

REVOLT

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A B C of Marxism Study Course

Lesson Nine: The Struggle For Power



IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES BOIL OVER CZECH CRISIS

WORKERS FACE ANNIHILATION IN SECOND WORLD WAR

The impending war will be the Second World War. Every one can see that. After the experience of the last World War no one can doubt that the feverish armament race and the present diplomatic and military maneuvers may culminate at any moment in another horrible slaughter.

The Second World War will no more be fought for the ideals which the war mongers declare are their motives than was the first war. If the war is precipitated by the Czech crisis that will no more be the real cause of the war than was the invasion of Belgium twenty four years ago. The last war was fought by Germany to acquire colonies at the expense, primarily, of the British Empire. France fought for domination of the European continent. The Czar fought to find an outlet from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean by the capture of Constantinople. England fought to smash the challenge of Germany to its world empire. The United States entered the war to save its gigantic investments in war loans from loss at the hands of a victorious Germany, and to achieve world economic supremacy through the peace settlement as a step on the road to world domination. Italy entered the war on the side of the Allies, betraying her agreement with Germany, because her ruling class thought to get more booty from England and France who double-crossed them.

WAR FOR MARKETS AND COLONIES

This war will be fought for the same fundamental, imperialist objectives: markets and colonies. To gain their ends the imperialists will destroy the forces of production and annihilate civilization and a whole generation of human beings. England will fight to preserve her crumbling empire; France to stay her decline. Italy with its eyes on the Mediterranean basin, knows that no matter what the outcome, its ambitions cannot be realized. The giant imperialists will not allow it more than a jackal's share of the booty. The United States will enter the war for the great markets of Asia and for world empire. Japan has already begun the struggle for complete domination of the Far East. The Soviet Union will fight against imperialist attempts to overthrow the workers' state. The Stalinist bureaucracy will use the Russian armies to aid its imperialist allies. It will fight for its very existence; but, at the same time, it will fight against the interests of the working class which call for utilization of the situation created by the war to overthrow world capitalism by world revolution; and will constitute the greatest internal obstacle to the defense of the workers' state. Germany will fight to smash the bonds with which the Allies bound it; to dominate European economy and politics; to seize Soviet territory; and to seize markets and colonies already held by other powers, primarily England.

To provide a market for its gigantic accumulations of surplus capital, American capitalism must seek to rule the earth. The British Empire must be destroyed. An American Empire must replace it. In the first

World War England smashed Germany's challenge. Will it succeed in defeating the plans of American imperialism? That will be the main issue in the Second World War whether England and the United States are on opposite sides or on the same side.

Today Germany's challenge to Versailles stands in the forefront of world politics. American imperialism is awaiting a favorable opportunity to come to grips with England either by military conflict or by economic and political plunder as her ally. Germany's economic situation is so bad that, like Italy and Japan in Ethiopia and China, it is compelled to act. If Germany precipitates the war again, this time over the Czech issue, and wins, it still will not realize its aims. Alone, it does not have the resources to defeat England and France and, possibly, the Soviet Union. It is much weaker than it was a quarter of a century ago. Victory will be possible only if the United States enters the war on its side. But in that case American imperialism will dictate the peace terms and it will not permit Germany to establish itself in a position to challenge the American Empire in a third world war. If Germany loses the victors will make sure that no possibility of a third challenge can be made. German economy will be laid waste. The country will be dismembered. Millions will be wiped out. For German imperialism the situation is hopeless.

MASSES WILL REVOLT

There is another reason why its position is hopeless, a reason which applies to all the imperialist powers and to all capitalists. The brutalities of imperialist war will drive the toiling masses of the world to revolt. Civil wars will break out. Capitalism will be swept from the face of the earth. The working class will lead the way in the reconstruction of society.

Using the Wilsonian slogan of the self-determination of nations Versailles carved up the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and gave the Czechs national autonomy. It also made the Czech ruling class the oppressors of millions of Slovaks and Germans; Hungarians torn from Hungary; Poles torn from Poland at the moment it was granted national autonomy; and Ruthonians who were divided between the newly created states of Poland and Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia was made the pivot in Eastern Europe of the system set up to bar the path of German imperialism and hem it in.

The Versailles system, shaped to serve imperialist ends, was no solution at all. In fact there is no solution under capitalism for the manifold contradictions bound up with the Czech problem. Equality of nations, in general, and the right of self-determination can be achieved only under the international dictatorship of the proletariat.

German strategy is simple. To advance toward the acquisition of colonies and markets the German imperialists must clear the obstacle of the Czech state out of their path. Utilizing the legitimate grievances of the Sudeten Germans against Czech oppression, Hitler is applying irresistible pressure to the Czech state and, through it, to the French system of domination in Eastern Europe. Unless war is precipitated the Czechs must give way. If the German brigands dispose of the Czech problem to their satisfaction without war, as is indicated, what will be their next step? To the east against the Soviet Union? Or through

the Balkans to the Near East against British interests and possessions? On neither road can Germany march alone. To smash the Soviet Union she needs an alliance either with England or the United States. England is the more likely ally in such an enterprise. The United States needs an alliance with the Soviet Union against Japan in the Far East. For the march to the Near East Germany will need an alliance either with the United States or the Soviet Union. Can she get it? The strategy of the United States is to remain neutral as long as possible, step in when it can decide the issue and dictate the peace terms to its own advantage at the expense of victor and vanquished alike. The Soviet Union might consent to such an alliance in order to divert, temporarily, the advance of German imperialism from the Ukraine. That such an alliance is no idle speculation is shown by the persistent rumors of a Hitler-Stalin alliance.

For England the situation is very difficult. She needs an alliance with Germany as the pivot of a European bloc against the Soviet Union and the interests of American imperialism. In the present situation British policy has been shaped to prevent an explosion by providing an outlet for German imperialist expansion at Czech and French expense; but within existing state boundaries. A war against Germany would see her hopes of a European bloc go glimmering. At the same time she is preparing for all eventualities, including war against Germany should it be precipitated by armed Czech resistance to German invasion.

SHOULD THE CZECH STATE BE DEFENDED?

Should the Czech state be defended? The Stalinists and the Social-Democrats say yes. The Marxists give a different answer. The Czech situation must be approached from the standpoint of the strategy of the world revolution. The right of the Czechs to national autonomy must be defended, not only against German attack, but, also, against its subordination to French and British imperialist policy. On the other hand the right of the national minorities to determine their own existence must be defended against the oppression of the Czech state. What is involved is the entire question of the right of small nations and national minorities to determine their own existence in its broadest terms. The Czech problem poses the question of international proletarian revolution. The Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians and Sudetens can find freedom from oppression only through the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Soviet United States of Europe.

What should the Czech workers do? Unity of the Czech workers with the workers of the national minorities against German imperialism and the Czech ruling class could develop a powerful, revolutionary movement in Eastern Europe. If Germany were a workers state the Sudeten workers hand in hand with the Czech workers should fight for incorporation of the Sudetens into Germany. If the Czech workers were to seize power they should fight side by side with the Sudeten workers to remain within the Czech workers state. For the proletariat the problem is not one of maintaining or changing state boundaries but of promoting international working class unity against the oppressors of all nations.

Unfortunately Hitler rules in Germany. But in Czechoslovakia the situation favors the application of revolutionary strategy. The Czech ruling class is tossing like a cork on the sea of imperialist deals and maneuvers. It has no independent policy of its own. With every passing

day it reveals more convincingly its utter powerlessness and bankruptcy. Only the support of the Czech workers gives it a show of strength. If that were denied to it it would collapse overnight.

Unfortunately the Czech workers do not manifest an independent policy. They are held back from revolutionary struggle by the Stalinist and **Social-Democratic** parties which lead them in supporting the Czech capitalist state. By supporting the Benes government these traitor parties break the international solidarity of the working class and make inevitable the suppression of the Sudetens by German imperialism. They play the game of international imperialist brigandage by ranging the Czech workers on the side of the Czech oppressors against the national minorities under the guise of fighting German Fascism. In reality they give it invaluable assistance.

