

What Do They Have to Defend?

ADJOINING KENTUCKY, reknown for its prize race horses, mint juleps and Colonels, lies the county of Grundy, also reknown, but for its thousands of inhabitants who are abandoned to slow starvation, poverty and destitution.

A letter sent out by the Summerfield Cooperative in Grundy county portrays the terrible plight of these doomed people:

Because of the cooperation of many of you... we have been able to have several rummage sales which... helped to raise money to start a coop and have helped the people... but new clothes... We will appreciate any second hand clothes that you may send to help these people who are certainly in very bad circumstances.

The people really appreciate these services. One lady offered to move her furniture out of her house so we could have a sale... She said she would because the people need clothes so badly. One man about thirty years old bought a coat from the cooperative last winter; he said it was the best coat he ever had and he got it for less than a dollar.

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REVOLT

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U.S. Will Pay YOU \$60 An Eye, \$85 A Leg If Lost In Battle

FELLOW WORKERS:

ARE YOU TWENTY one years old? Or in between?

Waiting for Congress to pass the Burke-Wadsworth Selective Service Law?

Have you stopped to think what that law will mean to you?

You are going to be trained to defend the United States, its continental and overseas possessions, and the entire Western hemisphere.

That is how THEY put it.

We put it differently. You are going to be trained to be a murderer.

You are going to be trained to shoot and stab and kill.

All your life you have struggled to be able to work, that is, to produce, to create wealth, to build a home, to raise a family.

Now you are going to be trained to destroy wealth.

They are taking away from you the man's heart, his hands, his arms, his legs, of sliding a cold-steel bayonet into his belly, of smashing his skull with your rifle butt, of burning out his lungs with gas.

For what?

To make the world safe for democracy?

That lie cost the lives and limbs and health and sanity of 300,000 peace-loving workers like you.

TO DEFEND the country against Hitler and the Japs? In Germany Hitler tells the German workers that they must fight to protect Germany against England; and afterward it will be the United States. In Japan the government plays up the American menace. In Germany, Japan, England, the United States, THEY tell the same lies. THEY are training workers and farmers to shoot and stab and kill you.

It is very profitable to tell these lies. A Congressman gets \$10,000 a year. That is his pay for voting for conscription for you at \$21 a month. The President receives \$75,000 a year, more money than you will earn in all the years you work.

These men ARE the government. Many of them, they have... \$25,000.

And when you have done your duty? After you have gone to war, after you have shot and stabbed and killed to the satisfaction of the fine gentlemen who compose the government and have a bright and shiny medal what then?

WILL YOU be alive?

And if you are alive will you be able to see, to hear, to talk, to walk, to marry, to raise children?

Will you find work?

Will you find freedom, security and democracy at home?

Or dictatorship, starvation, despair?

What are your chances?

65,000,000 men were enrolled in World War 1.

One out of every five was shot to death, blown to bits, stabbed with bayonet or trench knife, suffocated by poison gas or died of gangrene or epidemic disease.

Maybe you will be one of those five in the coming war.

Or, maybe you will be one out of the ten who became blind for life, condemned to living death in darkness; or who had his legs or arms torn off by screaming shells or torn to little shreds; or who lost his mind and went crazy with fear, pain, or shell shock.

THE GOVERNMENT has long ago calculated all these things. It is ready to reward you if you suffer injury in any vital part, in battle.

The Veterans Administration has a scale for human beings and their parts.

If you lose an eye you will be paid \$60.

If you become deaf in one ear the government of the United States will dig into the treasury and pay you \$30.

But you can make money if you become totally deaf because then THEY will pay you \$90.

Your thumb is worth \$20.

A finger \$15 to \$20.

All the toes on one foot are priced at \$30.

A hand and from \$50 to \$75.

A leg, that is...

...ing to fear you... a little sacrifice in the case of national defense and lose an arm or a leg you will be generously rewarded and you need never worry about where your next meal is coming from, or buying clothes for

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Bureaucrats Bat 100 Per Cent At 5th Convention Of UAW-CIO

DETROIT, AUG. 4.—The fifth annual convention of the UAW-CIO, about to wind up in St. Louis, Mo., has drawn up a balance sheet that only labor lieutenants of capitalism can appreciate. Of course the main discussion has centered on the vitally important question of war. Other questions having to do with democracy in the union and finances of the International were settled in accordance with the convention's position on the war question.

In a word, a resolution that the national officers of the union be elected by referendum and another that the agreements be submitted to membership two or three days before meetings, turned down—thumbs down on democracy in the union!

But, when it came to putting dough into the hands of the bureaucrats at the top of the union, der speeches about a "war chest" ganize Ford, aircraft, and supplement workers pulled the weights of the majority of delegates who voted an additional cents per member per month fakers, besides giving them ahead to work on the membership drive.

ough will be... the membership when and if it in strike action that might with the war program of the lists, which Sidney Hillman is

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AFL-CIO Leaders Unite To Support War Drive

LEADERS of the CIO and AFL have assured President Roosevelt that organized labor will not strike or cause any interruption in Wall Street's campaign to plunge the country into war.

The CIO and AFL leaders have not buried the ax yet. But whatever differences they have over industrial versus craft unions and posts and dues they don't let stand in the way of their complete unity in supporting American capitalism's war program.

In a letter to Roosevelt 16 CIO and AFL leaders who make up the Labor Policy Advisory Committee of the National Defense Commission expressed "full and unstinted devotion to our country and to the program of national defense."

Not only do the CIO, AFL and Railroad union leaders pledge their complete support, but also the support of their membership for the war drive:

"We and our membership are united in our effort and determination to give effective and expeditious co-operation in the fulfillment of the defense program, and to contribute to a free and secure democracy."

