

REVOLT

Organ of Revolutionary Workers League, U.S.

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Reason To Go To War

PRESIDENT Roosevelt who is a rich man and who gets \$75,000 a year for being President is very anxious to get national unity. National unity is unity of the rich with the poor.

Why the rich are keen for national unity is obvious enough. They need "industrial peace" to build a big army and navy to defend their wealth. They call this national defense.

In a war they stand to lose everything through defeat. But they also stand to gain wealth through victory.

But what interest do the poor have in national unity? They never gain through victory. There was more unemployment and hunger in Britain, France after the World War than there was before. The United States was a victor in that war. Today half of the world's unemployed are right here in this country.

On the other hand the poor have nothing to lose. American workers who are impressed by Roosevelt's talk should seriously consider whether the following results of an investigation conducted by the *Chicago Daily News* of October 2, give them any reason to go to war when Uncle Sam calls:

The results of that investigation completed today show that conditions are, if anything, worse than they have been pictured. People are not dropping from sheer starvation on the streets. Children are not resigned to living on hay and grass. There is no plague—yet. But nonetheless a slow sapping of vitality, both mental and physical, has been going on.

... social workers, teachers, even politicians
... be physically impaired for life

The European war, which has already meant jobs for thousands in Chicago, has not alleviated the relief crisis, the investigation indicated. Nearly 50,000 families out of the 106,595 on relief, contain no employable members. . . .

One out of every 14 persons in Chicago was on relief during August. There were 212,012 more on WPA and other forms of public assistance. That means that one out of about seven in the city at large depended on public aid to exist. . . .

The war, far from helping the situation, has only increased misery. Prices have gone up, and relief families, relying on credit to pull them through at the end of each month, had to pay almost double the usual price.

SAME CONDITIONS EVERYWHERE

Throughout the city the investigation found the same sordid and despairing conditions. Growing boys and girls, able-bodied men and old people are living on less than 20 cents a day for food, according to results of the survey. In many instances the daily food budget per person is only a thin dime

A tabulation of families on relief interviewed by The Daily News revealed that a typical family of four received about \$35 last month for relief, plus about \$2.15 worth if it had not been cut off, of "surplus" foods. Its rent was \$15. Fuel, ice, electricity, totaled at least \$4.

That left \$18 for clothes, soap and incidentals. All but the food were dropped as exorbitant luxuries by Chicago's 106,595 relief families.

Reason to go to war? Yes.

In the class war, to

OVERTHROW CAPITALISM

National Unity A Screen for Super Profit

Roosevelt has appealed to the AF of L, and will appeal to the CIO for unity of the two set-ups as a "patriotic service for national unity."

Labor unity AGAINST THE EMPLOYERS is ok.

National Unity—unity with the employers—is no good.

The last war showed what national unity was like in this country. Strikes were denounced as unpatriotic, sabotage, disruption, treason.

But House Report No. 637, 66th Congress, 2nd Session, shows that \$1,051,000,000 was spent for combat planes of which not one was delivered.

House report No. 1400, 66th Congress, 3rd Session, stated that in the case of

53 contracts for 37 millimeter shells on which \$9,134,592 was spent, none ever reached our firing lines. . . . 142 contracts for 3 inch shells. . . . \$44,841,844. . . . none reached the firing lines. . . . 617 contracts for 155 millimeter shells. . . .

About 50,000 doughboys were killed. War profits ranged from 25% to 7,856%. The more men killed, the bigger the profit! The bigger the profit, the keener the interest in national unity!

Peace But What Kind?

HITLER'S offer of an armistice to England and France is no surprise. From the first it was indicated that if the "blitzkrieg" in Poland were successful German strategy would propose peace to England and France to gain a respite for the next assault.

The terms that Hitler offers include possession of the conquered territory now held by Germany. As a concession he may consent to a small Polish state under German domination. Peace on Hitler's terms will be a peace of oppression.

Can the British and French governments accept Hitler's terms? They have declared that peace must include restoration of the Polish state. If they accept his terms they will unmask themselves before the masses of workers and peasants as impotent institutions.

On the other hand they cannot afford to take an intransigent attitude without bitterly antagonizing the masses who want peace. The war is not popular. The idea of fighting to restore a government which ruthlessly suppressed workers, organized pogroms against Jews and ran away like a coward as soon as it was attacked, does not appeal to men as a sufficient cause for giving up their lives.

NOR can the British and French governments easily find a reason which the masses will accept. Chamberlain's attempt to define the war aims of his government as including security for Europe falls before the failure of the British government to act against Russia's invasion of Poland.

A sharp crisis is in England. The

and commoners have declared that offers of peace must be considered. The censorship has permitted George Bernard Shaw to attack the war policy of the government and to urge that England make peace. It is no secret that there are powerful capitalist interests in England who want a bloc with Germany.

