

REVOLT

Vol. I, No. 11

Published by Demos Press for the Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Workers League, U. S., Box 141 Alfred Station,
Detroit, Michigan

Oct. 29, 1938

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WAR SITUATION



LULL BEFORE THE COMING STORM



When Chamberlain, Hitler, Mussolini and Daladier signed the Munich accord a great sigh of relief went up around the world. War had been staved off. Twenty years ago when Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando met in Paris and put over the Versailles peace a great sigh of relief went up all over the world. War had been ended, peace was won.

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The peace of twenty years ago led to the crisis of 1938. In 1918-19 they carved up defeated empires and redistributed peoples and territories without any consideration of the rights and wishes of the peoples most directly concerned. Arbitrary boundary lines were drawn all over the European continent. What they were concerned with was putting down revolution and preventing Germany from rising again to challenge the rule of France on the European continent and the British Empire in Africa, the Near East, and the Far East. All this was done under the slogan of the self-determination of nations.

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The Russian Revolution and the first proletarian dictatorship showed to the whole world, to all the oppressed, that the right of small peoples to determine their own existence could be guaranteed only by proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. The Finns, the Letts, and other peoples were given the right to decide for themselves whether they wanted to separate from Russia and what kind of regime they wanted.

*

Times have changed. Germany is rising again as an imperialist power. The Socialists held the German workers chained to the German capitalist state until Hitler rose. The Stalinists helped the Socialists hold the workers back while Hitler took power and crushed the workers. With a beaten working class the German capitalists set about the task of smashing the Versailles system.

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At Munich they dealt it a mortal blow. So weak had the victors of 1918-19 become that they had to submit, limiting their efforts to maneuvers to soften the blow as much as possible.

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At Munich they practically buried the Versailles system as far as Europe is concerned. And on its ruins a new power, a new oppressor is arising—Germany. The net gain for the workers and oppressed nationalities of Central and Eastern Europe is zero. They have exchanged oppressors. This time as twenty years ago this cynical game of imperialist expansion and

its obverse, imperialist decline, goes forward under the slogan of self-determination of nations.

Hitler is rising in the European firmament as the apostle of freedom and liberty. Laugh! There is good cause to laugh. But it is the bitter truth. He is wresting from the British and French imperialist brigands the laurel wreaths they wore while they ground more than half of the world's population into abysmal poverty and misery.

How is this possible? Hitler has taken up the gage of battle against the iniquity of Versailles. And he is shattering it. Others besides the Germans who suffered for years under Versailles now appeal to him to deliver them from its toils.

Times have changed, indeed! Once the loudest voice in all the world against Versailles, the voice of the Soviet Union under Lenin, is now raised futilely, unheeded, to preserve this system of injustice and misery. The clarion of revolution has been muted by the Stalinists. Soviet diplomats speak in the accents of imperialist bargains and deals. In the hour of mortal crisis for the Czechs, when they were torn from subjection to French imperialism and submitted to German imperialism, the might of the first proletarian dictatorship was nowhere felt. No summons came from it to battle for freedom against all the imperialist dogs: British, French, and German. There was a stillness like the grave, the grave of revolutionary policies and hopes. Stalinism had done its dirty work well.

Some problems were settled to Germany's satisfaction at Munich. But the main problem before it is still unsolved. Which way shall it go? To the east against the Soviet Union to snatch the Ukraine? Or to the southeast through the Balkans to the Near East to strike the British Empire a vital blow? The shattering of the Czech state and its submission to German economic and foreign policy gives German imperialism great advantages for either course. But it does not decide the course.

Those who speculate on a Russian-German bloc against Britain now have more material grounds for their conjectures. German policy after Munich shows no intention to placate Britain. On the contrary it is applying continuously greater pressure to it, as every day's news reports show. On the other hand no anti-Soviet moves are yet discernible.

In the Near East the rising revolt of the Arabs against British oppression threatens to arouse the whole Near East and involve Britain in a prolonged and dangerous struggle. In the Far East Japan has judged the situation of Britain to be weak enough for her to launch a campaign in South China, which strikes another heavy blow against French and British interests. This development commits Japanese imperialism to great risks. But it shows that Japan anticipates no immediate trouble with the Soviets.

But if Germany's present trend is anti-British it does not mean that German imperialism has finally decided on its course. The British Empire is beset by tremendous difficulties. But it has tremendous strength. It may still find the means of making it more profitable for Germany to march toward the Ukraine. That is why Germany is opposed to a Hungarian-Polish border between Czechoslovakia and Russia.

Whichever way Germany goes it will mean war. The pretext for which it will be fought has been fixed already by the Munich events. If we believe the

war mongers it will be fought for the self-determination of nations. That issue will be the plaything of imperialist politics, as it was twenty years ago at Versailles, no matter which way Germany marches. Against Rumania the cry of oppression of Hungarians can be raised - and with justice. Against Hungary it can be justly charged that almost a million Germans are oppressed. Against Poland the voices of four million Ukrainians can be raised. Of any of these Hitler may become the crusading champion.

*

But how attack the Soviet Union under this slogan? There are Ukrainians in the Soviet Union. Do they suffer under Stalinist rule? There can be no doubt of it. Would they join Hitler? It is not excluded. Nor is it excluded that out of fear of such developments the Stalinists will strive to forestall it by a bloc with Hitler against Britain. It is not even unlikely that secret treaties exist between the two ruling groups which the coming revolution will uncover, as did the revolution of 1917.

*

The imperialists know it is war. That is why Chamberlain followed up the Munich accord by pressing British armament. And why Daladier is straining every nerve to increase French armament. And why Roosevelt, the smiling father of the Good Neighbor policy, is pushing American armament; and his assistants are staging a great spy trial to drum up sentiment for war preparations and legislation in the coming session of Congress.

*

For the American imperialists the whole issue of the self determination of nations is of great importance. They conceived it at Versailles. They watched it being worked for all it is worth at Munich. If Hitler can work it on the scale of ~~The~~ Ukraine then he will have perfected a weapon which will have great possibilities for smashing the British Empire in its most vital spot - self determination for the three hundred million oppressed of India! There is something to think over, something to wait patiently for while ~~arming~~ to fight it out. For that job a big navy is needed. Only one country can build a fleet big enough for that war. Roosevelt is building the biggest navy in the world.

*

The imperialists know it is war. But they are afraid of it. Munich showed that clearly. Stark fear of revolution showed in Roosevelt's appeal to Hitler. "The economic system of every country involved is certain to be shattered", he said. "The social structure of every country involved may well be completely wrecked." Yes, indeed. By proletarian revolution.

*

The imperialists know, for example, that when eighty thousand Alsations out of a population of 200,000 decide to flee from Strassbourg to escape from the zone of possible warfare this flight may easily turn into a political movement against the state. They know there are hundreds of Strassbourgs. They know that the evacuation of millions from big cities contains within itself the germs of tremendous mass movements which can easily take on a revolutionary character precisely because they take place in war time. They know that the world has not forgotten the horrors and miseries, the brutalities and degradations, the famines and destruction of the last war. And out of that war there came one successful proletarian revolution the chances are very strong that that success will be repeated on a world wide scale. Then, the self determination of small nations and oppressed nationalities will really be possible. And not otherwise.

*

War is inescapable for the imperialists. And revolution is inescapable for the workers. In war time, as Lenin said, revolution is civil war. The imperialists will give us the imperialist war. We will turn it into civil war to overthrow capitalism. Then we will have peace.

U.A.W. LAUNCHES NATIONAL TOOL & DIE DRIVE

100,000 AUTO, AIRCRAFT, AND FARM MACHINERY WORKERS AFFECTED

DETROIT, Oct. 1.- A progressive movement initiated among the tool and die workers several months ago has begun to show concrete organizational results with the setting up of tool and die councils in Detroit, Anderson, Indiana, and Flint recently. Steps are being undertaken to organize twenty such councils throughout the country with one national Tool and Die Organizing Committee coordinating the work of all.

This set-up, necessary for complete industrial unionism, provides the apparatus for organizing the unorganized tool and die workers, for defending the gains made by these workers, and for making additional gains. The possibilities are now open to organize 100,000 tool and die workers in auto, aircraft, and farm implements who fall within the jurisdiction of the U.A.W. For this work a special yearly dues of \$1.50 for tool and die members of the U.A.W. has been voted. One-third is to be devoted to the use of the local council from which it comes and two-thirds for the national organizing work.

