

REVOLT

Published by the Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Workers League, U. S.

P. O. Box 5463, Chicago, Ill.

3 cents a copy—50 cents a half year (13 issues)—\$1.00 a year (26 issues)

Vol. III. — No. 6 CHICAGO, ILL., APRIL 20, 1940 Whole No. 37

Doom of British Empire Looms

THIS IS THE FIFTH day of the struggle of Germany to conquer Norway and of Britain and France to prevent it. At this writing the outcome is in doubt. Events are moving very swiftly and it may be that when these lines are read one side will have defeated the other.

Whatever the result the consequences will be far reaching, so far reaching that it is impossible to foresee them all. But already it is possible to make a number of conclusions. Britain has already been struck a heavy blow, principally economic, through the cutting off of all trade with Scandinavia.

If the Germans are successful in subduing Norway Britain may very well be struck a fatal blow. Her territory will be more vulnerable to attack; her shipping will be more vulnerable to raiders and submarine and mine attacks; her blockade will be rendered tremendously more ineffective than it is now; her political and diplomatic prestige will be greatly weakened; she will suffer severe setbacks in the tense economic war in southeastern Europe; if she is sufficiently weakened Italy may decide to strike another mortal blow in Africa or the Near East; and much more.

FOR THIS great and perhaps decisive advantage Germany will have to pay a very high price. Already her smaller fleet has been partially destroyed and she will have to fight continuously to maintain lines of supply against vastly superior naval forces. But the gain will more than outweigh the cost.

On the other hand if Britain succeeds in frustrating Germany's latest grab she will have gained a naval-military victory; closed the Norwegian loop-hole in her blockade and strengthened her political and diplomatic position generally. But she will be very far indeed from having struck Germany a mortal blow. She will still face the problems of making the blockade sufficiently effective to starve Germany out; and of winning a decisive military victory on land.

She may yet succeed in achieving these objectives. But there is not much reason to count on this as the most likely outcome. The full significance of the fact that Britain appeared to have been caught by complete surprise by the invasion of Denmark and Norway cannot yet be appreciated. Enough information on this important question is not available and final judgment must wait until it is.

BUT IF IT is true then it signifies a weakness in the war machine and intelligence service of the British government that has deeper roots than mere military causes. On the other hand if the British government was adequately informed in sufficient time of what was brewing and could not take effective steps to prevent the landing of thousands of German troops together with their equipment, it is a revelation of even greater weakness.

Further events will clarify these issues more precisely. But the clarification will serve only to reveal more clearly that the British government is much weaker than has been thought.

That Germany has a foothold in Norway is a fact. That this is not yet by any means the hold it has on Poland, Czechoslovakia and Denmark, is likewise a fact. The problem of the Nazi government
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Spies, Terror, Hunger Crush French Workers

The following has just reached REVOLT. It was smuggled out of France. REVOLT believes that the situation which it describes is not exaggerated. If anything it has become worse since this was written in February. At the time of going to press there is a bill before the French parliament which provides the death penalty for all forms of "Communist activity." Communist activity is a term, as indicated by the material published below, which is applied by the French government not only to Stalinist activity but to all working class opposition to the imperialist war.

In all this there is an ominous warning to the American workers. It is a picture of the future that faces us if the American ruling class is successful in plunging this country into the war. The Dies Committee persecution of the Stalinists is a small beginning.

It is an urgent warning to us to make use of the short time which is left to build a revolutionary movement.

* * *

FROM THE military point of view, the war, or France has not commenced. Aside from the offensive operation or the beginning, activity is limited almost to what the official communiqués indicate. It is not on the eastern front that the real war threatens, but on the internal front. It is the social war, the war of classes, whose offensive is triumphantly being conducted by capitalism, which deploys itself here in its full strength. It is with decree-laws that the battle rages; the victims are numerous and we are only at the beginning....

Decree of Requisition of the Workers: A section of factories working for the war had been "nationalized" by the government of the Popular Front, that is, the state had some control over them, but the gun merchants continued to collect the profits.... Since the war, all the factories which do not fall into this category have been requisitioned, and all the metallurgical factories now work for the war.

Along with the requisition of the factory, the personnel has likewise been requisitioned.

Every male or female worker of adult age who is requisitioned is attached to his or her factory for the duration of the war.... He can no longer leave it; he must follow it if it moves to the provinces.... If he quits, however, he sees the doors of other factories closed to him, and unemployment compensation denied him; he can only remain chained up in order not to die from hunger.

THE BOSS, on the other hand, remains free to dismiss the requisitioned worker, whether it be because his work is found deficient, because of an excess of manual labor, or because of a serious disciplinary mistake—the bosses are the judges; and whichever of these three reasons for dismissal it may be, the dismissed worker is then turned over to the jurisdiction of the Minister of Labor.

In addition to the requisitioned, there are the workers mobilized in the factory, or designated as special. The mobilized workers in the factory are mobilized for a period of 90 days, renewable at the lapse of this time, if the boss judges them useful, and if the beneficiary is found to be a docile worker, working in the best interests of national defense. If he is not, the front awaits him.... separation from his family, unemployment, or hard work at 75 francs a day.

Also, he is not to make any disturbance. The regime of work in the war factories is from 60 to 72 hours a week, by crews. The supplementary hours (that is from the 41st) are obligatory for the requisitioned as well as for the mobilized. This is what R. Dautry our minister of armaments, stated in these terms in a speech before the Club Americain on January 27:

"There is not a single instance where a worker has refused to work these supplementary hours, or to work on Sunday. All have freely consented."

