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For Workers Defense Squads!

For Workers Control of Production for Use Under a Workers

Council Government!

For a New Communist (4th) International!

Fight Fascism by Fighting Capitalism!

### The Marxist

Theoretical organ of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U.S. Formerly the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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# THE MARXIST

Theoretical organ of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U.S.

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### Vol. 5

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### No. 6

# NEW DEAL BREAKS WPA STRIKE

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The WPA strikes are another glorious round of the struggles of the American working class against the exploiters and their government. The round is over, but bigger battles are in the offing that will involve even larger numbers of workers. This was the first powerful spontaneous movement AGAINST THE NEW DEAL, against Roosevelt, against the STATE. It was an attack from the left, and put as much fear in the Tories as it did in the "liberals" behind Roosevelt. Despite the Green, Lewis, Stalinist apologies for Roosevelt, tens of thousands of workers got their first good lesson in the meaning of "liberalism" under decay capitalism.

The concerted attack against the labor movement and the unemployed, which gave rise to the strikes, is a part of the Roosevelt WAR DRIVE. It is part of the plan to reduce the cost of production to enable American Imperialism to compete more successfully with the other imperialists, and to obtain a lower wage level with an eye to the approaching war. Idle men and idle factories are not the concern of Roosevelt except to **save the idle factories for the bosses**, and to insure them their profits.

#### NEW DEAL OFFENSIVE

To understand the causes for the failure of the WPA strikes we should review their origin and development.

Before the last elections, in 1938, the New Deal machine, hard-pressed by the right wing elements in the Democratic Party and the rejuvenated Republicans, enrolled more than a million workers on WPA in order to gain prestige and votes. Two months after the elections, however, the precess of whittling down began. In less than five months 600,000 WPA workers were "403'd" (discharged).

Then, in order to relieve the pressure on some of its other pet schemes — neutrality revision, subsidies to rails, TVA, the National

Labor Relations Board, Social Security, etc the New Deal took the lead in proposing cuts on WPA. The anti-Roosevelt elements in the House and Senate made a show of opposition to Roosevelt's proposals for the emergency appropriation and later the regular appropriation, but the final results were that Roosevelt got all but 40 million of the amount he asked.

The bill proposed and signed by the New Deal was a broadside offensive against the unemployed and trade union movement. 650,000 are to be laid off, trade union scales will be scabbed on under government supervision, and a substantial wage decrease provided for those who remain on WPA.

Prior to the passage of the bill the unemployed through their organizations, primarily the stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance, and the American Federation of Labor which has hundreds of thousands of skilled workers on the projects, exerted no pressure whatsoever on the administration. Furthermore, there were no serious working class reactions. Five or six years of c o n s i s t e n t class-collaborationist policies in the unemployed field, following the militant battles of 1931-33, have dulled the resistance of the unemployed masses.

#### SPONTANEOUS STRIKES

However, when steps were taken to put the bill into effect, the WPA workers, primarily the skilled building trades workers who were hit hardest and who have a tradition of decades of trade unionism, reacted vigorously. Spontaneous strikes occured throughout the country, receiving in many cases the unwilling support of the local AFL burocrats, partly because of the great rank and file pressure, and partly to maintain their crumbling structures which have been materially reduced by the widespread unemployment.

The attitude of the AFL top leadership was

from the outset anti-strike. William Green issued a statement to the effect that the remedy against the increased hours lay not in strikes but in lobbying pressure on Congress. No attempt was made to **spread** the strikes to the unskilled workers, or to mold the strike movement into a well-knit national force. The AFL leadership deliberately, following the advice of Green, permitted the strikes to peter out.

The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance, which had only slight influence in the strikes compared to the AFL, functioned throughout on the policy of not embarrassing Roosevelt. After the strikes were under way for some time the Alliance came out also with ambiguous "support", but repudiating responsibility, like the AFL, for calling or spreading them. Their official apology for Roosevelt stated that the "tories" had deceived the good President; they had delayed action on the bill till two hours before WPA appropriations expired, and then Roosevelt had no alternative but to sign the bill. That Roosevelt had proposed and endorsed the provisions fails to faze these fakers. Their line is not based on objective realities but on the needs of the Stalinist foreign office.

