

Johnny Got His Gun

By DALTON TRUMBO

J. B. LIPPINCOTT, 1939

This is the story of Joe Bonham, just a plain ordinary guy with his gals and jobs, who joined the American army of "17" to save the world for democracy.

This is the story of how Joe fought a high explosive shell somewhere in France and ended up a dead man who somehow continued to live. A man without legs, arms, mouth, nose, ears and eyes. A stinking piece of throbbing mucus, abandoned to a horror which cannot be formulated in words.

For years Joe tried to break thru his darkness and terror by incessantly tapping his head against his pillow in Morse code. Finally his message got thru. An attendant came. Tapped against his head, "What do you want?"

Joe became bewildered. What could he want? He was no longer just an ordinary guy. He didn't give a damn for shoes or shows. He couldn't smell that faint odor of perfume that remains after a woman passes. He couldn't eat. He couldn't yell at football games or stroll in the park. Yet he wanted to get out from his prison. He wanted to be among people. To sense their movement, their color, their feelings.

And so he tapped these thoughts which came like a flood-tide. He told them that he wouldn't be an expense. They could put him in a glass case. He would be the greatest attraction on earth. Much greater than the bearded lady, the midget, the half-man-half-woman. For people have seen them. But who has seen this ghastly blob of wounded flesh that still masquerades as man?

Also, he would be an educational exhibit. People would come to know the difference between the war which is fought in newspaper headlines and liberty loan drives and the war which is fought out lonesomely in the mud between a man and a high explosive shell. He could show the mothers and fathers, the sons and daughters, the sisters and brothers and the sweethearts so much war concentrated in a little stump of meat and bone that they would never forget it.

And Joe got excited with his new idea and continued to tap furiously, **Take me into the schools, the colleges, the farmhouses, the shops and cities, let them see what a bestial, heinous business this war for democracy is.**

Take me into the parliaments, the diets, the congresses, wherever there are statesmen and place me on the speaker's desk. Let them speak about trade policies, embargoes and new colonies, about a larger army and navy. About this alliance and that one. Let them speak their heads off about going to war. But when the time comes to vote let the speaker pound his gavel on my case and say: See, gentlemen, this is the issue before the house. All in favor stand.

Joe kept beating out these thoughts feverishly. Then he stopped. The attendant left. Joe waited tensely for an answer. Soon he felt the vibrations of heavy steps. Felt a tapping on his forehead, "What you ask is against regulations. Who are you?"

A sharp pain went into Joe's heart. His mind went completely blank. Why are they doing this to him? He has harmed no one. All he wanted was to get in the open. To feel the free fresh

Continued on Page Four

O, Wait for Relief

CHICAGO — I was standing in the relief station waiting for my number to be called when I felt a weak tapping on my shoulder. I turned to see a feeble old ragged woman looking at me with tired eyes. In a soft and quivering voice, she asked:

Mister, how do I get relief?

I looked at her sympathetically and asked, Have you gone to the desk to get your number for the interview?

No, she replied, which desk do I go to?

Over there. I said, pointing to the desk in the corner.

I watched her move slowly toward the desk. In a few minutes she returned hopefully, almost happily, holding on tightly to her card.

Look, she said. I have number 43. How long must I wait?

The word wait cut into me like a knife. How long? Forever! I was number 26 that day. I had come down to the station early in the morning. This was the fifth time I had been there in the last two weeks. And every time I had heard those terrible words: Wait! Wait! We must still investigate. We must still investigate.

I COULD not tell her that. I could not extinguish her last ray of hope. They will probably call you in a few minutes, I said. It will not be long.

Thank you, she said, you are very kind.

If she only knew, I thought, if she only knew that they didn't care whether she lived or died. That they were not going to give her relief today. That they were going to tell her to come back next Wednesday. Then the following Wednesday. Until hope died in her heart and she collapsed from hunger and weariness. Then they may give her a few crumbs so she can drag on her miserable existence for a few more weeks, a few months, maybe a year.

As I was thinking these thoughts my number was called. I got up slowly and walked toward the interviewing booth reading the suffering and despair written on the faces of the workers there. I said to myself: three cheers for the richest country in the world. Rah! Rah! Rah!

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Recall the Fleet

EXCEPT for a few small ships in or near Mediterranean waters and a few in the Atlantic the great bulk of the powerful American fleet is concentrated in the Hawaiian Islands.

Why?

What was whispered before by people-in-the-know in Washington, what was inside dope, confidential reports, rumors and scoops by ace columnists is now out in the open. The fleet is there to stop Japan from moving in on the Netherland Indies.

Before it was something to speculate about. But since Germany marched into Holland the Netherland Indies are at war. That makes them prey for imperialist adventures. The great British naval base of Singapore is practically empty as the British and Dutch fleets are tied up by the fighting in Europe and are standing by at Alexandria in case Italy enters the war on Germany's side.

This should be Japan's opportunity. Admittedly the defense forces in the East Indies are good enough only to shoot down native movements for freedom from Dutch and British oppression. Against even the second rate power of Japan they are impotent.

Only the United States now stands between Japan and this rich prize.

Let no one have illusions about United States capitalist interests in the East Indies. They have nothing to do with freedom and justice and defending weak nations against imperialist oppression. Those are all lies.

