

# REVOLT

Organ of Revolutionary Workers League, U.S.

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## REVOLUTION WILL END WAR

### Roosevelt Neutrality Pledge a Deception

In his radio broadcast following the outbreak of the war in Europe President Roosevelt pledged that the United States would be neutral and that he would do everything possible to keep the country out of it. We have no hesitation in branding the President's statement as a deception of the workers and farmers of this country.

On September 2 the Chicago Tribune Press Service reported from Washington:

President Roosevelt promised yesterday that every effort would be made to keep the United States out of the conflict. But it is well known here that many administration leaders feel it would be impossible to keep this nation from lining up on the side of Great Britain and France for more than six months after they had declared war.

#### Cash and Carry

President Roosevelt will permit belligerents to buy munitions in the United States for cash. Purchasers will have to transport them in their own ships at their own risk. In justification of this move it has been argued that the present law benefits Germany. Opponents of the proposed change argue that it will benefit England and France. Neither charge is denied. Both are true. That is what neutrality amounts to.

Selling for cash, it is argued, will eliminate the danger of acquiring an interest in seeing Britain win by making heavy loans to that country for the purchase of arms as was done in the last war by the House of Morgan and its allies. As far as the House of Morgan is concerned it already has its reason. It is heavily invested in British industry and finance. Morgan may not need to make loans openly. The American branch of the Morgan empire can transfer funds to the British branch. But should that not be sufficient he has a loophole in the announcement by Jesse Jones, head of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, that the provisions of the Johnson Act which forbid loans to governments which have defaulted on former loans do not apply to loans made by the RFC.

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The war in Europe is an imperialist war. It is the direct result of the imperialist peace of Versailles.

Like the war of 1914-18 it is fought on all sides for imperialist ends.

For the second time in a quarter of a century German capitalism is challenging the British empire. The independence of the Polish capitalist state is not the issue. This is recognized by all intelligent people.

We denounce as a lie the statement of Chamberlain in Parliament that Britain went to war to defend Poland and civilization and to crush Hitlerism. British imperialism imposed the Versailles peace on the world. British imperialism enslaves five hundred million people in Africa, India, the Arabian peninsula and the Far East.

British rifles, planes and bombs slaughter opposition to British imperialist rule. Two years ago British warships blew revolting negro workers to pieces in the West Indies. The sun never sets on British oppression. Today, in democratic England, a worker cannot change his job without the consent of the war ministry. If Britain wins this war it will impose a peace that will annihilate the German nation.

We denounce as lackeys of British imperialism and traitors to the working class the leaders of the Labor Party who attacked Chamberlain in the House of Commons for delaying the declaration of war.

#### TRAITORS

We denounce as traitors to the Jewish people everywhere the leaders of the Zionist movement who closed their World Congress recently with a pledge of support to the British government. On the day that Chamberlain sent his ultimatum to Germany British troops put in concentration camps 1,500 refugees from persecution in Poland.

We denounce as a lie the declaration of the French government that it will not participate in the Versailles and counter-revolution.

The French government oppresses Czech, Polish, Rumanian workers. A French government sacrificed the Czech state to Hitler. The same government, Daladier's government, crushed the general strike of November, 1938, abolished the forty hour week and decreed a sixty hour week for munitions workers. In Africa and Asia French soldiers drown in blood the struggle of the colonial peoples for independence.

We denounce as a lie the statements of Hitler that his government wants only to rectify the injustice of the Versailles treaty. If Hitler's government wins the war it will act in exactly the same way as the victors of 1914-18, as the Kaiser's government did at Brest-Litovsk. Imperialist robbers are all alike. Their high ideals are lies to deceive the workers and peasants whom they exploit and oppress.

#### A HOPELESS PAWN

We denounce the declaration of the Polish government that it makes no claims on Germany. It is fighting not alone for its life as an independent state, but for the territory, the purely German territory which was torn from Germany by the peace of Versailles. The Polish government is a vassal of French imperialism, a hopeless pawn in the struggle between

German imperialism on the one side and French and British imperialism on the other. Toward states smaller than itself the Polish government has acted in the same way as Germany is acting toward it.

When Czechoslovakia was being carved up Polish troops brutally seized Teschen. To restore diplomatic relations with Lithuania it sent the Lith government an ultimatum and threatened war. This government has terrorized and oppressed millions of Ukrainians, organized programs against millions of Jews and crushed the struggles of the working class for better conditions and freedom.

We denounce as traitors to the cause of freedom the leaders of the Ukrainian and Jewish minorities who declared that they are supporting the Polish government against Germany. Against oppression by German imperialism

### NATIONAL UNITY?

Roosevelt wants national unity in the present, what he calls, "limited emergency." On May 1st, 1938 he also appealed for national unity.

What is national unity? National unity is unity of the working class with the capitalist class; unity of the lamb with the lion.

National unity means submission of the working class to the ruling class; no strikes against wage cuts and speed-up; submission to the rising cost of living.

National unity means no demonstrations against the war policy of the government; submission to the coming slaughter.

National unity means workers' blood and lives for capitalists' profit.

Down with national unity! Long live the class struggle!

the Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish masses should fight together. But from the Polish government they should demand arms, and liberty.

#### REVOLUTION

Out of this war as out of the World War will come revolutions. Two and a half years of the World War produced revolution in Finland and Russia. Four years after the war's outbreak there was a revolution in Germany; in Hungary it took five years. In Italy the workers seized the factories. Revolution threatened in France and England.

This time the revolution will come more quickly. The belligerent countries are weaker. The war is not popular. In no country is there enthusiasm for the wholesale slaughter. The lies about fighting for civilization and democracy have been exposed by the Versailles peace and by twenty years of crisis, hunger, revolutions drowned in blood and little wars.

Soon millions of men will learn that they can end the war, establish peace and build a decent life. They will understand, because horror, cruelty, hunger and the revolutionists will make them understand, that to end the war they have only to follow the advice of Marx-Workers of all countries, unite; and of Lenin to turn their guns against their oppressors in all countries.

#### REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

In all countries the revolutionists will help the workers learn that military defeats which result from revolutionary mass action by the workers at home and at the front will speed the crack-up of the war machine. The workers will transform the war waged by the imperialists for imperialist booty, robbery and oppression to a war of the workers of all countries against the capitalists of all countries.

World revolution will end world war and put an end to it forever.

### Pact With Hitler Puts U.S. Stalinists In a Dilemma

Enough has been written about the duplicity of the Stalinist government in making its pacts with Hitler for us to pass over this aspect of the question and raise some questions that seem to have been overlooked in the mad rush to take a verbal shot at the master mind of the double cross.

In making the pact the Stalinist government did not denounce the Franco-Soviet pact. When France declared war on Germany that pact automatically came into force. But neither the French nor the Russian governments raised the question or applying it. The pact with Hitler superseded it.

But it put the French Stalinists in a dilemma. On the one hand they had to support the pact with Hitler. On the other hand, they had to support the French government. Before the war broke out leaders of the French Communist Party hailed the pact with Hitler and said that when France went to war they would be found in the front trenches.

#### French C. P. Goes Pftt

The French workers beat up the Stalinists in the streets while the government, ungrateful wretch, suppressed the Stalinist publications and raided their offices.

So passes another instrument of deceit and counter-revolution. The world is well rid of it.

The American Stalinists are in much the same dilemma as their former French brothers. The Stalinist code calls for support of everything the Moscow government does. That means support of the pact with Hitler. By the terms of that pact Stalin is aiding Hitler. But the Stalinist policy calls for support of the New Deal government. And the New Deal government is against Hitler.

The Daily Worker announced several days ago that its policy would be: support of the pact and support of Poland's fight against German aggression; opposition to Hitler's invasion of Poland and opposition to Chamberlain and Daladier.

Quick Henry! The flit!

The revolutions that come out of this war will be successful. The workers have seen the price they must pay for failure. No matter what the imperialist governments and general staffs may do they cannot prevent the explosion which they have prepared.

## COST OF LIVING RISES; STRIKES FOR HIGHER WAGES LOOM

Every worker knows from his own experience at the grocery store and the butcher that prices are going up. The papers and radio broadcasts are full of figures showing the increase in the price of sugar, flour, pork chops and other things. The worker's dollar buys less. His pay check has been cut just as surely as if the boss docked him.

The lying capitalist newspapers say it is the result of a panic. They want to blame it on the workers. They say and spokes-

men for the government repeat that there is no shortage of food in the country and they do not anticipate any.

That is true. There is so much food that the government has been paying farmers to plough up their crops and kill hogs.

There has been no shortage of food in this country for the last ten years and yet millions of workers are slowly starving to death in the midst of this plenty.

The truth is that capitalist interests are taking advantage of

the situation created by the war in Europe and of the natural fears of the workers to hike prices.

We charge that it is the deliberate policy of the government to encourage this increase in prices. The plain fact is that the government has been trying to hike prices ever since the crisis sent them tumbling in 1929. Roosevelt has made dozens of speeches on the subject. So has Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace. The whole activity of this department has just that objective. The papers

reported Wallace as not being worried by the increases. Why should he be? His pay is big enough to take care of it.

On the other hand the government has issued warnings against war profiteering. Roosevelt has called a conference on the subject for September 19. Roosevelt and other government officials know that increases in the cost of living will result in strikes for higher wages. They're afraid of another strike wave at this time. Their fears are likely to be

justified. Local 1 of the Progressive Miners of Illinois has gone on record for strike action for wage increases. The A. F. of L. Textile Union has taken similar action. Tomorrow and the day after there will be other such reports. There cannot be too many to suit us. A big strike wave will call a halt to the conniving of the government. More than anything else independent working class action will make the capitalists think twice before they rush the country into war.

# An Open Letter to Revolutionists

Comrades:

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League calls on all revolutionists in the United States regardless of their present affiliations, to unite. The situation in the country today demands it.

The outbreak of the war in Europe creates an entirely new situation, new perspectives and imposes new tasks. The revolutionists must meet their responsibilities.

The new situation arises from the following factors. No matter which side wins the war will give rise to a new round of revolts and revolutions. Revolution will not be confined to the belligerent countries, but will sweep over most of Europe and Asia. It will invade the Western Hemisphere.

For the revolutionists of the entire world it will be a supreme opportunity to sweep capitalism from the earth and erect a new society in which war, unemployment and hunger are barbarous relics of a dark age. The explosive force of the coming revolutions will be greater than in the revolutions which followed the war of 1914-18. This war is not popular in any country. Millions of workers and peasants, forced into the war, are grimly waiting for the opportunity to turn their guns on their oppressors. In Germany and other countries the workers have old scores to settle with their capitalist rulers, defeats to avenge.

## Capitalism Weaker

The power of the capitalists to resist the onslaughts of the workers will be weaker than it was in the post war revolutions. Twenty one years of crisis, revolutions and wars have sapped its strength to the point at which its life is ebbing. Hunger and the horror, brutality, destruction and senselessness of the war will tear away the last shreds of illusion of the oppressed in the ability of the capitalist class to rule society.

The complete discredit and liquidation of the Stalinist parties removes in advance a hitherto powerful counter-revolutionary force as the rise of Hitler to Stalinism will not be able to derail power and the defeat of the Spanish revolution show. This time the revolution. Nor will the social democracy which will vanish with the fall of the British and French empires.

This time there must be world victory for the world revolution.

