

# REVOLT

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LABOR DONATED

# THREE PROGRAMS

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## FORD'S, ROOSEVELT'S, LABOR'S.

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"An absurdity too ridiculous to discuss", said Ford about Roosevelt's suggestion to establish an annual wage in the auto industry. Unable any longer to hide the seriousness of the crisis with optimistic statements about the early return of prosperity, Ford admitted in a speech made in New York City that "we are all on the spot". Asked by reporters what his views were on various questions he reaffirmed his opposition to unionism and offered a reactionary solution for unemployment. According to the report it lies in turning the workers back to the land.

Here we have from the lips of one of the leading industrialists of the strongest capitalist country in the world that capitalism is bankrupt. Ford's program is to turn the wheels of history backward, to make farmers out of unemployed workers.

It is impossible. The program of American capitalism is to subsidize the destruction of agriculture, in order to bolster its foreign trade, to promote the export of the product of industry, to promote the investment of capital abroad. In 1937, the United States imports from Latin American countries of products which compete with the products of American agriculture increased tremendously; from Bolivia, 140%; from Paraguay, 103%; the Argentine, 112%; Peru, 83%. Exports increased but not in the same proportion: 65%, 41%, 129%, and 41%, respectively (Pan American Union Bulletin, April, 1938, pp. 240-242).

### TO "DEPORT" FLINT WORKERS

Politically and socially, Ford is as bankrupt as the system of which he is a representative. He is not the only one. The Welfare Administrator of Flint, General Motors-dominated automobile city in Michigan, Lewis J. Ludington, announced a plan to deport 12,000 families, "the newcomers by force, the others by persuasion". According to the United Press, "The situation in Flint was caused by a slackening in automobile production, which is its livelihood. The population is 165,000, one-fourth of whom came here since 1934, many from the mid-western dust bowl." The working class owes a great debt of gratitude to Ludington for making clear the inhuman character of the capitalist profit system. Like Ford, Ludington wants to drive these workers back to the land, "to their former native states."

Ludington really speaks for General Motors, which reports a decline in profits for the first three months of this year of 36 million dollars, compared with the first three months of last year. Another spokesman for General Motors, its President, William S. Knudsen, told

the annual meeting of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington that the "Federal Government would eventually have to take a stand against industrial unionism...".

The Fords, Knudsens, Girdlers, want to unload the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the workers, and smash their unions. Roosevelt hopes to "solve" the problem by his methods. He knows just as well as they do how serious this crisis is. He also knows that labor is in no mood to pay the price for capitalist bankruptcy. Strikes are taking place in many industries. Successful strikes! The Hudson tube strikers in New York and New Jersey won a closed shop. The Federal Screw strikers in Detroit stopped a wage cut. In Bay City, Michigan, workers in a General Motors plant demanded the discharge of a plant manager. Elmer Dowell, Director of all U.A.W.A. locals in General Motors plants declared the strike unauthorized and ordered the men back to work. "There are 300 union men in the plant and we'll hold it until we get a settlement", said Reuben Peters, President of the Bay City local.

Roosevelt knows that if Ford and Knudsen are permitted to carry out their program, they will drive the workers into open revolt against the system. Roosevelt wants to save capitalism by throwing the working class a bone; by giving it starvation relief; and by permitting the workers to organize into unions with safe leaders-like Elmer Dowell, who is only a smaller edition of John L. Lewis. But the cost of the Roosevelt program is more than some of the capitalists want to pay. Hence, the fight between them and the Roosevelt administration.

#### ROOSEVELT DEMAGOGY

To line the workers up for his program, Roosevelt makes a demagogic show of fighting monopoly in the interest of the "man in the street", the "forgotten man", and humanity, generally. Roosevelt knows that it is either that or social convulsions out of which will come a Soviet America or a Fascist Hell.

Labor has nothing to gain from Roosevelt's program and much to lose. Labor needs a program in its interest. Labor's answer to the present crisis, should be a fight to:

TURN THE PRESENT DEFENSIVE STRUGGLE INTO AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE CAPITALISTS FOR:

THE CLOSED SHOP  
 THE SIX-HOUR DAY, FIVE-DAY WEEK WITH INCREASED PAY  
 TO MEET THE RISING COST OF LIVING  
 ADEQUATE RELIEF AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AT THE  
 EXPENSE OF THE EMPLOYERS, TO BE ADMINISTERED  
 BY WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS.

Labor can win this program. What it needs, above everything else, is a leadership composed of men and women who stand for labor's interest and prove it by their actions. When labor solves this problem, by creating a revolutionary party, it will be well on the road to the solution of all its problems.

# LANSING C. I. O. CONVENTION

## A DELEGATE'S REPORT

DETROIT, April 23, 1938. - The Michigan State Industrial Union Council was born April 23rd and 24th, 1938 in Lansing Michigan, mothered by the first Michigan State Committee for Industrial Organization Convention.

Eight hundred and one delegates from 19 national and international unions, 2 organizing committees, 4 C.I.O. industrial councils and 11 C.I.O. local unions, the membership of which numbers 250,000, reflected in their voting, debating and other work of the convention the forces at work in the unions. Fresh from struck plants where vast numbers of workmen confront dangers of wage cuts, loss of seniority rights, undermining of their unions; fresh from Locals that have been put under the control of appointed directors and where the issue of democracy in the union is sharply controversial; fresh from lumbering camps where organizational drives were nipped in the bud, their organizers thrown into jail at the time; fresh from reactionary Vandenberg's home town, the center of the Michigan furniture industry, still unorganized for the most part; - these 801 delegates breathed the restlessness of labor in a deepening depression.

What was the problem before the convention? There is a lot of just union work to do in the State of Michigan. The furniture industry has hardly been touched by organization. The paper workers are almost entirely unorganized as yet and this is an important industry here. The timber workers organizational drive of last year was cut off before it was really started well. In fact, organization of the unorganized workers in Michigan is still a big and pressing task. Even more important right now is the necessity to defend the organizational gains and the improved conditions that have already been won by strike action, to stop the wage cutting campaign, the violations of agreements and the mass lay-offs. One of the most important problems in this connection is to unite the ranks of labor irrespective of the division into A.F. of L. and C.I.O. city and state bodies.

