

Detroit WPA Workers' Situation Desperate

DETROIT, March 12.—32,000 workers on the Detroit and Wayne County WPA rolls are wondering what they are going to do about the new Spring lay-offs. Colonel Harrington, National WPA Commissioner, while visiting here a few weeks ago, announced that beginning next month 700,000 WPA workers would get the axe throughout the country. Detroit's share would be between 10-12,000.

The prospects of these workers getting into private industry are worse than six months ago, and then they were plenty bad. The CIO in its publication, *Economic Outlook*, announced that there were 11,936,000 unemployed in January, a 14 percent increase over its figures for December. The statement also reported that January saw a drop in industrial production of 7 percent from the December level and estimated a probable drop of 15 percent in the February index and 17 percent in March.

Locally here in Detroit, the auto industry has been going along without the usual February-March lay-offs, and production now is way ahead of what it was last year at this same time. All this means to an unemployed worker, however, is that the lay-offs in the shop are not taking place now on such a large scale as in previous years. But this does not mean that the plants are hiring any new employees.

THE AUTO manufacturers may call this absence of a pre-Spring drop a "sign of prosperity," "a good sign for the future," but for the unemployed here in Detroit it means: **NO JOBS.**

In spite of these conditions in industry (and we do not mention the usual Summer lay-offs for ALL auto workers), the WPA administration is going ahead with preparing the machinery for the mass lay-offs. Projects are being prepared to work with skeleton crews until such consolidation as these lay-offs make necessary takes place. Under the old set-up each project employed several time clerks, several account clerks and one full time timekeeper.

NOW ALL these positions are being abolished, and one full time clerk will do the work of all these men, in addition to being responsible for tools, progress costs, cost records, etc. Cuts among the top administration staff are taking place. It is believed

the next step of the program will mean the elimination of supervisors and foremen. The project would then be run by a full time clerk and two P (foremen) men, who would also go on full time.

Unfortunately, the WPA workers as a whole are pretty much resigned to receiving the blow. And they can hardly be blamed for this attitude. No organization and no leadership has come forward with a program that offers even a ray of hope out of the darkness.

The policy of the WPA unions here, the UAW-CIO WPA auxiliary, the CIO white collar auxiliary, and the Workers Alliance (what remains of it),—well, it is better not to talk about it, unless you want some WPA worker to throw a pick or shovel at you on the job. Nothing but defeats and reversals for the past three years.

DEFEAT ITSELF is not such bad medicine to take, because even a strong organization with the correct policy can meet defeat. But what rubs so hard is the fact that these unions' leaderships have done almost EVERYTHING to prevent possible victories.

It can all be summed up in a few words: For three years George Edwards, Richard Leonard, R. J. Thomas and the rest involved in the WPA situation have told us WPA workers: vote for Murphy, vote for Roosevelt, vote for Jeffries, and so on. Well, many WPA workers did just this, and look what the results have been!

About a year ago when Murphy was running for re-election for Governor, Edwards and the rest issued the slogan: Vote the New Deal in Michigan and you will get 75c an hour for 120 hours or \$90 a month. Today we get 44c an hour for 130 hours of labor or \$57.20 a month, while in 1938 we were getting 60c an hour for 100 hours. They said: Vote the New Deal in Michigan and the WPA rolls will be increased. At that time there were about 60,000 on WPA in Detroit and Wayne County. Today it is just half, and

Continued on Page Two

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CHICAGO, ILL., MARCH 23, 1940

Whole No. 36

Do Sharecroppers Need Guns?

CHICAGO, March 14.—At a Sharecroppers Mass meeting in Chicago last night the Reverend Howard Kester, member of the Executive Board of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union spoke. The meeting was under the auspices of the Chicago Sharecroppers' Committee, whose chairman is Maynard Krueger, university professor and member of the Socialist Party.

Kester told what the STFU is trying to do: to organize one third of the South's population, 10,000,000 landless Joad families who, unlike the Joads in *The Grapes of Wrath*, did not go to California, but stayed put unable to migrate anywhere. Landless farmers, they till the soil as tenant farmers, sharecroppers, or as migratory workers. Work is seasonal, averaging seven months a year; 12 hours a day. Wages are below the starvation level.

The landlord keeps the books, controls earnings; controls the courts and schools; and rules the country with an iron hand. Most of the sharecroppers have never known what it is to vote, or participate in government. The Gallup poll never reaches them.

In 1933, Kester pointed out, the United States government began its program of reduction of cotton planting—**plowing under**. As a result hundreds of thousands of tenant farmers were driven off the land. 17 of them, in Arkansas, formed the STFU, to "legally and democratically defend our rights," declared Kester. Their motto is: "The same thing that holds the black man down, holds the white man." And they have achieved unity of action of the negro and white sharecroppers. Now the STFU has 40,000 members.

The Union was built against overwhelming odds: Ku Klux Klan, gunmen who pulled union speakers off speakers' stand, and shot others, machine gun attacks, tarring and feathering and ax handle brigades. **THE UNION** has a Refugee Local in Memphis Tennessee for members who have been forcibly driven out of the South. "Herbert Hoover," Kester suggested, "ought to raise money for the refugees from the South."

"Landless-ness is the cause of the misery of the Southern country," declared Kester. These people "love the land, were driven from it. These men will never be satisfied till the land is restored to them."

THE OLD TESTAMENT, preached Reverend Kester, "said the land is the common heritage of the people."

98% of the agreements entered into by landlords and sharecroppers are verbal as to working conditions, wages, hours, and union rights. "This," stated Kester, "must be done away with. We must have a written contract between landlord and sharecropper."

Many sharecroppers who raise food crops, suffer "from pellagra which comes from not having the right kind of food."

The STFU demands better education for children. "Average school year in the South is four to five months."

"Civil liberties must be observed. . . . Lynching must be erased from the land," Kester continued. A struggle must be waged against the landlords' practice of forcing "women and children to work at gunpoint," for a few cents an hour, and sometimes only for meals. "In the last few years three landlords in the South have been convicted by Federal Courts," Kester reported, "for keeping human beings in a condition of chattel slavery."

The struggle against these evils "makes the STFU more than just a Union. It is a movement for Social Emancipation. . . ."

THE STFU has tried to arouse city governments and civic leaders to an appreciation of the conditions of the sharecroppers. "There has not been a single lynching," Kester said, "in the territory where the STFU has organized." The STFU represents not only its 40,000 members, "but the hopes of the hundreds of thousands of sharecroppers." These millions ask: "When are you coming to us?"

"When the white sharecroppers and the black sharecroppers raise their mighty hands," Kester concluded, "they will be free."

Not Convincing, Mr. President

ON MARCH 16, Mr. President, you spoke on an international broadcast under the auspices of the Christian Foreign Service Convocation. The world was full of rumors what the papers call a "peace offensive." Sumner Welles, your fact-finding emissary as the papers call him, was in Rome. He had talks with the King of Italy and Foreign Minister Ciano. On the 18th Welles saw the Pope. On Monday Hitler and Mussolini conferred at the Brenner Pass. Wednesday Welles left for the United States to report to you.

On leaving Welles made a statement in which he said:

In order to allay the flood of rumors about my mission I wish to state categorically that I have not received any peace plan or proposals from any belligerent or from any other government; that I have not conveyed any such proposals to any belligerent nor to any other government; nor am I bringing back to the President any such proposals.

BUT WELLES did not say that he did not know about any such proposals which some governments were making to belligerents or non-belligerents. It seems to be a fact that such proposals were peddled in various chancelleries since even their contents were reported in the press. Welles' statement is therefore not convincing. It does not cover the entire question.

We think, Mr. President, that he knows of such proposals since he went to Europe especially, you said, to discover the possibilities for lasting peace, and he saw and consulted with the heads of the Italian, German, French and British governments and the Pope.

And we think that he reported the contents to you. And that you were stating your position on them when you broadcasted.

Today we seek a moral basis for peace. . . . It cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit of it is oppression, or starvation, or cruelty, or human life dominated by armed camps. . . .

We take that to mean that you had advance information about the meeting of Hitler and Mussolini—the papers said that all diplomats were caught by surprise by the announcement of that conference except the Americans—that you had information about the subject matter they were going to discuss there; that you didn't like it; and that you took the occasion of this broadcast to tell them in a diplomatic way not to count on your support. At the same time you took the opportunity to proclaim what we might call the ideals of peace.

YOU KNEW that your speech would reassure Britain. And, indeed, in London they promptly declared themselves in accord with your ideas on peace.

This fact alone would cause us to say that your attachment to the ideals you proclaimed in your broadcast is not convincing. In London they are not only busy scheming to starve the German nation into submission and teach them a lesson, but they are also very busy scheming to defeat the struggle of 375,000,000 Indian colonials to throw off the yoke of British oppression. Incidentally in India starvation is chronic under British rule on a grandiose scale although the country is fabulously wealthy.

However we have other reasons for saying that your idealism is not convincing. It would be a comforting thing to think that the head of the most powerful government in the richest country in the world was a man who stood four square against starvation and oppression.

WE WOULD like to believe that that is what you stand for. But we cannot. Facts are facts. The record speaks against you.

Surely as President you know that people are starving to death in the United States. You must know that men and women kill themselves daily rather than die slowly of starvation. Yet you recommended a cut of half a billion dollars in the relief appropriation for the coming fiscal year. And only the other day your man, Colonel Har-

Continued on Page Three

Oust Gunmen from Clerks' Union!

