

REVOLT

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National Defense Used As Club Against Strikers

THE THREE day strike of the seven thousand workers of the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. at Kearney, New Jersey, from May 31 to June 2 was the first strike in an industry connected with national defense since the President announced the government's new arms program. It was therefore the first opportunity to measure the roles of workers, union leaders and government in the coming period when the full effects of the arms program will make themselves felt.

The four naval vessels under construction will cost \$36 million and the seven mercantile craft \$7 million. The workers claim that the corporation is receiving higher prices today for construction than it did two years ago when the present wage agreement was signed.

COMPLAINTS of the workers are: speed up—a destroyer is now built in half the two years time it used to take, while a tanker takes only five months instead of thirteen; the use of pace-setters to put the speed-up through, in the rate of about one pace-setter or "snapper" to every seven workers; rising costs of living; and the expectation of higher taxes as a result of the arms program.

The workers demanded a wage increase of ten cents an hour from 62½ cents to a \$1.00 and a week's paid vacation for every worker with a year's service.

The company made an offer of 2½ to 4 cents an hour and hour from 62½ cents to a \$1.00 and a week's paid 500 workers would have received no increase at all and only 15% would have received the 4 cents increase.

British Labor Leaders Pave Way for Fascism

WHILE THE BRITISH ruling class is desperately rushing preparations to cope with an invasion of British soil by fascist Germany and is taking extraordinary precautions against "fifth columnists" of whom there are thousands in England, this same ruling class is rushing headlong down the path of transforming England's parliamentary democratic system into fascist totalitarianism. Fascist rule at the hands of the invader or fascism by its own efforts are the alternatives before England's ruling class today.

Stated another way, fascism in Germany, having demonstrated its enormous superiority as a capitalist system of organizing economy and the state, dealing with labor, and therefore building a military machine faces the English ruling class with the danger of being defeated in the war and the necessity of trying to turn impending defeat into a draw or victory by reorganizing its own economy, politics and class relations. And that means fascism.

That reorganization began when the Chamberlain government fell and the Churchill government came in. The Chamberlain policy of appeasement sought to avoid the present state of affairs by encouraging German fascism to tear up the Versailles Treaty, sharpen its claws with British gold while British diplomacy tried to line up a British-French-Italian-German bloc against Russia. When Hitler double crossed his British backers and made a bloc with Stalin the British ruling class found themselves in a desperate situation.

In the first stages of the reorganization of British capitalism the chief role is played ironically not by Oswald Mosley who was arrested not because he is a fascist, but because he is suspected of being a Hitler fascist agent—the chief role was given to the leaders of the Labor Party, Atlee, Greenwood, Morrison, Bevin and Alexander.

In the debate in the House of Commons on the Norwegian campaign on May 8 Atlee and company bitterly attacked Chamberlain for not conducting the war with sufficient vigor. Their chauvinism was exceeded only by Lloyd George's.

Chamberlain's position became precarious. He tried to hang on by broadening his government to include a number of his critics in the cabinet. On May 9 Atlee and Greenwood were summoned to 10 Downing Street and asked to serve. They told the umbrella carrier they would not serve under him. Asked whether they would serve under another Conservative Party Prime Minister they replied they would have to consult the executive committee of the Labor Party.

May 10 Hitler invaded Belgium and Holland. Chamberlain resigned. Churchill formed a new government on May 11: Chamberlain, Lord President of the Council; Atlee,

THIS OFFER was turned down by the workers when the wage agreement expired on May 30 and voted to go on strike.

The Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Co. is a subsidiary of United States Steel. The workers are organized in Local 1657 the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America which is affiliated with the CIO.

At the time of the strike Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. was President of United States Steel and a member of the Advisory Commission, Roosevelt's Council of National Defense. Mr. Stettinius has since resigned as President of U. S. Steel (without, however ceasing to be a stockholder) to give his entire time to the work of the Advisory Commission.

Mr. Sidney Hillman was and remains a vice president of the CIO and a member of the Advisory Commission Defense Council with Mr. Stettinius.

John Dempsey, President of the Kearney local was opposed to the strike. On June 1 John J. Green, national president of the union was quoted by the N. Y. Post as having said that the union desired to reach as quickly as possible a fair and just settlement as we are just as cognizant of the national situation and are just as vitally concerned with the welfare of the country as the company.

ON JUNE 2 a strike meeting of 4,500 workers was held in Jersey City, Mr. Green addressed the meeting. So did Alan S. Haywood, National Director of the CIO and Philip H. Van Gelder, Secretary-Treasurer of the shipbuilding union. When these gentlemen got through the workers voted to accept a compromise wage increase of from 2½ to 4½ cents an hour for all but about 350 members, to return to work and negotiate the other issues, according to the New York Times. Mr. Green tried to say that the workers were unanimous but others said that about twenty per cent of the workers present were against the proposal

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Lord Privy Seal; Greenwood, Minister Without Portfolio; Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, a post he had occupied under Ramsay MacDonald. Churchill, Chamberlain, Halifax, and the three labor leaders made up the War Cabinet.

And Morrison was made Minister of Supply; Bevin Minister of Labor.

Atlee and Greenwood joined the government without consulting the Labor Party; presented the annual Labor Party Conference on May 13, with an accomplished fact; explained it by saying events were so menacing and moved so swiftly they could not wait. Greenwood replied to charges that they had betrayed the working class by saying: It would have been an act of treachery to stand aside. Atlee denounced characterization of the war as imperialist as claptrap.

Under their pressure the annual conference of the Labor Party endorsed their action, 170,000 votes were cast against their policy.

All Labor Party MP's voted for the new government. Two Independent Labor Party members, James Maxton and Campbell Stephen, were opposed but because they acted as tellers for the opposition which consisted exclusively of themselves their votes were not counted. William Gallacher, lone Stalinist MP, had been reported as opposed but the press did not report any vote by him.

Then came the break-through the French lines at Sedan and Namur, the "battle of the bulge," and the final break-through to the Channel coast which separated the British Expeditionary Force in Flanders, and French and Belgian troops from the main French armies in France.

May 22, Churchill being conveniently absent in France, Major Clement Atlee, introduced a bill in Commons. The Emergency Powers Defense Bill.