Hitler's peace offer may be exactly what they need. The terms of such an alliance would have as its big aim, the conquest of Russia.

Russian policy has evidently taken this possibility into account in the establishment of naval bases and armed forces in the territories of the small Balkan states and in the attempt to neutralize the Dardanelles.

Peace on Hitler's terms would be an imperialist peace. If the British and French continue the war and win their peace will be a thousand times more terrible than the robbers' peace of Versailles. If Germany and England make peace in order to attack at a later date, it will be a mu-Russia immediately afterward or derers' pact.

The workers want peace. They can get peace. If they take the decision into their own hands.

The road to peace is

THROUGH REVOLUTION

COCKROACH BUSINESS MAN BARS NEGROES

To the editor of REVOLT:

Last night a few friends and I stopped in at the Palmer restaurant, 3907 S. Cottage Grove Ave., to have some "coffee and." After we had ordered, we saw that the menu listed coffee as a dime. When the manager brought our order, we indignantly asked him what he meant by charging 10c for a cup of coffee. He replied that it was only a nickel but that they list it as a dime "to keep the niggers out."

H. R.

Lenin's Program for Fighting War

"Defeat of one's own government in the Imperialist War"

The following extracts are taken from Lenin's writings; *Selected Works, Volume V, English Edition, pages 142-8.* All emphases are Lenin's

* * * *

A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot but desire the defeat of its government. This is an axiom. . . . revolutionary action in wartime against one's own government undoubtedly and incontrovertibly means not only desiring its defeat but really facilitating such defeat. (For the 'penetrating reader': this does not mean 'blowing up bridges', organizing unsuccessful military strikes, and in general helping the government to inflict defeat upon revolutionaries.) . . .

Revolution in wartime is civil war; and the TRANSFORMATION of war between governments into civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses ('defeats') of governments; on the other hand, it is IMPOSSIBLE really to strive for such a transformation without thereby facilitating defeat. . . . THIS SLOGAN ALONE implies a consistent appeal for revolutionary action

against one's own government in wartime. . . .

. . . The transformation of the imperialist war into civil war. . . . cannot be 'made' any more than it is possible to 'make' a revolution—it GROWS out of a multiplicity of diverse phenomena, phases, tracts, characteristics, consequences of the imperialist war. Such a growth is IMPOSSIBLE without a series of military reverses and defeats of those governments which receive blows from THEIR OWN oppressed classes.

. . . the only real and not verbal policy of. . . accepting the class struggle, is for the proletariat TO TAKE ADVANTAGE of the EMBARRASMENTS of its government and its bourgeoisie IN ORDER TO OVERTHROW THEM. This, however, cannot be achieved, it CANNOT BE STRIVEN FOR, without desiring the defeat of one's own government, without facilitating this defeat.

Revolt, May 21, 1938.

Groups Reply to Open Letter for Unity

In response to the Open Letter to Revolutionists, proposing unity for the purpose of making an effective Marxist agitation against the imperialist war policy of the U. S. ruling class, which was published in the September 16 issue of REVOLT, the Central Committee has received replies from the Socialist Union Party, Communist Workers Group, Revolutionary Workers League (Fighting Worker), League for A Revolutionary Workers Party, and Marxian Labor College.

No reply has been received from the Committee for Revolutionary Labor Action to whom the Letter was specifically addressed by mail in addition to those which have made reply.

The replies of the SUP, CWG, RWL (FW) and LRWP, are too long to reproduce in full and are summarized below. In making summaries care was taken to convey the sense of the full texts as fairly as possible. Copies of the original texts were sent to each of the groups previously addressed, in advance of the publication of these summaries. The reply of the Marxian Labor College was received just as Revolt was going to press.

Socialist Union Party AGAINST PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

It appears to us that you are confusing the tactic of the United Front with the question of organic unity. The Socialist Union Party is prepared to enter into a United Front against Imperialist War on a revolutionary anti-pacifist basis with all working organizations....

...and as you should know the Socialist Union Party is a DeLeonist organization. We could not without doing violence to our basic principles enter into organic unity with a Leninist organization such as yours....

I must take strenuous exception to the gratuitous assumption contained in your letter that the Socialist Union Party is among the organizations that accept the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.... It is not only the Dictatorship of the Proletariat that stands between us, there are others issues on which we differ from Leninism....

In view of our principled differences we must categorically reject your offer of organic unity, there being no common ground for discussion.

Fraternally yours,
Abraham Ziegler,
Provisional National Secy.
(received September 23)

Communist Workers Group

BASIS FOR UNITY IS CWG MATERIAL

The proposal for unity on the basis of nine points of agreement against war is a snare and a delusion. If this proposal is concretized it will result in a sort of "red" League against War and Fascism. The resulting organization will have not a Marxist program—but a program consisting of one plank. We hold that delegation of the struggle against imperialist war to such an organization would be a betrayal....