CHICAGO, MARCH 18.—Max Caldwell, International organizer, his brother, Michael Pollack, recording secretary of Local 1248, grocery employees' union, and three other officials of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association, A F of L, were arrested in Chicago March 13. Mrs. Mae Gleich, president of the Demonstrators' Union Local 22260, AF of L, and two other members, charged the entire local officialdom of the RCIPA with intimidation and physical violence. Judge William V. Daly in Racket court, March 14, continued until March 29 the hearing on the charges.

ON February 18, Local 1248 was dropped from the Chicago Federation of Labor after Mrs. Gleich had preferred charges to John Fitzpatrick, President of the CF of L, that Caldwell and other union leaders had conducted a campaign of intimidation and terrorism against members of the Demonstrators' Union, in an attempt to smash the Demonstrators' Union, and bring their members into Local 1248. As yet no action has been taken to drop Caldwell and his gunmen from the

national A F of L. Caldwell has one other local, a very small one.

Why was Caldwell, a notorious gangster, selected as head of the RCIPA in Chicago? And why is he thrown out now? To answer there questions it is necessary to go back to the fall of 1937.

AT THAT time John Fitzpatrick was involved in a fight with the progressive unionists in the C F of L. The CIO movement was making itself felt in the Chicago labor movement. And the suspension of several of the big local unions was seriously undermining the financial structure of the CF of L. Fitzpatrick, needing a new financial base and recognizing that the RCIPA had a very large potential membership in Chicago had to make sure that it would be under his control.

CONFERENCEs were held by John Fitzpatrick, Charles Wills, editor of *Federation News*, official organ of the C F of L, C. C. Coulter, Secretary of the RCIPA, and Captain Daniel Gilbert, Chief investigator

Continued on Page Two

Detroit WPA

(Cont. from page 1)

next month it will be about one-third of this 60,000.

FRANK MURPHY was defeated, but today he is on the Supreme Court at \$20,000 a year. George Edwards, who while head of the UAW-CIO WPA department here in Detroit, praised Murphy, Roosevelt, and the "other democratic leaders," and blasted the "reactionaries," was recently appointed to the Detroit Housing Commission at \$6,000 a year. But we WPA workers are sloshing in mud up to our ankles at \$686.40 a year, worrying about the new lay-offs, which won't be for 30 days, but for good.

How can we depend on these leaders with their policy of collaborating with capitalist politicians and the capitalist government? Are not the results plain to everybody?

Even now, in spite of all the defeats, the union leaders still continue this game of capitalist policies. A leaflet is issued by the UAW-CIO WPA department rallying the workers to a protest meeting. The leaflet says: Write your Congressman and let him know of your need. Hell's bells, the Congressmen already know our needs, but knowing that the protest will not go beyond a postal card, they are going ahead with the cuts "in the interests of national economy."

WE ATTENDED that meeting last month, February 18.

Seated on the same platform with union representatives were all the bigger and lesser lights from the state and local WPA administration. Abner Larned, state administrator, Max Barton, former Detroit head, Max Moody, Nellei Schlee of local officialdom, all of these have in the past made life miserable for more than one WPA worker, by their lousy red-tape methods, their run-arounds, their downward classifications, and so on. More than one worker's stomach turned over at the sight

of the speeches? Practically all the speakers tried their best in suggesting ways to make the capitalist profit system work, but they failed, and failed miserably. Hugh Gibson, State CIO Secretary, advocated that the national income should be divided more evenly among the workers to furnish more purchasing power for the masses. Fine, we are for it! But who will do it? The capitalist government which is now prepared to lay off 700,000 workers?

R. J. THOMAS, UAW-CIO president, made it clear in his speech that he had never been a radical, and had voted Democratic Party every time but once. What in heaven's name does that solve except to keep Thomas on the "safe" list when this country enters war? Finally, Thomas said: "Go out and organize." But for what purpose? To vote Roosevelt for a third term or to lead militant demonstrations against the Roosevelt administration which is starving the unemployed, and preparing a soldier's grave for those who survive the WPA low wages?

It is no wonder that WPA workers are so hard to organize into unions these days. They have been led wrong so many times by this type of leadership with their policy of capitalist collaboration, that they refuse to bite again.

WHAT IS NEEDED? A union, yes, a strong union, one which can rally masses of workers. But more than that: A correct leadership and policy. Just what does this mean? Every WPA worker asks this question and he has the right to know.

A correct leadership is one that is willing to carry out these policies: Refusal to collaborate with any capitalist politician, refusal to ask any WPA worker to vote for this or that politician in the hopes of getting anything. Instead this leadership would tell the WPA workers:

Organize to fight these capitalist politicians and the entire capitalist government set up. Be

Continued from Page One

for State's Attorney Courtney, at all meetings where this question was discussed. Coulter appointed Caldwell.

He has since declared that the appointment was made with Gilbert's approval. In reply Gilbert states

When I learned Caldwell was connected with the local, I protested to the Chicago Federation, the A F of L, and Coulter that I regarded Caldwell as a racketeer.—Chicago Tribune, March 9.

EITHER Coulter or Gilbert is lying. The truth is that both are responsible for imposing this notorious racketeer on Chicago retail clerks, and both are equally vigorous in their attempts to evade responsibility.

Wills, an important figure in the Chicago labor movement is Caldwell's father-in-law. He can hardly take the position that he had nothing to do with Caldwell's selection. Wills was angling for a job for his son-in-law and this looked like a good thing.

What qualifications did Caldwell have for his responsible post? He was a local racketeer who had been organizer of the Chicago Waiters' Alliance at the Chicago Worlds' Fair in 1933-34. In the closing weeks of the fair Caldwell attempted to collect three months' dues in advance. This racketeering effort was suppressed by the police.

On July 31, 1934, Caldwell was indicted on a charge of conspiracy to extort \$10,000 from owners of the French Casino, a cabaret. The cabaret owners said Caldwell called a strike and then demanded \$10,000 to call it off. Caldwell was acquitted of the charge.

On August 21, 1934, Caldwell was questioned by the State's Attorney's office concerning the bombing of the Edgewater Beach Hotel where a strike of the Chicago Waiters' Alliance was then in progress. Caldwell was again acquitted.

In 1935 Caldwell attempted to organize tavern hostesses and entertainers. Girls complained they were told by unknown persons: "Legs don't look so pretty when they're broken."

In 1936 Caldwell opened a tavern at 2052 North Halsted Street. He was denied a license because his tavern had become a hangout for hoodlums.

FITZPATRICK is noted for his motto, "Organizers and officials must come off the job," i.e., must have had actual job experience On

Cromwell Fears Revolution

JAMER H. R. CROMWELL, American minister to Canada, in a speech on March 19 in Canada stated: "the life, liberty and the very safety" of neutrals is at stake if German wins the war:

He asked: "Did the Austrians, Czecho-Slovaks or the Poles have a voice in the determination of their present form of government?"

Cromwell says England and France are fighting for "democracy." But what about India? Ireland? Palestine? All of Africa?

Every one knows that England is a bigger rival to American imperialism than Germany. Many wonder why the U.S. government supports England in this war.

Cromwell answers: "How easy it is to shut one's eyes and thus seek to avoid the horrid sight of the bloody and seething world revolution which threatens to overwhelm us all."

figures, will save the capitalist

world from "bloody and seething world revolution."

"Golden Boy" Cromwell is married to Doris Duke (\$50,000,000) richest girl in the world. They own a \$1,000,000 Hawaiian home.

Cromwell will not do the actual drilling, starving—and FIGHTING. He is sending millions of workers to a "bloody" death to defend the profits of his class.

When the American workers make their revolution, they will not kick Cromwell the hell out of the country. They will not kill him. They will put "Golden Boy" to work.

Oust Gunmen From

the basis of Caldwell's outstanding record, Fitzpatrick, Coulter, Wills and Gilbert selected Caldwell as International organizer of the Chicago RCIPA though Caldwell has never been a clerk.

Using intimidation, physical violence, coercion, Caldwell forced retail clerks in Hillman's, A&P stores, National Tea stores, and many small grocery stores, to pay tribute to the RCIPA.

In Hillman's food stores a group of department heads, among whom were Milton Brav, Jack Shaughnessy, Miss Tessineri, Zedek Hipshin, Nona Glynn, Bernard Eisenberg, and others were called into the office of Miss Nelson (Mrs. Ramos) an official of the Hillman Co., and instructed by her to have all the employees sign RCIPA application cards, which were then distributed by her among the department heads. She also instructed them to collect dues from the clerks and employees who were not clerks, or to make arrangements to take the money out of their pay envelopes.

Caldwell sent two of his gunmen into the South-Side Co-operative store, who told the clerks they had better join the RCIPA, or else the windows of the Co-operative would be smashed. The clerks refused to join. Immediately Caldwell threw a picket line around the Co-operative. The Directors' Board—of the Co-operative appealed to the C F of L to call these hoodlums off, and urged Lillian Herstein, one of the leaders of the Chicago Teacher and member of the C F of L Executive Board at that time, to intervene with Fitzpatrick. Fitzpatrick told her than nothing could be done, and that the clerks had better join the RCIPA.

CLERKS are told: If you join today, it'll cost you \$10 initiation fee; if you join tomorrow, it'll cost you \$15; and if you join the day after it'll be \$25.

Clerks are fired at the slightest indication of revolt against Caldwell's tyranny.

Workers here have never sat in on negotiations of the RCIPA with the employers. All negotiations are conducted between Caldwell, his brother Michael Pollack, and the employers personally.

No one knows, no one can be certain whether there are contracts between Caldwell and all of the companies. At a recent meeting of Local 1248, which occurs whenever Caldwell chooses to call one, order was called at 8:00 p. m. sharp. At 8:05 a worker asked to see a copy of the Hillman contract. At 8:06 the meeting was adjourned by Caldwell, the chairman, and the hall was cleared.