The great organizational drive of the automobile workers last year had as its main purpose the organizing of the production workers. Being an elemental movement without constructive leadership and knowledge of the complicated problems involved, it did not provide the proper channels for the non-production or tool and die workers to deal with their own specific problems in their shops. This was even more the case in the captive shops (the tool and die departments in the major auto plants) where the problems of the tool and die workers were not considered separately from those of the production workers. At the same time the task of organizing the tool and die workers was placed in the hands of the Stalinists who used their position and responsibility for factional purposes as part of their drive to gain a controlling position at the Milwaukee Convention, on the International Board, etc. To this end, workers were arbitrarily transferred from locals to make up majorities favorable to the Stalinists or to break the majorities of opponents. Slanders were directed at those left wing workers who sought to organize the tool and die workers along the lines on which they are being organized today.

JOB AND "CAPTIVE" SHOPS DISSATISFIED WITH OLD SET-UP

The result was that whereas workers in mixed shop locals were able to register many gains, those in the captive shops obtained little or no benefits from their membership in the union. Thousands of these latter workers left the union in disgust. In certain major auto shops, whole tool and die departments remain unorganized.

For over a year before the present National Tool and Die Organizing Committee was appointed by the International to organize the councils, delegation after delegation from job and captive shops had asked Martin and the International to remedy this unfavorable situation. However,

at that time there was no organized progressive force which could have guided the new set-up, and such a council, if created at that time, would have fallen into the hands of the Stalinists who would have used it for factional purposes against the International and the interests of the tool and die workers. Agitation by left wing workers served to create such a sentiment among the tool and die workers. It can be truthfully stated that the new set-up represents the expression of these workers who want to complete the organization of the unorganized, to maintain their present standards, and to extend them.

The plan of these tool and die councils now being organized is extremely simple. The representation is directly from the factories and the shops, each job and captive shop being entitled to one delegate, and one additional delegate for every hundred and fifty workers. Upon this basis, the means are at hand to carry on the drive to organize the unorganized tool and die workers, to bring about uniform conditions among all the shops, and to make agreements embodying all the tool and die workers in the industry. The workers in the big auto shops are especially in a position to remedy the unfavorable set-up of the past. Furthermore, the way the new council is constructed enables the tool and die workers themselves to take the initiative and to become the driving force in the whole set-up. Coming as delegates directly from the shops, they are constantly faced not only with the task of completing the organization of the unorganized tool and die workers but also with the task of solving their own problems in the shops as they will arise, since they are the elected representatives of the men in the shops.

In organizing these councils, the Stalinists were denied all control. The latter consequently sought means to prevent the plan from going into operation. At the first Detroit council delegation meeting, the Stalinists directly blasted the idea of a council. However, when the delegates went almost unanimously in favor of the council, the Stalinists quickly changed their tactics. They supported the council in words, but sabotaged and opposed it in action. They attempted to hamstring the whole set-up by allocating the whole \$1.50 special yearly dues to local work. In this way, the national committee would be deprived of the financial means for organizing the councils throughout the country. Other tactics used by the Stalinists were to put "ringers" in the Detroit council, that is, delegates not from tool and die shops. They slandered the national organizing committee, spreading the rumor that one of its members is on the payroll of the American Manufacturers Association.

NEW JOB SHOP LOCAL (#588) FORMED IN DETROIT

Another progressive step in the organization of the tool and die workers here in Detroit was taken in the formation recently of a job shop local. (A job shop is one that contracts for tool and die work and bids for work from the big plants). This local will comprise, in time, workers from every job shop - only about 40 out of 170 are organized. It can be the means of bringing workers from the M.E.S.A. and The Tool and Die Craftsmen into one big tool and die local.

In the mixed Locals, 155 and 157, the problems of the tool and die workers were lost among those of the production workers. This went so far that recently a Stalinist moved in a 155 meeting that tool and die problems not be discussed at local meetings but in separate committee meetings which should then make recommendations to the Local.

The agreement made last May under the leadership of Stalinist John Anderson changed the expiration date from May when the new tool program generally is in full swing to January when no workers are in the shops, placing the tool and die workers in a disadvantageous position in negotiating the new agreement. It also gives the jobbers the upper hand to put over the type of contract they need for the new season. Through this new Local the workers will have a powerful force to change the expiration date back to May.

Because this new local will result in the tool and die workers leaving 155 and 157, the Stalinists who control these locals mechanically have initiated a vicious campaign of slander and lies against the new local and its organizers. In a leaflet issued to members of 157, the Stalinists charge that any fifteen workers from a job shop can organize a local, thus splitting the tool and die workers into some forty different locals. The simple truth is that by the present charter given to the new local it has the power to organize all the job shops, so that no charters can be issued to other locals to organize job shops. It is by such means that they seek to retain their mechanical control.

PROBLEMS FACING THE TOOL AND DIE MAKERS

One of the major problems facing the tool and die workers is an increasingly shortened season. Whereas in the past a season might last six to eight months, today a tool and die worker is fortunate to get in six months work. The average annual pay is cut in half. The tool and die workers must raise the demand for a substantial increase in hourly pay over the present rate to provide for a decent annual wage. The setting up of tool and die councils and job shop locals will provide the machinery for fighting for such an increase and against speed-up, which is part and parcel of the wage problem. Several hundred newly organized tool and die men of the Muncie, Indiana Local #287, recognizing this fact, voted unanimously last week for the new Tool and Die Council set up.

It is to be expected that the Stalinists will cease their frontal attack on this new set-up, and will accept it as an accomplished fact, entering the local and council to fight for control inside. It will be more difficult now for the tool and die workers to see the Stalinists as inimical to their real interests, whereas before they saw them out in the open as outright oppositionists to the whole set-up.

Homer Martin took advantage of this expression of the rank and file tool and die workers. He accepted the formation of the councils and job shop local, because he saw that it weakened the Stalinists. As this new development grows it will meet opposition from some of the International Executive Board. They see in it the possibility of the development of a set-up controlled by the rank and file.

These dangers cannot be avoided. They must be met and overcome during the course of the struggle to organize the tool and diemakers and to improve the conditions of work and wages. Only if the workers are actively fighting for the attainment of these objectives and have a leadership who will lead the fight-- and prove it by their actions --only in this way can the union be safeguarded against being made into a factional free-for-all.

TOOL AND DIE WORKER

NEW STRIKE WAVE LOOMS IN AUTO

UNION MUST COUNTER SPEED UP WITH ORGANIZATION DRIVE

DETROIT, Oct. 8.- Present indications point toward a new wave of strike struggles in auto. Not a week passes without one or more strikes and others threatening. The auto plants are starting up once more, and the capitalists are not losing a minute in smashing down on the union. In this they are merely renewing with increased vigor their campaign begun last spring and summer.

As far back as last March the bosses began their attack by announcing a ten percent wage cut at Federal Screw. Here they were decisively defeated by the militancy of the auto workers. At Michigan Steel Casting, however, the bosses recovered the lost ground by putting over a ten percent cut. At this time the factional fight in the U.A.W. International Board was beginning to rock the union. The effect of this on the rank and file was one of temporary disgust and turning of backs, which accounts for the decreased picket line in this last named strike. Taking advantage of this situation the employers put over a wage cut at National Automotive Fibers. Revere Brass workers also suffered a cut of approximately twenty five percent, it is reported.

A sort of climax was reached in early June when by the most brutal police methods Anaconda Copper succeeded in putting over a ten percent cut in the American Brass plant. In this strike the U.A.W. workers, who formed the greater part of the picket line, gave a brilliant example of the militancy of the American workers by engaging the police despite terrific disadvantages of equipment and numbers.* But the International Board and the C.I.O. strategy committee betrayed the strikers, by telling them to go back to work at a time when the rank and file was for extending the strike. To the class collaborators and ignoramuses on the Board the factional struggle for posts was more important than victory for the American Brass workers.

HIT THE SMALL PLANTS FIRST

All in all, the capitalists were rather successful in their campaign of wage cutting and union smashing during the spring and summer. Their strategy was first to smash down hard on the small and parts plants, during the off season of the big auto plants, then to move on to the big plants. If the situation in the International had been a different one, one of struggle against the employers, the plans of the latter would have gone awry in the face of huge supporting picket lines. But the capitalists knew their labor agents in the International well and depended on them to prevent the auto workers from mustering their full strength.