The press reports that the letter made the President "very happy." It did not mention the feelings of the millions of workers who face longer hours, reduced wages, military service, higher income tax, and the high cost of living and other miseries which the national defense program means.

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Shadow of Dictatorship Deepens Over U.S.

IF HITLER wins, say the Army men, the newspapers and government officials he will attack the United States. Everything for national defense. Conscription is the key to the problem.

For the first time in United States history the government is resorting to peace time conscription. The "big lesson of France, Poland, Belgium and other countries over-run in recent months is lack of preparation," said Henry L. Stimson new Secretary of War, to the Senate Military Affairs Committee. Conscription is his answer.

But conscription now is not the whole answer. The government has a vast scheme which it has been preparing almost since the end of the last war and before peace with Germany was signed. Conscription is provided for in those plans, known as M-Day, meaning Mobilization Day. Introducing conscription now means that the government, frightened by the successes Hitler has already achieved and frantic at the thought of what will happen if he succeeds in smashing England, is beginning to apply its plans now before war breaks out.

What are those plans?

M-Day is the abbreviation of Mobilization Day, first day America is at war.

The M-Day plans are a blueprint for a totalitarian and brutal dictatorship. This can best be shown by this fact: Mr. Cherne, author of M-Day And What It Means To You, in a radio address at the University of Chicago Round Table, on July 14, stated:

It is interesting to go back to the German plan. In 1934 the military attache of the German government was privileged to study our industrial mobilization plan. Let me emphasize this was not "fifth column" nor surreptitious

work. Anyone can study the plans; they are not confidential.

It is interesting to notice that within six months after the study of the plan by the military attache the national defense act was adopted by Germany as the framework for their present warfare and is patterned after the American industrial mobilization plan.

Amazing, you may say. But here it is in black and white. The most terroristic capitalist dictatorship on earth, Hitler Germany, based its present hideous warfare and regimenting of the whole country into support of the war machine ON THE AMERICAN M-DAY PLANS. Hitler like Roosevelt, adopted "our" M-Day Plan, as Cherne states, for national defense.

Hitler copied the 1934 plan which was an outgrowth of plans developed by the General Staff of the United States Army since 1920.

But since 1934 the M-Day plans have been revised, improved, enlarged and elaborated in 1936 and again in 1939. Part of this process of "improving" the M-Day Plans was to observe Germany's highly successful experiments with the 1934 model.

Every worker knows what Hitlerism means: destruction of labor unions, elimination of strikes, forbidding of the right to speak, write, think as you please—in one word—dictatorship. If we are to be victorious in combatting the original "made in U.S." model on which Hitler's Blitzkrieg is based, we should learn everything about this M-Day plan which effects every worker—at home, at work, play, and in the Army.

There are dozens of books, pamphlets, and articles on M-Day. We will use data collected by Leo M. Cherne, for several reasons: first, he is easily the outstanding civilian authority on M-Day; secondly, his

first book on M-Day, Adjusting Your Business to War, was officially approved by War Department, and is, therefore, a more or less official document. The preface written by former Assistant Secretary of War, Louis Johnson. An additional reason is that in Cherne's latest work, M-Day What It Means To You, he puts the problem in question and answer form, thus simplifying our task of exposure enormously.

Am I subject to the draft?

Any male citizen who has reached his twenty-first birthday and is not yet thirty-one on the day the Selective Service Enabling Act is passed will be subject to the draft. That does not mean that you will see military service or will even be accepted for military service. But unless you are exempt or deferred, you will be inducted into the armed services.

Since Mr. Cherne wrote this, the Burke-Wadsworth Bill has been approved by the Senate Military Affairs Committee, and the draft age is to be from 21-31.

How many men will be covered by the first draft and what proportion will be accepted?

There are 10,000,000 male citizens in the United States between the ages of 21 and 31... World War experience indicates that 6,000,000... will be initially deferred from military service for various reasons. If, however, the percentage of deferments leaves less

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CONSCRIPTION

"The first thing that must be done is to destroy all initiative, and that with the training, fits men to be soldiers. The recruit does not know how to obey orders. His mental state differs from that of the trained soldier, who obeys mechanically. We must get our men so that they are machines."—Gen. John F. O'Ryan, on why conscription is necessary.

Shadow of Dictatorship

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than 4,000,000 men available... there are 3,000,000 men between the ages of 18 and 21... the greater portion would be unable to secure deferments for reasons of dependency or importance in the industrial scheme... there remain only the 13,000,000 men between the ages of 31 and 45...

The government doesn't miss a trick. Everyone is eligible for military service, unless you are deferred or are indispensable to industry.

What pay will I receive if I enlist or am drafted into the Army?

(Mr. Cherne lists a long table showing wages range from \$21 monthly for buck private, to \$8,000 yearly for generals).

But Congress is debating giving only \$5 monthly to drafted men. "In time of war, ten per cent additional is paid for overseas service," says Cherne.

Does the mere fact that I am married protect me?

No. Your marriage certificate is not a deferment certificate. First of all, the marriage must have taken place before the declaration of war... Secondly, if your wife is your only dependent, you will have to show that she cannot support herself without you. If she can work, she will not be viewed as a dependent... But until she is actually employed, she will constitute a sufficient justification for your deferment.

But, according to the M-Day plan, the government will see that your wife is put to work. Marriage will not protect you.

No hiding behind petticoats. No shirking of duty. We must all make sacrifices for the national "welfare"—or go to the pen.

What is a conscientious objector and what happens to him?

...any person who is a member of a well-recognized religious sect whose principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form can be considered a conscientious objector?