When workers go into Caldwell's office and ask for a copy of the RCIPA Constitution, Caldwell replies that in this union you don't need a Constitution; you don't ask questions; you just pay dues and keep your mouth shut.

CALDWELL has attempted to drive liquor clerks into the RCIPA, demanding \$1,250 to charter them in a liquor clerks' union. The repeated charge that Caldwell works with the Illinois Retail Liquor Package Stores Association to smash all attempts at union organization has never been disproved.

When the workers of the Continental Products Co. rejected Caldwell's leadership, and went out on strike in an effort to obtain a bona-fide agreement with the company and their own elected representatives, they were met with the most vicious terrorism—picket lines were brutally attacked, strike headquarters invaded and smashed by goon squads, an organizer shot. (See REVOLT, Oct. 24, 1939).

Caldwell was appointed organizer of the Chicago RCIPA in September 1937. On March 10, 1940, an election took place in Local 1248. THIS WAS THE FIRST ELECTION IN THE CHICAGO RCIPA SINCE CALDWELL'S APPOINTMENT.

There were two slates. Both were handpicked by Caldwell. One slate was for the RCIPA and the other for the Chicago Retail Liquor Package Stores Association.

Stalin's War Exposed

Outstanding results of the peace Stalin dictated to the Finns, were the relation of this outcome of the war to the war between the Allies and Germany, and the light which the events preceding and following it have cast on the character of the Finnish-Russian war.

The war between Germany and her imperialist enemies began on September 3 and promptly ran into a stalemate on land.

Stalin calculated the probabilities and possibilities of the situation and opened hostilities against Finland on November 30.

He thereby opened up several dangerous possibilities: that the imperialist war would be resolved by a joint attack by Germany and the Allies against Russia; that Russia would become a belligerent in the war between Germany and the Allies.

Stalinist policy, since September, had been to balance off the two imperialist camps, holding, as much as possible, the balance of power, and stiffening Germany.

Evidently Stalin came to the conclusion that Finland could be smashed without Allied intervention or before it could have any influence on the result; or before the Allies could create diversions

prepared to carry on strike action, mass demonstrations until we get adequate relief and WPA wages for ourselves and our family.

It is becoming a question of life and death for millions of unemployed. Workers who today probably think it wrong to strike against the government, will be driven to do just this very thing tomorrow.

If we prepare now we can win.

**WPA WORKER
X WPA WORKER**

in the Near East. If Germany looked askance on Russian advance toward Swedish iron ore and an increase of Russian strength in the Baltic gulf there was nothing, in the circumstances, that she could do about it. Any serious opposition would have endangered the alliance between them which is a matter of life and death for Germany in the war with the Allies.

Think what one will of Stalin's strategy the fact is that it worked, as the outcome of the war has shown. Although there were rumors, from time to time, that plans were afoot for a deal by England, France and Germany to smash Russia, it can now be seen, if it was not previously clear, that they lacked serious foundation. This was not the acute danger that Stalin's war involved.

The other, involvement in the war between the Allies and Germany, was greater. If the Allies, seeking new theaters of war had gone to the aid of the Finns in sufficient strength Russia would, of course, have become a belligerent in the Allied-German war; and Germany would undoubtedly have sent a force to meet the threat the Allied expedition would have constituted to her Swedish source of iron ore, and also to meet the danger of Allied plane bases in the far north from which serious attacks could have been made on Germany's naval bases and industries along the Baltic shore.

However, the success of any Allied venture into Scandinavia depended on the consent of Sweden and Norway. To have acted without that consent or against their wishes would have exposed the Allies as standing on the same political, moral and military plane as those they denounce. It would have weakened their position with

all the other fearful small nations and with neutrals, especially the United States. And it would have created tremendous opposition at home. Even the chauvinist Labor Party leadership in England is not in favor of war against Russia.

On the first day of the war, said the Swedish king on February 16, the Swedish government told the Finnish government that it would not send its army and could not permit the Allies to transport troops across its territory. As events have made clear Norway took the same position. Although these governments felt a keen sympathy for Finland and felt themselves menaced by Stalin, their fear that Germany would act instantly against Allied troops on Scandinavian soil outweighed their sympathy for the Finns and their fear of Stalin.

On this rock the Allied hope of breaking the stalemate foundered.

There were other reasons. If war against Germany was stalemated on land could the Allies expect to defeat both Russia and Germany? Unless they get the wholehearted support of the United States, it is a manifest impossibility. Of such aid by the United States there is as yet no sign.

The purely military difficulties were also grave considerations. To fight the Russians would have required a vast expeditionary force. Conservative estimates in the press place the minimum effective figure at 100,000 men. That in itself creates a great transportation problem across the North Sea which is within easy range of German U-bout and planes.

But when to this is added the necessary tanks and planes, artillery, heavy and light, shells and small ammunition, oil, and food. And that after it is transported

across water an expeditionary force would have to build practically its own means of transportation across land in sub-zero weather. And that after all this was done success would still depend on steady streams of reinforcements of men, munitions and food. It is not difficult to see that the concentration on this task could so weaken the Allies generally as to lay them open to attack in other parts of the globe.

To sum it up the Russian-Finnish war appeared to offer a possibility of breaking the stalemate in the Allied-German war but it did not do so.

The peace has had the effect, as the press of the whole world has noted, of intensifying the stalemate, making it more difficult to break it, strengthening Germany's position and weakening the Allies in a number of ways.

The Stalinists the world over defended the invasion as a defense against provocation by Finland instigated by British and French imperialism. They added that the Red Army was sent to liberate the Finns from their capitalist masters.

No declaration of war was made against the Finnish government. It was said that the Finnish people were rising against it and joining the Red Army. A new peoples government was recognized. Its seat was the fishing village of Terijoki. Its head was Otto Kuusinen, Finnish Stalinist, hated by the Finnish workers for his treacherous role in the revolution of 1918. An alliance was formed by the governments of Stalin and Stalin's man, Kuusinen. A non-aggression pact was signed by them.

The Terijoki government issued a program. It did not propose to

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Unfortunately, the WPA workers as a whole are pretty much resigned to receiving the blow. And they can hardly be blamed for this attitude. No organization and no leadership has come forward with a program that offers even a ray of hope out of the darkness.

The policy of the WPA unions here, the UAW-CIO WPA auxiliary, the CIO white collar auxiliary, and the Workers Alliance (what remains of it),—well, it is better not to talk about it, unless you want some WPA worker to throw a pick or shovel at you on the job. Nothing but defeats and reversals for the past three years.

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Do Sharecroppers Need Guns?

CHICAGO, March 14.—At a Sharecroppers Mass meeting in Chicago last night the Reverend Howard Kester, member of the Executive Board of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union spoke. The meeting was under the auspices of the Chicago Sharecroppers' Committee, whose chairman is Maynard Krueger, university professor and member of the Socialist Party.

Kester told what the STFU is trying to do: to organize one third of the South's population, 10,000,000 landless Joad families who, unlike the Joads in *The Grapes of Wrath*, did not go to California, but stayed put unable to migrate anywhere. Landless farmers, they till the soil as tenant farmers, sharecroppers, or as migratory workers. Work is seasonal, averaging seven months a year; 12 hours a day. Wages are below the starvation level.

The landlord keeps the books, controls earnings; controls the courts and schools; and rules the country with an iron hand. Most of the sharecroppers have never known what it is to vote, or participate in government. The Gallup poll never reaches them.

In 1933, Kester pointed out, the United States government began its program of reduction of cotton planting—**plowing under**. As a result hundreds of thousands of tenant farmers were driven off the land. 17 of them, in Arkansas, formed the STFU, to "legally and democratically defend our rights," declared Kester. Their motto is: "The same thing that holds the black man down, holds the white man." And they have achieved unity of action of the negro and white sharecroppers. Now the STFU has 40,000 members.

The Union was built against overwhelming odds: Ku Klux Klan, gunmen who pulled union speakers off speakers' stand, and shot others, machine gun attacks, tarring and feathering and ax handle brigades. **THE UNION** has a Refugee Local in Memphis Tennessee for members who have been forcibly driven out of the South. "Herbert Hoover," Kester suggested, "ought to raise money for the refugees from the South."

"Landless-ness is the cause of the misery of the Southern country," declared Kester. These people "love the land, were driven from it. These men will never be satisfied till the land is restored to them."

THE OLD TESTAMENT, preached Reverend Kester, "said the land is the common heritage of the people."

98% of the agreements entered into by landlords and sharecroppers are verbal as to working conditions, wages, hours, and union rights. "This," stated Kester, "must be done away with. We must have a written contract between landlord and sharecropper."

Many sharecroppers who raise food crops, suffer "from pellagra which comes from not having the right kind of food."

The STFU demands better education for children. "Average school year in the South is four to five months."

"Civil liberties must be observed. . . . Lynching must be erased from the land," Kester continued. A struggle must be waged against the landlords' practice of forcing "women and children to work at gunpoint," for a few cents an hour, and sometimes only for meals. "In the last few years three landlords in the South have been convicted by Federal Courts," Kester reported, "for keeping human beings in a condition of chattel slavery."

The struggle against these evils "makes the STFU more than just a Union. It is a movement for Social Emancipation. . . ."

THE STFU has tried to arouse city governments and civic leaders to an appreciation of the conditions of the sharecroppers. "There has not been a single lynching," Kester said, "in the territory where the STFU has organized." The STFU represents not only its 40,000 members, "but the hopes of the hundreds of thousands of sharecroppers." These millions ask: "When are you coming to us?"