ROAD TO FREEDOM IS THE ROAD TO POWER

Under this leadership the Czech workers will be led into the impending world war on the side of French imperialism and its allies. The revolutionists will face the task of working to bring about the defeat of the Czech armies in order to accelerate the development of the revolutionary overthrow of the Czech ruling class. If the impending war were to involve only Germany and Czechoslovakia it would stand on the plane of the Italo-Ethiopian and Sino-Japanese wars; and the Czech workers would need to strive for a Soviet republic by different tactics. There is no practical point in discussing these tactics at this time in view of the fact that the invasion of Czechoslovakia would instantaneously ignite a world conflagration.

The Czech workers are caught in the vortex of the imperialist maelstrom. Their time is short. We, in the United States, have more time. We can escape the imperialist war. But there is only one way: to build a revolutionary movement strong enough to organize the working class for the overthrow of the capitalist state. But if the capitalists drag us into the war we will have to work for the defeat of "our" army and navy. In war as in peace the main enemy is at home. Defeats of "our" armed forces will create the opportunity to convert the imperialist war into civil war to put an end for all time to capitalist exploitation and oppression. Then we can go forward to the construction of a better life.

September 12, 1938.

"The elementary means of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie is, first of all, the method of mass demonstrations. Such mass demonstrations are prepared and carried out by the organized masses of the proletariat, under the direction of a united, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. Civil war is war. In this war the proletariat must have its efficient political officers, its good political general staff, to conduct operations during all the stages of that fight.

"The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government." . LENIN.

SPLIT IN THE LOS ANGELES C.I.O.

SITUATION FAVORS FIGHT FOR CLASS STRUGGLE POLICIES

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 7.- The recent record of the CIO-Stalinist unions in the state is one of victory at the Labor Board hearings; defeat on the job. Gold miners, lumberjacks, agricultural workers, have all fought well against odds, but with a leadership that doomed them to failure by its policy. For instance, the Industrial Unionist reports a strike now in progress in Santa Ana among the agricultural workers: "A militant program of action has been planned. The union has elected a committee to draft an appeal to Senator LaFollette's Civil Liberties committee petitioning it to investigate the use of labor spies and strikebreakers in this region." No other points of the proposed program of action are mentioned.

At the State CIO convention in August which was boycotted by the unions which split from Bridges, a handful of locals distinguished themselves by a resolution calling for a short, general strike to free Mooney. Bridges did not approve. It was defeated. There was no direct opposition to the Bridges-Stalinist policy. Only one vote was cast for the pro-Labor Party resolution introduced by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The Stalinist press denounced it as a "disruptive" action. John Brophy denounced the Los Angeles revolters as "radicals" and Bridges stated that he would "fight like hell against anyone who attempts to trespass upon anything there is in the American Constitution."

RANK AND FILE PASSIVE

In examining the local CIO split we must bear in mind that it started as a Martin-Dubinsky type of fight against Stalinism and not as a rank and file revolt like that of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. Moreover the local revolt has direct ties with the national fight of Martin-Dubinsky against Lewis and the Stalinists.

At this juncture the most pertinent questions regarding the split are the following: Are the revolting unions and their decisions bonafide? Were the rank and file in the locals the initiators of the split, that is, how far have they progressed in their understanding of such a reactionary force as Stalinism? Will the split be beneficial for the unions? What is the perspective of the new center set up by the revolting unions, the Los Angeles Trade Union Conference?

The revolting unions have the following strength: The International Ladies Garment Workers Union is a stable union with a generally successful record of organization. It is continuing its attempts to organize the unorganized in the industry. Every local in Los Angeles and San Francisco is backing the split by vote of the membership. The shoe workers have made a dent in their industry and have a small number of contracts. They are quiet at present. The rubber workers have a fair amount of influence and a couple of strongholds. The rank and file is generally passive concerning the union's politics. A conference of the entire Western division of the union voted overwhelmingly to uphold the

revolt. As for the Auto union, important world center of aircraft manufacture, Los Angeles, is still open shop. Partial recognition was achieved recently at North American Aviation. The Ford plant is being struck. General Motors is well organized. Two or three other locals are small but active.

There was no spontaneous revolt among the rank and file against Stalinism. Why? Undoubtedly because the workers in steel for instance, American Can, or those who ran in and out of the Douglas Aircraft or Los Angeles Railway locals saw nothing better to be gained from the "opponents" - really competitors- of Stalinism. The unions were the battlefields of the general staffs. The interests of the workers were not put forward against both general staffs of fakers.

As for the unions that did split with Bridges, how much of a propeller was the membership? In the ILGWU the membership is contented with its present Dubinsky type of leadership and has rejected most Stalinist bids for power. It backed its leadership as the legitimate contender for state CIO power. In auto, only a fraction of the automobile and aircraft workers of Los Angeles voted one way or the other. In the one situation where the thoroughly reactionary nature of Stalinism manifested itself, that is, in the Ford strike where Bridges was booed at a meeting of the local for telling those present to go back "even if you have to crawl on your hands and knees"; this Ford Local has ended up with Bridges. A reaction against Martinism to a great extent on the face of it! In General Motors, the majority who voted against Bridges seem to express the general desire to be rid of the excess apparatus of Stalinism. In the other locals the "communism" of Bridges played a part in their distaste for him. Willys and North American and Studebaker voted for the split. Chrysler voted for Bridges. The United Shoe workers are not solidly a part of the revolt, in accordance with the desires of unity-loving Powers Hapgood, head of the International. The Rubber Workers fretted for over a year, attempting to get some support for organizing their industry from an Industrial Union Council dominated, as they say, by the Cookie Cutters and the Pretzel Benders. They thoroughly support getting rid of the Stalinist superstructure. Thus, most of the membership of the C.I.O. in the mass industries here voted to support the split as a way of getting out from under Bridges and the Stalinists.

WHY SPLIT TOOK PLACE

But why did the split take place when it did, and not a year ago when the Stalinists first seized control by fraud and sabotaged the activities of the mass production unions? Because the initiative had to come to the local "leaders" from their bosses, the national "leaders," Martin-Dubinsky. Because the local "leaders" were waiting to see what use they could make of the official C.I.O. apparatus especially Labor's Non-Partisan League. When they found their chances for office slight under Bridges' control, they acted.

Getting rid of the huge superstructure of the Stalinists with their squandering of union funds to support the leagues for this and that, the Father Divines and the Democratic Party; with their reactionary, class-collaborating policies is not unimportant. But we must not forget, however, that it was not primarily the Stalinists, although they did all they could, who are responsible for the failure to thoroughly organize

the mass production industries; but, rather the Martin section of the leadership has again announced its "determination" to organize the aircraft industry, this time through the new center. But it has not declared for any change in its policy of depending on its "pals" in the Labor Board. Moreover, while these leaders use as their trum card against Bridges, his rule through appointment, they are, many of them in all unions, holding office themselves, without the grace of a membership vote.

The weakness of this leadership at this time consists in the fact, that having taken out of Bridges set-up the bulk of the workers in the mass production industries who are organized in the C.I.O., they have set them in motion around the issues of union democracy, the organization of the unorganized workers and labor solidarity regardless of union affiliation. They had to do this in order to get the workers support for their fight against Bridges.

This leadership must therefore be more responsive to the desire of the rank and file than Bridges and the Stalinists and Martin and the Stalinists are in Detroit. Pressing forward, distrustful of a leadership with shady connections, capitalist political ambitions and bureaucratic tendencies, the workers in the new trade union center can take important steps to build up powerful unions under their own control.

AIRCRAFT WORKER

EDITORIAL

The Official Statement of the Los Angeles Trade Union Conference states that the Conference "adopted the following six point program: 1-Labor solidarity in the struggle for better conditions of employed and unemployed alike. We offer aid to any union, A.F.L., C.I.O. or R.R. Brotherhood which is engaged in such a struggle. 2-Organization of the unorganized must be seriously carried out despite the continuing depression. 3-Industrial unionism in the industries for which it is suited. We are opposed to raids on existing organizations. 4-An actual democracy in the trade union movement; not democracy in name and dictatorship in deed. 5-Struggle against anti-labor legislation and government interference whether through use of the courts, the National Guard, the police or otherwise. For the enforcement and extension of workers' rights. 6-For independent political action to supplement the trade union struggle on the economic field for industrial democracy."