## In Six Months

The task before the revolutionists of all countries is the construction of revolutionary parties in time to act as the leadership of the revolution. In the U. S. we face the same perspective and, consequently, the same task. The President has declared that the country will remain neutral. This is a lie and a deception. He is himself exerting powerful pressure to change the neutrality law in order to open a road to supply the British and French imperialists with munitions and other implements of war. This is unquestionably a road to plunge the country into war. The government has perfected secret plans to conscript men, take over the supervision of vital sections of industry, raise enormous loans, suppress the labor movement, establish a dictatorship over the life of the entire country. Administration circles have a perspective of entry into the war in approximately six months.

## WE WONT SHOOT

We wont shoot if you dont shoot, and, we have orders not to shoot if you dont attack us, are signs which newspaper and radio reporters say the German soldiers displayed to the French soldiers, during the first week of the war.

No doubt they were displayed by order of the German high command as part of its strategy of avoiding big battles on the western front while they mopped up the Poles in the east.

But strategy aside that is the best way for the soldiers themselves to stop the war on all fronts.

The entry of the U. S. into the war will automatically accelerate the development of the revolutionary situation which has been maturing for the past ten years, since American "prosperity" was shattered by the world wide economic crisis. The crisis which began in 1929 signified, for U.S. imperialism, that it had definitely entered into decay, that objectively the country was ripe for the transformation to communism. The course of the crisis for the last ten years has demonstrated conclusively that the ruling class is unable to reach the level of production attained in 1929; that profit can be maintained only by a truly gigantic rationalization of the productive plant which increases enormously the capacity to produce but also increases the great gap between this capacity and the actual level of production, and throws ever greater numbers of workers out of industry.

Production today is considerably above the low point of the crisis in 1933 but the number of unemployed is nearly as large and is growing. For the capitalist class the crisis is permanent and insoluble. The war in Europe will make the crisis more acute. Entry of the U. S. into the war will aggravate it to the point of economic collapse and social explosion.

## Fascist Dictatorship

Evidence has recently come to light which shows that the capitalist class has been shaken by the crisis and is aware of the direction in which the situation is developing. Moley has revealed in his articles in the *Saturday Evening Post* that the development of the crisis from 1929 reached the point, in the banking crisis of 1933, at which the capitalist class was seized by blind panic and began to lose confidence in its system and itself. Roosevelt's declaration that he might be the last president of the U. S., if the New Deal failed, was a vivid expression of the sentiment of the ruling class at that time. And five years ago the House of Morgan considered the situation so desperate that it offered General Smedley D. Butler as much as \$15,000,000 to equip an army of from 500,000 to 1,000,000 men to take over the federal government and establish, in effect, a fascist dictatorship.

The great strike wave of 1937 contained definite potentialities for revolutionary action. In March of that year 100,000 auto workers were sitting down in the Chrysler, Hudson and Reo plants. Tens of thousands of other auto workers were striking sporadically in "unauthorized" sit-down strikes in General Motors plants. Strikes broke out in Ford's plants on the west coast and in other cities. A strike in the River Rouge plant was becoming a definite possibility. Hundreds of thousands of other workers all over the country were on strike. Most important at the time was the strike of the sailors on the west coast, the most class conscious stratum of the American working class. For the first time in years all bituminous coal contracts were due to expire on the same day, April 1. The possibility of a national coal strike was very real. The restlessness which was sweeping the working class spilled over into steel and the traditions of 1919 began to take on concrete shape as a strike in that industry began to loom.

## New Stage

The splendid militancy of the working class carried it to new heights of struggle. The number of strikes, strikers and man-hours lost through strikes was the greatest in the history of the country. The sit-down strikes marked a new stage in the development of the class struggle since it constituted for this country an unprecedented invasion of the property rights of the owners of industry.

The movement developed with extraordinary speed and was accompanied by great violence on the part of the capitalist forces and the workers. As in the strike wave of 1934 but to an even greater extent, large layers of the

working class not directly involved in the strikes were drawn into the struggle to assist the strikers against police brutality or the militia. The general staffs of the trade unions had to fight for control over the movement against the militancy of the workers. Clashes between strikers and their leadership was a frequent phenomenon. The movement surged up from below, was not prepared for, and received no leadership from the established trade union tops. Most often the strike action was carried through against the indifference, opposition and sabotage of these leaderships. Each strike produced its own local leadership which strove to give expression to and implement the militancy of the workers.

## Lewis-Green

The strike movement was brought under control before it had spent itself. The twin union leaderships, the Green and Lewis machines, succeeded, after months of struggle, in preventing a number of strikes, settling others on terms which were much less than could have been won, and in many cases, were won, and in forcing them down the throats of the workers. Two factors were decisive in the victory of the bureaucrats over the workers: the lack of a left wing in the unions and the absence of a revolutionary party outside. The workers were trying to organize to fight the employer. They were not organized to fight the employer's agents in their own ranks.

There was no left wing, no party, because the workers were not, on the basis of their own experience, politically mature.

## SPY HUNT—FOR RADICALS

The President's order to ferret out spies as the papers put it requested "all police officers, sheriffs and all other law enforcement officers in the United States, promptly to report to the nearest representative of the F. B. I. any information obtained by them relating to espionage, sabotage, subversive activities."

In New York City the Police Department's Board of Strategy has set up a squad of fifty men. "The duties of the squad are similar to those of the bomb squad that functioned during and after the World War." Add: which raided radicals' meetings and offices and framed revolutionary workers.

The period following the strike wave of 1937 has been a period of capitalist counter-offensive. A national wage-cutting campaign during the fall of 1937 and the spring and summer of 1938 was the outstanding weapon used to wipe out the gains of the strike wave. The fall in production in the fall of 1937 created conditions favoring the employers' attempts to undermine the unions. There were some attempts at resistance on the part of the workers. But the civil war between the AF of L and CIO tops was sharpened by these very conditions; the struggle to corral dues and initiation fees became more intense and collaboration to stem the employers' attacks was out of the question.

