

REVOLT

Vol. I, No. 9 Published by the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League, U. S. August 27, 1938
1806 West North Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

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Louis Basky

Our brave comrade Basky is dead. His indomitable heart was strained to the breaking point by forty one fruitful years of revolutionary work. Proper care would have lengthened his life by fifteen years, but would have excluded active work in the organization. Even money which he might have used for medical care he put into the movement. He did the only thing possible for a revolutionary. He worked without pause for the movement.

The death of comrade Basky is a great blow to the cause of revolutionary Marxism. Marxist, party builder, union man, a member of the Central Committee and its Buro, relentless foe of opportunism wherever it manifested itself, genial comrade - he symbolized the best in our revolutionary tradition. As time passes we will miss him more and more.

We can honor comrade Basky's memory best by redoubling our activity to build a revolutionary party.

Let his forty one years of unflagging devotion to the cause of the working class and the revolution serve as a model for our movement.

MOSCOW TRIALS IN THE AUTO UNION

RANK AND FILE CALL FOR SPECIAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

DETROIT, August 1.- With the silent approval of the two Stalinist members suspended from office by President Martin of the U.A.W.A., Richard Frankenstein, one of the four vice-presidents on trial, declared in a press statement recently that the present trials in the U.A.W.A. are being conducted "in typical Russian style." He hit the nail squarely on the head. Merely substitute the Griswold building for the Palace of the Soviets, prosecutor Davidow for Vishinsky, and supreme Dictator Martin for Stalin, and the setting for the analogy is complete.

Were the relationship in the top of the U.A.W.A. reversed, with Frankenstein president instead of Martin, and with his Stalinist masters in the majority, and with Martin and Co. in the dock, the trials would have been conducted in the same Stalinist fashion, even more closely resembling the Moscow frame-ups.

In these trials history is giving the suspended officers of the U.A.W.A. and the Stalinists a slap on the cheek. The Stalinists loudly condemn these trials as dictatorial and Fascist. Were they conducted in the Soviet Union or, for that matter, with them in control here, these same people would hail them as "fair and honest" and all their lackey liberal "friends" of the Soviet Union would justify and defend them. When unprincipled class collaborators fight each other to serve the interests of the capitalist class, it all boils down to whose ox is being gored.

CAPITALIST FORCES BEHIND THE TRIAL

Back of these revolting aspects of the Moscow trials in the U.A.W.A. are powerful capitalist forces in United States politics (see July 16, 1938, issue of REVOLT). The anti-New Dealers (Pieper, Michel and the Mulhalls in the Martin camp) corrupt, red-bait and bribe the workers in order to snipe-shoot at the New Deal from the right and strengthen the capitalist offensive against the unions and the workers standard of living. Back of them are to be found also the reformist and centrist tendencies such as the Communist Party (Stalinists), Socialist Party, Socialist Workers' Party (Trotskyites), and Independent Labor League (Lovestoneites) that turn the struggle off class lines. The latter groups are articulate and active participants on both sides of the dispute, though the Socialist Party members have taken back seats during the showdown. These supposed-to-be working class revolutionists are surrounded and supported by Mulhall fixers.

Here are a few little instances: The Trotskyites for many years protested and even now protest against the Moscow trials, especially against secret procedure. Today they defend the secrecy of these "Moscow trials" in the U.A.W.A. At the meeting of the Detroit and Wayne County District Council of the U.A.W.A., held July 25, 1938, all of

their members fought and voted against a resolution calling for an open trial of the four ex-officers being tried and all of them voted against it. The Lovestoneites have gone on record in their paper against the Soviet frameups, but their oracle in the same council meeting vigorously and aggressively opposed the open trial resolution. He voted against it with both hands. Stalinists, who plead for democracy in the union, physically attacked Socialists distributing the Socialist Call as well as members of the Revolutionary Workers' League selling REVOLT, not to mention Trotskyites selling the Socialist Appeal. To illustrate what kind of democracy they want in the U.A.W.A. the Stalinist who recently helped sell out the Tool and Die workers beat up a Trotskyite from behind with his fists. A Black Legionnaire in Martin's goon squad in the Griswold building fight hit a member unionist with a brass knuckled fist, cutting off his ear. Martin thus also proves to be for "progressivism, democracy and militancy" in the U.A.W.A. They call each other insincere. They call each other liars. They call each other Fascists.

Are they right or wrong in these charges? Is the street and union hall comment about making fools of themselves and exposing each other correct? Anyone who carries out instructions of a political party openly serving the interests of the capitalist class, or who tries to serve three masters as does Martin who is "responsible to the employers, the community, and the membership," or tries to put into effect a false position on unionism must lie, use goons and connive to make headway in a mass production industry such as auto! From the standpoint of these misleaders each in his turn is correct. Yet from the standpoint of the workers as a class they are all wrong, and the only encouraging thing about it is they are thoroughly exposing each other.

TROTSKYITES AND LOVESTONEITES IN ACTION

If you carry out a line of "open and aggressive support of Homer Martin" in the U.A.W.A. as do the Trotskyites, welcome his belated "educational campaign to expose the Stalinists to the membership" (Appeal, July 23, 1938), and endorse his red-baiting broadcasts, his union-wrecking, his hooliganism as well as his STALINISM in relation to the trials, then, believe it or not, you have a lot of explaining to do to the membership. The Trotskyite office boys in New York must indeed have a low estimate of their U.A.W.A. rank and file if they figure they can save the union for Martin and class-collaboration simply by getting Martin and his "many opportunists, job-seekers, and reactionaries" to justify these Moscow trials as emergency measures to meet the situation confronting him. Why! Stalin himself can truthfully state that in every trial he was confronted with emergencies. But in both cases the emergencies were brought on by the policies they themselves pursued. Both Martin and the suspended officers are guilty of class-collaborationism, broke strikes, put over sellouts, stole elections, send goon squads after militants, lie, connive, red-bait. Why, at the very first meeting held by Martin to explain his case to the broad membership on July 29 in the lower West Side district, he was greeted with boos as he entered the school house. His goon squad then went into action. One of them drew a pistol and badly beat up a worker attendant. Many of the workers who had gone to hear him left in disgust. Another fact. The room in the Griswold building used for the headquarters of the International's Education Department was also the headquarters of Martin's goon squad on the first day of the second trial (July 25).

In a statement to their followers instructed to carry out their line in the U.A.W.A. the Trotskyite generals editing the Appeal in New York manifest a lower level of understanding of the problem of leadership than do the members of the union generally. Whereas they want Martin's "twenty point program concretized to the present situation," the broad membership are putting forward resolutions for a constitutional convention (not the special convention the Stalinists threaten but do not mean to call) but a rank and file convention.

The broad membership knows that the 20 point program endorses the present bureaucratic constitution which gives Martin a legalistic cover even for this last Moscow trial. It legalizes the appointment of dictators over various local unions. It legalized his acts in relation to the latest General Motors sellout. It legalized nearly everything done by these hopeless misleaders to produce the present crisis.

The role of the Trotskyites in these Moscow trials is more contemptible than that of the other tendencies. They have been the victims of Moscow trials for a long time and they should know better than to assist in planting this bureaucratic weapon on United States soil or anywhere else. The Lovestoneites, on the other hand, are the brain-trusters for Martin in his dictatorial moves. They steam-rolled the bureaucratic decisions of the Milwaukee convention, applied them in action and thus helped produce the present crisis. It was the Lovestoneites who made a red-baiting sheet out of the United Automobile Worker. It was they who prepared Martin's red-baiting radio speeches, condemning any "small minority with a particular philosophy from seizing control of the union." Indeed their value to the capitalist class for their work in the auto industry and the U.A.W.A. is immeasurable.