This program is too vague. It does not meet the issue squarely. How is it proposed to struggle against anti-labor legislation? By mass action of the trade union membership? Or by lobbying to pass "pro-labor" legislation?

While this program calls for struggle against government interference and for independent political action, it does not state any attitude toward the questions of strike action and the National and State Labor Relations Boards.

In other words it can be concretized in two ways: by fighting mass action against the class enemy or by collaboration with the class enemy against the interests of the workers; by building fighting unions the interests of the workers; or by emasculating the unions to make them servile tools of capitalists' interests to the benefit of the pie-card leadership.

As far as the leadership of the new center is concerned, AIRCRAFT WORKER has made it clear enough that its whole course is opposed to class struggle policies. It calls for organization of the unorganized but it is itself responsible for the failure to organize the unorganized. It calls for democracy in the unions but it is itself a bureaucracy. It puts its trust in the Labor Board and the Labor's Non-Partisan League but it calls for independent political action. This leadership is an agent of the capitalist class.

The workers in the unions controlled by these fakers have got rid of one set of class collaborators - Bridges and the Stalinists. Now they will have to extend their struggle into a fight against the Martins and Dubinskys. For the first real attempt they make to fill the program with a fighting meaning will reveal the fact that the leadership has no intention of making an economic fight against the employers, not to speak of the National Guard and the courts. Where have they done it? Certainly not in the auto industry.

THE NEXT STEP

The next step for workers who want to build the unions as fighting weapons in their interests is to concretize the program. If it is to serve the workers interests the program must be amended to state clearly that the unions put their reliance on strike action and will put no trust in the Government of the United States or any of its agencies like the National Labor Relations Board, the Railway Mediation Board and the Maritime Commission; that all officials must be elected and removed by the rank and file; that the final decision on any question rests with the rank and file; that labor solidarity means united action regardless of union affiliation, and trade union unity on the basis of fighting the employers; that labor solidarity means struggle against the war plans of the employers and their government to murder millions of American workers and workers in other countries with whom the American workers have no quarrel; that independent political action means mass action in support of labor's interests all the way from mass picket lines to demonstrations against police brutality, anti-labor legislation and the National Guard; that independent political action means armed defense guards against vigilantes and Fascists.

There must be no illusions. Such a program will mean a bitter struggle against the present leadership. It means organizing to fight the leadership with the aim of displacing it. It will not be an easy fight. But it must be made and it can be won. Now is the time to push this struggle hard. As AIRCRAFT WORKER points out, the leadership is in a weak position.

With such a program it is possible to break down the lines set up by chief, pie-card artist, Green and chief, sell-out artist, Lewis. For example, such a program, in its basic ideas, matches the five point agreement to fight wage cuts and government control of hiring halls

made by the workers in the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Marine Firemen and the Teamsters who are in the A.F.L.; and makes possible the establishment of fighting unity with them.

Such a development would be real trade union unity: unity of the workers against the employers and their agents in the workers' ranks. We would like to see such a development. It would be in the workers' interests.

RADIATOR WORKERS FIGHT PLANT REMOVAL

CORPORATIONS TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SPLIT IN AUTO UNION

DETROIT, Sept. 7.- Five weeks ago about three hundred workers in the McCord Radiator Company went out on strike to stop the company from removing the remaining machinery to its plant in London, Ohio, where it pays low wages of 20¢ an hour minimum to women and 35¢ to men. Ever since a year ago the company has been moving machinery for its Hudson Motor business, which has resulted in about four hundred members of Local 210 of the U.A.W.A. being thrown out of work. With the closing of the Detroit plant four hundred other workers will be thrown to the wolves.

Many of those on strike are over forty years of age and have worked for this company for fifteen and twenty five years. The youngest striker from the point of view of seniority has put in ten years making profits for this company. What can these workers look forward to? The labor market is over-supplied. There are about 100,000 workers on W.P.A., waiting for a chance to flood the employment offices. Some of the men who were laid off before came down to tell the strikers they haven't worked for six, eight and even twelve months. The strikers understand the situation. That is what makes them so determined. For the five weeks of the strike the pickets have kept a twenty four hour watch on the plant.

SCABS LEAVE PLANT

About the only incident of importance during the strike occurred two weeks ago today. The League of American Workers, a company union outfit whose connections with the American Manufacturers Associations and other anti-union associations is no secret to workers here, had succeeded in getting fifty strikers to attempt a return to work. However, when the scabs entered the plant, quick-thinking N.J. Moscum, president of Local 210, gathered 125 of the strikers; and, showing their badges at the gate, they went right in after the scabs. Once in the plant, they surrounded the scabs and succeeded in persuading them to leave. The strikers then left themselves. This saved the situation from becoming serious. In the Wyandotte plant which is a unit of Local 210, and, therefore, also on strike, there was a slight scuffle about the same time when sixty workers tried to pass the picket line, but it went no further.

The Studebaker, Packard and Hudson workers in Detroit and the Allis-Chalmers workers in Milwaukee have refused to put on McCord radiators. This is an encouraging sign like the one the strongly organized and militant Local 210 gave by refusing shipments from the American Brass plant when it was on strike several months ago. However, the radiators are being received at these plants; and this is unfavorable for, as long as the radiators are received they can be stored up and the London, Ohio plant can continue to operate.

In return for a closed shop, an agreement to stop moving the machinery and return of the Hudson Motor business to the plant, the members of Local 210 have voted to take a 5 per cent wage cut for six months at the end of which time it is to be restored; and for eighteen months after that the union is not to ask for a wage increase. Negotiations were under way once more today with Homer Martin sitting in.

UNION NEEDS FIGHTING POLICY

The problem involved in this strike is mainly the problem of organizing the competitive plants to stop the employers from beating down wage scales and undermining the union by moving to cities where the union doesn't have any organization or by threatening to do so. This is the policy which the employers are using more widely now than heretofore. The important Timken Axle and Bearing plant announced that it will move its plant unless the workers take a 10 per cent cut which they refused to do.

The problem is also to build the auto union as a fighting union controlled by the membership for, it is certain, that the capitalists in the auto industry are taking advantage of the split situation in the union, brought about by the bureaucrats of both factions to put over their present policies.

FROM THE MCCORD PICKET LINE

"The so-called "League of Nations" is nothing but an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey. The striving for the reconstruction of national unity and of the "re-union of alienated territories" on the part of the bourgeoisie, is nothing but an attempt of the vanquished to gather forces for new wars. The re-uniting of the nationalities artificially torn asunder corresponds also to the interests of the proletariat only through revolutionary struggle and by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The League of Nations and the policy of the imperialist powers after the war demonstrate this even more clearly and definitely, making the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries more acute, increasing the ferment of the working masses of the colonies and the subject countries, and dispelling the middle class nationalistic illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and equality of nations under capitalism." - From the Theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920, National and Colonial Questions, drafted by Lenin.

NEGRETE SEIZED BY SECRET POLICE IN SPAIN

LOYALIST GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS FRAME-UP OF AMERICAN REVOLUTIONIST

On August 1, Rosalio Negrete - pen name of Russell Blackwell, an American worker - was removed by the Spanish Secret Police from a British boat in the harbor of Valencia, on which he had been embarked for Marseilles, France, by the American consul; and has been "detained" by them.

On July 26, Negrete had been released from prison by the Secret Police who had previously arrested him in Madrid during the first part of May. His release resulted from inquiries made by the State Department of the United States at the request of his wife and numerous friends and labor organizations; and an arrangement between the Spanish and United States Governments by which the Spanish Government agreed to release Negrete for repatriation to the United States; and the United States Government agreed to give him a passport valid for his return to this country. The latter was necessary, it must be presumed, to satisfy the Spanish Government with respect to Negrete's American citizenship inasmuch as he had no passport, having left for Spain in the fall of 1936 without one.

"ENEMY OF THE STATE"

From the time of his release on July 26 until his embarkation on August 1, Negrete was in the custody of the American Consul. The British boat on which he was embarked was the first one available, the State Department says. In notifying Negrete's wife of his release the State Department requested \$200 for his transportation to the United States. The money was promptly deposited with the State Department which has acknowledged its receipt.