In August the employers began one last assault on small shops before the production season got under way. This was the McCord Radiator strike. In this strike the workers of the local 210 agreed to take

* For a detailed story on this strike, read Revolt #6.

a 5% cut for six months in exchange for an agreement to stop moving machinery to a dummy corporation in London, Ohio, return the Hudson business to Detroit (putting about 300 men back to work), and the closed shop. For seven straight weeks the members of the local maintained a twenty-four hour watch on the plant and showed encouraging solidarity. This was too much for the International Board. It bureaucratically sent telegrams over the heads of the strike committee for the men to return to work. But the strike continued firm for about one week after the wires were sent. This action of the International plus its refusal to support the strike- Hudson and Packard were putting on McCord radiators during the strike- was decisive in breaking the strike. A small local like 210 cannot be expected singlehanded to defeat a big corporation like McCord.

The terms of the temporary agreement are a distinct defeat for the Local and to the U.A.W. as a whole. The agreement omitted mention of the return of the Hudson business to Detroit. Nothing was said about the London, Ohio plant which employs scab labor at 20 cents per hour for women and 35 cents per hour for men. The company immediately violated the provision requiring the strikers be taken back according to seniority. Twenty-five private detectives went to work with the returning union men. Likewise, there is nothing in the agreement against moving more machinery to London, Ohio, except a clause agreeing to confer with the union beforehand.

TROTSKYITES SHIELD MARTIN

When the McCord strike first broke out, the Trotskyite "Socialist Appeal" declared that the "International can be expected to support the strike." The "Appeal" of September 17 stated that Local 210 had wired the Board that if it did not aid the strikers, the latter would consider that the International had left them in the lurch. On the 24th the Appeal records that Martin and the Executive Board had done nothing about the strike. But whom did the Trotskyites blame? Martin? No, they give him "bold and aggressive support". It was on Loren Houser, a reactionary member of the Board, that the Appeal places the whole blame for breaking the McCord strike.

They make a scapegoat of Houser and cover up Homer Martin who sanctioned what Houser did. This reminds one of the Stalinists blaming Chamberlain for "selling out" the Czechs in order to cover up the "democratic" capitalists. The "editors" in New York have found another formula for class collaboration in the unions.

The McCord strike, the American Brass defeat, and the factional struggle in the International Board gave the auto bosses confidence to attack the unions in the big shops. Briggs, General Motors, and Chrysler were careful not to begin with wage cuts, bringing the men out in tremendous numbers on the picket lines. The strategy was one of gradualism, of chiseling on the contracts, violating seniority in rehiring, speed up, and then wage cutting.

Briggs fired the opening gun in the attack. He attempted to speed up the practically 100% organized Mack Avenue plant. Protests by the men resulted in the firing of two workers, one a chief shop steward on September 14th. On this same day, a foreman attempted to fire a worker who refused to take the speed up, by tearing his badge from him. Immediately the 9,000 workers in the plant sat down; four hours later,

at the request of the President of Local 212, Emil Mazey, they left the plant. Within three days the strike was settled. 7,000 in the Plymouth plant, 2,000 in the Chrysler Windsor plant, and a part of Dodge Main sat idle during the strike. The threats to call out all of the Briggs plants was enough to convince Briggs that this time he was licked. The fired men were reinstated with back pay. The speed up in Department 371, the source of the trouble, was slowed down, and a ten percent increase was granted to men on the line. The Briggs workers stopped a potential wage cut. Speed up "kills" the job sooner, and the workers make less for the season.

One of the Big Three, Chrysler, a much more powerful unit than Briggs, attempted the same thing. In New Castle, Indiana, the workers in the Chrysler plant walked out September 16th, charging the company refused to negotiate speed up and union discrimination. The strike resulted in a complete victory for the union. A sit down in Champion Spark Plug here in Detroit on September 22nd involving about 250 workers was caused by the same issues of speed up and union discrimination. For the same reason 700 workers walked out of the Evansville, Indiana plant of Plymouth, a Chrysler unit, on September 27th. Briggs Indiana Corporation employing 1,500 men which makes bodies for this plant was forced to shut down. All these strikes were very embarrassing to Homer Martin. The very night of the Evansville walkout he naively asserted over the radio that seniority rehiring agreements, speed up control and wage increases were the most outstanding victories of last year. The strike was declared unauthorized and Ringwald was sent to Evansville to get the men back into the plant. The strike was won due to the militancy of the workers plus Chrysler's desire to beat General Motors and Ford to the market.

DEMAND FOR 32 HOUR WEEK SWEEPING AUTO WORKERS

The rehiring seniority problem in Chrysler is becoming acute. The Plymouth edition of the United Automobile Worker charges the company with trying to increase the work week from 32 to 37 hours in violation of the contract. Over a thousand men will lose their seniority if they do not get back to work by November 1st. They will be thrown out into the general labor market which is plenty bad now. The union is therefore correctly seeking to enforce the 32 hour week in order to rehire men who otherwise would lose their seniority. Even the International Board sitting in Washington, D.C. endorsed the 32 hour week (October 5th), but there are already indications that it will come to some arrangement favorable to the corporations. The newly reinstated Richard Frankenstein stated (October 8th) that the union would not demand strict adherence to the 32 hour week. The workers must guard against this.

The Plymouth workers on October 7th closed the plant with a picket line to prevent men from working over 32 hours. In spite of the "no strike" clause in the Plymouth contract, this strike, soft-pedalled by the union heads, tied up 9000 Briggs workers.

The 32 hour week is creating excitement among the auto workers here. Although Chrysler is the only big company with which the UAW has provision for a 32 hour week, General Motors and other locals are demanding it apply to their particular plant. In other words, the workers

are attempting to assist one another in retaining their seniority, and perhaps it is this display of solidarity that causes Chrysler to make such a fuss about it, plus the fact that the workers are exercising a form of job control. This stand of the auto workers is to be encouraged. However, the demand for the 32 hour week must be accompanied by the demand for 40-hour pay.

Trouble shooting is also going on in Flint. Here the union charges that the Buick division of General Motors for months refused to negotiate speed up, seniority, and alleged wage cuts. The corporation had violated the contract by permitting over 400 men with from five to ten years seniority to stay idle, while men with only two years in the plant were rehired. The union is demanding the 32 hour week as at the Plymouth plant. On October 8th, a second strike vote on these questions was postponed at the instigation of the International.

AUTO WORKERS MUST PREPARE FOR NEW WAVE OF STRIKES

The most important issue which the auto workers face now in the struggle to maintain their present standard of living is the speed up. And precisely because the companies are trying to produce more cars with as little wage outlay as possible. Furthermore, they have big government war contracts to fulfill. So speed up is their issue also. Strikes are in store, a whole wave of them. Today General Motors and Chrysler are in a hurry to reach the market and are willing to make concessions. But as soon as their first orders are filled, they will begin to clamp down on the union again.

The new wave of strikes, we can predict, will be different in nature from those of 1937. During the great organizational upsurge, the auto workers were on the offensive and were able to make the tremendous gains of which Martin speaks. Not until later were the bureaucrats and class collaborators able to move in on the rank and file, take measures against advanced workers, and put down one strike after another.

One thing is certain: the auto workers will fight, as has been shown in the strikes thus far at Briggs, Chrysler, and General Motors. The auto union is still strong. But the top leadership of the U.A.W.- and this includes the four reinstated officers, Addes, Mortimer, Frankenstein, and Hall- has become solidified in their posts and collaborate with the auto corporations in an effort to keep the workers from striking during production even when the companies violate the contracts.

Precisely for this reason, the auto workers will be forced to fight not only the companies but also against their labor agents in the union to maintain and improve their present standards of living.

Now, when the production season is getting under way, the auto workers have the opportunity to complete the organization of the unorganized, to move in on Ford, to secure the six hour day, five day week with no reduction in pay, and the closed shop. In this struggle against the labor misleaders and the auto corporations the prospects are good for the development of a new, fighting leadership and class struggle policies in the automobile workers union.

U.A.W. MEMBER

U.R.W.A. CONVENTION SIDESTEPS VITAL ISSUES

RUBBER WORKERS STILL FACED WITH PROBLEMS UNSOLVED AT TRENTON

The Third National Convention of the United Rubber Workers of America (CIO) was held in Trenton, New Jersey September 19th to 25th. Attending were 122 delegates representing about 75,000 workers in some sixty or more locals of the International.