### TOP LEADERSHIP BANKRUPT

What did the people in the leadership of this convention propose to the workers represented there, to do to unite in defense against the attacks of the employers and the preparations of the government for the coming war? When Lovestone spoke in Detroit last fall, he said that the workers can't win strikes during depressions. Organizers appointed by Homer Martin go around saying: "We've got to take it on the cheek; then take it on the other cheek; and take it on the jaw; and keep on taking it until we get back our economic strength." The Federal Screw strikes won a battle to stop a wage cut by putting up a fight. Unless this policy is extended throughout the industry, the advantage they won will be lost. But Homer Martin announced on the

eve of the convention that no strikes had been authorized. On the convention floor he clenched his fist and said that the aggressive policy of the U.A.W. would be continued. Michael J. Quill, President of the Transport Workers Union International, and a member of the City Council of New York under LaGuardia, pleaded with the delegates to "keep the boos and hisses and cat-calls for the Mellons, the Morgans, the Rockefellers, and the Fords and their stool-pigeons"; and said the "workers would shed their blood under the banner of the stars and stripes." Quill is a Stalinist.

Under the leadership of people like this the convention emphasized the building of the Non-Partisan League. Germer, chairman of the convention and president of the new body set up by the convention, who made the key note speech pointed out the necessity of fighting against a move that was afoot for compulsory incorporation of the unions; for legislation to prohibit picketing; for a change in the system of selecting judges from elections to appointments. He blasted Vandenberg and Toy as representing the employers behind these reactionary moves. But he eulogized Frank Murphy unconditionally. Germer, John Brophy who represented the C.I.O., and Martin all made it clear that for them the primary task was backing of Frank Murphy for reelection for Governor of the State. Like the A.F. of L. leaders they want to "reward their friends and punish their enemies."

#### TAIL-ENDING THE NEW DEAL

The plans for political action laid down by these people aim almost exclusively at influencing legislation. Labor knows that there can be all kinds of legislation on the books favorable to the workers which will be enforced only if and as long as labor has organizations powerful enough to enforce these laws by their independent action. Sixteen of the demands of the Colorado miners when on strike in 1927 were for enforcement of laws already on the statute books of the state. Political action which is not independent working class action cannot serve the interests of the workers anyhow; and all of the political action proposed at the convention was to tail-end the New Deal which has coped with the crisis for near six years now and has pushed the workers deeper into misery.

The resolutions introduced by workers on the war question, on unity, democracy in the unions and for a national convention of the C.I.O. which proposed policies in the interests of the workers were buried by the people who controlled the apparatus of the convention. William Lamson, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, carefully avoided reading these resolutions.

While there was unity in the leadership of the convention for class collaborationist policies and against the interests of the workers, the convention was the scene of a struggle among them on the very low plane of the seating of delegates and geographical distribution of representation in the offices and on the executive board of the union body being formed, that is, for control.

Martin had planned to have the U.A.W. dictate to the C.I.O. in Michigan. Brophy, second in command of the top layer of the C.I.O. nationally, was for the C.I.O. to dictate to the U.A.W. To give the C.I.O. the upper hand, the Constitution Committee proposed that no more than

five of the thirteen vice-presidents to be elected were to be from any one international union and no more than two from any one town. This hit Martin who counted on using the 407 delegates from the U.A.W. locals who were a majority to get control for the U.A.W.

The fight in the U.A.W. between the Martin-Lovestone Progressive combination and the Unityites, dominated by the Stalinists, broke out on the convention floor. Martin's caucus was represented to no small extent through appointed delegates from Flint and Pontiac. There were appointed delegates from seven other locals. The convention passed a motion to seat the seven elected delegates from Local 159, Pontiac, and to refuse to seat the 26 appointed delegates. The Martin delegates - about 200 - who had been bent on having the convention refuse to seat the delegates appointed from all the other locals walked out of the convention.

Then the class opportunists and sophist, Richard Frankenstein, who has broken with Martin, fired by an ambition to become the next President of the U.A.W. announcing himself above factions, offered a solution: to seat all the delegates and to adjourn for a two hour recess during which time the caucuses could get together to "save" the situation.

#### WORKERS PROTEST BUREAUCRACY

Frankenstein's motion put the leaders of the Unityites on the spot. They had been taking advantage of the resentment of the auto workers against Martin's bureaucratic acts to pass themselves off as defenders of union democracy. The discussion on Frankenstein's motion showed how deep the resentment went. A delegate from Pontiac arose. He stated that the problem in his local was to have democracy. He stated that that had been denied the Local by the International when it appointed a director to take charge of the Local. He stated that because of this denial of democracy in the Local, Pontiac had only 1960 dues paying members out of a membership of 22,000. He stated that the election of delegates at a membership meeting of the Local was one of the very few moves to restore democracy in the union and that if the convention seated the appointed delegates, he would not be able to explain this action to the indignant membership. The members will quit the union altogether, he stated. A delegate from Lansing pointed out that there was no democracy there either, and that the membership was down on "dictators". He stated that only \$300. in dues had been collected in the last month in spite of the fact that there are 22,000 members on the books. He pointed out that there would be strong resentment to the convention seating appointed delegates. There was heated opposition to Frankenstein's motion from Flint delegates who had been elected.

By walking out the Martin-Lovestone delegates laid down a "rule or ruin" ultimatum. If the convention fell apart, the most politicalized union body in the state would be impotent in the coming election campaign to work for the reelection of Murphy.

What were the Stalinists who controlled the majority votes to do? Which should they consider first: their political line - support for the New Deal; or their caucus? The Martin-Lovestone combination had no choice except to fall in with Frankenstein's maneuver.

The Unity caucus leaders received instructions by phone from their Stalinist political directors and decided to reverse themselves and support Frankenstein's maneuver. They went further. Though the Unity caucus had decided at their Saturday night meeting to support Victor Reuther for Secretary-Treasurer, and the Unityites controlled the convention, Richard Leonard, Martin's man, was elected. He received 414 votes; Reuther, 185, and Nestor Dessy, supported by the independents and left-wing militants, 82. Later in the convention, when the 13 Vice Presidents were elected, Loren Hauser, Detroit Regional Director of the U.A.W., who so recently directed brass knuckles squads against the Stalinists was elected with their support.

Harry Mangold and Ed. Hurtz, staunch Martinites, were swept into office by their "friends", the Stalinists. The Reuthers, the Edwardses, the Mazeys, and all those non-Stalinists, who were in the Unity caucus, were left in the lurch by their Stalinist friends.