The offensive against WPA is not an isolated phenomenon, nor is it accidental. It reveals again that bourgeois democracy despite the best intentions of its "liberal" or even "radical" wings, necessarily paves the way for more reactionary forms of bourgeois rule. American capitalism, still the proud peacock of the imperialist world, is nevertheless so filled with contradictions, is moving to economic chaos so rapidly, that the ability of the bourgeoisie to grant reforms or concessions has narrowed considerably during Roosevelt's reign. The struggles in Congress are merely a surface indication of this underlying whirlpool. Faced with this circumstance, the "good" liberals, as well as the 'bad" reactionaries, although they are at sharp variance on other domestic and foreign policies which seriously affect their pocketbook, are nevertheless united on the one question, that the main blows, the decisive blows, must be directed against the working class first, that still more of the burden of the depression must be passed on to the working class.

The unemployed form an excellent target for these gentry. First, of all they have no real organization. Second, whatever organization does exist is corrupt and class-collaborationist to the core. Third, the issue can easily be painted up so as to "excuse" the New Deal —

WPA is charity and certainly no one has a right to bite the hand that is feeding him. That is the sum of bourgeois propaganda.

#### PART OF WAR DRIVE

Accompanying the attack on WPA is a wholesale drive on relief scales nationally, by instituting forced labor, cuts in relief, scrip, and a general "rechecking" of every person on relief. This sharp blow against the unemployed, however, will be followed by equally sharp blows against the employed. The building trades wage scale in private industry is now threatened. Myron Taylor for the U.S. Steel Corporation has made it known that relations with the CIO Steel Workers Organizing Committee will not be as amicable in the future as they have been in the past. In other words, a campaign to smash the union is about to begin. Geenral Motors, taking the lead for the auto industry, has followed a clever and consistent strategy of pitting the AFL auto union against the CIO auto union to the visible detriment of both. Most of the great gains made in 1936-37 have been quietly wiped out by G. M. In the packing house industry Armour and the other houses are preparing their forces for the coming showdown with the union men.

In the past year or two there have been ample opportunities for turning the tide, for launching another working class counteroffensive of the 1936-37 type. Each time the leaders of the workers, primarily the C I O misleaders, have safety checked the wave. The WPA strikes could have been a peak point in the development of the American labor movement. But the AFL and Stalinist officialdom successfully performed their dirty role.

For the Marxists and militants in general the present WPA strikes offer a fertile lesson in strategy. There were no efforts to oranize in advance of the strikes. Preparatory work, activity to broaden the base of the strikes spread them - coupled with a carefully planned strategy would have brought different results. A good tactic, for instance, was carried through in Springfield, Illinois, to strike and demonstrate for four days, try to spread the strike, and report on the job for one hour on the fifth day so as not to be stricken from the rolls. The failure to organize and properly lead the strikes saw the most militant elements fired and demoralized before the strike movement could advance far enough to consolidate itself.

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# SOCIAL SECURITY LAWS AND CAPITALIST DECAY

Under the New Deal there is considerable talk about the Social Security Law and its great benefits to the American people. At the same time a powerful section of the exploiters are attacking the Law and are demanding reductions in its scope and even its total abolition. On the other hand, most of the trade union and labor movement criticises its inadequacy and asks for its extension. But these people keep within the framework of the Law, and predicate their proposals upon the exisence of the present order. That is social reformism. A scientific consideration must go to the fundamentals of the problem, and will revolve upon an axis outside of the Social Security Law.

#### WHAT IS SOCIAL SECURITY?

Under capitalism, social security has come to mean a system of measures to take care of old age, unemployment, sickness, child welfare, and maternity. Within these limits, to one degree or other, the different states of the Union are dealing with the general question of social security. But all of these points, important as they are in the life of the worker, are secondary to the REAL PROBLEM of social security.

The broader question is that of ECONOMIC SECURITY. Social security is possible only on the basis of economic security. This is not merely "the right to work," as some of the reformers would have us believe. The right to work is an illusion under the system of the exploitation of the wage worker by the capitalist. The right to work — economic security is possible only upon the basis of production for use, instead of the present system of production for profit and wage slavery.