Further in regard to the content of the nine points themselves. We do not believe that they present a concrete basis for a successful struggle against the imperial-

ist war. They are completely national....

The nine points give no evaluation of the struggle and strategies of the conflicting imperialist gangs. They omit entirely any reference to the struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies of U. S. imperialism (the whole letter does nothing to expose the concrete imperialist aims of the U. S.) Evaluation of and policy for the defense of the Soviet workers state.... is completely omitted. Lastly the points are so abstract that unity on them would produce nothing but a talk shop.

Our political basis for unity is the material issued by the group to date....

We welcome unity of the revolutionists on a Marxist line but such unity as you propose—far from being a step toward the party—would be a powerful obstacle....

Fraternally,
J. Hadley
CWG Sec'y.

tion; and apply revolutionary defeatism toward the end of establishing the proletarian dictatorship....

Even this major question if understood today does NOT CONSTITUTE A MARXIAN BASIS OF UNITY. That would be a correct point of a Marxian program. Furthermore, we note that you use the term "revolutionary defeatism" but we fail to find in your letter or in the statement a correct position on the question. To use the term, "revolutionary defeatism" and to fail to define what it means is to present a centrist position....

Since you are proposing a program for unity it is well call your attention to the... International Contact Commission... formed by... the Red Front of Germany with over 1200 members, the Leninist League of Scotland, a small group... and the Revolutionary Workers Lea-

League (Fighting Worker)

PRESENTS COUNTER- PROPOSAL

Your proposal for unity... is based upon a one point program.... This one point is divided into several parts: No support to the United States imperialists; revolutionary agitation against war; a struggle against the United States war policy; defend the working class standards by independent working class ac-

principles and as a basis for unification and affiliation.... The Commission material was made available.... through the Fighting Worker and the Marxist.... your organization issues a call for unity on the basis of a plank in opposition to war.

This would mean unity on a non-Marxian basis. The League as an affiliate to the provisional INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COMMISSION could never accept such opportunism....

You call for unity on a "war plank" without even presenting a theoretical posi-

Britain Fights For Democracy

The following figures are taken from Empire, October issue, an English publication:

Colony, etc	Number of Registered Electors		Total	Population	% Voters
	Male	Female			
Bahamas	12,611	—	12,611	66,908	18.8
Barbados	6,424	—	6,424	190,939	3.4
Bermuda	2,411	—	2,411	30,949	7.8
British Guiana	—	—	9,513	337,039	2.9
British Honduras	1,225	585	1,800	56,893	3.2
Jamaica	—	—	62,867	1,152,528	5.5
Cayman Islands	946	—	946	6,113	15.5
Leeward Islands:					
Antigua	858	190	1,048	34,523	3.0
Dominica	929	320	1,249	49,505	2.5
Montserrat	219	41	260	13,712	1.9
St. Kitts-Nevis	1,372	256	1,628	38,057	4.3
Trinidad & Tobago	—	—	30,911	456,006	6.5
Windward Islands:					
Grenada	2,899	553	3,452	88,201	3.9
St. Lucia	1,161	348	1,509	67,404	2.2
St. Vincent	1,320	278	1,598	57,526	2.8

The population is estimated as of December 31st, 1937.

Qualifications for voting are based on property or income, and in Barbados, Bahamas and Bermuda, it is limited to males. The income required of an elector is 50 pounds per annum in Barbados and Jamaica, 62 pounds 10 shillings in British Honduras and Trinidad, 30 pounds in the Leeward and Windward Islands.

In Barbados, there is a qualification excluding from exercise of the vote all employed in a domestic or other menial capacity.

Hold Anti War Meet

CHICAGO, Oct. 1. — The first anti-war meetings, organized by the Chicago Anti-War United Front Committee, were held in Newberry Square yesterday, and at Lincoln Center, today.

20,000 leaflets were distributed announcing the meetings, and pointing out that "The U. S. government is preparing to plunge the country into war," and the only way to end war is to "End the profit system."

Several hundred workers turned out to the meeting at Newberry Square; a smaller number came to Lincoln Center.

Speakers from the Chicago Workers Security Federation (unemployed organization with 15 locals), Communist Workers Group, Plebeian Forum, Revolutionary Workers League (Fighting Worker), Marxian Labor College, Socialist Union Party, and the Revolutionary Workers League (Revolt), all exposed the Roosevelt war plans, denounced the government and called for a classless society.

FIRST STAGE

The meetings marked the first stage in the endeavor of advanced workers in Chicago to conduct united action against the war danger. The collaboration of the seven different groups in organizing the two meetings is a sign that all of them are aware of the tremendous danger to the working class that war-time dictatorship means, that all of them realize the need for joining their forces, at least to expose the war policies of the government.

Burndy

League for A Revolutionary Workers Party

WANTS TO PROBE

The basis of the program for revolutionary unity as expressed in your open letter is on the question of war, limited, however, to the position of revolutionary organizations on America, if she enters the war.

