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REVOLT

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SAMPLE COPY

The War Situation

Hull Reveals American War Policy

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Third Convention of the League

Revolt in the Auto Union

REVOLT !

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

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

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

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

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

THE WAR SITUATION

The imperialist powers are inexorably driven to a new world war by the acceleration of the decay of the system on which they are based, - the capitalist system of production. After a very short period of partial recovery from the crisis which began in 1929, world production coming near to the level of 1929 but world trade amounting only to 60% of the world trade in 1929, a new crisis is developing with a rapid increase of unemployment and with the promise of such a devastating paralysis of the productive forces that, in order to stave off the collapse, every imperialist nation is compelled to seek an "issue" out of the crisis.

On the basis of capitalism, a social system of competition and exploitation, the only avenue is a redivision of the world, the crushing of one imperialist country by the other, or one group of imperialist countries by another group, the only avenue is a new imperialist war, through the result of which the situation of the victor would be eased at the expense of the vanquished.

In this respect the capitalist governments have no illusions whatever. They are all preparing for war. The amount spent for arms in 1937 was almost three times that of 1913. In the race of armament, of course, the great imperialist powers are setting the pace. Of 64 nations the six leading imperialist powers (United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan) and the Soviet Union (a workers' state surrounded by a hostile capitalist world) produced 76.1% of the guns, tanks, cannons and other means of war.

Parallel with this race for armament another preparation for war is going on, feverish diplomatic machinations to win allies and to isolate the opponents, a diplomatic game in which the life of millions of workers and the fate of the world is at stake. Every move in this game is made under and according to the pressure of imperialist antagonisms. The moves already made can be understood, the moves to be made can be foreseen and contradictions can be explained only on the basis of such antagonisms.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN BRITISH AND YANKEE IMPERIALISM

In 1914 Germany was the greatest imperialist threat to Britain's colonial empire. Unified as a result of victory over France in 1871, German capitalism in forty years became the most aggressive rival of British capitalism. Its favorable geographical position, its rapidly expanding productive forces, its rapidly growing "spheres of influence" and its expanding colonial empire and its great military power to back up its trade aggression, all this constituted such a threat to British domination that war, in which practically the whole world became involved, was inevitable.

But no sooner was Germany crushed, a new and still more powerful rival arose, - the United States, replacing Germany as Britain's greatest imperialist rival.

In the struggle England is losing ground constantly.

A few figures will suffice to throw a vivid light on the change of relationship of the two in world economy.

Of the total world trade in 1913 England's share was 16%, that of the U.S. 12%. In 1936 the share of the U.S. was 16% and that of England 12%.

The export of goods by England between 1913 and 1928 decreased by 5%, the export of the U.S. in the same period increased by 48%.

The U.S. in 1923 had a favorable trade balance of 375 million dollars, England had an unfavorable balance of one billion. In 1928 the favorable trade balance of the U.S. rose to one billion dollars, the unfavorable trade balance of England increased to one billion, seven hundred million dollars.

For England, being an exporter of almost exclusively manufactured goods, a change in the character of American export is highly important. In 1913 the U.S. export of food and raw material was more than half and the export of manufactured goods was less than half of the total export. In 1929 the export of food and raw material was 32%, the export of manufactured goods was 68% of the total, a change indicative of a keener competition against England in the world markets.

Taking a specific part of the world market, England's plight is further illuminated. Of the total imports to all Latin-American countries in 1913 England's share was 25%, that of the U.S. 24%; in 1927 England's share shrunk to 16%, the share of the U.S. rose to 35%.

More important than anything else, England's position as "banker of the world" up to the world war of 1914-1918, was taken over by the U.S. during and after the war. The immense strides made by the U.S. as a creditor nation is shown by the following figures: Total capital investments of the U.S. in foreign countries- 2 billion 605 million dollars in 1913, 12 billion 630 million dollars in 1935. In 1913 the U.S. was a debtor nation, its investments being exceeded by its foreign debts to the tune of 1 billion 895 million dollars. In 1935 it had a favorable balance of 7 billion 595 million dollars.

Finally, in comparing the financial strength of the two great imperialist rivals, it should be noted that the national debts of the U.S. is about 50% of its average yearly national income, Britain's national debt is 200% of its national income. Consequently, in addition to aggression against Britain on every field of economy, in building up a military machine, the U.S. is able to outbuild Britain.