The URWA is an extremely young union. Its CIO affiliation dates from 1936. In September 1935 only 4,000 of the 120,000 in the industry were organized into 39 loosely federated locals of the American Federation of Labor. The rank and file rose up against William Green and the craft form of organization and obtained an international charter. Then came the turning point. In January 1936, when the Akron Goodyear local had only 800 of the 14,000 workers in Goodyear, a five week sit-down, bitterly fought out, resulted in victory for the union. The workers flocked in. When the CIO was organized, the rubber workers became one of the pioneer sections of it. By July 1936, when the URWA affiliated to the CIO, it had upwards of 75,000 members.

RUBBER, A KEY INDUSTRY, CONCENTRATED IN FEWER HANDS

The United States produces no crude rubber. Yet it consumes 75% of the crude rubber of the world. Without rubber most highway transportation would cease. Rubber tires are indispensable for automobiles, trucks, buses, motorcycles, bicycles, aeroplanes, and even farm machinery, graders, and tractors. Rubber has over 30,000 other uses in footwear, the home, chemical engineering, and building construction. In 1933 there were 680,000,000 dollars invested in over 400 plants, the total value of production for that year being 511,415,000 dollars.

Rubber is a highly centralized industry. For example, the number of tire and inner tube establishments decreased from 91 in 1929 to 44 in 1933 - a centralization of over 100%. The Big Four - Goodyear, Firestone, United States, and Goodrich - controlled in 1933 65% of the total production and could supply the entire domestic market. The industry even then was centralized pretty much in three states: Ohio, 15 plants; California, 5; and Pennsylvania, 3.

Over a period of years the manufacturers have installed labor saving machinery which enormously increased the productivity of the workers and resulted in a great decrease in employment. For example, from 1925 to 1934 the number of casings produced declined from 58,784,000 to 47,171,000. From 1929 to 1934 the number of rubber workers employed on tires decreased from 83,260 to 52,960, or 36%. In other words: more productivity, less production; and less workers in the industry. What is going on is a PERMANENT DISPLACEMENT of rubber workers by capitalism.

But why a DECREASE in tire production? The fact is: mileage on tires is increasing. 8,000 average miles per tire in 1922 to 40,000 in 1938. More

ominous still to rubber workers is the fact that "constant improvement in the quality of tires may result eventually in the manufacture of tires that will last as long as the average auto. In that case the largest source of the present demand for tires will be automatically eliminated and tire manufacturing reduced to a comparatively minor part of the auto industry." (Bureau of Labor Statistics, #595, July 1933). The rubber worker, then, faces further elimination from industry.

As important as the rubber industry is during peace times, in the event of war, it becomes along with transportation, a vital factor. Experiments with artificial rubber have not yet developed a cheap satisfactory commercial substitute for rubber. This places the rubber workers in a strategic position in relation to the next war.

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE TRENTON CONVENTION

The URWA is faced with tremendous and difficult problems. How did the Trenton convention deal with them? First, the problem of unemployment was "recognized" for the industry, but the proposed solutions only hit the surface and are totally inadequate for the protection of the rubber worker.

For example, one resolution calls for an annual wage. It is designed to help the employed worker, but obviously does not help the permanently displaced worker. Another calls for the support of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (Wages and Hours Act). This act will not materially help those workers disemployed by labor saving machinery. Furthermore, the convention itself pointed out that reduction in hours without increase in hourly pay is in reality a wage cut. The fight for wage increases when the employers are wage-cutting will be a bitter one. To succeed, this struggle will have to be led by other than the present stick-in-the-mud policies and leadership of the URWA.

The solution proposed for the permanently displaced rubber worker was contained in a resolution on unemployment, calling for: (a) less red tape in relief and unemployment compensation payments; (b) extension of the unemployment compensation act to cover workers not now included. Can these measures actually reabsorb the DISEMLOYED rubber worker back into industry? Obviously not. Shorter hours at the same wage is only a PARTIAL Answer.

Technological displacement in rubber is on the INCREASE. Under capitalism technical progress, which should benefit mankind, brings misery to workers. Only by the complete overthrow of the system of private profit and the establishment of a society controlled by and for the workers as a whole can technological advances benefit the working class. Of course, the URWA leadership which toadies and conciliates the companies could not point out these facts.

Take the problem of the diminishing foreign market for rubber tires and goods; and the decentralization of American plants to foreign countries. The convention ignored this problem entirely; yet its consequences to the rubber workers are tremendous. The Big Four has been exporting capital and skill to foreign countries. By 1935, to mention a few, Goodrich had branch factories in Canada, France, and Japan; Goodyear in Argentina, Australia, Canada, England, and Java; General in Mexico, and U.S. Rubber

in Canada. These plants use cheaper labor and are a serious threat to domestic production. And here's the pay-off: These branches close the market to rubber goods and tires manufactured in the United States.

Foreign competition. In 1929 the United States exported \$39,000,000 worth of tires. In 1937, only \$13,237,000. This decrease was due in part to English competition. Japan and others took away the foreign footwear market. Whereas in 1926 the U.S. supplied 24.3% of the world's production; in 1933 it was only .8%! What this sapping of the foreign market means to the rubber worker is self-evident. But not to the officialdom. They side-step the problem because it cannot be solved UNDER CAPITALISM. Just as the companies establish foreign branches, so the union should establish fraternal relations with the rubber workers of those countries to the end of uniting against the common employer. This policy would expose in all its nakedness the imperialist role played by the Big Four, operating through the government of the United States in foreign countries.

SPEED-UP, NEGRO, AND WAR QUESTIONS BUNGLED

The all important question of speed-up and how to fight it was not brought up at all. Perhaps this question is too embarrassing to the official supporters of the Roosevelt administration. As in auto and steel, speed-up and wage cuts are vital problems. The capitalists are preparing for war on the greatest scale in the history of the country. To meet government contracts the rubber firms have geared up production to reduce labor costs. The convention adopted a resolution putting the URWA on record opposed to wage cuts. But remember: only a few months ago the International Board adopted a resolution (similar to that in the UAW) declaring that all strikes must be "authorized" before they are legal, thus effectively depriving the locals of independent rank and file struggle against the wage cuts. Of course, this action of the International was not brought before the convention.

On the negro question, the convention again skimmed the surface. The resolution is progressive but by no means adequate. It says that "because of the fact that we have not yet completely brought the Negro workers into the labor organizations of this country, they have not yet received economic or political justice or constitutional or civil liberties..." It is well known that Negroes are deliberately discriminated against in the industry. In only two plants in Akron are they employed as other than maintenance men and janitors. Negro women are not employed at all. It's high time the union recognizes that the Negro question can be solved only by giving him full economic and social equality, not only in the unions, but in society as a whole. The capitalists refuse to grant equality, hoping thus to prevent the unity of black and white workers. The abolition of this system which produces inequality therefore becomes a practical necessity.

Instead of enlivening URWA members to these questions the class collaborators attempt to dull their senses and understanding by giving unreserved support to the New Deal, a third term for Roosevelt, "democracy", etc.

Same on the war question. The convention took place in the midst of the Czech war crisis, when it seemed the whole world was to be plunged

into another world war. The rubber workers had an excellent chance to express their opposition to imperialist slaughter in no uncertain terms. Being in a vital war industry, they could have set the keynote of solidarity of workers of all countries against the international capitalist war-makers. The convention resolution on war merely voiced in once clause opposition to it, and in the following clause declared for Roosevelt's policy of "quarantining the aggressors", the official catch phrase concealing the war policy of the United States government. A war to "quarantine the aggressors", like the war "to make the world safe for democracy", is a formula Roosevelt has found to dupe the workers into believing they ought to fight and die for their employers' investments abroad and against their fellow workers in foreign countries. Stalinists and other class collaborators in the union are doing their damndest to put over this deception.

The problems of the rubber workers are essentially the same as those of the entire labor movement today: unemployment, wage cuts, speed-up. Experience has shown these problems can be met successfully only by an organization drive based on class struggle policy, fighting for the 32 hour week without reduction in pay; the organization of the unorganized - especially in the South - and the closed shop.

DANGER AHEAD FOR W.P.A.O.C.

RANK AND FILE CONTROL ONLY GUARANTEE FOR GROWTH

CHICAGO, Oct. 10.- Since the Unemployed Councils amalgamated with the Workers Alliance in 1935 the workers on relief here had to make their way without any fighting organization. As a result, hundreds of thousands of workers on relief and W.P.A. have been subject to continual slashes in their standard of living. Today, only 40% of the former budget remains.

About half a year ago a group of about fifteen militant workers formed a progressive group in the Alliance. After functioning for a period it became increasingly clear that the Alliance could not be salvaged. The Alliance had less than a thousand paid-up members; the majority of the active workers were old, sick or supporters of the policy of the Stalinists who controlled the organization. All employables had been removed from direct relief and had been placed on W.P.A. projects.