BUT HERE IS an extract from the decree of requisition (penal sanctions):
"....whoever does not obey a regular order of requisition, or leaves public service, an establishment or business subject to requisition, is liable to a penalty of SIX DAYS TO FIVE YEARS imprisonment."

The supplementary hours begin at the 41st hour; they are paid the normal rate of work hours, but the state, which has become a tax-collector through the medium of the boss, deducts on the supplementary hours 40% of the workers' wages.

....In addition to the deduction on the supplementary hours, each worker or laborer monthly suffers a deduction of 5 or 15% of his salary, according to an established means of calculation, and according to whether the worker is of the feminine sex, mobilisable or non-mobilisable.

THIS IS DONE under the title of a special national tax for the period of the war. To this must be added a deduction of 4% of the salary, with maximum of 60 francs per month for social security (!), as well as the tax on salaries. All these deductions.... are made by the boss before the wages are paid out.

THE FOLLOWING percentages can be established:

For a non-mobilisable employee, or a woman: 10% of the total wage.

For a mobilisable employee: 15% of the total wage.

For a non-mobilisable worker working 60 hours: 25% of the total wage.

For a mobilisable or designated worker working 60 hours: 30% of the total wage....

Only the war industries are working and hiring a little bit. The number of unemployed has scarcely diminished; and even so, one must take account, in figuring this decrease, the mobilization and the decree on unemployment which appeared several months before the war, but apparently only put into operation since the war.

ACCORDING to this decree, every registered worker who receives compensation (12 francs maximum per day) can be sent by the division of unemployment to any place whatsoever where he can be useful; and.... to the provinces where the wages are lower, where he is separated from his family which cannot follow him, where he must pay double expenses for living, and where he must do work for which he does not have the ability, and for which he does not always possess the necessary physical qualifications. If he

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Government: You Fired Me What Am I To Do?

FOR THE SECOND time since last fall I have been given a "leave of absence" from the WPA. The first lay-off (on the 18 month ruling) was accompanied by a few words of consolation: "In thirty days you can re-apply for WPA." Well, it took me just two full months to get back on. I practically starved in the meantime.

The new lay-off, however, was not the usual pink "403," or official firing like the first, but just a gentle notice by the project superintendent of "completion of work." It has more of a personal touch to it. The little white slip they handed me says I am to be regarded as merely "non-operating" though still officially on the payroll.

BUT AFTER two weeks pass if I do not put in any time a 403 is automatic. And the superintendent admitted that at least two months will elapse before the "rewrite" or request to Washington for more money, runs the gauntlet of New Deal red tape.

Unlike last fall the Administration is not 403-ing us outright. The lay-off is "temporary." And the Administration is not 403-ing projects wholesale, but in small parts.

The WPA Administration has learned a lesson from last fall when they 403-ed 600,000 WPA workers and as a result had a national WPA strike on their hands. This time the government is moving more cautiously. It is not laying off hundreds of thousands of workers at a crack, but in little dribbles—to prevent mass resistance.

THIS LAY-OFF means another two months or more of desperate searching for work, eating half as much as I need to keep body and brain together, and watching my family go to pieces.

At the Central Intake office I am told by the snotty, college-bred social "worker" to join the army if I want to get fed good, and not have any worries about clothing and shelter. If I do that, I won't be doing any worrying

at all, 'cause soon I'll be pushing up daisies. TO GET ON relief is going to take three long weeks—maybe four—of urgent pleading, long waiting in the stuffy station, and when "relief" finally comes, it's just beans and potatoes, and potatoes and beans—and not enough of either.

Not having any "hidden resources" how am I going to eat in those three weeks?

Roosevelt is rich. Farley never worries about his three squares. Garner chews his cigar contentedly. Cromwell owns a couple of million dollar homes—while I flop on Madison street at 25c per. They give a good god-damn about me.

If I starve, they'll accuse me of being lazy, of not wanting to work.

If I steal—and that's what many of us are thinking—they'll clap me in the cooler.

If I join the army, I'll be a goner sure.

GOVERNMENT: You fired me. What am I to do?
Carl Anderson

WPA Workers Need A National Union

DETROIT, April 4.—While they give unexcelled lip service to alleviation of the problem of unemployment in America, CIO leaders are failing to take the first constructive step toward that real service, which is visible in deeds and results. The UAW-CIO, alone of all the affiliated unions, has an organization of WPA and unemployed workers, but the service which this type or organization can render is necessarily limited to those communities in which the auto workers have local unions. There is no coordinated national program, no national union, and only a fraction of the work project employees are organized. In Detroit, where organization is most effective, approximately one in thirty four is a member of the WPA auxiliary unions.

Meanwhile WPA workers in every section of the country are left in the dark as to what is taking place in Congress in regard to appropriations for 1940-41, and, as a matter of fact, the national office of the CIO is about as much in the dark as the least of the workers. There has been no definite announcement of which bill the CIO will support though its affiliated national and international unions, and through its political arm, Labor's Non Partisan League. The future of the WPA workers, under such a set-up, is indeed dark.

THE LOCAL picture, even where organization into WPA auxiliary unions has been

undertaken, is equally bleak. Grievance negotiations are undertaken with local WPA officials, affecting working conditions, hours, and skilled classifications. So long as no major decisions are requested, all is well, but once the question of operations procedure is raised, the workers are treated to the rare (?) spectacle of the Great American Game of Buck-Passing. Then the negotiating committee is referred to the Handbook of Procedure, known in WPA circles as Bulletin E-9, and the matter taken out of the hands of local WPA and of the local committees.