On the other hand, the rapidly expanding productive forces of American capitalism, the accumulation of surplus capital and

consequently, the urgent need for colonial expansion compels American imperialism to attempt to bring about a redivision of the world. The need of American imperialism is to dominate the earth. To dominate the earth American imperialism must crush British imperialism.

To sum up: In the decay epoch of world capitalism, the U.S., in relation to English capitalism is growing stronger. Economically Yankee imperialism is on the offensive, constantly gaining, mainly at the expense of British imperialism. As in 1914 against Germany, British imperialism in order to save itself, must take a military offensive against Yankee imperialism. Standing alone, such an undertaking is hopeless. Britain, because of her weakness, must seek allies. She needs, above all, an European block. The policy of British diplomacy is dictated by this necessity.

BRITAIN AND THE "ROME-BERLIN" AXIS

Colonial expansion is a life and death question for both German and Italian imperialism. In comparison with the colonial empire of British, French, Japanese or Yankee imperialism, they are the "have-not" countries, Germany more than Italy. Since both were hindered by the British-French bloc, they had to join hands and establish cooperation in supporting each other. An European bloc under the leadership of England is inconceivable unless the Rome-Berlin axis is broken. It is recognized by British diplomacy that a price must be paid both to Germany and to Italy for lining up with England. Some of the price already paid to Germany: rearming Germany, return of the Saar, domination of Danzig, remilitarization of the Rhineland, a complete scrapping of the Versailles peace treaty, annexation of Austria, free hand for intervention in Spain. Heavy prices, reluctantly paid, but paid. And England is ready to pay even more: Extension of hegemony over Czechoslovakia, over Hungary and, probably the last but not least, a part of the territory of the Soviet Union, - Ukraine. By paying these heavy prices, (of course, at the expense of others) British imperialism is creating a future danger for itself but it has no choice, the rivalry of American imperialism being its greatest and most immediate danger. The price paid to Italy: toleration of the conquest of Ethiopia, free hand in Spain. There can be no doubt that during the Anglo-Italian negotiations recently begun, Italy will exact still heavier prices.

Interwoven with this policy of "appeasement" of Germany and Italy is the policy of holding France in check, breaking up the "Little Entente", for a long time the basis of the hegemony of France over Eastern Europe. Moreover, the British policy in regard to France is calculated to break up the French-Russian military alliance. All concessions already given and to be given to Germany is at the expense of this alliance. Every move made by England to hold down France rendered this alliance more and more impotent and meaningless.

By breaking the Rome-Berlin axis, by lining up both Germany and Italy for an European bloc under British leadership, by undermining and destroying the former dominant position of France and compelling her to fall in line together with Germany and Italy, British imperialism is getting ready to meet the challenge of American imperialism.

One of the aspects of the policy of British diplomacy is to hold America in check by offers of collaboration, agreements on armament limitations, etc.

It is not excluded that, in case England's plan for a European bloc is frustrated, England and America may find themselves on the same side in the war. In that case the imperialist antagonism between them will not be eliminated. They will fight the war with the aim of settling its outcome at the expense of the vanquished but primarily at each other's expense.

STUMBLING BLOCKS IN THE WAY OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

English imperialism has a difficult task to overcome grave obstacles in the way of the bloc she seeks. One of them is the deep rooted antagonism between French and German imperialism. It is not excluded that French imperialism, in sheer desperation, will draw the line; no more concessions. Another is the struggle in the British capitalist class, one section of which wants an alliance with Germany and another section which wants an alliance based on France against Germany. The defeat of Eden and the new Chamberlain policy signify that the section striving for the alliance with Germany gained the upper hand. But the opposition is very powerful as the reaction to Hitler's Austrian coup demonstrates.

It is not excluded that Germany, strengthened and emboldened by the concession already gained and by the possibility of a bloc with American imperialism against British imperialism will set a new price Britain cannot afford to pay - return of the lost colonies, held by England.

It is not excluded that Italy in the present peace negotiations for the same reasons will demand a price Britain cannot afford to pay - control over the Mediterranean. Any incident may be the spark exploding the powder kegs on which Europe is sitting before England gets her bloc. In addition, it is not excluded that the struggle in Asia may yet be the spark to ignite the world.

But whatever turn events will take, American imperialism is bound to be involved in the swiftly approaching imperialist world war. Its very existence, as an imperialist country, being dependent on its share of world domination, it cannot play the role of a bystander while its own fate is being decided.