There can be no such thing as social security so long as there exists the system of production based on the exploitation of man by man. Social security is possible only under a system of social ownership of the means of production, of planned economy, production for use — under Communism.

It is a mockery to speak of laws that "give" us Social Security when one percent of the people own 59 percent of the wealth; when 13 percent of the people own over 90 percent of th wealth; and when 87 percent of the people, th workers and oppressed masses, own less

than 10 percent of the wealth of the nation.

#### GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

Over a century ago the developing trade union movement started the struggle to take care of its members and their families in case of sickness and death. This later developed into a plan in many of the unions to take care of the aged and unemployed. But outside of the workers' movement the question of "social security" was considered some crazyman's dream. Society and the State relegated these matters to charity. In depressions the breadline and soup-kitchen were added. Even this charity was fostered, not because of love for these unfortunates, but because of the developing class struggle and to avoid a too great increase in the crime wave.

Only after the '29 crash did Social Security go beyond these confines. In the '30s the bread-lines and soup-kitchens were supplemented with Federal emergency relief, with work projects, with camps for the youth, with hasty measures to hold in check the powerful class pressure of 18 million unemployed in the land of plenty.

Meyer London, the Socialist Congressman from New York, was the first to present, in 1916, a bill for national unemployment insurance. This was ignored. In the war period manpower was scarce and many cities and some states passed laws treating as vagrants to be thrown into jail any able-bodied men not found usefully employed. Today with over 15 million unemployed this simple solution is not possible.

Again, in 1928, Senator C o u z e n s of Michigan put forth a proposal for a committee to investigate unemployment. This committee reported negatively. A committee of the highest body of American capitalism was so blind that on the eve of the greatest crisis the United States has yet had, it reported back unfavorably on the question of unemployment reliet. Later, in the '30s, another committee was selected, by motion of Senator Wagner. This committee, under pressure of the crisis and the rising class struggle, reported favorably in 1934, but no bill came to a vote until the latter part of '35, when the emasculated Social Security Law of the New Deal was passed.

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#### UNITED STATES THE LAST TO ADOPT MEASURES

The so called advanced Security Law of the New Deal comes long after every other modern capitalist nation introduced such measures. Compared to most of the European countries the laws in the richest nation on earth are a poor imitation. In fact, the Scandinavian and many of the so called backward countries of Latin America and other parts of the world are in this respect far superior to the United States.

The Stalinist supporters of the Roosevelt Social Security Law should look back at the Bismarck laws in Germany if they want to see bourgeois "progress." In the '80s of the last century, Bismarck, despite opposition from less far-sighted capitalist elements than he represented, pushed through measures to take care of accident, sickness and old age.

Bismarck's reasons for these reform measures were no different e s s e n t i ally from Roosevelt's reasons today. In both cases it was fear of the working class movement, the new relations developing between the ruling and exploited classes. Concretely, in Germany, these measures were put forth to head off the rise of the Social Democratic movement and the growing discontent of the workers. At the same time, just like the New Deal, Bismarck was able to extend the sway of the central government over the entire nation and reduce to scond place the opposition and financial activities of the different states.

If in the United States there had existed a strong Marxian party in the '30s, the pressure of the workers would have been ten-fold greater and much more could have been wrung from the exploiters.

#### THE NEW DEAL SECURITY MEASURES

We will mention only some of the negative aspects of the New Deal's Law and show what a farce it is to call this "social security." Each state has a 2 to 5 week waiting-period before a claim for unemployment insurance can be made. But the worker and his family must eat these intervening weeks as well. If a worker refuses a suitable job he loses his unemploymnt benefits. But in each state that which will determine a "suitable" job will depend upon the ORGANIZED STRENGTH OF THE WORK-ERS and not the Law. In those vast sections where the labor movement is weak the bosses through their government will determine what is "suitable." During a strike or lockout no unemployment insurance can be collected: an-

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other weapon in the hands of the employers. If a worker is sick he cannot collect, even though it is precisely in such periods when weekly running expenses run higher. If a worker quits a job without satisfactory reasons he will suffer p e n a l t i e s. Here again, "satisfactory reasons" will depend on the state of the workers' organizations. And in all states the average **maximum** is \$15 a week, which is far from social security. Likewise, in all states the unemployment benefit will run only from three to four months at the most.