The Progressive Group, therefore, turned its eyes toward the projects and formed a committee to organize the W.P.A. workers - the WPA Organizing Committee. The Committee issued a program consisting of a series of demands. (See REVOLT of August 27, 1938) The Committee established a headquarters at 3451 S. Michigan Avenue and began to handle grievances of workers of direct relief and W.P.A. The organization spread by word of mouth. There was no systematic distribution of leaflets. As the WPAOC grew an executive board of nine was elected. The procedure at this stage was loose. No membership cards were issued. As members dropped from the board it appointed new members to itself.

The WPAOC in a period of five months gained a good reputation. Hundreds of workers became acquainted with the organization and expressed their sympathy for it. Workers on dozens of projects learned of the Committee either through actions of the Executive Board working on the projects or through workers whose grievances were satisfactorily adjusted.

The Committee took concrete steps to organize the projects and set up a broad, mass organization. Membership cards were issued, a bulletin was planned, leaflets were distributed and organization of the projects commenced. The results were astonishing. Within a month over one thousand membership cards were filled. At this point the basis for a Union had been established.

The immediate tasks were: convocation of a membership meeting to found the Union; election of a constitution committee by the membership; election of a temporary executive committee by the membership; organization of locals on the projects. The structure of the Union should have been defined as follows: Locals to be based on projects; project locals to have autonomy; projects to elect representatives to a House of Delegates. The House of Delegates to be subordinated to the membership; House of Delegates to elect an Executive Board; Executive Board to be subordinate to the House of Delegates.

BUROCRATIC TENDENCIES DEVELOPE

In September the Executive Board took up the question of a constitution. When the above structure was proposed, the Executive Board rejected it. Instead it proceeded to set up a burocratic structure. It decided to appoint representatives to the projects and to give them fifteen percent of the dues they collect. By these decisions they laid the basis for a dues collecting racket. At this meeting it decided that it had the authority to formulate a constitution without seeking ratification by the membership. And it decided that it would remain in office for one year, after which it would decide whether the membership is capable of being trusted with the organization and whether a convention should be called to elect an Executive Board.

By these decisions the Executive Board became burocratic. Unless these decisions are reversed the organization will be strangled and a promising movement will die stillborn.

The members of the Executive did not make these decisions because they are labor fakers or stool pigeons for the W.P.A. administration. Many of them have put in years fighting for the unemployed, and are militants. Their motives are good. We can sympathize with them. That is not decisive. What counts is whether what they do advances or hurts the interests of the workers. These decisions hurt the interests of the workers.

A fighting unemployed organization can be built if the workers themselves control it. Union democracy goes hand in hand with fighting policies. The agents of the bosses in the unions always are burocrats. Collaboration with the bosses goes hand in hand with burocracy and gangsterism. The decisions of the Board dangerously curtail democracy. When workers on the projects hear that they cannot control the organization, they will not join it.

The Executive Board decided on these measures because it is afraid of the Stalinists coming in, taking over, and making the organization another Workers Alliance. This is a real danger. But the decisions of the Executive Board do not avoid that danger. They aggravate it.

The Board's decisions give the Stalinists a perfect weapon for their dirty work. The Stalinists will be able to hide their real policies and masquerade as fighters for union democracy. On this issue they can win a large following.

When the Executive Board made these decisions it wanted to protect the organization from a real danger. But it chose the wrong methods. It decided to fight the Stalinist bureaucracy by creating a non-Stalinist bureaucracy. In other words it has no confidence in the judgment of the W.P.A. workers. It says, in effect, that it cannot rely on the workers in the fight against the Stalinists. With such a policy it cannot win the confidence of the workers.

There is only one way to beat the Stalinist machine. That is to win the confidence of the workers by showing them in action that we stand for a FIGHT against the W.P.A. set-up for what the workers want; and for a democratic organization controlled by the rank and file.

We can build a fighting unemployed movement in Chicago. What has been done so far proves it. The decisions of the Board are a step in the wrong direction. But there is yet time to go ahead on the correct track by reversing the decisions of the Executive Board and adopting the procedure outlined in this article, and by having faith in the intelligence and courage of the workers.

-WPA WORKER

EDITORIAL NOTE: The Workers Alliance is splitting wide open nationally. The opportunity is here for the establishment of a militant national unemployed and WPA movement based on class struggle policies. The above article coming at this time is extremely opportune.

SEAMEN RESIST GOVERNMENT FINK HALLS

DEMAND NMU OFFICIALS QUIT SCAB-HERDING TACTICS

In line with the war plan of the U.S. Navy Department of placing all merchant vessels under government control immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities, the United States Maritime Commission has set up government hiring halls in Atlantic ports and has instituted government training ships for seamen. This setup is calculated to break the union control over hiring and to train men to man ships as scabs in case of maritime strikes.

The National Maritime Union officialdom have openly and shamelessly given their support to these scabby government hiring halls and training ships. They have entered into agreements with the government and have posted notices calling on their own rank and file to break the picket lines maintained by the militant seamen at the Maritime Commission halls, thus attempting to destroy at one blow the most important gain made by the maritime unions through many years of struggle - exclusive union hiring halls.

We hail the militant efforts of the Joint Committee of the SUP, MFOWW and MTW of the IWW to fight the fink halls and training ships as well as the NMU officials who have made a deal with the government.

(We publish below the statement of the Joint Committee to the rank and file of the NMU. The determined refusal of these seamen to subordinate the interests of their union to the war plans of the capitalist government should receive serious consideration by all class conscious workers everywhere. -Editorial Note)

The Joint Committee during its fight against the Maritime Commission FINK HALLS and TRAINING SHIP program, has stated time and time again:

- 1- The U.S. Maritime Commission FINK HALLS have been established for the sole purpose of breaking all existing militant unions.
- 2- The Maritime Commission Training ships and schools are a thinly disguised project for training FINKS.
- 3- The establishment of FINK HALLS, training ships and schools is a government-ship owner attempt to regiment seamen into some sort of spineless organization that will collaborate with the government-ship owner combination for the benefit of the shipowners against the seamen.
- 4- Attempts to inject jurisdictional beefs are merely undercover efforts to break down the fight against the FINK HALLS and Training ships.
- 5- Officials of any Maritime Union who fail to warn their membership of this danger are either too ignorant for their positions or are wilfully betraying the seamen.
- 6- Finally, the success of the Maritime Commission and Training ships means the deathknell of ALL militant maritime unions.

In spite of the above facts, the NMU officialdom is trying to play the role of the "spineless organization" mentioned in paragraph 3. Proof is offered in the September 30th issue of the Pilot which carries a letter from Ralph Emerson, legislative representative for the NMU in Washington. The fact that it is given front page space is proof that it has the approval of the "powers that be" in the NMU. This letter starts on the lower left hand corner of page 1 and is continued on page 4, columns 4 & 5.

Quote: We know that there will be some type of regimentation put into effect to coordinate the various phases of national defence...The signs of this are already evident. Now with the NMU being recognized as the established collective bargaining agency for the overwhelming (?) majority of men in the industry, it is therefore evident that we will be called upon to co-operate in any emergency set-up affecting shipping and maritime affairs...and so that when maritime labor is called upon to participate in any such set-up, that the government will know just who are the proper persons to deal with...End quote...we can imagine how we will be dealt with once the Admirals get the upper hand.....

TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE NMU: The SUP, MFO&W and the MTW of the IWW are officially and actively fighting the Maritime Commission halls and the training ships...The AFL-SU advises its membership not to go thru the FINK HALLS or Training ship PICKET LINES. The only union that urges its membership to go thru the PICKET LINES is the National Maritime Union. Do you want the NMU to become the spineless organization that will "be dealt with" by the Admirals Commission?

Force your union to join in the fight against the Maritime Commission's program. . .

STAY OUT OF FINK HALLS
STAY OFF TRAINING SHIPS

SHIP THRU YOUR UNION HALLS
RECOGNIZE THE PICKET LINES.

PHILLY SANITATION STRIKE ROUTS CITY MOGULS

GIVES BOURGEOISIE TASTE OF POWER OF ORGANIZED LABOR

Philadelphia has been converted into a vast city dump. Garbage, ashes and rubbish litters the streets, sidewalks and alleys as a result of a strike begun October 6th of 1000 street cleaners and garbage collectors caused by the discharge of 264 men on September 26th. Organized originally into an independent union, the municipal employees now have a provisional charter as Local 222 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers Union.