IF JAPAN made a successful grab of the East Indies she would be uncomfortably close to the Philippines, about 350 miles. And the rubber, tin, oil and iron ore she would get from the East Indies would make her largely independent economically of the United States; would make her a first class world power; and deal United States capitalists a terrific defeat in the struggle for control of the Far Eastern markets.

If they can help it United States capitalists aren't going to let it happen that way.

Both in Tokyo and Washington they say that they are concerned only to preserve the status quo in the East Indies. Both sides accuse the other of scheming either to seize the islands or to take them under protection. Both sides are correct.

Tokyo made its statement about preserving the status quo recently before German marched into Holland. Either it had inside dope on the invasion or suspected it. At any rate its statement aimed to prevent the Dutch government from asking the United States government for protection, or to prevent the United States government from giving it without being asked, and to make sure that it would continue to get rubber, tin and oil from the East Indies.

HULL'S STATEMENT in reply was correctly interpreted as a warning to Japan not to try any blitzkriegs in that part of the world. Significantly the navy had decided on fleet maneuvers far out in the Pacific off the Hawaiian Islands where it has its largest and most powerful naval base. And significantly,

before Hitler opened up on Holland the navy decided to stand by in the islands instead of returning to their usual west coast bases. Seems like the U. S. government also had inside dope on Hitler's next move. And figured what effect it would have on Japanese policy.

IF AMERICAN workers don't want to die for the profit of Firestone, Goodrich, Goodyear, General Motors, Chrysler, Ford, Standard Oil and Dupont and J. P. Morgan they will demand that the government recall the fleet.

The best way to stop the Japanese imperialists is for the American workers to show the Japanese workers how to do it by stopping the American imperialists from shedding American and Japanese workers' blood in a war for imperialist booty.

RECALL THE FLEET!

H. M.

Remember Memorial Day Massacre

CHICAGO, MAY 16.—Three years ago come May 30, 1,500 unarmed strikers with their wives and children were marching in a peaceful demonstration toward the Republic Steel Plant in South Chicago. At the end of a prairie near the plant they were brutally attacked by 150 heavily armed Chicago police. When the shooting ceased and the smoke cleared 46 strikers were lying inert on the ground, six of them dead. Four died later, three because the police refused to allow them to be taken to hospitals, and arrested them. A fifth died months after from complications brought on by the severe clubbing he received. Most of those killed were shot in the back.

This was the Memorial Day Massacre. Its purpose: to smash the Republic Steel strike and thus deal a death blow to the strike in Little Steel surging forward as the crest of the big strike wave of 1937, and beat down their union, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO.

Testimony before the La Follette committee revealed that the Chicago police had been drinking in the saloons near the scene of the massacre, which were not supposed to serve cops. Photographs showed many of the cops were stewed. They had been fed liquor in the Republic plant, too. One of them had been kicked in the crotch in the melee several days previous to the massacre, and the whole crew was out for blood.

46 of the wounded were shot; 60 others were clubbed, mostly head wounds. Dozen of other wounded strikers did not report their wounds, treating them in hiding, fearful of being arrested.

Mayor Kelly stated: "Captain Mooney has upheld the great tradition of the Chicago Police Department."

At the coroner's inquest the verdict was "justifiable homicide."

The Chicago Tribune declared: There were 1,500 rioters armed with razors, pieces of pipe with couplings attached to them, poles with hooks opened, and cans of pepper.

But the Tribune was unable to prove that strikers had guns. It was unable to explain why, if the strikers were armed, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE BROUGHT ALONG, by the pickets.

Captain Mooney claimed: Shots were fired from the crowd first. But the overwhelming weight of testimony of the demonstrators, of many reporters, and of all the pictures taken at the scene show that the workers were unarmed; the demonstration was peaceful.

No picture of a striker attacking a policeman was taken because it simply did not happen. If there had been such a picture it would have been splashed all over the front page.

The newsreel company which had a film of the massacre announced that it had been shelved because it might cause disorder in theaters if shown. Public protest forced the picture to be shown in some cities. It showed what vicious killers the Chicago police are. All the photographers present at the scene set up their cameras BEHIND THE POLICE LINES—conclusive evidence of the fact that the strikers did no firing.

At the La Follette Committee hearings the of-
Continued on Page Four

Delay Is Death

THE FOLLOWING are extracts from the speech of Jack Drake at the joint May Day meeting of the League and the Fighting Worker group in Chicago.

* * *

Comrades: The imperialist war in Europe will be 8 month old in two days.

The United States is already in that war—economically. Politically the American ruling class is not "neutral in thought" to use Roosevelt's expression. Its foreign policy is pro-Ally.

The revision of the Neutrality Act in the fall of 1939 was a direct blow at Germany.

Hull declared a virtual protectorate over the Dutch East Indies against Japan.

Roosevelt "froze" Danish-Norwegian holdings here, a blow at any German attempts to assume control of them.

The papers declare the trade of the Allies and the U. S. in planes alone will surpass the \$1,000,000,000 mark.

Why is the United States supporting its biggest imperialist rival, England, politically and economically, and soon, militarily? Out of love for England's democratic traditions?