Inquiries made of the British Ambassador about the attitude of the officers of the boat to determine whether Negrete was removed with their consent or against their opposition have been met by evasion.

On September 6, in replying to inquiries made by the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League, the State Department said, for the first time, so far as we know, that Negrete was held "presumably on charges as enemy of the state."

Why does the State Department say "presumably"? Is there a charge? Yes or no? From August 1 until September 6 there was ample time to establish the point. Does the State Department know what the charge is and is it concealing this information for some purpose of its own? Or is the Spanish Government holding him without having decided on a definite charge? If that is the case what is the State Department doing about it? It says "the Department and representatives abroad are making every every effort obtain his release." Yes, but exactly what are they doing? We have inquired, but, at this writing, we have received no reply.

It is important to determine the specific charges. Negrete has been active in the American labor movement for eleven years. The last two years he has spent in Spain. That makes thirteen years of uninterrupted work in labor's cause. His is a record of devotion and sacrifice and consistent attachment to the principles of Marxism. He went to Spain at great personal risk and sacrifice to do his duty in the struggle against Fascism; to work for its conclusion in the creation of a workers Spain. If he is arrested as an enemy of the state it is a clear case of the persecution of a working class revolutionist by a capitalist government.

If the case were pressed by the Loyalist Government on that ground the working class would readily accept the challenge and force Negrete's release in short order. The Loyalist Government knows that. If it prosecutes Negrete it will not be on the real issue but on some false issue. In other words it will be a frame-up.

FRAME-UP

Negrete is not the only worker to be caught in the toils of the Loyalist Government. In June, 1937 wholesale arrests were made in Catalonia of Spanish and foreign revolutionists and left opponents of the Government. The axe fell most heavily on the P.O.U.M.; Partido Obrero de Unificacion Marxista, Workers Party of Marxist Unity, which was driven underground. Its leader, Andres Nin, former Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions, was assassinated. Several weeks ago a number of those arrested in June of last year were brought to trial. As a result a number were shot; some sentenced to thirty years and some to sixteen. Others are still awaiting trial. The Loyalist Government, like the Stalinist regime, conducts its legal murders in installments.

There is a grave danger that it may be the intention of the Loyalist Government to include Negrete among those to be brought to trial. This is not an idle supposition. A pamphlet, published by the Stalinist publishing house in the United States, accuses Negrete of being one of Franco's secret espionage agents. The pamphlet is called Trotskyism in the Service of Franco; and its Stalinist author is Georges Soria.

These agents are supposed to have worked through the P.O.U.M. leadership in conjunction with Trotskyists. They are accused of military espionage; sabotage and destruction of "material which is indispensable to the National Defence of the Republic"; and terrorism against members of the "Republican Government." The discovery of the espionage system is supposed to have resulted from a raid on the Peruvian Embassy in which important documents were seized which disclosed the plot.

Arrests were made; documents which revealed the workings of the conspiracy were discovered; and a confession obtained. As in the Moscow trials the evidence and the confession coincide to a nicety with the political needs of the Government. The aim of these disclosures is to justify the anti-working class policy of the Loyalist Government; to attribute the cause of Franco's victories to internal discord promoted by him; and to discredit its working class opponents by the frame-up method. In this way the deliberate failure to help the Basques is explained away as the result of the need of the Loyalist Government to deal with the situation in Catalonia which culminated in the spring of 1937 in the insurrection of May 3-7 in Barcelona which Franco is supposed to have organized.

(continued on page 19)

FAREWELL, COMRADE BASKY!

Farewell, Louis! Farewell, Comrade!

Comrade Basky is dead. After forty one years of tireless work our comrade has found that rest which he did not seek, before the great goal for which he toiled and fought was won.

On the eighteenth of August his heart, strained by the exertions of innumerable political battles, strikes, and demonstrations since he became a member of the Socialist Labor Party in 1897, stopped beating. It was unequal to the new strain put upon it by the pneumonia which comrade Basky had developed several days before.

His death is a great loss.

Louis Basky was a worker. He lived all his conscious life to serve his class. From the time when he entered the working class movement as a boy of fifteen until his death he never wavered in his faith in the working class and in its ultimate victory. His devotion was unflagging. He never paused in his activity as so many have done for years at a time. No sacrifice was too great. Whatever was the task which was set him, he strove to execute it. He gave the best that was in him without stint or question like so many other workers whose loyal, patient, selfless work goes unsung in the annals of the great struggle for social emancipation and justice.

PARTY BUILDER

But there was this about our comrade which distinguished him from thousands of other workers who matched him in loyalty and devotion. He was an active union man. But he was something more. He was a proletarian revolutionist, a Marxist. With a tenacity and stubbornness equalled only by the great founders and leaders of the working class, Marx and Engels and Lenin, our comrade remained true to the interests of his class, to the principles of Marxism. Defeats could not discourage him. Slander and persecution could not swerve him from his duty.

Above everything else Louis Basky worked to build a revolutionary Marxist party. When the Socialist Labor Party ceased to be a revolutionary party, Basky broke with De Leon and began the arduous task of building a new party. When the Communist International was established in this country and the Communist Party was founded he was a charter member. He occupied important posts in the National Bureau of the Hungarian section of the Party and was one of the Editorial Board which established its Hungarian paper, Uj Elore.

When the Stalinist faction in the Russian Communist Party began its historic fight against the Marxist wing which was led by Trotsky, Basky came to the defense of the Marxists. Confronted by the new historic problems posed by the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union Basky was the first to distinguish between Marxist and Stalinist positions. In 1927 the Stalinist leadership summoned Basky and tried to intimidate him into abandoning his struggle. He refused. Together with a number of other Hungarian workers he was expelled from the Party

(continued on Page 18)

NEW DEAL PLEDGE TO CANADA HITS ENGLAND

WAR MACHINE TO BACK DOMINATION OF DOMINION MARKET

On August 18th President Roosevelt was presented with an honorary degree by Queens College in Toronto and as is his custom, used the occasion to voice the aims of American Imperialism, this time with reference to Canada. His acceptance speech in which he gave "assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire" made a stir in the capitalist press.

On August 30th Prime Minister MacKenzie King announced that the Dominion would battle to prevent invasion of her big neighbor and made preparations for additional armaments.

Colonel J. H. Woods, C.M.G., chairman of the Canadian section, Empire Press Union, and president of the Calgary Herald, in his speech to the United States Chamber of Commerce on May 4th Stated: "We of the North American continent are the guardians of the gate. We control the pass. The forces of Europe, if they are to merge, must go through our gate. It is for us (Canada and the U.S.) to see what passes us is good or evil."

Significantly enough, when speaking of the fact that "only by a union of English speaking nations will the principles of justice and freedom be preserved in the world, the emissary of a goodly section of Canadian capitalism omits any mention of England or the British Empire, of which Canada is, in law if not in fact, still an integral part. On the contrary, Woods states quite specifically what he has in mind, when he adds that "in particular, the United States and Canada must be prepared to make common cause in any threat from the autocracies of Europe or Asia."

WHAT IS BEHIND FINE TALK?

The capitalist press accepts all this lofty political talk at its face value in order to conceal from the workers who will fight the next war the real purposes of that war. What is behind this fine talk?

American capitalists have three and three quarter billion dollars invested in Canadian industry, about thirty per cent of the total American investment outside of the United States, and a little over half of the total foreign investment in Canada. The American capitalists therefore have the biggest stake in defending Canada against attacks by other imperialist powers.

Canadian capitalists have a billion dollars invested in the United States close to sixty percent of their total foreign investment. If they lined up against the United States in the coming war the loss of their investments would be a staggering blow. Clearly enough safety for them lies in friendship with Uncle Sam. Of course this friendship permits American capitalism because of its favorable position in Canada toward complete economic and, eventually political control of the country.

But control of Canada by American capitalism means a very sharp struggle against English capital. English capitalists have invested close to two and a quarter billion dollars in Canada mostly in government and municipal bonds and in utilities. American capital is invested in government and municipal bonds to the tune of nine hundred million dollars and in utilities almost a billion. The figures of American investments show an increase of four hundred per cent since 1913, primarily at England's expense which fell almost twenty per cent. The figures for trade tell the same story.