Under the powers granted the government by this bill the government has complete control of labor. The Minister of Labor "may direct any person to perform any service required." The Minister of Labor "will be able to prescribe terms of remuneration" (wages) hours of labor and conditions of service."

It may not fix profits; it can take only excess profits, and excess profits are above profits made in peace time.

On May 22 the government introduced a plan to speed up coal production.

The following day 4,000 miners in the Manchester district of Lancashire went on strike for higher wages. A careful search of the press has failed to reveal any further news about this militant answer to the class treachery of Atlee.

But the fate of this strike and of others which must

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Where Do You Want Us to Fight Mr. President?

IN YOUR SPEECH to the graduating class of the University of Virginia, Mr. President, you declared that the entry of Italy into the war means that it will spread to the near East and to Africa and might ultimately extend to yet other areas.

You also said that isolation from the war for this country was a helpless nightmare, that a victory by Germany and Italy would endanger American institutions, that your government would follow a policy of extending the material resources of the U. S. to the Allies "full speed ahead," and would prepare to meet any emergency.

In a word, Mr. President, it is the policy of your government to prepare this country to wage war against Germany and Italy either to prevent them from defeating the Allies, or should it be impossible to prevent that because of the lack of time, to prevent them, by war, from reaping the gains that fall to the victor in imperialist war.

IF AND WHEN the United States goes to war, Mr. President, the members of your class, the wealthy men, will fill important posts in the government, in industry and in the army and navy. Their sons will be junior officers. Some of them will be killed, no doubt, but the bulk of them will win medals and glory.

The members of our class, the working class, will have to do the fighting and the dying. Judging from the terrific casualties in the war in Europe there will be several million American workers killed, wounded and missing.

It seems to us that if the workers are expected to let themselves be killed or wounded or disappear they ought to have a right to discuss the war question. That's only fair and democratic.

There are a great number of points that we want to discuss with you. But at this time we want to ask you one question: where do you want us to fight? Italy, Turkey, Libya, Egypt?

In the summer of 1938 you pledged the aid of this country to Canada if that country were ever invaded. The Monroe doctrine forbids any European or Asiatic power from acquiring territory in the western hemisphere. This is now being interpreted by Congressional action to include the transfer of foreign owned territory like Dutch Guiana to another non-American power, for example, Germany.

IS THERE any danger that Canada will be invaded or that Germany will make an attempt to seize the Bahamas or any territory in the western hemisphere? Is it worth such things that you want the workers to shed their blood? If it is why don't you say so openly? Why are you concealing it?

But how can this be the danger when neither your government or Canada nor any government in the western hemisphere has declared that it confronts such a danger?

It is the danger of Nazi "fifth columns" in Latin America which has excited you. Hitler's fifth columns operate in connection with Hitler's army. Where is the army which threatens to invade Latin American countries?

The Brazilian government has declared officially that there is no menace of an uprising in Brazil?

Is there a danger of Germany invading the United States? Military and naval men deny it. But how can that be when German hasn't crossed the English Channel yet?

How can the danger be so immediate, as Senator Lee of Oklahoma said in the Senate yesterday "before the snow flies," when the Senate voted today to increase the Army to only 400,000 men, whereas Hitler has over 2,000,000 men on one front alone, and now Italy is throwing several million more men into the war. This is a fake.

But possibly you are looking ahead. Possibly you foresee the complete defeat of France and England and Hitler, master of Europe, scheming to endanger the United States, if that is the case then it is matter of several years before even Germany can prepare an invasion of the United States.

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Our Lives Are at Stake

THE FOLLOWING are extracts from the speech of comrade Marsh who was the spokesman for the League at the joint membership meeting of the Chicago organizations of the League and the Fighting Worker group on May 19.

IT IS SAID that we are desperate in our efforts to bring about unity. That is true. We are desperately trying to bring about the unity of those revolutionary forces which have a common attitude toward our common enemy—American imperialism.

There is not much time left for us to accomplish this. American imperialism, jolted by the hurricane advance of the German juggernaut which threatens to ruin America's dream of world domination, and Japan's menacing glances at the Dutch East Indies, is rapidly, breath-takingly preparing for war.

And while the ruling class prepares the annihilation of millions of toilers, while it puts the finishing touches on its plans to tie the proletariat to the war machine, deprive it of its rights and impose great burdens on it, the revolutionary movement, shattered into tiny fragments, acts as though it were oblivious to the proximity of war. It does not hurry to overcome its terrible weakness and ineffectiveness, to give leadership to the workers, to organize them

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PAYTRITIC HYSTERIA GRIPS DETROIT

mobile factories into a huge war plant—is sweeping this city and shaping its entire economic activity.

EVER SINCE President Roosevelt's special defence message to Congress on May 16, events here have been moving with blitzkrieg speed. Government orders have been pouring in, hurried conference have been taking place between local industrialists and government officials, and the newspapers have been keeping up a rapid-fire publicity about the importance of Detroit in the new defence plans.

Not that Detroit hasn't been producing war materials right along. The *Detroit News* of May 3 reported that war orders, foreign and domestic, had hit a \$200,000,000 total in the first four months of 1940. But now the tempo and the amount of war production will increase a hundred fold.

On the same day as Roosevelt's defense speech, Clifford Prevost, writing from the Washington Bureau of the *Detroit Free Press*, stated that army engineers were predicting that the greater part of the \$546,000,000 requested for the Army by Roosevelt would be expended in the Michigan automobile plants. Congressman John D. Dingell of Detroit immediately went into action from Washington, wrote the Detroit Board of Commerce to have a survey made of the amount of factory floor space available in this area for airplane manufacture under the proposed government program. **Here is a big chance to re-establish Detroit as the world's center of aviation manufacture,** he said.

Local politicians, seeing in this new welfare rolls here, took steps to keep out of this week the City Council passed a resolution urging that factory employment managers hire only those who can show proof of residence in Detroit. A "Hire Detroit" campaign has been initiated.