PATHETIC ROLE OF THE SOCIALISTS

At the Milwaukee convention or soon afterward the Socialists went into the Unity caucus with no policy of their own. They began to distinguish themselves from the Stalinists on the war question, leaning toward Martin and the Lovestoneites on this point. When the showdown came in the present Moscow trials, they together with the Stalinists, appealed to John L. Lewis for intervention. They opposed withholding of per capita taxes from the International. They opposed a special convention to institute an entirely new leadership, a class struggle policy, and a new democratic constitution. In a word, the Socialists have been unable to play an independent role or to stick with either of the main contending forces. Which means exactly this: after the present victims of the axe are disposed of, the very next purge will include Reuther, Mazey, Tracy Doll and Co., unless they adopt a third, correct, independent position along with the militants in the U.A.W.A. who advocate class struggle, a class struggle leadership and a rank and file controlled, democratic union.

There is still another tendency represented in the person of Larry Davidow. It plays a dastardly role in these trials. It is the Social Democratic Federation, known in Europe for its allegiance to the capitalist class. He is Martin's prosecutor, and a real counterpart of the Soviet Vishinsky, except that these Moscow trials occur in the United States before the revolution. Fifty supporters of the suspended officers on trial, composed of indignant rank and filers as well as Stalinists, entered the Griswold building. They asked to be let in to witness the trial. When this was refused they asked for a delegation from

among their number to sit. A committee from the Committee of Local Presidents was also refused entry. Scuffling and fistic combat began in the corridors of the International's headquarters, after which the "invaders" staged a sit-down strike, delaying the trial for a day. Martin's flunkies called in the cops to have them evicted. In one room sat the "invaders." In another were Martin's goons. When the Lieutenant of the Red Squad arrived, Davidow gave him directions. He pointed out the room in which the "invaders" were sitting, remarking, "These are the Communists." He supplies red-baiting evidence to the police, to Martin, and to reactionaries generally. For this he has been exalted by the capitalist press. He and Martin are foremost figures in these Moscow trials. Davidow's actions on the first day of the second trial were roundly condemned by the delegates to the Detroit and Wayne County District Council of the U.A.W.A. in their meeting of July 25, 1938.

Though social forces are the principle factors contending in the trials and in the drawn-out fight in the U.A.W.A., personal ambition for power plays an important role. The personal ambitions of Frankenstein puffed up by the Stalinists had a great deal to do with Martin's desperate measures in the interests of his own personal career. The Stalinists cannot forget that Martin endorsed Hillman to supplant John L. Lewis as chairman of the C.I.O. at the first conference of leading C.I.O. figures when Hillman spoke before the Economic Club in New York City. Hence all their belly-crawling before John L. Lewis to get him to intervene against Martin. Lewis' failure to intervene so far has been a source of bitter disappointment to both the Stalinists and the Socialists. That is why they conceded to the indefinite postponement of the Michigan State Convention of Labor's Non-Partisan League, which means no convention this year, which means they have scrapped their log-rolling arrangements with Frankenstein, their boy of destiny, which means they are putting up their own members as candidates on the Democratic ticket. Their slogan is: "For President Roosevelt, Governor Murphy, and Progressive Legislation." No doubt they figure that since President Roosevelt had convinced Lewis to intervene in settling the Chrysler strike, Murphy or Roosevelt will now convince him to intervene in the union crisis. The Stalinists thoroughly understand the value to the capitalists of a class collaborationist union in this critical period of capitalist decay.

DILEMMA OF JOHN L. LEWIS AND THE NEW DEAL

But why has Lewis refused to intervene? For precisely the reason given in the July 16 issue of REVOLT: Roosevelt and the New Deal are retreating before the offensive of anti-New Deal capitalists. It follows logically that the New Deal's right hand man in the labor movement, John L. Lewis, is retreating in like manner. The truth is, the Stalinists are being hit from all sides now through no one's fault but their own. They well deserve this punishment for their war-mongering, their attempt to supplant one class collaborationist dictatorship in the U.A.W.A. with another, and the defeats they organized for the working class.

The four suspended vice-presidents of the U.A.W.A. will be thrown to the wolves on August 6, 1938. The charges against them, boiled down, amount to "disruption," "diversion," and "conspiracy," startlingly similar to those in the regular Moscow trials. One dissimilarity between this trial and those in Moscow is the chest-pounding confessions. The defendants have not had to make any confessions as yet. Instead they

hurl back counter charges of stool-pigeoning, graft-taking, red-baiting, etc. But the charge that dictator Martin fears most is to be squelched during the recess to August 6 by changed rules of procedure. All testimony must now be presented in affidavit form on or before Wednesday previous to the Saturday when the trial reconvenes. This simplifies the expulsion of the accused. "Having considered all the evidence before us," Martin's press statement will most likely say, "we found them guilty."

Many union members were very indignant about the trial procedure. Why are only the guards or goons allowed to sit in? Why do the defendants have to ask questions only through the prosecuting attorney? Why this cat and dog fight? Both sides are guilty! The purge goes on not only in the center, but also in Flint, Michigan; Tarrytown, New York; Milwaukee, Wisconsin where "disrupters," "diversionists," and "communists" are painted red by the reactionaries. Dictatorships have been set up over more local unions. Among others, Local 174, of which Walter Reuther is president is being broken up into several small locals headed by Martinites. The Trotskyites are striking "pay dirt" for the services they sold to Martin. The International is threatening to pull the charter of Local 174. Local 212, of which Emil Mazey is president is being attacked from both sides. Executive board members vacillating between the two camps are subject to terrific bull-dezing both by word and by brass knuckles on the hands of goons. Locals #2 and #51 are in serious danger of attack from the heavy hand of the Martin bureaucracy.

MILITANT LEFT WING THE NEED OF THE HOUR

As soon as the present purge is consummated another will ensue. Following that another and another, unless and until the whole course of the union is radically changed by resolute class struggle militants in open revolt against the 20 point program, the Frankenstein program and all others like them; in open revolt against the most bureaucratic U.A.W.A. constitution, a weapon for class collaborationism; in open revolt against Moscow trials both in the U.A.W.A. and in Moscow; and in open revolt against all class collaborationist leaders.

Against all these fakers and their treachery, the militants, the real militants with understanding and principle, must carry on the struggle of the auto workers to a higher level. The auto workers fought hard for a constitutional, industrial union. They put up a progressive fight against the reactionaries, Collins and Dillon. They exercised exceptional historical initiative in their strike struggles to make the U.A.W.A. a mass union in 1936 and 1937.

The problem is to adopt a constitution worthy of a mass union, to save industrial unionism for the automobile workers through ousting the misleaders on both sides of the "cat and dog" fight in the International, by putting the control of the union into the hands of the members.

How is that to be done? Communicate with all locals of the U.A.W.A. Get them to send delegates to a conference which will set up a convention organization committee, authorized and mandated to organize a special convention of the U.A.W.A. for the purpose of electing an entirely new leadership, adopting a class struggle policy, and supplanting the present bureaucratic constitution with a democratic one. For this the organization of a militant Left Wing is indispensable.

In view of the resentment and criticism prevalent in the rank and file of the U.A.W.A. towards the constitution adopted at Milwaukee - far more bureaucratic than the one preceding it, REVOLT publishes for the information of its readers a resolution introduced into Local #3 of the U.A.W.A. expressing the sentiment of the rank and file.