So all this fine talk means that American capitalist, New Deal liberalism is a cloak for American imperialist interests. And the promises of military protection are promises to defend American capitalists against future attempts by England to preserve her dwindling share of the Canadian market by military force.

ROOSEVELT AND MACKENZIE KING

Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy is shrewd. He knows that there is a division in the Canadian capitalist class. Roosevelt's Good Neighborliness is addressed to that section of the Canadian ruling class whose interests are more closely tied to American capital and whose liberalism is, like his own, a cover for their vicious anti-labor policies and for the advancement of their interests at the expense of England. The outstanding spokesman of this section is the Prime Minister, MacKenzie King. That section whose interests are most closely tied up with English capital are hostile to American imperialism. The outstanding spokesman of this section is the Premier of the Province of Ontario, Hepburn, who fought the auto workers' union so viciously last year as foreign agitators.

There is one side of the problem which neither Roosevelt nor King discuss. The close connection between American and Canadian industry - American corporations have eighteen hundred branch factories in Canada - means that the coming proletarian revolution cannot stop at the U.S.-Canadian border. The proletariat of both countries are exploited by the same masters. They have the same enemy. They must act together through international trade unions and a world revolutionary party.

"A REVOLUTION marks a critical transition in the life of great masses. Of course, only a fully matured crisis renders a real revolution possible and necessary. Moreover, even as a transition period in the life of a single individual teaches him much, leads him through an emotional stage suffused with new rich content, so also does a revolution teach a whole nation in a relatively short time highly instructive and valuable lessons.

"During a revolution millions and tens of millions of people learn in a single week incomparably more than at other times in a whole year. For at such critical moments in the life of a nation it becomes markedly evident which classes pursue certain aims, what are their relative forces, and the means at their command." - Lenin.

ONLY REVOLUTION CAN FREE NEGROES

Once in a while some angel of mercy, apparently drops from the high heavens to solve what they call the Negro problem. Some seemingly well meaning groups of many different shades have, from time to time, made some attempts. Some of these people were themselves sincere, but in the main their plans were schemes formulated and directed by those whose aim was for further exploitation of the downtrodden Negro workers. Liberal writers at times have evolved plans doomed to failure from their inception.

It is a foolhardiness for any worker to believe that bankers, manufacturers and businessmen in general, large or small, are going to make any serious effort to better the deplorable conditions of the Negroes unless they are compelled to by the threat of revolt. What can be expected from so-called philanthropists and humanitarians who cover themselves with a veneer of civilization and fine talk but don't do anything?

We do not have to go back to colonial days in America when British and Dutch ships came over laden with famished, terror-stricken negroes from Africa. Nor do we have to go back to the Civil war days when this courageous people gave 68,000 to the cause of freedom that they only temporarily realized. It can most assuredly be stated that the inhuman treatment of the Negroes today has materially changed but little.

LIKE UNTOUCHABLES OF INDIA

They were being killed on plantations before and immediately after the Civil War and are being killed today in outright lynching and other means just as cold-blooded and brazen. They are forced to work as serfs, in many sections of the country, not excluding the North. The unemployed Negroes above the Mason and Dixon line manage through their small loosely knit organizations and mutual self aid, to find their way into the worm-infested, ramshackle, rat-ridden homes and barns; while below the line their pitiful miserableness can be likened only to the condition of the untouchables of India. The colored people of the United States are chained from birth to the shackles of discrimination and prejudice by the vicious capitalist society whose purpose is to continue selling these people down the river, instead of giving them their rightful place as human beings, in helping to determine the everyday life of the nation.

There is absolutely no dispute on the part of the advanced workers as to whether this much evaded problem should be linked up with the general labor movement before it can be solved. The question, however, lies in the correct approach to its solution; and that is not an easy task when we consider the fact that so many white angels so many times have unmistakably proved to be fakers.

The misleaders of the Negro people cannot hold them in restraint forever; and when the day eventually arrives on which they revolt, if they are guided properly, their revolt can be developed into a combined black and white movement in which can be planted the seed of a social revolution that would smash the remaining rotting pillars of capitalism.

The Negro workers must understand that not all whites are traitors to their cause; neither are all blacks sincere. The perpetual suffering of this downtrodden people makes them determined; and because of this, the colored masses are a great, potential revolutionary force. There is no denying that the revolutionary movement has failed miserably to gain the confidence of these courageous people. All sincere workers must embark on an unrelenting struggle, marching side by side in open defiance of our common enemy, so as to prove our sincerity to this much oppressed race that will be a revolutionary factor in the coming struggle for emancipation of the working class.

BEN PALIFERRO

IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

Between 26th and 63rd sts., Wentworth and Cottage Grove Avenues in Chicago, lives, rather exists, the overwhelming majority of Chicago's 500,000 Negro workers. 60% in this area are dependent on relief. Upon these workers capitalism imposes conditions that dim any European ghetto or slum.

Take the case of the Knox family: husband, wife and six kids. They live in two rooms. One room serves as the kitchen, washroom and toilet. The other, not too large, serves as the bedroom. The entire family sleeps in that one room. One day the plaster came down. Mrs. Knox and one of her kids were injured. The landlord graciously offered them \$10, \$7 to be taken off the rent.

Take the case of a widow who had just given birth to her sixth child, when she and her six children plus their few belongings were evicted onto the street. Hungry, poor in health, out of the hospital only eleven days, she and her kids stood in the street. For days, midst hunger and rain, they waited for something. Tired of waiting, she died.

Take the case of Mrs. Viola Jackson whose husband up and left her and her four kids. For two months they managed somehow. Finally Mrs. Jackson applies for relief at the Bridgeport Relief Station at 2126 S. Dearborn. On July 29 her affidavits were accepted and a case worker was to call during the week. On August 8, unable to bear the agony of watching her children who were four, seven, nine and thirteen years old, fainting from hunger, she called at the office of the Unemployed Workers Union, 3451 S. Michigan. The Bridgeport Station was called and more investigation was promised. Before a worker can eat, affidavits, investigations and procedures have to be exhausted. Mrs. Jackson is now getting relief. In other words she and her children are slowly starving.

These cases are not unusual. They are typical of the living death of tens of thousands of workers' families. The crying need for the bare necessities of life, for food and shelter, is bringing into being Unemployed Workers Unions and Tenant Leagues to fight against starvation and slow death.

(Continued from Page 13)

A furious campaign of slander and villification was launched against him. Many of those who joined with him later to defend the stand of the Russian Marxists participated in the hue and cry against him. He did his duty regardless of the consequences to himself.

After his expulsion he began the publication of a paper in the Hungarian language called Proletar, to put forward the Marxist position on the issues of the day. Later when larger splits took place in the Communist Party Basky joined with those workers to launch the Communist League of America in 1928. It was typical of him that he sought nothing for himself. He asked for no posts. He was satisfied to participate in the founding of the new organization and to collaborate with its leadership and membership in the daily work.

When the struggle against Trotsky's opportunism led to a split in the Workers Party in the fall of 1935, Basky, then in his fifty-third year, undertook again the work of building a revolutionary organization. His will never faltered. He collaborated in the founding of the Revolutionary Workers League and was a member of its Central Committee from its inception. He was also a member of the Editorial Board. Our organ owes its name to him. He suggested the name REVOLT. Its growth as an organ of revolt against oppression, of revolutionary struggle and of communist organization will be a monument to the memory of our comrade.

SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENT BEST MONUMENT

As time passes we will miss Basky more and more. Revolutionists of his calibre do not fall from the sky. It takes decades of struggle and training to produce them. As the struggle grows sharper; as the working class rises to do battle with its enemies; as the problems and opportunities of the revolutionists multiply; as the possibility of victory becomes greater; we will miss his coolness, his sober, reasoned judgment, his objective attitude, his warm and kindly humanity.

We will not have him with us but we will go forward. We will harden ourselves; we will redouble our efforts to build a revolutionary party. It will be as he would have it. The lessons of his life will stand us in good stead. We will make his life the model for the rising generation of revolutionists. We will cherish his memory and the legacy he left us in the movement we build.