We are in favor of participating with other organizations which have positions close to ours, in a conference which has as its aim to clarify and differentiate the revolutionary from non-revolutionary positions, and to see if the differences are ones of formulation or principle, in order to probe the possibility of unification.

Such a conference would have to recognize immediately that the basis for the discussion would be the GENERAL WAR question out of which flows the question of America's participation, Russia's participation and such related problems as "mixed war," the role of the unions, national minorities, the application of revolutionary defeatism, etc. In other words, the conference while it dealt with the war question, must inevitably embrace the whole line of all the organizations involved if a solid basis for unification on a revolutionary program is to be achieved. The recognition of this concept as a first step, is essential to our participation in this conference....

Fraternally yours,
J. Carel
National Sec'y.
(received September 29)

Marxian Labor College

CANNOT ACCEPT BASIS

In reply to your proposal for unity, we wish to state that since we cannot endorse the tactics of your group as

and the union membership. This last act helped to discourage the workers.

Two weeks ago, while the strike was in progress, the national office of the union, issued a statement to the Burndy Co. and 39 unorganized plants, asking for national unity in view of the war situation. The company manufactures electrical equipment for the army and navy, and the Stalinists who control the union want to ensure this production on starvation wages. The average wage in the plant is \$18.00 a week.

This strike marks a turning point in the local. If the strike is lost, the entire local will be affected. The union leadership has become scared. After four weeks of strike they have called on the whole membership for support. This is correct even if it is a fine time to tell it to us.

CATCH

But the catch is that now we are told that the cost of living is rising and that the strike must be won by united help in order to maintain existing standards in the other shops. In some of the other shops closed shop wages were as low as \$12.00 a week.

We can win this strike, and get better condition than before. But we must do it by militant picket lines and adequate strike relief. Production is nil in the shop and the orders are not being filled. Let's have a mass picket line.
Burndy Striker

we have seen them in practice, and also have differences on your program and since your call for unity evidently means our joining your group on your program we cannot accept that basis for unity and reject your offer.

Fraternally,
K. Brooks
Secretary
(received October 6)

For the significance of these replies see the editorial on page four, What the Replies Show.

Burndy Strike To Enforce Closed Shop In Fifth Week

NEW YORK, Oct. 3.—Today begins the fifth week of the strike at the Burndy Engineering Co. and the picket lines and the ranks of the workers are holding firm. The 100 workers of Burndy belong to Local 1224 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO. The strike was provoked by the boss who persisted in firing workers on the fake charge of inefficiency, in order to break the closed shop agreement with the union.

The union tried to come to a peaceful settlement with the boss on the points in dispute by arbitration but was unsuccessful. The office staff, belonging to the United Office and Professional Workers, and engineers, belonging to the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, both CIO unions, joined the strike. The company immediately hired professional strike-breakers, and the city detailed a large police squad to protect them and the forty or so scabs.

STOUGE

The strikers expected this outcome for a long time as the boss continually provoked the workers. One of his stooges, Tony Marchiano, was allowed to go about the shop during working hours arguing against the union and trying to get the workers to join the AF of L. He was fined and suspended last year, but the union officials forgave him. Two months ago the shop, and union membership voted to expel him. Again the officials forgave him without consulting the Burndy workers

Continued on page 2

Judge Decrees Gag for Continental Strikers

CHICAGO, Oct. 6.—Circuit Court Judge Fred Rush issued a drastic and sweeping injunction against the workers, striking Continental Products, Inc., auto and radio accessories warehouse, enjoining the strikers from

Stating by word of mouth, sign, placard, or otherwise that there is a strike in progress at Continental Products, Inc., place of business;

Picketing or maintaining any picket or pickets at or near the place of business of Continental Products, Inc., at 2036 S. Michigan, Chicago, Illinois, or along the route used by persons in going to and from the same;

Exhibiting or displaying any sign or placard in front or in the vicinity of the place of business of Continental Products, Inc. as unfair to organized labor or by any other means designed to induce or influence persons not to deal with Continental Products, Inc.

CHICAGO, Sept. 30.—Four goons, armed with pipes and wooden clubs, attached the picket line outside of Continental Products Inc., auto and radio accessories warehouse and mail order today. One striker was badly hurt before the goons were driven off. Later in the day police arrested three pickets on disorderly conduct charges.

Fifty workers in the place went out on strike when Clarence Schneider, Shop Steward was fired. Schneider was fired when he protested the discharge of Jack Kaplan who has been in the company's employ for over eight years. Kaplan was fired when he refused to pay dues to Local 164, Retail Clerks International Protective Association, AF of L. Two other workers were fired for the same reason. The men, who were prepared, responded in a body to Schneider's strike call over the company's loud speaker system.