A SUDDEN shortage of skilled workers has been discovered. Estimates of this shortage run from 3,000 to 5,000. The local trade schools are quick to take advantage of the situation. Now the newspaper ads of the Wolverine Trade School on West Fort St. read: **A Job For All; Michigan to Get Huge Arms Orders. Learn a Trade That Is in Demand.**

It is war—and war means profits. On May 17, the day following Roosevelt's defense message, the Detroit Stock Exchange registered sudden gains. Warner Aircraft, under a turnover of 3,200 shares, mounted to 1-3/8 and closed at 1 1/4, for a net gain of 35 cents or about a 30 percent advance. Continental Motors turned over 30,000 shares and from a low of 2 1/2 rose to 3 3/4, a gain of 1 1/4 points. Micro-matic Hone jumped 3/4 of a point. On the New York Exchange, Ex-Cell-O, a local

BUT if war means profits—then these profits themselves must be protected. So, simultaneously with plans for war production, plans are drawn up for a campaign of lies, slander, and blasphemy against workers, both in the unions and members of political organizations, who now courageously dare to speak out against these war preparations. As a matter of fact, this campaign has already got under way. Local newspapers, organizations already in existence and more springing up daily, are beginning a propaganda against pacifists and radicals that borders on the edge of hysteria and lynch spirit. Of course, each one tells the other not to become hysterical.

Labor-haters and red-baiters of all types have seized upon the term "fifth-column" to serve their so-called PAY-triotic ends. Originally the term came from the Spanish Civil War. Fascist General Mola or Franco was supposed to have four columns ready to advance on Madrid while a fifth column waited inside the city to stab the Republican defenses in the back. It is funny how the capitalists who always talk against importing foreign ideas into the country, are quick to import this one of the fifth column. But never mind. If you own the press, pulpit, radio, schools and government, you can get away with murder.

THE *Detroit Free Press* can always be relied on to give the most reactionary expression to anything. A cartoon, titled *The Fifth Column Sword of Damocles*, appeared on the editorial page of the May 22 issue. A monkey wrench, labeled *Organized-Communist Sabotage* is hung by a thread over part of a machine showing several large wheels and cogs. The machine is labeled *American Industry*. The implication is clear. Any strike action by a union in a plant producing war material, any written or spoken word against the war preparations will immediately bring the charge *Organized Communist-Nazi Sabotage*.

Look how clever the capitalist press is in spreading propaganda! A number of dynamite caps were reported found in the Dodge Main Plant Sunday. The FBI is investigating. No information has been issued yet. But the *Free Press* of May 27 states that this incident gives rise to speculation as to whether an incipient Fifth Column was at work in Detroit automobile factories. Who is speculating? The

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DETROIT, June 1. — HENRY FORD SAYS HE CAN PRODUCE 1,000 PLANES A DAY WITHIN SIX MONTHS. These sensational headlines greeted the auto workers as they came off the afternoon shifts here last night.

Ford's statement was only further evidence that the European war has spread to this large industrial city. Yes—war. No enemy armies are invading Detroit, no parachutists are dropping from the skies, and no gunboats are attacking the waterfront—but war in spirit, in talk, and in actual preparation to turn the auto-

mobile factories into a huge war plant—is sweeping this city and shaping its entire economic activity.

program the opportunity to reduce the "foreign" workers from Detroit. Monday

The Three Problems Of Harry Bridges

CHICAGO, June 13. — From the day his deportation hearing was adjourned, Harry Bridges has set himself with renewed vigor to the solution of the same two problems with which the success of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, CIO, is bound up: expansion into the nation wide warehouse field, now confined to the West Coast; and crowding the Sailors Union of the Pacific out of the cargo handling jurisdiction it has held for years.

At the North Bend, Oregon, convention of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, held April 1st, a definite decision was made for the movement of the West Coast union into the New York and Atlantic field. Bridges came East February 19th and held a series of conferences with pro-Bridges officials of Local 65 of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees, CIO, who prefer Bridges' jurisdiction over their warehousemen to that of Samuel Wolchok, president of their own union. This strange loyalty on the part of officers of Local 65 is unintelligible unless it is explained that they are predominantly Stalinist and find Bridges more amenable than Wolchok who as a member or friend of the right wing Social Democratic Federation has fought the Stalinists vigorously.

SINCE OCTOBER, 1937 when the URWE got CIO jurisdiction over wholesale warehouse workers, over 200 locals have been organized, claiming a membership of 75,000 of which over 40,000 are working under closed shop contracts, including such New York stores as R. H. Macy's, Bloomingdale's, Gimbel's, Lerman's and United-Whelan Drugs. It is to strip the URWE of the wholesale sections of such institutions that the Bridges campaign is aimed.

What gives Bridges and the Stalinists hope in their strategy is the Trojan Horse they have in the ranks of the URWE in the form of Arthur Osman, head of New York Local 65, and the group around him which controls the Local. Bridges undoubtedly considers Local 65 as the nucleus around which the warehousemen's section of the ILWU will be built on the East Coast. From this base on the East Coast, he could hope to begin to challenge the International Longshoremen's Union, AFL headed by Joe Ryan, from which the ILWU on the West Coast split in the '34 strike. In this strategy, he certainly has the support of the CIO top bureaucracy.

The fly in the ointment of Bridge's scheme, however, is the bitter opposition of Wolchok, who carries weight in the councils of the CIO, and who is said to be supported by Hillman. This is further complicated by the general schism which has opened between John L. Lewis and the Stalinists nationally.

The whole jurisdictional controversy is now up before the CIO Committee on Jurisdiction. From all indications the case will be decided against Bridges. Whether Bridges will accept such a decision as binding remains to be seen.

MEANWHILE the old feud between Harry Bridges and Harry Lundeberg, militant secretary of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, now in the AFL, continues over handling cargo on the steam schooners. For 50 years now this work has been done by the sailors on the West Coast. But since the '34 strike the longshoremen have claimed it.

This conflict reached a crisis in '37 in what is known as the Shepard Line Beef, when the SUP called a strike on the *Sea Thrush* of that line, and the ILWU refused to respect their picket line and proceeded to unload the ship. A bloody battle ensued and the matter was not settled until the ship returned to New York where the ILA came to the support of the SUP crew and refused to unload the hot cargo.

This incident was primarily responsible for turning the membership of the SUP in favor of affiliation to the AFL. This affiliation, together with the organization of the Seafarers International Union of North America by the SUP as an offensive against the Stalinist controlled National Maritime Union, CIO, has secured the close cooperation of the AFL teamsters and longshoremen's unions.