AMERICAN COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

While England is going ahead with these preparations for war, American imperialism is not idle. Through its "good neighbor" policy it is consolidating the Western hemisphere under Yankee leadership. Through its "most favored nation" trade agreements is trying to draw within its orbit as many nations as possible. By creating separate Pacific and Atlantic navies is getting ready to strike out both against England and Japan at the same time.

THE SOVIET UNION

As already pointed out, the policy of British diplomacy is directed against the Soviet Union as well as against the United States. The war danger for the Soviet Union is an ever present danger no matter what variant takes place. The Soviet bureaucracy, under the leadership of Stalin, relies for defense not on the world proletariat but on military alliance with imperialist powers. The greatest weakness of the Soviet Union lies in this false policy. This weakness can be overcome only by a violent overthrow of the Stalinist regime and a restoration of the gains of the October revolution. Only thus can the Soviet Union help the European proletariat to turn the imperialist war into a civil war and find security for herself in a victorious proletarian revolution in Europe.

The internal situation in the United States is taking shape under the pressure of the international situation as outlined above. In the second section we will take up the internal situation in the United States and in the third section, the World Labor Movement and the revolutionary Party.

HULL AND KENNEDY REVEAL AMERICAN WAR POLICY

On March 17th Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, made a speech before the National Press Club. On March 18th the United States Ambassador to Great Britain made a speech before the Pilgrim's Dinner in London. Both speeches were made for the purpose of explaining the foreign policy of the United States government in reaction to the seizure of Austria by German imperialism. On March 19th Hull made a statement at his daily press conference which "clarified" the policy of the government still more.

Hull and Kennedy protested at very great length that the government they represented was a peace loving government that was interested only in high principles of international law, in the welfare of humanity and peace.

Neither gentleman explained why the government is reconsidering its Phillipine policy with the aim of postponing independence, even of the kind they were doling out, indefinitely. Nor did they have a word to say about the shameful spectacle we all saw recently when a group of reformist senators tried to put the anti-lynching bill through the Congress and the die hard reactionaries filibustered it to death.

NATIONAL INTEREST

All the fine words they used about principles are lies. Kennedy made that as clear as daylight. He told his British audience that the United States would fight if it so decided or would remain neutral. He said it was a dangerous misconception to think that the United States would fight only if it were involved. and he made it just as clear in his plain blunt speech that what would determine whether the United States fought or not would be "based mainly on the fundamental and firm ground of national interest". That is, of course, the solemn truth.

But that is exactly what determines the foreign policy of every single capitalist country in the world - its national interests. The national interests of the capitalist class in every is in conflict with the national interests of the capitalist class of every other country. That is why war is inevitable under the capitalist system. The United States is no different from all the rest. and the more the Hulls and Kennedys prate about principles the more they are trying to befuddle the working class about their true intentions.

As far as international law and anarchy are concerned Hull showed by his press conference statement that his long speech was a hypocritical jumble of words. He told the press that the government condemned the methods by which Austria was seized but that it accepted it. In the House of Commons Lord Halifax said the same thing. The condemnation is for internal consumption, for the pacification of the masses.

ETHIOPIA AND AUSTRIA

The conquest of Ethiopia by Italy is also an accomplished fact. British and American diplomacy have condemned the methods by which this fact was accomplished. But neither has recognized it as yet. Why then do they "accept" the subjugation of Austria? Because in the former case they had nothing to gain immediately. England reserves the recognition of the conquest of Ethiopia as a point to be conceded in her bargaining with Italy. The United States can store it up for future use.

In the case of the suppression of Austria both the United States and England are interested to prevent each other from getting the inside track in German politics. The United States has the edge over England in German economy. A British-German bloc against the United States would threaten the United States with the loss of tremendous stakes in Europe and defeat in the war. An American-German bloc would threaten the British empire with destruction. Hence each country hastens to accept the fact with which Germany presents them.

THIRD CONVENTION OF THE LEAGUE

The Third National Convention of the Revolutionary Workers League, U.S. will convene in New York City on April 30 and May 1st.

The Convention is necessary to consolidate the Marxists and organize their activity to meet the situation which is maturing in this country as a result of the economic crisis and the feverish preparations for war, and to liquidate the revisionist tendency which controls the Central Committee of the League. The most prominent representative of this tendency is Oehler.

