

Pursuit of Happiness

Southern Style

AND AFTER A DAY before the drug stores or around the empty fountain in the Courthouse Square, they go out to lynch a nigger. They kill him, and they kill him hard. They get in cars at night and put the nigger in between them, they go down the dusty roads until they find the place that they are going to, and before they get there, they jab little knives into the nigger, not a long way in, but just a little way. And they laugh to see him squirm.

When they get out at the place they are going to, the place the nigger sat in is a pool of blood. Perhaps it makes the boy who is driving the car sick at his stomach, but the older people laugh. Then they take the nigger through the rough field stubble of a piece of land and hang him to a tree. But before they hang him they saw off his thick nose and his fat nigger lips with a rusty knife. And they laugh about it. Then they castrate him. And at the end they hang him.

This is the way things are in South Carolina . . .

The Web and the Rock by Thomas Wolfe

DEC. 8, former president Herbert Hoover, made an appeal to the country to raise money for a relief fund for the Finnish people.

Said Hoover:

America has a duty to do its part in the relief of the hideous suffering of the Finnish people. Our people should have an outlet in which to express their individual and practical sympathy. I have consented to organize a nationwide Finnish relief fund for this purpose.

Newspapers took up the appeal, organized collection campaigns. Governors of states appointed Finland days for the same purpose.

For almost seven years, since Roosevelt was inaugurated in March 1933, ex-president Hoover has lived, politically in a semi-emerging from time to time to make the front pages of the newspapers with attacks on the New Deal. Now with dramatic swiftness, he steps to the center of the stage of American capitalist politics as the head of a relief campaign for the Finnish people.

Why?

Is it because he is, as the papers say, a great humanitarian? Has he become an angel of goodness since that day when, as president, he ordered American soldiers to attack the Bonus army, encamped in Washington, with tear gas and bayonets?

No. There are other reasons, dearer to the hearts of American capitalists. They have a job for this political hack to do, a job in which he is experienced, ruthlessly capable—the use of relief, in the name of

humanity, for counter-revolutionary ends.

HOOPER'S famous doctrine is that political and diplomatic ends may be most easily gained by the use of economic means. And he has proved it.

Dec. 18:

In 1918, shortly after the Armistice, a young Finn appeared in London, sought out Herbert Hoover, then chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, and appealed to him for food for his starving, war-torn country. Impressed by the facts presented. Mr. Hoover not only arranged to get hold of the food, but persuaded the Allied powers to relax the blockade still being enforced in the Baltic to allow the food to be shipped in. It was a life-saver for the nation in its struggle against the Reds.

A year later the spectre of communism haunted the world in the shape of a Soviet government in Hungary. Of Hoover's role in the struggle to overthrow the government of Bela Kun, Captain T. T. C. Gregory, San Francisco attorney, American Army officer, head of the American

Revolt

Organ of
Revolutionary
Workers
League,
U. S.



Vol. II.—No. 18
CHICAGO, ILL.
DECEMBER 23, 1939
Price 3 Cents

WHEN ?

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14.—The confidential report which Ambassador Joe Kennedy brought to Roosevelt was anything but optimistic. . . . He did not deny the possibility of revolution. . . . if the war drags on too long.—Washington Merry-Go-Round.

Why Hoover?

Relief Administration in Central Europe, Mr. Hoover's personal agent, wrote in the *London World's Work*, June 1921:

He was feeding and succoring Balkanized Europe only as a incident to the fight he was making to throw back the red wave of Bolshevism

The Allies had declared a blockade of Soviet Hungary. To fight Bolshevism in Finland Hoover got the Allies to lift the blockade against that country. For Hungary he followed a different plan. From Hoover's standpoint, said Gregory, "salvation of Central Europe depended on the immediate ousting of Bela Kun."

SEVERAL times the Assistant Commissar of Food of the Hungarian Soviet Republic secretly visited Capt. Gregory in Vienna, begging him to be allowed to buy food for the starving workers and peasants. "I had refused him absolutely," wrote Gregory.

But 48 hours before the coup which overthrew Bela Kun, Gregory sent for the Commissar and told him that

he might reconsider his refusal if the Soviet would pay in cash to the tune of a million dollars. The Commissar agreed. "There were tears in his eyes," wrote Gregory, "and I knew I could trust him."

Next day the money was paid. But Gregory did not deliver any food.

The coup was sprung in Budapest. The Soviet government fell. Gregory released food. "Within a few hours," he wrote, "the people were eating the bread and the fats that the Bolshevik, all unknown, and certainly never conscious of the irony of the situation, had brought through me . . ."

Said Rose Wilder Lane in *The Making of Herbert Hoover*:

the group who revolution in Budapest with their tremendous food-control and a skilful handling of the political situation. Bela Kun and the Soviets fell Vienna was held in a firm grip with American relief and American soldiers; Czecho-Slovakia stood, firm, and Europe was kept from Communism.

TWO YEARS later Hoover negotiated with the government of the Soviet Union to bring the American Relief Administration to Russia. But here he did not do as well as in Finland and Hungary. In return for the relief he brought he got only minor concessions, favorable treatment for American nationals and American prisoners.

Continued on Last Page

BALANCE THE BUDGET

IT IS CHRISTMAS.

Peace on earth.

President Roosevelt's budget may call for about \$2,200,000,000 for national defense. *New York Times*.

IT IS CHRISTMAS.

Good will toward men.

9,200,000 unemployed in industry in November—A.F. of L.