During World War No. 1, conscientious objectors who refused to do even noncombatant work were court-martialed the speedy and efficient American way, Cherne and point out.

Which physical ailments will excuse me from military service?

...you can expect approximately the same conditions as in the last war. Here are the physical conditions which barred military service then, together with the percentage...

Eyes, 21.68%

Teeth, 8.5%

Hernia, 7.47%

Ear, 5.94%

Heart Disease, 5.87%

Stomach, 5.37%

Various disorder (general and local), 3.77%

Flat feet, 3.65%

Joints, 3.37%

13. Bones, 2.96%
14. Blood vessels, 1.86%
15. Underweight, 1.59%
16. Respiratory, 1.56%
17. Genitourinary (nonvenereal), 1.39%
18. Skin, 1.15%
19. Digestive system, .80%
20. Alcoholism and drug habits, .77%
21. Muscles, .64%

Flat feet exempted less than 4%, eyes 21.68%. Have no fear boys, even if you have most or all these physical disorders, you still won't be excused from military duty. You will be given "limited military work," says Mr. Cherne. Verily, there is no escaping the war machine.

How soon after M-Day am I likely to be inducted into military service?

If you are between the ages of 21 and 31, you will probably be inducted into military service within a period of from two months to one year AFTER M-Day...

Cherne bragged in his Round Table radio address that no one had found a single mistake in his earlier book on M-Day. Well, here it is. You will be inducted into military service not AFTER M-Day, as Cherne puts it both in this present work and the previous one, but BEFORE the United States enters the war—for the first time in its history.

This is a big new development in America military policy. As Stimson put it, it's "one of the lessons of the Battle of France." The government learned its lesson. But the labor movement, unfortunately, shows no sign that it has learned its lesson from the Battle of France: that support of capitalist governments' war machines does not stop Fascism, but allows the free and unlimited development of fascism at home.

Can I be forced to work for a certain firm or in a certain industry?

...as the war develops, increasing controls over labor will certainly be exercised. If you are a skilled worker needed in an essential industry, your labor may ultimately be subject to absolute control. You will be required to go wherever the government thinks you will be most valuable. If you refuse, you can then be inducted into the armed forces on the basis of the principle adopted in the last war: work or fight...

"Work or fight" unless you are a government official or member of the exploiting class, who toil not, neither do they fight. They draft us to fight. And in true Hitler fashion to work where they please.

Will I still work only 40 hours a week with time and a half for overtime?

A national war effort will in all likelihood call for a surrender of some privileges which you now enjoy under the War Relocation Act...

Since the United States has greater industrial resources, it does not have comparatively greater reserves of skilled man power. It seems almost certain, therefore, that

overtime provisions in the Federal laws will not be able to withstand the pressure of a wartime effort.

For 60 years American labor has fought for the 8-hour day. Today, in 1940, Cherne guarantees that the 40-hour week will be abrogated. This is the real American way: the draft is given a fancy name; long hours, reduced pay, are called "surrender of some privileges." The very words used, "privileges," show the transitory character of all New Deal reforms.

Cherne makes another mistake. France raised hours of labor to 72, not 48. He could have added that England has also raised hours of labor to 72. And the U. S. will do likewise. Labor gains of 60 years standing will be wiped out overnight. Labor is not alive to this serious menace to its living standards.

Will child-labor legislation protect my children from 14 to 18 against factory work?

...it is certain that women and children will be used to fill whatever gaps occur. The various state and Federal laws that now prevent the employment of children between the ages of 14 and 18 will have to be suspended. Women will be allowed to work longer hours than they are today, while children will be permitted to work in industries from which they are now barred.

Women will be "allowed" to work longer hours. Children be "permitted" to fill whatever gaps occur!

This is called civilization.

May I leave New York to take a better-paying position in the Philadelphia Navy Yard?

The War Labor Administration will not only have to see to it that the job and the worker are joined, but the two stay together, especially in essential industries. The propagandists of the American way like to contrast it to the European way of having all citizens move about only with passports. Is this any better than Hitler's way?

Will my wages go up after M-Day?

If our experience in the First World War is any indication, wages will certainly rise... But remember that in the last war the cost of living rose even more rapidly than wages.

Cherne admits, in other words that real wages will fall if present-day Germany where "our" very own mobilization plans are in use is any indication, not only will wages not rise, but they will fall steadily. If England is any indication of wage trends, we see that wages have remained stationary, hours have risen to from 60 to 72 weekly, the cost of living has gone up, taxes have increased—and real wages, therefore, have fallen precipitously.

How much will M-Day increase my personal income tax?

...Under the tax law recently enacted, unmarried persons are allowed an exemption of only \$800 instead of \$1000; married... instead of the... tax... all theater tickets costing two... cents or more. New nuisance taxes will be levied, such as taxes on soft drinks, higher taxes on cigarettes, restaurant bills, and

AFL - CIO

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The LABOR Policy Advisory Committee as organized by Daniel W. Tracy, head of the AFL Electricians, and Sidney Hillman, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and labor representative on the National Defense Commission. Hillman is in charge of adjusting labor disputes. His most recent action as labor representative was to develop the plan for compulsory military training for the youth, copied from Hitler's youth training program. The committee's expressed purpose is to help adjust many of labor's grievances without strikes.

And Tracy is clever, too; clever enough to be appointed Second Assistant Secretary of Labor, under Perkins. Tracy is now serving in Roosevelt's cabinet, with Thurman Arnold, the man whose "trust"-busting campaign has placed several high officials of Tracy's own Electricians Union, and of many other unions, on trial for violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. Some leader of labor!