Over half the workers in the country are excluded from the "benefits" of the New Deal Security Law. The occupations not included, together with the standing army of millions of unemployed which will exist from now on in the U. S., means that some 20 million workers and their families cannot meet the provisions of this Law. The benefits are for those who can find work, and in no way is long term unemployment provided for. But the rule in the U. S. today is not short term but **long term unemployment** for millions.

Since each state draws up its own provisions, some states where the workers are in the main unorganized have miserably low payments for unemployment and old age. But the workers' needs cannot be altered by state boundary lines.

The whole New Deal social security system is based upon those employed in production, and not upon the social needs of the people nationally. The employed are given a special position in relation to social security "benefits," while those who for no reason of their own are unemployed and ALSO NEED these benefits, are completely ignored by the Law. They have no right to social security under the present provisions.

What about the old aged? As the laws of the states stand now, the maximum benefits one can expect up to 1942 is about \$25 per month. This is a mockery of social security. If one was 61 years or over January 1, 1937 he cannot derive any benefits from the old age laws. The youth of today when they reach the old age limits will supposedly get more. But it is the old aged today that social security must protect. It is a grim joke for the New Deal to talk about the future. If the war drive of American Imperialism is not stopped whole sections of the youth will not have to worry about old age security.

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## THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

It is axiomatic that periods of reaction have their reflection in the worst forms of chauvinism and anti-Semitism. No better proof is required than the present plight of the Jews all over the world.

Shunted from pillar to post, hounded and browbeaten by a decaying capitalist System, the Jewish people are threatened with extinction. The question literally cries for a solution. Yet, we must assert from the outset that only the elimination of capitalism can lay the basis for a solution of this tragic problem.

In the following paragraphs we will trace briefly the background of this question in order to understand the nature of the solution.

#### THE KEY TO THE PROBLEM

The Jews, before the fall of Judea, were a united people having all the characteristics of a nation. The key factor preconditioning national development was a homeland; a national economic structure, a clearly defined territory which assured the development of national ties, language and culture.

With the fall of Judea in 70 A. D., the greatest exile in history began. The Jews dispersed to the four corners of the earth, establishing homes wherever opportunity for existence was afforded them. It is this great dispersion with its resultant diversification which becomes the key to the problem, making it so complicated.

The dispersion of the Jews literally throughout the world — not even excluding the Fiji Islands — affected their development in corresponding degree to the country of their adoption. Thus, in Eastern Europe, Russia, Poland, Latvia, etc., the backwardness of economy and the persecution by the governments, coupled with the prohibition to buy and settle on the land and occupational restrictions, compelled the Jews to center their activities in the commercial fields or small handicrafts. With the exception of wealthy financiers, the bulk of the Jewish masses were always poor financially.

This is not to say that there is no Jewish working class. On the contrary, there is quite a sizable working class section of Jews, particularly in Western Europe and the United States.

Here the pattern is somewhat different. The expanding revolution in the West, coupled with a certain amount of political toleration on

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the part of the ruling classes, tended to absorb large sections into the ranks of the proletariat. In the United States particularly, the figure rises to impressive proportions. In New York City for instance, the n e e d l e trades are virtually dominated by Jews, a handful of whom are the owners, while the vast majority are wage slaves. The class struggle here is no less bitter than in other fields in which non-Jews are the principals.

Here we begin to see the complexity of the problem. It is not so much a "Jewish" problem as it is essentially a working class problem. What, after all, creates a common problem between the antagonistic economic interests of the Jewish working masses and the banking houses of Lehman brothers, the house of Kuhn-Loeb, the Warbergs and the Kahns? Nothing. In fact, it is often the wealthy Jewish industrialist and financier who becomes the representative and spokesman of Capitalism; who exploits and oppresses Jewish and Gentile worker alike. Witness Governor Lehman of New York or Leon Blum, former French premier.