#### FRANKENSTEEN A DANGER

Frankenstein's maneuver strengthened the crust on top of the broad membership so that that crust will hold them down. In other words, he seeks to head off a movement of the rank and file to take over their own union. He seeks to "save" the class collaboration policy of the New Dealers, the Stalinists, and Martin and the Lovestonites, and with the help of the Stalinists, he represents a most dangerous development in the union from the standpoint of the unemployed and toiling men inside of the plants. He moves with the demagogy of being against factions. He proposes breaking up any factions that may be organized. He wants "democracy" in the U.A.W. with the bureaucratic limitations imposed by the constitution adopted by the Milwaukee convention, which, of course, is the very kind of democracy the automobile workers have been getting from Martin.

With the increasing resistance of the auto workers to wage cuts and lay-offs, the Martin and Unity leaders will come into greater contradiction with the workers. When the workers fight they need democracy in the union and fighting policies. The present situation may soon see a change in the situation of the workers and the development of a new and fighting leadership.

AD TO WORKER DELEGATE.

(While the struggle which is described above was taking place, the leaflet published on the following pages was distributed to the delegates and became the subject of discussion among them. Delegates expressed interest and a sympathetic attitude.))



# DELEGATES TO THE MICHIGAN STATE C. I. O. CONVENTION

## GREETINGS!

This convention will establish a union body which will exercise a tremendous political influence. It is up to you delegates and to the broad membership you represent to see to it that that influence will serve the interests of the unemployed and working masses of toilers.

You deliberate here and in all your union functions for the purpose of furthering the economic and political interests of the working class. As long as you do so you move history ahead, you progress. Whenever you fail for a moment to consider first of all the interests of the broad masses of workers, and to act accordingly, labor suffers defeats as a result. Those who tell you to consider employers' profits first, or the interests of the old dealers or of the New Deal first, or who tell you to subordinate your interests to the interests of winning a war for democracy, or a post for a capitalist politician, are not friends of labor. They are not progressives. They belong in another camp.

This is true, regardless how red or pink they paint themselves. For instance, the Communist Party members have been baited as reds in the UAW, but because of their position on war they will, if they get the opportunity, subordinate our interests as workers to capitalist politicians in the name of "fighting for democracy". Their position at this late date is still worse on the question of war than that of President Woodrow Wilson at the time of the last imperialist slaughter. They will do what their French comrades have already done - become strikebreakers at the behest of the capitalist spokesmen.

### Learn Lesson From Spain

To better working conditions, strengthen workers organizations, exercise workers rights at all times in the correct strategy of strike, demonstration, organization, or even revolt against capitalist misery and exploitation - all this is in line with social progress. Here, as in Spain, the surest way to bleed the working class white and to set it back for years is to place in union leadership persons who maintain that the choice is between Fascism and capitalist democracy. It is a significant fact that those misleaders who yelp for democracy for Spain are the very ones who deny democratic rights to their own membership in the various workers' organizations.

The Spanish workers should have set up a workers' government and taken over the factories, mines and mills; the industries, banks, the means of communication and travel, driven out every reactionary force and run Spain in the interests of the workers and peasants. Workers' interests must be put first at all times, even when that means taking over the government and socializing society. The Communist Party members do not do this. Instead they subordinate the interests of the broad membership to the interests of imperialist war. They are therefore no longer Communists. They are not reds at all; they are patriots.



Through the Unity group they gave some lip-service to democracy in the union. They criticized Martin for his bureaucratic method of handling the latest General Motors sell-out. But democracy in the union is just a question of tactics with them. They advocate democracy when it suits them to do so. Both they and Martin and company ape the worst features of the old A.F. of L. pie-card artists and those of European labor when they attack democracy in the workers' organizations.

These organizers of defeats for the workers are afraid of the power of the working class. But if the working class only knew it, and would just take it and would choose leaders who lead them forward and not hog-tie them, they would have the power.

Now how have the interests of the workers of Michigan been served by its present leadership. They aim to keep the labor movement here attached to the New Deal. Let us look at the record. In the middle of 1934 when great strike waves were threatening in the steel and automobile industries, President Roosevelt asked for and received from Congress on June 19, 1934, authority to settle labor controversies. It is sad to relate that some of labor's "leaders" (William Green, organizer Collins, Mike Tighe, Ed. McGrady et al.) were among his most ardent lieutenants in the dirty work of delaying our organizational drive for years. The Federal unions set up at that time had 150,000 automobile workers as members. A delegation headed by Collins went to see President Roosevelt. The President told them that instead of striking to better their conditions and for collective bargaining, they should leave the destinies of masses of workers to the tender mercies of the Automobile Labor Relations Board. He gave them each a silver autographed cigarette case and bade them Godspeed. Result: the workers were betrayed.

The discredited Collins was replaced by the conservative organizer, Dillon, who was always interested in profit for the employers and who acted most bureaucratically in settling the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo. He figured and stated that the real leaders of the strike believed in a philosophy of disaster. To Dillon's way of thinking it would be disastrous to fight hard to secure real gains for the broad membership. But that was just what the Toledo workers had done. So in the settlement, Dillon signed away what the strikers had won through hard fights.

#### Homer Martin Becomes Strikebreaker

The fight against Dillon was a fight for progressivism, for a constitutional union, for an industrial union. By the end of 1936, militants in the union, workers in the locals, rank and file unorganized workers in the plants, took the bit into their own teeth and used their own initiative. They secured higher wages and better working conditions. They organized the UAWA. And what did our President Martin do? He and his lieutenants rushed down to where the strikers were sitting in and tried to settle them quick, at any terms. When we got to really going good (and we would have gone on to the organization of the River Rouge plant and the entire industry) he spiked the organizational drive by outlawing every strike, by becoming a strikebreaker. He subordinated our interests to the interests of the New Deal whose spokesman in the White House had stated to both the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. alike: "A curse on both your houses." The New Dealers in the White House and State House alike turned against labor when labor was going to town.