And when the banner of the new Communist Party, of the Communist Fourth International is unfurled and the hosts of labor go forward to the final battle and the final victory we, who march in the ranks, can say: We have done our duty as Louis would have done it; we have kept faith with his confidence in our class and in us.

Farewell, Louis Basky, working class fighter, proletarian revolutionist, Marxist, comrade, friend! The road lies ahead. Let us go forward!

(continued from page 12)

The political key to the frame-up lies in this insurrection. Everyone knows that following the electoral victory of the Popular Front in February, 1936, Franco and Mola began preparations for an uprising; and that the Popular Front Government of Stalinists, Socialists and Republicans was aware of the situation and did nothing about it. On July 18, when the Fascists struck, it was the workers who seized arms and stopped Franco from winning a quick and easy victory. At the same time they seized many industries, created workers militias and, in general, advanced far on the road toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the peasants seized the land and drove out the Catholic Church.

By September this upsurge reached its peak in Catalonia where the workers were more powerful than anywhere else in Spain. To divert the working class from social revolution the panic-stricken capitalists brought up their last line of defense: the radical-sounding gentlemen in the leadership of the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T., the anarcho-syndicalist trade union movement. These agents of capitalism entered the Catalan Cabinet, advertised it to the workers as a workers government and stopped the forward movement of the workers toward the seizure of power.

BREAD RIOTS AND BARRICADES

In the following months the capitalists drove the situation to the right, step by step, as they got back their grip on political, economic and military life. As the situation became more favorable for the capitalists, the P.O.U.M. became an obstacle to them and a systematic persecution was launched against it. During the spring of 1937 the policy of the government alarmed the workers who became increasingly restless. Bread riots took place in Barcelona as the Stalinists, who controlled the food supply, distributed it to the big and petty bourgeoisie to the disadvantage of the workers. Finally, aroused by the increasing provocations of the government, the workers rose on May 3 in Barcelona. Barricades were thrown up. Members of the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T. played a prominent part in the rising.

The movement failed because it had no clear objectives and no revolutionary leadership. There was no Marxist party to develop the struggle. The leaders of the C.N.T. opposed the insurrection from the start. The leaders of the P.O.U.M. gave it verbal support for three days but no clear, class objectives; and called for a solution within the framework of the then existing government. Finally, they stabbed the movement in the back, telling the workers to abandon the barricades and go back to work. A ferocious revenge was taken by the victors who slew hundreds of workers.

The government was reorganized to the right with the ousting of Caballero and the constitution of the Negrin Cabinet. The P.O.U.M. was driven underground, its press suppressed, its radio stations seized, and its leaders arrested. At the same time the opportunity was seized to clean up the foreign revolutionists who had come to Spain to join in the struggle for socialism. Negrte was not seized until one year later.

To justify its course and to discredit independent political working class action the government decided on the frame-up. Early in June, 1937, the capitalist press in this country carried the story of the discovery of a Fascist espionage plot. Presumably this must have been the result of the raid on the Peruvian Embassy. On June 15, hundreds

of arrests were made. BUT THE EVIDENCE ON WHICH THEY WERE HELD, ACCORDING TO SORIA'S PAMPHLET, WAS NOT ACQUIRED BY THE GOVERNMENT UNTIL SEPTEMBER 10.

An examination of the evidence offered by Soria leads to only one conclusion: between the arrests in June and September the Government was manufacturing its case. One look at the evidence is enough to see that it is made of the same stuff as all capitalist frame-ups. The evidence rests principally on one letter the authenticity of which is supposed to be established by admissions made by one alleged agent during his examination by police officers. Since he complains, in his signed statement of exhaustion after only five questions it does not require much imagination to visualize the horrible methods by which he was induced to make these admissions. That is why we do not regard as reassuring the statement of the Department of State that when the American Consul saw Negrete in prison he reported no ill treatment.

A MYSTERIOUS LETTER

The admissions were made by one, Joaquin Roca, known as Litus. Together with eight agents of the "State department of information," Roca-Litus signed a "police document," date not given, in which it is stated that a raid was made by the eight agents on September 10th, on the bookshop of Roca's father in Gerona. "They proceeded to a thorough search of all the offices and furniture." In the back of the shop they found a "chestnut colored fibre suitcase." "Inside the suitcase the following documents were found: twenty five plans describing the manufacture of ...bombs and handgrenages.....A letter addressed to Mme. Barolet for M. Ferrer...and inside three sheets of paper and a mass of printed notes in the text of which several words have been written in by hand in capital letters, referring to questions of espionage and the organization of terrorism against members of the Republican Government." The date of the letter is not given. On the following page of Soria's pamphlet there is printed "the entire text of the letter referred to....in the police report." But, again there is no date!

It is in this letter that Negrete is referred to as a Franco agent. "(7) You ask me who C.29 and C.41 are. I told you in one of my previous letters that they are active leaders of groups of secret agents - Rosalio Negrete (Blackwell) and...."

On September 20th Roca was examined in Barcelona, and signed the text of the examination. Two days later he was examined again, and signed the text. These two statements are supposed to authenticate the material discovered in the raid on the bookshop of Roca's father, including the letter which was described as "three sheets of paper and a mass of printed notes" in which "several words had been written in by hand in capital letters."

In the examination of September 22, the second examination, Roca is asked: "(3) Question: What is the character of the reports which you have sent to Franco's espionage service...?" He replies: "Accused: Reports which I have sent to Franco's spy group at Perpignan are of a secret military nature as you can see from the letter WRITTEN IN MY HANDWRITING AND FOUND BETWEEN THE MATTRESSES OF MY BED..." (our emphasis).

A little later he is asked: "(5) Question: Who destroyed the three guns of the 25th Division and....mentioned in the letter that the police found in YOUR HOUSE?" (Our emphasis). He replies: "Accused: I don't know who destroyed them because that job wasn't done by our group but by another group which was also working under the orders of Franco's agents at Perpignan, ONE OF WHOM SENT ME THE LETTER TO WHICH YOU HAVE REFERRED." (Our emphasis).

"(6) Question: The organization of which you were a member has committed acts of terrorism against members of the Republican Government...., hasn't it?" Roca replies: "Accused: I have not personally been concerned in any acts of terrorism...Question: That is not true because the letter which was found in YOUR place mentions an attempt against Prieto...." Roca replies: "Accused:The letter which was GIVEN me together with other documents..." (Our emphasis).

"(9) Question: Who is the person who SENT you the letter containing reports on military espionage....?" Roca replies: "Accused: I DON'T KNOW WHO SENT ME THE LETTER WITH THE MILITARY REPORTS. AS I TOLD YOU BEFORE, THIS PERSON CALLED HIMSELF FERRER." (Our emphasis).

According to this testimony Ferrer knew that C.29 was Negrete. But Roca didn't know who Ferrer was although Ferrer was sending him secret military reports.

According to the evidence this all important letter was found in a suitcase in the bookshop of Roca's father; and it was also found between the mattresses of Roca's bed in his house. It was written in Roca's handwriting; and it was also printed and had several words written in by hand in capital letters. And it was both sent and given to Roca. All this is brought out in one police statement which is not dated and two examinations consisting of eighteen questions.

The police statement says the raid on the bookshop of Roca's father was conducted on SEPTEMBER 10. On October 23rd when Roca's testimony had been in hand for thirty one days, the Chief of the Barcelona Police, Lieutenant-Colonel Burillo, "called a conference of the international press representatives and gave them the following communique in which he said: "The search which was carried out at the HOUSE OF ROCA...revealed, BETWEEN TWO MATTRESSES, some extremely important documents... In a LETTER FOUND IN THE BOOKSHOP BELONGING TO ROCA'S FATHER in the course of a search carried out on SEPTEMBER 18, was found..." (Our emphasis).

It is as clear as daylight. It was the intention of the Loyalist Government to include Negrete in the frame-up. Why they released him on July 26 is a mystery which may be cleared up by Negrete when we get him out. But the fact that he was arrested again and that the Secret Police went to such lengths to get him means that they intend to try to railroad him to death or to a long prison term together with the other workers they have in their clutches.

This frame-up can be smashed. In the case of Negrete the record is clearest of all. He is not an agent of Franco. He is a working class revolutionist, a Marxist. All the forgers and perjurers in the service of the G.P.U. which dominates the Spanish Secret Police cannot change that.