Mayor Wilson, elected as a "friend of labor", shrieks that this is not a strike but a revolt against the city government. He said that municipal employees have no right to go out on strike. This is the same friend of labor who tried to break the last truck strike, the department stores strike and the present taxicab strike.

The radio and press shed crocodile tears about the filth in the city, hoping thereby to create sentiment against the workers. Mayor Wilson and Martin J. McLaughlin, Director of Public Works, praised the marvelous work performed by the "substitutes" (scabs to you) but the strike still remains solid as can be seen from the tons of rubbish piled high everywhere. A competent authority on sanitation stated that "the five days effort of the rookie workers (scabs) amount to less than a half day's work of the regular crews.

On Thursday October 13, one week after the strike was called, the City Council was forced to approve a \$54,613 payroll item to bring the strike to an end and rehire the 1000 strikers including the 264 first laid off. But the workers must be careful not to rely on the council. Their own independent action brought the council to its knees. The struggle they are winning on the picket line can easily be lost in the City Council. In spite of the scores of casualties and arrests, the police squads and patrol wagons in this "City of Brotherly Love", the city authorities were unable to break the solidarity of the workers. This solidarity cut across race and religious lines. Hundreds of colored workers marched shoulder to shoulder with whites; and foreign born with natives on the picket line.

The reactionary Philadelphia Inquirer of Friday October 13 printed a provocative editorial attacking the mayor for not "acting", that is: calling in the National Guard. Philadelphia labor is sufficiently aroused over this strike to answer such tactics with a general strike. Workers today are not as easily intimidated as formerly by the military. They have learned to fight back. The revolt of the local municipal workers is typical of the mood of workers in the industrial centers of the United States.

-Lou Roberts

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DIES COMMITTEE PAINTS NEW DEAL PINK

ANTI-STALINIST PRE-ELECTION BOGIE PRELUDE TO RED RAIDS

Detroit, Oct. 16.- The Dies Committee investigating "un-american" activities completed its hearings in Detroit last Thursday after a short half week session. It adjourned to Washington, D.C., where it will take testimony on last year's sit-down strikes in Michigan.

In its wake the Committee left a trail of ridiculous charges, red bogies, and a flock of intimidated school teachers whom it tried to link to the Communist Party by one means or another. The height of this burlesque was reached when four distinguished medical professors at the University of Michigan - one of them the internationally famous Dr. Reuben Leon Kahn, discoverer of the Kahn syphilis test - were charged before the Dies Committee by Walter Reynolds, chairman of the American Legion's subcommittee on subversive activities with being "benefactors, supporters, and cloaks used by communist organizations." This reference was to the aid these professors had rendered to the Medical Bureau To Aid Spanish Democracy - a Stalinist Red Cross outfit. "Red clergymen" and "communist rabbis" such as Rabbi Leon Fram of Temple Beth-El, and men like John L. Lewis, Albert Einstein, Paul de Kruif, and others were named as communist sympathizers by Reynolds in his testimony.

REAL PURPOSE OF COMMITTEE REVEALED

All this sham is used by the Dies Committee to cover the real purposes of its brief investigation here. The November elections are a few weeks off. Michigan is an important storm center for the New Deal. On the success or failure of Governor Murphy's re-election might hinge the fate of a third term for Roosevelt. The Democratic party here in Michigan - as nationally - is split into the so-called Constitutional Democrats and the New Deal Democrats. The Stalinists (Communist Party) are the main political group in the labor movement behind Murphy and the New Deal.

The real aim of the Dies Committee then in this case was not to investigate "un-american" activities, but rather to strike a blow at the New Deal and its candidates in the November elections and at the Communist Party and liberal pink tea sympathizers around whom is rallied the pro-New Deal labor vote.

So much for the immediate aims of the Committee. Its long-run aims constitute a most serious danger to the working class and it must be combatted as such. The red-baiting Dies Committee is being used by the capitalists as a whole (here regardless of party lines) to weaken the workers opposition to the relief cuts, unemployment, and misery in general. Furthermore, the United States capitalists are calling for more armaments for the coming war. They need a "loyal" working class to produce them. The Dies Committee seeks to instill this "loyalty" by intimidation and red scares.

This investigation prepares the ground for open persecution, red-raids, smashing of union halls, and the arrest of militant and revolutionary workers. Workers should therefore unite against the Dies Committee and in the defense of those persecuted by it - even the Stalinists New Dealers caught in the mesh of their own betrayal.

In Detroit the red-baiting efforts of the Dies Committee will fortunately have little effect. In the long struggle against open shop conditions in Michigan the auto workers have become rather indifferent to such red-baiting. Their interests lie in improving their conditions of life. If the real communists (not to be confused with Stalinists) prove to be their champions in this struggle, the workers will feel none the worse about it.

Whether or not the pink tea liberals and professors remain in the circle of the Stalinists, or whether or not the liquidation of the New Deal is hastened or postponed is not the decisive question for the workers. Their problem is to develop their own independent force to withstand the "investigations" and attacks to be launched by the capitalists tomorrow on their own organizations and standard of living.

WHY I SPLIT WITH THE TROTSKYITES

AND JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE

I am resigning herewith from the Trotskyist Young People's Socialist League, and joining with the Revolutionary Workers League to build a revolutionary party, organize the overthrow of capitalism, and establish a workers' government.

In 1935 I joined the YPSL of the Socialist Party. I was bewildered about the whole thing. Many of the issues I either did not understand or was just beginning to understand. I was very immature. Slowly I began to grasp certain problems of the day from a socialist point of view. I learned some things about the philosophy and political ideas of Marx.

Soon the Trotskyists joined the YPSL. When I became acquainted with their ideas, I found that the Socialist Party compromises the basic principles of the workers' struggle. The Popular Fronts of Europe were supporting, administering, and prolonging capitalist rule (with all the horrors it brings) against the working class. And in this they were aided actively and openly by the "Socialist" and "Communist" Internationals! For example, in May 1937 the People's Front government of Spain shot down the workers when they tried to defend their previous conquests toward control of industry from the attacks of the capitalists and their Stalinist helpers. This government the Socialist Party supported!

So when the SP threw out the Trotskyites, I, after a period of indecision, went with the Trotskyites because they seemed to be so strong against the People's Front and its American counterpart, the Labor Party. My belief in the Trotskyists was not shaken by the principled fight led by the Marxist Policy Committee, which broke with Trotskyism and joined the RWL.

At that time I thought they were crazy, just as Cannon and Goldman said.

What really made me open up my eyes was the question of the Labor Party. For here I believed was a testing of a revolutionary party. A true revolutionary party could have only one position - that it must never reconcile itself to the capitalist class. By supporting a Labor Party it would support the labor fakers, who are agents of the owning class and who inevitably betray the working class. The Trotskyites, supporting "labor" parties, are as usual running away from the more difficult and dangerous job of building the revolutionary party.

Then another question constantly kept coming up in my mind. Why this change in the leaders who had taught me to believe so completely and ardently that to support the Labor Party meant turning aside from Marxist principles and betraying them? In particular, I had been deeply impressed with the articles of comrade Burnham. Why this sudden change in a few months? Why was this Labor Party problem pounced on so all of a sudden, and right after so furiously denouncing the SP for supporting the American Labor Party and LaGuardia? Was it a cover-up (for supporting Martin in the Auto union), a sell-out?

This puzzled me. Then I began to learn more about my "leaders" and their zig-zag histories. This did not completely convince me, but started a lot of questioning thoughts. Then I began to study about other policies of the Trotskyites. Spain and China opened up more avenues that I hadn't really explored before. When I asked questions about Spain and China, I was told that we support these governments materially but not politically. But the workers must not give any support whatsoever to any capitalist state, for this means capitulation to the capitalists. We as revolutionists must not support, but overthrow, their state, and their system, which breeds unemployment, chronic crisis, and war.

SICK OF ANTI-STALINISM

Another thing: I'm sick and tired of hearing and reading day and night, month in and month out, nothing but talk against the Stalinists. I guess the backsliding of the Communist International still hits the Trotskyites so hard they can't fight it, can't understand it, and can't quite believe it. Now I'm just as much against the anti-labor line of the CP as the Trotskyites are. But talking, writing, and harping on the Stalinists all the time doesn't help. The Trotskyists are only tail-ending the Stalinists. But the Revolutionary Workers League is really fighting Stalinism because it is fighting capitalism - by working day and night, in the unions and everywhere else, to agitate, educate, and organize the workers on the positive, constructive line of overthrowing capitalism, establishing socialism, and now building a revolutionary party to organize this task.