Bridges is confronted with a far different set-up on the West Coast than he was in 1937. It is true he has on his side 13,000 longshoremen, 7,500 members of the Cooks and Stewards Union, CIO, and about 600 radio operators, plus a strong influence in the West Coast firemen's union and marine engineers' union, CIO. It is true that there are not more than 7,500 members in the SUP.

BUT LUNDEBERG has much more on his side than this apparently unfavorable balance of members.

He has the support of the AFL longshoremen on the East Coast and the Gulf of Mexico and the AFL Teamsters Union on the West Coast. The sailors together with these powerful organizations could effectively stop Bridges in any job action by the application of the "pincers." In other words, he would be caught between the militant SUP who bring the cargo into port and unload it, and the powerful teamsters who haul it inland, both of whom have an old hatred for him.

Bridges is compelled to work fast. The oncoming of the inevitable split of the Stalinists with Lewis is putting pressure on the former to muster every force possible for the showdown. Lewis is already chopping down leading Stalinist figures in the CIO. He has even demoted Bridges himself from West Coast to California Representative of the CIO.

AND NOW Bridges faces a third problem. Over his head hangs the renewed threat of denotation in the form of a bill pending in Congress. Ironically, the Stalinist propaganda of recent date for 20th century Americanism may find its first important victim in Harry Bridges, who may be deported or eliminated as a union leader by special act of Congress for being a fifth columnist alien. If so it will solve his other problems.

Zanzibar.

DETROIT, June 7.—The convention of the Michigan Industrial Union Council of the CIO was held in Bay City, Michigan, from the 23rd to the 25th of May. Unfortunately two thirds of that time was spent in listening to the speeches of the ruling bureaucracy. It cannot be truthfully said however that the convention accomplished absolutely nothing.

A few minor changes of a purely technical nature were made in the constitution; and a resolution defending the present 40 hour per week against any increase due to the armaments drive, was passed. Other resolutions endorsing the retention of extensions of such New Deal measures as the Walsh-Healy Act, Wagner Act, and the Unemployment Compensation law, as well as larger appropriations for welfare, and mothers' and old age pensions, were also adopted.

IT MUST be understood however that this is the ordinary thing at all UAW-CIO meetings. On the basis of their past record, the state CIO leadership can be expected to maintain a lobbyist in Lansing, but cannot be expected to organize a real rank and file movement behind the program. This is simply the accepted pro-New Deal practice of the bureaucrats.

The only instance in which the body threw itself in head-on collision with the Roosevelt administration, was in relation to the government's anti-alien drive. Here the resolution was strongly worded and the supporting speeches were of like caliber. The convention went on record unanimously in defense of aliens against the moves of the administration to bar them from the armaments factories, and emphatically declared that it considered this an opening wedge in the coming drive against the unions. Some of the delegates made speeches calling smiling Franklin a "warmonger."

The convention was attended by 366 delegates representing 60 UAW locals, 55 other CIO locals, and 6 county councils, with a reputed membership of 400,000. The convention was effectively dominated throughout by the reformist leadership. The committee on resolutions hand-picked by the state Executive Board consisted exclusively of conservatives elements. Their reporting out of the resolution on the

anti-alien drive, can be laid to a lack of understanding of its implications. However the good men on the committee were quick to re-assert their sterling patriotism. First they reported out a resolution recommending that only Michigan mined coal be used in state institutions and homes of union members. Surely this is love of country with a vengeance.

THE BEHAVIOR of these gentlemen in relation to the anti-war resolution however is quite noteworthy. There were three resolutions pertaining to war brought out at the same time. Two of these were rankly pacifist. The third was good in the "whereas" section but recommended "properly informing and educating the workers of this great industrial state of ours, of the dangers of war on foreign soil, and the true facts involved."

Of the debate that followed the *Detroit News* of May 25 said:

After delegates protested that the war resolution proposed by the resolutions committee was "not strong enough" they voted to refer it back to the committee. Emil Mazev Bri Local 212, UAW-CIO, James W. of Dodge No. 3, UAW-CIO, and James Lindahl recording secretary of Packard, 190, UAW-CIO urged a more vigorous resolution. It was Lindahl who urged a "rebuke" for the Roosevelt administration. He said president Roosevelt in his speech listing bombing plane distances to American cities "scared the country into hysteria. There is no doubt that the present administration has moved to involve us in war" he continued, "and unless we protest vigorously, we shall be legislated into war without having anything to say about it." Walden declared the committee's original resolution "is just a pacifist resolution advocating an educational campaign that failed to keep America out of the last European war."

It is significant that the top-rank bureaucrats, for all their excellent words against war in the course of their scheduled speeches were careful not to be on hand when debate on the actual resolutions took place.

BUT THE tried and true patriots on the resolutions committee had plans of their own. With the probable connivance of the top bureaucrats they arranged to impose upon the convention, despite the very high anti-war temper of the delegates, the following miserable caricature:

WHEREAS—the clash of economic interests of the parties involved have dragged their people into a senseless struggle, and
WHEREAS—the American people, especially workers, have learned to their sorrow that when we do leave our soil to fight on foreign lands, we accomplish nothing to either better our own country or this warring world, and
WHEREAS—the present European war to either destroy present empires or to create new empires, as exemplified by both England and Germany, and
WHEREAS—War has a two-fold effect, to kill our youth, and to destroy our unions, and
WHEREAS—the interests of American workers can best be served by supporting the position of John L. Lewis of May 24: "The CIO stands for the bulwark upon which the American workers can depend for guidance thru their troublesome times. The CIO

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Labor Leaders

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have taken place can be surmised from the further measures of the government.

On June 2 a wireless to the NY Times said . . . there will be compulsory measures to halt the drift from farm to factory to provide labor for the extra 2,000,000 acres of pasture plowed up last winter. . . .

As a first step against this drain the minimum farm wage will be increased. . . . The increase in wages will be offset to some extent by a provision to permit a rise in the rent of workers cottages. . . .