Under the leadership of Oehler the Central Committee has rejected the demand for the Convention. It has rejected the proposal of the comrades demanding the Convention that the Convention be organized by a Parity Committee composed of an equal number of comrades from each side to function on a basis of agreement, and is suspending and expelling all comrades opposed to it.

The Convention is being organized by the Convention Organization Committee which consists of comrades elected by the Units and comrades demanding the Convention. The Convention Organization Committee is an extraordinary body provided for in the Constitution of the League, for the purpose of organizing a national convention whenever the membership requests it and the Central Committee refuses to organize it. The Convention Organization Committee is the representative of the Marxist tendency in the League.

The agenda of the Convention is: The objective situation the League confronts; Review of the struggle of the League to build a Party (Spain and the U.S.); Democratic Centralism; Relation of Program, Press and Leadership to the Building of a Revolutionary Party; Our Tasks; Constitution; Disciplinary Action; Election of a Leadership.

(continued on Page 16)

CONDITIONS IN SPAIN

The tragedy of the Spanish Civil War is drawing to a close. The rebellion of Franco stands on the threshold of victory.

The imperialist brigands of Europe - the "democratic" powers and the Fascist dictatorships - are settling the fate of the Spanish workers and peasants. In the chancelleries the diplomats are arranging the details. So much for this power and so much for that. Germany and Italy want naval bases. Germany wants sources of supply of ores and other necessary materials for her heavy industry. England wants to protect her investments, Gibraltar and lines of communication with Africa across the Mediterranean and assurances against attack from the land south of the Pyrennes. The Stalinists in the Soviet Union are more modest. They are satisfied that proletarian revolution no longer menaces their domination.

The oppressed Spanish masses will foot the bill with their misery. But the problems of Spanish society will not be solved because capitalism cannot solve them. Out of the agony of dying Spain will be born the victorious proletarian revolution of tomorrow.

The Spanish workers are going down to defeat because they had no revolutionary party to show them the road to victory over capitalism. In its absence they put their faith in the Popular Front. How the Popular Front choked the revolution to death while the workers strove to fight Franco is told by our comrade in Barcelona who reports conditions there under the Government of Victory.

Barcelona, Jan. 28, 1938.

Dear Comrades:

The past month has witnessed almost daily air raids in Barcelona and a number of other Catalan and Spanish cities have been severely punished. In "reprisal" the republican planes bomb the cities in the rebel territory. Usually there is some military objective which serves as a target, but the airmen are not noted for their courage and rarely come low enough to hit closer than a couple of city blocks from their objective. The raids in Barcelona, coupled with the hunger and general demoralization attending the liquidation of the remaining revolutionary conquests, are steadily demoralizing the civilian population. The women on the queues, the petty business men, as well as a very large proportion of the workers and especially the "white collar" type, openly advocate a "settlement". Such a sentiment is also said to pervade the conscript forces at the front. It is the revolutionary workers who still want to prosecute the war and lick the fascists. They feel that the government politicians are sabotaging their struggle at the front.

The forces charged with guarding the city against air raids are practically useless. The Government boasts that they have

every modern instrument and gadget with which to see and hear the enemy planes and with which to shoot at them and chase after them. This may or may not be true, but they would have done better to spend the money for a steam shovel, to dig a few deep holes in which to protect themselves from the bombs. The warning sirens almost invariably blow after the planes have dropped their bombs and are headed seaward again. The government planes never take to the air until fifteen or twenty minutes later. There was one exception to the rule, on which occasion an Italian plane was brought down in a suburb before dawn). The air raids take place at any hour and in almost any weather. With the exception of the aristocratic suburbs on the slopes of Tibidabo and Vallvidrera, every other section of the city has been bombed at least once. Of course the industrial areas and proletarian quarters in the vicinity of large factories are the hardest hit. About five days ago, the Maternity Hospital, Clinical Hospital and Model Prison were bombed. A number of new-born infants were killed in the first, and three fascist prisoners were killed in the latter. As a result of the bombing there was heavy rioting in the prison, a number of prisoners escaped including some CNT people and the guards restored order by the use of machine guns and hand grenades. The exact story is not known as the papers carry no news at all of the episode, and such reports as I have been able to gather are very contradictory.

During one air raid early in January, a woman in the street was blown through the grate of a door and the glass shattered. The heavy bars of the grate acted as knives and the majority of the victims body was scattered about the vestibule inside the door.