Over 330,000 families, more than a million people, roam the United States like gypsies; vainly seek work.

2,074,978 on WPA.

301,638 public assistance cases in Michigan.

311,020 relief cases in New York.

1,097,16 persons dependent on public assistance in Illinois.

1,450,000 in Pennsylvania.

IT IS CHRISTMAS.

\$36.84 average per family per month relief in California.

\$34.29 in New York.

\$24.04 in Minnesota.

\$20.29 in Illinois.

\$16.30 in Iowa.

13.82 in Indiana.

\$10.27 in Virginia.

\$9.79 in San Antonio, Texas, in surplus commodities only.

\$3.38 in Oklahoma.

IT IS CHRISTMAS.

Relief in Pennsylvania denied to anyone with relatives who eat regularly.—*Record*.

Illinois unemployed to be thrown off relief to force their kin to feed them—*Ill. Relief Administration*.

Dayton, Youngstown, Columbus in Distress — *News-week*.

Relief cut 35% in Chicago since Spring.

Over one half of the unemployed unfit for work; great majority of "employables" unfit for work, after years of living in bug-infested, un-heated houses, on sub-starvation

food rations and disease—*Cleveland Relief Administration*.

4,500 person literally starving to death—*Toledo Social Service Agencies*.

IT IS CHRISTMAS.

Scavenging in garbage dumps in Chicago, Tulsa, Toledo, Cleveland, Gary. Gary law requires a permit to be a scavenger.

Jobless musician takes own life.

Laborer tries suicide.

Unemployed steel worker dying from silicosis kills wife and self.

Unemployed ex-school board

employee leaps to death.

Jobless and hungry, world war vet is suicide.

Discharged from WPA, kills self—*Capitalist press*.

MERRY CHRISTMAS.

Praise god from whom all blessing flow.

Praise him all creatures here below.

Cut taxes.

Cut relief.

Balance the budget—*Capitalist class*.

AMERICAN WORKERS

When will you

AWAKE

ARISE

REVOLT

Philippine Freedom Menaced By U. S. War Aims

A big factor in the growing conflict between the United States and Japan are the Philippine Islands, whose role in the impending battle for Far Eastern supremacy generally does not receive the attention it deserves.

With almost the entire U. S. fleet in the Pacific, Philippine defense forces in recent months have been strengthened with the addition of six submarines, six Boeing pursuit planes, and an undisclosed number of destroyers.

Known as the "Pearls of the Orient," they are the largest American possession in the Orient. Named after Philippe II of Spain, the Archipelago numbering 7,083 islands, 2,441 of which are large enough to have names, is only 300 miles from the Asiatic coast, and about 7,200 miles from San Francisco. Total land area is 150,000 sq. miles, some 30,000 sq. miles less than Japan proper. However, 60% of the terrain is arable. 20% of Japan's terrain is arable.

Population, mostly of Malaysian origin, has increased from six million in 1898 to 15,984,247 in 1939. 95% are of the Catholic faith. Only 130,000 are non-Filipinos: 4,000 Americans; 5,000 Spanish, 80,000 Chinese, 25,000 Japanese, 3,000 all others. Cities of Cebu and Iloilo have populations of over 50,000 apiece; Manila over 300,000.

RAILWAYS extend for 375 miles; highways for 10,404 miles; telephones numbered 20,180 in 1933.

According to the Philippine Soc. P. May 1939,

and other. The Philippines has the largest known chromium deposits, and is capable of supplying every variety of tropical agricultural products. Rubber and cotton can be produced in large scale in the islands....

TRADE

Production is chiefly agricultural; principal crops are coconuts and sugar. Principal imports are: iron and steel finished products, automobiles and parts, cotton goods, mineral oils, meat and dairy products. Japan is second to the U. S. as a supplier of imports. Imports rose from \$101,000,000 in 1936 to \$109,000,000 in 1937, 61% coming from the U. S. Exports rose from \$148,000,000 in 1936 to \$167,000,000 in 1937, 81% going to the U. S. Total value of Philippine-U. S. trade is over \$200,000,000 annually. U. S. capitalists have over \$160,000,000 invested in the Islands, which are the U. S. fifth best customer.

Chinese merchants control the retail trade, but Japanese share rose from 25% in 1933 to 35% in 1936.

PRINCIPAL manufacturing industries are cigarettes and cigars, distilled spirits, mining and coconut derivatives (copra, coconut oil, etc.). Philippine government runs several of the largest factories. Coconut industry has a total investment of \$221,215,000; 30% of the population is dependent on this one industry. 300,000 work in the sugar industry.

Reports on the laboring population conflict, but roughly place the number of industrial laborers in 1933 at 953,665; agricultural laborers at 1,525,683, making a total of almost 2,400,000. Half of these were unemployed in 1935. Government relief is in operation. Average daily wage in 1935 was 27¢; average working day was 9 hours; rate per hour was a little better than 3¢—after 41 years of U. S. rule. In 1936 there were 51 strikes; in 1937, 50.

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Anti-Soviet War Looms

LESS DRAMATIC than the suicide of the Graf Spee but more important is the news contained in the following dispatch.

MOSCOW, Dec. 15.—(INS.)—A secret clause has been added to the Anglo-French-Turkish mutual aid pact establishing an army "against Russia" in Turkey, according to a report broadcast by the Moscow radio today.

The broadcast said the army will be under French command and will consist of 400,000 French, 80,000 British and 500,000 Turkish troops.