DEMANDS

The strikers have put forward the following demands:

Recognition of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America, CIO;

Wage increases; (the average wages is \$17.00).

Plant seniority;

Re-instatement of the discharged workers.

Mr. Allen Grawoig, vice-president of the Company has rejected three offers of the URWEA to

negotiate a contract. He claims that he has a contract with the RCIPA and refuses to have anything to do with the CIO.

The workers in the warehouse were not consulted about what should go into the agreement. And it was not submitted for their approval or rejection.

The contract which is for two years at a time when prices are rising, provides:

ARTICLE 5. The Employer reserves full right to hire or discharge employees at any and all times as in its judgment may be necessary.

ARTICLE 6. Employees shall obey all orders of those in authority and conduct themselves in a gentlemanly manner and work for the best interests of their employer.

ARTICLE 7. During the life of this Agreement, there shall be no further demands made upon either party.

Workers in the place began to smell a rat when they noticed that a washing machine was being shipped to Caldwell, local head

of the RCIPA. On their own initiative they applied for membership in the URWEA.

Acting on a petition filed by the CIO union for certification the National Labor Relations Board, requested Caldwell to confer with it. He refused.

Retail Employee.

OCTOBER 4. — Twenty scabs sent down by Caldwell were prevented from entering the plant today by the vigilance of the pickets.

PLANT CLOSED

The plant is still closed tight. But teamsters, members of Local 705, AF of L, and of Local 707, so-called outlaw local, an independent teamsters union, are crossing the picket line.

The teamsters explain to the pickets that their sympathies are with the strikers but they have orders from their union officials to make deliveries. They are threatened, they say, with loss of their union cards and jobs if they fail to do so.

R. E.

Seek Pay-Cut Restoration At American Blower

DETROIT, October 3.—Between 400 and 450 workers in the two American Blower plants in Detroit and Dearborn, members of Local 254, UAW-CIO, have been out on strike since September 21. They are demanding a restoration of a pay cut slapped down on them by the company last March.

When the strike was called only about ten workers in both plants were not members of the union. But they too have come out on strike so that the plants are down 100%. Only foremen playing cards, a few supervisory employees, and a curtailed office force are in the plants. The company has made no attempt to run scabs in.

SEVERE WAGE CUT

The wage cut of last March was a severe one. Beginning with 10% for employees making \$1.00 or more an hour, it ranged down to 6% on a graduated scale until the base level of 70c an hour was reached. The strikers are determined not to go back until this cut is restored. The union has other demands such as a tightening up of the grievance procedure and a preferential union shop under which non-union men would be laid off first and then union men, the latter according to their seniority. However, the men indicated that the wage demand is the main one and the others only secondary.

The plant manufactures fans and blowers, and has a lucrative contract with the government to supply battleships and destroyers with fans and couplings. Thus far the company has been obstinate in refusing the strike, either with the Labor Board or with Federal Conciliator James Dewey.

The International Board of the UAW authorized the strike as soon as the strike vote was taken. By maintaining their picket lines intact, obtaining the support of other UAW locals in case the company tries to break the strike, and rejecting compromise proposals by state and federal government agencies, the American Blower workers can win their demands.

Auto Worker

ATTENTION JOHN DELENEY

The secretary of the REVOLT Publishing Fund has received your contribution of four dollars. Thank you.

Trotskyist for Revolution, But -

CHICAGO, Sept. 28.—Albert Goldman, just returned from France, spoke on the war situation in Europe, tonight, at a meeting organized by the Socialist Workers Party, American Trotskyist organization.

The chairman announced that Goldman would speak from personal experiences in England, Belgium and France. In reply to a question as to whether the English Trotskyists were distributing leaflets, Goldman stated, "I presume they must be, but I have no exact information."

Goldman, a good orator, made an effective exposure of the Stalinists.

Goldman said that "The Socialist Party of France assumed the same role it has always taken since 1914—the chief prop of the capitalist state." He made no attempt to reconcile this with the position of Trotsky in 1934 who declared that "The destiny of the proletariat in our epoch depends in large measure on the resoluteness with which the social democracy breaks with the bourgeois state...."

In 1934 the French Trotskyists, acting on this position, liquidated their organization into the French Socialist Party. In the fall of the same year Goldman quit the Communist League of America, Trotskyist organization, to join the Socialist Party in this country. He gave Trotsky's position for France as his motivation. James P. Cannon, leader of the CLA, denounced Goldman as a strikebreaker.

AFTER YOU, MY DEAR ALPHONSE

In June, 1936, Cannon and his supporters followed Goldman into the Socialist Party.

In the fall of 1937 the "strikebreaker" and the good "union men" were all thrown out of the Socialist Party.

A member of the League asked Goldman:

Do the Trotskyists in France work for the defeat of the French armies, or do they propose to 'let the people vote on war'?