Cromwell's speech in Canada was the clearest statement of why the United States is coming to England's assistance:

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

The United States imperialists have a double task:—1 to prop up and prevent the smashing of the British Empire—that 400 years old chain which holds world capitalism together. If the British Empire is smashed, revolution in the colonies will demolish all dreams of the American imperialists have of world domination. 2—To establish American capital and American capitalist policy as the dominant factors over British capitalism in the British Empire.

Continued on Page Four

Sun About To Set

THE GREATEST military machine in the world's history, organized with characteristic German genius, is striking mortal blows to the decrepit British ruling class.

In declaring war against Germany on September 3 Chamberlain said that the aim of the British government was the triumph of right over evil, of justice over injustice, of freedom over oppression.

In this statement of policy to the House of Commons on May 13, Prime Minister Churchill did not bother to deal in hypocritical phrases. He defined the war as a struggle for survival.

Let that be realized... survival of the British Empire.

Survival for world wide plunder, oppression and super profit by the British imperial oligarchy!

I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.

Monstrous confession of social impotence and historical bankruptcy.

...our policy? war with all our might... our aim?... victory...

Futile policy! Vain hope!

History has already passed its sentence on the British ruling class. It won in the first world war only to see the Russian revolution threaten it with extinction and the American ruling class threaten to displace it from its seat of world domination.

Twenty two years of economic crises, political, diplomatic, and military crises, civil wars and colonial wars, have sapped the strength and vitality of the British oligarchs until today they reel under the vital blows that Germany rains on them.

Can they hope to win in this war? How can they do it? Can they beat off the German blitzkrieg? And after that can they get the men, munitions, tanks, planes and food supplies to launch

UNITY NEGOTIATIONS BOGGED

THE FOURTH session of the negotiations between the League and the Fighting Worker group for unity of the two groups was held May 10.

Discussion of the differences between the two groups over revolutionary policy toward reactionary wars fought by the Stalinist government in Russia continued. Both sides have agreed that wars fought by this government against proletarian revolution would be reactionary wars and should be resisted by political and military means. The League holds that wars fought by this government against small capitalist states which are not involved in imperialist attacks against Russia as was the case in Poland and Finland to expand its material interests and to assist an imperialist power are likewise reactionary wars and should also be resisted. The Fighting Worker group holds that because of the progressive character of the property relations in Russia even such wars are revolutionary.

THIS MARKED the third successive session devoted to the discussion of this issue. Both sides have entered their positions into the record of the negotiations in writing. Neither side has changed its position and there is no indication that either side will do so. Each side is convinced that it is correct and that the other is wrong.

The representatives of the Central Committee declared that the League regards the difference as an important one but not one which justifies a split, and proposed to proceed to the discussion of other issues and problems. The representatives of the Fighting Worker group entered this statement into the minutes:

We will not go past the Russian question until we have principled agreement on the Russian question.

No date was set for another session of the negotiations.

THE Fighting Workers group made their statement on the same day that Hitler launched his blitzkrieg against Belgium and Holland and brought closer the day when the United States will plunge into the slaughter which is hurling the world to destruction.

A member of the negotiating committee of the Fighting Worker group proposed that since the Central Committee does not regard the difference as decisive, the League should accept their position and fight for its own position at a convention. At the same time he declared that if the League position carried they would split.

The Central Committee has demanded of the Fighting Worker group that it make an explicit statement of its intentions and state whether its statement is to be regarded as an ultimatum to accept the position of the Fighting Worker group. Or, whether the Fighting Worker group wishes to continue the discussion of the point at issue indefinitely? Or, if neither be the case, to say exactly what it does propose. It is awaiting a reply.

stupendous counter-offensives to hurl the Nazi legions back to German soil and follow them there to destroy them?

The backbone of the war machine is industry. The backbone of industry is steel and oil, coal and tin and rubber, lead, copper, zinc, phosphates, antimony, tungsten, mercury, chrome ore, and food and manpower, and ORGANIZATION.

LET US consider steel. From 1934 to 1937 France produced an annual average of a little less than seven million tons of steel ingots and castings; England about nine million tons. Total a little less than 16 million tons. In 1938 Germany produced almost 23 million tons. To this must be added the production of Czechoslovakia Austria and Poland equal to about four and a half million tons; and now almost a million more from Luxemburg.

Similar figures obtain for pig iron. To this calculation must be added the fact that domination of Scandinavia and Belgium and Luxemburg deprives England and France of two and a half million tons of steel and scrap iron imports and more than eight million tons of iron ore from Luxemburg and about four millions tons from Sweden.

The German steel industry is highly concentrated, the French and British less so. In the latter countries ten big corporations control from 70 to 75% of the industry; in Germany five big corporations control from 73 to 86%. In Germany productivity per plant and per worker is considerably greater. In Germany it takes fewer men to produce more steel in less time.

This is true of Germany industry as a whole compared to British and French industry.

Ability to transport the finished product to the battle front is relatively simple for France and Germany, increasingly difficult for England.

Iron Ore. England and France secure more than they need from Alsace Lorraine, largest producer in Europe, Spain, India, and other sources. Alsace Lorraine produces 93% of France's ore. It is protected by the Maginot line. Germany secures more than 60% of its needs of this raw material from its own and conquered territory including Luxemburg. The balance comes from Sweden. But even if this source were lost it would not be fatal since the metal can be secured from Russia although with greater difficulty and at higher cost. Russian ore is inferior to Swedish ore which is the highest grade ore in the world.

