represents the will of the whole people. It proclaimed freedom of speech, press and assembly and finally universal suffrage. Its preachers, scholars, philosophers and lawyers declared the class struggle to have been abolished.

G. CHARACTER OF THE CAPITALIST STATE. But the state continues to be a machine with which the capitalists hold the working class and middle classes in check. The form of capitalist rule, as in previous states, varies from country to country and from time to time.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC FORM. The more democratic the form, the more cynical the rule. In the United States, one of the most democratic republics in the world, power is held by a little group of finance capitalists who control society, through corruption and open brutality. No democracy or franchise can alter the essence of this state of affairs. They control the working class movement by corrupting and buying its leaders. But they use merciless brutality when the working class exceed the bounds set by their corrupted leaders. Officially, Engels says, the democratic republic "knows nothing about property". The possessing class rules through the elections system, by corruption of officials and by the tight alliance of finance capital with the government, the former having the national economy and means of communication and transport concentrated in its hands. Congress and elections are its marionettes.

Compared to the feudal state the democratic republic represents tremendous progress: It gave the proletariat the possibility of attaining the organization and discipline necessary for systematic struggle

against capitalism. Neither the serfs nor the slaves had anything of the sort. The latter revolted, began civil wars, but were never able to organize a conscious majority of the population. They never clearly understood their goal. Consequently they were pawns in the hands of the rulers. For the first time in history the subject class is able to recognize its own role and to develop incentive for building an international movement of millions of workers all over the world. Without parliament and the franchise this development would have been impossible. That is why these institutions have taken on great significance in the eyes of the masses and why they are slow to recognize that they are outlived and to follow the revolutionary road to power.

FASCIST FORM. "The democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism...no change, either of persons, institutions or parties in the bourgeois republic can change it". (Lenin). As the revolutionary forces develop under capitalism, the deception of democracy falls away. Fascism emerges. It is the desperate reaction of the bourgeoisie to the threat of proletarian revolution. It is the form adopted by the capitalist state when the democratic means of subjection have failed. (1) It shatters and suppresses all working class organizations: unions, parties, cooperatives; shoots and tortures working class militants and terrorizes and regiments the whole working class. At the same time it accuses Marxism of destroying freedom, of aiming to build a coercive state, of desiring to suppress one section of society by another. (2) It uses the middle class to secure power, then thrusts them down to the level of the workers. (3) It establishes a tighter amalgam of finance capital with the state against the workers and petty-bourgeois masses and against rival nations. Nationalism becomes rampant. Fascism is the open, violent, unmasked form of capitalist rule.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND PEOPLE'S FRONT FORMS. Both social democracy and the People's Front are varieties of bourgeois democracy in which the "socialist" or labor features are exaggerated. They arise in the period of wars and revolutions when the working class is moving toward power. They are instruments used to head off the final conflict by feeding the workers illusions about (1) a ready made socialist state under capitalism; and about (2) the bourgeoisie as friends of labor.

STATE CAPITALIST FORM. The objective basis for socialism is created by capitalist production itself. So capitalist government takes over or intervenes in private enterprise as part of a "social" program. It does so, however, in an attempt to overcome the anarchy of production and for the purpose of maintaining capitalism. In the early growth period of capitalism state capitalist enterprises were progressive because they stimulated more rapid economic development. Not today. Many reformers believe that state capitalism can unfold progressively into a new social order, that capitalism can be "organized" and "grow over" into socialism. Like Fascism, state capitalism in its monopoly form uses a vulgarized socialism to combat the coming of socialism. It is not a transition to socialism but the direct opposite. It is a form of capitalist struggle to retain power.