Goldman replied:

War cannot be avoided by referendum, but the referendum extends democratic rights and helps mobilize workers against the war. France is different from the U. S. Over there we do not come out for the referendum.... Our comrades are attempting to organize and educate the workers.... The 4th International is stronger today than Lenin was in 1914. We have more people who understand the causes of imperialist war....

Another League member asked:

Will the Trotskyists in the U. S. work for the defeat of the army and navy of American imperialism in accordance with Lenin's strategy of turning the imperialist war into civil war?

Goldman replied that he was for the proletarian revolution and for socialism, but that he did not propose to achieve it all at once.

J. D.

Shop Talk

NEW YORK, Sept. 29.—One of my fellow workers came over to me this morning and asked me not to "agitate" in the shop. He said, "I'm for the union, but I'm against foreign propoganda, I'm for democracy."

"You want to go into business for yourself to provide a better living for your family. Why don't you, it's your democratic right?" I asked him. "Well I haven't any money," he replied.

"But the rich have money," I said. They can use this democracy, you can't. Why you haven't even got the democratic right to get the proper kind of food for your sick kid unless you have the cash, and you haven't got the cash.

MOUTH SHUT

"The only freedom we have is to keep our mouths shut. We haven't got the democracy to chose our own jobs and necessary wages.

"You're just as much a communist as I am, but you don't realize it," I told him. "How is that?" he asked. "In this shop there are 100 workers. We're here to do one thing, to make a machine for the boss to sell. We work side by side making the parts for the machine. One man's work is dependent on the others. This method of production is socialist. But the boss gets all the profits. That's capitalism.

This is a contradiction in our lives and that's what we workers are fighting against. That's why you're in the union. I see a little further than you. I want to get rid of all the bosses so that all the workers can get the full benefit of their labor. Then we'll have real security and genuine democracy. How about it?"

How Much For Graft?

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 47 per cent of the sales tax revenues of the State of Illinois went for relief, State Finance Director S. L. Nudelman reported, the Associated Press said on October 3. 26 per cent went for state departments, courts, legislature, prisons, hospitals, old age pensions, normal colleges and the University of Illinois.

That makes 73 per cent. What happened to the rest of it? How much went for graft?

Shame

Canadian UAW Votes To Aid War

Support of the Canadian government in its war against Germany was voiced by all Canadian locals of the UAW-CIO in a resolution adopted last week, Regional Director George Burt announces.

The resolution expressed opposition to profiteering and to exploitation of labor during the war crisis. The resolution was approved by Local 222, Oshawa; 676, Merritton; 195, Windsor; and 654, Tilbury. It follows:

WHEREAS: the UAW-CIO is a democratic organization designed to further the interests of workers in the automobile industry, and through them the people as a whole, and
WHEREAS industrial workers form a large percentage of the population of our country and of our empire, and
WHEREAS during the duration of a war against an aggressor nation our government requires the active support of all people, and
WHEREAS the Hon. Norman McL. Rogers, dominion minister of labor, has solicited the support of labor organizations for the welfare of all,
RESOLVED that we, the membership of Local 222, (etc.), UAW-CIO., go on record as supporting wholeheartedly our Canadian government and the British Empire during our present war crisis, in their policies of preventing the further spread of subversive doctrines, which have caused the obliteration of trade unions and other similar democratic organizations in countries where these doctrines are practised, and
RESOLVED that we will cooperate with the government to prevent undue war profiteering with the exploitation of labor.

Auto Worker, organ of the UAW-CIO, Sept. 27.

REVOLT

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WHAT THE REPLIES SHOW

The response to Open Letter of the Central Committee appealing for revolutionary unity, which is summarized on page two, is very interesting. Of the six organizations which were addressed specifically five found it necessary to reply. Only the Committee for Revolutionary Labor Action has made no reply of any kind.

Of the five organizations which have replied only the Socialist Union Party categorically rejects unity. The others, with the exception of the Marxian Labor College, express themselves in favor of unity or of probing the possibility of achieving it.

The reply of the Marxian Labor College rejects unity on the basis of the League's program and offers no alternative basis.

This may signify that it rejects unity altogether or that it will suggest another basis for it subsequently.

The Socialist Union Party rejects unity with any group or organization which stands for the "tactic" of the proletarian dictatorship. Unity with people who are opposed to this principle of Marxism is out of the question. The position of the Socialist Union Party is false. But its refusal to consider unity because of this difference is principled.

NO CHANGE

If it was approached it was because the Central Committee was anxious to determine whether the war in Europe and the imminent entry of the United States into it with the revolutionary perspective which these events offered had made any difference in the position of this party. It is clear from its reply that if there has been any change it has not affected its stand on this basic question.

The other groups including the Marxian Labor College do not raise this issue. Neither do they raise issues of a like fundamental character. It can be taken for granted that if they thought differences of this character existed they would not hesitate to bring them forward. That they have not done so can mean only that they are compelled to recognize, as the Central Committee stated flatly, that there are no fundamental principled differences among us. The denunciation of the Central Committee's position in some of the replies must not be permitted to obscure this FACT.