Oil. The mechanization of tremendous armies and gigantic air armadas have made oil as important as steel. If England can maintain domination of the seas it can import unlimited quantities of oil. Germany produces in her own and conquered territory about 40% of her requirements. The balance can be obtained from Rumania and Russia, transportation, political and military conditions being favorable. The oil situation favors England.

RUBBER. Neither side produces rubber in its own territory. World rubber is controlled by Britain and Holland in their Far East colonies. As long as the British fleet continues to rule the waves England can get all the rubber needed, Germany only small amounts by round about means. This is Germany's greatest weakness in the field of raw materials. Artificial rubber is produced on a large scale in Germany. But it is an expensive process and cannot supply the total need. In World War I Germany used wooden tires.

Tin. Same as rubber. British Malay Straits, Netherland Indies, Bolivia.

Copper. Practically the same. Sources: U.S., Chile, Canada, Northern Rhodesia, Yugoslavia (40,000 tons, 1/10th of Germany's requirements).

Nickel. 90% of the world's supply controlled by Britain and France.

Lead, Zinc, Phosphates. Both sides have what they need.

Antimony and Tungsten. 2/3 and 40% of the world's supply of these metals are produced in China whence both sides can get them, England by sea transport and Germany via Russia.

Chrome ore. 40% of the world's supply comes from Russia, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey: 13%, 7%, 3%, Turkey 17%. Both sides can get it.

Manganese. 45% of the world's supply is produced in Russia.

Bauxite. Hungary and Yugoslavia produced 17% and 5%, respectively, of the world's supply of this raw material for aluminum.

Mica. 21% of the world's supply is produced in Russia.

Sulphur. Largest producers in Europe are Spain and Norway in that order. Both sides can get it.

Foodstuffs. England imports almost everything. Continued supply depends on domination of the seas which, in turn, depends on maintaining naval power.

On the basis of production figures in peace time Germany produces about 8 and 1/3 bushels of wheat per capita and imports about 3/4 of a bushel per capita. In wartime the production figures must fall due to the absorption of manpower into the army. Imports will have to increase. Enough is produced in the Balkans and Russia to more than supply the deficiency if transportation, political and military forces are favorable.

In 1937 Germany imported close to a million hogs, about 200,000 head of cattle and 100,000 tons of meat. Balkan exports of cattle are greater than Germany's requirements. But Balkan export of swine is less than Germany's requirements.

HENCE THE steady pressure on the Balkans by Germany for greater exports and counterpressure by the Allies to curtail them. Hence also Germany's desire to keep the Balkan breadbasket at peace, at least for the time being.

The superiority of Germany in man power, strategic position, military equipment, especially planes, military organization, central lines of communication and supply are admitted on all sides. Morale in the German army must now be tremendously high while it must be correspondingly low in Britain which has met with diplomatic, political, economic and now military defeats for two years.

In World War I Germany tried to break the British Empire and smash domination of Europe by France, by smashing the French army and the British navy, the former by a great army, the latter by submarine and mine attack. In this war the general lines of Germany strategy are not entirely clear. They may or may not include an attempt to smash the French army. It seems that the grand strategic plan of the German General Staff is to end the war by breaking the back of English power. That would seem to be indicated by the campaign

LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

I am 25 years old.

This is my story of hope and ambition, of work and disappointment in this golden land of opportunity.

Thousands of my fellow youth can tell the same story.

I can recall the night I graduate from high school in February, 1932 in Chicago. The assembly hall was packed with overjoyed parents and enthusiastic graduates. In convincing words the principal spoke of the future that was ours, of the careers we would have if we only had the ambition and the will to get to the top of the ladder.

I left school. For five months I pounded pavements looking for work. Factory to factory. Store to store. Warehouse to warehouse. Every time the same story: Sorry buddy, got no use for you.

Disillusioned, I pulled up stakes and hit the road. The summer of '32 I picked cotton in Texas and fruit in California, chopped lumber in Oregon. From state to state, working, slaving, and barely managing to keep going. Maybe, sometimes, sending a dollar home.

Back in Chicago, I got on work-relief, \$30 a month. Then, in the bitter December of '33 I was put to work, levelling off the banks of the drainage canal. Shovelling garbage, dung, decayed rats and tin cans. The salary was a small fortune—\$18 a week. The project folded in March '34.

Several months of trying to find work. I joined the CCC, and was sent to northern Wisconsin on a reforestation project. Got my meals and lodging; \$30 a month was sent home. In April of '35 my term was up. Back to Chicago. More pounding.

Left town again, this time following the harvest fields from Kansas to Nebraska to Minnesota, then North and South Dakota and finally Montana. When I worked it was \$2.50 a day and food. Back-breaking work, hour after hour under the boiling sun.

In the fall back in Chicago. Enrolled in the CCC again. This time it was southern Illinois, working on the levees. More months rolled by. Another term was up, and I returned home.

In '36 I got on a WPA sewerage project, a filthy job, at \$55 a month. Work was hard; pay was low.

Next spring I quit WPA to get a job in a metal plate factory. \$18 a week. Worked me like a dog. Fired at the end of the year.