The RWL is hard at work laying the basis for the communist Fourth International. The Trotskyites, because they can't build it, give that label to their fraudulent, bureaucratic, talking sect - their paper "Fourth International". Why, until 1934 they openly fought against the building of the Fourth International. Then they started merging with the reformist Second International. And now they're hard at work building a "Labor Party". Why should anyone think that such an outfit could ever build a revolutionary party?

I want to work for a new society - a society that spells security, education, and prosperity for the masses of the people. I, as a conscious member of the working class, have learned that the best way for me to work for this new society is to join the Revolutionary Workers League in the struggle it is conducting.

How did I come to this opinion about the RWL? In the first place, I found out that the RWL requires high standards of activity and discipline from its members. I found out that RWL'ers were all the time carrying the message of revolutionary socialism to the working people. They were not just sitting at their meetings and discussing their line. They were out selling REVOLT at factories, union meetings, railroad yards. They were holding street meetings in spite of interference by the police and the Stalinists. They fought day after day in the Workers Alliance (phoney as it was) and relief station and City Hall picket lines against the relief shut-down some time ago. They are persistently working to organize the WPA workers. They are carrying out a militant policy in unions (- not giving out a muddled, misleading program and supporting Martin, like the Trotskyites).

One of my friends was a member of the RWL. She attended her RWL and union meetings, and did certain other work. She declared she fully agreed with the line of the RWL. And she was warmly sympathetic to the working class. Nevertheless she was expelled by the RWL for her (self-acknowledged) inability to assume her share of the work. RWL'ers are not allowed to drift in their organization as I was in the YPSL.

The RWL and its membership are responsible, determined, militant. And the RWL has a revolutionary program on the Labor Party and on the other questions before the workers. In the RWL I found the kind of ideas and activities that I had believed in, had not found in any other organization, and had even been unable myself to express exactly in words. And instead of the demoralization rampant in the Trotskyites, I found high morale and confidence - confidence both in the working class and in the RWL.

Working people should support the RWL, because every day and every hour it is fighting for their interests. And I urge all serious members of the Trotskyites to repudiate their policies and join the Revolutionary Workers League.

- Marie Parker

IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

Lack of adequate medical care accounts for 66% of the deaths of mothers in childbirth in the United States each year, according to a report made public in September by the Maternity Center Association.

Miss Hazel Corbin, general director of the Association, declared:

"Poverty and the scarcity of physicians in certain sections of the country are directly responsible for the deaths of more than 20,000 infants annually."

REVOLT NEWS

- ① REVOLT editorial office is now established in Detroit. The transfer to Detroit, the second in two months, has again necessitated a delay in publication, for which we ask the indulgence of our readers. All correspondence, subscriptions, and exchanges should be addressed to Demos Press, Box 141, Alfred Station, Detroit, Michigan.
- ② Apparently people don't know our sub drive is over. Eleven new ones came in since last issue. Think what would happen if the drive was on! We shudder. The score is as follows: New York, 2; Chicago, 7; Kansas, 1; Los Angeles, 1. New sub blanks will soon be off the press. In the meantime, use blank on outside cover of this issue.
- ③ Labor organizations and publications now on mailing list of REVOLT listed by countries, are as follows: U.S., 21; France, 8; England 2; Scotland, 1; Australia, 2; Canada, 1; Holland, 2; Denmark, 1; South Africa, 2; Mexico, 3.
- ④ The balance of Lesson Nine in the ABC of Marxism course will be carried in the next issue.

REVOLTIISTS TASTE "DEMOCRACY" AT ANTI-FASCIST CZECH RALLY

On Sunday, September 25, a crowd of 35,000 mostly Czechs held a parade and a giant mass meeting at the Chicago Stadium. The meeting held "in protest against the Hitler aggression in Czechoslovakia" and the danger to Czech democracy in reality fully supported the Czech capitalist military dictatorship. The Stalinists tried but failed to dominate the parade and meeting which was essentially Czech nationalist.

The Chicago unit decided to sell REVOLT at the meeting. The mass demonstration was larger than the May Day parade, but the SP'ers and the Trotskyites were conspicuous by their absence.

Over 50 REVOLTS were sold. The article on the Czech crisis attracted attention. Each sale was a struggle against the police and Stalinists. The Stalinists screamed that REVOLT was "fascist" and "Trotskyite". They seized and tore up five REVOLTS, trying their best to raise the "lynch spirit" in the crowd against the RWL members. We defended ourselves. Workers in the crowd were with us. One girl comrade hung a black eye on a Stalinist "fighter for democracy". One of the marchers in the parade shouted: "That's what we need. REVOLT!"

While not molesting CP salesmen, the police arrested two of our comrades who were held incommunicado for "disorderly conduct". All they did was spread REVOLT. Bail was set at \$50. Money was raised by the RWL in a defense campaign. The case was finally dismissed because "no action alleged was unlawful" (!).

The Chicago unit has sold nearly 200 of its bundle of 285.

Comradely, J. Drake, Unit Organizer.

ORGANIZATION NOTES

- 1- The new Central Committee Bureau elected at the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee in Chicago has completed the transfer of the center from Chicago to Detroit in accordance with the decision of the Plenum.
- 2- October Revolution Meetings: To commemorate the twenty first anniversary of the proletarian revolution in Russia the RWL will hold public meetings as follows: Chicago: Saturday, November 6, 8 P.M. At RWL headquarters, 1806 North Ave. Phone: Armitage 8009.
Detroit: Sunday, November 7, 2 P.M.
 Workmen's Circle Hall, 8946 Twelfth St.
New York: Announcement too late for publication. Inquire at headquarters, 28 E.14th St. Phone: Gr.5-9772.
- 3- Detroit Notes: (1) Class in ABC of Marxism, Sunday mornings at 10 A.M. for ten weeks beginning November 13 at Workmen's Circle Hall, 8946 Twelfth St. All friends of REVOLT invited. Course will cover material in REVOLT. (2) REVOLTS sold like hotcakes at the Browder (Hathaway) meeting on the Michigan Elections held in the swanky Art Institute on September 29. (3) Detroit needs recruits to assist in the work.
- 4- New York Notes: New York headquarters is a beehive of activity for the release of comrade Blackwell.
- 5- Chicago Notes: (1) Class in ABC of Marxism conducted every Monday evening at 8 P.M. at headquarters, 1806 North Ave. Comrade Drake instructor. Now in fourth session. (2) Three open forums held at the headquarters. The subjects extremely timely and well presented. Forums to continue after the Anniversary meeting November 6th. Watch for notices. (3) Very successful social held Saturday night, October 15, at the headquarters. Comrade Paliferro again produced one of his super-super special spaghetti dinners - over twenty dollars proceeds.

STALINISTS ATTACK WORKER SELLING REVOLT

Chicago.- On September 20th, Jack Sherman, selling REVOLT at a meeting of the Farm Equipment Workers Association (McCormick Reaper) was ordered by Jack Weber, organizer of the Association, a Stalinist, "to get the hell out of the hall." Sherman protested that other papers were being sold there, but to deaf ears. As far as Jack Weber was concerned, workers democracy had ended then and there. Sherman was pushed out of the hall and to the sidewalk. Weber's attempt to "muss" Sherman up met the hostile attitude of the workers who had gathered, and Weber beat a retreat. Sherman used the situation to sell more REVOLTS. Meanwhile, Weber had organized a goon squad of six which set upon Sherman, seized his copies of REVOLTS and tore them up.

The League has written to the Union, telling them what happened and asking them whether it is in agreement with this hoodlum method of arguing out political differences; or whether it is for the right of workers to speak and write their opinions. At the same time precautions are being taken to give the next Stalinist goon squad that tries this stunt something it won't forget in a hurry.

NEGRETE DEFENSE COMMITTEE FORMED

TRIAL OF POUMISTS IN SPAIN SPURS ACTION TO SAVE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONIST

NEW YORK CITY, October 21. - On October 18th, after months of preliminary work, the Russell Negrète Blackwell Defense Committee was set up by fifty one persons, representing six tendencies in the labor movement, and including a number of people of no political or organizational affiliation, who know Negrète, are familiar with his long record in the American and Latin American labor movements and want to collaborate in preventing his frameup as a Franco agent by the Spanish Secret Police who have been holding him since August 1st as a dangerous revolutionary according to State Department reports.