If this report is not accurate it is, as Lenin would have said, in the spirit of the activities of the Anglo-American imperialists. For it comes hard on the heels of the British controlled League of Nations decision to aid Finland; on the heels of the united efforts of the Italian, British and German imperialists to send planes and war materials to Finland; for it comes simultaneously with the efforts of American imperialists to raise money, fighting men, and ship airplanes.

What do they want, these world plunderers? Are they interested in the independence of Finland? Yes, only in the sense in which independence is understood in the imperialist world, as an economic vassal of bankers, as a political tool of their governments; as a border patrol against the extension of the Russian revolution; as a base for invasion of Soviet territory.

It has been a long time coming, the second armed attempt to smash Russia. 18 years since the first was defeated by the workers of Europe and the revolutionary policy of Lenin in the civil war of 1919-21. 18 years of economic crisis, proletarian revolts, colonial unrest and revolution, annexations, civil wars, small wars, and imperialist conflicts have forced them to delay.

BUT NOW out of the stalemated war in Western Europe they are trying to forge a chain of steel around Russia: help to Finland; an army to invade the Caucasus; in the Far East United States threatens reprisals against Japan if it makes a non-aggression pact with Russia, pressure to force Japan into the world-wide anti-Soviet bloc.

Either they will come to an agreement with Germany for a united assault. Or they will try to organize parallel wars in the Far East, in the south, in the north.

But they will not succeed. The Russians are not making a brilliant showing in Finland. It is probably a fact that there is no enthusiasm among the Russian workers and peasants for this war. But should the imperialists invade Russia then there can be no doubt that the workers and peasants will fight to the last man.

And they will be supported by workers in the capitalist countries. Social-democrats and other flunkies of the capitalist class may delude themselves into thinking that the incessant attacks on communism and Stalinism have convinced the workers of the world that they have a stake in dying to make Russia safe for democracy. But they are mistaken.

The workers have no love for Stalin. When they get the opportunity they will settle with him and his regime. They may even do so during the course of the war. But they will not be fooled by the slogans of an imperialist crusade against Bolshevism.

If the imperialists launch the war, the workers will finish it. For if they do not, if the imperialists succeed in destroying Russia the world will be overwhelmed by reaction.

In the Richest Country In the World

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 15 (AP).—E. W. Clark of Mason City, former Iowa state insurance commissioner, told a monopoly subcommittee today that a group of principal officers in the... Royal Union Life Insurance company received \$1,219,649 in salaries, expenses, and commissions between 1927 and 1931....

A. C. Tucker... was paid \$55,000 a year as president... although he was "never there" and spent most of his time in California and Texas. He received a total of \$299,037 in the 1927-31 period....

E. L. Tucker, his brother, was paid \$178,015 in the same period, and Bowers, a "kind of assistant" to the latter, received a total of \$302,240.... N. Y. Her.-Trib., Dec. 15.

Recently, William Zelsiko, 53, was discharged from a WPA job... His son, Michael, found him dead in a bed in his home... Two bottles of poison were on the floor nearby. — CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Dec. 13.

A young Chicago girl... received as a Christmas present from her fiancée:

A 16 cylinder Cadillac.

Five Russian sabres.

A diamond and platinum wrist watch.

A \$375 fitted beauty case.

A silver fox jacket.

A shea red beaver coat.

Chicago Tribune, December 18.

CLEVELAND, Dec. 15.—(U.P.)—Thousands of relief clients lined up at grocery stores today to take home their first food in four weeks. Luxurious special equipment, costly architectural features and other unusual details... in the thirteen-story and penthouse apartment building at 1070 Fifth Avenue....

...the structure contains six large suites, most of them duplexes, or two-floor apartments of eleven rooms, but one is an imposing quadruplex, or four-floor penthouse suite, with lavish appointments.

Mr. Moore estimates that the built-in features of this quadruplex suite alone probably cost its former owner about \$100,000. It contains seventeen rooms and seven baths.

The reception hall and the circular stairway from the lower floor are done in imported marble and the paneling of the living room was imported from a chateau on the Loire. The library paneling was brought over from an old English manor house.

The penthouse floor has a special bedroom suite and a large serving pantry or bar which opens onto a terrace which overlooks Central Park and which is "large enough for a garden party" The handles and other hardware of the doors of this suite are of solid hand-cut brass, and all the doors are equipped to open and close noiselessly.—N. Y. Times, Dec. 17.

CASE 141

Albert and Mary R. and two little sons, Charles, 6 years old, and Max, 3, were living in a dingy flat lighted only by windows on a courtyard when a settlement-house worker appealed to the agency in their behalf. Fuel for the battered old stove that heated the place was heaped in a corner. Mr. and Mrs. R. slept on the floor, and the two boys had cribs without springs or mattresses. Neither Charles nor Max could walk or talk as children of their ages should, and Mrs. R. was unable to walk more than a few feet without falling. Mr. R., aged 42, is a printer by trade but he now earns \$12 a week as a counterman. — N. Y. Times, Dec. 12.

Slaves of Stalinism

IF A STRUGGLE breaks out between bourgeois Finland and the Soviet Union it is the duty of the Finnish workers to be soviet partisans in that struggle. — Socialist Appeal, American Trotskyist organ, Dec. 2.

For the Fourth Internationalists (read: Trotskyists) in Finland: revolutionary defeatism.

For the Fourth Internationalists in the Soviet Union: Unceasing criticism and exposure of the Stalinist methods of starting and conducting the war, but not the slightest relaxation of material and military support — Socialist Appeal, Dec. 9.