Once again I tried hard to find work. But no soap. Sick of the road, tired of CCC, I applied for relief, and made it. \$40 a month for almost half a year. Living death.

Called back to WPA in June of '38. This time it was pretty soft. \$65 a month for clerical work. In a few months I was raised to \$95 a month.

In August of '39 I was fired. In October reinstated with a cut to \$89.70. In April of '40 fired again. And once more reinstated.

Today, over eight years since graduation I am on WPA making \$89.70 a month, supporting my family.

Eight years of job-hunting, the road, CCC, work-relief, relief, and WPA, eight years of drudgery, poverty, misery, and hunger have convinced me my principal lied. There is no top of the ladder. There is no ladder.

And what have I got to look forward to?

Swift, horrible death in the war.

Or, slow death from starvation. Either way—starvation or war—death is certain.

I see only one chance to live—by doing my bit to overthrow the system which breeds starvation and war.

C. A.

in Norway (in addition to and the seizure of Hollar to tell. The campaign i to secure additional chan tack England and to push position behind the Magi part of an attempt to a North, the east and the assistance. Or it may in England and be in a p if that should be necessa

But whatever is the st French army an early a may be expected on Engla be the airplane. Weak the airplane is now the German military machine. greater than artillery. even greater destructive portions. Its adaptability ing, machine gunning, com tion of men and supplies iority in the air is as i as has been the British power.

CHURCHILL admitted on May 7 in closing ment on the Norwegian inferior to Germany in th to British arms a defens

Will the British navy If the British Isles were the Atlantic the answer yes. Air power is not at which the effective is more than two or three borders of waters and in in Norway demonstrated superior ty sea power v air power equal to the Britain is admittedly in power. Hence possession coastal shores and ports Channel unsafe for the this is the calculation of

Moreover, whatever str for a battle in the Engli need to guard against si Norwegian coast and th Mediterranean against I

In considering Engl is necessary to bear certain factor. Indi iron ore found in Britis about 35% of the anti 16% of the lead, close over 50% of the mica, 70% of the cotton bales dia possesses more spin Africa and Latin Americ supplied almost a million

India is on the verge little or no support for the opposition to British rule struggle for freedom from tionary upheaval.

If India rises Britain is defeated. But if India do cut off from India by the ranean or by Russia on at a later stage of the w a fatal blow.

England's only hope is come to her aid. The on industrially and militaril in England's favor is the

The future of the Bri in American hands as i will the United States gov

It is a ticklish problem ical sympathies are pro-Sam's best customer. Mi are invested in the British

Yes, FIC But Our Are the

THE ONLY GOOD thi

World War are some miners went on strike fo weeks Lloyd George was because of his experienc made a long speech abc work for short wages. right effect he shouted

"How would you like to A little Welsh miner s

"How much does the F The strike was settled r

In Scotland a forem worker into going to wa would come over and but the worker said

"If any German want I live in and work like job; he don't have to f tell me."—From Soldie Walden, UAW-CIO, 194

British Ruling Class

uring Swedish iron ore) But it is still too early Belgium may be intended ports from which to at-French into a defensive line. Or it may also be k the French from the the latter with Italy's te an attempt to smash ion to drive at France

egy with respect to the ack on a gigantic scale l. The chief weapon will xiliary in World War I stoutest warrior of the Its destructive power is s mobility increases its wner to tremendous pr-or reconnaissance, bomb-ication, and transporta-akes it decisive. Super-ortant for land armies navy for British world

the House of Commons debate for the govern-paign that Britain was r. He thereby assigned role.

able to meet the test? tuated in the middle of ould be an unhesitating t developed to the point nge of attacking planes undred miles. In narrow astal waters, the fighting air power is decisively ich is not supported by tacking air power. And rior to Germany in air of the Dutch and Belgian ould make the English ritish navy. No doubt German General Staff. h England could muster hannel is limited by the aneous attack from the ssibility of war in the

conomic organization it that India is an un- about one half the 80% of the coal, 15% of the chromite, 0% of the manganese, of the tungsten, almost 40% of the wheat. In- than the rest of Asia, In World War I India nd a half fighting men. of revolt. There is now war. There is the widest Only Gandhi blocks the breaking out into revolu-

lost even if Germany is as not rise and Britain is Italians in the Mediter- and as is not impossible ar, Britain will be struck

that other countries will y country strong enough y to swing the scales nited States.

Empire rests as much oes in German. What ernment do?

and a difficult one. Of- ritish. England is Uncle ions of American dollars Empire. German victory

HT! Bosses Enemy

that came out of the the stories. Welsh coal ore pay. After several sent to settle the strike in fooling workers. He their patriotic duty to en that didn't have the

ine coal for the Kaiser?" d up and asked er pay for mining coal?" day.

was trying to scare a telling him the German his home and his job,

pay rent on the shack e for you on this cheap ne, all he has to do is t Free Graves, by J.

would threaten their security and would certainly limit their profit-making opportunities in favor of German capital. Would a victorious Germany recognize the billions of dollars of war loans incurred by England and France to fight Germany in World War I?

GERMAN industry, German organization, German energy and German ruthlessness would constitute a far greater rival for domination of world markets than the declining British ruling class.