From the local officialdom, appeals must go in turn to State, regional, and then the National Administrator, where a final disposition may ultimately be achieved, but the answer is quite as likely to be "no" as "yes." The only means of approach to the National Administrator is through the Unemployment Director of the CIO, in the national headquarters, who must worry his way through a series of 14 assistants to the Assistant National Administrator and finally, perhaps to Col. F. C. Harrington himself. Meanwhile the original problem has been seconded by a series of others, all equally insistent in their demand for a speedy solution, and equally liable in their likelihood of no solution.

A CLOSE study of the situation must convince the observer that the only possible solution is a national autonomous union of WPA workers. There must be a measure

of moral and financial support from other CIO unions, but major decisions of needs and policy should be left strictly in the hands of the rank and file WPA workers. Certainly, this would be a radical change from past CIO policy, but, if the claims for the solicitude for the unemployed are to bear fruit, this is the first step which must be taken toward giving such help.

It must be understood, of course, that there is no solution of the unemployment problem under capitalism, but it goes without saying that every sincerely class conscious person is desirous of rendering some immediate and effective assistance toward alleviating the unhappy state of the unemployed, who are knocked from pillar to post and back again. We cannot be too insistent in our argument that the pressing need of the moment is for a national, unified and autonomous union of WPA workers, and that the CIO is the organization best fitted to undertake such an adventure.

The next step would seem to be up to Mr. Lewis and Co.

M. A. H.

M. A. H. is not a League member, but the article is printed in line with the general policy of the League to use REVOLT as an organ of expression for workers who wish to attack the capitalist system and the enemies of labor within labor's own ranks.

Clerks, Take Over Your Union!

CHICAGO, March 30.—The case of Max Caldwell, International Organizer of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, AF of L, and four other officials who are charged with terrorism was continued yesterday by Judge William V. Daly to April 16. All five gunmen are at liberty on bond.

On February 18 Local 1248 of the RCIPA was dropped from the Chicago Federation of Labor on charges that Caldwell and other union leaders had conducted a campaign of intimidation and terrorism against members

to smash the Demonstrators' union and force their members into Local 1248.

On March 10 Caldwell was "elected" organizer of Local 1248, Grocery Clerks, in an election in which 71 ballots were cast for him although he was unopposed. Local 1248 has several thousand members.

On March 13 he was arrested. On March 27, under pressure from the membership, a union meeting called by Caldwell took place. A section of the membership had been notified of this event.

THE MEETING was opened by the chairman, Mr. Charles Wills, editor of Federation News, official organ of the C F of L.

Apparently he had been sent as an emissary of C. C. Coulter, Secretary of the RCIPA, to investigate the situation in the union, and, as he said, to see "that meetings are run in a democratic fashion," and to "take up any real or fancied grievances" that Union members may have against their employers.

WILLS FAILED to mention that he had been mainly responsible for Caldwell's appointment as International organizer of the RCIPA in Chicago, that he is Caldwell's father-in-law, and that therefore the members could expect nothing from him in their effort to get out of Caldwell's strait-jacket. With father-in-law Wills conducting the "investigation" it can be nothing but a fake.

AFTER WILLS had stated why he had intervened in the affairs of the Union, a girl member of the Union, employed at Hillman's Food Store, asked for the floor, and said:

We are for the Union, but why isn't the Union for us?

She tried to show the many grievance Hillman Stores' employees suffer. Wills sharply interrupted her. She continued attempting to speak. There was confusion. After several futile efforts, she sat down,

saying loudly

Aw, go to hell.

Telling Wills to go to the devil is all right. But by itself it won't get rid of Caldwell's tyranny. Resentment against these leeches is not enough.

Let's not give up before the real fight has even begun. That is just what Caldwell wants us to do: quit.

WE NEED ORGANIZATION, more organization, and still more organization. We need to get together and form a rank and file clerks' group to run Caldwell and his gun crew into Lake Michigan. We need to take over our own Union and make it democratic so we can fight the employers.

Don't quit! Fight!

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. In the March 23 issues of REVOLT Retail Employee advanced a 12 point program for cleaning out the gunmen and making Local 1248 a democratic working class organization, and getting back into the Chicago Federation of Labor.

CHRYSLER HERDS NEGROES INTO SCAB ORGANIZATIONS

DETROIT, April 5.—Chrysler Corporation has a clever method of keeping Dodge Negro workers out of the union and of spreading anti-union propaganda. This is done through the Square Deal Club, an organization which was formed before the union to keep the Negroes "loyal," and which has no formal connection with the company.

Meetings of the club are controlled by two clever stooges who are far ahead of the membership in education and ability. Meetings are opened with prayer and conducted throughout in a semi-religious atmosphere. Gains made by the union for the Negroes are credited to the big-heartedness of the company and the company discrimination is blamed on the union. The few Negro unionists who try to bore from within are quietly discredited as reds and atheists. Small dues are charged, but during lay-offs donations for food and rent are given to the members out of all proportion to the amount of money taken in.

THE ANTAGONISM towards whites is kept alive by constant recitals of the sad experiences of Negroes in dealings with unscrupulous white men, which unfortunately, are mostly true.

These Negroes are urged to attend churches which are subsidized by local corporations, as a large number of Detroit Negro churches are, where they are impressed by the preacher with their duty to the fatherly corporations which "give us work." Most of these churches can get jobs for faithful members of the congregation.

During the recent Chrysler strike the two leading stooges of the Square Deal Club were active in the formation of a Negro "union" designed to break the strike, and in the recruitment of Negroes to act as strikebreakers. The Negroes who entered the plant were paid anything from \$1 to \$15, depending on what they would accept, with the recruiters natur-

ally holding out the balance of the delivered price. The two who led the daily marches into the plant were paid \$500 each.