PROBLEM NOW

The problem now is to get recognition of this fact by the various groups to whom it applies; and to make it the starting point of a broad process of unification. As a first step the Central Committee proposed, in a letter to the groups on September 30, that it saw a possibility of unity in the replies and that if the other groups of the same opinion a meeting be held to consider how to

At the same time that it declares that it sees a possibility for unity, the Central Committee has no illusions about the difficulties that beset its achievement. The chief one, the replies indicate, is sectarianism.

The Open Letter bases its stand for unity on the situation created by the outbreak of the war, the imminent entry of the United States into it, and the perspective for revolutionary developments arising from these events. A number of groups have rejected this basis and offered other bases.

Continued in Adjoining Column

Replies

Cont'd from Adjoining Column

The bases they offer do not take into account the present situation and the problems which it poses. These bases include, apparently, not only points on which there is fundamental agreement, but, also, those issues which separate these groups from other groups with whom, the replies indicate, they have no fundamental disagreement. It is a sign that the present situation has not yet caused them to make any change in their attitude toward the basis for overcoming the atomization in the revolutionary movement.

OPEN QUESTION

Whether this will continue to be so remains to be seen. What was said above need not necessarily apply to the League for A Revolutionary Workers Party. The LRWP has neither accepted nor rejected the basis for unity suggested by the Central Committee; nor has it suggested any basis. Its reply is limited to a statement of the position of the LRWP on what the procedure for probing the possibility of unity should be. What its position on the larger question is remains to be seen.

The reaction of the various groups to the replies to the Open Letter and to the suggestion of the Central Committee that recognition be made of the fact that they have established that no fundamental differences exist among a number of the groups, will determine whether it is possible to go ahead or whether unity will have to wait until events compel it.

Capitalist Bravery

S. L. A. Marshall writes in the Detroit News of September 29:

One of the stories relating to the collapse of the Polish air service reached me via a Detroit Pole who got it by letter from a sister in Budapest. The sense of it is that many of Poland's military planes were tied up in ferrying wealthy Poles and the more influential governmental officials and their families into Rumanian territory.

Book Review

TSUSHIMA

By Alyosha Novikoff-Priboy

Translated from the Russian

by Eden and Cedar Paul

Alfred A. Knopf

New York, 1937

Tsushima, the account of the battle in the Straits of Tsushima, off the west coast of Japan, between the Russian and Japanese fleets, during the war in 1905, is one of the most remarkable first-hand pictures of a large-scale naval battle, ever recorded. The author, a worker-revolutionist, was a seaman on board one of the Russian ships.

The book was not published until thirty years after the event because the author's notes which he had made from conversations and investigations had been destroyed while he was a prisoner of the Japanese.

After his release he managed to reconstruct part of the notes, but when he had to flee the Tsarist police, he turned them over to his brother, who buried them in a sealed box. They were not found until 1928. The book was published for the first time in the Soviet Union in 1930.

The book, a summary of the experience of hundreds of sailors who engaged in this, one of the world's greatest sea battles in which a modern Japanese navy literally blew an obsolete Russian navy out of the water, is as authentic as it is dramatic. The author paints a marvellous picture of the class struggle between the stupid, tyrannical, bureaucratic, cowardly officer caste and the heroic, oppressed rank and file sailors.

SCENES OF HORROR

Scenes of battle, horror and death are drawn with a master hand. The mutinies of the sailors against inhuman conditions make inspiring reading for workers who want to make this a decent world to live in.

Because his story is authentic Novikoff's book, fascinating from beginning to end, contains many unforgettable incidents.

The Russian sailors of the battleship, Oryol, have been captured by the Japanese. They are talking with the Japanese sentries. A Russian sailor says:

Why have you chaps and we been fighting one another? Because the big pots wanted it, I suppose; same here as there? They make you risk your lives to get the better of Russia. But would any of them have given you a thousand rubles to improve your condition? Not a bit of it. Those lords of the earth would not have given you so much as turnip, unless they expected to gain something by it.

HOW MANY KIDS

He asks the Japanese sailor: How many kids have you got? Three is the reply. The Russian goes on:

Three brats? Well, if I'd killed you, they'd have no reason but to beg. Now you understand the position, don't you, brother? We've been bally idiots to fight one another, and have done ourselves no good by it. But if it comes to a question of dividing up the land, you here in Japan and we in Russia shall know how to look after ourselves without consulting the lords of the earth. He hugs the Japanese sentry. The author remarks:

Why had such men as he (the Russian sailor) and the Japanese blue-jackets been fighting one another? What advantage did the workers

and peasants of any country derive from international warfare? I recalled how, one day at a fair, I had watched a cock-fight.... Combative by disposition and trained to fight, the birds battled furiously, attacking one another's eyes and combs with beaks and spurs. But the advantage accrued, not to the poor mutilated game-cocks. It was their owners who made money out of the affair.