AND SINCE workers must eat and are therefore consumers what it amounts to is a prohibition against leaving the land and a small increase in wages for farm workers which will result in a decrease in the real wages (measured by purchasing power as a result of increased prices) of the entire working class.

On June 5 Ernest Bevin decreed the outlawing of strikes and made arbitration of disputes compulsory. He said it was necessary to bring order out of chaos, the old system of monopoly had broken down. In Germany they discovered that in 1933.

The next steps will follow. Finally when the workers are tied hand and foot there will be a sweeping attack on their standard of living and the unions will be abolished or reorganized along lines similar to Ley's Labor Front in Germany.

Then the ruling class will no longer need the labor ministers and they will go. This may take place on orders by Hitler if he conquers England or one of the innumerable Lords or Sirs in the British ruling class. Possibly the Army will decide to bring order out of chaos.

Unless the British workers decide that it is time to throw out monarchy, royalty, aristocracy, capitalism and their rotten leaders, and establish a workers government. But of that, unfortunately, there is yet no sign.

BUT WHAT should Atlee and Greenwood have done? Isn't Hitler threatening not only the British Empire but the British trade unions and the democratic liberties of the British workers as well?

If Hitler wins he will crush the British workers. But the program of Atlee and his masters is to crush them in the interest of defending British imperialism against the threat of German imperialism.

From the victory of neither side have the British workers anything to win. If that was not clear before it is becoming clearer every day as a result of the actions of the British government and its labor ministers.

It is not at all a question of what Atlee should have done. Atlee couldn't do anything else. Because Atlee is a social democrat, that is to say, a lickspittle of the imperialist rulers of England, as the German social democrats put their faith in Hitler, as the American social democrats and socialists would like to be the servants of the American imperialists, as Hillman and Lewis and Green are the agents of the capitalists in labor's own ranks.

Atlee couldn't do anything else because, being a social democrat, it was his task to pave the way for fascism by subordinating the workers to the government of the ruling class.

BUT SUPPOSE that a miracle had taken place, that the truth had truly touched him and he was made into a clarion of protest against the whole senseless agony, a trumpet to summon workers to put an end to it, this is what he might have said to the British ruling class:

In the name of the German, French and British workers, in the name of the workers and peasants of the whole world, I declare

On both sides this is a war for imperialist booty, for the right to oppress small nations and colonial peoples.

The workers will not get freedom from wage slavery, unemployment and starvation, the peasant will not cease to be a human worm and a colonial slave from the victory of either side.

Only the generals, the capitalists, the financiers can profit from the war.

The war is the result of the imperialist peace which followed the last imperialist world slaughter, of the capitalist system of exploitation. Until that system is overthrown there can be no peace, no freedom.

In the war to put an end to capitalism the workers and peasants will fight to the last drop of blood, willingly, gladly, with heroism such as the world has never seen. In that war I will be the first to take a weapon and the last to lay it down.

But this not such a war. This war cannot become such a war as long as you, the British ruling class continue to rule.

In the name of the British workers I demand That you propose immediate peace to the French and German governments on the following principles:

The British and French governments shall declare the right of every part of their Empires to determine for itself the economic, political and social organization under which it chooses to live;

That the German government shall do the same with respect to all countries and territories annexed or occupied by it beginning with the Saar in 1935;

That these principles shall be implemented by the immediate and simultaneous withdrawal from the territory of the British and French empires, and from the territories occupied by Germany, of all armed forces including naval forces;

That in England, France and Germany there shall be unrestricted freedom for the workers to organize and to engage in political activity — publish newspapers, hold demonstrations and organize political parties;

That pending discussion of these terms there shall be an armistice on all fronts and on the seas, and trade shall be resumed unhampered by naval forces and blockade restrictions; mine fields shall be swept;

Joint arrangements shall be made to feed, clothe and house and provide medical and hospital care for the home-

less and the refugees, the costs to be arranged by agreement and not on principles of indemnification.

That is what Atlee might have said had he truly been a spokesman for peace and freedom and the cause of the working class,

And if the British ruling class had replied that Hitler could not accept these terms and that therefore neither could they, then Atlee should have said a second thing:

This is nonetheless our program and we will take all the necessary steps to apply it both in the colonies and in England; we will ask the oppressed people of India and Africa to join us in the effort,

We will organize independently to apply it and we will do whatever has to be done to hinder and make impossible the execution of the program of the ruling class, even if this means further military defeats, because to apply our program we intend take power into our hands;

And with power in our hands we will socialize industry and banking; we will increase the productivity of the nation; we will give freedom to the oppressed peoples in the Empire; we will abolish the Empire; we will abolish the monarchy and the aristocracy; we will abolish capitalism; we will proclaim the principle: He who does not work, neither shall he eat; we will create a workers state;

And we will appeal to the German workers to turn the army of Hitler into a Frankenstein to consume the sadistic mad-men who loosed it on the world;

The experience of the Russian revolution has taught us that revolution on one side is the surest way to dissolve the other side. German workers like ourselves, do not want to fight. When they see the example that we have set them, when they see that there is a road to peace, they will join us. Together with the French workers who will join us and the workers of other countries, we will create an international front against the capitalists of all countries.

This is what Atlee might have said. But he cannot for he is an imperialist lackey. It remains for revolutionists to proclaim this program and to apply it.

MR. PRESIDENT

Continued from Page One

IN THAT CASE why has Governor Lehman ordered the militia to maintain a twenty-four hour guard over the armories in New York State? Why has the Governor of New Jersey done the same? Why has the FBI stated that it is searching for fifth columnists in Indian reservations? Why are lynch mobs beating up religious zealots who refuse to salute the flag? Why the hysteria? Why the panic?

On the other hand if the danger is so immediate as to make these things advisable from your standpoint why is the fleet in the mid-Pacific? Is Germany going to attack by a surprise move in the Pacific?

If the fleet is in the Pacific, as everyone knows, to stop Japan from grabbing the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, and possibly the Malay States and French Indo-China, how can it be withdrawn to stop an invasion by Germany across the Atlantic?

Do you want the American workers to fight in the Far East against Japan? Or do you want them to fight against invasions and fifth columns organized by Germany in South America?

Or do you want to send them to Europe to stop Germany before Germany defeats the Allies and comes over here? Or to Lybia, Italy, Turkey, Egypt?