Already it is clear that this is NOT a war between "little Finland" and the Soviet Union. Finland is an outpost of British and French imperialism—and of American imperialism. Already the "democratic" imperialists are utilizing the war for political and propagandist preparation for a war against the Soviet Union. Already the propagandist stage is being overstepped by direct material support — Socialist Appeal, Dec. 16.

The Trotskyists do not want to support imperialist designs against the Soviet Union. Good.

But in their anxiety they have gone too far in the other direction and taken a position which puts them on Stalin's side in the war with Finland.

The Trotskyists say Stalin's invasion is not an attempt by the counter-revolutionary regime in the Soviet Union to extinguish the independence of a small nation (for strategic reasons in preparation against a coming imperialist attack on Russia); Finland is not fighting to defend its independence.

WHAT KIND of a war is it, then? Is Finland fighting an imperialist war against Russia? Is Stalin fighting a revolutionary war against imperialism? That is the brazen lie of Stalinism. The Trotskyists do not say—openly.

That, however, is the only conclusion which can be drawn from the emphatic manner in which they deny that it is a war to extinguish the independence of Finland, from their demand for material and military support for the counter-revolutionary Stalinist invasion.

In typical, cowardly, opportunist fashion they imply, in a characteristic welter of words, what they dare not proclaim.

The Trotskyists are known far and wide as arch foes of Stalin, his bitterest enemies. In reality, as they have shown many times and now again, they are craven slaves of Stalinism. They lack the strength to break with it and follow an independent revolutionary policy. Their shameful attachment they cloak with revolutionary words, military support with theoretical criticism.

Revolutionists take a different position. No support to the Finnish government. Bitter opposition to capitalist schemes to utilize the war against Russia. Independent working class action by the Finnish workers supported by the Finnish peasants and the international working class to resist Stalin's invasion. Successful defense—defeat of the Red Army—can create the conditions for the development of the Finnish revolution and the overthrow of the Stalin regime.

In Russia: work for armistice and immediate peace negotiations. Best defense of the Soviet Union is respect for Finnish independence and the proletarian revolution.

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How Finland Pays Its Debts

AGRUPELLING conflict with Russia failed to keep Finland from paying her war debt installment Friday, said the Associated Press on Dec. 15. On that day Finnish Ambassador Hjalmar Procope handed Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau a check for \$234,693 in semi-annual payment on Finland's \$8,142,000 debt to the U.S. government, incurred in 1918 for food supplied by Hoover.

With this payment the Finnish government maintained intact its record of prompt payments and no defaults. The press shouted bravo, there is honor among nations.

How does Finland do it?

Finland, population 3,364,807, is about the size of New Mexico. Before Stalin's invasion 60% of the population were engaged in agriculture; 17% in industry; 14% in public administration; 19% in other fields.

In 1937 there were, according to Statesman Year Book, 1939, 4,246 "large factories" with 207,506 workers; about 250,000 agricultural workers, the majority in the timber industry from which is derived one third of the nation's income.

Finnish Trade Review, June 1938, credits between 80-90% of the country's exports to forestry and wood-working industries. About 50% of Finnish exports go to Britain; 25% of all imports come from that country.

FOR MORE THAN forty years Finland has been in hock to imperialist countries. Cleona Lewis asserts in America's Stake in International Investments (Brookings Institute, 1938) that Finland had \$53,000,000 worth of bonds in all markets between 1897 and 1935. \$42,000,000 were absorbed in the United States. This is exclusive of the \$8,000,000 debt to the U.S. government.

WAGES, RELIEF CUT

With the crisis of 1929 foreign short term loans were withdrawn from Finland, placing the country in a terrible crisis. Still Finland paid on her debts.

J. S. Steele explained how in the Chicago Tribune, Aug. 9, 1936: Wages were reduced 15%.

H. B. Elliston gave a more detailed explanation in the Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 9, 1937

In 1930 \$1 out of every \$10 earned went to pay these debts... Finland required a deflation of prices... to enable goods to be sold abroad for the foreign money necessary to meet foreign debts. In order to reduce prices, you have first to reduce the costs of production. Accordingly, there was a national belt-tightening in lowered wages and lowered profits... According to data supplied by the Employers' Association, the hourly earnings of male workers in the Finnish saw milling trade dropped nearly 30% between 1930-32... nor could there be the same care of the unemployed by public works or relief... Measures of relief were so fashioned as not to interfere with the deflation.

OVER \$30,000,000 of the \$53,000,000 floated by Finland since 1897 is still outstanding as is the \$8,000,000 debt to the U.S. government. This accounts in part for the keen interest in British and American capitalist circles in Finnish independence.

Underneath the shouts of bravo there is anxiety about the fate of these debts should Stalin overrun Finland. Apparently Wall Street takes a pessimistic view since all Finnish efforts to raise loans there for military defense have met with failure.

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DETROIT, DEC. 16.—At its regular quarterly session held in Pittsburgh, December 4-9, the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO took further steps to tighten the bureaucratic rope around the necks of the rank and file. In making these decisions which involve matters of broad policy the Board, in fact, usurped the powers of a regular membership convention. No doubt behind these actions were the fine hands of Phillip Murray, Sidney Hillman and John L. Lewis. Evidently they are trying to run the UAW as they do the Steel Workers Organization Committee, where, after over three years, they have not yet granted the steel workers an international union.

The International Board laid down a three point program on strike policy. According to the letter sent out to the officers and members of local unions and international representatives, the purpose of the program is so that "the UAW-CIO may maintain its record of responsibility to contract observance."