## Strike Wave

Lately however signs of increased resistance have multiplied and in a number of cases the workers have put forward demands for wage increases and other improvements of their conditions. Wherever they have shown solid strength and a willingness to fight they have won important concessions as in the winning of the union shop in coal and sole collective bargaining rights for their union in the Briggs auto plant.

The rising cost of living is absolutely certain to provoke strike action for wage increases. If Roosevelt is successful, as it appears he will be, in making it possible for Britain and France and other belligerents to buy munitions and other supplies in this country, there will be a boom

in certain industries. Agents of the purchasers will put a great pressure on the employers to fill the orders in record time. The employers, in turn, will put a pressure on the workers to work harder and faster. Employers and workers will come into increasingly sharp conflict over speed-up, wages, conditions of work, grievances, safety precautions, etc., etc. Strikes are guaranteed in advance. A big strike wave is a likelihood.

In view of the experience of the last strike wave it would be foolish to exclude the very real possibilities for revolutionary action which a strike wave in the present circumstances would contain. The economic position of the ruling class on the world market is worse than it was two years ago. Its position at home is becoming desperate. Its future prospects are uncertain. It is afraid of revolution abroad and at home. The hold of the trade union bureaucrats on the workers is even weaker than it was in the 1937 strike wave. The unemployed are two years nearer the grave through prolonged starvation. Their illusions of the generosity and sympathy of the government for their welfare are partly shattered. All these are factors which make revolutionary action possible—provided there is revolutionary leadership.

## WPA Strikes

An opportunity for revolutionary action existed in the recent WPA situation. In that situation the Federal government appeared openly as the spearhead of the drive to force large numbers of workers to submit to starvation. Resistance in the form of strike action against the government by ultra-conservative building trades workers developed spontaneously on a national scale. The sweep of the movement was so that outright reactionaries—baiters like Mr. of Labor, the New officials against strikes, the government.

For the last five years the government and the leadership of the CIO and AF of L have waged a continuous struggle to stabilize labor relations in the auto industry and between the sailors and the shipowners on the basis of class collaboration. They have failed. In these and other basic industries, the success they have had with the railroad brotherhoods and in the clothing industry is excluded. In these industries the outcome can be only a development toward revolutionary action on the part of the workers and an attempt at outright suppression of them on the part of the employers and the state.

## Suppression

The entry of the country into the war will interrupt the favorable development of independent working class action. Hundreds of thousands of the best proletarian fighters will be conscripted. The whole population will be drowned by the chauvinistic propaganda of the ruling class and its government. Terror will be unloosed against the revolutionists and pacifists; militant working class action will be ruthlessly crushed by the police, militia and army.

But forces will be at work which will undermine the capitalist war machine and finally disintegrate it. The huge government deficit will skyrocket to astronomical proportions. Not even the huge hoard of gold in the government vaults at Fort Knox, Kentucky, over 17 billion dollars, 62% of the world's gold reserve, will be sufficient to meet the cost of the war. Killing men is more expensive than starving them on relief. Currency inflation is almost a certainty.

To meet the costs of the war the capitalists will cut wages to the bone, increase hours, push speed-up beyond human endurance. Men, women and children will be conscripted for labor under military orders. Forced labor will be instituted. Unions will be ground under heel if they attempt resistance.

## Rising Cost of Living

The rising cost of living will increase still more sharply. Suffering, hunger and starvation which are already widespread will increase tremendously. Hatred of the profiteers and the war mongers will grow swiftly.

There are fifteen million unemployed. If the army and navy are expanded to absorb them all, the need to clothe, feed, equip so many men with rifles, machine guns, artillery, tanks, planes, flame throwers, poison gas, etc., and transport them overseas by train, boat and truck will so dislocate industry, so increase the burdens the capitalists put on the workers, cause so much misery, it will drive the workers and farmers to revolution.

But if, as is more likely, the unemployed are not absorbed into the army and war industry the world will see a new phenomenon. Millions will be called up to serve the cause of imperialist robbery. But millions will still be unemployed. Capitalism truly will be unable to solve its contradictions even by its own murderous methods! In recent months the government has shown the most callous disregard for the unemployed by the drastic discharge of three quarters of a million workers from WPA, and the wage cuts which it ordered for those who remain on the rolls. What will this government do about the millions of unemployed in war time? All its energies and funds will be devoted to the prosecution of the war. The unemployed will be condemned to live like beasts of the field. The ruling class will confront the insoluble contradiction that it will require the maximum unity and patriotism in the country while at the same time it will directly

antagonize the millions of those up must depend for victo imperialist enemies

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for labor under military orders, all these millions of oppressed workers will have fathers, uncles, brothers, cousins, husbands, sweethearts, friends in the army and navy. No censorship will be able to prevail against the social pressure which the worker masses will exert on their class brothers in the armed forces.

The war and the imminent entry of the U. S. into it ensure the rapid development of the revolutionary political maturity of the American working class. This is the decisive significance of the war for the class struggle in the U. S. And, therefore, for the revolutionary movement and the creation of a revolutionary party. Objectively the country has been ripe for the transformation to communism since 1929. But there was a tremendous gap between the objective situation and the level of development of the working class. The war will make the objective situation still more favorable and will close the gap in a relatively short time, in a few years.

The speed with which this will take place will depend on several factors: on the tempo with which revolutions develop in other countries; on the fortune of the U. S. armed forces—if they are successful the tempo may be slower, but if they suffer defeats it will

## 15 CENTS A DAY

Attention American workers! In France, one of the democracies, which, Daladier says, is fighting for civilization, the workers in the munitions industry are compelled by government decree to work sixty hours a week.

The wives of men called up who are destitute receive twenty eight cents a day from the government—if they are Parisians. If they live in small towns they get fifteen cents a day.

Daladier's wife does not get fifteen cents a day. She struggles along on his full pay.