SMALL CHANGE

The government is incapable of solving even the most simple problems. Early last year, after three or four months delay, bread ration cards were issued which eliminated the necessity of people standing in line for hours for bread. Since then every other item of importance has run very low, and all the thousands of government politicians and job holders are incapable of applying the same system to tobacco, beans, oranges, sugar, rice, etc. The most shining example of the ineptitude of the official bureaucracy, is demonstrated by the problem on small change. With the issuance of thousands of brand new five and ten and fifty peseta notes and the fall of the peseta on the international exchange, where it is now worth one-fifteenth what it was in July 1936, the silver coins naturally disappeared from circulation. Silver peseta pieces disappeared completely about ten months ago, and it was not until the middle of January that the Government issued paper notes to replace them as tokens for trading purposes. Every small town in the country, some provincial governments, many unions and a number of private enterprises printed their own private local bills or "vales" to fill this need. Now the new bills are appearing in small quantities, and have the nerve to carry the date 1937. A few months after the disappearance of the silver, as the peseta continued to fall, the nickle and copper coins also disappeared. It is hardly logical to expect a full ounce of copper to remain in

circulation as tokens of a currency in the terms of which they had come to be worth less than one U.S. cent.

There was a period when the average citizen wasted at least $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ hour daily waiting for change. They would not admit you into the subway station until they could give change... and there was no change. This happened in all of the stores, cafes, etc. Finally after about two months or more of waiting for the Government to do something, the private enterprises and unions commenced to issue their own "vales" or IOUs. No establishment would accept the IOUs of the others and it was necessary to carry a pocketful of assorted paper slips and cardboard tags, and aluminum tokens amounting in the aggregate to several pesetas. Eventually, they commenced accepting each others IOUs at least those of the street cars, busses, subways, movies, barbershops, etc. as well as half worn out but uncancelled postage stamps. Many small towns printed their own IOUs for 5, 10, 15 and 25 centimes but Barcelona did not do so until well into January, at which time, the municipality announced BEFORE issuing its own tokens that the others were all invalid! The city governments presses had barely gotten under way and the damned things were still a novelty, when the Central Government decreed that this was infringing on its prerogative to print money and that said IOUs as well as all others are invalid. A short time limit was set, for their liquidation and the government promised to issue money to replace all of the private and municipal IOUs, small change tokens and local paper money, etc. As stated above a few of the new paper one peseta notes are in circulation, and it is said that metal tokens of 50 centimos also exist. I have seen none as yet but am afraid that I must yet experience this thrill. During the worst period of silver hoarding before the local bills commenced to appear, the central government commenced issuing bright yellow coins with a bunch of grapes and neatly marked "one peseta", but these never became very plentiful. It was said that they were brittle and got broken easily. The Barcelona city government lagged several months behind the small provincial towns in issuing its one peseta and $\frac{1}{2}$ peseta notes. Then, many months later, when the situation demanded chicken feed, the bright city fathers issued nice pink notes worth one and one half pesetas each. This was the height of stupidity and everybody cussed loudly..... but it had no effect for four more long months were to roll by before they got the 10 and 15 centimo IOUs off the press.

If I have gone into this secondary matter of small change it is because of it being such a typical outstanding example of the way the government bureaucracy works in Spain under the "Government of Victory".

HUNGER

Hunger is now widespread in Catalonia. Sugar beets, an almost inedible cabbage and a few turnips are the only thing to be found in the markets. These as well as the small amount of rationed foods, are being sold at relatively high prices. Meals in restaurants

have risen 400 percent in one year. This is of course in terms of pesetas, but wages are still paid in pesetas and have not risen proportionately. The Government has set categories to which food is distributed. A whole series of favored and privileged groups are being created, and consolidated. The police forces (Assault guards, Civil Guards, Carabineers, etc.) and the government bureaucrats with soft, well-paid jobs are given the opportunity to buy food at very low prices. Eggs, which are not available on the open market at all are sold by speculators as high as 40 pesetas a dozen in Barcelona. Government favorites can buy them through government organized "coops". At five pesetas a dozen. And so on down the line.....