The American workers are entitled to know?

Our Lives Are at Stake

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for a struggle against the war.

IS IT NOT urgent, therefore, that the revolutionaries immediately combine to concentrate their concerted energies, their faculties and their influence to awaken the working class to the danger it confronts? Is that not the essential task? Is that not the first and foremost task? Should not the difference between us on the Russian question be considered in this light? Serious revolutionaries can only answer affirmatively.

The main enemy of the American working class is the American bourgeoisie. Unity will enable us to intensify and broaden our struggle against this enemy. Make that just more effective our exposure of the labor fakers, our influence among the unemployed, our struggle for negro equality, and, in the event of war, should enable us to play a positive role in the revolutionary struggle to transform the imperialist war into proletarian revolution.

The unity of our two groups, can yield immediate benefits. Instead of two bi-monthly papers of a few thousand each we would be in a position to issue a weekly paper in many more thousands of copies.

That is important comrades. The paper is the life blood of a revolutionary organization. And unity will extend our arteries, our veins, our circulation to regions, to workers which today, separated, we are unable to contact. Why should we permit our precious blood, the blood of revolutionary understanding to circulate in such restricted quarters when we have the power, if we but will it, to pump it amongst strata of the exploited and downtrodden who seek eagerly for such a transfusion?

THAT IS an organizational question? True. But, comrades, political thought lies fallow, dormant, latent if it does not find the organizational vehicle for expressing itself. It is true that numbers are worthless without a correct program. But when that program exists the decisive task is to rally as many as possible under its banner. For without numbers we are helpless.

It would be a crime to permit the working class to enter the most crucial stage of its development, the maturing revolutionary crisis which will come with the war, without doing all that is humanly possible to construct the revolutionary vanguard.

The Negotiating Committee of the Fighting Worker

National Defense

Continued from Page One

and for continuing the strike.

Five union officials, Mr. Haywood, William J. Carney, regional director of the CIO and Leonard H. Goldsmith, executive secretary of the Industrial Union Council of New Jersey issued a statement in which they quoted Green as saying the workers had voted to call off the strike in order to avoid charges of obstructing the national defense program.

A committee of six of which Green was to be the head was to have gone to Washington on June 3 to explain their position to the Navy and Labor Departments of the government, the Maritime Commission and the Advisory Commission.

FBI men were active in Kearney during the strike. Details were not given in the press.

P. W. Chappell of the Labor Department Conciliation Service conferred with company and union officials.

IN CONGRESS Representative Barden of North Carolina said this was no time for the CIO or any union to grab off ten cents an hour wage increase. The Honorable gentlemen from North Carolina gets a salary of \$10,000 a year plus free railroad fares.

Representative Cox of Georgia said that a strike against the government at a time like this was treason.

Secretary of the Navy, Edison, who is retiring to run for the Governorship of New Jersey said we cannot afford to have trouble of this sort in these times.

Representative Hoffman of Michigan, darling of the Michigan Manufacturers Association offered a bill requiring workers in plants producing "anything" for defense purposes to sign contracts with their employers that they would remain at work and not strike. The penalty for violation would be a \$1,000 fine and six months in jail.

The lessons of this strike are clear:

The demands of the workers were modest and justified by their situation;

The national defense program of the government was used as a club to intimidate them into calling off their strike;

Employers, government agents and union leaders opposed the strike;

The union leaders acted as agents of the employers and government against the best interest of the workers whom they are supposed to represent;

This relationship is best represented by the collaboration of Stettinius and Hillman in the Advisory Commission of the National Defense Council;

These union leaders are the employers' "fifth column" in labor's ranks.

THE CONCLUSIONS which REVOLT draws are:

That the situation which developed in the Kearney strike will be repeated all over the country as the terrific cost of the armament program raises the cost of living and workers make efforts to raise wages to keep up with it and to combat the speed-up which is sure to be imposed on them.

The task of the labor leaders, at least of the top bureaucrats and pie-cards will be to prevent strikes or bring them to a quick end if they do take place. That is why Hillman has been given the task of regulating employment. It is an old trick, to bribe the leaders into doing the dirty work by giving them official titles and posts. In England it took Labor Party leader, Atlee, to introduce the dictatorial powers which the Churchill government now exercises; and Transport Workers Union Secretary Ernest Bevin to outlaw strikes and forbid workers to change their jobs.

Struggles to improve the workers' standard of living will have to buck the employers, the government and the union leadership to an increasing degree from now on;

The key to the situation will be the union leadership; if the workers are determined they can either compel these leaders to act in the workers' interests or throw them out of office.

IN THE END, the workers will find, however, that they will not succeed in solving this problem until they develop a new type of leadership from their own ranks-workers who know the workers' problem from first hand experience and who will not allow themselves to be intimidated by big shots like Hillman, Green and Lewis; men who will see through the sly tricks of the government in bribing a few officials to get them to cut the workers' throats; men who will not be intimidated even by government pressure for national defense speed-up and sacrifice which mean a lower standard of living while the corporations are getting the gravy in rich contracts.

What the workers need, in one word, is a leadership that will go to bat for their common interests no matter what the situation and who the opposition is whether it's a two by four manufacturer or the government of the United States itself.

group maintains that it will not beyond the Russian question until there is complete agreement on the Russian question. It should be clear now that there is principled agreement on the Russian question as such. That the difference involves only a section which does not vitiate our general agreement on the basic problems of the Soviet Union.

IT IS TRUE that incorrect positions taken on important international questions such as Finland and Poland have the possibility of finding their way into important questions directly confronting the American working class. But comrades, the fact remains, nonetheless, that today, we have agreement on the vital issue confronting the American workers. That is the reality. And we must not permit possibilities to take the place of this reality. It would be criminal to let what may come tomorrow become more important than that which exists today.

Unity must be achieved.

Too much is at stake to permit any other course.

The danger to millions of our class brothers and sisters demands it.

Our own lives are at stake.

Unity Negotiations Reach Dead End

THE FIFTH and what is most likely the final session of the negotiations between the League and the Fighting Worker group took place June 1.

Negotiations came to a dead end when the representatives of the Fighting Workers group refused to proceed until the League agreed with its position on the Russian question.