"When the white sharecroppers and the black sharecroppers raise their mighty hands," Kester concluded, "they will be free."

Not Convincing, Mr. President

ON MARCH 16, Mr. President, you spoke on an international broadcast under the auspices of the Christian Foreign Service Convocation. The world was full of rumors what the papers call a "peace offensive." Sumner Welles, your fact-finding emissary as the papers call him, was in Rome. He had talks with the King of Italy and Foreign Minister Ciano. On the 18th Welles saw the Pope. On Monday Hitler and Mussolini conferred at the Brenner Pass. Wednesday Welles left for the United States to report to you.

On leaving Welles made a statement in which he said:

In order to allay the flood of rumors about my mission I wish to state categorically that I have not received any peace plan or proposals from any belligerent or from any other government; that I have not conveyed any such proposals to any belligerent nor to any other government; nor am I bringing back to the President any such proposals.

BUT WELLES did not say that he did not know about any such proposals which some governments were making to belligerents or non-belligerents. It seems to be a fact that such proposals were peddled in various chancelleries since even their contents were reported in the press. Welles' statement is therefore not convincing. It does not cover the entire question.

We think, Mr. President, that he knows of such proposals since he went to Europe especially, you said, to discover the possibilities for lasting peace, and he saw and consulted with the heads of the Italian, German, French and British governments and the Pope.

And we think that he reported the contents to you. And that you were stating your position on them when you broadcasted.

Today we seek a moral basis for peace. . . . It cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit of it is oppression, or starvation, or cruelty, or human life dominated by armed camps. . . .

We take that to mean that you had advance information about the meeting of Hitler and Mussolini—the papers said that all diplomats were caught by surprise by the announcement of that conference except the Americans—that you had information about the subject matter they were going to discuss there; that you didn't like it; and that you took the occasion of this broadcast to tell them in a diplomatic way not to count on your support. At the same time you took the opportunity to proclaim what we might call the ideals of peace.

YOU KNEW that your speech would reassure Britain. And, indeed, in London they promptly declared themselves in accord with your ideas on peace.

This fact alone would cause us to say that your attachment to the ideals you proclaimed in your broadcast is not convincing. In London they are not only busy scheming to starve the German nation into submission and teach them a lesson, but they are also very busy scheming to defeat the struggle of 375,000,000 Indian colonials to throw off the yoke of British oppression. Incidentally in India starvation is chronic under British rule on a grandiose scale although the country is fabulously wealthy.

However we have other reasons for saying that your idealism is not convincing. It would be a comforting thing to think that the head of the most powerful government in the richest country in the world was a man who stood four square against starvation and oppression.

WE WOULD like to believe that that is what you stand for. But we cannot. Facts are facts. The record speaks against you.

Surely as President you know that people are starving to death in the United States. You must know that men and women kill themselves daily rather than die slowly of starvation. Yet you recommended a cut of half a billion dollars in the relief appropriation for the coming fiscal year. And only the other day your man, Colonel Har-

Continued on Page Three

Oust Gunmen from Clerks' Union!

CHICAGO, MARCH 18.—Max Caldwell, International organizer, his brother, Michael Pollack, recording secretary of Local 1248, grocery employees' union, and three other officials of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association, A F of L, were arrested in Chicago March 13. Mrs. Mae Gleich, president of the Demonstrators' Union Local 22260, AF of L, and two other members, charged the entire local officialdom of the RCIPA with intimidation and physical violence. Judge William V. Daly in Racket court, March 14, continued until March 29 the hearing on the charges.

ON February 18, Local 1248 was dropped from the Chicago Federation of Labor after Mrs. Gleich had preferred charges to John Fitzpatrick, President of the CF of L, that Caldwell and other union leaders had conducted a campaign of intimidation and terrorism against members of the Demonstrators' Union, in an attempt to smash the Demonstrators' Union, and bring their members into Local 1248. As yet no action has been taken to drop Caldwell and his gunmen from the

national A F of L. Caldwell has one other local, a very small one.

Why was Caldwell, a notorious gangster, selected as head of the RCIPA in Chicago? And why is he thrown out now? To answer there questions it is necessary to go back to the fall of 1937.

AT THAT time John Fitzpatrick was involved in a fight with the progressive unionists in the C F of L. The CIO movement was making itself felt in the Chicago labor movement. And the suspension of several of the big local unions was seriously undermining the financial structure of the CF of L. Fitzpatrick, needing a new financial base and recognizing that the RCIPA had a very large potential membership in Chicago had to make sure that it would be under his control.

CONFERENCES were held by John Fitzpatrick, Charles Wills, editor of *Federation News*, official organ of the C F of L, C. C. Coulter, Secretary of the RCIPA, and Captain Daniel Gilbert, Chief investigator

Continued on Page Two

Detroit WPA

(Cont. from page 1)

next month it will be about one-third of this 60,000.

FRANK MURPHY was defeated, but today he is on the Supreme Court at \$20,000 a year. George Edwards, who while head of the UAW-CIO WPA department here in Detroit, praised Murphy, Roosevelt, and the "other democratic leaders," and blasted the "reactionaries," was recently appointed to the Detroit Housing Commission at \$6,000 a year. But we WPA workers are sloshing in mud up to our ankles at \$686.40 a year, worrying about the new lay-offs, which won't be for 30 days, but for good.

How can we depend on these leaders with their policy of collaborating with capitalist politicians and the capitalist government? Are not the results plain to everybody?

Even now, in spite of all the defeats, the union leaders still continue this game of capitalist policies. A leaflet is issued by the UAW-CIO WPA department rallying the workers to a protest meeting. The leaflet says: Write your Congressman and let him know of your need. Hell's bells, the Congressmen already know our needs, but knowing that the protest will not go beyond a postal card, they are going ahead with the cuts "in the interests of national economy."

WE ATTENDED that meeting last month, February 18.

Seated on the same platform with union representatives were all the bigger and lesser lights from the state and local WPA administration. Abner Larned, state administrator, Max Barton, former Detroit head, Max Moody, Nellei Schlee of local officialdom, all of these have in the past made life miserable for more than one WPA worker, by their lousy red-tape methods, their run-arounds, their downward classifications, and so on. More than one worker's stomach turned over at the sight

of the speeches? Practically all the speakers tried their best in suggesting ways to make the capitalist profit system work, but they failed, and failed miserably. Hugh Gibson, State CIO Secretary, advocated that the national income should be divided more evenly among the workers to furnish more purchasing power for the masses. Fine, we are for it! But who will do it? The capitalist government which is now prepared to lay off 700,000 workers?

R. J. THOMAS, UAW-CIO president, made it clear in his speech that he had never been a radical, and had voted Democratic Party every time but once. What in heaven's name does that solve except to keep Thomas on the "safe" list when this country enters war? Finally, Thomas said: "Go out and organize." But for what purpose? To vote Roosevelt for a third term or to lead militant demonstrations against the Roosevelt administration which is starving the unemployed, and preparing a soldier's grave for those who survive the WPA low wages?

It is no wonder that WPA workers are so hard to organize into unions these days. They have been led wrong so many times by this type of leadership with their policy of capitalist collaboration, that they refuse to bite again.

WHAT IS NEEDED? A union, yes, a strong union, one which can rally masses of workers. But more than that: A correct leadership and policy. Just what does this mean? Every WPA worker asks this question and he has the right to know.

A correct leadership is one that is willing to carry out these policies: Refusal to collaborate with any capitalist politician, refusal to ask any WPA worker to vote for this or that politician in the hopes of getting anything. Instead this leadership would tell the WPA workers:

Organize to fight these capitalist politicians and the entire capitalist government set up. Be

Continued from Page One

for State's Attorney Courtney, at all meetings where this question was discussed. Coulter appointed Caldwell.

He has since declared that the appointment was made with Gilbert's approval. In reply Gilbert states

When I learned Caldwell was connected with the local, I protested to the Chicago Federation, the A F of L, and Coulter that I regarded Caldwell as a racketeer.—Chicago Tribune, March 9.

EITHER Coulter or Gilbert is lying. The truth is that both are responsible for imposing this notorious racketeer on Chicago retail clerks, and both are equally vigorous in their attempts to evade responsibility.

Wills, an important figure in the Chicago labor movement is Caldwell's father-in-law. He can hardly take the position that he had nothing to do with Caldwell's selection. Wills was angling for a job for his son-in-law and this looked like a good thing.

What qualifications did Caldwell have for his responsible post? He was a local racketeer who had been organizer of the Chicago Waiters' Alliance at the Chicago Worlds' Fair in 1933-34. In the closing weeks of the fair Caldwell attempted to collect three months' dues in advance. This racketeering effort was suppressed by the police.

On July 31, 1934, Caldwell was indicted on a charge of conspiracy to extort \$10,000 from owners of the French Casino, a cabaret. The cabaret owners said Caldwell called a strike and then demanded \$10,000 to call it off. Caldwell was acquitted of the charge.

On August 21, 1934, Caldwell was questioned by the State's Attorney's office concerning the bombing of the Edgewater Beach Hotel where a strike of the Chicago Waiters' Alliance was then in progress. Caldwell was again acquitted.

In 1935 Caldwell attempted to organize tavern hostesses and entertainers. Girls complained they were told by unknown persons: "Legs don't look so pretty when they're broken."

In 1936 Caldwell opened a tavern at 2052 North Halsted Street. He was denied a license because his tavern had become a hangout for hoodlums.