Workers in every industry, in every union, should memorize the names of the leaders who signed this letter to Roosevelt pledging cooperation in Wall Street's war drive. Workers have a right to know what to expect of leaders who openly sell it to the bosses in advance of any real struggle: strikebreaking! red-baiting! spying for the FBI! helping ram the M-Day plan down labor's throat!

THE 16 who signed the letter:

Harry C. Bates, President, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, AFL;

Van A. Bittner, Union Mine Workers, IO;

H. W. Brown, International President, International Association of Machinists, AFL;

John P. Coyne, President, Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL;

S. H. Darlymple, President, United Rubber Workers, CIO;

Clinton Golden, Regional Director, Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Pittsburgh, CIO;

Allen S. Haywood, CIO;

Samuel J. Hogan, President, National Marine Engineers Beneficial Assn., AFL;

A. Johnston, Grand Chief, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers;

George Q. Lynch, General President, Pattern Makers League, AFL;

A. E. Lyon, Grand President, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen;

Charles J. MacGowan, Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Welders and Helpers of America, AFL;

George Masterton, General President, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters, AFL;

Emil Rieve, President, Textile Workers Union, AFL;

R. J. Thomas, President, United Automobile Workers, CIO;

D. W. Tracy, President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL;

These men and dozens more like them whose names are not listed are traitors to the workers.

This stinking crew of fat-bellied rats divide the workers into rival unions and federations, while they unite POLITICALLY to serve the war drive of labor's enemies, the capitalist class.

By their actions they show they are the government's fifth column in labor's ranks.

WORKERS KNOW how to educate a scab, a spy, a company agent.

They are kicked out of labor's ranks pronto.

It's not as easy to throw out the entire top union leadership in the United States. Many workers do not yet realize the full extent of the treachery of Hillman, Green, Lewis & Co.

But the war drive and the high cost of living will show the millions of workers that strike action to maintain and improve their living standards and working conditions must be conducted not only against the bosses and their government, but against the bosses' agents in labor's ranks.

Labor needs unity under a new national trade union leadership.

Millionaire Labor Bleeder Dies

CHICAGO, AUGUST 10.—One of the country's lesser known millionaires, Mike Carozzo, was buried two days ago in a \$10,000 bronze casket.

He was a union leader! Typical wealthy labor faker, bleeding 15,000 Chicago street and construction laborers in 25 union locals. The value of his estate will be determined in Probate court.

Last July he deposited \$277,251 to lift a lien of \$241,000 placed against him by the government for evading that much income tax in 1937 and 1938. That would place his income near a million dollars yearly.

He owned a 805 acres estate near Hobart, Ind., and a \$75,000 home in Long Beach, Indiana; hundreds of Hereford cattle, prize winning swine, draft horses, several bookie joints.

His huge racing stable was listed in his wife's name until he was indicted on charges of violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in collusion with paving and building contractors. Now his horses race under the name of Superior Farm. He was at Arlington Park races almost daily 'til his illness.

Carozzo was a lavish spender, smoked Corona Corona cigars, three for a dollar, \$16 a box. He always gave a \$5 tip, Hotel Sherman manicure girls said.

Sluggo and bodyguard for king of the red light district, Big Jim Colosimo, Carozzo entered the unions as a slugger for the late Big Tim Murphy, local racketeer. Carozzo and Murphy were charged with the murder of their boss, Maurice Enright, but were released when witnesses disappeared.

Carozzo became president of the street-sweepers union through a phony "unanimous" election; then head of the garbage handler's union.

At AFL conventions, Carozzo usually hired an entire floor of the most expensive hotel, stocked the rooms with food and liquor, and held open house for dele-

gates. The best and prettiest entertainers were always present.

He compelled Chicago subway workers to pay \$40-\$50 initiation fees to the Street and Tunnel Miners' union. A democratic union doesn't need such steep initiation fees. Head of this union is Peter Fosco who, as County Commissioner, is a member of the Cook County government. Another labor "leader."

Last spring Carozzo called a strike of 60 workers in the city's asphalt plants, a protest at the city's refusal to award a contract for 100,000 tons of asphalt to a concern incorporated and headed by Kart, Carozzo's attorney.

Chief figure in the coming battle for control of Carozzo's lucrative domain is his ally, Frank (The Enforcer) Nitti, Capone's former head man. Attorney Kart, appointed by Carozzo, is in charge of the local unions.

The spotlight on Carozzo's wealth throws light on the need for unions to kick out gangsters and exploiters. Carozzo was both. Many others like him are left—too many.

William Green, president of the AFL, announced he would send a representative to "watch" the battle for control. Were he a real leader of labor, Green would help the rank and file oust gangsters. He would wage a public campaign to expose the sources of Carozzo's income, his tieup with different capitalist concerns, and the city government.

But to clean out gangsters in the AFL requires purging their allies, the bureaucrats.

Green, head of the bureaucracy, cannot lead such a struggle. He needs men like Carozzo and Nitti to retain control. He too has allied himself with the capitalists and their state.

With Carozzo dead 15,000 union members in 25 locals have a better opportunity to succeed in the struggle for rank and file control of their union. And prevent any other labor bleeders from climbing on their backs.

Deepens Over the U. S.

the like....

...there will be a general increase in all kinds of taxation, amounting in most cases to between 100 and 200 per cent.

Look at England. Income tax began at \$1,000 yearly income. This was lowered steadily until today all workers pay income tax—20 per cent of their weekly salary. The U. S. will be no exception. In order to raise the \$15,000,000,000 required yearly for the war machine the government has already begun to take the money out of what is called "consumer spending." They do so in the form of income taxes, taxes on amusements, etc. You pay for this war. You fight this war. You die in this war. But you do get a free grave.