The issue is clear. The safety and freedom of Negrete and the other workers framed by the Loyalist Government; and the defense of the democratic rights of the working class in Loyalist Spain are at stake. These must be made the issues of a broad defense movement of working class organizations. If that movement is to accomplish its purpose it must be broad. It cannot be the private monopoly of any single group or organization. This issue is a class issue. If it is made a factional monopoly the workers in the Loyalist prisons will suffer.

Work has been started to build this movement. The National Committee of the C.N.T. in Barcelona has instructed its sub-committee in Valencia to advise them of Negrete's status and to take all the necessary steps toward securing his release and repatriation to the United States. Other labor organizations have protested to the Loyalist Government and to the United States Government. The progress made will be reported in REVOLT.

NEGRETE DEFENSE FUND

Funds are urgently needed for the defense and repatriation of Negrete. Send all contributions to Carl Cowl, Revolutionary Workers League, U.S., 1806 North Avenue, Chicago.

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★ Organization Notes ★

The fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League was held in Chicago, September 4th. The agenda was as follows: Political report; Negro Question; Negro Defense Work; Trade Union and Unemployed Work; REVOLT; Organization Questions and Tasks. The Political Report was devoted mainly to the war situation which revolves around the Czech crisis. The Trade Union Question was discussed from the standpoint of the problems the members of the League face in the unions; the same was true of the discussion on the Unemployed Work. The Organization Report summarized the progress made to realize the tasks set before the organization by the Third Convention in May and the shortcomings which have to be overcome.

CENTER TRANSFERRED TO DETROIT

One of the most important decisions made by the Plenum was the transfer of the center to Detroit. The Third Convention had decided to transfer the center to the middle West as soon as possible. Detroit was selected because the development of the class struggle was greater there than anywhere else in the middle West and because the opportunities for building a revolutionary movement are most favorable there.

REVOLT

A long and serious discussion was held on the official organ, REVOLT. As a result our movement has a better understanding of the problem involved in building the revolutionary press. The most important task the organization faces is the development of REVOLT as an organ of the revolt of the workers against the ruling class. A small beginning has been made in this direction. The most significant features of the progress we have made are that REVOLT deals with the concrete issues which the workers face, the war danger, unemployment, the wage cutting campaign; is written, for the most part, by workers who are involved or are close to the situations about which they write; and strives to develop the class consciousness of the workers which it reaches by explaining that the solution of the struggle for bread lies in the development of the day-to-day struggle against the employer into a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist state. REVOLT has devoted itself to the merciless exposure of the workers' enemies in the leadership of the trade unions, the Greens, Lewises, Whitneys, the Stalinists, all of them.

The chief shortcomings which the Plenum noted were that the paper was not sufficiently popular; that it was too theoretical, which is explained mainly because we lack a theoretical organ and must devote some space to theoretical questions; that it had failed to take up a number of important political questions facing, primarily, the European workers; and that the last few issues had been published late.

The Plenum instructed the Bureau which is charged with the responsibility for the production of the paper to regularize its appearance and then increase its circulation. These tasks will be carried out.

Lesson Nine

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST PARTY

A. REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AND TACTICS. The theory and program of Marxism analyse human society and describe the goal of the working class movement. They do not include the means by which the program is realized. These means are summed up in the laws of strategy, tactics and organization. Strategy consists of the general principles underlying the whole system of day-to-day actions, by which these partial struggles are developed into a broad revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system. Tactics. "By party tactics we mean the political behavior of the party, or the character, tendency and methods of its political work." -Lenin. Correct tactics are the actions, maneuvers and methods by which strategic aims and, finally, the program are attained. False tactics hamper the movement. In critical situations tactics are decisive for the life and death of the movement. Setting the date for the insurrection in October, 1917 led to the seizure of power. Setting it too early or too late would have meant a smashing defeat.

DAY TO DAY TACTICS. The United Front, as developed by the Bolsheviks under Lenin, is a tactic for uniting the masses in action against the capitalist class through temporary agreements with working class organizations for immediate demands. Since the opportunists split the working class politically unity can be achieved only when the Marxist party succeeds in separating the workers from their opportunist leaders and winning them for communism. Union and Unemployed Tactics. The Marxist party takes as its basis for trade union and unemployed work the fight against class collaboration and for class struggle policies. To be successful in union strategy the workers should fight every struggle on two fronts: against the capitalists and against their labor agents in the unions. The following are some of the main lines of revolutionary strategy in the unions. (1) organization of the unorganized into industrial unions and plant committees; (2) amalgamate craft into industrial unions; (3) work within the existing unions (AFL, CIO, RR Brotherhoods) for trade union unity; (4) establish the plant meeting as the basic unit of the unions; (5) create a national left wing in the unions controlled by the opportunists; (6) unite the employed and unemployed by joint action of unions and unemployed organizations for demands to alleviate the conditions of the unemployed.

Revolutionary Parliamentarism. The election system today, unlike the preceding epoch, cannot be used to improve the lot of the working class. "It is the immediate historic task of the working class to tear this apparatus out of the hands of the ruling class, to break it and destroy it, and to create in its place a new proletarian apparatus." -Theses of the II Congress of the C.I. Election campaigns are carried on to secure the maximum mobilization of the masses around slogans of proletarian revolution and secondarily for votes. The campaigns wherever possible are conducted in closest contact with strikes, demonstrations and movements among soldiers and sailors. Negro Question. American capitalism freed the Negro from chattel slavery and integrated him into the economic structure, but it did so on the basis of race subjection and double exploitation. The industrialization of the South is transforming him from a sharecropper into a propertyless and unemployed worker. In the North he is an essential part of the proletariat in the basic industries. Imperialism dominates the great Negro populations of Latin America: Haiti, Santo Domingo, Brazil, etc. The class conscious worker of the

Negro race in the United States has the historic task of sharing the leadership of the workers' struggle both in the United States and in the suppressed Latin American countries and throughout the world. The white worker has the greater responsibility in cementing black-white relationships. Bourgeois ideology and white chauvinism must be abolished. The Negro problem can be solved only by the unity of the workers of both races for the proletarian revolution and socialist society. The main slogans for this fight are: Full economic, political and social equality! White and Negro workers - smash Jim Crowism! Armed defense against lynch law! The Youth Question. Conditions of working class youth in all capitalist countries are miserable.: Working longer hours for lower wages, underfed, underdeveloped, deprived of the leisure and means for higher education, deprived of political rights, the first victims of capitalist war and militarism, the working class youth is faced with special conditions giving him a unique place in the class struggle. It is the primary task of the party to defend their rights to social and cultural opportunities from the greed of capitalism for cheap labor. In the course of this struggle special tactics, demands and forms of organization are created.

B. THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION. The seizure of power by the proletariat is the culmination of a series of developments known as the revolutionary situation. The economic and social premises on which the revolutionary situation develops are: (1) a general decline in production; (2) a systematic reduction in income; (3) growth of unemployment as a permanent social condition. The revolutionary situation begins when these factors create a break in the psychology or mood of all sections of society, especially the workers. While economic and social changes are very slow, requiring decades or centuries, the revolutionary transformation of the mood of the masses may take place suddenly or at most over a period of a few years.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION. (1) The sufferings of the oppressed classes become acute; (2) the proletariat loses confidence in the bourgeoisie and concentrates on independent historic action and aims; (3) the middle class loses confidence in the big bourgeoisie and pins its hopes on the revolutionary proletariat; (4) the ruling cliques, rejected by the masses, lose confidence in themselves. "Revolution marks a critical transition in the life of great masses. Of course, only a fully matured crisis renders a real revolution possible and necessary. Moreover, just as a transition period in the life of a single individual teaches him much, leads him through an emotional stage suffused with new rich content, so also does a revolution teach a whole nation in a relatively short time highly instructive and valuable lessons." - Lenin.

The Maturing of the Revolutionary Marxist Party depends largely on subjective factors, that is, on the will, courage and devotion of the advanced class-conscious section of the working class. The existence of a revolutionary Marxist party with roots in the masses is indispensable for a successful revolution.