RESOLUTION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION

Whereas, The present constitution of the International Union, United Automobile Workers' of America permits contracts to be signed without rank and file ratification; and,

Whereas, The present constitution permits the International executive board to place dictators over local bodies without the consent of the affected locals; and,

Whereas, The gag rule over the International executive board keeps the rank and file in ignorance of the attitudes and voting of individual members; and,

Whereas, The power of interpretation of our loosely written and poorly defined constitution is vested in the International officers and gives them the power to suspend and expel without rank and file concurrence; and,

Whereas, The present constitution does not correspond with the constitution as written in the proceedings of the Milwaukee Convention and approved by the delegates, and since the legality of this constitution is seriously questioned;

Therefore Be It Resolved, That this body go on record supporting a movement within the U.A.W.A. to revise the constitution in such manner that it will remedy the above mentioned grievances which today seriously threaten the existence of the I.U.

Be It Further Resolved, That should a special convention be called to straightend out the squabble within the International executive board, we, the delegates to the District Council, go on record in favor of a Constitutional Convention.

Presented by member of Local #3.

NOTE: This resolution was burocratically ruled out of order by Edward Hertz, vice-president of the Greater Detroit and Wayne County District Council of the I.U., U.A.W.A.

The resolution is perhaps incorrect in two minor respects, first about the present constitution being so loosely worded, and second, about it not corresponding with that approved by the delegates to the Milwaukee Convention. The Milwaukee Constitution is the product of the steam-rollered convention, fathered by John L. Lewis' guarantor of burocratic constitutions, one Ora Gasaway, and is unworthy of an organization that should stand for democracy from top to bottom is pointed out from the many correct observations made in the resolution.

C.I.O. FUMBLES WITH NEGRO QUESTION

SOLUTION IS CLASS STRUGGLE NOT RACE STRUGGLE

DETROIT, Aug. 6, 1938.- At the June 20 meeting of the Detroit and Wayne County Industrial Union Council, a special committee was set up to handle the Negro question for the C.I.O. in this area. In both the Kroger And American Brass strikes the question was pointedly brought to the attention of council members. Reverend J. Frank Norris' "Fundamentalist" movement of Protestant religionists, along with Negro agents of Ford, Briggs and other henchmen of black reaction advocate scabbing with evangelical fervor. They are responsible for many black faces in the ranks of the loyal employees. On the side of the pickets were to be found such courageous fighters as Refoe Wilkes, Brother Keys, Albert Newton and Manuel Rickard. Unfortunately, in the midst of the strike battles, epithets are often hurled at scabs for their color as well as for their scabbing. This shows that white pickets and white workers generally bear a greater responsibility for the perpetuation of the Negro question.

The Ford Motor Company, the greatest employer of Negro labor in this district, is viciously anti-union. Through its Service and Personnel departments it keeps its employees divided along racial and political lines. The organization of the Ford Rouge plant will greatly help establish better relations between Negro and white workers.

The special committee set up by the C.I.O. to work on the colored question felt this aspect to be serious enough to state the following in its first report to the Council:

"There have been several acts committed by members of the various unions' locals, in violation of the laws and principles of industrial unionism, which acts of misconduct of union members toward other members have caused a feeling of unwelcome to prevail, more especially among the Negroes, members and non-members; the results of which can easily be seen in the non-attendance of the Negro members at the union meetings, and the failure of others to join the unions, who are working within the same industries with those who are members of the unions."

What workingmen everywhere need to begin to learn is that unless and until they overcome the divisive influences perpetuated by capitalist society, the labor movement will not move ahead. When workers **carry into** action the slogan of class against class in place of race against race, then the working class of all shades - black, red, white, brown, and yellow - will be able to look back upon the jungle culture of race discrimination in capitalist society with as much horror as the present generation views the practice of chattel slavery.

PRODUCTION MAN

THE SOVIET = JAPANESE CONFLICT IN ASIA

STAGE PREPARED FOR COMING WAR

CHICAGO, Aug. 19.- The border clashes between the Soviet Union and Japan which began July 27 are important as an indicator of the tempo at which the capitalist world is driving toward world war. Chankufeng hill is of vital military importance to both countries. It dominates the only desirable submarine base in the region (Kossiet Bay) outside of Vladivostok, and also the strategically important Japanese railway 6½ miles away built by the Japanese to destroy Vladivostok as the chief outlet for the vast Manchurian-Korean hinterland. The truce of Aug. 11 is temporary indeed. No sooner was it signed than renewed outbreaks occurred on Sakhalin Island. Dispatches state that Soviet Russia has massed one million troops and Japan 500,000 of its crack Shantung regiments behind the zone in dispute.

In a purely military sense, the Soviet government appears to be the aggressor in this as in other border incidents. Historically, however, as evidenced by the whole postwar period, Japanese imperialism is driven by her own internal contradictions to the complete conquest of Asia. The famous Protocol of Premier Tanaka (1926) amply demonstrates the aims of Japan's ruling class: forceful domination of the Far East as her province. The ever-deepening crisis in Japan has produced a permanent ferment among the Japanese workers and peasants, driving the Japanese capitalist class to ever more frenzied attempts to expand her markets by conquest and ruthless dictatorship and suppression at home.

Since Japan occupied Manchuria in 1931-33 there have been scores of border clashes with the Soviet Union. Since May 1934, 54 such border incidents have been reported. Their seriousness and scope have increased each year. A serious clash took place in June-July 1937 over possession of several small islands in the Amur river. The military struggle for Chankufeng hill is a resumption of the undeclared war between Japan and the Soviet Union. The enormous extent of the casualties on both sides in the past period have been hidden from the world. Now they can no longer be hidden.

SOVIET STRATEGY

The Stalinists shrewdly picked a very good time for their military adventure. Europe is in a knot over Spain and Czechoslovakia. Japan is mired in the interior of China. The amazing resistance of the Chinese armies has sobered the Japanese High Command. For a moment the Stalinist adventure helped the Chinese in a military way. It pricked the bubble of Japanese omnipotence by forcing it to sue for peace. The Tokyo government was forced to push diplomatic negotiations for a truce over Chankufeng. Furthermore, the clash was calculated to recapture Soviet prestige in the Far East and throughout the world. But it used typically imperialist tactics to do so. As far as the Stalin regime is concerned the proletariat is to be left completely out of the picture except as a pawn in the military struggle.

In the hands of Stalinism the foreign policy of the soviet State has become openly counter-revolutionary. It has long ago ceased to be based

on the extension and promotion of world revolution. Since 1924 a process of economic and political retrogression back to capitalism has set in. The pressure of the world bourgeoisie on the Soviets, strengthened by the defeats of the working class in the principle capitalist countries has seriously affected Soviet life. Today Soviet foreign policy is designed to stifle the revolutionary action of the world working class. The Soviet bureaucracy, originally composed of workers, is now a historically unique petty-bourgeois stratum, with interests favoring the bourgeoisie and conflicting with those of the proletariat.

The Soviet Union joined the League of Nations set up by the victorious allies to maintain the oppressive Versailles Treaty. It betrayed the Spanish workers by supporting the capitalist Loyalist State and its suppression of all attempts by the workers to overthrow it. Henri Cachin, head of the French Communist Party, broke the metal trade strikes in the munition factories under the slogan of Support Democracy against Fascism. The French bourgeoisie itself could not manufacture better propaganda for enlisting the workers into another imperialist war. The United States Stalinists announce beforehand their loyal support of the "democratic" nations thus giving the capitalists expert advice for coralling the working class in the next war.