Will M-Day lead to housing shortages?

...Gradually, therefore, as the war continues, you will be living in a more and more deteriorated dwelling.

This is our future when American is at war. Lowered wages. More deteriorated dwellings. Not allowed to move about without permission. Told what to do. Where to work. Dictatorship in the army. Dictatorship in the factory. Dictatorship in the streets and highways. All in the name of fighting dictatorship!

Why does the government have to control men in industry in time of war?

Business and civilian life cannot go on as usual, even if the war is not fought on American soil.... The economic factor in warfare has displaced or at least equalled in importance the military factor.

...Modern war allows little time for parliamentary quibbling.... The war effort must be fast, complete, unreserved and frequently brutal—brutal in its effect on civilian as well as on the soldier.

Hitler did away with parliamentary quibbling in 1933. To fight Hitler says Cherne in diplomatic language, "we" must copy Hitler.

What are the chief labor problems that arise in connection with war?

President Roosevelt's recently appointed National Defense Advisory Committee is studying the following labor problems:

...Measures to prevent workers' or employees' grievances from interfering with war production....

...The necessity for modifying the legal work-day, with due regard both for national necessities and the welfare of labor.

...Maintenance of maximum production in all war work, and the suspension during an actual emergency of any regulations which unreasonably limit production.

(Sidney Hillman, labor leader, is a member of this Commission. This traitor to labor will see to it that "workers' grievances" do not interfere with war production; that the workday is lengthened; that regulations limiting production are suspended. Unfortunately, nearly all the heads of the

What steps will be taken after M-Day to control and regulate labor?

During the last war the right to strike was not fully recognized by law. Today the National Labor Relations

Act protects the right to strike. The government is already seriously concerned over the possibility that strikes might interfere with national defense. Some such administration as the War Labor Administration will therefore have to be formed for the control of labor in war.

...The pressure of public opinion may be used to prevent strikes in essential industries.

...Compulsory arbitration of disputes after all means of conciliation and mediation have been exhausted may be required.

Control wages, lengthen hours. "Public opinion" and the law will prevent strikes, "Compulsory arbitration" will be clamped down on the labor movement. Cherne's question is "What steps will the government take AFTER M-Day to control and regular labor?" In this answer he errs again. These steps are being taken now, before M-Day.

How will labor disputes be settled after M-Day?

...compulsory arbitration may be invoked.... The government will encourage the activities of labor union because it can best supervise the labor problem through the unions.... machinery similar to that used in the railroad industry today will prevent strikes in war production, at any rate until a lengthy conciliation procedure has been exhausted.

A highly significant paragraph! Chene shows how the Railway Mediation Act functions against the interests of labor: by entangling and exhausting the workers in the lengthy and complex conciliation procedure. Labor should learn a lesson from this: that lengthy conciliation procedure is a deadly enemy of the trade union movement.

Even more significant is the fact that the government "will encourage the activities of labor unions." With men like Green, Lewis, Hillman, & Co. at the head of the unions, the government can more readily corral the unions into support of the war machine. Each day makes clearer the fact that corraling the workers into support of the war machine is the chief function of these labor fakers, who are beginning their service as recruiting sergeants before the war begins. The only leaders workers can trust are men who devote their lives to struggle against the war machine, the government, and against the labor lieutenants of the bosses in labor's ranks.

Does M-Day do away with free speech, free press, freedom of the air, and civil liberties generally?

...there is no possibility after M-Day that peacetime liberties will be permitted to those who oppose the war or seriously hamper its conduct. Action will be taken against pacifists, foreign agents, fifth columnists, spies, saboteurs, and violent critics. If they seek to use the medium of the radio, the Federal Communication Commission will be able almost automatically to close the air lanes to them. The use of the wireless

control will exist as in the case of non-competitive business. Newsprint, the lifeblood of the news, is a carefully guarded commodity during war. It becomes inaccessible to those who oppose the conduct

of the war. Moreover, the Post Office Department may deny or withdraw second-class mailing privileges, as it did during the First World War.

The Espionage Act, which was used effectively against political objectors during the First World War, is still on the statute books....

Finally, the Constitution itself provides that in time of war the right to obtain a writ of habeas corpus may be suspended. This, in effect, means that a person charged with a crime during war need not be brought to trial immediately, nor is there any prohibition against his being held incommunicado. In addition, it is possible to try prisoners in an Army tribunal by court-martial rather than in a civil court.

If you oppose the war, if you wish to fight for the right to strike for a decent wage, if you merely want to live like a human being, not a slave—M-Day guarantees that this shall not be.

Try to agitate against the war! Radio is closed to you. It's closed anyway. Newsprint is denied you. Postoffice mailing privileges are denied you. The Espionage Act is invoked to arrest you. The historic weapon against tyranny, the right of Habeas Corpus, is suspended. You can be held incommunicado and tried in an Army tribunal by court-martial.

No wonder that Mr. Cherne said in his Round Table radio broadcast:

All of these plans result in an end—temporary or permanent—to our democratic form of government.

Over the United States the shadow of totalitarian dictatorship is deepening. In 1776 merchant capitalism fought English tyranny to establish a new nation. Even before the French Revolution the United States gave birth to the ideals of capitalist democratic government.

In 1861 rising industrial capitalism fought a bloody war to crush the slave system and extend capitalist democracy.

And now in 1939 and 40 finance capital is preparing to challenge Germany and Italy and Japan and even Russia if need be to determine who shall dominate the world. Its plans call for a new kind of governmental system, ideals of the role of the state, of the relation of the state, of industry to the state. To fight for domination American finance capital will scrap the democratic system of government and resort to a totalitarian system of government.