THE DODGE Local membership does not discriminate against Negroes in the union; in fact, it bends over backward in giving them fair treatment, but it does nothing to end the company's discrimination against them, or to point out that by breaking strikes they prevent themselves getting more money along with the rest of us.

Only a practical demonstration of fighting for the right of Negroes to work on any job they are capable of doing and agreeing to work beside them will convince them of the sincerity of the union and root out the belief that the union is only interested in their dues.

CHRYSLER UNIONIST

CHRYSLER UNIONIST is not a member of the League.

DOOM OF BRITISH EMPIRE LOOMS

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ment is to maintain and increase that hold. The problem of the British government is quite different. It has the double task of cutting the line of reinforcements and supplies between Germany and Norway; and must also oust the force already in Norway.

The task of the British government is not only different from that of the German

government. It is immensely more difficult. She must assume the offensive against a fortified coast line in Norway in German hands and fight naval actions in German and Danish waters.

Her ability to successfully accomplish these tasks is highly doubtful. On the attempt to do so may well depend the fate of the British Empire.

Britain Fights for Democracy

LONDON—(AP)—A Reuters dispatch from Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, reported that 10 natives had been killed and 20 wounded today when Rhodesian troops fired on 3,000 copper mine strikers in the Luangwa district. Detroit News, April 3.

Soldiers Get Free Graves

SOLDIERS GET FREE GRAVES

is a pamphlet against war written by Jim Walden, an auto worker employed in the giant Dodge Main plant in Detroit, published by the Wayne County Educational Committee of the UAW-CIO.

The author served as a machine gunner in the last World War. Perhaps it is no accident that it was left to a plain auto worker to express in written form the clearest and most intelligent opposition to war that has so far issued from the official trade union movement.

It is the auto worker who because of his position in industry will soon have to take the forefront in the struggle to prevent American imperialism from plunging the working class into another war. Already more than one important plant is filling "educational" orders for the government.

It is a ray of hope on the horizon to see that this pamphlet goes much further than the official CIO position which is nothing but pure pacifism mixed with that patriotism which turns a pacifist into a war whipper upper. The CIO merely declares against involvement of the U.S. in a foreign war.

The author first states the cause of wars:

All wars are run for profit; to make a profit or to keep one.

Then from this he is able to draw the correct solution to the problem of war, not by building up American capitalism at home, as John L. Lewis, a capitalist himself, would have it, but, as the author states:

The real solution is to remove the cause of war by building a system of society where every worker is paid what he earns, he can buy back what he produces. We need a society where goods are owned and used by the people who make them; not for the profit of a few. When this is done there will be no need to fight for markets for surplus goods, because the people who make the goods will exchange them with each other and with the people who provide services....

The pamphlet does a good job of showing how profits are behind all modern wars. The chapter, What Workers Get Out of War, is enriched by the author's own experience, in colorful writing, and by the author's clear and biting style, which every worker can understand.

Some misunderstanding radical may complain because the author omitted to state that revolution is the only way out of imperialist war. But we must remember that this pamphlet was issued through trade union channels, and could not under the present circumstances endorse such a program, even if the author did believe this. That a pamphlet, which goes as far even as this one does is put out official by the U A W is a gratifying surprise.

Still Walden gives somewhat of a hint on how to stop the war by describing the 1905 war between Norway and Sweden that didn't happen. Thousands of workers were lined up at the borders awaiting the word to shoot one another. But meanwhile the leaders of the labor movements of both sides had got together and issued a leaflet which read:

You do not own this country, why should you fight for it? Let the owners do the fighting. We working class men are brothers. Let us not slit the veins of our own class to satisfy the pride of our masters.

The army of Norway marched into Sweden, fraternization took place, and a picnic resulted. The war was later called off as a bad job.

American workers please copy! ...SOLDIERS GET FREE GRAVES is a pamphlet every worker would do well to carry around in his hip pocket. It fits. E. Barton

Spies, Terror, Hunger Crush French Workers

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refuses, his unemployment compensation is taken away.

MILITARY ALLOWANCES: Ordinary soldiers receive 75 francs per day, except for those who are in the very exposed sectors, where they get a premium of 10 francs per day. The wives of the mobilized, if they are alone, receive, according to the place they live, from 18 to 12 francs a day.

IN THE Parisian region, a wife of a mobilized, having three children, receives 20 francs a day; the family allowances which she had received when her husband was working and which, in this case, was 425 francs per month, have been abolished by virtue of the fact that her husband no longer works.

The majority of the wives of the mobilized who look for work do not find it; it is only in the war factories that hiring takes place, and most of the women cannot do 10 hours of work a day without getting sick; if they have children they cannot leave them for 10 hours....

THE RESTRICTIONS: The cost of living has increased greatly, on an average of 35%. There are three days without butcher's meat, two when the sale of pork butcher's meat is authorized, the third when it is forbidden. Coffee, soap, oil are rare; one obtains them in small quantities and only at one's regular merchant. As regards coffee, one is allowed a quart at a time, and it is necessary to form in queues. Eggs are rare and priceless. Rice is sold by the half-pound. In certain quarters the people form queues to obtain 5 kilos of coal. The queues before the commercial houses are guarded by the police. Of course, one sees these things only in the workers' quarters....

THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT: At the beginning of the hostilities, some searches were made in the headquarters of the most militant trade union movements; several known militants have been troubled; but the only resounding affair has been that of the leaflet **IMMEDIATE PEACE**. This reformist paper, essentially pacifist and not containing one subversive word, was signed by a great number of people "of the left," more or less known, of free-mason, anarchist and syndicalist tendencies, the majority of whom formed part of the **CENTER OF LIAISON AGAINST THE WAR** (C. L. C. L. G.), a pacifist movement born as a result of the warning of September, 1938.