H. COMMUNISM - THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY. Capitalism has developed productive capacity to the point where it is possible to supply every human being with more than enough. Yet capitalism can continue to exist only by aggravating want and starvation. Only a classless society, commun-

ism, can produce order out of this chaos, a society based on the socialized economic foundations already built by capitalism in its progressive period. The following are the essential characteristics of communism: (1) Common ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth. The elimination of the right of individuals or groups to dispose of the means of life. That right belongs to society as a whole. Hence, no exploitation of one group by another. (2) Economic and social planning on a world scale. This is made possible by the abolition of competition between capitalists, the anarchy of production, wars and militarism. (3) Production for use, not for profit. Substitution of the good for the commodity. (4) The abolition of the state. Under communism the state is unnecessary. Government in the form of armies, police, prisons, property laws gives way to a system of administration, of accounting, management and supervision of industry and agriculture by all the people, such as is necessary to maintain world economy in smooth running order. (5) Disappearance of artificial differences and barriers fostered by capitalism. Nationalism, race hatred, religious dissention, caste envy are destroyed by international production and cooperation. (6) A tremendous increase in the productive capacities of the human race. Human energy now necessarily spent in the class struggle or destroyed in wars, unemployment and unproductive pursuits such as competitive advertising, soldiering, relief, etc., will be set free. Increased productivity means a shorter work day, security and increased leisure. Society can then take from the individual according to his abilities and give to him according to his needs. The higher form of human organization that existed in primitive society with low productivity now is recreated on a highest level of productivity. On this foundation culture - the arts and sciences - can rise to undreamed of heights.

I. THE WORKERS STATE - DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. No ruling class in history has voluntarily given up its power and privileges. The more recent experiences of the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution, the German and Hungarian revolutions, the development of Fascism prove that when the workers challenge the power of the capitalist class, democracy is scrapped and armed aggression is substituted. Reform and the ballot box are of no avail. Victory can come only by revolutionary struggle. "Between capitalist and communist society lies a period of revolutionary transformation of the former into the latter. To this also corresponds a political transition period in which the state can be no other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." (Marx - Gotha Program). "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purpose." (Marx - Preface to Communist Manifesto). The working class must break up, shatter the bureaucratic and military machinery as a precondition for any real people's revolution. When this is done the class war is not suspended. The bourgeoisie still exists. It has money. It still has a tremendous ideological and institutional hold on the masses. It can recruit armies with the aid of foreign capitalists. It will engage in sabotage and counter-revolution. It would be suicide for the revolution to allow the bourgeois enemy to do this, or to allow it to share in any way in government or political powers.

The suppression of the former exploiters immediately produces a fuller democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat creates democracy for the vast majority, something that never existed before in class society. The standing army is abolished and the armed people takes its place. All officials are elected, subject to immediate recall and receive workers wages. Organization of national unity. With the working class at

the head of the nation, bourgeois-military-bureaucratic centralism is replaced by conscious, democratic, proletarian centralism. As the resistance of the former capitalists, bankers, landlords and generals is broken, the class lines tend to disappear. Little by little the state loses its reason for existence. It withers away and society passes into communist conditions of life without further revolution. Thus the dictatorship of the proletariat is really a transition period between capitalism and communism.

J. THE WORKERS COUNCILS. History has revealed a new form of government, the workers' councils (soviets). They are combined legislative and executive bodies composed of representatives elected from industrial units. By their nature they are class organizations from which all capitalists, landlords and other exploiting elements are excluded. They are not created by decree from above. They develop spontaneously through united actions of the working class during the revolutionary crisis. By means of the workers' councils the class not only takes power, but is able to hold it.

K. DEGENERATION OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET STATE. The Russian revolution of 1917-18 overthrew the bourgeois state. Workers' councils were established as organs of the dictatorship. Bourgeois democracy was overthrown and proletarian democracy established. Industry, banks, transport were nationalized into state property. Bourgeois relations in big industry were overthrown. Workers control of production was instituted. Workers militias were created. The land was given to the peasants though it remained state property legally. Foreign trade became a state monopoly. The Bolshevik party controlled the state apparatus. The foreign policy of Soviet Russia was designed to extend and promote world revolution. Bureaucratic capitalist oppression of national minorities was replaced by the right of self-determination of nations.