THESE DECISIONS are of outstanding and far reaching importance to rank and file members of the auto union. They are written in lawyer's language but when the veneer is taken off they are seen to be dangerous.

Furthermore, the bureaucrats show by these decisions that they are already preparing for the next national convention in which they will try to put a reactionary constitution over on the membership. At the convention in Cleveland last March the misleaders were troubled by a factional row and were prevented from going as far as they are going now and are planning to go at the next convention.

Point one of the program urges and advises the locals to get authorization from the international before taking a strike vote. This is in direct violation of the present constitution of the union which permits the local unions to take strike votes when they deem it necessary. The bureaucrats justify their prior rights over the local union to authorize strikes on the basis that "the international may be in possession of valuable information on competitive factors and other matters which must be studied before a strike vote should be taken."

THIS IS PURE hookum. What information will the International have that the workers confronted directly with their problem won't have?

And, what do they mean when they speak of "competitive factors?" Do they mean that the conditions of the workers in the organized shops like Chrysler and General Motors must be determined by the conditions of the unorganized workers, in other words, by Ford's? Do they mean that before a local union will even be able to vote a strike the International will determine whether the conditions demanded by the union will enable General Motors and Chrysler to compete with Ford's.

Boiled down, the first "principle," as the Board calls it, is the International's way of saying: "Local unions, you collect the dues and we will determine when a strike will be called."

In point two, the shop committeemen or committeemen, in case of an "unauthorized" action, stoppage or strike, are instructed to get the men to return to work. In other language, the shop committeemen

UAW Ex Bd Adopts Strike- Breaking Program

who are supposed to be responsible to the union membership in the plant and to go to bat for them one hundred percent in whatever action they take—these committeemen become the agents of the International officers in spite of what the interests of the workers may demand at any one time.

How will Thomas and Co. explain to the auto workers how this "principle" serves the ends of union democracy of which he so affectionately speaks at banquets and conventions?

The third point declares that "where small groups threaten to shut down an entire plant by unauthorized action, it is the duty of the local to support the temporary placing of other workers on the job to avoid a general shut-down." What do you mean, Thomas and Co., by a small group? This may mean a good sized department, it may mean several departments. It may mean one plant in relation to several others of the corporation or it may mean one corporation in relation to the whole auto industry.

In this recent Chrysler strike could not Dodge Main workers be stigmatized as a "small group" closing down the other Chrysler plants, Briggs and other parts and related industries? Suppose a local decides to strike. Suppose the International, having the final word, decides that this local is "a small group" and orders the local union on strike to replace the striking workers.

BOILED DOWN, the Board's three "principles" are a program of strikebreaking.

This three point program will give the corporation the go signal against the union. It will say well and good for Thomas and Co. to say no to this, that the company will respect the union more for being able to discipline its members and live up to its agreements. But every auto worker knows that contract or no contract the corporation is constantly testing the strength of the union, and what interests it in the final analysis is whether or not the union is prepared to take action against it to back up its demands. And Thomas and Co. are assuring the corporation in advance that they will supply it with the necessary men to replace those workers who will be unable to stand the pace and speed up and who think they have a union to back them up in their action.

Why do Thomas and Co. adopt this three point program now? Why don't they wait for the next membership conven-

tion? In an opening statement in the letter issued by the Board, the International boasts of the fact that "during the past ten months, with more than 400,000 workers covered by contracts, there have been only two unauthorized strikes involving less than 2,500 workers." Then why get hot and bothered about it?

The point is that these misleaders are anticipating widespread repercussions both from the betrayal Chrysler agreement just signed and from the General Motors business coming up. Why are Thomas, Reuther and Co. waiting for the National Labor Relations Board elections before negotiating a contract with General Motors? They know where the union stands, as far as its strength in GM is concerned. They are waiting for the stink of the Chrysler agreement to blow away.

THEY HAVE not yet heard the last from the Chrysler workers on this betrayal. The workers in the Chrysler plant are just now beginning to feel the effects of this contract and are causing the bureaucrats no end of headaches. Morris Field, International representative, is daily engaged in trying to sell this contract especially to the Dodge Main workers. In spite of what was supposed to be an almost unanimous ratification of the agreement, Local 3's educational committee, one week later, had to issue a statement to the membership listing 18 points of victory which are full of fakes and misrepresentations, such as that the no-strike clause has been eliminated.

But the job of living under the contract continues. Information comes from workers in the trim department of the Dodge Main that the first day the men went back to work, workers protesting the increased production jobs were given a 3 day vacation. In an article in Ward's Automotive Reports, authoritative trade bulletin, for the week of December 9 titled, Labor Situation Unsettled, it was reported that there had been minor tieups in Dodge that past week "which brought discharges of a score of men in which the union concurred." The article continues to state that "obviously there is no tranquillity as yet in the labor situation."

In other words, by taking these three decisions the International Board is preparing to head off any militant action which the workers, especially in Dodge Main, might take as a result of the workings of the Chrysler settlement. This and only this is the reason Thomas and Co. could not wait for a convention to put this drastic program over.

In the light of all this, how are we to understand the attacks made by the super-reactionary Michigan Manufacturer and Financial Record on the leadership of the UAW? In its December 9 issue it refers to "that blind, unpatriotic and radical union leadership." It stated that

...one of the dangers of the present set up of the UAW unions is that the entire election manichery is in the hands of the officers and leaders and that there is no insurance against the perpetration of fraud by these leaders.