What kind of people are these political "friends of labor" anyhow? Murphy, as Mayor of Detroit, during the strike at Briggs Manufacturing Company in 1933, allowed the police a free hand to brutally beat the striking pickets. What advice does this "friend" in the state house to the men now striking in many plants in answer to the vicious campaign of the employers to cut wages and undermine the union? "This is no time for stoppages of work. The influence of the government ought to be used against that sort of thing". That in plain language means the New Dealers do not want us to fight back against the attacks of our enemies. Martin has joined in the chorus of the New Dealers. So have the leaders of the Unityites. And they pose the question to us today just as the old misleaders of the A.F. of L. did in the years past. The policy of "punishing" your political enemies and supporting your "friends" instead of developing the two fighting fists of labor, is bankrupt. Never subordinate the interests of labor to any other interests.

### The New Deal and the Coming War

Let there be peace between Capital and Labor in Michigan, says Murphy. Let there be peace between Capital and Labor in the Nation, says Roosevelt. Why is the New Deal Administration so concerned about securing class peace? That's simple. The new crisis is threatening the whole capitalist system.

The New Dealers can save capitalism only if they get the workers to subordinate their interests to the New Deal program. This is what Roosevelt meant when he said that if the New Deal fails, "I will be the last President of the D.S."

Roosevelt and Murphy want unions that make no strike agreements. Or, as the next best thing, they prefer strikes under safe leadership with small gains or none at all. In other words, sell-outs disguised by fine talk.

While Roosevelt and Murphy leave no stone unturned to bring about class peace between the workers and the capitalists at home, they are preparing for the coming war. In this war they will recruit and conscript American workers to fight workers of other countries on the field of battle. This can only be done while there is "peace" at home between the workers and the capitalists. It is therefore easy to see why the New Dealers insist on "no strike agreements" so that they can speed up the preparations for the coming war.

Labor hasn't any friends in the capitalist class. All capitalists and all capitalist politicians - New Dealers, Old Dealers, Fascists, Democrats, Republicans, Liberals - are Labor's enemies.

### Labor's Fighting Program for Action

Labor can progress only by fighting for its interests as a class. Labor's program must be: No unity with the capitalists; no collaboration with them; struggle against them; no trust in capitalist programs, capitalist leadership and capitalist politicians. Labor can rely only on its own strength and its own organizations;

Build the unions; unify the unions!

Organize the unorganized workers!

Strike action - for the closed shop, for the six-hour day with increased pay!

Adequate relief and unemployment insurance at the capitalists' expense to be administered by workers' organizations!

Struggle against the war danger; against war preparations!

Refuse to bear the costs of the coming war; no wage-cuts, longer hours, speed-up, break-up of the unions!

Struggle for labor's needs regardless if this means defeat of the army and navy of "our own" capitalists!

Refuse to bear hatred against the workers of other countries who wear the uniform of the "enemy"!

Determine to fraternize with them to stop the imperialist slaughter and to convert it into a worldwide war against capitalism!

There are forces in this country who are working to tie labor to the program of the New Deal. Fling labor's program back at them:

Turn the present retreat of the union leaders into an advance against the attacking employers!

Fight against the organizers of defeats of the working class now, before they strangle the labor movement here as they have in other countries!

Choose as leaders men and woman who stand for labor's interests and prove it by their actions. For a class struggle leadership in the unions!

Forward through the initiative of the workers in the plants and in the locals!

Build a revolutionary party of working men and women, controlled by them, dedicated to the cause of labor's emancipation from capitalism!

Read REVOLT, organ of the Convention Organization Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League. S P R E A D R E V O L T!

Issued by the COC of the RWE, 28 East 14th Street, New York, New York

# PREACHER HOLMES PREFERS FASCISM.

## CIVIL WAR ONLY ROAD TO REAL PEACE

"I had rather see Europe in the hands of Fascist dictators, and her people alive, her cities still whole, her fields still fair and fertile, than to see Europe free of the Fascists, and her people slaughtered, her cities ash heaps, and her landscapes the dread haunt of wolves and brigands". (World Christianity, Fourth Quarter, 1937).

This is the statesmanship of Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Minister of the New York Community Church, a prominent spokesman for liberalism and advocate of passive resistance! Now, with capitalism like an enraged beast, prepared to use teeth and claws against the threat of workers resistance to pauperization, hunger and death; Holmes, counsels the servile acceptance of the horrors of fascism. In this statement, the excellent Doctor, expresses all the despair and hoplessness, the demoralization of the middle classes. It is the debacle of "liberalism".

The fields of Europe are fertile with the blood of the working class and of the peasants. Great cities are now gigantic concentration camps, the haunt of Fascist and Nazi brigands. "Mein Kampf" stretches its dirty fingers into Austria; and "liberals" by the hundreds culminate their consistent defense of the capitalist system, voluntary exile - if they are fortunate - or suicide! In Ethiopia thousands who resisted were slaughtered.

And Spain! This is what the Spanish workers should have said to Franco, according to Holmes: "We will not fight. We decline to plunge Spain into Civil War at your bidding. We refuse to ruin our country and kill our countrymen because they disagree with us. Take office if you will. We won't help you; we won't obey you. But if you want to govern well, try it with half the Spanish people against you to the end, and see what happens". Lenin had other ideas. "Whoever wishes a durable and democratic peace must be for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie". (Socialism and War.)

The philosophy of Holmes leads to capitulation before the enemy with a knife in his hand. The advice of Lenin must be the battlecry of the workers of the whole world against their oppressors. The Holmeses serve Fascism. That is how liberalism prepares the ground for Fascism. The ideas of Marx and Lenin point the way to a better life.

## THE ONLY ROAD FOR LABOR

Why should we despair? It is true that the workers have suffered defeats in Europe and Asia. But we have not been defeated in the United States. We have only just begun to fight. Since nineteen thirty two, four million workers have joined the trade union movement. American labor has awakened from its torpor. In great strike battles - which are only the overture to greater ones still to come - it has shown the stuff out of which it is made.

It is not going to submit to Fascism as the German workers did, but will fight it to the death.

We have the possibility of victory. The American workers are the equal of the workers of other countries in militancy, heroism and sacrifice. And they are free of the strangling influence of the traditions of the socialist and Stalinist parties. Already the New Deal labor lieutenants are fighting desperately to maintain their place in the leadership in the unions. The rank and file demand fighting policies and fighting leadership.

What the American working class needs is a revolutionary program and a revolutionary party. It has the will to fight. With program and leadership the United States can lead the world on the road to freedom by overthrowing American imperialism and establishing a Soviet America.

Let us build the party of victory - a new Communist party!