While Japan's policy of expansion and conquest can be characterized as imperialist, how can we describe the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the Far East? The autonomy of the national minorities within the Soviet Union has long ago been crushed. It is only a step now to extend this policy outside the USSR. To do this it does not have to formally annex territory as Germany did Austria or Japan Manchuria. With proper preparations, the "population" can always be gotten to "appeal" for inclusion into the USSR. This policy fits in with the typically imperialist strategy the Stalinists now pursue in their foreign relations.

WHERE IS THE SOVIET UNION GOING?

It is well known the U.S. recognized the Soviet Union in 1936 not only for commercial purposes but also to use it against Japan which was taking over Manchuria. Today the United States is concluding a commercial agreement with the Soviet Union by which the latter promises the U.S. an annual purchase of 40 million worth of goods in return for most-favored-nation treatment. The Stalinists in this country are pressing continuously for a Soviet-U.S. alliance. This is one explanation of their support of Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Hitler's recall of 60 German military advisers to the Chinese army left room for the influx of Russian advisers and arms to replace them. This situation is exactly what Borodin sought to introduce 12 years ago when Chiang Kai-Shek massacred and executed the revolutionary proletariat. China and Russia are drawn together in a common hatred of Japan. Having now the inside track in Chinese military affairs, and confident of its strengthened position in the Far East, the Stalinist bureaucracy has fanned war chauvinism to white heat. Two recent events illustrate this very well. On Sunday, July 24, the annual physical culture parade of thousands of Russian athletes and youth of the Red Army shouted before Stalin their "readiness to teach Japan a Bolshevik lesson." The parade was turned into a monster demonstration in defiance of Japan. Alexander Kosareff, head of the Young Communist League, voiced loyalty to Stalin by asking him "at the first sign of alarm to grant us the right to teach

Japan to refer with respect and veneration to our beloved Soviet power." Again, on August 2, "anti-war" mass meetings were held throughout the Soviet Union celebrating the 24th anniversary of Germany's declaration of war against Imperial Russia. The real purpose of these anti-war celebrations was to rally the Soviet masses in a war against Japan or Germany. The Red Star, Soviet army organ, says: "The provocation of the Japanese militarists is a link in their chain of preparations against the Soviet Union. We will reply with a blow powerful enough to blow them (the Japanese) off the face of the earth."

Due to the growing pressure from the capitalist class Stalin must crush the remnants of the October revolution, wipe out the old revolutionists. During the present crisis with Japan it is reported that wide-spread purges are taking place in the Soviet Far East, and that Petrovsky, for twenty years head of the Ukraine Republic, has been removed from that post. Also, that Dimitroff and Krylenko and possibly Litvinov and Kalinin are possibly headed for the executioner's block. The present border clash can be used to convict these former Bolsheviks if they come to trial. There are perhaps millions who nutely oppose Stalin's present policy at home and abroad. In the recent elections to the Congress of Soviets, one million ballots were invalidated. But there is nothing like a war to solidify the nation behind a Supreme leader.

In spite of the above, however, the socialized property forms and the traditions of the October Revolution still linger in the USSR. They constitute objective factors of the greatest value in the world struggle of the proletariat to reestablish the Soviets and restore the Soviet Union to the path toward Socialism.

STRATEGY OF WORLD REVOLUTION

The strategy of the world revolution teaches the workers how to take advantage of capitalist war and other contradictions of the present system to further the revolution. But we must never forget that the working class loses through the support of a capitalist state, "democratic" or fascist, in peace or in war. However, such a war may weaken and bring about the defeat of Japanese imperialism and thus stir up a social revolution in Japan. Victory in China may result in an advance of the nationalist revolution, in the forward surge of the vast millions toward social emancipation. Furthermore, the above conditions create the basis for undermining Stalinism in the ranks of the working class. A revolution in Japan would unleash the gigantic social forces in the Far East.

These results are of tremendous advantage to the proletarian revolution, but would be completely negated if the class pursues a policy of class peace during or after the war. Only a revolutionary Marxist party steeled and tested by events can insure the class final victory.

But wouldn't the Soviet Union use its victorious Red Armies to extinguish the revolutions ignited by the collapse of Japanese imperialism? Undoubtedly, Stalinist policy would aim at that result. But would it succeed? That is an open question. If a revolutionary Marxist Party arises in Russia it might turn the tide for the world revolution.

War in the Far East is inevitable. Since it cannot be avoided it should be fought under conditions most advantageous to the proletariat

of all the countries involved. The present circumstances are not at all favorable for the workers. Nowhere is there evidence today of serious class action by the proletariat in Japan, China or even in Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, the political and military conjuncture is favorable for the promotion of Stalinist policies.

However, if the present struggle should leave the "border incident" stage and broaden out into a war, - declared or undeclared - of the proportions of the China-Japan struggle, then the only course for the working class of the world would be defense of the Soviet Union against the historic imperialist aggressors. This course would depend for its success on the substitution of a policy of revolutionary Marxism for the anti-proletarian policy of Stalinism. This implies, in turn, a struggle to the death against the Stalinist bureaucracy including civil war within the war of defense of the Soviet Union.

The attitude of the Japanese Marxists toward Japanese imperialism can be no other than that of revolutionary defeatism. By playing the game of the capitalists, Stalinism has succeeded in enmeshing the Soviet Union and a large part of the working class of the world into the net of capitalist diplomacy. It is necessary to return to the old Bolshevik program of world peace through the overthrow of world capitalism, the cause of war. The only road to peace is the working class revolution: in Japan a social revolution of the Japanese workers and peasants over their capitalist class; in the Soviet Union a political revolution by the workers to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and reestablish the organs of working class power - the Soviets. For these purposes a new Communist Party must be built in the Soviet Union and throughout the world - the Communist Fourth International.

MILITARISM IN THE UNITED STATES . . .

"Militarism in the United States since the World War has assumed menacing proportions. It now constitutes an integral part of the structure of American capitalism. Compulsory military training has already penetrated the educational system. In the Phillipines a conscript colonial army has been created as an outpost against other imperialist powers. The struggle against war in the United States must include a systematic struggle against the new forms of American militarism." (THE WORKERS ANSWER TO BOSS WAR, 5¢, published for the Revolutionary Workers League, U.S., by DEMOS PRESS, 28 E. 14th St., New York, N. Y.)

In 1938, the United States Army used almost one half billion dollars supposedly to protect this country from foreign invasion, but in reality to handle what the War Department considers the most probable war: civil uprising in the United States of a social character.

The advantage that U.S. imperialism has over other capitalist nations is its tremendous production plant capable of being converted over night into the most powerful war machine in history. In the World War fourteen months were required to throw one million fighting men into action. This could be done today in 48 hours.

AGAINST NORTH-SOUTH WAGE DIFFERENTIALS

WAGES AND HOURS BILL A FRAUD

Of what benefit will the "Wages and Hours Bill" be to labor? It is not so very hard to guess when you consider the effect the N.R.A. had on wages. When this new law goes into operation it will be more detrimental than the old invalidated N.R.A. which brought wages to the lowest level, considerably reducing workers' standards of living. Here are some figures to give a clear view of what this so-called progressive labor measure will do for the wage earners as a whole.

Figures show that between 1919 and 1929 in the New England cotton industry employment dropped from 190,000 to 117,000, while during the same period in four Southern states employment rose from 117,000 to 247,000. The N.R.A. encouraged the exodus of manufacturing industry to the South by its wage differentials. Our dear old ever-scheming President, in paying bounties for the reduction of cotton acreage, incidentally increased the supply of cheap labor available for the expansion of the cotton industry of the South. Chasing after cheap labor became contagious. A sizeable portion of the steel industry moved to Birmingham because of low wages.