German victory would result in Italian and Japanese expansion and their combination against the United States would exclude United States capital from any hope of domination of the Far East and threaten it in other parts of the world.

But even graver than these eventual dangers is the great and imminent danger that if the Germans smash the British Empire the fall of this centuries-old system of world oppression will unloose revolution in India, the Near East and Africa which no power or combination of powers may be able to put down.

On the other hand defeat of Germany may accomplish exactly that result in Europe. From the

IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

Baltimore, May 16.—(AP). — Horace E. Dodge Jr., 40-year-old automobile millionaire, was honey-mooning today with Martha ("Mickey") Devine, 27, former Vanities show-girl.

....It was Dodge's third marriage. In 1921 he married Miss Lois Knowlson.... She reportedly received a settlement of \$10,000,000...

Frank Scanlon, 35 unemployed since illness forced him to leave the navy two years ago, hanged himself yesterday in the basement of his home, 2428 W. Lehigh Ave....—Philadelphia Record, May 14.

New York, May 17.—(AP).—... The seventh and last of the Vanderbilt mansions—home of Brig. Gen. Cornelius Vanderbilt, at Fifth ave. and Fifty-first st.—has been sold.

The Astor estate purchased the three-story, brownstone dwelling yesterday....

The building is assessed for \$100,000, and the land on which it stands, at \$2,350,000.

....the mansion, with its \$25,000 bronze doors.... was Fifth avenue's last futile protest against the expansion of trade north of Fifty-first street.

America's relief rolls stubbornly refuse to drop much below 18,000,000 persons and federal relief policies are shifting from an emergency to a permanent basis.

Government administrators, who have been grappling with relief as an emergency situation for seven years, tacitly admit they are no nearer a solution than they were in 1933....

This admission of the need for continued large-scale relief payments is made in the face of the fact that business conditions have improved substantially since 1933, when federal relief was first launched. The cold fact is that about one out of every seven persons living in America receives government relief of one type or another.—United States News, May 3.

White orchids with purple throats blooming on the lapels of so many Spring suits yesterday at the Arts Club turned out to be announcements of the first ball of the Fall season... the Orchid Ball on the night of October 5, at the Drake. Mrs. Dwight Green, benefit chairman of Arden Shore, rounded up her committee for tea and around the table, set with the Arts Club's cheerful pink oleander bowls, told them the details. The ball is to be patterned generally on last season's Orchid Ball in Palm Beach, at which the women outdid each other in the imaginative use of orchids and at which the favors were falcons of orchid perfume. — Chicago, Herald-American, May 14.

"My Day." What an easy way for E. R. to make money not needed! Her day is too full, and mine is too empty! She has too many jobs. I can't even get one! Her husband makes \$75,000 a year. I am a widow with a child to support. I could write a column a day. I could tell the world plenty! "Day by Day on Relief," "The Living Dead," etc. My day would not be about happy cross-country flights, or pleasant teas. It would tell of the hardships and bitterness of being forced, in the richest country in the world, to starve on 23c a day for food. Come up and starve with me sometime! BETTY.—Chicago Times, May 5.

ruins of Hohenzollern Germany arose the revolution of 1918-19 and the Weimar Republic which experienced revolutionary crises in 1921, 23 and 30, and which was in social political and economic turmoil until Hitler put his bloody heel on the German working class in 1933.

FOR American capital a British victory is preferable to a German one. The problems it creates are not as great as the problems arising from a German victory.

But there are obstacles in the way of American entry into the war. The population is against it. This was also true in 1917. It was overcome then. It will be more difficult now but it can be done again unless there is an organized and determined working class opposition.

It is unfortunately true that there is no sign of such opposition. The revolutionary movement is almost non-existent. The leadership of the trade union movement will support the government 100% in almost any war it decides to fight. Whatever opposition does take place will be spontaneous and sporadic unless there is a remarkable and swift change in the situation.

However as the situation stands now neither the New Deal camp nor the opposition to it will make a move toward entry until the November presidential election is over, since that side which took a stand for entry would enable the other to exploit the desire of the electorate for peace to win the election.

There is a greater difficulty which stays the hand of the American imperialists. To fight on European soil would make it necessary to use the navy to convoy troops, munitions and supplies and to keep open lines of supply for reinforcement in the Atlantic. This would remove the last remaining obstacle in the path of Japan's seizure of the Netherlands Indies and other Far Eastern possessions of European powers. On the other hand to maintain the navy in the Pacific is to make impossible decisive intervention in Europe and would limit support of the British to munitions, planes and supplies, which would be a great help but would not enable the British to defeat the Germans.

Ever since the war began American policy has been hung on the horns of this dilemma. Prior to the Stalin-Hitler pact there was a possibility that the United States and Stalin could come to an understanding regarding Japan. But a deal with Stalin against Japan to enable the United States to fight with England against Germany is extremely unlikely, at least at this stage of the war.

But for the assistance which United States capital would give them the British ruling class would have to pay more than just a pound of flesh. Uncle Sam and John Bull are the greatest imperialist rivals considered on a world scale. In 1935 Uncle Sam had close to thirteen billion dollars invested abroad; John Bull almost 19 billion. If the world war loans are included in Uncle Sam's portfolio his total would be 24 billion.