FITZPATRICK is noted for his motto, "Organizers and officials must come off the job," i.e., must have had actual job experience On

Cromwell Fears Revolution

JAMER H. R. CROMWELL, American minister to Canada, in a speech on March 19 in Canada stated: "the life, liberty and the very safety" of neutrals is at stake if German wins the war:

He asked: "Did the Austrians, Czecho-Slovaks or the Poles have a voice in the determination of their present form of government?"

Cromwell says England and France are fighting for "democracy." But what about India? Ireland? Palestine? All of Africa?

Every one knows that England is a bigger rival to American imperialism than Germany. Many wonder why the U.S. government supports England in this war.

Cromwell answers: "How easy it is to shut one's eyes and thus seek to avoid the horrid sight of the bloody and seething world revolution which threatens to overwhelm us all."

figures, will save the capitalist

world from "bloody and seething world revolution."

"Golden Boy" Cromwell is married to Doris Duke (\$50,000,000) richest girl in the world. They own a \$1,000,000 Hawaiian home.

Cromwell will not do the actual drilling, starving—and FIGHTING. He is sending millions of workers to a "bloody" death to defend the profits of his class.

When the American workers make their revolution, they will not kick Cromwell the hell out of the country. They will not kill him. They will put "Golden Boy" to work.

Stalin's War Exposed

Outstanding results of the peace Stalin dictated to the Finns, were the relation of this outcome of the war to the war between the Allies and Germany, and the light which the events preceding and following it have cast on the character of the Finnish-Russian war.

The war between Germany and her imperialist enemies began on September 3 and promptly ran into a stalemate on land.

Stalin calculated the probabilities and possibilities of the situation and opened hostilities against Finland on November 30.

He thereby opened up several dangerous possibilities: that the imperialist war would be resolved by a joint attack by Germany and the Allies against Russia; that Russia would become a belligerent in the war between Germany and the Allies.

Stalinist policy, since September, had been to balance off the two imperialist camps, holding, as much as possible, the balance of power, and stiffening Germany.

Evidently Stalin came to the conclusion that Finland could be smashed without Allied intervention or before it could have any influence on the result; or before the Allies could create diversions

prepared to carry on strike action, mass demonstrations until we get adequate relief and WPA wages for ourselves and our family.

It is becoming a question of life and death for millions of unemployed. Workers who today probably think it wrong to strike against the government, will be driven to do just this very thing tomorrow.

If we prepare now we can win.

**WPA WORKER
X WPA WORKER**

in the Near East. If Germany looked askance on Russian advance toward Swedish iron ore and an increase of Russian strength in the Baltic gulf there was nothing, in the circumstances, that she could do about it. Any serious opposition would have endangered the alliance between them which is a matter of life and death for Germany in the war with the Allies.

Think what one will of Stalin's strategy the fact is that it worked, as the outcome of the war has shown. Although there were rumors, from time to time, that plans were afoot for a deal by England, France and Germany to smash Russia, it can now be seen, if it was not previously clear, that they lacked serious foundation. This was not the acute danger that Stalin's war involved.

The other, involvement in the war between the Allies and Germany, was greater. If the Allies, seeking new theaters of war had gone to the aid of the Finns in sufficient strength Russia would, of course, have become a belligerent in the Allied-German war; and Germany would undoubtedly have sent a force to meet the threat the Allied expedition would have constituted to her Swedish source of iron ore, and also to meet the danger of Allied plane bases in the far north from which serious attacks could have been made on Germany's naval bases and industries along the Baltic shore.

However, the success of any Allied venture into Scandinavia depended on the consent of Sweden and Norway. To have acted without that consent or against their wishes would have exposed the Allies as standing on the same political, moral and military plane as those they denounce. It would have weakened their position with

Oust Gunmen From

the basis of Caldwell's outstanding record, Fitzpatrick, Coulter, Wills and Gilbert selected Caldwell as International organizer of the Chicago RCIPA though Caldwell has never been a clerk.

Using intimidation, physical violence, coercion, Caldwell forced retail clerks in Hillman's, A&P stores, National Tea stores, and many small grocery stores, to pay tribute to the RCIPA.

In Hillman's food stores a group of department heads, among whom were Milton Brav, Jack Shaughnessy, Miss Tessineri, Zedek Hipshin, Nona Glynn, Bernard Eisenberg, and others were called into the office of Miss Nelson (Mrs. Ramos) an official of the Hillman Co., and instructed by her to have all the employees sign RCIPA application cards, which were then distributed by her among the department heads. She also instructed them to collect dues from the clerks and employees who were not clerks, or to make arrangements to take the money out of their pay envelopes.

Caldwell sent two of his gunmen into the South-Side Co-operative store, who told the clerks they had better join the RCIPA, or else the windows of the Co-operative would be smashed. The clerks refused to join. Immediately Caldwell threw a picket line around the Co-operative. The Directors' Board—of the Co-operative appealed to the C F of L to call these hoodlums off, and urged Lillian Herstein, one of the leaders of the Chicago Teacher and member of the C F of L Executive Board at that time, to intervene with Fitzpatrick. Fitzpatrick told her than nothing could be done, and that the clerks had better join the RCIPA.

CLERKS are told: If you join today, it'll cost you \$10 initiation fee; if you join tomorrow, it'll cost you \$15; and if you join the day after it'll be \$25.

Clerks are fired at the slightest indication of revolt against Caldwell's tyranny.

Workers here have never sat in on negotiations of the RCIPA with the employers. All negotiations are conducted between Caldwell, his brother Michael Pollack, and the employers personally.

No one knows, no one can be certain whether there are contracts between Caldwell and all of the companies. At a recent meeting of Local 1248, which occurs whenever Caldwell chooses to call one, order was called at 8:00 p. m. sharp. At 8:05 a worker asked to see a copy of the Hillman contract. At 8:06 the meeting was adjourned by Caldwell, the chairman, and the hall was cleared.

When workers go into Caldwell's office and ask for a copy of the RCIPA Constitution, Caldwell replies that in this union you don't need a Constitution; you don't ask questions; you just pay dues and keep your mouth shut.

CALDWELL has attempted to drive liquor clerks into the RCIPA, demanding \$1,250 to charter them in a liquor clerks' union. The repeated charge that Caldwell works with the Illinois Retail Liquor Package Stores Association to smash all attempts at union organization has never been disproved.

When the workers of the Continental Products Co. rejected Caldwell's leadership, and went out on strike in an effort to obtain a bona-fide agreement with the company and their own elected representatives, they were met with the most vicious terrorism—picket lines were brutally attacked, strike headquarters invaded and smashed by goon squads, an organizer shot. (See REVOLT, Oct. 24, 1939).

Caldwell was appointed organizer of the Chicago RCIPA in September 1937. On March 10, 1940, an election took place in Local 1248. THIS WAS THE FIRST ELECTION IN THE CHICAGO RCIPA SINCE CALDWELL'S APPOINTMENT.

There were two slates. Both were handpicked by Caldwell. One slate was for the RCIPA and the other for the Chicago Retail Liquor Package Stores Association.

all the other fearful small nations and with neutrals, especially the United States. And it would have created tremendous opposition at home. Even the chauvinist Labor Party leadership in England is not in favor of war against Russia.

On the first day of the war, said the Swedish king on February 16, the Swedish government told the Finnish government that it would not send its army and could not permit the Allies to transport troops across its territory. As events have made clear Norway took the same position. Although these governments felt a keen sympathy for Finland and felt themselves menaced by Stalin, their fear that Germany would act instantly against Allied troops on Scandinavian soil outweighed their sympathy for the Finns and their fear of Stalin.

On this rock the Allied hope of breaking the stalemate foundered.

There were other reasons. If war against Germany was stalemated on land could the Allies expect to defeat both Russia and Germany? Unless they get the wholehearted support of the United States, it is a manifest impossibility. Of such aid by the United States there is as yet no sign.

The purely military difficulties were also grave considerations. To fight the Russians would have required a vast expeditionary force. Conservative estimates in the press place the minimum effective figure at 100,000 men. That in itself creates a great transportation problem across the North Sea which is within easy range of German U-bout and planes.

But when to this is added the necessary tanks and planes, artillery, heavy and light, shells and small ammunition, oil, and food. And that after it is transported

across water an expeditionary force would have to build practically its own means of transportation across land in sub-zero weather. And that after all this was done success would still depend on steady streams of reinforcements of men, munitions and food. It is not difficult to see that the concentration on this task could so weaken the Allies generally as to lay them open to attack in other parts of the globe.

To sum it up the Russian-Finnish war appeared to offer a possibility of breaking the stalemate in the Allied-German war but it did not do so.

The peace has had the effect, as the press of the whole world has noted, of intensifying the stalemate, making it more difficult to break it, strengthening Germany's position and weakening the Allies in a number of ways.

The Stalinists the world over defended the invasion as a defense against provocation by Finland instigated by British and French imperialism. They added that the Red Army was sent to liberate the Finns from their capitalist masters.

No declaration of war was made against the Finnish government. It was said that the Finnish people were rising against it and joining the Red Army. A new peoples government was recognized. Its seat was the fishing village of Terijoki. Its head was Otto Kuusinen, Finnish Stalinist, hated by the Finnish workers for his treacherous role in the revolution of 1918. An alliance was formed by the governments of Stalin and Stalin's man, Kuusinen. A non-aggression pact was signed by them.

The Terijoki government issued a program. It did not propose to

Chicago Clerks' Local

only one candidate—Caldwell.