Different sentences have been pronounced against the signatories, and among others the secretary of this center, Andre Juin, has been sentenced by the military tribunal to 5 years in prison and 2,000 francs fine; two other mem-

bers, Maupieux and his wife, who have likewise aided in the distribution of the leaflet have been sentenced each to 4 years in prison and 1,500 francs fine.

THE POLEMICIST and well known movie actor, Henri Jeanson, for writing an article which appeared in the **SIA** (International Antifascist Solidarity) magazine, which appeared in French and Spanish, has been sentenced to 5 years in prison and 3,000 francs fine; and the responsible editor of the magazine has been given the same punishment. For all these sentences, appeals have been rejected and we would like to point out to you that in time of war the "political regime" (differentiation between political and criminal processes. Ed.) does not exist for condemned people.

BUT THE BIG thing has been the repression against the stalinist movement. All the communist members of parliament—those who did not take flight—have been imprisoned.... but their sentences have not yet been pronounced (heavy sentences have been meted out to them since this was written. Ed.); all the communist and pro-communist organizations have been dissolved. Every group or organization, communist or non-communist is prohibited and falls under the decree promulgated for the dissolution of the Communist Party.

THE HUNT against communists has been carried on with the greatest severity. Every day a column in the press is devoted to enumerating the sentences against the communists. The punishments vary, as the following examples show:

"...to a communist cook, for distribution of leaflets, 2 years of prison....; for having in possession communist leaflets, 3½ years of prison, 1,000 francs fine and five years loss of civil rights; for possessing communist leaflets, 4 years prison and 1,000 francs fine...., to another, possession of leaflets and communist activity, 4 years of prison, 1,000 francs fine, 5 years house surveillance, and 5 years deprivation of civil rights."

...In spite of this merciless repression, the illegal movement continues. The stalinists have brought out the old slogans of class struggle and of defeatism.. (in the interest of the foreign policy of the Stalin government, the pact with Hitler. Ed.),... mimeograph issues of **L'Humanité** (organ of the Communist Party. Ed.) are distributed in all the factories.

THE ANTI-STALINIST, or rather, anti-communist struggle which the bourgeoisie of this country is carrying on is in reality

an anti-working class struggle, and the repressive legislation has the object of completely muzzling the working class of this country and reducing it to silence. The stalinists have been up to the present the main victims, but there are still others and it is not finished.

Two decrees, one complementing the other, permit the arrest, imprisonment, or removal of all those who will not conform to the slogans of the sacred union (national unity. Ed.)....

The second decree permits arrest and sentencing for any speeches, information or publications which might prejudice the interest of national defense. It has been completed by an addendum permitting the arrest and sentence for defeatist statements or "whispered" propaganda, propaganda from mouth to ear.

THUS, A SHORT time after the December issue of **Jun** 1936, had appeared (it had been passed by the censorship and published with numerous blank spaces, but in it was vaguely elaborated a program of struggle which had got by through the indulgence of the censors) a certain number of members of the Party of Socialist Workers and Peasants were arrested. Here are the sentences recently pronounced against several of them:

"Jacquier et Rouaix, former administrative secretaries, as well as two other militants, to 5 years in prison, 1,000 francs fine, 5 years deprivation of civic, civil and family rights. Another to three years in prison and 1,000 francs fine; the two youngest minors, to one year in prison with reprieve."

HERE ARE several other examples of sentences for defeatist speeches:

"An employee of the Moutiers post office, who had made defeatist speeches in front of two former comrades who were now soldiers, has been sentenced to 5 years in prison. An unemployed chimney doctor, for distributing leaflets, has been condemned to 5 years in prison and 1,000 francs fine. For defeatist words or statements, a worker of foreign nationality, to 6 years in prison and 1,000 francs fine. For defeatist words spoken in an aviation factory, two workers have been sentenced each to 2 years in prison and 1,000 francs fine...."

There are cases where the police came to look for workers in the factories or at their homes in the middle of the night. One of the "mansions" which the stalinist union of metal workers possessed has been transformed into a concentration camp; there are

other camps to which convicted stalinists or anti-stalinists are sent helter-skelter, simply because they are militants. Informing has become a common practice; denunciations seem to flow to the Prefectures (of Police); searches are carried out a little bit everywhere in working class centers, and on mere denunciation....

We do not dare to speak in public places for fear of spies; it is impossible to meet.

In spite of everything, the atmosphere is not favorable to the sacred union. There is no enthusiasm, if there is no revolt. The people are gloomy and depressed and each one hopes secretly for peace:

"What a rascal of a war." "Let the war be over." "If we have to suffer so many sacrifices at the beginning when nothing is happening, what is going to become of us in the future?" "It is not worth while to speak of the Germans, we shall soon be like them."

Such are the current thoughts of the man in the street, of the middle class, of these who have no subversive spirit or a feeling of class. Little chauvinism; one does not "blow up" at the boche as in the last war; one is on edge.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES: If the French people have responded to the sacred union in silence—no flower on the guns nor shouts of "To Berlin" but a dull resignation—the official parties have carried out the sacred union superbly.

The Socialist Party is the most chauvinistic; it is the one which conducts the attack on the stalinists with the greatest severity; their protestations in the interest of the working class are in reality intelligent advice to the capitalists. The Socialist Party does not want revolution: it fears it.

As it fears that an excessive and unskillful repression against the working class will foment discontent, it hastens to warn the bourgeoisie of the clouds that accumulate over its head. And Leon Blum knows how to balk the workers. He proved this in 1936 and the bourgeoisie has certainly not forgotten him; it has need of Blum and his party which is socialist only in name and it will know how to make use of it at the opportune time.