THIS JOURNAL then concludes that the state labor law should provide that all votes for officers and all votes on strikes, labor contracts and collective bargaining rights should be conducted by the same election machinery that insures the sanctity of public elections.

This reactionary outfit knows that the union rank and file has up to now elected its officers and voted its own strikes. What it wants to do is to take this right and this power completely out of the hands of the union. It isn't satisfied with Thomas and Co. because it is against unionism altogether.

THEY UNDERSTAND that the decisions made at Pittsburgh will result in taking away the democratic rights of the membership to decide on strikes. When we recall that the Chrysler strike resulted from an overwhelming strike vote of the entire Chrysler membership, then we must say that during the strike these capitalist papers were in reality opposing the membership and now that the leadership is also opposing the membership with this three point program, these papers find themselves in full agreement with it. Auto workers should be grateful for the lesson which the Free Press and News teach about our leadership.

This three point program of the International Board is a reactionary program. At this time when the workers are being attacked on all sides by all stripes of reactionaries their full forces and energies must be released to fight this attack. But the purpose of this program is to bottle up these forces.

THE FORD workers cannot be expected to respond to such a program. Several years ago they rejected the reactionary policy of the AF of L as did the workers now organized in the UAW-CIO. Ford workers to be

all the more to give them complete democratic union.

Unless the workers in the UAW-CIO today reject this program they will soon find themselves in such a straitjacket as the AF of L workers have been trying to break out of for the last fifty years. Unless resolutions are passed in locals condemning this program as a violation of their fundamental rights as workers to decide their own destinies, the bureaucratic leadership of the UAW and CIO will be encouraged to go even further, if possible, at the next convention. This is the shadow now being cast. It is up to the rank and file auto workers to decide whether this shadow shall be lengthened or whether it shall be erased forever from the labor movement.

Auto Worker

PHILIPPINE FREEDOM MENACED

Continued From Preceding Page

Since the Islands were forcibly annexed by the U.S. in 1898, government has gone through four stages:

1, 1899-1902, military rule to crush the Filipino revolution which had broken out in 1896. 2, 1902-07, civil government under 2nd Philippine Commission. 3, 1908-16, Philippine Assembly under U.S. commission. 4, 1916- full self-government of internal affairs. Foreign affairs are completely under U. S. control. All laws are subject to review by the U.S. High-Commissioner or Governor-General is appointed by the President of the U.S. Women do not have the right to vote. In 1934 the U.S. Congress passed an act to give Philippines Independence by 1946; the U.S. to retain strategic naval and military bases.

In 1936 a military conscription act was passed by the Assembly, setting up machinery for construction of a large reserve army. The army, trained and led by General MacArthur, former Chief-of-Staff of the U.S. Army, numbers over 100,000 according to Newsweek, Nov. 27.

In U.S. and War, J. E. Johnsen,

p. 117-119, points out:

What Japan dreads is fortification of the Philippine Islands... the Philippines fortified will provide nearly absolute protection of the west coast of the United States... The Jap fleet cannot pass up a fortified Philippines or Guam...

From Frisco to Hawaii is 2,400 miles; from Hawaii to Midway 1,500 miles; from Midway to Wake 1,500 miles; from Wake to Guam over 1,500 miles; from Guam to the Philippines over 1,700 miles. Every one of these key islands with the exception of Guam, which is surrounded by Japanese mandated islands, is either an impregnable naval base or in process of being made one. From Manila to Tokyo is about 3,000 miles.

Best U.S. naval defense bulwark is Corregidor, the "little Gibraltar," blocking the entrance to Manila Bay and protecting the Cavite Naval base—like Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, impregnable to bombardment and supplied for a six month's siege.

37 U.S. vessels are based there, including 14 patrol bombers, two cruisers, about one dozen sub-

marines, a dozen destroyers, the Langley, formerly an aircraft carrier, now a tender, and 45 planes.

Since the Japanese war against China began 29 months ago, a strong movement has arisen in U.S. ruling circles for indefinite postponement of Philippine Independence.

In the report of the Foreign Policy Association in September, F. T. Merrill stated

If Japan seizes the opportunity to drive foreign interests out of China now that England and France are engaged in a European war, national expedience would probably dictate indefinite postponement of Philippine

DEBTS

Continued From Preceding Page

The Roosevelt Administration's grant of \$10,000,000 in credits with the Export-Import Bank to the Ryti government for purchases of food and other items in this country should be viewed as an investment in Roosevelt's anti-Russian policy, rather than a straight business deal.

independence... In the current test of strength in the Pacific the United States holds the balance of power—and can throw its weight to the aid of Great Britain, France and the Netherlands... Japan will probably hesitate to move further southward against the Netherlands Indies so long as the United States remains in the Philippines... Political Science Quarterly, Sept. 1939, p. 336, points out:

Possession of the Philippines would enable Japan to cut British communications between Hongkong and Singapore at will... French Indo-China would be defenseless, while British Malaya would be brought within striking distance... would give Japan access to the... oil fields of Dutch East Indies and the tin deposits of Malaysia. It would also place Japan athwart our own trade connections with that portion of the world...

President Roosevelt's general hostility to present Japanese politics... are well known... it can be assumed

that the President gave advance approval to Mr. McNutt's bold speech of May 14, 1938... the High Commissioner denounced the Independence Act... and voiced a strong plea for the perpetuation of the present status.

Indications are that the native capitalists will consent should the U. S. government decide to postpone or retract the promise of independence by 1946.