The six tendencies represented in the Committee are the Social Democratic Federation, Socialist Workers Party, Independent Labor League (provisionally, pending final decision), Proletarian Group, Il Martello group, and the Revolutionary Workers League. Among the individuals on the Committee are such well known people as Anita Brenner, John Chamberlain, Max Eastman, Eugene Lyons, Ludwig Lore, Herbert Solow, and Benjamin Stolberg. Maximilliano Olay, permanent representative of the CNT in the United States, is also a member.

Plans adopted include steps to broaden the Committee by the inclusion of other tendencies in the labor movement and individuals willing to collaborate, to break down the wall of silence with which the press has surrounded this case, to arouse, in collaboration with the European labor movement, a widespread protest, to organize a pressure on the Loyalist Government to release Negrète, and to send counsel to Spain should Negrète be put on trial.

COMMITTEE BRIGHTENS HOPE OF SUCCESS FOR NEGRETE

The outlook for Negrète has been considerably improved by the organization of this Committee. Heretofore what has been done in his behalf has been done by the League working in collaboration with a number of individuals. The formation of the Committee marks the formal and official intervention of at least a large section of the labor movement.

Objection has been made to the formation of a Committee of this type on the ground that it is not a formal united front of working class organizations. It is true that that would be preferable. We tried to get agreement with other organizations to establish the defense movement on this basis. But we failed.

Should we throw the baby out with the bath? There are some who say yes and refuse to collaborate in this Committee on that account. Of them it can be said that they place special theories of their own above the needs of Negrète and are, to boot, blind to the facts which are obvious enough.

Sixteen months ago when the Loyalist Government began its persecution of the POUM, FAI, and foreign revolutionists which culminated in the present trial of ten leaders of the POUM and the arrest of Negrete it was impossible to get any kind of open, united action in this country. A private group was formed with Norman Thomas as its pivot. He objected to any public activity out of a desire not to offend the pro-Loyalist sentiment of the workers, and a number of those who are members of the present Committee went along with Thomas.

The formation of the present Committee, therefore, marks, objectively, a step forward. It is not everything we want. But it is a step in the correct direction. It may lead to what we want. It may not. The future will tell. At any rate we have advanced a step in that direction and we have the opportunity to press forward another step. A year ago we had nothing. Moreover, and this is not the least significant point, the present Committee, most likely will be able to effect Negrete's release.

In this its efforts will be aided by a number of factors in this country and in Spain. For reasons of its own the American State Department is taking a keen interest in the case. The highest officials in the Department are in touch with the case. The Department has instructed the Charge d'Affaires at Barcelona to make efforts to induce the Ministry of State of the Spanish Government to bring about Negrete's release and to permit him to leave the country without trial.

WHY THIS INTEREST BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN NEGRETE

Reasons for this attitude in behalf of a revolutionists are speculative. As is known the Roosevelt administration has been double bookkeeping on the Spanish question. Formally there is in effect a policy of neutrality with respect to the civil war. But in practice the administration has winked its official eyes at acts in behalf of both sides. This has created a situation in which contending forces have been able, at one time or another, to make use of the official governmental machinery to advance the cause with which their sympathies lie. It is rumored that Assistant Secretary Welles, who is supposed to be the dominant figure in the State Department, is sympathetic to Franco. It might be that Negrete's predicament creates an opportunity for the American governmental sympathizers of Franco to embarrass the Loyalist Government.

If that is the case their purpose can best be served by having Negrete remain in jail for a long time, giving them an extended opportunity to play their game of diplomatic pressure. In that event the formation of the Committee and the publicity which it is able to create should act as a decisive counter weight.

Developments in Spain, however, should prove to be the decisive factor. Several months ago a trial of POUMISTS was held on the same charges as have been made against the present defendants. The outcome of that trial was a sentence of death for some, and sixteen and thirty year sentences for others. But the indications in the present trial, the outcome of which is not known at the present writing, point to a less gruesome verdict. The trial is held before a civil court. Emphasis seems to be placed by the prosecution on the political differences between the Government and the defendants. Caballero testified in their behalf, following his reconciliation with the

Besteiro and Prieto wings of the Socialist Party. The defendants are supposed to have conspired to assassinate Prieto in 1937.

What it boils down to, then, is this: the Republican elements in the Loyalist Government are holding the trial under pressure from the Stalinists. But they do not want this trial to have the same outcome as the last one because they are either contemplating conciliation with Franco or must leave the door open for this outcome of the civil war. It would be embarrassing to them to hand out heavy sentences to workers as Franco agents on the eve of reconciliation with Franco. If the present defendants get off lightly the chances are good that Negrete will be released shortly thereafter.

But there is also the possibility that the Stalinists may attempt to assassinate Negrete. Timely publicity and organized protest by the Defense Committee now will go a long way to prevent Negrete's murder and to fix responsibility where it belongs should it be tried.

Taking everything into consideration the weight of probability is that Negrete will be released shortly and return to the United States.

JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES

TOM MOONEY is refused the right to have his case reviewed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

PUERTO RICAN nationalists are given life sentences by United States island courts for their attempt to assassinate Governor Winship arising out of the struggle of the Puerto Ricans for freedom from oppression by American imperialism.

IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS deport anti-Fascist workers to Germany and Italy where they face death or long imprisonment.

IOWA MILITIA post machine guns on the roof of a packing plant to protect the scabs against the strikers.

THE TOOL of capitalist interests, Justice Cotillo of the New York State Supreme Court, endorsed for election to this post by the American Labor Party, issues a sweeping injunction prohibiting picketing of the Busch jewelry stores in New York City. He fines five pickets for contempt of court for violating the injunction and accused the union of "faking" and "feigning" of the dispute, "ganging up on the employer", "acts of assault and brutality" and the "use of slanderous names bearing down on the womanhood of America."

RACKET-BUSTING Prosecuting District Attorney, Dewey, puts Tammany boss, Jimmy Hines, on trial for conspiracy to promote illegal acts with aim of enhancing chances for own candidacy for Governorship on Republican ticket. Aim of trial was to smear Tammany, Democratic outfit, and show Negro voters, main bulk of policy players in New York City which is stronghold of

Democratic Party in New York State, that Democrats prey on them, while Saint George Dewey as crusading Republican will make the game safe from racketeers. Declaration of mistrial by Judge Pecora took edge off this strategy.

TRIAL OF German espionage agents now in session in New York City put on to dramatize need for national defense against sinister foreign enemies and pave way for huge appropriations for naval construction and army expansion by forthcoming Congress.

THIS IS justice in the United States.

CHILD LABOR

Figures published in the July issue of the INDUSTRIAL BULLETIN show that in New York State during 1937, 706 minors under 18 years of age were awarded compensation for industrial injuries. Three of these children, a bean picker, a caddy and a helper in newspaper delivery, were only 12 years old. Seven, of whom four received compensation for permanent partial disabilities, were 13 years old. . .

The Illinois Department of Labor has also issued a report giving accident statistics for the year 1937. Of the 42,069 compensable accident cases closed during 1937, 429 occurred to minors under 18 years of age. Of this number two were killed; 97 permanent partial injuries; 12 resulted in disfigurement and 317 were temporary total injuries. . .

AMERICAN FASCISTS ANSWER SOCIAL PROBLEM

The following leaflet was distributed broadcast in Chicago at the Czech nationalist rally on September 25th (see story on page 23). It is a fair sample of how fascism proposes to solve unemployment, wage cuts and the war question. Read it:

" JEWS PRAY FOR WAR.

CHRISTIANS PRAY FOR PEACE.

WAR MEANS DEATH FOR CHRISTIANS.

MOTHERS AND FATHERS (Catholics and Protestants) DON'T LET YOUR SONS DIE ON THE BATTLEFIELDS OF EUROPE AND ASIA IN WAR FOR THE JEWS.

RABBI MANN IS A JEWISH AGITATOR FOR WAR.

RABBI PRESTON BRADLEY IS PAID BY THE JEWS TO FOMENT WAR.

WHO IS PAUL DOUGLAS? HIS DIVORCED WIFE IS A JEWESS FROM ONE OF THE KUHN-LOEB INTERNATIONAL BANKING FAMILY.

DOWN WITH WAR! OUT WITH THE JEWS! AMERICA AWAKE! GIVE US PEACE!"

The Fascist leaflet on page 28 reactionary is reprinted for the purpose of exposing its corrupt and historically racist ideas, and of better contrasting them with the ideas of revolutionary Marxism as expressed in REVOLT.

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

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

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

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