Begging in public places has increased greatly. If one persists in getting that choking feeling every time a beggar is refused, it is certain to be fatal. They haunt the streets, restaurants and cafes continually. A new child industry has developed of late which is not far removed from begging. Thousands of kids from six to fourteen chase up and down the streets in and out of cafes and stores, through the street cars and around the theatre entrances in search of cigarette butts and vales of small denominations which rather than bother themselves with carrying about, many people especially the petty bureaucrats throw away. The cigarette butts are usually very short and are always very rare since the tobacco shortage. Many herbs and leaves are smoked leaving larger butts, but the kids only gather the "genuine" ones which are sniffed at or otherwise examined and then shoved into dirty pockets or small boxes. They are later sold by weight to individuals who make them up into new cigarettes to be sold all over again in proletarian neighborhoods.

In spite of the price increases, the restaurants and cafes are crowded, most of the permanent crowd consisting of petty functionaries of the government and unions and political parties. There are thousands of these parasites who do absolutely nothing all day but hand around the public places.

Barcelona is infested with Governments. Eighteen months after the July revolution which pushed the then weak Generality government into the shade and brought real control into the hands of a somewhat confused and bewildered but nevertheless - for the moment - determined working class, Barcelona, the city of the revolution finds itself the seat of a whole host of governments. The National and Generality are here, as also the Barcelona municipal government. These may be considered "normal". But the Basque government with an abundance of functionaries and many flags and ridiculous zouva uniforms is also very much in evidence. Any number of provincial and municipal governments in exile also "function" in Barcelona. If the mayor of St. Someplace or other of the province of Malaga or Santander, was lucky enough to get out with the city treasury before the fascists arrived, he was soon joined by all of the other city officials who then continue to draw their salaries and continue to hold their offices and titles as long as the money holds out. The Provincial governments do the same thing. The Basque Government knowing that the crash was coming -- why shouldn't they, they were responsible accomplices? -- managed to evacuate Euzkadi with billions of pesetas. The whole bureaucracy of the Basque country now

functions and collects its salaries in Barcelona and Paris. Far be it from them to walk out on their country in its hour of need. Euskadi will continue to live and function as an autonomous government until its treasury is exhausted.

REFUGEES

While the capitalist politicians are thus sacrificing themselves and priding themselves on what stalwart "anti-fascists" they are, the great mass of refugees is having a very difficult time. The Basque children who had taken refuge in England are being sent back to live under the swastika in Bilbao. Those in Catalonia are to a great extent being cared for by local municipalities. In general I believe the Catalan workers have done their duty by the refugees, placing them in industry, their children in homes and on farms. But there are many incidents of an extremely disagreeable sort. On the queues, the Catalans and the refugees have innumerable squabbles, the Catalans often throwing up to the refugees that the latter have come here to take the food out of their mouths. The Asturians will then reply with accusations that Catalonia and the Central Government left them abandoned in the north at the mercy of the advancing fascists. Petty squabbles perhaps which lead nowhere, but which seem very important to the civilian population of Barcelona, made irritable and neurasthenic by hunger, cold, and air raids.

There can be little doubt that thousands of refugees, war cripples and their children are literally starving in republican Spain today. The loafer, "exile" bureaucrats have all in abundance and preferential treatment from the food distribution agencies, while many refugee women have taken to prostitution in Barcelona's streets. Many cripples sell lottery tickets. Playing has increased greatly. For the peseta spent on the tickets one can be no worse off than one already is, and may perhaps win the price of a few square meals. There is no organized protest among the masses against these sufferings. A crippled veterans demonstration that was attempted was a hopeless flop as there was no organization, no advertising and consequently no turnout. The masses are just grumbling, hoping for peace soon and waiting patiently. NOT ONE OF THE SO CALLED REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS IS MAKING THE SLIGHTEST ATTEMPT TO TURN THE MASS DISCONTENT AND SUFFERING INTO REVOLUTIONARY CHANNELS. The result is that the backward elements even among the proletariat would welcome any change -- even a fascist victory -- if this meant peace.