In May 1938 Birmingham steel plants operated at 66% of capacity compared to Chicago's 32% and Pittsburg's 25%. In the North the average industrial worker's yearly wage is \$774 while the Southern industrialist pay only \$598. Now \$176 per year is quite a cut from the wages of low paid workers. "The Minimum Wages and Hours Bill" because of the wage differential favors employers in the South. It provides for a lower starting wage. Seven years of employment is required before the highest pay is assured. Exodus of industry to the South will be further stimulated. A general reduction in wages will follow. The acute unemployment situation in the North will be aggravated.

To tolerate any law based on wage differentials is an indictment of organized labor, and its leadership in particular. The scoundrels in high places know very well the misery this differentiation has brought. Such a law would never have come into being if Roosevelt and the exploiting gangsters in industry did not have the aid of subsidized and collaborationist stooges like Green and Lewis and the putrid liberals and petty intellectual scum who stop at nothing in their struggle against the workers. These degenerated "leaders of labor" are not interested in alleviating the distressed conditions under which industrial and WPA workers must live, nor have they any regard for the starving unemployed old men, women and children existing under most inhuman conditions on relief.

The wage differential clause in the Minimum Wages and Hours Bill will hammer wages down lower than did the N.R.A. because the living standards are lower as provided in the bill. It will tend to destroy whatever mass organization exists below the Mason-Dixon line. It will reduce the higher in the North. It will tend to revive the old antagonism between the North and South. To some people this law appears liberal and beneficial. In

reality it is vicious in content and intent. It is designed to perpetuate the old demarcation between the Northern and Southern workers and between Negro and white workers and to discourage unity in action.

Labor cannot afford to allow any law or state machine to inflict lower living standards on workers on a geographical or racial basis. It is our duty to fight demagogues in our own ranks and all reactionary laws inimical to our interests. Labor must brush aside all racial and national prejudices and unite all workers into a massive force capable of overthrowing the fast-rotting capitalist system and set up a workers' government whose only interest will be the right for every man, woman and child to proper food, clothing, shelter and the pleasures of life.

BEN PALIFERRO

PICTURE OF A NEW DEAL FLOPHOUSE

Detroit, Mich., July 30.- Fisher Lodge, officially called "The Wayne County Bureau For Homeless and Unattached Persons", is a place where single unemployed men without homes sleep and eat--that is, provided they have resided in Detroit for one year. It is situated near the center of the town, off along the Detroit River a way from the prying eyes of tourists and foreign visitors such as Prince Bertil of Sweden, who recently came to admire "our" institutions. Fisher Lodge occupies the six story structure of what was formerly a machine shop. The Lodge houses about 800 men. It is always full--indeed new recruits are turned away every day or else sent to Eloise, a hospital for the poor and insane. The inside looks like a warehouse, with the fourth and fifth floors covered with double-decked cots for sleeping.

The whole atmosphere is that of a prison. When one worker asked another what is the difference between the Lodge and a prison, he was told that there is none, except that the Lodge has no bars. For, although one is free to go and come as he likes, he lacks the financial means to fill his leisure time, unless he is expert at "hustling" (dice throwing) or "on the stem" (panhandling). Consequently, you just hang around the "recreation room", which is a factory floor covered with park benches and a few card tables, or pass your time on the boat decks.

Every occupant performs two days of labor a week in the building. All work is done by the men, with the exception of a small staff on the permanent pay roll. The meals, for which you have to stand in line for as long as an hour, cost the city about four cents per person. I was told by those working in the kitchen that the food is purchased from wholesale grocers who can no longer "use the stuff". Nearly everybody suffers from stomach disorders. The diet is heavy and unbalanced. I have seen more than one fellow lying on his bed in a stupor, holding his stomach. Bad colds and coughs are common. Ventilation is foul. We are not permitted to occupy our beds between 8:30 in the morning and 4:30 in the afternoon. A decent night's rest is almost impossible. The weary among us try to get rest on the hard park benches in the "recreation" room.

As might be expected, stealing is rife in the Lodge. I put my shoes under my pillow at night to be sure to have them in the morning. The purpose of stealing is to purchase rubby-dub (cheap alcohol) with the few pennies gotten from the pawnshops on Michigan Avenue nearby. To men compelled to live in the Lodge there is not much to look forward to under this damnable system. Drink is one "solution".

Another instance. A Polish worker stole a cheap lighter. I knew him to be an unemployed worker from the Ford River Rouge Plant. While huge sums are spent to celebrate Ford's 75th birthday, this worker had to live on \$7.50 a week (unemployment compensation) for three or four months or at least until he got called back to the Rouge plant. Starvation, malnutrition were responsible for his act of stealing. Last year conditions were even worse. The UAWA improved them somewhat. Of course, the labor bureaucrats in the UAWA had in mind primarily getting votes for Murphy. After the elections they kept their hands off the Lodge because of possible embarrassment to Murphy who is troubled enough in Wayne and other counties by the relief crisis. Last week a rank and file movement was organized in the Lodge to get clothes for WPA workers. It met with some success. This shows that the Lodge can be improved by organization.

The press fosters the impression that the Fisher Lodge "pogies" as we call one another, are a bunch of shiftless tramps who do not wish to work. This is nothing but capitalist propaganda which calls us "builders of society" when we produce profits for them, and shiftless tramps when we can't get work. It is true there are the usual number of slum proletarians in the Lodge, but for the most part, the occupants are workers thrown out of industry, with no place to stay and no way to eat.

When conditions force these men to take up the march against the capitalist state in earnest, they will settle accounts with those responsible for these hell-holes. Human beings cannot survive under such miserable conditions. The workers must build a society which abolishes such humiliating and degrading institutions as Fisher Lodge.

FISHER LODGE "POGIE"

WEST COAST C.I.O. COUNCIL SPLITS

Los Angeles, Cal.- Four C.I.O. unions voted to withdraw from the Industrial Union Council controlled by Harry Bridges, czar of the dwindling Maritime Federation of the Pacific. They are the International Ladies Garment Workers, the United Automobile Workers, the United Rubber Workers and the United Shoe Workers unions. They all charge Bridges with bringing the Industrial Council under the control of the Communist Party.

WHERE TO BUY REVOLT IN CHICAGO

Postoffice News
37 West Monroe

Universal Bookshop
1614 West Madison

Workers Center
1806 West North

ON THE LABOR PARTY

August 15th, 1938.

Dear Comrade:

We approach the Labor Party question from the following premises:

- 1) Objectively the U.S. is ripe for the transformation to Communism.
- 2) A revolutionary situation is maturing.
- 3) The task of the revolutionists is to construct a revolutionary party in time to seize power at the head of the masses and establish a proletarian dictatorship.
- 4) There is relatively little time in which to accomplish this task.

A labor party, any labor party, is a reformist party. A reformist party does not represent the interests of the working class. It represents the interests of the capitalist class. Its top leadership are agents of the capitalist class. The American Labor Party, like the British Labor Party, demonstrates this unmistakably. So does the Farmer Labor Party in the northwest.

The task of the revolutionists is to expose and pillory the leadership of the labor parties and win the workers who follow them. It is not their task to agitate for and to build a reformist party. That is deception of the masses and betrayal of their interests.

Of course, it is their duty to work inside of this party to build fractions of its members on the basis of revolutionary ideas and policies with the aim of developing them to the point of a break with the labor party and adhere to or fusion with the revolutionary party. But in no circumstances can the revolutionists liquidate their organization for the sake of work within the labor party. The contemplated liquidation of the Socialist Workers Party into the American Labor Party does not come under this head. It would be the liquidation of a centrist organization without perspective or hope into a reformist party.