Testifying for the Continental Products Company in its injunction suit to restrain the workers from striking, Desepte, International President of the RCIPA, stated the Chicago RCIPA membership is 17,000. On March 10, Caldwell put the figure at 11,000. Caldwell's brother, Michael Pollack, when arrested, stated to Sergeant George Barnes of the Police Labor Squad that the union has 5,200 members.

Possibly all these figures are true. And possibly they are all exaggerated. The point is that since the latest one, Pollack's, is the lowest, there must have been a big decline. At any rate the newspapers reported 326 members present at the election on March 10. And the fact is that exactly 71 ballots were cast.

Caldwell was "elected" organizer.

Why did Caldwell call this "election"?

Caldwell was suspended by the CF of L on February 18. His "election" is his answer. He can now show that the workers "want" him.

Fitzpatrick has okayed Caldwell's gangsterism in all known instances up to February 18. Every complaint about Caldwell to Fitzpatrick has either been ignored, or completely whitewashed.

Then why did Fitzpatrick throw Caldwell out?

Because tremendous pressure is being exerted on him from the top by the A F of L which is under fire by Westbrook Pegler, reactionary newspaper columnist, Chicago Tribune and other papers, for having gangsters in its unions; and from the bottom by the workers in the C F of L, especially in the RCIPA, who have repeatedly begged Fitzpatrick to remove Caldwell; and because Caldwell is too hot. The stink he has made is so big it is safer to unload him than to hang on.

FITZPATRICK is no longer in the desperate financial situation of 1937. Caldwell's dues-collecting racket doesn't mean as much to him as it used to.

Neither Fitzpatrick nor the top A F of L leadership can eliminate gangsterism from the A F of L. Only the workers can do that. But Fitzpatrick can try to fool workers into thinking he is against gangsterism by making an example of Caldwell.

Fitzpatrick kicked Caldwell out. But he's still on our backs. We members of Local 1248 live in constant fear of being fired as a result of the activities of company stool-pigeons and Caldwell. All of us recognize Caldwell as our enemy.

Let's finish the job Fitzpatrick began and kick Caldwell out.

How can we, members of Local 1248, oust Caldwell, and run the Local ourselves, in our own interests?

The answer is: We need an organized group of rank-and-file members of our union to rally the members of Local 1248 to fight for:

1 —REGULAR meetings to be determined by the membership; all members to be informed when and where meetings are to take place; not as is the case now, where Caldwell informs a few members.

2 —URGE ALL members to turn out in force for meetings. Caldwell finds it easy to use physical violence and intimidation on one, two, or three clerks. **BUT HE CAN'T USE VIOLENCE AGAINST HUNDREDS AND EVEN THOUSANDS OF CLERKS.**

3 —FIGHT FOR the right to speak; to criticize; to ask questions about the contracts and the Constitution. If hundreds of us are present and Caldwell attempts to adjourn the meeting we can tell him: "Okay, Mr. Caldwell. You can go. We're staying. This is OUR meeting, OUR union." If Caldwell orders us out of the hall, we can get our own hall.

on negotiating grievance, and other committees; and

right of any member to be elected to office in the Local.

5 —REGULAR shop meetings of all chain stores and other groups for a discussion of the demands of the workers, and the election of a rank and file negotiating committee.

6 —FOR THE RIGHT to vote on contracts; right to vote for selection of negotiation committee representatives. We refuse to recognize any contracts unless we participate in the discussions and negotiations and unless we approve the contracts by a majority vote of the Local.

7 —ELECTIONS to choose a new set of officers and Executive Board. No election is valid unless the entire membership is informed of the election. We demand to know how many members are in the Local, paid-up and in arrears. 71 people should not have the right to elect officers for thousands of clerks.

8 —DEMAND A full accounting for all Union funds, and the election of a rank-and-file auditing committee to check the Local records. All expenditures to be approved by the membership. Question of salaries of officials (Pollack, Caldwell's brother, stated he gets \$75 per week; no one knows Caldwell's salary) to be approved by the membership.

9 —REDUCTION of dues from \$2 monthly to \$1. Initiation fee to be set by the membership. No special assessments to be levied without a majority vote of Local 1248.

10 —IMMEDIATE publication and distribution to all members of the present contracts with Hillman's, National Tea, A & P, the small grocery stores, and others where members are paying dues on the basis of Caldwell's claim to have a contract with the employer.

11 —DISTRIBUTION of copies of the Constitution and By-Laws of the RCIPA to all members.

12 —FIGHT TO get back in the CF of L.

Now is the time to act! While Caldwell is on the spot!

Retail Employee, Member Local 1248

Retail Employee is not a member of the League, but REVOLT endorses the struggle he calls for against Caldwell and for union democracy.

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Not Convincing

Continued from Page One

ington announced that 700,000 from WPA by June 30. The words are honeyed; but the deed is gall.

YOU EXCLAIM against life dominated by armed camps.

In whose Administration were the M-Day plans drafted and their contents published? Whose Administration plotted to impose a military dictatorship on labor? Suppress the right to strike? Conscript men and women to work in industries and farms selected by the government, at wages and for hours and under conditions determined by the government? In whose Administration, Mr. President?

In Nazi Germany there are towns which flaunt signs with the legend: Jews forbidden. In the cities they live in ghettos. In the parks they must sit on special benches. And because they look like human beings and may be mistaken for non-Jews they must wear yellow arm bands and other insignia of their race so they may be the more easily oppressed.

THIS IS THE United States, not Germany. The Declaration of Independence says that all men are created free and equal. Here the Negro does not have to wear yellow arm bands. His color does for him what the arm band does for the Jew in Germany. He is not compelled by law to live in a ghetto. But residential restrictions as they are politely called are in force all over the United States. The fact is that the Negro lives in a black ghetto.

And in the south he cannot sit on the same seat with a white man in a bus or train; eat in the same restaurant; use the same toilet in a railroad station. That is where a "nigger" as he is called, is beaten, tortured, castrated and strung up and burned if he dares to claim or if he is suspected of claiming any part of the right which the Constitution guarantees him and your Administration, Mr. President, is sworn to uphold.

TO JUSTIFY this system of OPPRESSION the negro is accused by his oppressors and tormentors of being an inferior race —what the Nazis say of the Jews—of being inherently dishonest, unintelligent, apish, brutish, and by low instinct a rapist of white women.

There are no gestapo and no storm troops in the south, but there are armed posses, who hunt down human victims with bloodhounds; and there is the Ku Klux Klan which is armed, makes its own laws and administers its own justice to its victims.

The Negro has been oppressed either through chattel slavery or wage slavery and racial discrimination ever since he was brought to this country. For him there has been no Declaration of Independence. The Emancipation Proclamation merely changed the form of his servitude. In many ways it made it worse. You cannot, therefore, Mr. President, be held responsible for this.

AND YOU cannot be personally blamed for the starvation of millions in the midst of luxurious plenty. These things are the products of the social and economic system we live under. Under capitalism they are inevitable.

But exactly for that reason, because this system makes a mockery out of the ideals you proclaim, and because as a wealthy capitalist yourself you are devoted to the defense and preservation of the capitalist system we say that.

Your words are good. The ideals you proclaim are noble. But you can't do anything about it. Only the oppressed and the starving can realize the ideals you loftily proclaim by overthrowing the capitalist system of society and building Socialism.

But first they must lose faith in you, in your government, in your system. That is why we say: **It's not convincing, Mr. President.**

Letter to Revolt

Buffalo, N. Y.
March 11, 1940.

Revolutionary Workers League
Box 5463 Chicago, Illinois
Gentlemen:

Find enclosed money order for \$1.00 for which please send a half year's subscription of "REVOLT" to

P. K. and H. S.

Buffalo, N. Y.

It's one of the most revolutionary papers I've ever read.

It's hot!

Fraternally,
H. S.

* * *

REVOLT extends its thanks to comrade S. in Chicago whose contribution of \$3.00 increased the size of this issue 500 copies.

Letters to Revolt from our readers will be printed without the writer's name on his request.

Join the league

By Stalin's Peace

expropriate the capitalists; it did not provide for a soviet government; it did not provide for workers' control of production and workers democracy; it did not go beyond reforms such as the eight hour day; and it promised to recognize the tremendous debts of the Finnish capitalist government to imperialist powers. Whatever we may think of the aim of the Red Army, this government, by its own admission, was not fighting a war against capitalism.

The peace terms give proof that Stalin was not fighting that kind of a war. The Kuusinen government was forgotten. Not a word was said about it. The treaties with it ignored. No explanation for all this has been given. Kuusinen's whereabouts are a mystery. And no one cares.

But the Ryti-Tanner capitalist government is recognized. A treaty has been signed with it. The treaty contains no terms which in any way alter the social, political or economic structure of Finland. Their main provisions change the boundaries of Finland to Russia's strategic advantage.

If Russia were compelled by military reverses or a threatening international situation to limit itself to such terms one could still nourish the illusion that Stalin set out to put an end to capitalism in Finland. He could console himself with the idea that at this time this worthy enterprise could not succeed.

But this is not the case at all. The Red Army, despite early defeats, was winning. It stood on the verge of complete victory. The Finns consented to peace because it was the only way to escape complete annihilation. Stalin dictated the terms.

Hence from beginning to end there was never anything but a

counter-revolutionary purpose in Stalin's invasion.

The first results of the peace give further proof. Evacuation from the areas ceded to Russia is voluntary. The Finns who live in this territory may remain or they may leave for other parts of Finland. If Russian life were what the Stalinists say it is. If their aim was to bring the liberty, well being and socialism of Russia of which they boast to Finland, it is reasonable to suppose that those who had the opportunity to enjoy these benefits would accept them gladly.