AS REGARDS the Communist Party, which had prepared the working class for the war and the sacred union in the name of antifascism, it has evidently been caught short before the Russian about-face.... But the government had to dissolve it and treat it mercilessly. We must admit to the stalinists that they have had it tough; the majority have suffered the repression without

disavowing the party. But no one has utilized the tribune of the (Chamber of Deputies—Ed.) to reveal a real communism....

As regards advance guard movements, already very weakened before the war, they have become non-existent.

THE MOST important, the **PSOP**, has been completely disorganized. It was composed of elements too diverse to work in illegality, and the repression has finished it....

The several other movements, born out of the stalinist counter-revolution do not exist any more. A certain number of one of the Trotskyist factions has just been arrested, for having manifested some activity, and it is probable that they will be sentenced as communists.

The anarchist movement has remained silent since the war. Some of its militants have been persecuted in the affair of the **Immediate Peace** leaflet; others have succeeded in following tradition, the majority are scattered to the armies.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT: The reformists of the Confederation General du Travail have been active in taking advantage of the Russo-German pact to chase the stalinists out of the CGT.... As one can see in the entire press, the French CGT has become an organ of class collaboration, whose principal role consists in leading to victory the imperialist war of the "democracies" against fascism. The class struggle does not exist for it any more; it is a forbidden slogan, abandoned a long time ago. Jouhaux and Co., who have become the best collaborators of the police.

The revolutionary minorities in the CGT—those who did not wait for the German-Russian pact to fight against the stalinists—have remained scattered up to the present. The censorship has not permitted them to express themselves and it is very probable that the reformist leaders will no more allow them the spoken word than they have permitted it the stalinists, since these minorities have decided to continue the class struggle, to denounce the imperialist character of this war, and to refuse all collaboration.

CONCLUSION: It is impossible to make predictions at the present time. One single thing is certain: that there is no enthusiasm for this war which one does not want. It depends on others, on those who can speak, to denounce its imperialist character and to expose the fasciation of the French democracy in particular....

FRENCH COMRADE: REVOLT will do its best.

UNITY NEGOTIATIONS UNDER WAY

ON MARCH 20 the League received a letter from the **Fighting Worker** group accepting the proposal of the Central Committee that representatives of both groups meet to negotiate unity. The first meeting was held on March 29. A second meeting was held on April 7. Other meetings will follow.

At the opening of the first session the representatives of the Central Committee made a statement of the political motives of the League in seeking unity which was a summary of longer statements published in previous issues of **REVOLT**: recognized the **Fighting Worker** group as a political equal; disclaimed any intention of

using the negotiations for factional purposes; proposed that the concrete split of two years ago be excluded from the negotiations; and asked the **Fighting Worker** group for a statement of its attitude.

THEY REPLIED that unity of the two groups on the basis of a Marxist program would be a step forward; but that unity on the basis of a centrist or ambiguous program would be a deterrent to the development of Marxists.

The two sessions have resulted in some progress. Both sides have agreed that the concrete issues involved in the split of two years ago are to be excluded from the

negotiations on the ground that on neither side has there been a change of position on those issues and that to debate them now again could only obstruct unification.

A SET of rules governing the procedure of the negotiations has been adopted. The representatives of the Central Committee proposed that the negotiation sessions be open to members of both groups as a matter of course; and that members of other organizations be permitted to attend subject to agreement by both sides. The representatives of the **Fighting Worker** group objected. The League conceded the point.

At the present time the negotiations are concerned with a dis-

cussion of two points: the precise status of the discussions; and the problem of the Soviet Union.

THE POSITION of the Central Committee is that the essential task of the negotiations is to concretize the 14 points of the International Contact Commission which it has accepted as a basis for negotiations, in the writing of a program and a constitution; and other concrete political and organizational tasks of constructing an effective revolutionary organization. But if the **Fighting Worker** group does not regard the formal acceptance of the 14 points as in itself a sufficient basis for proceeding to the solution of the essential tasks before us, but wants

to investigate this acceptance further through discussion to test out whether that acceptance is consistent or whether it is contradicted, negated or vitiated by views and positions held by the League, before it can consent to negotiate program, constitution, etc., the Central Committee is entirely willing to accommodate the **Fighting Worker** group. It is this point which the representatives of the Central Committee are now engaged in trying to clarify.

This discussion on the Soviet Union was not concluded when the second session adjourned.

Following issues of **REVOLT** will continue to report the progress of the negotiations.

Book Review

Japan Over Asia

by W. H. Chamberlin

Little Brown and Co. 1939

Revised and Enlarged Edition

ABOUT 70 YEARS ago, the U. S. was instrumental in shaking the island of Japan out of its lethargy and isolation in order to open new markets for the expansionist imperialist program of American capitalism. Today, every nation including the U. S. is attempting by hook or crook to eliminate Japanese products from the world markets.

About 100 years ago, the U. S. issued the famous Monroe Doctrine, proclaiming that South America was the particular pie of the U. S. And today Japan does the same to China and the leading world imperialists spare no words in condemning this action. Japan, a naked imperialist military-dictatorship, thriving on the broad base of its impoverished and religion-duped peasant masses, is a power to contend with and may be on the opposite side of the trenches in a war with the U. S.

The author is the famous correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, who covered Russia during the 5 year plans and Japan for the last 4 years. Considering the newspaper, the factual material is pretty thoroughly covered from every angle but the conclusions are another story.