HOW REVOLUTIONISTS WORK

The success of work by revolutionists within the labor party depends on the maintenance of the revolutionary organization. A fraction of revolutionists within a reformist party must observe limitations on its ability to speak and act. It must not isolate itself from the broad membership. There must be, at all times, an organization of revolutionists which speaks to the workers in the name of Marxism, without restraint of reformists. The independent, revolutionary organization complements what the fraction in the labor party says. It says what the latter cannot say until it breaks with the labor party.

But if the independent organization is liquidated the fraction in the labor party is deprived of its strongest political support, of its political guide and critic. In time it becomes disoriented and is transformed from a bridge to Marxism into a channel for capitulation to the reformists.

In considering the labor party question in the United States it is necessary to consider the following facts:

- 1) The basis for the existence of mass, labor parties is the ability of the capitalist class to afford the working class a higher standard of living.
- 2) The workers in the mass labor parties of England, France, Germany, etc., enjoyed reforms and a higher standard of living through the ability of the capitalists of these countries to realize super profits through the exploitation of the masses in their colonies.
- 3) The United States has no colonies. Its ability to bribe millions of workers is limited. The historic ground for reformism is objectively narrow. It is not non-existent; it is extremely narrow. Furthermore, it is diminishing as the world crisis of capitalism continues unabated and is aggravated by wars and political and social upheavals; and as the permanent crisis in the country deepens.
- 4) In its broadest sense the argument that the masses must pass thru a period of reformism before becoming revolutionary is false. That was the way in the past. It is not the path of the American workers. In their bulk they will skip this stage. Those that do will pass thru it rapidly. That is why in the unions in the basic industries, the reformist leaders come into such deep and prolonged conflict with the rank and file.

Only capitulators, cowards and traitors, conscious or unconscious, base their policy on the idea that the workers MUST pass thru a period more or less prolonged, of reformism. In their time the Mensheviks argued against the Bolsheviks from the theoretical standpoint before the Russian masses could enter into proletarian revolutionary struggles they had to pass thru the period of bourgeois democracy. The genius of Lenin consisted in his recognition of the historic fact that Russian capitalism was too weak to sustain it and had either to be replaced by Soviet democracy or develop an open military dictatorship. That is so true that a restoration of capitalist rule in the Soviet Union today would have to take that form.

The argument about the necessity for a period of reformism before the revolution is akin to the Menshevik argument of twenty one years ago. It stems from the same fundamental capitalist source. We don't mean to convey the impression that the revolution can be marked off on this years' calendar. But it is much closer than most people think. Our task is to prepare for it and be ready. For that we must build a revolutionary party.

There are many other aspects and angles to the labor party question. They can be discussed in other letters. These are the fundamental considerations.

Let us hear from you.

Comradely,

T. STAMM

(NOTE: We publish the above letter in response to numerous requests for our position on the Labor Party question. The ferment in the SWP (Trotskyites) on this question creates again the need for a clear statement of principles. For more comprehensive treatment we refer our readers to our forthcoming pamphlet on the Labor Party)

NORTH CHICAGO HARDWARE STRIKERS GASSED

BITTER DEFEAT A LESSON FOR FUTURE

NORTH CHICAGO, Aug. 7.- On June 6, the Chicago Hardware Foundry Co. workers (Steel Workers Organizing Committee) went out on strike against a 10% cut in wages, for vacations with pay, and for a written contract.

A picket line was set up, going night and day for seven weeks, the duration of the strike. Many rank and file leaders were arrested. 47 men are still held. Others were forced to flee Lake County. Their crime consisted in an attempt to organize the plant against the 10% wage cut which reduced the standard of living of 460 workers and their families below the subsistence level.

Circuit Court Judge Dady issued an injunction forbidding picketing, authorizing the sheriff to hire 115 deputies to break the strike and deal a blow to the SWOC. The bosses of Lake County appropriated \$10,000 for this purpose, half to pay the deputies, half to purchase guns, bullets, bombs, gas, etc.

On July 24, 300 unarmed men, women and children picketed the plant. The Sheriff and his regular police force plus the 115 special deputies were equipped with tear gas bombs, and a special gas machine gun which fires two and a half blocks. The workers defended themselves with stones from a railroad siding. Writing of the gas machine gun, the Tribune cynically reports: "The prevailing wind favored the police." Even when the bombs were picked up and returned the wind swept the paralyzing gas right back into the mass of pickets. 126 tear gas bombs were used to break the picket line. Militant workers who had not yet been seized by the police were taken to jail.

OUTCOME OF THE STRIKE

The workers were forced to accept a very bad settlement: 5% cut in pay the first week; beginning August 1, 10% cut; negotiations for a new scale at the end of six months. These are the same terms offered by the boss at the beginning of the strike.

Ten men were cited for contempt of court. The president of the company agreed to attempt to have the citation for contempt vacated. The CIO officials in turn promised to withdraw the charges they made to the National Labor Relations Board against the Company. 37 other men are on trial for "conspiracy, intimidation, and rioting." The CIO lawyer pleaded "for another chance. These men didn't know what they were doing. They are ignorant of the law." The leaders of the strike pleaded guilty and claimed ignorance, thereby agreeing with the judge and boss that the strike was a criminal action. In other words, they are telling the workers (and the boss) that a strike is a crime; therefore, do not strike. By these statements the "leaders" of the strike brand themselves as labor fakers, agents of the boss.

To successfully combat the boss the policy in and out of court should have been: Yes, we organized a picket line. The police attacked us even though we had no arms; and we fought back. We knew what we were doing. We were fighting against a wage cut. WE WILL CONTINUE THIS STRUGGLE!

NEW DEAL ⁶⁵DEPLORES⁹⁹ HAITIAN-DOMINICAN CLASH

UNITY OF WEST INDIAN AND AMERICAN WORKERS NEEDED

American imperialism prepared the ground for last years' massacre of 10,000 innocent, helpless people in Santo Domingo. It evacuated the marines in 1916, and removed every weapon of defense from the Haitian people. The little Negro Republic was left to the mercy of its well-armed neighbor republic, Santo Domingo.

Haiti is an agricultural nation. The depression hit it harder than it did the industrial nations. The lot of the Haitian workers and farmers is unbearable. Protests and demonstrations for bread and political rights swept the island. President Vincent resorted to terror. He replied to the Haitian working masses with executions, exile and long prison sentences. Vincent plays the role of a brutal gangster. He has jailed Seymour Pradel who ran against him for the presidency and most of the Haitian opposition. Even Jaques Roumain, the island's most popular literary figure, is now in exile in France. Like all strutting colonial dictatorships, the Vincent Administration cannot stand criticism.

Santo Domingo is governed by Trujillo, who is just as vicious and treacherous with the masses as Vincent. He too kills off opponents and imposes a reign of terror on the Dominican masses.

Formerly Santo Domingo was economically better off than Haiti. This caused large numbers of Haitians to migrate there. The breakdown of world capitalist economy struck the island severely. The old feud between the Spanish-speaking Dominicans and the French Haitians sprang up. Trujillo diverted mass dissatisfaction with his administration into a jingoistic war on the Haitian "foreigners". By October of last year over ten thousand Haitians had been slain by the Dominicans. Bloody as the massacre of the Haitians was, President Vincent refused to allow the truth of the affair to be broadcasted to the outside world. It is reported that Vincent reached an agreement with the Dominican Republic "to soft-pedal the affair".