PRIETO- STALINISTS- CNT

Prieto (Right Socialist) as the most faithful agent of British imperialism is still in the ascendancy. The Stalinists are making a bit of a demagogic stage play to the left, bidding for greater mass support, at the same time that they attempt to displace Prieto's force by proving themselves the most aggressive supporters of capitalist interests. The CNT leadership rubs its nose in the mire daily, showing how "loyal" they can be, and how much they want "unity". The anarchist rank and file are like babes in the wood. They are torn between the plausible opportunist arguments which

their leaders have learned by rote from the stalinist text book and now peddle second hand (while the stalinists themselves are several lessons ahead), and an inherent revolutionary sentiment which finds expression in a dozen ineffective channels. The left anarchists are for the present extremely passive, limiting their leftism to cafe gossip and occasional blasts in the underground press. Meanwhile, the flower of their following is being cut to pieces at the front. No figures are printed regarding the number of casualties, but they are known to be very high in the Teruel sector. It is the anarchist and POUM forces that are being thrown in as shock troops on every occasion, being uselessly and purposefully sacrificed. This is a fact that cannot be demonstrated by documents, but all reports check.

OIL AND GOLD

The news published in all the Spanish press recently, including the CP papers, concerning the default in oil payments by the Italian Ministry of Marine to the Soviet petroleum trust, has aroused considerable comment among the workers here. It is a very effective expose of the type of "solidarity" the USSR is giving to the Spanish republican forces. Spain must pay in gold, in advance, for all supplies received from the USSR, which has drained the country of its agricultural produce, most of which is being shipped abroad to cover payments while the native population starve. Italy on the other hand, has until a few days ago, according to these official reports, been receiving on credit, Russian oil, to facilitate the movement and operation of her sea and air fleets. "Frente Roje", official organ of the CP, published in Barcelona, prints the story with no comment other than the very "nasty" headline: "They are not only agressors, but fraudulent traders as well". This will not increase the popularity of the USSR and the Stalinists however.

FRIENDS

But while the Stalinists are trying to save Russia's prestige and their own, the CNT Barcelona daily press, "Solidaridad Obrera, has discovered new and better defenders of the workers. Today's Soli, Jan. 28, carries a very promising headline, as follows: "The Failure of the Sixty Families; The policies of Mexico and of North America, favor the conquests of the proletariat". The concluding sentence of a long winded article that is illustrated with anything but flattering caricatures of Roosevelt and Cardenas, reads as follows: "We have explained in general outline, the political panorama of Mexico and North America, which it will be observed, is in every way favorable to proletarian conquests." Can people who draw such conclusions regarding the labor movement and the capitalist state in other countries, and above all in imperialist America, be expected to accomplish anything of a positive nature in their own country?

CRACKING DOWN

The government, playing for foreign imperialist support, and serving the interests of capitalist property rights in general, is

cracking down on the workers' control of industry. Early in January a decree was issued to the effect that no more cooperatives were to be allowed to be formed. Later a government decree ordered that all citizens must be members of either the CNT or the UGT. This tends to further water down the union composition, flooding the proletarian organizations with non-proletarian elements.

At the beginning of the year, the Government took steps to take over forcibly, all of the shops and factories of the chemical industry, as a war measure. The CNT Union of Chemical Products, defying leading committees of the CNT who as usual advised "moderation", by agreement with the Metal Workers Union, CNT, told the Government that if it insisted in its attitude the Metal and Chemical unions would call a general strike, even though their organization, (CNT) did not back them up. The Government capitulated. The newspapers never even mentioned the matter at all. Even the CNT papers killed the story.

STRIKE

Last week the Government of the Catalan Generality announced in the press that it had decided to take over the operation of all Public Spectacles. Since the beginning of the revolution all theatres, movies, dog races, ball games, etc. have been operated by the SUEP, the CNT public spectacles workers unions. The workers met and rejected the Generality decision. The leadership said nothing, either that of the upper committees of of the SUEP itself. The rank and filers took the floor and held it. A general strike in the industry took place for one day, Saturday.

On Saturday night Companys told the union representatives that it was all a misunderstanding and that the "mistake" was the fault of Comorera. "Comrade" Comorera was made the goat. Being the "beloved leader" of the PSUC and "leader of the Catalan proletariat" as well as being the most cordially hated individual in Barcelona, the petty bourgeois politicians have learned the value of using him as a buffer in such cases. In the cowboy pictures the hero will often stick up his hat on a stick for the villain to puncture with his six shooter. In Catalonia, the bourgeoisie sticks Comorera out, and if the bluff is called, the blame and abuse is heaped on him, while Companys tells how sorry he is. The unrealistic anarchist "cafe theoretician" invariably prefers to attribute political events and phenomena to some "nasty man" instead of explaining them as part of a general process.