**FOUR OUT OF FIVE — STARVE**

#### NEW DEAL IN WASHINGTON DENIES APPLICATIONS FOR RELIEF

WASHINGTON, April 20.- While thousands upon thousands of Easter visitors to Washington dulled their senses with church music and prayer, and preachers worked overtime to expound the blessings of religion a little news item appeared in the press here, Saturday, the 15th, which exposes all this costly religion which, incidentally, workers have to pay for. With its customary callousness the capitalist press announced that four out of five applications for relief in Washington, during the first three months of 1938, - 1300 out of 1600 - had been denied. Of this number granted most were given only emergency aid.

The Board of Public Welfare gives a typical case of a family which was evicted. The husband, wife and a child of six all sleep on a single cot in the kitchen of a sister's already over-crowded home. The man pawned his clothing and the day before he applied for relief he sold his knives and forks for food. He had been unemployed for several weeks and was unable to find any kind of job.

History has selected Washington, the capital city of the world's greatest capitalist nation, to reveal the rottenness and unbelievable disregard for human beings which characterizes the capitalist system. With 10,000 on WPA, 50,000 unemployed registered in the public employment agency alone, with over 5,000 applying for WPA, 1,600 for relief and the end of the hotel season approaching which will throw other thousands out of work; and even government workers are not immune; over 1,000 are rumored to go in the Government Printing Office alone- every worker must see that the capitalist apple is rotting on the tree, and must soon fall to the ground.

# S. U. P. AT THE CROSSROADS.

## FACES FIGHT FOR LIFE

The long smouldering flame of animosity between the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the National Maritime Union broke out into the open the first week in April when longshoremen in San Francisco, affiliated with the International Longshore Workers Union, unloaded and loaded a ship picketed by the S.U.P. because it was manned by East Coast sailors affiliated to the N.M.U.

The fight between these two unions reaches back to 1936 at which time the N.M.U. was formed. At the conclusion of the 1936-37 strikes the sentiment for one union in the industry reached its greatest height. The basis for unity had already been laid with the organization of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific in 1934.

But unity was not achieved. Today the marine workers are bitterly divided. The chief stumbling block to unity was the Stalinist policy which had strong support in the International Seamen's Union of the East Coast and the Gulf of Mexico and in the International Longshoremen's Association of the Pacific Coast which was led by Harry Bridges. When the latter and the split-off from the I.S.U., controlled by the Stalinists, joined the C.I.O., the S.U.P. decided to remain independent. It declared that the policy of Lewis was not different from Green's as far as kowtowing to the employes is concerned. War was declared against the S.U.P. Today it has reached the point of strikebreaking.

Another enemy against whom the S.U.P. has had to fight is the Roosevelt government. The line of the Roosevelt administration with respect to the marine industry since the great San Francisco general strike of 1934 has been one of making the U.S. merchant marine an auxiliary arm of the navy.

## MARITIME COMMISSION BULLDOZES WORKERS

To accomplish this it is necessary for it to muzzle the marine workers. The Maritime Commission was the first step. In a very briefly worded section of the Subsidy Act Congress gave the commission extensive powers to set "minimum wage scales and reasonable working conditions for officers and crews" on subsidized vessels. Exercising dictatorial powers the Maritime Commission, since that time, has blustered into negotiations between employers and the waterfront unions, longshore as well as seafaring, and, hand in glove with the employers, has tried to bulldoze the unions into indiscriminate arbitration of all issues.

The Stalinists hailed the Subsidy Act as the Magna Charta of the American marine worker. Only the S.U.P. of all the maritime unions fought the government policy. The U.S. Maritime Commission reminded the West Coast sailors of the maritime boards of three countries

in particular; England, Australia and Japan. These notorious boards have devoted their efforts to sucking the life blood from the formerly militant English, Australian and Japanese seafaring unions, leaving the seamen defenseless before the vicious exploitation of their employers.

The Copeland Continuous Discharge Book Bill was justly called by all sailors, the Ball and Chain Act. The storm of protest this bill brought in its wake could well have materialized in the unity of all marine workers if the Stalinists had not double crossed the sailors at the last minute and come out openly for the acceptance of the finkbook in the Daily Worker. The Stalinist fraction in the N.M.U. were the first ones to accept the finkbook. The S.U.P., by the threat of a general strike on the West Coast, was the only union which rejected the finkbook and so far has militantly resisted all attempts to enforce the law on the sailors.

The latest move of the U.S. government to enslave the sailors has been the opening of government controlled hiring halls on the East Coast. The main axis of all strikes in the marine industry in the past has been the fight for union controlled hiring halls. With one stroke of the pen the New Deal government Maritime Commission has tried to take away the basis of militant unionism on the East Coast.

#### MISTAKES OF S.U.P.

Serious mistakes in policy of the S.U.P. in the struggle against the government have contributed to the situation in which the S.U.P. finds itself. In the first place there is a section of the S.U.P. known as the Homeguards which takes the position that a sailors union can be build for the West Coast alone. This plays into the hands of the ship owners and divides the workers by laying the basis for rival unions and jurisdictional fights.

To follow a line of isolation on the West Coast is suicidal. As soon as the shipowners and the government feel themselves strong enough their whole attack will be directed against the S.U.P. which, isolated as it is, will be in a weak position to defend itself.

The policy of the S.U.P. from the beginning should have been one of expansion on a national scale and, therefore, unity with the East Coast workers against the common enemy. It should have met the Stalinist attacks emanating from the N.M.U. leadership by an appeal to the rank and file over the heads of the leadership. At the same time the S.U.P. should have made a continuous expose of the Stalinist policy in the maritime unions. Instead the S.U.P. leadership played into the Stalinists' hands by lumping together the rank and file of the N.M.U. and the leadership and taking a hostile attitude toward the union as a whole.

The present struggle will culminate in the fall. In September the present agreement between the shipowners and the S.U.P. will terminate. The agreement between the shipowners and the I.L.W.U. will terminate on the same date. Whereas the longshoremen open negotiations for a new agreement 45 days before the termination of the old one, the S.U.P. has only 30 days grace. It is the strategy of the enemies of the marine workers to use this time difference to maneuver



the S.U.P. into a position where it either makes decisive concessions to the shipowners or has to fight. If the latter, they hope they will be able to hold the other maritime workers back from supporting the S.U.P. which would leave it isolated and - they hope - would lead to its being crushed.