But it is not possible to completely eliminate capitalism by the seizure of power in one country. Capitalist forms continue to exist side by side with the new economy. The historical contradiction produced by this state of affairs can be resolved only by (1) the extension of the revolution on a world scale or by (2) retrogression back to capitalism. Following the defeats of the Finnish, Hungarian, Italian and German uprisings, the second process began in Russia. By 1924 the pressure of the bourgeoisie, strengthened by the defeats of the world proletariat and the revival of capitalist economy, seriously affected Soviet life. The state bureaucracy, originally of the working class, emerged as a petty-bourgeois stratum with interests conflicting with those of the proletariat. The betrayal of the English general strike of 1926 and of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the expulsion of the left wing of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the execution and exile of thousands of its leaders and members, the adoption of nationalism and revisionism as the program of the Communist International at the Sixth World Congress - all these events marked the victory of Stalinism over Marxism, the political subordination of the proletariat to the interests of the world bourgeoisie and of the petty bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, the triumph of "bourgeois law" over workers democracy. The foreign policy of the Soviets stifled revolutionary action by the working class. The bureaucracy used the state to destroy all control by the working class of the dictatorship. Out of the expanded industrial and agricultural enterprises rose an enormous bureaucracy and a new bourgeois stratum of millions of human beings and thousands of institutions.

The bureaucracy ruled by police and terror and scrapped the soviet forms of the workers state. The new Stalin constitution established the juridical basis for the reintroduction of private property in land, industry and trade. The Soviet state is used by Stalinism as an openly counter-revolutionary force.

SITUATION TODAY. (1) Private property in industry legalized and restored to an extent; (2) Group private property established; (3) Inheritance of wealth reintroduced; (4) Appropriation of surplus value thru interest and a disguised form of profit (enormous salaries) restored; (5) State in hands of a political-industrial bureaucracy which oppresses the masses in its own interests and in that of the world bourgeoisie. (6) The economic foundations on which the soviet state were built in 1917 are today largely fictive, on their last legs. But (I) They still stand. (II) The traditions of October 1917 are still alive in the masses.

L. THE "PERMANENT REVOLUTION". The working class cannot take power in every country at the same time. The revolution occurs in single countries. The Russian revolution was the first to hold power after seizing it. But "the completion of the socialist revolution within national limits is untinkable". In order to succeed it must develop beyond national boundaries and kindle the already revolutionized masses in other countries to revolt. The classless society can be introduced only on a world scale.

M. SUMMARY. "So long as exploitation exists there can be no equality. The landowner cannot be equal with the landworker, the capitalist with the worker, the hungry man with the statesman. The machine of state before which people bow with superstitious veneration, believing that it represents the power of the whole people, is uprooted by the proletariat which declares their old ideas to be lies. We have taken this machine away from the capitalists. We have rebuilt it for us. With this machine we will drive all exploitation out of the world, and, when all possibilities for exploitation have been abolished and not a single landowner or factory owner exists, then one human being will not be overfed while another goes hungry. Only when the last possibility of exploitation has been abolished will we fling the machine into the scrap heap. Then there will be no state and no exploitation. That is the standpoint of the Communist Party." (Lenin).

"The state, then, did not exist for all eternity. There have been societies without it, that had no idea of any state or public power. At a certain stage of economic development, which was of necessity accompanied by division of society into classes, the state became the inevitable result of this division. We are now rapidly approaching a stage of evolution in production, in which the existence of class has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive fetter on production. Hence these classes must fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state must irrevocably fall with them. The society that is to reorganize production on the basis of a free and equal association of producers will transfer the machinery of state where it will belong: into the Museum of Antiquities by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe." * (Engels - Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State).

Required reading

Origin of the Family - Engels; Chapter IX
 Critique of the Gotha Program - Marx
 The Russian Question (RWL Thesis-outline)
 Civil War in France - Marx - State and Revolution - Lenin

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