In other countries, too, a number of Jewish financiers are marked off from the bulk of the Jewish people by their support and encouragement of black reactionary governments. A striking illustration is the universally known scandal of the Rothchilds family in London providing a loan for Hungary in 1924, despite the white terror waged against the Jews; or the lesser known fact that certain Jewish bankers financed Hitler in Germany.

Nothing better serves to prove the class division among the Jews than the above facts.

The wealthy Jews do not fear persecution; they move in the highest circles of "society," attain the posts of high state officials, i. e. governors, premiers, influence state policy, frame legislation that oppresses Jew and Gentile worker alike.

True, in this decay period of capitalism, the tendency is to eliminate even the wealthy Jews

Subscribe to THE FIGHTING WORKER Central Organ of the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE, from society, but this still does not pose an identity of problems with the worker Jew. This fact only serves to prove the conflicting interests among the capitalists themselves. One group seeks to eliminate its rivals. Under other circumstances it might well be the Armenian section. The German capitalist would like to eliminate his Czech and Austrian rivals in Greater Germany.. Similarly with the United States and the British.

At the same time that the bourgeoisie would like to eliminate the Jews from society, they are confronted with their own contradiction. For the Jews serve ideally as the universal scapegoat, the ready-made bugaboo with which to whip into line a frightened petty bourgeosie and the lumpen elements in the country. In this case the Jews serve the same function universally that the Negro serves in the United States. The problem becomes more acute because of the tactics in fighting it that are offered by certain "friends" of the Jews. But of this in a further paragraph.

#### ARE THE JEWS A NATION?

The answer must be put forthrightly, No. The chief prerequisites for national consciousness are based on economic structure, country, language and culture. None of these obtains with the Jewish people. Again we must look towards the key factor of dispersion which produced a diversity of type and development. Jewish national consciousness depends upon the degree of development of the specific country in which he lives. The Jews living in the East, - Asia Minor, Persia, Arabia - having been cut off from the stimulating forces of modern thought and civilization, have remained for the most part in the same stage of culture as their remote ancestors. In the small cities and villages of Eastern Europe, the Jews are distinguished from the rest of the population only in their religious life and customs.

Because of their segregation into "pales" by fascist and semifascist governments, the Jews have developed strong communal ties. Centuries of oppression, and particularly the recent Hitler pogroms, could not help but produce a certain "national" consciousness, a consciousness that is not the same, however, as that of the East Indian or the Irish whose aim is self determination from Imperialism. The Jewish consciousness reflects, instead, a desire for complete integration into the life of the national structures. It is a purely negative consciousness foisted upon them by fascism on the one hand, and zionism on the other.

By and large, the vast majority of Jews, with the exception of the deeply religious who yearn for Palestine as a place to die in rather than to live, regard themselves as Americans, Russians, Germans or French.

This is particularly true of the United States and Western Europe. The Jews here, thanks to a certain amount of tolerance, because of the relative stability of capitalism, have been largely assimilated. The tendency here is to be a Jew only in a religious sense, if even that, and to show little other distinction from the non-Jew.

Indeed the one and only link among the Jews is their religion. Stripped of this one distinguishing feature, they become absolutely unrecognizable from non-Jews.

#### ARE THE JEWS A RACE?

Again the answer must be a categoric no. Jews are a part of every race. There are white or Caucasian Jews in Europe and the Americas; yellow or Mongoliam Jews in China and Thibet; brown Jews in the Near East and black or Negroid Jews in Abyssinia and the Malobar Coast. Modern anthropology revolts at the Nazi concepts of a pure Aryan race. The western Jew is indistinguishable, even in facial features, from the non-Jew. The hooked nose, popularly believed to be a distinguishing feature, is more common to the North American Indian than to the Jew.

The same may be said with regards to language. The Jews speak as many languages as there are in the world. Their historical language, Hebrew, has long been dead; it is spoken only by a fraction of Jews in Palestine. The commonly known languages spoken by the Jews are Yiddish or Judeo-German, a corruption of German mixed with Hebrew; Ladino or Judeo-Spanish, spoken in the greater part of the Balkan peninsula; the third largest, Judeo-Arabic, a corruption of Arabic mixed with Hebrew words, being in use from Morocco to Iraq. Moreover, even these "languages" are diminishing as assimilation progresses.