The S.U.P. is in a very difficult position. Against it are arrayed powerful enemies: the shipowners, the government, the Stalinists. What should the S.U.P. do? How can it save itself? Should it fight? Or retreat? These are questions which are being asked by every member of the S.U.P.

---MARINE WORKER

(In the next issue of REVOLT the author will discuss the policy of the S.U.P. in the past and what line of action is best today.)

## LEAGUE ORGANIZES UNION ACTIVITY

### THIRD CONVENTION ADOPTS PLAN OF ACTION

NEW YORK, May 2, 1938.--The third Convention of the League was held in New York City, April 30-May 2. Delegates were present from Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, New York, Detroit, Chicago. Comrades in Los Angeles were unable to attend, as was our representative who is still in Spain. The minutes of the Convention have already been sent to the membership.

The delegates heard and discussed reports on the war situation, the situation in the United States, the League's trade union and unemployed activity. They reviewed the more than two years' struggle of the League to build a revolutionary party; recognized and analyzed the mistakes made in this connection.

A concrete plan of action was discussed and adopted. Its main features are the steps decided on to extend the base which is being created in the auto industry and among the Chicago unemployed, to improve the content and increase the sale of REVOLT, to double the membership in three months, and to set a high standard of activity and sacrifice for the entire membership.

### YEARS OF SERVICE

The Constitution was amended to remove a number of bureaucratic provisions which had been inserted by the second Convention. The qualifications for leadership was defined, and a very high standard set. The Constitution will be published as a pamphlet within two weeks.

A new Central Committee was elected which marks a long step forward toward the creation of a Bolshevik leadership. The immature, opportunist and careerist elements which had maneuvered their way into

the former Committee were eliminated. The average age of the new committee is close to forty and the average length of service in the American revolutionary movement is between seventeen and eighteen years. One comrade in the Central Committee has a record of forty-one years of unflagging and tireless devotion to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Another has served it for thirty years. A third has been in the revolutionary movement for twenty-six years; a fourth, eighteen; a fifth, fifteen, and so on. The shortest record is eight years. These comrades had diverse political origins and developments. They have come together to work with those who elected them to construct a revolutionary party to overthrow capitalism.

#### FINAL BREAK WITH OEHLER

A final break was made with the group around Oehler, which is an impediment to serious revolutionary work because of its defeatism. Demoralized by the working class defeats in Europe and the lack of rapid progress in conquering influence and positions in the American mass movement, this grouping has revealed a tendency to seek a quick solution of the problem of overcoming its isolation by liquidating Marxism and conciliating with opportunism. It revealed that it had not broken with Trotskyism by projecting a number of characteristic Trotskyist conceptions, by which it established a basis for possible reconciliation with it. In the realm of party organization it projected in theory and action the bureaucratic principle of an unrestricted clique leadership and a submissive membership.

The Convention decided to retain the name, Revolutionary Workers League, U.S. It was motivated by the following considerations. The basic cadre which founded the League was either present or represented at the Convention. It is the majority of the membership. It is the legitimate representative of the Marxist traditions of the League and its programmatic position. The separation from Oehler marks an organizational loss, but a definitive political consolidation on the basis of the programmatic position of the League and a progressive development of it. A change of name at this time, under these circumstances, would signify a break from this programmatic position and leave Oehler free to liquidate it.

To distinguish the League from the Oehler group, which continues to use its name, the Convention decided on the following designations: REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE, U.S.: OFFICIAL ORGAN: REVOLT. All indications point to an early demise of the Oehler group.

As a result of the Convention the League is now in a better position to accomplish its tasks. The pages of REVOLT will reflect its progress.

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# EXPOSE CAPITALISM! WRITE FOR REVOLT!

REVOLT is written, published and sold by workers. It aims to expose the rottenness of life under capitalism: the misery and degradation to which millions of workers are condemned by the profit system; the injustices and outrages which are perpetrated every hour of every day by the capitalists on the exploited; to arouse the widest protest against all this; to fill that protest with the determination to create a better society, a better way of life.

The rottenness of capitalism is everywhere. Every worker knows about it from his own experience. Write about it for REVOLT! Help other workers to understand that their experiences are not exceptional, that the lot of the overwhelming majority of the population is a living hell of worry, uncertainty, suffering and injustice.

Strike a blow against this rotten system of unemployment, starvation, deceit, Fascism and imperialist slaughter! Strike a blow for a better way of life, for freedom and enduring peace! Write about conditions where you work and where you live! About your union or unemployed organization!

You do not have to agree with everything that appears in REVOLT in order to write for it. If you are a worker and what you write aims to expose capitalism REVOLT will find a way to publish it. REVOLT aims to become the voice of the exploited and oppressed. Naturally REVOLT reserves the right to answer what it disagrees with and to reject what it considers unsuitable for publication. REVOLT will exercise these rights in order to carry out its purpose of exposing capitalism.

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# WHAT WORKERS THINK OF REVOLT

What do you think about REVOLT? This is what some workers think about it:

"Sunday afternoon" writes a worker from Lansing, Michigan where he sold REVOLT at the Michigan State C.I.O. Convention, "I went back in front of the C.I.O. hall and sold fifty copies of REVOLT like hot cakes. I was calling out 'REVOLT' and dozens of delegates told me there was Revolt on the inside enough! We will need some more copies".

From Detroit:

"You have improved REVOLT and we are going to town".  
"This is indeed a splendid issue for the Michigan State C.I.O. Convention; and it is indeed dynamite against the whole system. You surely hit Coughlin a whack! Give him more and more".

From Chicago:

"REVOLT was placed on newsstands and sold out. At St. Louis and Kedzie a cop saw it sticking out, came over to the newspaper seller and threatened to throw him in the cooler unless he removed it from the stand. REVOLT is here to stay!"

From Washington, D.C.

"REVOLT sold out".

From Philadelphia:

"Please send me a few copies of REVOLT as I have a few contacts".

Become an agent of REVOLT! Order a bundle of five, ten or twenty five copies at three cents a copy. Sell them to your fellow workers. It's as easy as falling off a log.

## SPREAD REVOLT!

S T U D Y      C O U R S E

A B C      O F      M A R X I S M

A basic summary of Marxist theory and practice, intended primarily for new recruits, but excellent for review. In ten lessons.