The facts are that almost 100% of inhabitants of these areas are leaving of their own accord. And they are reported to be in desperate haste to get out before the Stalin regime takes over.

So much for Stalin's war of liberation. There were other people in the labor movement who denounced Stalin for all his evil deeds but who declared that in Finland, the imperialists were waging war against Soviet Russia. The Trotskyists, loud critics of Stalin, said that it was an undeclared war and that the Finns should become partisans of the Red Army.

Others did not bother to quibble over whether it was declared or undeclared. They said it was the real thing and that the war in western Europe was a fake to cover it up. There were other variations and embroideries of these themes.

How harshly facts have dealt with these theoretical fancies! What imperialists waged war against Russia? Germany? No one even breathes a whisper that it was Hitler. Norway and Sweden or little Denmark? No one suggests it. Sweden says it sent one half of the arms and muni-

tions of its army to the Finnish army. Tomorrow, no doubt, social democratic Prime Minister Hannson will present the bill. But more important is the fact that Sweden and Norway painstakingly stood aloof from the war and effectively blocked the possibility of sending troops from England and France.

Was it England and France? Where is the proof? France says that when peace was signed fifty thousand men were ready to sail under the convoy of British warships to northern Finland or Russia. This is not confirmed in England. In fact all plans for a serious expedition to aid the Finns which were pressed by the French were blocked by the British who were split over the issue. Hore-Beliska is spokesman for the crowd that want war with Russia. But his opponents still hope that either they can win Russia over or keep her neutral in the war against Germany.

The fifty thousand men sound to us more like an alibi to cover up failure to act than the real thing. But real or not the plain fact is that they did not sail. There were no French and English troops in Finland. There were some volunteers, but that is all.

Other aid was small. Official French government figures give as 175 the number of planes sent. If to this is added a comparable number from England and an additional number from Italy and other countries is thrown in it is still insignificant. Similarly with hand grenades, machine guns, ammunition, etc. The small number of troops sent is shown by the official Finnish report that only "two non-Finnish soldiers were killed," both from Sweden.

This aid no more signified war than did aid by Italy and Germany

to Franco in Spain signify they were at war with England and France which permitted aid to reach the Republicans in larger quantities than they sent to Finland.

Where then was the imperialist war against Russia? Stalin's peace, like his war, shows very clearly that from first to last it was a war to take by force from a weak nation what it was not willing to yield by persuasion or negotiation.

It has resulted in military advantages for the Stalinist bureaucracy. But hundreds of thousands of Russian and Finnish workers and peasants have paid for their lives for these advantages from which they will derive no benefit whatsoever. In Finland there will be incredible suffering for years. And when the workers in the far north rise in revolution Stalin can send ships and planes and men from Hango and Petsamo against them.

The Russian revolution is now weaker because millions of workers all over the world are outraged by the war and the peace and turn from Russia in disgust and bitterness. These are the victories Stalin has won, the blessings he has brought.

It was impossible, but could the Finns have fought the Red Army to a standstill, had the difficulties of transport and food supply on the Russian side grown and multiplied, then dissatisfaction among the workers and peasants in Russia would undoubtedly have grown, too. And opportunities might have arisen for overthrowing the Stalin regime of terror, murder and counter-revolution.

It didn't happen that way. But opportunities will come. The workers who made two revolutions in 1917 will yet make a third.

GANDHI BLOCKS INDIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

NEVER has the situation been more favorable for a successful struggle by India for freedom from British imperialism. Britain is locked in a stalemated war with Germany. She faces the running danger of also fighting Russia. In the Far East Japan constitutes a perpetual menace. Italy more and more is revealed as a potential enemy waiting for an opportune moment to cut Britain's Mediterranean life line. Use of the British fleet to put down revolt in India would permit the Germany navy to raid British and French shipping in the Atlantic and Pacific almost with impunity and also to attack the British coasts directly.

In India itself on March 4 more than a hundred and fifty thousand cotton textile mill workers in Bombay went out on strike. Thousands of workers in silk mills joined them. They are still on strike. Their main demand is for a fifteen per cent war bonus.

On May 6 waiters in Hindu tea shops were reported to have served notice of intention to strike on March 10 unless they were given a twenty per cent wage increase. Also on March 6 workers on the Great Indian Peninsula Railroad adopted a resolution threatening "direct resistance" unless they received a war bonus. No doubt British censorship has prevented us from learning further details of what appears to be a huge strike wave.

In these circumstances a clear call for an irreconcilable struggle for complete freedom from India would awaken a tremendous response. If the leadership were intransigent and prepared to fight to the finish and to meet imperialist violence with revolutionary force they would have every reason to expect a favorable outcome.

BUT THAT is precisely the trouble. The India National Congress, now in session, is vacillating. It has dissociated itself from the declaration of war of the British government and has demanded unconditional freedom from Britain. But the right wing under Gandhi is temporizing. Gandhi demands the right to determine by himself by what methods and when the struggle shall commence. He has disavowed the textile strike. He is openly for moderation. He is looking for compromises with the British government.

The left wing, led by Subhas Chandra Bose, former president of the All-India Trades Union Congress, and of the National Congress variously reported as an admirer of Mussolini and a bearer of red flags emblazoned with hammers and sickles, is leading a militant fight in the Congress for an immediate launching of a vast civil disobedience movement. Once launched it would rapidly use the great revolutionary energy and methods available even sweeps aside moderators like Gandhi. Thus once again Gandhi is proving that he is Britain's best friend, her most reliable prop in the struggle to oppress the Indian people.

As John Gunther says in *Inside Asia*: "... while he lives very little can happen; his death will on the other hand liberate forces almost certainly tending to increase the strength of Indian nationalism."

Apparently this idea has occurred to people who are suspected of being capable of acting on it. For the press reports that Gandhi at the Congress is being guarded by young men wearing uniforms and carrying clubs. Strange policy for the apostle of non-violence!

Why I Join the League

CHICAGO, MARCH 18.—What are you doing to insure the future of yourself and your children against starvation, against your husband being out of work, against your children getting out of school with no place in society for them?

Do you still have your nose pressed against the window of security or are you going to break the window and help yourself?

I have taken the first step toward the guarantee of safety for my eight-month old daughter and myself. I am now a member of the Revolutionary Workers League. What are you doing about your economic and political problems? Are you going to stay on the outside looking in?

* * *

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IN 1938 I made what I thought was an entrance into the class struggle by joining the Young Communist League. There I learned how a worker reduces himself to a non-militant in the class struggle. I learned how best to confuse the workers in their fight for economic liberation. I also learned that the worker in America should not fight for his own interests but for the interests of a bureaucracy several thousand miles away.

Naturally these facts were not immediately apparent, nor did the leaders of the YCL actually preach this, but under the guise of fine sounding phrases the workers were actually led to think and act in this way. No attempt was made to bring the fundamental conflict of capitalist society to the rank and file.

In my efforts to find the right organization in which to function in the class struggle, several, I found, were seemingly on the right road, but the group I found to be doing the best work in helping build the revolutionary party and at the same time publishing a workers' paper in language a worker can understand is the Revolutionary Workers League (Revolt). I have applied for membership.

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The boss got mad as a bull and told the worker—take it or leave it. The worker tried to compromise, but the boss fired him. So he had to start breaking in another worker to take his place.

This incident taught us workers a few things. We figured out that before the new man could reach normal production in two months the boss would be behind at least \$300.00. All because he didn't want to pay \$4.00 a week more to a good worker who deserved it.

Some of the fellows thought the boss was a chump. But not all. **THE GENERAL** opinion was more serious. They agreed with me that this was good proof that the boss considered us dirt under his feet.

"He knows he rules the roost and we have no defense because we're not organized," said one fellow.

"Maybe to him \$300 don't mean a damn. But \$4.00 a week would be a fortune to me. It would nearly pay a month's rent," added a young married worker.

"This only goes to show you we workers are in a class by ourselves," I said. "We are as different from the boss as steel is to wood. The boss despises us because he is afraid of us. He's scared because if one worker talks up, maybe all of us will."

And that's what we should do because this will happen again, and we'll be in the soup. A man spoke up for his just rights and look what he gets! The boss knows what class he belongs to, the class with power to exploit us. Its about time we realize that we belong to the working class and that we have the power and strength to change this when we get together.

D. Whitman

Sharecroppers

Continued from Page One

"Why don't sharecroppers use guns?" he was asked. Kester replied "I don't believe in using guns. Surest way for sharecroppers to get slaughtered. Landlords can get away with breaking the law. Sharecroppers cannot. If they beat your family, don't retaliate, don't resist. This policy has earned us the respect of many people...." And again, "Arming of sharecroppers is a stupid task. Organize is the task. Personally I am a pacifist."

An RWL member asked: "If the misery of the sharecroppers is a result of being landless, 1) will obtaining the land eliminate this misery, and 2) how can the sharecropper get the land?" In answer to the first question Kester stated he proposed "large scale co-operative farming." To the second, Kester answered "Only sane and sensible way to get hold of the land is to take it from the government. To use the land and make it available to the people in a long term interest."

KESTER HIT the nail on the head when he said that the struggle of the sharecropper is more than a union struggle; it is a struggle for social emancipation.

But no struggle for social emancipation was ever won by the program which Kester advocates. Depend on the government he said, in effect. But it is the government, as he explains, which is pushing the crop reduction program which is driving 40,000 farmers off the land each year.

And it is this government which is making loans to landowners to modernize their farms with tractors and is helping drive more thousands off the land to migrate to California and Arizona.

If this government ever introduces large scale farming it will be only to pile up still greater profits for the big landowners and drive hundreds of thousands of additional small farmers, tenant farmers and sharecroppers off the land.