Sam and John get hundreds of millions of dollars annually from their investments. Germany's share in this plunder has been small compared to the taking of these giants. Yet Sam and John have been floundering in economic crisis since 1929, and in the case of England, since the close of the last war. Each can get out of the crises only at the expense of the other.

THE United States used its position in the last war to advance its capitalist interests. In 1914 its foreign investments were a little over two and a half billion. In 1929 they had reached the tremendous total of almost 14½ billions. As a result of the crisis they declined to the figure stated for 1935.

Before the last war Uncle Sam was a debtor nation. After the war he became the world's foremost creditor. He displaced England as the world's banker and greatest economic power. World War II is the opportunity Uncle Sam needs to finish the job he began at the end of World War I.

How will he do it? He knows now that money invested in credits will never be repaid. Neither can England pay cash for all it will need. Besides what good will gold do? There are nearly nineteen billion dollars in Uncle Sam's vaults under the ground at Fort Knox, Kentucky. And more is coming in weekly. All this gold, twice this stupendous sum, will not solve Uncle Sam's problem. It has got to be invested somewhere.

Where? Japan claims China. That is a problem in itself. For the help that Uncle Sam will give England and her allies they will have to clear a path for Uncle Sam to invest his idle capital and draw his super-profit. The world is studded with British colonial possessions. It may be that Uncle Sam will take a number of them under his protection. He may decide on islands in the Caribbean or the Pacific. Or even the Far East.

In this connection the Netherlands East Indies should not be overlooked. Almost 40% of the world's rubber comes from these islands. The United States produces none, owns no colony which produces this vital raw material but consumes over half of the world's total output.

In 1921 these islands produced about 16% of the world's rubber. England had a stranglehold on the world's supply. American capital began to flow into East Indies rubber. When Hoover was Secretary of Commerce in the twenties American capital investments there were 32 millions. In 1929 when he was President they were 43 million. In 1936 they had risen to 50 millions.

Total American investments in the island are a little less than 70 million. How great this is can be

seen from the fact that American investments in India in the same year were less than 30 million; while they were 90 and 92 millions respectively in China and the Philippines.

In 1937 10.2% of the East Indies imports and 18.7% of its exports came from and went to the United States. Only Holland and England outstripped the United States.

HERE then is a prize Uncle Sam is not likely to overlook. Neither as payment for service rendered nor as a rich prize for which Japan hungers since these islands are the largest producer of oil in the Far and Near East of which Japan has nothing, and also supply Japan with rubber, iron ore, coal and tin.

Whatever the exact terms of the bill Uncle Sam will present we can generalize it in advance. American capital will displace British capital as the dominant factor in the British Empire. Uncle Sam's plan is to vanquish his great rival by a gigantic economic Trojan horse strategy.

He aims to kill three birds with one stone: stop Germany; prevent revolution; become economic overlord of the world.

History has stacked the cards against the British ruling class. Win or lose in this war, its time has come. Revolution threatens to destroy it utterly. Short of that either Hitler will destroy its empire and tumble it from the seat of world power; or Uncle Sam will reduce it to the rank of servant of American imperialism.

Churchill may make a better fight of it than Chamberlain. But the great decisions of history will no longer be made in Downing Street.

If revolution does not sweep imperialism from the face of the earth then English policy will be decided either in Berlin or Washington.

The sun is about to set on the British ruling class.

DOWN with ATLEE MORRISON GREENWOOD

MONDAY, May 6, a resolution was placed before the conference of the Allied and Distributive Workers Union of England. The resolution condemned the war as an imperialist war in the interest of the British capitalist class. The resolution was defeated 63,000 votes to 58,000.

This vote was cast in a country at war. Every resource of the government is used to win or compel the support of the population. Supporting the war are leaders of the Labor Party and the Trades Union Council who are even more belligerent than most of the ruling class.

There is no revolutionary party in England to organize revolutionary propaganda and action against the war. In the circumstances the 58,000 votes must be taken as a remarkable expression of class consciousness on the part of not only the 58,000 workers whose representatives cast these ballots, but also of hundreds of thousands and millions of other workers.

..HAD THERE BEEN A VOTE IN ALL ENGLAND FREE FROM THE PRESSURE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOR PARTY THAT RESOLUTION WOULD HAVE RECEIVED AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY.

ON May 7 Atlee, Morrison and Greenwood attacked the Chamberlain government in the House of Commons as an impediment to victory over Germany. Together with Lloyd George and Sinclair they demanded more energetic prosecution of the war, greater boldness and initiative.

May 10 Chamberlain resigned. Churchill formed a new government. The new government includes Atlee, Morrison, Greenwood and Ernest Bevin, general secretary of the Transport Workers Union, who is Minister of Labor.

Like Chamberlain and Churchill and Eden, Atlee took an oath to support the British crown and kissed the King's hand.

May 13 Churchill declared in the name of the government that it had nothing to offer except blood and sorrow and that its only aim was victory at any cost. He asked for the unanimous support of the Commons.

Tories, Liberals and Labor Party members voted aye.

On May 13 Atlee said:

I have no time for people who talk claptrap about an imperialist war..

English workers, please remember!

Down with Atlee, Greenwood, Morrison, Bevin, traitors to the cause of working class freedom from capitalist exploitation and imperialist war!