Asked by the League representatives whether their attitude meant that they were terminating the negotiations, they proposed that Negotiation sessions stand in adjournment until such a time as the RWL (REVOLT) comes in with new material on the Russian question.

The League representatives correctly rejected this proposal, declared that the difference on the Russian question which had been discussed for five months was important but not decisive either for unity or division, and proposed to proceed to the next point on the agenda, to continue the negotiations.

The Fighting Worker negotiators refused.

THE LEAGUE representatives argued that principal agreement on the Russia question—the class nature of Soviet society and of the Stalinist bureaucracy; and also such important strategic problems as a political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy—went back at least to 1937 when both groups, then one, had adopted a position on these problems drawn up by comrades, now members of the League;

That disagreement was limited to problems of strategy connected with such developments as the Stalinist invasions of Poland and

Finland and had begun with these events;

That the discussion of the points in agreement and the differences had covered five months, had taken up in whole or part, four of the five sessions of the negotiations, had been conducted in the press of both groups, and had been embodied in statements in the record of the negotiations which had been distributed to the members of both groups;

That after five months of discussion the original agreement was intact and that the disagreement was exactly what it had been at the beginning of the discussion;

THAT WHETHER for good or evil neither group was able to apply its position in action either in Russia, Poland or Finland and that therefore the issue was a theoretical one unrelated to action;

That during the period of this discussion the Russian-Finnish war had been concluded; Hitler had invaded and conquered Norway, Holland, Belgium and northeastern France without either group being able to influence these events in the slightest degree;

And that during this time the United States had been pushed closer to entry into the war; that the government had initiated a gigantic armament plan and was preparing to strike heavy blows at the recent gains and at the standard of living of the working class and to suppress all organized opposition to its war program with especial emphasis on the suppression of the revolutionary movement;

And that it was the duty of the revolutionists to take action now without delay to meet this menace and to prepare to seize whatever opportunities for revolutionary action and propaganda may develop.

THE JUNE 1 issue of the Fighting Worker appears to be keenly alive to the seriousness of the situation as the following snatches from it show:

Hitler's Gains.... Bring U. S. closer to War; Now, American Imperialism Too, Is Moving With Might And Main For Entry Into The Imperialist Bloodbath; The election campaign this year gets under way in the midst of deep and increasing special reaction; The "M-Day" plans lie ready in the War Department;.... They will establish a MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME! This means that the American workers and toiling masses must fight AGAINST "THEIR OWN" BOSSES.... the RWL calls upon all workers and oppressed to resist with all their might the war plans of American imperialism.

Thus both sides appear to recognize the great danger facing us in this country. Yet the Fighting Worker representatives refused even to discuss the vital issue which makes immediate action a life and death matter for the revolutionary movement, unless the League agrees with them on the Russian question, which for both groups, at least at present, involves not the slightest possibility of action.

IN VIEW of this attitude it is difficult to find any means of keeping the negotiations going. Having failed to persuade the League to abandon its position, and having rejected the League's efforts to convince it to abandon its point of view, the Fighting Worker group now virtually presents the League with an ultimatum to accept its position as the condition for continuing the negotiations.

If this were the price we had to pay for getting down to brass tacks and working out a program to apply in the present desperate situation the Central Committee might seriously consider subordinating its position on the disputed points and clearing a secondary obstacle out of the way. But there is no indication in the attitude of the Fighting Worker group that it would consent to such a procedure. It has rejected the numerous proposals of the League to proceed in this way and has indicated that it intends to proceed in exactly the same way with other questions on the agenda.

The Central Committee cannot therefore accept the ultimatum of the Fighting Worker group; and is forced reluctantly to draw the conclusion that the negotiations have come to a dead end.

IF IT IS possible to find a way out the Central Committee will not hesitate to try it because the situation is becoming desperate and time is rushing away.

This virtually brings to an end the unity campaign which the Central Committee began a little over a year ago when it negotiated with the Committee for Revolutionary Labor Action. An analysis of the entire campaign including the negotiations with the Fighting Worker group will be published in the following issue.

Press writers recognized this simple truth, so we can believe that Roosevelt understands it too. For this reason we are justified in seeing in this anti-alien campaign just another step taken to create that patriotic fervor necessary to drum up a war spirit.

In a certain sense this Fifth Column propaganda will frighten away many anti-war elements who will not be able to withstand being called and hunted down as Communist-Nazi saboteurs. On the other hand, militants in the unions who sincerely wish to oppose the war will be driven to unite with us, the working class revolutionaries, in a struggle against capitalism, the cause of wars. In this sense, the Gadolas, Trezises, Roosevelts, and Free Presses do us a service.

So, in retort to the slanderous fifth column propaganda being charged against workers who have the courage and foresight to oppose these war preparations as the preliminary to the United States entering the war, let us reply:

WORKERS, UNITE TO FIGHT AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR! E.B.

of young Americans to die ingloriously on foreign battlefields.

These are very high-sounding phrases, but unless Mr. Scholle turns out to be a most unusual sort of pie-card artist, this is just so much playing to the gallery.

BUT THE speech of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, spokesman was really a honey. Fr. Neil O'Conner, state chaplain of the Association, made a fool of himself by giving an out-and-out class collaborationist speech, something which even Thomas and his crowd have always been too smart to do. The good father preached the brotherhood of capital and labor.

But the highlight of his speech came when he declared that the Catholic Church had been a STAUNCH advocate of unionism for fifty years! Many of the Catholic delegates said this was surprising news to them. Even this outspoken champion of class collaboration, as with some of the more discreet of the breed, can't avoid being a liar, and it can be said to the credit of the delegates that his speech was very poorly received.

In The Richest Country In The World

ORDINARY Hollywood adjectives furnish a mild description of what's going to take place June 14 when Marshall Field presents his second daughter Bettine, to society....

Fabulous preparations are already under way and a string of carpenters are due any day to start tacking together the huge outdoor pavilion where the debutante and well over a thousand of her friends will dance beneath the stars.

They'll dance, it is promised, to the music of "two of New York's leading name bands." Ruby Newman and Emil Coleman played for Barbara Field's 1936 party and the Coleman orchestra got \$10,000 for the date. For just wandering between dances 2,000 acres of estate were available, all illuminated with little clusters of lights.—Chicago News, June 4.