Finally, the question of culture. Again the answer is in the negative. The overwhelming bulk of the Jewish people, oppressed and downtrodden, have not as yet developed a culture common to themselves. The culture of the Jews, as is the culture of all oppressed peoples, is still in its rudimentary stages, awaiting social and economic emancipation for complete development. Jewish culture is the "culture of poverty," linking the Jews together

with the vast majority of people oppressed and exploited by capitalism. On this question, Lenin expressed this profound thought:

"Whoever directly or indirectly puts forward the slogan of Jewish national culture (however well intentioned he may be) is the enemy of the proletariat, the defender of the OLD and CASTE element in Jewry, the tool of the Rabbis and the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, those Jewish Marxists who join up in the international Marxist organizations with the Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian workers, adding their mite (both in Russian and in Jewish) to the creation of an international culture of the working class movement, are continuing the best traditions of Jewry and struggling against the slogan of national culture."

Following these thoughts, we must reach the conclusion that the Jews, since the fall of the temple, may be characterized as an ethnical and religious people dispersed throughout the world and sharply divided into irreconcilable social classes. The minority, as a part and parcel of world capitalism, helps oppress the vast majority who are a part of the working class.

(To be continued)

## LENIN ON IMPERIALIST WAR

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"The advocates of victory of "one's own" government in the present war, as well as the advocates of the slogan "neither victory nor defeat," proceed equally from the standpoint of social chauvinism. A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot help wishing the defeat of its government, it cannot fail to see the connection between the government's military reverses and the increased opportunity for overthrowing it. Only a bourgeois who believes that the war started by the governments will necessarily end as a war between governments, and who wishes it to be so, finds "ridiculous" or "absurd" the idea that the Socialists of ALL the belligerent countries should express their wish that ALL "their" governments be defected .... "

"Revolutionary Social Democratic elements exist in many countries in spite of everything... To unite these Marxist elements, however small their number may be at the beginning, to revive in their name the words of real socialism now forgotten, to call the workers of all countries to relinquish chauvinism and raise the old banner of Marxism, this is the task of the day...

"Marxism is not pacifism. It is necessary to fight for a speedy end to the war. But only through a call to revolutionary struggle will the "peace" demand gain proletarian content. Without a series of revolutions, the so-called democratic peace is a petty-bourgeois Utopia. The only real program of action, then, would be the Marxian program which brings the masses a complete and clear understanding of what has happened: which explains what imperialism is and how to fight against it; which declares openly that opportunism has brought about the collapse of the Second International; which appeals to the workers to build up a Marxian International openly without and against the opportunists. Only such a program showing that we believe in ourselves, that we believe in Marxism, that we declare a life and death struggle against opportunism, would sooner or later secure for us the sympathy of the real proletarian masses."

Lenin, Collected Works, "Socialism and War."

"For all countries, even the "freest', the most 'legal', the most 'pacific' meaning those with the least development of the class struggle, the moment has come when it is absolutely necessary for every Communist Party to combine legal and illegal action and underground organization."

Second Congress of the C. I. — "Principal Tasks of the C. I."

For Workers Control of Production for Use Under a Workers Council Government!

#### SOCIAL SECURITY AND JIM CROWISM

In the United States we have the most modern and highly developed surgical equipment in the world. But in the United States there is no social security system of insurance for sickness. All other capitalist nations have had this feature for years back. Such is the great Social Security Law under the United States "Democracy."

As in all exploiters' societies, the New Deal Social Security Law continues the double standard for men and women, with all the advantages for the men. Most of the exempt categories for Social Security relate to women employees. Domestic help, housewives, nurses, clerical help, etc., are excluded. The exploiters and their lawmakers seem to think such women workers are not in in need of social security.

It is well known that the majority of the Negro workers, to say nothing of the Latin-American and other sections, are engaged in agriculture, domestic or personal service. These are excluded. No wonder many of the Southern Democrats voted for this Jim Crow Law. Yet these people are listed as progressive by many reformist organizations.