DUAL POWER. "What constituted dual power? The fact that, by the side of the government of the bourgeoisie there develops another, as yet weak, embryonic, but undoubtedly real and growing government - Councils of Workers and Soldiers Representatives...The fundamental character-

istics of this type of power are: (1) it originates not in law previously considered and passed by parliament but in the direct initiative of the masses from below, in outright 'seizure', to use a popular expression; (2) instead of the police and the army (institutions separated from and opposed to the people) there is the direct arming of the whole people; orderly government is thus insured by the armed workers and farmers themselves, by the armed people itself; (3) officials, bureaucrats are either displaced by the direct rule of the people, or at any rate, placed under special control; officers are not only elected by the people but are also subject to recall at the initiative of the people; they are reduced to the position of plain representatives; from a privileged social stratum, occupying snug, highly remunerative 'berths' they are changed into workers, skilled in handling certain 'tools', receiving salaries not exceeding those of average skilled workers..." - Lenin.

THE INSURRECTION. The very possibility of proletarian insurrection implies an extremely advanced disintegration of the capitalist state. Civil war in general and the armed insurrection in particular must be studied as an art. The art of insurrection is far different from Blanquist conspiracy "technique". "To be successful the uprising must be based not on a conspiracy, not on a party, but on the advanced class. That is the first point. The uprising must be based on the revolutionary upsurge of the people. This is the second point. The uprising must be based on the crucial point in the history of the maturing revolution, when the activity of the vanguard of the people is at its height, when the vacillations in the ranks of the enemies, and in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted undecided friends of the revolution are at their highest point. This is the third point. It is in pointing out these three conditions as the way of approaching the question of an uprising, that Marxism differs from Blanquism." -Lenin.

The General Strike in the Insurrection. The working class cannot achieve victory over the bourgeoisie by means of the general strike alone, by the policy of folded arms. In conjunction with the armed uprising, however, the general strike becomes a powerful weapon in the hands of the proletariat to paralyse capitalist state power.

C. PROBLEMS OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. The Agrarian Question. Under the leadership of the city industrial proletariat the agricultural proletariat, the small farmers, tenants, share-croppers who constitute the majority of the agrarian population in all capitalist countries can save themselves from the ruin of capital landlordism and imperialist wars by the overthrow of capitalism. They are economically, socially and morally benefitted by the victory of the proletariat. After the workers have taken power and have done away with the owners of large estates and the capitalists, after they are able to see in practice that the working class is their organized leader and helper, powerful and firm in its guidance, the land workers will constitute a firm support of the proletarian dictatorship. Not so the landed farmers, rural bankers and plantation owners. They are capitalists in agriculture. The workers assisted by the small, tenant and sharecropping farmer will deal a crushing blow to this reactionary class. Their estates will be confiscated without compensation and converted into state property to be placed at the disposal of the actual producers.

The Revolution in the Colonies and Semi-colonies. The spread of imperialism and the investment of capital in the backward colonial countries tends to develop a capitalist society in these countries. Thus in China, India, Cuba, etc., imperialism gave birth to a local bourgeoisie which, in its desire to expand, finds itself in conflict with the capitalists of the great powers. A vital, growing working class arises in these countries which, together with the peasantry, is doubly oppressed: by imperialism and by its own bourgeoisie. Such conditions create revolutionary situations which threaten to destroy the foundations of capitalism. Colonial peoples tend to unite into movements for redistribution of land and national liberation. Numerous uprisings have occurred and have been suppressed in China, India, Cuba, Puerto Rica, etc. The first stages of the colonial revolution are agrarian, anti-imperialist, national liberationist and are fought in cooperation with the native bourgeoisie, but, under the leadership of the Marxists, the masses pass through the period of struggle for petty bourgeois reforms (division of land) to the organization of peasants and workers councils and the establishment of the workers state. In such struggles the colonial bourgeoisie finds itself in a peculiar position. On the one hand they are hampered by the imperialists. On the other they fear their own workers and peasants will get out of hand and destroy them. They consequently refuse to bring the struggle for national liberation and democratic rights to completion. As the masses begin to show independent strength, the bourgeoisie, to save its neck, makes alliances with the imperialist powers, or with the feudal lords and generals, or both. The colonial problem cannot be solved by the bourgeoisie. The colonial nationalist movements everywhere depend on capitalism. The mass action of the workers and peasants struggle for liberation from capitalism. The colonial Marxist party strives to develop class consciousness in the working class, to overthrow capitalism and establish workers republics. Proletarian revolutions in the colonies undermine world imperialism. It is the historic task of the working class and the Marxist parties in the imperialist countries, therefore, to collaborate with the colonial Marxist parties for the general advancement of the revolutionary movement.

D. PROLETARIAN STRATEGY IN WAR. The strategy of the bourgeoisie in imperialist war is summed up by Lenin as follows: "To seize lands and to conquer foreign nations, to ruin competing nations, to pillage their wealth, to divert the attention of the laboring masses from domestic political crisis..., to disunite the workers and fool them with nationalism, to annihilate their vanguards in order to weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, such is the only real essence, the significance and meaning of the present war." - War and the Second International. Imperialist wars shake the foundations of capitalist society and heap unbearable burdens on the working class. Revolutionary Defeatism. The workers have no interest in the defense of the "fatherland". Under no conditions, directly or indirectly, can the support of a war conducted by an imperialist government be justified. On the contrary, the class and its party must fight such a war and work for the defeat of its own capitalist government. "Turning the ... imperialist war into civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan... however difficult such a transformation may appear at one time or another socialists will never relinquish systematic, resistant, unflinching preparatory work in this direction once the war has become a fact." - Lenin. To the social reformists who advocate "revolutionary national defense", the class-conscious proletariat answers: only on condition that state power is in the hands of the proletariat.

Illegal work. In war time the bourgeoisie makes and utilizes anti-labor or "criminal syndicalist" laws for the purpose of gagging the proletariat. Arrests, indictments, raids on union and party halls make it necessary for the workers to protect the movement from annihilation. Illegal forms of agitation and organization are made in order to fight for the union of workers of all countries against their chauvinist bourgeoisie and for communism.

Wars of National Liberation. The imperialist war of 1914 clearly demonstrated the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie with regard to freedom of small nations and national self-determination. The League of Nations was nothing but an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guaranteed each other's prey. The vanquished nations began to work for the "re-union of alienated territories" to gather forces for new wars. While the proletariat is interested in re-uniting nationalities artificially torn asunder, this can be accomplished only by the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Equality of nations is impossible under capitalism. For the establishment of national equality a free federation of workers' republics is necessary. "The emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists."-Preamble and Rules of the International Workingmen's Association (First International).

D. PROLETARIAN STRATEGY AGAINST FASCISM. The frenzy with which the capitalist class embraces fascism is explained economically by the falling rate of profit which forces them to more ruthless exploitation of the working class. The resistance of the working class to these measures is met by Fascist policy when other government forms fail. Bands of declassed petty bourgeoisie crazed by the collapse of capitalism* Finance capitalism then takes over all the administrative and educational organs of the state. The workers' organizations and leadership are annihilated, the proletariat disorganized. *are set in motion.

The labor movement counterposes the social revolution to Fascism as the solution for the crisis of capitalism. This task is approached through the tactics of the united front of labor organizations for defense of democratic rights, based on extra-parliamentary mass action. These united defense actions consolidate the proletariat, give it confidence in its own strength. Eventually the struggle for democratic rights develops into an offense against fascist reaction. The proletariat arms itself, organizes and centralizes its councils, military committees and militias into national councils of workers' representatives (dual power) which challenge and finally overthrow the bourgeois state and establishes the workers' state. In countries where Fascism has conquered, the scattered proletariat reassembles its forces by underground activity. While the proletarian organizations can be destroyed, the proletariat itself cannot be, since it is essential to capitalist production. In the underground movement the need for the party is even greater than in the legal movement. The party centralizes the elementary struggles for democratic rights under fascism, not with the perspective of the restoration of an outworn bourgeois democracy, but for the building of a movement led by the proletariat for the establishment of a workers' republic. There is as yet no historical precedent for this development, but Marxian science points to this course as the revolutionary solution of the historic contradictions of Fascism.

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