To every man and woman who loves peace, liberty, freedom, and to every worker in the first place, it challenges.

Revolutionists will not hesitate to acknowledge that the turning wheel of history has doomed the democratic capitalist government in the U. S. They will not be satisfied until that which has been condemned because it is no longer fit for a free people they will not permit to be resurrected.

The extension of working class democracy have never yet tasted even the freedom which democracy gave to a limited few.

UAW Convention

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official partner to and John L. Lewis is belly-acher about—their differences being, as far as they go, exactly those that exist between Republicans and Democrats. Not once was there a mention of a working class position against imperialist war.

Though the capitalist press played up the position of the convention against the conscription act, there was nothing more revolutionary about that than there was in Woodring's letter to Senator Vandenberg.

Hillman defended President Roosevelt's foreign policy. He praised Wm. S. Knudsen, of GM, the National Defense Commission's Co-Ordinator of Manufacturers, and endorsed all governmental agencies of the New Deal. He could hardly be expected to talk nasty about his buddies, engaged in doing the dirty work of capitalism that is going to prove most costly in every respect to the industrial workers he mis-represents.

NOT ONLY because of Hillman's influence on the Fifth Convention of

the UAW have the capitalists cause for gloating over the outcome of this gathering; but also they are pleased with the personnel set-up. Thomas and Addes will no doubt be returned to their respective offices. Board members from various districts will undergo some shifts. But even the Detroit papers, so reckless about throwing about the words "Communist" and "Socialist" in connection with labor organizations, refuse to place a definite political label on the caucuses headed by Frankenstein and Reuther.

All this means, from the worker's standpoint, that the Fifth Convention of the UAW has failed to solve the looming problem of leadership which affects the union. It means that this convention has failed to solve the problem of severing its ties with capitalist politics and capitalist policy. It also means that the problem of democracy in the union, and this, too, is an urgent problem, is accentuated.

The score then is close to 100% for the bureaucracies and capitalism and nearly 0 for UAW-CIO members. Auto Worker

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your wife, or sending your son through college, or any of the usual problems of civilian life. A grateful government will take care of you.

Only a fifth columnist would bother to figure out that if one out of ten have to make these little sacrifices and, say three million men are sent to right, that would mean three hundred thousand cripples. And if each one were paid the top figure of \$94—which is very unlikely since some will lose only one eye and others will get off with only the loss of a hand—the total cost of the government for this kind of compensation would be about 30 million dollars which is about half the cost of a big battleship or equal to about 60 big bombers.

AND ONLY a lousy red would point out that in 1917-18 Wall Street made twelve

billions in profits, and that Bethlehem already has a backlog of war orders for steel amounting to \$500,000,000, half a billion, about seventeen times the total cost of compensation for arms and legs and eyes for three hundred thousand men.

And only a revolutionist would say: National defense is a lie, a scheme to destroy workers of the United States and other countries to protect and increase the profits of the capitalist class;

The capitalists have something to defend. The workers have only their lives to lose in national defense;

Defense of the interests of the working class and national defense are opposite and irreconcilable principles. Whoever is for national defense is against the interests of

What . . . To Defend

Continued from Page One

Grund County is one of the poorest counties in the nation.... about 75% of the 10,000 population is on some kind of relief. There is not a factory in the county—no work at all. The death rate for several diseases is twice as much as the state as a whole due to bad living conditions, under-nourishment, etc. Most of all our group were on WPA but we all lost our jobs on account of the recent quota reductions.

We aren't a cooperative yet but we hope to start soon. Everyone in our group is willing to work hard to get started on something through which they can earn a living for their families.

We all wanted a cooperative store badly. But decided it was unpractical as the small county pay roll couldn't support it. We would like to do some kind of cooperative farming but the

soil is so poor it would cost more than we could afford at present to prepare it.... For the present we are trying to find a market for the quilts and pillow cases that are made by the people here on the mountain... We are studying the possibility of working on pottery....

Dillard King
Mount Eagle
Tennessee

THE REVOLUTIONARY Workers League is making up a bundle to send to these workers. We urge all workers who have spare clothing to send whatever they can. Perhaps we can assist these workers.

However, this community is not an exception. Fortunately their letter made possible knowledge of their condition. But there are numerous communities, spread throughout the country in a similar condition. The working class cannot solve the problems of these poor workers and farmers by sharing its poverty with them.

Despite the fact that they need assistance now and we must do all possible, it must be borne in mind that daily this is becoming the general condition of the workers and farmers as a whole.

The government is piling up billions of dollars of debts which future generations are expected to pay, for national defense and hemisphere defense.

What do the starving people of Mount Eagle have to defend? What can Hitler take away from them except perhaps their freedom to starve in the midst of plenty?

Defense? Yes they need defense, against hunger and cold and the criminal plans of the government in Washington to militarize the nation and plunge it into war.

The big enemy of the people of Mount Eagle is not in Europe or Asia. It is the capitalist class, the capitalist government, the capitalist system in the United States. The enemy of the people of Mount Eagle and of all workers and farmers.

H. Marsh

TO DEFEAT HITLER

A Revolutionary Voice From Europe

The following is the major portion of a manifesto issued by revolutionary workers in Belgium the day following Hitler's invasion of the Low Countries on May 10. It has just reached REVOLT.

The authors of the manifesto are, as nearly as REVOLT can make out, essentially Trotskyists, who accept Trotsky's theoretical leadership but who protest his bureaucratic methods and his premature proclamation of a Fourth International, and have broken with his organization.