TAKE THE FOLLOWING gem for instance. The author claims that Communism won't work in China or Japan. Reason: the dominance of the family as a basic unit in both these countries is too strong and since Communism stands for the breakdown of the family, ergo it can't work there.

The economy of Manchuria has long been a subject of controversy. The author claims that Japan is building up Manchuria, raising the standard of living and collectivizing agriculture. Furthermore it seems from his testimony that the capitalist mode of production is still able to create an advanced economy.

The truth is after close examination, that the economic "boom" in Manchuria is completely artificial and, what's more, temporary. That is to say that it is as temporary as the conquest of China. The purpose of this "boom" is naturally to feed the Japanese armies in China with men, ammunition, etc. The Japanese imperialists are deriving super-profits from this state of affairs and the Japanese masses continue in their century old position as both cannon fodder and dupes.

Mr. Chamberlin does not discount the possibility of a U. S.-Japan war. However, he suggests its absurdity, claiming that the trade carried on by the U. S. and China is so small that even from a "cold blooded economic standpoint" it would be useless to go to war. It seems that this is more reasoning a la Christian Science.

WHAT IS at the stake in the Pacific is not merely the Chinese-American trade but the encroachments of Japan on the entire Near-Eastern market, its determination to waive all Open-Door privileges and set up a Monroe Doctrine over Asia. In doing so the U. S. is being squeezed out of the Far East, probably the only sizable section of the globe left for exploitation. For this reason the U. S. must consider seriously a head-on collision with Japan.

The author claims that the average Jap does "not think at all, in the sense of analyzing, questioning and reflecting" when it comes to the war. He is simply resigned to his fate.

We refuse to believe it. We have confidence that the Japanese worker and peasant will not commit hara-kiri but will fight his way to freedom.

E. Denny

NEW YORK.—The "hottest" department in my shop is the power press on which I work. All the workers are on piece work. The rates are adjusted to the speed and output of the machines so that we are supposed to get \$22.00 for 40 hours work. But it's a miracle if you get in 40 hours a week. So the average wage is \$19.00.

If you have to go to the toilet for five minutes you do so on your own expense, and you're behind that much in your production. You can't make the machine go any faster to catch up. You always got to stop work to clean the die, oil it and the metal on your own time. But god pity you when a scrap of metal gets stuck in the die and you have to have the die taken out and sent to the machine shop. Then you say "There goes my movie money." And when the die breaks you curse and kiss goodbye to the new dress you were going to buy for your wife.

That's just what happened to me this week. A punch in the die broke and I had to "retire" until it was replaced. Instead of setting it out on the bench I asked the dictator (foreman) to put me on another machine. He refused, saying "We have nothing for you to do now."

As soon as he left, I joined a crew assembling, checked in with the "leader" and started to work. When the die saw this he yelled

Who told you could work here?

Mr. Greenback, I replied.

Who the hell is he? he asked.

My pay envelope, I answered. I'm supposed to work 40 hours, but Mr. Greenback don't show it.

O.k. wise guy, he said. You work here and you'll be the first to get laid off when we're finished.

Nothing doing, I said. When my machine

IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

RENO, NEV., April 7.—(U.P.)—Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Whitney announced today that she had established residence here to divorce John Hay (Jock) Whitney, wealthy New York sportsman....

Mrs. Whitney is wealthy in her own right. Before her marriage in 1930, when she was 24, she was Mary Elizabeth Altemus, the daughter of Louis C. Altemus, Philadelphia broker. At the time, it was reported that Whitney had settled \$1,000,000 on her as a wedding gift....

WASHINGTON, April 5.—(AP).—A congressional group considering relief estimates heard testimony today that many young girls, displaced from employment by married women and "ignored" by government relief agencies, "become the property body and soul, of the vice lords."

Miss Florence Birmingham of Boston, president of the Massachusetts Women's Political Club... made public the text of her statement:

"Formerly a woman on the road—a female hobo—was front page news, but now we have in this country at least 100,000 homeless women.

"The young jobless girls, too eager for life to take suicide as the way out, become the property, body and soul of the vice lords."

MRS. RUTH YOUNG, 31, obtained a decree of separate maintenance today from Stanley Young, an heir to the \$50,000,000 estate of Otto Young, pioneer Chicago merchant and industrialist.

She received a \$100,000 settlement, \$20,000 a year for five years. This will come from his share of a spend-thrift trust.

Young, who is also known as Count Stanislaus De Korwin, receives \$80,000 to \$100,000 a year from the trust.—Chicago Tribune, April 6.

Neighbors became alarmed last night when they remembered not having seen Herman Carlsen, 65, unemployed iron worker, or his faithful collie outside their shack at the rear of 3220 Sheffield. They broke into the dwelling, and found Carlsen dead, apparently of a heart attack. Besides his body was that of the dog, which police said today apparently died at about the same time. They couldn't explain it.

RACINE, Wis., April 4 (Chicago Tribune).—The fortune of William Horlick Jr., who died Monday, will go almost intact to his brother, Alexander....

Horlick's will was... estimated... at 5 million dollars in personal property and \$100,000 in real estate.

Horlick made two specific bequests—\$200,000 to Miss Andrea Pultz, for years his private secretary, and \$500,000 to Mabelle Horlick Sidley, his sister, who died in 1938. The half million dollar bequest will go to Mrs. Sidley's estate.

Clarence Giltzow, 37 years old, an unemployed machinist who has tried desperately to support his wife and three children without accepting relief, was in the County Hospital today recovering from the effects of gas inhaled yesterday after he broke a meter and pipe in his home at 1653 North Tripp avenue. Giltzow's gas service was cut off a year ago. Yesterday his coal supply was exhausted. Firemen, summoned by neighbors, revived Giltzow after 40 minutes.—Chicago News, March 25.