# Tuttle Attacks Chrysler Grievance Set-up

The following is the text of a document circulated among UAW-CIO members in the Chrysler corporation. The author, who is not a member of the League, was a candidate for president of the Union at the Cleveland convention in March. We do not know if Tuttle would agree with us that this document should be published in REVOLT. But we publish it because we regard it as a serious attempt on the part of an important member of the union to remedy a serious situation, and we think that it should be brought to the attention of auto workers generally.

Tuttle calls for business agents to take the lead in negotiations with the corporation in the settlement of grievances. With the class-collaborationist policy of the present leadership we doubt, however, if any business agent would deal squarely with the plant committees and the membership. The solution of this problem, like so many others, lies, first of all, in changing the policy of the Union to one of struggle against the corporations; and in throwing out the present Stalinist-John L. Lewis leadership, and supplanting it with men who will organize the struggle against the corporations. When this is done the problem of organizing a satisfactory grievance procedure will be possible. The two problems are interlinked. The shortcoming in Tuttle's proposals is that it also with only one of these and neglects to show present

labora- leadership. The ONE GREAT THING that wanted to do in 1937, was to et rid of the Company Union, and set up an Industrial Union that would act, uniformly, for all workers in the Chrysler Corp. We failed to do that. First, because we promised all representatives of the Company Union that, if they would resign and leave the Company Union flat, we would make then Chief Stewards. Thus, we took over the personnel of the Company Union into the UAW. Second, we allowed the Company to set up the same old Company Union run-around. A Chief Steward represents the same division as in the Company Union, and goes, alone and individually, to the Labor Relations Director, before giving his case to the Plant

Committee. Thus, 90% of all bargaining is done by Chief Stewards, alone, in back door bargaining, without witnesses, and without anything being written down. We have upwards of 250 Chief Stewards, each acting as a business agent for 300 men each, making and accepting 250 different and conflicting interpretations of the contract. What is won by militant action in a strong district is bargained away in weak ones. By talking individually to 250 Stewards, the Company learns and takes advantage of the weakness of each; it uses those to betray the strength of the strongest. It learns all our disagreements and differences of opinion, and uses them against us.

### Plant Committee Stymied

When a case finally reaches the Plant Committee, the Committee has to handle it blind, not knowing how hundreds of similar cases have been handled and mishand-

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## Letters to Revolt

The following are excerpts from letters from employees of the Chrysler Corporation, Dodge Main Plant, to REVOLT. They show the serious need for improvement in the grievance structure which Tuttle discusses.

In receiving, the Steward seems to be for the men, but every time they got together to get a grievance settled, there would be so many committees to which the grievance had to be submitted that the bosses would have the men all transferred on the different jobs or different departments so that they never got any place with them.

... who handle ... well as metal ... and several truck drivers) ... were no union men when the plant was pulled down on strike. Only a few stray members of the A. F. of L., Mechanics Educational Society and some other group. So since the agreement with the C.I.O. called for the steward system, the superintendent, a deputy sheriff, appointed the most reactionary southern worker in the group as steward and urged him to get everybody into the union by telling them that they expected to have a closed shop and that they would not be able to work there unless they were union members. But the Steward double-crossed the workers and they did not even bring their grievances to him. The boss

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# Compensation Bureau Gives Auto Workers Run Around

DETROIT, Sept. 5. — Almost every rank and file worker recognizes the Michigan State Unemployment insurance compensation as a racket, or is suspicious of it. For example, one whole department at the Dodge Main Plant were beat out of their Partial Claim Unemployment Insurance after being laid off from two to three weeks due to the Briggs Strike.

This is how it works. First the men registered at their nearest Compensation Commission Bureau and asked to have their claim filed. But they were instructed to go first to their foreman and ask for Unemployment Insurance Blanks which were printed for that purpose. But when they asked for them they were told the blanks were not available yet. After a week's waiting the blanks arrived. The men filled them out as per the foreman's instructions. Instead of sending them in to the Commission's office, the foremen collected the blanks and took them into the superintendent's office who kept them for a month.

### Commission Is Sorry

After the month was up, the superintendent called the men in to his office by twos and threes and told them they had filled out the blanks wrong, and showed them how to fill them out "right."

When the men took these blanks to the Commission office they were told that the Commission could do nothing about their claims because the law specified they were to be filled out and turned in within two weeks after they go back to work. They were "sorry" ... here wasn't a thing they could do about it any more than if the claimant hadn't known there was such a law and had failed to file claims at all.

Well, when the time came for the factory to change to the new model of cars, about 10,000 men were laid off. As usual they went to the Commission's office, registered as unemployed and filed claims for Total Unemployment. But practically all of them were called back in just one day less than a month which disqualifies them from the first weeks payment. So they registered for partial claims. Of course the Commission's representatives and the factory bosses together started giving them the run-around.

I personally know of workers who have had to make eight to ten trips from the Employment office to the Department Fore-

man's Office to the Paymaster to the Commission's Office, etc. to get their blanks filled out and then they did not fill them out right and another trip had to be made to the factory Paymaster's Office to get it corrected. And now the claim is filed in the Commission's Office. We've been back to work now for several weeks and have not heard anything about it except for a "Letter of Determination" to the fact that if we were totally disabled we would get so much a week for so many weeks, but since 10,000 of us were called back to work one day less than the required month, we are disqualified.

### \$32 Deducted

Those workers who were laid off a few days over two weeks collected partial claim checks all right, but they deducted \$32 from their allowance with the excuse that that was the regular two week waiting period, and although they did not get it, it would have to be taken from their allowance.

Dodge Main Worker

## Shop Talk

NEW YORK, SEPT. 1.—One day last week a worker in the power press department asked the boss for a raise and was refused. The next day the die in his machine got clogged with metal scrap and had to be cleaned; a usual occurrence. The foreman accused him of breaking the die thru carelessness and fired him.

"Rather than give a measly \$1.00 raise to a worker he canned him," said one worker. "I wouldn't be surprised if that die wasn't broke at all. It's convenient way for the boss to fire someone."