Outline of Course

1. The Basic Ideas of Marxism
2. The Evolution of Society
3. Dialectic Materialism
4. The Development of Capitalism
5. Surplus Value and Capitalist Production
6. Capitalist Contradictions and Decline
7. Imperialism - the Final Stage of Capitalism
8. The State. Dictatorship of the Proletariat
9. The Struggle for Power. The Revolutionary Party
10. The Fourth International

APPENDIX: Guide for Organization of Study Groups

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NOTE: The above study course is designed to assist in training workers in the principles of scientific communism, knowledge of which is indispensable for effective work in the class struggle and for party membership.

REVOLT is publishing installments of this course serially.

With the appearance of the tenth and final lesson the entire course will be issued in pamphlet form.

Save these supplements. When you will have received the tenth lesson you will have the entire course.

Start your study group today!

## Lesson Three

## DIALECTIC MATERIALISM

We now enter an important stage of our study - the discussion of dialectic materialism, the method by which scientists analyse the objective world and arrive at their conclusions. Dialectic materialism is the science of evolution of matter. It is the "science of the general laws of motion and development in nature, human society and thought" - according to Engels.

A. SOCIETY AND SCIENCE IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES. By the middle of the 18th century, the development of capitalism had gone far. In England it had practically conquered; in France it was about to conquer. The bourgeoisie had acquired tremendous wealth because of the possibilities for increased production which the physical sciences opened up for it. By the 19th century, not only had the bourgeoisie conquered most of the world but the proletariat had sharply differentiated itself from the bourgeoisie and had begun to struggle in its own behalf.

The bourgeoisie gave a tremendous impetus to the physical sciences. Later, in attacking the citadels of feudalism and in building its own economic foundations, it began to develop the social sciences to a certain point: economics, sociology, jurisprudence. But because of the social implications of these sciences to the bourgeoisie their scope and development was limited. It becomes increasingly clear that only the proletariat can possibly develop these sciences properly.

In 19th century society, dominated by metaphysical dogma and theology, certain attitudes in the sciences became more and more definitely established. Kant and Laplace were the first in modern times to apply the idea of evolution to the astronomical world in their theory of the development of the solar system. In 1858 the same idea was applied to the development of animal and plant species by Charles Darwin. Marx and Engels expressed and applied hypothetically the same idea of evolution to society in 1843-4. But even before the latter two applications, the conception of evolution had taken hold of the philosophical world, beginning with Kant and culminating, in an idealistic form, in Hegel. Revolutionary changes taking place in society at that time emphasized the idea.

B. DEVELOPMENT OF THE DIALECTIC FROM KANT TO HEGEL. Without clearly understanding the significance of his analysis, Kant nevertheless did extraordinary work in showing the contradictory nature of universal principles when applied to the material world. To Kant the dialectic (the logic which analyses and points out the contradictions in the world) acts as a shield against the misuse of reason. To him the dialectic was the logic of illusion and proved that to know TRUE REALITY is impossible.

Hegel took the dialectic of Kant seriously. He declared however that the world (reality) was contradictory by nature. He showed that the dialectic was not the logic of illusion but the logic of reality. But as an idealist, he declared mind or spirit to be independent of and superior to matter. He assumed God, or spirit, to be the source of all things. God is eternal and harmonious, according to Hegel, though he reveals himself in the form of contradictions, i.e. development.

The general process of development by contradictions was formulated by Hegel into a series of fundamental principles which can be summarized as follows: (a) Transformation into opposites; (b) Quantity differences cause quality changes; (c) Negation of the negation.

The first law (a) means that anything, under certain conditions, can be transformed into a thing having exactly the opposite nature. (Primitive society based on collective ownership of property is transformed, under the influence of certain factors, into a society based on private ownership) The second law (b) means that the continued addition of identical elements leads to a change in the properties of the thing added to. (Add successive units of heat to water changes it into steam) The third law (c) means that under certain conditions a thing not only changes into its opposite, but if the development continues, it changes back into its former self but on a different plane, and with an added difference. A new cycle of development now begins again with the generation of new opposites

While Hegel formulated the laws of the dialectic correctly in the formal sense, he could not apply them because, as an idealist, he used them to deduce realities from ideas instead of shaping ideas to reality. He tried to make the world conform to his ideas, instead of making his ideas conform to the world. He assumed as true what had to be proved as true.

C. THE LAWS OF DIALECTIC MATERIALISM. 1. Law of the Unity of Opposites ("polar unity of all things"-Lenin; thesis-antithesis - Hegel) Every developing situation contains contradictory elements (opposites). These opposites involve each other. One of these opposites is positive in the sense of resisting change; the other is negative, in that it seeks to destroy both itself and its opposite. FIRST COROLLARY: Opposites are not mere differences. They must involve each other's existence. The existence of one implies the existence of the other; the destruction of one implies the destruction of the other. Example one: The existence of the capitalist class involves the existence of the working class; the existence of the working class involves the existence of the capitalist class. The capitalist, one who hires and exploits workers, is unthinkable without workers. Neither could the wage-worker exist, for without capitalists to whom could they sell their labor-power? Example two: The capitalist class represents the positive element in modern social development. It seeks to keep intact the worker-capitalist relationship. The proletariat is the negative element. It seeks to destroy both the capitalists and itself by creating a classless society. SECOND COROLLARY: REAL opposites are those by which the development of a situation can be explained. False opposites cannot do so. Example one: St. Simon divided men into workers and idlers. This mechanical, non-dialectical antithesis is not capable of demonstrating social development. It therefore must be rejected. THIRD COROLLARY: Opposites capable of explaining development cannot be selected through inner contemplation; but only through experiment, careful analysis and test. Only in this way can the spurious opposite be detected from the true. FOURTH COROLLARY: Opposites must involve a going-beyond, a development into a new situation in which they lose their original character. Otherwise they are not real opposites. Example: Empedocles, Nietzsche, Spengler conceive the world as eternal repetition of what existed before. This concept denies that essential change can take place, that new properties can ever emerge. FIFTH COROLLARY: In real situations opposites are often complicated by other opposing forces which influence the fundamental opposition. Example:



Capitalism today is not pure capitalism, consisting only of two classes; it contains the remnants of feudalism, also intermediate classes like farmers and professionals. SIXTH COROLLARY: There may be additional contradictions developing on the basis of the old opposition. Example: With the development of credit, money economy is subjected to new factors operating according to new laws, which complicate the fundamental laws of money economy. Example: Atoms combined in the form of molecules carry their contradiction to a higher plane when molecules combine to form complex organic compounds known as colloids, etc., up to the appearance of living matter.