* * *

...In fifteen months: the collapse in Spain, the wiping out of Czechoslovakia, the annexation of Albania, the partitioning of Poland; the capitulation in Holland, the retreat in Belgium and in France. And the ruling classes in France and Great Britain, panic-stricken, bewilder the masses by spreading the fear of a hitlerite "fifth column."

WHERE IS THE "FIFTH COLUMN?" For they know that this "fifth column" is not composed of the over-exploited workers, enemies of Hitler, but of unatinal defenders of capitalist exploitation, holding leading and possible positions in industry, the army and in the civil service. The British and French imperialists do not wish to and cannot cut the earth from under their feet.

In France the death penalty is decreed against strikers at the same time the prison are opened wide to let out *Cagoulauds*—vanguard element of the "fifth column."

...can do is the fear of the "fifth column" to organize civil guards, the petty bourgeoisie behind lines and prepare by these as its civil war troops against proletariat.

WORKERS, PEASANTS, SOLDIERS!... in spite of its parent might, fascism in Germany as in all other countries could be unable to advance and could crumble as soon as you, exploited masses of town and country, manual workers and intellectuals, men and women, adults and youths, refuse to let yourselves be directly or indirectly taken in tow by a faction of the bourgeoisie and begin to put into effect your own program:

Expropriation of the expropriators;

Socialization of the means of production and exchange;

Planned economy;

Establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by democratically elected soviets and the organization of workers militias which will disintegrate Hitler's armies and smash fascism;

Liberation of the colonial peoples;

Establishment of the United Socialist States of Europe.

Utopia! sneer those whose will-power has been broken by the defeats of the working class. Utopia! sneer also the bureaucrats of the labour organizations who, as agents of capitalism in its democratic form, exploit the courage and heroism of the workers for the conservation of their own miserable positions and prepared the way for dictatorship and war by advocating sacrifice upon sacrifice at the benches as on the battlefields.

Utopia! will probably say today those who succumb to the heavy days when the youth of Europe is depressing atmosphere of these slaughtering itself and when piles of corpses are accumulating and

when it seems that there is only place for collective madness, fear and panic.

No! It is not a utopia. Much less sacrifice than is now being made is needed to make a reality of this utopia!

MOREOVER, the first step taken by the French and British workers towards this utopia would have a hundred, nay a thousand times more influence on the military situation and would hold the advance of German imperialism more surely than all the manoeuvres and plans of the general staffs which can only continue to produce defeats and substitute density of corpses per square mile for the density of population in

It is precisely because we want the proletariat to defend what remains of the conquests of October in the structure of the Soviet Union, i. e. the socialisation of property and planned economy, and restore what has been destroyed, i. e. the power of the Soviets and the support which the Soviet Union was for world revolution, it is precisely for that reason that we determinedly fight Stalin and the stalinist bureaucracy and call upon the Soviet masses to overthrow these stranglers and grave-diggers of proletarian revolution.

THEIR FAITHFUL lackey of the so-called Communist parties have hardly had time to forget their sickening and abject hyste-

extermination of the workers led up a blind alley.

All these criminals, whether they call themselves Thorez, Fardonnet, Churchill, Pollitt or Lord Haw-Haw who fling insults at each other and call each other "traitors," will not fail to find themselves united under Hitler's guidance to drown the workers' revolt into blood.

Do not forget the Paris Commune of 1871!

Do not forget the Madrid Commune of 1939!

Remember October 1917!

Let the workers show themselves strong and determined and they will bring to their side sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the bourgeoisie who will faith-

the intervention of yankee imperialism, nor through the extension of the war to new fronts. It will be assured if you rebuild the class front, a front that is not determined by state boundaries or by the colours of flags and uniforms, but which in each factory, office, farm and barrack and in the trenches divides the exploiter from the exploited.

HITLER covets the regions covered with factory chimneys and fertile fields. Let the workers and peasants of these regions take possession of these, rout out the usurpers and the incapable military leaders, they will defend their acquisitions and defeat Hitler.

Hitler covets colonies? Let the workers of the "mother-countries" dissolidarise themselves from the capitalist exploitation of these colonies and help the colonial peoples to win their liberty and develop as independent socialist nations, and there again Hitler will be defeated!

The capitulators are to be found in the camps of patriots of all shades. They will simply follow the road that Fardonnet and Haw-Haw showed them before the Blitzkrieg, for they will prefer having a smaller share in the exploitation of the toilers, and even leaving a large part to Hitler, to giving up their class privileges.

WORKERS, PEASANTS, SOLDIERS!

Since the first days of the war our organization has not ceased fighting in the class struggle. Our militants have been imprisoned and hunted, but we continue calling upon you to accomplish the historical mission of your class. Do not leave your fate in the hands of those who are betraying you! Take your destiny into your own hands!

Against Hitler and Mussolini and the bitter end.

Form Committees of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants:

To acquire through the defence of your conditions of living the strength to take over and organise the factories, the land and the power.

To destroy the men of the "fifth column" who hold the posts of command in the capitalist State.

To free the oppressed colonial masses.

To organize society for the benefit of those who make it live by their work.

To disintegrate the forces of German imperialism.

To revive the powerful reserves of the proletariat of the Soviet Union.

In all languages both of the warring camps are calling upon you: the time for decision has come. Yes, the decision depends on you. You will not decide in favor of your profit-grabbing masters who over the frontiers join hands against you.

You will not pronounce yourselves in favor of their puppets whether they be fascists or democrats, republicans or royalists.

You will not allow capitalism to drag down in its death agony the whole of society.

Your decision must be to save mankind by raising victoriously the red flag of the World Proletarian Revolution.