The same thing, though on a much larger scale, happens to the men engaged in an imperialist war. The profits are not made by those who risk life and limb on the battlefield.... The day will surely come when the workers of the world will understand this simple truth and will use their weapons, not against one another, but against those who incite them to make war.

ENEMIES AT HOME

Another survivor of the battle, says:

Next time we go to won't be for the forest of Korea, but to win a better sort of life for ourselves. We'll go for the enemies at home.

An engineer, a revolutionist, who hides his copy of Marx's Capital on board ship behind an icon, speaks to the sailors:

Japan has conquered, not the working masses of Russia, but the detested and corrupt government of our country.... Japan has done us a good turn. She has opened the eyes of the humblest and most illiterate among us. Fortunately our soldiers have turned their weapons against those who sent them needlessly to death. The war has led to the revolution.

POWERFUL MESSAGE

When news of the terrible defeat reached Russia it caused great excitement. The mutiny of the Potemkin in the Black Sea came in the midst of the ferment. Other mutinies occurred in Kronstadt and Sevastopol. A general strike movement swept the industrial centers. Peasants seized the land. Barricades sprang up in the streets of the large cities.

Read this book written by a worker for workers. It has a powerful message:

Workers in the army, navy, field and factory, refuse to fight for capitalist profit. If the capitalists force us to become fighting men, let us use the guns they give us in the interests of our class. He who falls in the war of the lords of the earth wastes his life. But he who falls in the struggle to rid the world of capitalism and its wars gives up his life that those who come after him may live in peace like human beings.

J. D.

Stalin Did Right by Stalin

From a strictly rational viewpoint, the recent about-face by Moscow was undoubtedly the proper move to make. If one disregards the myth of the USSR being a strictly socialist state, dedicated to lofty ideals and the welfare of the masses everywhere, and considers the situation from a Machiavellian angle, the Hitler deal should be no surprise.

The lesson must be driven home that the Stalinists are attempting to use the workers, and the unions, as pawns in a vast game of international intrigue; it must be made plain that their concern with reforms, Rooseveltism, democratic frontism, etc., is only a pose, a form of clever opportunism. The events leading up to the Motolov-Rittentrop deal clearly explained this.

GIGANTIC BRIBE

When Russia offered to defend the Czechs, Rumania agreed to permit the passage of the Red army provided France also entered the war. Nothing happened. Later Poland refused military aid from Russia but was willing to accept supplies. Thus we see that the alleged democracies have always considered the USSR an outcast. Such rebuffs offered to a government, not of idealists, but of cynical chauvinists, could have but one result. Hitler's gigantic bribe—most of Poland without fighting for it—was too much to refuse. Whether Russia will fight alongside of the Reich

or betray Hitler in turn for a still greater offer is unimportant.

What is important is the great danger to the workers of the United States in having a powerful group in control of so many organizations, a group which is interested, not in the welfare of the workers, but is working solely for a foreign power which will do nothing for labor if it should conquer the USA. If this country and Russia should find themselves on opposite sides in the war, the program of striving for the defeat of American armies might be dominated, not by a group such as the League, seeking to emancipate labor, but by the Stalinists, so as to bring Nazi-Stalinist conquest, with the complete crushing of all bona-fide workers organizations and the imprisonment or execution of all genuine militants.

The revolt must be led by Marxists, with a program of defeat for all imperialists but for a socialist state in North America, which will be independent until such time as a political revolution shall displace the present semi-capitalist government of the USSR with a proper leadership, thus clearing the way for unity and another step towards the workers world state.

In preparation for this the effort must be made NOW to break the Stalinist machine in the CIO. This field is important because its structure is such it can em-

brace most of the proletariat. The AF of L and the various college and cultural groups have only a limited potential membership. Furthermore, having a different composition they will not be as potent an instrument in the coming struggle for power. A CIO under class conscious leadership can be the greatest workingclass force the world has ever known in the union field.

The labor fakery must be exposed at every opportunity. THE WORKERS MUST BE MADE CLASS CONSCIOUS. The militancy of the rank and file must be maintained and increased. Leaders who hang back must be replaced. The union flying squadrons must be used in demonstrations of the unemployed and WPA workers; this will instill the feeling of solidarity of the workers. There should be constant discussion that shows this war to be another imperialist struggle, with labor footing the bill. Such a program, coupled with the unmasking of the Stalinists as agents of one group of chauvinists should make easier the organized revolt of American workers against war, and should ensure proper leadership in the struggle. Toolmaker.

Toolmaker is not a member of the League. REVOLT publishes this article because it is its policy to make its columns available to workers who wish to use it to expose capitalism and its agents.