#### DECAYING CAPITALISM CANNOT GIVE SOCIAL SECURITY

When Capitalism was fighting feudalism and driving the peasants off the land, in order to create a class of people who would have only their labor power to sell as a means of living, social legislation for the wage slaves did not exist. On the contrary, the laws were all the more vicious against the new proletarians so that the new capitalist class could have men to run the machines. When one reads of the conditions of the working class and the laws that existed in early capitalism, one feels as if he is living through a horrible nightmare (as one does when he knows what exists for labor under fascism.)

But with the development of capitalism and the growth and organization of the wage workers into unions, their pressure became so powerful that often it could be placated only by dishing out crumbs in the form of laws dealing with labor conditions. The development of Capitalism and the struggles of the labor movement thus brought a whole series of laws "in behalf of the workers" to which the social reformers point with pride, as reforms granted by democracy. In reality, and this includes the social security laws of present

day capitalism in decay, these various reforms are nothing more than BY-PRODUCTS of the class struggle toward the overthrow of capitalism. To the social-reformists these laws and reforms are means and ends in themselves. Actually these by-products represent attempts to stem the growing tide of working class discontent.

But decay alters this process. In those countries still economically strong enough to retain bourgeois democracy, the increasing working class pressure is diverted by the exploiters and their labor lieutenants into safe channels of class collaboration. Whereas under developing capitalism, reforms wrested from the bourgeoisie were accompanied by actual material gains, in the decay stage, these laws and reforms are more and more void of any material gains. The material level of the working class as a whole declines.

In those countries which have resorted to fascism to suppress the proletariat and maintain their equilibrium, social security takes on the form of the CONCENTRATION CAMP. Even under present day bourgeois democracy, this "concentration camp" aspect increases.

In the United States we have many idle factories and millions of idle men, although we have the resources, machines, and man-power to meet the needs of all within the nation, and to have a surplus. To claim that the laws give us social security in the face of these facts is sheer hypocrisy. Future generations will look back at this contradiction of "social security" in the midst of idle men and idle factories, and will come to the conclusion that the people were either crazy or were misled and living under a most subtle dictatorship.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY UNDER A WORKERS' COUNCIL GOVERNMENT

The working class and the oppresed masses cannot have social security under capitalism, any more than they can have PEACE AND ECONOMIC SECURITY. The first gigantic step toward real social security is the overthrow of the capitalist system. Towards this end the workers should not waste time proposing and supporting capitalist laws for "social security". They must fight at the point of production for better wages and better conditions. To the degree that they organize their industrial unions with a class struggle policy, to the degree that they organize their revolutionary vanguard force, will they be able to gain and move forward towards real social

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security.

The success of the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers control of production for use under a workers council government will usher in a period where genuine steps toward social security can be taken.

# New Deal Breaks WPA Strikes

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In the present defeat can be seen some of the fruits of Trotskyist opportunism. A few years ago, on entering the Socialist Party, the Trotskyites liquidated an unemployed organization of 50,000 and gave up their key position in another organization, for unity in the Workers Alliance with the Stalinist-Socialist leadership. Now they are reduced to small groups on left class collaborationist policies.

If the unemployed are not to become wholly demoralized it is necessary for all serious revolutionists and militants to band together on a class struggle program to organize the vast unorganized unemployed into a new national unemployed organization. Even a little effort in the direction of class struggle activity can net very large results.

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We greet the INTERNATIONAL NEWS which appears this month in English in the United States and in German in the European countries.

The first issue includes articles on the character of the Provisional Contact Commission and its 14 Point Program, Revolutionary Defeatism and Imperialist War, the Soviet Union and Workers Democracy, a discussion by the Red Front on the London (Paris) Bureau, as well as other material and information.

#### ORGAN OF CONTACT COMMISSION

The INTERNATIONAL NEWS will be the monthly organ of the Provisional International Contact Commission for the New Communist (4th) International. Its purpose will be to present analyses and material on timely events from a revolutionary Marxist viewpoint; to consolidate the forces around the Contact Commission; to provide the communist labor movement with a medium for international contact and information; to spread and build the movement for Marxism and revolutionary unity; to bring to the oppressed of the world the message of working class solidarity and struggle against imperialist war, for the class war, for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a world communist society.

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