This is the only way to crush German fascism.

ENOUGH OF THIS MASS SLAUGHTER FOR THE DEFENSE OF CAPITALISM!

MAKE WAY FOR SOCIALISM! LONG LIVE THE COMMITTEES OF WORKERS, PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS!

LONG LIVE THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE!

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE!

Brussels, 11th May. 1940.

European Bureau for the Construction of the Fourth International.

In the Richest Country In the World

Stanley Field, who bought \$1,500,000 worth of Liberty bonds in the last war, will house the largest contingent of English relatives during this war—something like thirteen.... he will shelter (them) in Lake Forest.—Chicago Her-American, August 1.

Washington, July 26. — (AP).—President Roosevelt explored recommendations today for bettering the lot of the nation's migrant population—the storied "Okies" and "Arkies".

A specially-appointed committee submitted its findings....
"The nomad workers of this country number millions. Probably two million of them look to agriculture for a living and at least as many are in industry without success. A third are children. Cases of starv

ployed for some time, received his final unemployment insurance check July 7. There was only 1 cent in his pockets.—Chicago News, Aug. 1.

Honeymoons always are exiting. But honeymooning in an air-conditioned private car attached to the largest circus train in the world puts romance in the de luxe class.

Three weeks ago John Ringling North and his bride, the former French movie star, Germaine Aussey, hitched their railroad coach to the Ringling Brothers-Barnum and Bailey circus caravan at New Haven and set across the country.

The car has all the comforts of home. It has its own dining room, kitchen, bar, lounge, living room, bath and bedroom.—Chicago News, July 30.

Thousands of the city's poor lack even carfare to take them across town to beaches or parks to escape the heat, Joel D. Hunter, general superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago, said today.

He appealed for contributions to aid the agency in helping suffering families escape their stuffy homes during the hot spell.

A mother with five or six children cannot take them to park or beach without spending from 25 to 50 cents, Hunter said, and she cannot afford to take this from her rent or food allowance, which is insufficient now.—Chicago News, Aug. 3.

At the suggestion of bridegroom Mrs. Le Ray Berdeau took hundreds of small unrelated diamonds lying around in her jewel box and two big star sapphires bought years ago in Ceylonx and turned them over to Mauboussin, who turned them into an exciting bracelet for her. The sapphires, big as pigeon eggs, are the centers of two flowers with diamond studded petals....Chicago Times, July 31.

Edward Nord, 34, of 9057 Normal ave., died today in St. Luke's Hospital a few hours after he leaped or fell from the Eleventh st. overpass to the Illinois Central Railroad roadbed. Police said Nord unem-

each area. The day that the proletariat of Britain and France cease being the slaves of petrifying states and begin to build a new society of which they will be the pivot, panic will spread in Hitler's camp with a speed much superior to that of motorised divisions.

It will no longer be Hitler who will send parachutists behind the enemy's lines, but it is in Germany itself that by thousands and tens of thousands will spring up the "parachutists of the Proletarian Revolution;" it is at that first signal of hope, and in answer to Chamberlain leaflets, that the revolutionary vanguard of Germany will lead the proletariat of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg in a decisive struggle for Socialism.

EXPLOITED masses! The putrefaction of capitalist democracy and of its socialist and reformist lackeys is not the only means to disarm you in the face of fascism. The policy of the "Communist" parties combines with it to crush your struggle. We do not shout treason at Stalin because he foils one set of imperialists by making a pact with another, but because he does that not to the advantage of the proletarian revolution but in sacrificing the interests of the workers, yesterday in the democratic states, today in the fascist countries.....

ritical patriotism, that they must produce upon command a policy of "defeatism." You must understand that this defeatism, because it has no revolutionary content, and because it does not intend to bring you to the seizure of power, but only to use the workers movement as a powerful lever against the capitalist governments, to bring them to the combinations desired by the Kremlin bureaucracy, is as dangerous to the proletarian revolution as their previous cries of "French to the French" and "The Front of Peace and Democracy." This sort of defeatism has nothing in common with the revolutionary defeatism of Lenin which permitted the victory of October and disintegrated the Kaiser's troops. Stalinist "defeatism" prepares not your victory, but your defeat....

WHAT IS GOING TO happen?

[To-day when as was the case with the French bourgeoisie in 1870, the democracies in their bewilderment set up under the name of "National Defense" governments which are, as Marx said, nothing but governments of "national defection," the counter-revolutionary defeatism of the Stalinists threatens us with the renewal of a much larger scale of the last days of Madrid, when the "champions of anti-fascism," the Casados and Miajas, with the support of Franco, completed the

fully serve them. But let them abandon the least part of their programme so as not to "frighten" probable bourgeois and petty bourgeois allies and they will see themselves each day forced to make more and more concessions until at last these "allies" deliver them unarmed and weakened into the most brutal reaction.

TOILERS! Vain are the "outburst of energy" or the democracies which substitute one representative for another, a Reynaud for a Daladier, a Churchill for a Chamberlain. They are in complete "national defection" and they cannot miraculously find great men when their only natural products are dwarfs. All these politicians, whether they label themselves die-hards or democrats, conservatives, liberals or socialists, "war-to-the-enders" or pacifists, anti-nazi or pro-soviet, etc., etc. and all collaboration with them can only lead you to defeat.

Above all, do not place your hopes in the stalinist manoeuvres which serve only the interests of a bureaucracy living parasitically upon the Soviet masses.

Beware of the machinations of the socialist pacifists who stick to their vain hopes of a peaceful and gradual development of mankind.

The defeat of fascism will not be achieved upon the war-maps of the High Command, nor through