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A swell racket! This company collects dollars from workers for insurance, invests it in mortgages in farm lands, squeeze the farmers out through foreclosure and then collects benefits from the government for not raising crops.

And it's this government, thinks Kester, that is going to aid the sharecropper achieve social emancipation!

When it comes to methods Kester's views are just as bad. If you get beat up, if your family gets beat up because you are fighting for social emancipation don't resist, don't retaliate. Above all don't use guns because that's the surest way to get slaughtered.

Kester may have the courage of a lion personally. He may not, it makes no difference. His advice is yellow and cowardly.

That's the way the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the government want him to talk. That's what they want the sharecropper to think. That's why Kester can win the respect of the enemy.

People who want to fight for and win social emancipation can't be pacifists. They don't make the conditions of struggle. The enemy makes them. Kester says himself that the union has had to contend with gunmen, axe brigades and machine guns.

THE SHARECROPPER has the right to defend himself, against gunmen, axe brigades and machine guns.

Naturally nobody advocates that the union get a bunch of machine guns and wipe out the landowners. No. That wouldn't solve any economic problems and it would be the surest way to be slaughtered.

But while the union organizes sharecroppers and fights for better conditions it has the right and the duty to defend itself against attacks by any and every means it can find or develop. If the enemy uses guns the union has the right and the duty to defend the members of the union and the sharecroppers who fight with it, with guns. If the enemy uses machine guns the union has the duty to defend itself with all possible means including machine guns.

That's the kind of talk Kester should be thinking and making. Then he will win the respect of the workers and desperate, starving sharecroppers. Experience shows that when the workers show they mean fight the enemy thinks twice and three times before attacking.

J. Drake.

IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

At the close of business yesterday a total of \$32,459,266 had been paid on Chicago incomes, as compared with \$26,652,299.74 last year. The total of taxable returns stood at 161,025, as compared with 105,923 last March.

Champion taxpayer of them all, so far, is the unidentified millionaire who filed a return today showing he owes a tax of \$450,000, indicating that he may have made more than a million dollars in 1939.

It surpassed the second biggest tax payment by \$50,000....

Corporation taxes began to pour in as the day advanced, and the largest of these was a payment of \$900,000 representing a corporate income of about \$3,000,000. The next largest was a payment of \$750,000, and there were half a dozen more of \$500,000....—Chicago Tribune, March 15.

The only food the Duke family had all day Saturday was oranges which the father, Harry L. Duke, bought with his last 20 cents. So when the baby, Harry Jr., 14 months old, became ill during the night the Dukes, having no money, did not call a doctor.

Yesterday morning when the baby seemed worse Duke left their home.... the child in his arms. His wife was too ill to accompany him. Duke's first stop was at a physician's office nearby. He was told there was no hope... at Henrotin hospital.... attendants told him his son was dead. There will be an inquest to determine the cause of death.

Duke told Chicago avenue police that his wife is expecting another child and that he has been out of work for two years.... The family is on relief—Chicago News, March 4.

Washington, March 13 (AP).—It cost Congress \$2,294 to shake hands with the King and Queen of Great Britain last summer.

The item was disclosed today when testimony before a House appropriations subcommittee was made public. The House and the Senate split the bill evenly.

The reception, held for Their Majesties in the Capitol rotunda, lasted less than an hour. The expenses were largely for floral decorations, velvet ropes and other incidentals.

The United Charities.... announce.... Chicago rents are probably not as high as you thought.

...it knows of a four-room unfurnished apartment.... for \$6 a month....

The \$6 home is a wood frame shanty behind a store building. You have a narrow passageway between two high buildings, a perfectly safe route except that occasionally you have to fight big strong rats for right-of-way.

There is no bathroom, but you can bathe nicely in the kitchen sink. There is a toilet.... defective plumbing.... surrounds it with a pool of water. Residents told U.C. the best way to get there is to swim.

But, says U.C., "the sewage backs into the bathtub." — Chicago Times, March 17.

League Awaits Reply to Proposals to Negotiate Unity

ON MARCH 5 the Central Committee received a reply to its proposal of February 9 that the League and the Fighting Worker group open negotiations for the unity of the two groups.

This reply, like a previous communication from this group neither accepted nor rejected the proposal of the League. It posed again a point which the League has already fully clarified. It asked again whether the League was ready to negotiate on the basis of the 14 points of the Provisional International Contact Commission.

In reply the Central Committee sent the Fighting Worker group the following letter, which it hopes will enable the two groups to begin negotiations. Dear Comrades:

In your latest communication which was received March 5, you ask again whether the League is willing to accept the 14 points of the Provisional International Contact Commission as a basis for negotiations for unity of your group with ours.

The position of the Central Committee is: The communications which have passed between the two groups have definitely established that, although there is serious disagreement on a number of questions, the two groups stand on the fundamental principles of Marxism and that there is, therefore, a basis for unity.

The RWL (FW) wishes to make recognition of the 14 points as a brief statement of these principles, the basis for negotiation for unity;

The Central Committee has twice explained in considerable detail and at length in REVOLT that it accepts them;

It now replies for the third time that it does so; and that,

Therefore, representatives of the League are ready to meet with representatives of your group to discuss questions on which there is disagreement and above all, concrete policies and steps to apply the 14 points in the class struggle.

We await suggestions from you as to time and place.

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Naturally nobody advocates that the union get a bunch of machine guns and wipe out the landowners. No. That wouldn't solve any economic problems and it would be the surest way to be slaughtered.

But while the union organizes sharecroppers and fights for better conditions it has the right and the duty to defend itself against attacks by any and every means it can find or develop. If the enemy uses guns the union has the right and the duty to defend the members of the union and the sharecroppers who fight with it, with guns. If the enemy uses machine guns the union has the duty to defend itself with all possible means including machine guns.

That's the kind of talk Kester should be thinking and making. Then he will win the respect of the workers and desperate, starving sharecroppers. Experience shows that when the workers show they mean fight the enemy thinks twice and three times before attacking.

J. Drake.

IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

At the close of business yesterday a total of \$32,459,266 had been paid on Chicago incomes, as compared with \$26,652,299.74 last year. The total of taxable returns stood at 161,025, as compared with 105,923 last March.

Champion taxpayer of them all, so far, is the unidentified millionaire who filed a return today showing he owes a tax of \$450,000, indicating that he may have made more than a million dollars in 1939.

It surpassed the second biggest tax payment by \$50,000....

Corporation taxes began to pour in as the day advanced, and the largest of these was a payment of \$900,000 representing a corporate income of about \$3,000,000. The next largest was a payment of \$750,000, and there were half a dozen more of \$500,000....—Chicago Tribune, March 15.

The only food the Duke family had all day Saturday was oranges which the father, Harry L. Duke, bought with his last 20 cents. So when the baby, Harry Jr., 14 months old, became ill during the night the Dukes, having no money, did not call a doctor.

Yesterday morning when the baby seemed worse Duke left their home.... the child in his arms. His wife was too ill to accompany him. Duke's first stop was at a physician's office nearby. He was told there was no hope... at Henrotin hospital.... attendants told him his son was dead. There will be an inquest to determine the cause of death.

Duke told Chicago avenue police that his wife is expecting another child and that he has been out of work for two years.... The family is on relief—Chicago News, March 4.

Washington, March 13 (AP).—It cost Congress \$2,294 to shake hands with the King and Queen of Great Britain last summer.

The item was disclosed today when testimony before a House appropriations subcommittee was made public. The House and the Senate split the bill evenly.

The reception, held for Their Majesties in the Capitol rotunda, lasted less than an hour. The expenses were largely for floral decorations, velvet ropes and other incidentals.

The United Charities.... announce.... Chicago rents are probably not as high as you thought.

...it knows of a four-room unfurnished apartment.... for \$6 a month....

The \$6 home is a wood frame shanty behind a store building. You have a narrow passageway between two high buildings, a perfectly safe route except that occasionally you have to fight big strong rats for right-of-way.

There is no bathroom, but you can bathe nicely in the kitchen sink. There is a toilet.... defective plumbing.... surrounds it with a pool of water. Residents told U.C. the best way to get there is to swim.

But, says U.C., "the sewage backs into the bathtub." — Chicago Times, March 17.

League Awaits Reply to Proposals to Negotiate Unity

ON MARCH 5 the Central Committee received a reply to its proposal of February 9 that the League and the Fighting Worker group open negotiations for the unity of the two groups.

This reply, like a previous communication from this group neither accepted nor rejected the proposal of the League. It posed again a point which the League has already fully clarified. It asked again whether the League was ready to negotiate on the basis of the 14 points of the Provisional International Contact Commission.

In reply the Central Committee sent the Fighting Worker group the following letter, which it hopes will enable the two groups to begin negotiations. Dear Comrades:

In your latest communication which was received March 5, you ask again whether the League is willing to accept the 14 points of the Provisional International Contact Commission as a basis for negotiations for unity of your group with ours.

The position of the Central Committee is: The communications which have passed between the two groups have definitely established that, although there is serious disagreement on a number of questions, the two groups stand on the fundamental principles of Marxism and that there is, therefore, a basis for unity.

The RWL (FW) wishes to make recognition of the 14 points as a brief statement of these principles, the basis for negotiation for unity;

The Central Committee has twice explained in considerable detail and at length in REVOLT that it accepts them;

It now replies for the third time that it does so; and that,

Therefore, representatives of the League are ready to meet with representatives of your group to discuss questions on which there is disagreement and above all, concrete policies and steps to apply the 14 points in the class struggle.

We await suggestions from you as to time and place.