CONTRADICTION

The state is in the hands of the capitalist class. The workers operate industries and public services. The state passes laws affecting the enterprises operated by the workers. The state controls foreign trade, exchange rate (by artificial decree methods) and distribution of the raw material to the industries. The result is a sharp contradiction that is continually breaking out as a violent rash on some part or other of the country's economy or daily life. Add to this the fact that in many enterprises, for example, in the

Barcelona public spectacles, no financial reports are ever issued. The CNT street cleaning service in Barcelona keeps the capitalist neighborhoods much cleaner than proletarian neighborhoods. The bookies at the races and Jai Alai games are organized into the CNT, while their organization operates these centers of vice for the amusement of the government job holders and the edification of the public generally.

ONLY BY OVERTHROWING CAPITALISM

The Spanish revolution has taught innumerable lessons, and I believe that one of these, is that only by overthrowing the capitalist state, can the workers give real meaning to their control and operation of these enterprises and services. In Spain since 1936, in view of the fact that they have not destroyed the state apparatus, the workers control of industry has really been a service to the bourgeoisie for whom they have held things together. The proletariat has demonstrated that it can operate industry better than the private owners. It has been equally demonstrated however, that to do this over a period of time, without destroying the capitalist state, is self-defeating.

Comradely greetings,

Rosalio Negrete

THIRD CONVENTION- Continued from Page 8

These decisions, material for the pre-Convention discussion and rules governing the election of delegates and the publication of discussion articles have been sent to the membership over two weeks ago. This issue contains additional material. The article on the War Situation is the first part of the resolution on The Objective situation the League Confronts. The second part will be published in a later issue.

REVOLT IN THE AUTO UNION

The great union built up by the auto workers during the fall of 1936 and the winter and spring of 1937 is now in a serious state of decline. Tens of thousands of auto workers, laid off by the bosses, have left Detroit for other parts of the country. Out of a membership of two hundred and fifty thousand in the Detroit area two hundred thousand are admittedly unemployed. Dues payments have fallen to very low figures.

The bosses have not been slow to take advantage of this situation. The Detroit tool and die bosses, for example, have adopted a policy of sending as much work as they can manage out of town where the union is either weaker or has no local. General Motors favors a similar policy and has forced through a new contract much worse than the one it replaced.

In the union revolt is brewing and has already flared. The attempt of workers to fight against the encroachments of the bosses by strike action was stifled by the leadership.

Sharp struggles are now taking place in the unions. At the recent elections in the locals slates were put up against the Martin machine. Individual candidates also challenged the machine on the basis of its policy.

GROWING RESENTMENT

There is great resentment against the General Motors agreement which was negotiated by Martin and the Stalinists without the workers having had any opportunity to discuss or consider its terms. Martin claims that the Milwaukee convention of the union which was held last summer gives the officers of the International the right to make agreements without submitting them to the membership. This is incorrect. But the decision is nevertheless bureaucratic, entirely in the spirit of capitalist dictatorship. The workers made a mistake in agreeing to it. Their revolt against it is healthy and should be supported.

STALINIST POLICY

The Stalinists in the union are using the resentment of the workers on this score to attack the Martin machine. But the Stalinists are no better than the Martin machine. During the great strikes of 1937 they worked hand in glove with the Martin machine to head the workers off from a general strike for the closed shop. At the Milwaukee convention last summer they supported Martin's scheme to rig up the constitution to give the International officers the right to negotiate the present contract. Now that the workers are opposed to it they want to shift the blame to Martin and company as part of their fight against Martin for control of the Union.

In Local 140 the opposition polled more votes than the Martin administration. Had the Stalinists not divided the opposition it would have won the local. The sentiment of the majority was for a militant policy.

At the meeting of the Detroit District Council of the union on March 14th Homer Martin spoke for an hour and forty minutes against the Stalinists quoting from their literature of 1929-33 when they bitterly attacked Lewis. To make sure that his arguments would meet with the right kind of reception Martin was accompanied by armed thugs. Martin announced his intention of repeating this performance at all the locals.

The workers have nothing to gain from supporting either Martin or the Stalinists. Both machines are instruments of the bosses. Just as the workers must organize against the bosses in trade unions so must they organize in the unions against the bosses agents. The crying need in the trade unions is a national left wing democratically controlled by the workers themselves with a program for uniting the workers for struggle against the bosses. That is the way to defeat Martin and the Stalinists. That is the task to which every class conscious worker in the auto union must devote himself.

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