By inciting the colonials against each other the New Deal government saved itself the expense and scandal of sending marines to Haiti as they did in 1916. With the sanction of Roosevelt, impartial arbitrators were set up who hushed up the whole affair. Santo Domingo paid Haiti an indemnity of \$750,000.00 for the lives of over ten thousand black peasants. The matter was "settled". But the economic distress of both peoples has not been ameliorated; on the contrary conditions on the island steadily get worse. The days of the Vincents and Trujillos and other Wall Street puppets are numbered. The fate of the West Indian workers and peasants is bound up with the struggles of the American working class against the common enemy, United States capitalism. Only through the establishment of a workers dictatorship on this continent can their victory and ours become permanent.

CHICAGO W.P.A. O.C. ISSUES PROGRAM

The conditions under which 150,000 workers in Chicago live and work are now worse than before. Thousands are being put on the rolls. Legislation is the order of the day. "A full day's work for your relief pay" is the slogan of the Administration. Grievances are piling sky high. Wages, hours, sanitation, sick leave - all press for relief. The Illinois Workers Alliance is bankrupt and has broken down as an agency of the working class. It is the servile tool of the very administration creating the conditions-it pretends to correct. The unemployed have deserted the IWA in droves. New independent unemployed and WPA forces have sprung into being. Of these forces the most promising seems to be the WPA-Organizing Committee whose program we publish below.

PROGRAM

The WPA workers in Chicago, receiving wages far below the standard required to maintain decent living conditions and normal health, must be organized into a regular union, just as those in industry are organized.

WE PROPOSE:

1. A union that will organize all the projects in Chicago into one city-wide industrial organization, for the present the representation to be one delegate to every ten (10) men.
2. A union that will take in all WPA workers excluding those empowered to hire and fire.
3. A union that will represent the interests of the WPA workers regardless of race, color, creed, religion, nationality, or political belief.
4. A union dependent on its organized might, rather than one dependent on the promises of politicians.
5. A union that will establish unity between the workers in industry, those on the WPA, and those on relief, in all struggles for bettering the conditions of the workers.

OUR DEMANDS:

1. Minimum pay of \$85.00 a month.
2. No increase in hours.
3. No Saturday work.
4. A full day's credit for reporting in bad weather.
5. Assurance of makeup time for illness.
6. Prevailing hourly rates for all skilled work.
7. First aid service.
8. Strict adherence to sanitary and health laws.
9. Permanent shelters.
10. Recognition of the union on all projects.

WPA ORGANIZING COMMITTEE - SUITE 3
 3451 Michigan Avenue, Chicago.
 Phone, Victory 0065.

ORGANIZATION NOTES

① Beginning this issue REVOLT will be published at 1806 West North Avenue, Chicago. (Telephone: Armitage 8009) The Third Convention of the Revolutionary Workers League held in New York April 30-May 1 laid down as one of its immediate objectives the transfer of the national center from New York closer to the heart of the industrial proletariat of the United States. We orient our activity with particular attention to the needs of this decisive section of the working class. We are glad to inform our readers that this transfer has been accomplished within four months of the Third Convention.

② We beg the indulgence of our readers for the delay in the publication of the current issue of REVOLT caused by the technical problems arising in connection with the transfer. Our Chicago staff is now set for production. With your help and that of our contributors, a regular semi-monthly schedule will hereafter be maintained.

③ The Chicago unit has opened headquarters at 1806 North Avenue. It is well on its way toward fulfillment of its quota of new members. Statements by two of these declaring adherence to the RWL are published on pages 24 and 25 of this issue. The course in ABC of Marxism which began June 23rd will conclude its tenth and last session this week. Fall courses are in preparation. Regular street meetings have been held this summer on Sunday nights at Belmont and Wilton and School and Clark in spite of police interference. They are scheduled to continue on the latter corner for the balance of the summer. Bundles of 200 REVOLTS are sold.

④ The Detroit unit is distributing a political declaration to the workers of Detroit on the issues facing the American proletariat. Study classes in the ABC of Marxism and American Labor History will soon be launched. All members are active in the auto union and WPA organization. They easily dispose of bundles of 200 REVOLTS and clamor for more. Detroit will fill its quota of new members as laid down by the Third Convention.

⑤ The New York unit carries on regular functions from its headquarters at 28 E. 14th St., 2nd floor. The brunt of the work for the release of comrade N fell on the New York comrades and they have discharged their duty well.

⑥ The Philadelphia comrades are resting on their oars. They need a few workers from basic industry to pep up their activity.

⑦ West Coast. Prospects for organization on the West Coast are good. Enthusiastic response from maritime and aircraft workers for the punch that REVOLT carries. Systematic work on the waterfront is needed to build the organization.

(NOTE: Lesson nine of the ABC of MARXISM course will be carried in next issue)

WHY I JOINED THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE

I started to fight the bosses at the age of twelve. In my early teens I took part in some riotous struggles, on one occasion facing the bayonet points of the militia. The many bread lines I saw during the panic of 1893 while in Buffalo did not yet bring me to the full realization of how detrimental these recurring depressions were to the toiling masses.

I was drawn into the political movement during 1908-1912, much enthused with what was a new field to me. The Socialist Party previous to and after the presidential election of 1912, because of its weak leadership and its utter disregard for revolutionary principles, caused many like myself to lose faith in this movement - all of which led to the gradual disintegration of the Socialist Party.

The urge for action drove me out into the open field, moving about the country, associating myself with the Wobblies in different parts of the West.

The Industrial Workers of the World, organized in 1905, was later headed by the famous triumvirate, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, who inaugurated a general strike agitation throughout the West, invading rural as well as urban districts, preaching the doctrine of one union and general strike. Their methods of carrying out the work were not organizationally perfect; nor their tactics always correct. But their courage in the face of the enemy made up for some of the shortcomings. Despite the fact that their physical struggle was revolutionary and consequently against the State, they stubbornly negated the political principle in their preamble. The Socialist Party meekly submitted in 1917 to the War. The I.W.W. split in two and many leaders of the anti-War half, because of their refusal to sell liberty bonds--were clamped for five years behind the bars. During the short period I was associated with the Wobblies, I had the pleasure of meeting the most courageous fighters I have ever met in my entire career in the labor movement.

In 1919, in Italy, I found myself in the midst of the most intensive political ferment bordering on revolution. I was called out nightly in preparation for any eventuality. I ran the daily risk of being court-martialled for treason. Here were workers tired of being shunted about, locked out, increasingly distrustful of their exploiters, disillusioned with the hope of peaceful settlement with them, decided on insurrection. They equipped themselves with rifles, double-barrelled pistols and machine guns and declared a lock-in. Though I had been imbued with the spirit of revolution for many years, yet only on seeing the nozzles of these fire arms elevated above the window sills, with grim faces behind them, did I fully understand the class war and the role a revolutionist must play in order to emancipate the working class.

On returning to industry, I always agitated for better conditions on the job though somehow I felt that the fire had gone out of me, and on only one occasion did I take part in a strike, coming out with few workers in a department of which I had charge. Later, working as a chauffeur, I joined the union affiliated with A.F. of L., dominated by strong-arm men rated as the worst hoodlums in organized labor. Fighting this kind of leadership was almost impossible as they had "coffee-and-buns" always ready to bounce you down the stairs--or even throw you out of a second story window, if there was enough money in it.