SUMMARY OF FIRST LAW: We have stated the law of the co-existence or unity of the opposites. We have therefore stated the BASIS for change. We will now state the laws of change themselves, that is, the operation of these antagonistic forces thru TIME.

2. Law of Quantity Into Quality (Quantity differences cause quality changes, and vice versa) This law, as Hegel stated it, asserts that the addition of elements identical in their properties to a given situation will suddenly or ultimately change the properties of the situation. This law is a fundamental law of matter whose action in nature and society can be traced step by step. Example one: In geology, many illustrations. The addition of sand particles to a given area ultimately leads to the formation of rock. The addition of more rock superimposed on the old rock leads to the transformation of this sand-stone into another metamorphic rock like schist or slate. Example two: In biology, it can be illustrated in cell-fission. Simple increase in volume of the cell due to addition of content leads to splitting up of that cell in two. Further the mere aggregation of cells ultimately leads to differentiation of function: outer skin, inner organs, excretory, etc. Example three: In political economy, numerous illustrations. Money must accumulate to a certain point before it can function as capital to buy machinery, raw material and labor. The working class must reach a certain size before the overthrow of capitalism can be accomplished. The aggregation of money in banks must reach a certain size before it can supercede industrial capital. Markets must reach a certain size before they can support large-scale machine industry which superceded handicrafts. NOTE: This law has meaning only where the field of its operation is specified. For example, the mere accumulation of shoes will not alter the shoes, although it will have a terrific effect on the price of shoes. The mere accumulation of water in a given area will not change the character of the water, but will have an enormous effect on the habitat of humans.

3. Law of the Negation of the Negation ("permeation of opposites"-Lenin; thesis-antithesis-synthesis - Hegel) A basic, general law of motion. This law asserts that, in changing, a thing is permeated by and transformed into its opposite (negation). It is then permeated by and transformed into the opposite of the opposite (negation of the negation) that is to say, the original thing, only this time complicated by other factors - on a different plane. Example: Primitive communism, a controlled society, collective in character develops into its opposite, a class society, based on private property, and uncontrolled. Class society returns to its original status of a controlled, collective society, which, in turn, lays the basis for the development of further contradictions on new planes. Each stage is created by the generation and triumph of the opposite which destroys the entire previous relationship.

**D. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.** 1. To be scientific the dialectic must be based on materialism. It should be obvious that the world must be conceived as independent of the human mind. The dialectic grew out of the need for a method of explaining motion and change in the material world. 2. The dialectic process is always subject to test and proof by demonstration. The mere knowledge of the existence of the dialectic process does not give you the right to declare that a certain law is operative in a given situation, unless it is SHOWN to be operative. It must be shown to inhere in, to describe the nature of the transformations taking place. In short, it must fit the facts. (See Hegel's failures.) 3. The dialectician must acquaint himself thoroughly with the facts. The dialectic does not of itself reveal the secrets of nature. It helps reveal the movement and changes in reality only when we have thoroughly acquainted ourselves with its past and present. 4. The proof of the dialectic depends on the fact that the world moves dialectically, and not the other way round. The dialectic does not regulate how the world shall move. Matter, changing dialectically, is proof of dialectics. In other words, the dialectic is subject to the fundamental test of practice.

**E. RELATION OF FORMAL LOGIC TO THE DIALECTIC.** 1. Logic, i.e. formal logic, aristotelian logic, is non-dialectical. It assumes that nature is static and not contradictory; that a thing cannot be itself and something else; that every thing is entirely different from everything else. This metaphysical attitude which formal logic emphasizes grows out of the fact that at first mankind thought of things as entities. Because things changed so slowly, they seemed distinct from each other. He therefore discounted all change or motion. It also arose from man's natural desire to have things sharply and clearly distinguished and to overlook the vague and obscure. 2. Nevertheless, logic is a useful science and has a very definite place in scientific thinking. Science succeeds in making distinctions that are clear and sharp, whose logical relations are well-defined. Here logic plays an extremely useful role. It is also useful in revealing mistakes in thinking due to ambiguous concepts or conclusions derived which are not warranted by the premises. When the domain of logic is properly delimited, it becomes part of the general science of the dialectic, a special phase of the dialectic. 3. All scientific method is really dialectical. It formulates the methods by which reality and its changes are discovered. It is therefore a formulation of dialectics. Most books on the scientific method are handicapped by a static approach. So far as it has gone, however, it has approached a clear statement of the dialectical method. 4. Broadly speaking, therefore, dialectics is that science which deals with the general laws of motion; with those properties all motions have.

#### Required reading

Critique of Political Economy - Marx; Introduction  
 Anti-Duhring - F. Engels; Chapters XII and XIII  
 Materialism and Empirio-Criticism - Lenin; Appendix on Dialectic  
 Fundamental Problems of Marxism - Plekhanov; Chapter V  
 Feuerbach - F. Engels; pp 94-8 (on Hegel), pp 60-2 (on Kant)

#### Suggested reading

Historical Materialism - N. Bucharin; Chapter on Dialectic  
 Dialectic Materialism - A. Thalheimer; a brochure

# SPREAD REVOLT!

REVOLT is published to present the ideas of Marxism to the working class. The aim of Marxism is to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a workers' government. REVOLT is dedicated to that purpose.

To overthrow capitalism the workers need a revolutionary party. All existing parties are non-Marxian. REVOLT agitates for the creation of a new Communist party in this country and on a world scale. It agitates for the creation of a Communist Fourth International.

To overthrow capitalism, to build a revolutionary party the Marxists must tell the workers the truth about the world they live in. REVOLT exposes the rottenness of capitalist society and will explain the connection between the daily struggle of the oppressed for bread and their need to overthrow the capitalist system in order to obtain it.

We are living on the eve of the outbreak of the second world war. REVOLT agitates against the war before it breaks out and after it has begun. REVOLT will agitate for the defeat of the army and navy of the American imperialists as the means of transforming the imperialist war into civil war against capitalism.

REVOLT will be published in this form as frequently as possible, until it can be printed as a paper.