Unemployment is still America's number one problem and the 11,000,000 unemployed remain our greatest social waste... our country's leaders have not demonstrated either much courage or much humanity... their immediate solution was to destroy vast quantities of goods because millions of people could no longer afford to buy them. Then we had the tragic paradox of poverty amid superabundance; of starvation on the one hand, and on the other the burning of wheat, the pouring of milk down sewers, and fruit rotting on the trees....—Friday, June 14.

Sol. H. Goldberg, 60, multimillionaire president of the Hump Hairpin Company, died of a heart attack today....

His real estate holdings in Chicago are estimated to be in excess of \$15,000,000.... Chicago Her-American, June 5.

Can you tell us? Neg. hospital of rat bite fever, according to Asst. Warden Dr. Ole Nelson. The baby was taken to the hospital May 15 after a rat had bitten her left hand while she lay in bed... This is one of the many rat bite cases uncovered in a recent survey by the TIMES.

G. C. Oderkirk, rat control expert for Illinois from the department of the interior, estimates that there are 5,000,000 rodents in the city—more than people....—Chicago Times, June 4.

SHOP TALK

NEW YORK.—In my shop we make many different products. Most of them I could use but I can't afford to buy them. We make some darn good cigarette cases, but I never saw a single worker with one. When we're asked by our friends why haven't we got any, we reply: We only make them. The same with lamps, pretty modernistic chandeliers and other things.

We're putting out a beauty of an orange juicer and one worker was telling us his wife wants one. But he won't touch the darn thing: While I get \$18.00 a week making them it hurts my pride to have one in the house, he said.

You know, when you get down to brass tacks, I told the fellows, That's the story with all the workers in this shop. We can't buy back anything we produce. We're just messenger boys for the landlord and grocer. We deliver to them our money on payday, and there's nothing left over.

I could use the orange juicer if I had an orange once in a while, but I'd rather have the orange, said another worker.

Somebody pays a buck for this juicer, why can't we? I continued. Why can't we make and share what we produce?

You know why? I was asked. I do. That's why I'm a revolutionist. D.W.

Paytriotic Hysteria Grips Detroit

Continued from Page Two Free Press, of course. But it cleverly makes it appear as if "the general feeling" in Detroit is that this was the work of a fifth column.

THE CAPITALIST courts ape the propaganda-creating methods of the press. Monday of this week in Flint, Circuit Judge Paul V. Gadola, notorious for his anti-union stand, fined four union members for "sabotage" growing out of the Consumers Powers Co. strike last fall. Without presenting any proof, Gadola charged that unions will in the future become "goats and catspaws" of fifth column elements. In other words, using his presumably impartial position as a justice, Gadola spreads the idea that any strike will at once be connected with a fifth column.

Fifth columns - strikes - hatred against Communists - patriotism - uninterrupted war production - Americanism - profits. So runs the formula for creating hysteria and it has already produced results, some ridiculous, some tragic, and

some quite serious. No doubt inspired by the fifth column neurosis, a screwball calling himself CANADIAN VETERAN wrote to the Detroit News Letter Box on May 17, suggesting that all American and Canadian veterans organize against the CIO "as one line of attack" against the fifth column. Why against the CIO? Because in a certain parade a CIO union band wore red uniforms.

More seriously. A Mr. Frank L. Trezise, rifle and pistol editor of the Northern Sportsmen, undertook a few weeks ago to organize civilian defense "against parachutists." But he gave the show away when he suggested his Minute Men would also act against fifth column elements. A meeting to which members of gun clubs were invited, was called off on the "request" of certain government officials. Trezise said he would wait advice from the proper government sources before calling a public meeting. So we can expect to hear further from the Minute Men, especially if an "out-

law" strike takes place in some auto plant working on defense materials.

The government, along with the press and courts, is doing its share to create war fervor. The recent order issued by the self-styled "pacifist," President Roosevelt, banning aliens from working in plants producing war materials, has brought a rush to the naturalization offices here. It was announced that the Bohn Aluminum and Brass Corporation, had fired at least 50 aliens in the past year. Unemployed workers seeking work at the Michigan Employment Service are told to carry their citizen papers or birth record around with them. The Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission last Thursday adopted a resolution ordering its 1,752 employes throughout the state to prove citizenship as a requirement to continue in their jobs.

WHY THIS sudden forced naturalization? Citizenship papers will not eliminate saboteurs and spies. Even the reactionary Free

Michigan CIO Adopts Pacifist Position

Continued from Page Two stands for peace and eternal security of the nation and strongly against involvement in European wars."

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED — that the Michigan State Industrial Union Convention take an unequivocal stand that we positively are opposed to our members becoming involved in any war on foreign soil which is being fought for the purpose of either protecting or destroying one or another of Europe's empires, and BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED—that we in the US concentrate all our efforts in fighting the only war that is of importance to us and the only one which can prevent us from facing other wars in the future, the war against unem-

ployment, poverty and destitution within our own borders.

These belly-crawling pals of the capitalist class put this over. But they possessed neither the courage nor the honesty to face the convention with it. They introduced this "resolution" at 2 P.M. sharp on the last day of the convention, at the very first moment of reconvening, with thirty or forty of the delegates present, and the rest involved in noon-hour caucuses. The war-mongering rulers of America will surely appreciate this neat little blitzkrieg.

There were a number of significant speeches made during the convention. Union President R. J. Thomas and Secretary Ades of the UAW International spoke militantly against war and concentrated their fire on Ford, saying that he was America's most outstanding fifth columnist. Thomas came out in opposition to any lengthening of the work week, till all the unemployed had

been re-absorbed in industry. Scholle, regional director of the CIO, made a good speech against war.

"With few exceptions," he declared, the wars in history of mankind have been waged by one group of exploiters, against another group of exploiters; by imperialists against imperialists; and always with one objective—profit and political power and the right to exploit still more workers. We have in the United States he continued our own imperialists who would be glad to tell us how glorious it would be to die for our country. We realize that in a selfish desire to have greater profits, these same economic royalists who have investments abroad are very willing, in order to save their foreign investments, to send millions