The next day the machine was ready for operation. A worker whom I spoke to was assigned to run the press but he refused. The boss began to threaten and everybody stopped work in protest. The boss ran out. Next morning the discharged worker was back. "Thanks a lot fellows, I'll never forget this," was his greeting.

After work we got together in a beer joint to celebrate. Someone suggested, "Let's all ask for a raise, he can't fire us all." "How about organizing into a union and get all the workers in first," I said. "Maybe we can get a raise without a union," a voice spoke up. "Maybe, I said. "You're an assembler, aren't you?" I asked. "What do you do when you fill an order? Ship out the parts or assemble them into a machine? Separate the parts are useless to a customer. Joined together they are a machine that can function. The same with us. Separate and divided we haven't got a leg to stand on. United we can hit as hard as a press.

# Hair Ornament Workers Fight Wage Cut

JERSEY CITY, August 29. — In this industrial city run by the reactionary labor-hating Mayor Hague, 308 workers of the H. Goodman Sons Co., manufacturers of hair ornaments, are out on strike against a lockout when they refused a 40 percent wage cut. And strange as it may seem, for the first time since the mayor took office, he and his police are not openly opposing the strike.

The workers are affiliated to the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, C.I.O., Local 421 which was recognized by the boss in August, 1937 as the official bargaining agency, but a closed shop was not won. The basis of settlement in that year was a flat \$3.00 raise for all workers and a week vacation with pay. The contract expired August 1st of last year and was extended for one year.

One half of the workers employed are time workers and the other half are piece workers; fifty percent of all workers are girls. The average wage for time workers is \$18 to \$19 a week. The girls receive an average of \$15. There are about six diemakers who get about \$1.25 an hour. The piece workers as classified are rackers and riveters and average \$22.50, elastic springers \$20.00 and wire springers \$16.00.

### Strike

Before the expiration of the contract on August 1st, the union presented to the boss a new contract which included raises of \$2.00 a week for workers making \$18.00 or less and \$1.00 raise for workers getting \$19.00 or more. The boss wanted to equalize wages by cutting 140 of the highest paid workers 40 percent. Goodman claimed he had to reduce the annual payroll \$40,000.00 in order to keep the plant open. The workers refused and on July 27th voted to strike almost unanimously; only 12 dissented.

A workers' delegation visited the police chief, Commissioner of Safety, Casey, to find out if he would use the police as usual to break the strike. He expressed his sympathy with the strikers and told them he could not see how they could live on the wages they were getting. He agreed to keep strikebreakers out of the plant if the strikers would not mass picket. The delegation agreed and the police have lived up to their bargain. However, the plant is not shut tight. There is a lot of stock on hand which is being

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be speeded immensely; and on the growth of the revolutionary movement.

The imminence of events whose shadow is already over us, which will propel the American workers to political maturity and revolutionary action, signifies that the final premise for the creation of a revolutionary party in this country, which has been missing for the last ten years, is at hand. The creation of the new revolutionary party is now the immediate, concrete task before the revolutionists of the country. The work of constructing it must begin at once. Each day lost endangers the opportunity to build it.

How shall it be built? Who can build it? On what program? Taking the last question first, the program is determined by the situation. Today the war question is the paramount and decisive issue. All questions of program, strategy and tactics are summed up in and reducible to: the attitude toward the war and the policy for fighting it. Fundamental differences among the main currents in the labor movement will now receive their sharpest expression over this question.

### Where They Stand

The Lewises and Greens will support the government's imperialist war aims. The government will attack the standard of living of the workers, and harness the unions to the war machine. The Stalinists will support the war. The revolutionary movement will be driven underground. What stand the Socialist Party and the Trotskyite and similar organizations will take when the country goes to war we do not know. In their reaction to the present situation they do not project the perspective of revolution. They do not advance a revolutionary policy for fighting U. S. imperialist war plans. The Lovestoneite Workers Age, for example, calls for an isolationist policy. The Trotskyite Socialist Appeal calls for pacifist measures. Its chief slogan is the slogan of the Socialist Party in 1916-17, Let The People Vote on War. The past records and present positions of these groups do not offer any basis for revolutionary opposition to the war. Nor therefore, do these organizations. But there are numerous groups and individuals in the labor movement including a number in the

above organizations who are now in fundamental agreement on the war question. There is agreement that the war is an imperialist war; that the workers will transform the imperialist war into civil war against the ruling classes in all countries which alone are responsible for the war, as they did in Russia, Germany, Hungary and other countries in the last war.

### Program for Unity

There is agreement that no support can be given to the imperialist war aims and policy of U. S. imperialism; that it is necessary to conduct a revolutionary agitation against those aims to expose them to the working class and to arouse its opposition and hatred. There is agreement that it is necessary to struggle against the policy of the ruling class to bring about national unity; to resist attacks on the standard of living of the working class by independent working class action. There is agreement that when the ruling class plunges the country into war the strategy of revolutionary defeatism will apply. There is agreement that the revolutionary struggle of the American workers will result in the establish-

ment of a proletarian dictatorship. And finally, there is agreement that it is necessary to construct a new revolutionary party.

Those who agree on these vital questions must now unite. The differences which have atomized the revolutionary movement, whatever judgment we pass on them, must not be permitted to perpetuate the present division. To continue this division will be fatal for our effort to build a revolutionary party in time. If this division was justified yesterday it is no longer justified today. If it was not justified it is time to overcome it.

### First Step

The first step in the construction of the revolutionary party is the unification of the revolutionary groups and individual revolutionists. The organization of the latter depends on the former. Instead of a number of small groups each with its structure, headquarters and national leadership, there must be one organization with a centralized leadership composed of the most politically experienced, devoted and self-sacrificing revolutionists of all the groups. Organizational pride, prestige and position must not be

permitted to stand in the way. Instead of a number of ineffective publications, official organs, which appear infrequently, in small quantities all of which denounce the war and agitate against the imperialist policy of the U. S. ruling class, there must be one agitational central organ which appears at least weekly, and plans to appear oftener in thousands and tens of thousand of copies. Instead of a competition to win members from one another there must be a concerted drive to unite all the revolutionists in the country in one organization. That is the way to build the party.