Political Science Quarterly, Sept. 1939, says:

Many Filipinos believe that... the new Republic will be absorbed speedily into the (Japanese) Empire... a second Manchukuo. To them, a semi-dependent status under American protection is preferable to... Japanese militarists...

The struggle for Philippine independence is therefore a struggle against both United States and Japanese imperialism. Freedom for the Philippine people depends on the victory of the American and Japanese workers in the coming struggle to overthrow American and Japanese imperialism. —J. Drake

Shop Talk

DETROIT.—I sat down to lunch, with a different gang one day. When I got there the crowd was in an uproar. Jack, a big loud fellow was shouting:

"What the hell do you mean, you greenhorn? I've been here twelve years. Why shouldn't I get more dough than you?"

"I don't give a damn how long you've been here," answered Fred. "I'm your partner on that job, and I should get the same dough you get."

"You're nuts," said Jack. "You aint got no seniority with the company and you don't rate any more dough than you get."

"Seniority hell," chimed in Tony. "They doubled the force in the last two weeks, but they aint doubled production yet. You're all doin' less work than before and you should all take a cut."

"Why you son-of-a-bitch," blazed Frenchy. "I bet you're one of those bastards who just got a raise."

"So what," Tony replied. "They ain't added any new guys to my job. I keep up with my operation. I'm worth a nickel more."

I had kept quiet, but this was too much.

"You may be worth a nickel more to the company," I broke in. "But you aint worth a plugged penny to me."

"Listen, Dago," he countered. "Who in hell asked you for this?"

"Never you mind," I answered. "I'm askin' the questions now. What do you mean we should all take a cut? There isn't a man jack among us here that isn't worth a damn sight more than he's gettin'."

"That's what I say," interposed French. "Why, Jesus Christ, I just can't make ends meet on my wages. I got a sick wife and three kids at home. Six bits aint enough for peanuts."

"**T**HAT AINT the company's fault," said Tony. "You just aint worth as much as it takes to keep you goin'."

"You're all nuts," cried Jack. "You aint been with the company long enough to rate any more dough."

"Quiet you," said I. "It aint a question of how long we're here or how much it takes to keep us goin'. I said that everyone of us is worth a hell of a lot more than we're rakin' in and that's just what I mean."

"Well how's 'at?" asked Jack.

"Because if we weren't worth more than we're gettin' paid, the company wouldn't make any profit on us."

"I think you got somethin' there," said Frenchy.

"You're damned right I have," I continued. "We're all bein' taken for a ride. Tony here who draws a buck because he's a fast worker and Jack there who gets a buck-five because he's an old hand, ain't gettin' no bargain either. If they'd only stop bein' so proud and did some thinkin' they wouldn't be makin' such fools of themselves."

"Whaddya mean fools?" asked Tony.

"Because every time a worker turns against another worker he's just a goddam fool," I replied. "It may be that you don't know what you're doin' but the company sure as hell does. That's why we have all these different classifications—it's to keep us split up and squabblin' like we were today. The company laughs itself fat on that sort of thing."

"But if we're smart we'll forget all about this crap and get not to cut wages, but to raise 'em. Then watch the company on the other side of its mouth."

White and Black

PAUL: Hello, Frank. How are you? What do you think of the new Chrysler contract?

Frank: (Cautiously) Oh, not bad.

Paul: How do you colored brothers stand now in regards to promotion to a higher classification, that is if you have the seniority?

I see that Article IV, section 3 states: Rank on the seniority list shall be based on the day of the latest hiring in the plant, and shall not be affected by the race, marital status, or dependents of the employee.

Frank: Yes, but the only job they offered us was the handling of materials. The union officers are scared of the white prejudice against us colored brothers, that is if we would ask for jobs that we thought we could do on the production lines with our white brothers. They claim that the southern white brothers on the production line have always been against us and that they might cause trouble.

Paul: What makes you think so? I thought that under this contract you would get the same preference and protection of this union regardless of color. You pay dues like any other member and should receive the same consideration.

Frank: That we think is true but we were told that if we would be transferred to a higher classification among the white brothers there would be trouble and it looks like it will have to be decided on and carried out carefully. You see we don't want to cause any trouble. We dont think it is the right time to ask for our rights under the union contract.

Paul: Is this the opinion of the colored brothers?

Frank: Yes. So long.

Paul: See you later.

Mike Bono

SQUASH

Cleveland received about a million pounds of squash from the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation a few days ago.

Destitute housewives today were receiving recipes for baked squash, steamed squash, boiled squash, squash with apples, squash soup.—New York Times, Dec. 15.

Write to P. O. Box 5463, Chicago, Illinois, for the recipe on how to squash capitalism.

SLAVES

Continued from page Two
If the imperialists launch a war against the Soviet Union then the picture changes. In that case: revolutionary defeatism in all countries on the imperialist side including Finland. Defense of Russia. Unrelenting struggle against the Stalin regime to remove it. To defeat the imperialist attack the Russian workers need a revolutionary policy. Stalin's policy is counter-revolutionary.

Anti-Union Offensive At Ternstedt

The General Motors offensive against the union is under way at Ternstedt's. Plant 16 worked the men Thanksgiving day and paid them straight time. The men were aroused at this and there was strike talk at the union meeting. But the local leadership convinced them to put it in procedure, claiming that time and a half was stipulated in the contract and time and a half would be gotten. What success they have remains to be seen.

In my own case I was demoted from a job paying seventy cents an hour to one paying sixty-five. I have six years seniority in the plant. I found out, on the other hand, that girls with from eight months to one year seniority were holding seventy cent jobs, including my own. After three days of squabbling my grievance was adjusted, but more of this stuff can be expected.