The crumbling of artificial markets and excessively high prices in 1929, brought about our present chaotic conditions. I became one of the tens of millions of unemployed by 1932, but did not enter the struggle till 1935, because of ill health. Here was a new field, the unemployed field, where it seemed one could be free to fight for the sick, the weak, the aged, women and children, the starving unemployed. But I was mistaken. Here too the opportunists and connivers, the degenerate political cliques, the lowest scoundrels preyed on the demoralized unemployed. Here lawyers, preachers, teachers, who never knew what it was to starve, or live under inhuman conditions - posed as their trusted representatives while holding secret meetings to devise schemes by which more privations could be imposed upon the workers. I joined the Communist Party, thinking it would better the chances of fighting this stinking petty-bourgeoisie, but to no avail, as the Stalinists too, had reached the same low level of their Socialist brother collaborators.

I have worked three solid years in this "hardest field" of struggle. There is not one of the many workers political parties, groups, or factions which now carries forward revolutionary principles of struggle except the Revolutionary Workers League. I am joining this group because they have proven to me in action that they are sincere, and are unstintingly, willing to put all their energy in the class struggle; as exemplified during the recent shut-down of the relief stations, when everyone was gloomy and the future of the unemployed looked the blackest. These comrades organized picket lines, mimeographed and distributed many thousands of leaflets by which the community was roused into action, resulting in daily open mass meetings. All other detailed work connected with a mass movement was carried out with speed and vim. This group is apparently tireless. I therefore join the Revolutionary Workers League and pledge to give my best to it and the working class.

HEN PALIFERRO

I JOIN WITH THE MARXISTS

After nine years of Hooverism and New Dealism, following the crash of '29 and the resultant decadence of the capitalist system, I, as an unemployed confused young worker became more and more class-conscious and aware of my position in capitalist society. The climax came after I had a series of discussions and disputes with a fellow worker whom I knew later on as comrade Jensen of the YWL (Oehlerites), and which resulted in my attendance at socials and meetings of this organization and participation in its activities. Jensen belonged to an organization which professed to be purely Marxist and to my politically undeveloped mind it actually appeared to be so. However, ensuing events and study enabled me to apprehend more clearly just what Marxism is and to what extent this organization lived up to it.

A series of experiences with the Oehlerites convinced me that they are incapable of organizing or teaching workers constructively in Marxism and the need for revolutionary overthrow of capitalism: 1, they call for "Great Lakes orientation" but really they are oriented towards Division Street and Bughouse Square, frequented by the petty-bourgeois and slum elements, Stalinists, reactionaries, etc., and away from industrial sections, and their isolation from direct contact with healthy, militant workers; 2, their membership consists of middle-class or semi-middle class elements as well as lumpen-proletarian or demoralized, non-working class elements both within the youth and adult organizations.

These two poisonous elements do not belong in a revolutionary organization. The working class cannot look to them for guidance. These elements cannot lead the workers but are only capable of being carried along and tail-ending the movement. They are merely a hindrance to the working class; 3, Their activity is slipshod, haphazard, noticeable from the very start in the putting out of literature, holding of street meetings, trade-union and unemployed "activity"; 4, The Wickum-Jensen case.- Last June, comrade Jensen and myself were arrested for pasting "anti-war" stickers on telephone poles. In the publications of the Oehlerites a great ballyhoo was raised about the necessity of "class pressure" against the city bosses and the ordinance in question, the setting up of a provisional defence committee and the raising of a defence fund. All publicity in the Fighting Worker to the contrary, however, a provisional defence committee was never organized, or at least was never in evidence. Unless they mean by provisional defence committee members of their own clique. Their "class pressure" was confined to the Fighting Worker. To my knowledge not a single organization was brought into the case. Only the Revolutionary Workers League (REVOLT) supported me in my original policy of securing the release of Jensen and myself. With their assistance, our case was dismissed. They pointed out that the sacrifice of the prisoner to the capitalist state under these circumstances is not class struggle defence at all, but a false tactic, and that I was of more service to the movement outside of jail than inside.

After the charges were dropped through the intervention of Lawyer Heisler, the Oehlerite "Fighting Worker" claimed that their "pressure and exposure forced the courts to drop the case as too hot to handle." Far from raising a defence fund, they found it too difficult to pay me back the \$10 I personally put up for my own bond. This is a conclusive example of their inefficiency, adventurism and dishonesty. To date, no accounting for funds raised in my case has been made.

Similar to this case, and far more important, is the Negrete case. On the same basis, the Oehlerites called for "class action," and (presumably) raised funds to secure Negrete's release and repatriation. Yet, only after Negrete was already on his way to Marseilles did they "offer" to collaborate in the matter of funds. To date to my knowledge the Oehlerites have contributed not one cent for his release and repatriation. The RWL (REVOLT) has raised \$200 thru contributions and loans. I am convinced that the Oehlerites have no interest in obtaining the release of Negrete, but simply utilize the case for funds and factional publicity. This can be seen from their reckless cablegrams to the Loyalist Government. These and other experiences, accumulated over a period of several months convinced me, in spite of personal attachments to several YWL members, that this organization is Marxist only in name but not in action, and that the YWL - to which I was very hastily voted in as a member (at a meeting of which I was the chairman!), existed only in Chicago, and there only on paper.

During this period I came in contact with the RWL (REVOLT) which previously had split from the Oehlerites for repeated examples of incompetence, bureaucracy and stagnancy in the political field.

With an open mind I followed the activities and progress made in the various industrial centers and the unemployed movement by the RWL, and their serious and responsible attitude towards class war prisoners.

Without completely understanding the positions on the various problems, e.g., Trotskyism, Centrism, Democratic Centralism, etc., I began to see that the RWL (REVOLT) was composed of serious Marxists with a program of action for the working class.

On Aug. 5, I was presented with the following charges: "1, Political support to an opponent's organization, e.g., selling REVOLT. 2, Refusal to accept unit discipline. 3, Organizational support of an opponent's organization in preference to the YWL, e.g., attending affairs of said organization in preference to our classes, socials, and affairs."

The first and last charges are true. I have given ample reason above for doing so. To the second I plead guilty on the grounds that as a revolutionist it is my duty to refuse the "discipline" of a non-Marxist organization.

I take this occasion to sever my relations with the Ochlerites and declare myself for the only organization today actually carrying a Marxist program and action to the class, the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE (REVOLT).

CARL WICKUM

FREE JOSEPH ZACK !!

In 1935, Joseph Zack, was expelled from the Communist Party. He had been a member of the Political Buro, the highest body in the American CP. Today this same Political Buro aids the American Government in seeking the deportation of Zack to Czechoslovakia. Zack is charged with "illegal" entry based on a passport he obtained in 1930, and on which he subsequently returned to this country.

This passport has been issued to him on the basis of his birth record registered in Scranton, Pennsylvania on the sworn testimony of his mother, and other witnesses. The State Department, aided by testimony given by members of the Stalinist Party, claims that a record of Zack's birth also exists in Czechoslovakia. Zack's mother has testified that this is only the record of his baptism, which took place when Zack was two years old in Czechoslovakia in 1895, where Zack had been taken for a visit by his mother.

The amazing part of the deportation proceedings against Zack is that they were instituted AFTER Zack had made repeated requests to Secretary Hull and the State Department - to ascertain the whereabouts of his wife and American born son who were being held by the Stalinists in the Soviet Union. They were being detained by the GPU as hostages. To prevent this investigation the contemptible Stalinists are framing Zack as an alien.

Months ago, when the Department of Labor first started proceedings, the Revolutionary Workers League reacted to the frameup and participated in the preliminary steps in the defense work. A defence committee is being set up. We will continue to render every assistance within our power to free Zack, Negrete and other victims from the clutches of capitalist class justice.

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