The Central Committee is prepared to take all the necessary steps to bring about this unification. It appeals to all revolutionists and revolutionary groups to join with it on an equal basis to bring about this result. It urges the greatest speed since there is little time.

Down with the war!  
Long live the proletarian revolution!  
Let us build the revolutionary party without delay!  
Fraternally,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

# REVOLT

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## A STEP FORWARD

REVOLT appears now for the first time as a printed paper after appearing for a year and a half as a mimeographed journal. This advance was made possible by the tireless work of the members of the League and the support of its friends.

In its present format REVOLT will be better able to fulfill the purpose for which it was founded: to agitate for revolutionary mass action against the misery, cruelty and injustice of the capitalist system. It is a step forward.

But it is only a small step and the time calls for giant strides. As rapidly as the sacrifices of the League's members and supporters make possible REVOLT will increase the frequency of its appearance, the number of its pages and its circulation.

## IN MEMORIAM: LOUIS BASKY

August 18 marked a year that our comrade, Louis Basky, died. It would have been a happy day for Louis to have seen this issue of REVOLT. More than any other comrade Louis contributed to the building of REVOLT. He suggested its name and took the lead in working out its policy.

At his funeral the members of the League resolved to carry on the work we began together with him. The appearance of REVOLT as a printed paper is a token of the fact that the League is keeping faith with his confidence in it.

Had he been alive he would have approved the call of the League for unity of the revolutionists. For in the forty one years he spent in the American revolutionary movement he always placed the needs of the movement and of the working class above every other consideration. Revolutionary unity will be a monument to his memory.

## THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

This is supposed to be a free country. If you don't like it you can go back where you came from.

But

Employees of the Towers Hotel in Brooklyn, New York City, says an Associated Press dispatch on September 7, "were enjoined by the management today from discussion of the European war either among themselves or with guests. Disregard of the order would be grounds for dismissal."

And in the same city picketing of foreign consulates is now forbidden, as is mass picketing by order of Hizzoner, the Mayor, Fiorello H. La Guardia, otherwise known as the Little Flower.

This will be only the beginning.

Unless

The workers take a hand in the proceedings and tell the mayors and employers and cops of this fair land exactly where to get off.

## Hair

(Continued from Page 3)

shipped out by foremen working all day. Union truckers have refused to deliver goods. The strikers are also picketing the 5 and 10 cent stores in New York City which are the main outlet for Goodman products.

The real reason for Hague's action is not hard to see. He has received a lambasting from the Supreme Court and has embarrassed the New Deal. The 1940 elections are approaching and his machine is losing ground to the Republicans. Behind the scenes he has made his peace with the New Deal. The New York Post reported that at a recent C.I.O. rally in Jersey City no speakers criticized Hague.

### Boss Backed Out

The boss already backed out on the \$40,000 wage cut and at the first conference after the strike started asked for a \$5,000 annual wage cut, then a \$2,500 wage cut. The strength of the strike surprised him and he is weakening. The union has taken the strike before the National Labor Relations Board.

This strike can be won. The season has begun and there is no production. The boss can afford to pay the wage increases because

his rate of profit is higher than in most industries. He is the largest producer in the country and his plant is the highest advanced technically. The workers must intensify the picketing and stop all shipments. The union claims it only has \$400.00 in the treasury and can't finance the strike. Then appeal for funds from the district and regional officers of other C.I.O. unions. If you lose, they will lose.

D. Whitman.

### A Leaf From Lenin

What is the position if in a giving country, communists by conviction who are ready to carry on revolutionary work, sincere partisans of the Soviet power... cannot unite owing to disagreement over participation in parliament?... The question of parliamentarism is at present a partial, secondary question... I am personally convinced that to renounce participation in the parliamentary elections is a mistake for the revolutionary workers of England, but better make that mistake than to delay the formation of a big workers' community party in England out of all the tendencies and elements... which sympathize with Bolshevism and stand sincerely for the Soviet republic.—August, 1919.

## Tuttle

(Continued from Page 3)

led in different ways by the Stewards. Victories won by the Committee are bargained away by Stewards, without the knowledge of the Committee.

Example: A Committee, demanding 32 hours maximum while men are laid off, was told that 80% of the Stewards wanted 40 hours before calling in more men. Men are being laid off during the week, to work Saturday for straight time, because Stewards asked for it, to equalize hours between men.

We have never had Industrial Union bargaining. We have COMPANY UNION bargaining, stewards bargaining independently for little districts, set up by the Company, for its own advantage. 90% of all bargaining is done by Stewards. The Contract says that the Stewards must work in the district that they represent. The law says we may be represented by agents of our own choosing. The employers have always said that they will deal with their own workers, but not with outsiders. The contract gives the company just what it wants. It does not have to deal with outsiders.

Let us order all Chief Stewards to talk only to a foreman. Let all negotiations with Labor Relations and Plant Management be by the Plant Committee. Let us have an International Business Agent for Chrysler Detroit Plants, and let him sit in on all regular Plant Committee Conferences, and all special meetings of any importance. Let us write into the contract, as Briggs has written, that the management must meet the Committee on 24 hours' notice.

Thus, the management will hear only one voice, the voice of Labor, and one bargaining agency will know and record everything that is agreed on by the Union and the management. The Plant Committee Chairman will be responsible for the Stewards, and they will be responsible to him. He will instruct them in Union policy, and see that they follow it. When they follow his instructions, he will be responsible for the consequences. Only so can we have REAL UNION BARGAINING.

### NLRB Ruling

It seems probable that the ruling of the NLRB will require separate Plant Committees in all plants. I believe it desirable in any event.