Letter to Revolt

Dear Editor of REVOLT:

During the past month on two occasions in the Detroit area there have been demonstrations by whites against the Negroes. At Northwestern High School more than five hundred students took part in a series of riots lasting three days, March 6, 7 and 8. The incident developed out of a fight between a Negro and a white student. For some time a feeling of hatred has been growing between the colored and white students. Many outsiders took part in the demonstrations as indicated by the large number of outsiders arrested by the police.

IN EAST FERDALE, two weeks ago, a Negro, Wilber Davis and his family, were forcibly kicked out of the new brick home they had just bought. A mob of approximately five hundred white people gathered about the house and screamed threats to the helpless family within. A cross of fire was set up in front of the house, the warning used by the still functioning Klan, and several of the windows were broken by the mob.

These two incidents are significant in that they show the success of the reactionary forces in dividing workers racially. This kind of disturbance has been encouraged by the churches, newspapers and by the government. On several occasions preachers have been known to openly encourage persecution of the Negro race by claiming that Negroes are savages and that Christianity is the religion of civilized people.

Just recently, your writer heard such a statement made by a local preacher. The newspapers, agents of the capitalist system, also do their share to fan the fire of race hatred. Stories of crimes committed by Negroes against whites are played-up constantly. Such incidents as the two mentioned above, are played-down and given little or no space in the papers.

Why is race hatred encouraged? you might ask. The answer is simple. The ruling class of America uses this kind of propaganda to keep the great numbers of workers, both black and white, fighting one another and by so dividing the workers the capitalists, your present rulers, can ride on your backs.

In the south the capitalists have been more successful in dividing the workers than they have in the north. The effects of this can be seen in the misery and suffering of the southern workers in general.

BOTH BEFORE and since the Civil War there have been a great number of demonstrations against the Negro race in which thousands of innocent people have been murdered. Often after such disturbances the reactionary forces have put forth plans to stop this open rioting. All such plans have failed to do this because no attempt was made to stop race hatred. To wipe out the race hatred which the capitalist rulers have spread among white and colored workers would mean to give workers chance to organize as a class. This the capitalist can't afford to do because once the struggles stop within working class the workers might turn upon the capital.

This is the fear of the profit seekers and is their reason for spreading race dissension. This is what the workers must realize and unite against. Workers of all colors and nationalities in America must organize themselves against all attempts of the capitalists to divide them. Only through complete labor unity can the workers perform their historic mission. This mission is to seize the power now held by the capitalists and this can be done only through class unity and revolution.

A Struggling Worker

Spread REVOLT

ed for an answer. I saved him the trouble and continued:

Listen here fellow, when you first mentioned about Jews I felt like getting from behind this counter and pushing your teeth down your throat. But that won't solve anything for me or you.

Now I don't care what you are—he interrupted me and said, I'm German.

That makes no difference to me, I said still speaking, but I've had a little experience with this very company which taught me a lot about this Jewish and German business. Maybe you can profit a little from it. Maybe you can't. But there's no harm telling you.

The workers in this company used to have conditions worse than any cigar chain. Today we've got the best contract in the country. And why? Because the boys got wise to themselves.

We Jews, Germans, Poles, Negroes and others got together. We learned thru years of rotten miserable conditions that a Jew, a German or a Negro gets just as hungry and just as tired. We learned that above and beyond everything we were first workers getting pushed around while our boss, and it makes no difference what he is, was cashing in. Yes sir, friend, we used to think just like you. But we've learned different. And boy are we happy for it.

We looked at each other for a moment, the atmosphere was loosening up, I pointed my finger at him and said, Remember what I said pal, it'll come in awfully handy one of these days.

He looked at me as if to apologize for what he had said and also as if something mighty important was cleared up for him, and then with a smile he took out a pack of Luckies and said Have a cigarette, friend.

Cigar Clerk

Shop Talk

is fixed I go back. I want a full day's work.

Suddenly a fuse blew out accidentally on purpose. That saved the day. The foreman went over to the fuse box and all the power press men picked up tools, wrenches, hammers and screw drivers and followed him offering to help him find the trouble.

The boss came in to ask what's the matter. With the workers behind me I told my grievance and demanded a full day's work.

Oh, sure, that's only right, said the boss. Why didn't you tell me this before? I didn't know anything about it. Let's grab a smoke in the toilet, I asked a fellow next to me. It won't be so expensive now.

D. Whitman

CHICAGO.—The other day I was standing behind the tobacco counter when a worker came in.

Have you any Sheffield cigarettes? he asked.

I'm sorry but we're out of them at the moment but I believe you can get them across the street, I replied.

He raised his eye brows and replied coldly, "That's a Jewish joint. I don't buy from Jews."

I was taken aback by his answer. Felt myself getting angry, but held on and said, So you don't buy from Jews?

He nodded a decisive no.

I went on. But the owner of this place is Jewish. He looked at me suddenly uncomfortable. And, as far as that goes, even I'm Jewish.

That was too much for him. He squirm-

Why I Joined the League

DETROIT, March 24.—Recently I applied for membership in the Revolutionary Workers League because I felt it my duty as a worker to do all that I can to help my class win its freedom.

A true Marxist workers party is needed to guide the workers to their goal. The R W L, I am convinced, is striving to bring into being such a party. I feel honored to have the chance of helping in this work. For the past year or so I have been looking for that political group which has as its purpose the task of preparing the workers for their revolution.

The Constitution and program of the R W L convince me that this group can and will succeed in doing this. Therefore, as a worker, I want to do my part.

H. Stevens