Ternstedt Employee

Hoover

Continued from Page 1

Hoover is older now by 18 years. He is 65. But hope of smashing the Russian revolution springs eternal in the capitalist breast. And Mr. Hoover, apparently, as his Finnish relief activities show, is going to do his bit once more to save the world from what one of his biographers calls "literal anarchy with red and howling death rampant over all," if the course of the Russian-Finnish and British-German wars gives world imperialism the opportunity to make a second attempt to smash Russia.

"His only political characteristic," says Time, "is that he smokes cigars."

THE CIRCULATION of this issue increased by

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Book Review

FACTORIES IN THE FIELD

By CAREY McWILLIAMS

Little Brown & Co., 1939, 325 pgs.

THE SUBJECT of *Factories in the Field* is "the story of migratory farm labor in California." So much literature has accumulated on this problem from the humanitarian point of view, that when an analysis like this comes along it is more than welcome. Despite the fact that Mr. McWilliams is California State Commissioner of Immigration and Housing, it is the opinion of this reviewer that his work may be called a Marxist analysis so far as it goes.

It might be interesting to remark that as far back as 1880, Marx was interested in the problem too. The author quotes from a letter to Sorge from Marx.

I should be very much pleased if you could find me something good (meaty, on economic conditions in California. California is very important for me because nowhere else has the upheaval most shamelessly caused by capitalist centralization taken place with such speed.

Mr. McWilliams' thesis may be summed up as follows: the farming industry of California has the same characteristics of growth, development and decay as any other great industry in the U. S. The acquisition of land by grabbing and swindling; its monopolization and centralization into huge combines and trusts; and its complete control by finance capital today, follows the pattern of oil, steel or railroads. By 1936 310 proprietors owned over 4 million acres of the best farm land. In Kern Country, for instance, 4 companies owned over one million acres. Today the Bank of America owns approximately 50% of the farm lands in Central and Northern California.

The idea of private small-scale farming in California is a myth and the "farmers" defending their homes against "unionism and communism" are only hired thugs and vigilantes.

THE TENDENCY in employment of farm labor is to recruit and maintain a cheap, skilled, mobile and temporary army of migratory workers. The growers use the workers as long as they need them and then discard them.

Various racial minorities have been used at various periods, and when conditions necessitated a change, discarded and others brought in. So it was with the Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Armenians, Sicilians, Mexicans. Today it is the "dust bowl refugees," the Okies and the Texans.

Mr. McWilliams shows that no union has been able to organize this industry yet, although many have tried and some met with slight success. He quotes a most significant remark of Paul Scharrenburg, former AF of L spokesman in California, which sums up the AF of L attempt:

Only fanatics are willing to live in shacks or tents and get their heads broken in the interests of migratory labor.

The attempts of the IWW led to the most militant and bloody battles in the history of migratory labor, but to this day they haven't succeeded in organizing the industry. The Stalinist attempts have met with failure. They insisted on imposing the Communist International on the lettuce and tomato pickers' unions. Mr. McWilliams believes that the CIO-United Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union can do it.

The union is led by Stalinists. Donald Henderson, its president, former college instructor, is a CP member. When the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (Socialist, led by Mitchell) affiliated to the UCAWU-CIO, the Stalinists attempted to take it over in typical "rule-or-ruin" fashion. The Socialists, refusing to capitulate (a rare case indeed!) were forced out in order to save their union. In short, organizing migratory labor is like organizing Ford. It can be done, but not by the CIO with its present leadership and policy, and certainly not by the Stalinists.

ANOTHER ANGLE to consider is the relief situation; the organized scabbery of the relief authorities and their criminal collusion with the growers. Whenever a strike occurs, as a rule the workers are denied relief. Those on relief before the strike are thrown off and forced to scab or starve. Sometimes relief recipients are sent 250 miles away for jobs that net about \$9 a week. The net income of a migratory family is \$400 per year. This should give one an idea of how these people live.

Mr. McWilliams shows that there exists an organized conspiracy of the public utilities, the banks and the growers, against the workers. The "front" of this outfit are supposed to be "farmers," the notorious Associated Farmers, Inc., but the "utility companies and banks exercise ultimate control." "Associated Farmers" use the "red herring" in all their undertakings. Their forces are equipped with arms and tear-gas and they have practically terrorized the entire West Coast middle class into supporting them.

The state, city and county governments play hand in glove with them and in many cases government officials are members of the organizations. This outfit was ready to crush the San Francisco General Strike in 1934. The National Guard did it instead. Today Frisco is a union town and if the "Associated Farmers, Inc." attempt such a stunt again, it may be their last.

Some of Mr. McWilliams' conclusions are temporary panaceas but his final solution is

The abolition of this system involves at most merely a change in ownership. The collective principle is there; large units of operation have been established, only they are being exploited by private interests for their own ends.

In other words, what we have today is social production and private appropriation. What we want is social appropriation. What Mr. McWilliams means by "merely a change in ownership," we don't know. The only possible way to affect this change is by workers' revolution. When the time comes for this the migratory workers will be front line fighters for this cause.

E. Denny

ABC of Marxism

STUDY COURSE

10 Lessons

25c

REVOLT

Published by the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League, P. O. Box 5463., Chicago, Illinois
3 cents a copy 50 cents a half year (13 issues) \$1.00 a year (26 issues).

Dec. 23, 1939

Vol. II. — No. 18

Whole No. 31