I do not condemn any individual Committeeman; I do believe that some of them are unduly influenced by their training in the Company Union, and that more militant members might well replace a few of them.

I have never believed in volunteer committees and part time stewards as bargaining agents, to deal with trained professional men of the Corporation.

The duty of Stewards and Committeemen should be to know what is being done and what needs to be done, and furnish this accurate information to regular Union negotiators. No man who works in the shop, no matter how militant he may be, can act as a man would, who owes the company nothing, and expects nothing from it.

A Steward knows that he may not be a steward long, but he has a long time to work for the Company. The best of them will PULL THEIR PUNCHES.

### Business Agent

With a Business Agent from the International Union to take lead in negotiations, and a Plant Committee there to see that he does it, there will be no pulling of punches, and no individual member will have to stick his neck out under the axe.

There will not be so much bargaining, but we will get more benefits. No more of the Company Union policy of Coax, Tease, and Surrender. No more wheedling for free soap and paper towels, and

## Looking For a Job

A few months ago I was fired, because the company for which I worked consolidated with another company, and in doing so, cut down on the help.

I applied for Unemployment Compensation the first week in July. Normally, a two weeks waiting period is required before payments start, but it so happens that my former employer did not send in the correct report on the salary which I drew; however, he corrected this that same week. It is now September 8, and as yet I have not received any benefits. I am required to go every week to the Unemployment Compensation Station, and every week I am told, "Your returns have not yet been received. Nothing can be done about it. You will just have to wait." I have talked to several others waiting in line, and they, too, have waited for five, six, and seven weeks.

### Gyp Agency

Unable to pay an employment agency, I registered with several "free" employment agencies. After waiting about a month, I received a telephone call from O'Shea Employment System, 64 E. Jackson. A sweet voice at the other end of the line asked me if I would be interested in a temporary job that paid \$4.00 per day. I answered that I certainly would. She then told me to come down to the employment office as soon as possible, and that I would be required to bring a \$10.00 deposit with me. I answered that I had been out of work, and didn't have the \$10.00, and added that when I had filled out the application, it didn't say anything about such a deposit. She told me she would call me back in an hour, in which time I could think it over. She never called.

Later that week, I called a friend at the agency. He told me with such a gyped out of me. After he had paid his deposit, at the prospective employment office, he found that the same agency had sent several other men to the same place. He was among those who did not get the job. Upon returning to the agency, he asked for his money. He was told that they would keep it to apply on the next job they sent him on. In the meantime, this fellow got a job elsewhere. He tried again to collect his money, and this time, they told him that the man who had taken his money was no longer working there.

D. Lockwood

the plant running 40 hours a week with half the force laid off.

No more men laid off Friday to work Saturday for straight time, because men are fighting each other about a few hours work a year.

No more Stewards fired over a case that has been in negotiation 18 months, but the Plant Committee knowing nothing about it until it happened.

### Personal Recommendation

No more Stewards taking authority that does not belong to them, for a Steward will have NO authority, except that delegated to him by the Plant Committee, and, when acting under instructions of the Chairman of the Committee, the Chairman will be responsible—not the Steward.

Let the Chairman be a man who KNOWS the Contract, and the Policy of the UAW. Let him be required to give instructions, IN WRITING, to any Steward who asks, and let him take sole responsibility when he does.

I offer this as my personal recommendation to the membership. No one else is responsible for it. I do it in confidence that my motive for it cannot be questioned. Every one in Local 140 knows that I seek no job or position in the Local. I have never yet accepted a nomination for any thing,

## Letters

(Continued from Page 3)

would always stop to see this Steward to see how the work was getting on. If it was not progressing well enough to suit him, the Steward was to report the men mostly to blame. When the foreman took two weeks off for vacation the Superintendent had the Steward act as boss in his place.

\* \* \*

In the Core Room where they make cores out of clay to be baked like brick to fill in for hollow places in the motor blocks, motor heads, etc., the workers have to slave under very unhealthy conditions. It is so hot that it is sickening. There is enough dust and fine sand in the air to make it bad for the lungs, bronchial tubes, nose and throat. In this department the Steward and Chief Shop Steward act as policemen for the bosses. They keep the men back from the wash-room until the whistle blows. Same with the lunch period. When the men ask for relief on the line they are told they don't need any. When they work machines whose speed he does not control he just tells them to work slower. If a man does not do the work which the job calls for he is transferred to a still worse one. It seems that most of the men have little or no confidence in their union. For instance they pick some older man who cannot speak English who is a sort of a job-killer whom the straw-bosses use to set the pace for the other men to follow. They pick someone like this and place "We Support the CIO" or "For a Drive Against Ford" pins and buttons on his clothes where he cannot see them. He goes up and down the aisles of the plant advertising these slogans with the other men staring back and laughing at

## Roosevelt

(Continued from Page 1)

That the government is in earnest about entering the war can be seen from the Tribune dispatch which said:

Secret plans of the war and treasury departments for a draft of American man power and a war loan drive in the event of this nation's entry into a European war were revealed today through highly authoritative sources.

Highly authoritative sources! That must mean high ranking officials in the Roosevelt administration if it does not mean the President himself. If such a dispatch appeared in a German or Italian paper the American correspondent reporting it would call it inspired.

Roosevelt's neutrality pledge is not his first deception of the American working class. He is the author of the Social Security set-up by which millions of workers hope to secure their old years against hunger. The dispatch from which we have already quoted shows what kind of a cynical fraud the smiling President has put over on us:

The war department, it was learned, has in its files the list of 40 million persons who have been issued social security cards. These cards give information... which would be invaluable to the war department in drafting men for the army. Social security! Prepare to die! or To revolt!

and I want none now.

All I want is a UNION that will protect the job I work on now. I think YOU want the same thing. I leave it to your judgment, to be expressed in a special meeting soon to be called, whether or not this is THE WAY TO GET IT. Frank B. Tuttle