Shop Talk

MY BOSS has me spotted as a union man after all the happenings in the shop. In order to discourage me I get the hardest work and a lot of eagleeye. But his worst trick was to make the other workers think I was only out for myself, and that I didn't care for them.

We started to work on a big order of meter boxes. This job requires about ten operations on the power press. Before it was done in stages with no particular hurry. Now the boss had ten machines set up with a man on each and started us to work like on a conveyor belt. He put me on the first operation which was easiest and I was to pass the work on.

I saw pretty soon what his game was. He was going to make me work fast and set the pace which the other workers couldn't keep up. Then they'd get sore and curse me and won't listen to my union talk.

SO I STOPPED work and explained the bosses' scheme. I told them:

The boss wants me to drive you fellows. Well I won't. But I'm on the spot. If we work together and at the same speed the boss can't do anything. Everybody understood and agreed.

Five minutes later the boss came around and took one look and swore. We were working with such harmony and precision that even our machines stamped together. Then we passed the work to the next man. Such team work couldn't be criticized.

Where'd you learn that? he asked me.

What's you say? I asked.

You know what. You better work faster. I'm doing alright, I replied.

When he left I told the workers:

This is what we'll do when we have a union shop. Unity, no speed-up, no firing. Yipee.
D. W.

MASSACRE

Continued from Page One

ficial report of police injuries was recounted: one officer had an abrasion of the knuckles of the right hand, suffered while breaking up an unpermitted parade; there were a few sprains, a few gas cases, two head contusions; a report of an officer who "turned his ankle, getting into a car on the way to the scene of conflict." No gunshot wounds were reported among the police.

When one of the cops was asked, "Who did the shooting," he replied

That was their own people shooting. They hit their own people, see? They had the guns hid in there in the second and third row, in back, and when they started shooting they hit their own people that was in front of them, that's how come they shot them in the back.

60 STRIKERS were arrested at the massacre. Trial was postponed three times by the prosecution thus tying up the bail money which had depleted the strike funds.

Not a single cop was ever brought to trial.

When the trial finally opened, the judge asked the whole group of strikers if they pleaded "guilty" taking it for granted that they did.

The men were confused, worried. One of them declared they were not guilty of anything. The SWOC attorney urged them to plead guilty.

Finally he got a majority of the bewildered strikers to plead guilty to disorderly conduct. The judge swiftly banged his gavel, and told them to pay the \$2.00 fine. The union paid.

At the union meeting afterwards the leaders tried to cover up the fact that they had made a deal with the police department to get the men off with a \$2.00 fine if they would not press the case.

All the radio stations refused to sell the SWOC or the Civil Liberties Union time to speak about the massacre. Even WCFL, owned and operated by the Chicago Federation of Labor, refused to allow the union to use its studio. What a leader of labor is John Fitzpatrick, C F of L president!

The union got the Civic Opera House, and held an enormous protest mass meeting. Paul H. Douglas, a liberal professor, called Mayor Kelly a fascist. The Stalinists shouted fascist, too. CIO leaders, Van A. Bittner, Fontecchio, etc., branded Kelly & Co. reactionary murderers.

Next year in the Mayoralty election, Mayor "Memorial Day Massacre" Kelly ran for reelection. Professor Douglas ran on Kelly's ticket for 5th Ward Alderman! The Stalinists supported Kelly, too! Bittner, Fontecchio and the other CIO leaders also supported Kelly.

In March, 1940, **THREE YEARS AFTER THE MASSACRE**, the NLRB finally ruled that the Little Steel Companies were to give back pay to a few men and reinstate them. The ruling on Republic Steel Corp. was that several strikers were to be reinstated; no one was to receive back pay. The 60 men who had been judged "guilty" of disorderly conduct in the strike were not to be reinstated.

DELAY IS DEATH

Continued from Page One

Indications point to a completion of the preparations for entry into the war:

The Army and Navy are ready to handle a swift influx of several million raw recruits into the ranks. The Army already numbers 500,000 men compared to 127,000 a year ago; the Navy has been trebled and is to be still further increased.

The third term for Roosevelt movement and the competition with the Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats is far overshadowed by one important fact: **ALL GROUPS IN THE CONGRESS SUPPORT THE ROOSEVELT WAR PLANS 100%**.

The M-Day plan is completed in the field of production; educational orders are being filled rapidly and efficiently. The only phase of the plan not yet completed—but well on its way to completion—is **PROPAGANDA**, the systematic breeding of war hysteria and patriotism in the minds of the workers and oppressed masses.

Wall Street is preparing systematically to smash the trade union movement if it does not bend the knee to the M-Day plan.

Already well over 500 union officers are under indictment by the Department of Justice. Thousands more are slated for indictment in the trust-busting campaign. First A F of L unions fell under the ax. Now the CIO Fur Workers Union is a victim.

The Dies Committee is the shadow of the coming **RED RAIDS**.

The slashing of WPA, elimination of PWA, the systematic lowering of the American workers' standard of living—relief in Oklahoma is \$3.50 per family per month; 5 states **DO NOT GIVE ANY RELIEF AT ALL**—show the extent to which the ruling class will go to cut out all "unessentials" and **INCREASE THE WAR BUDGET**.

* * *

THERE IS ONLY ONE YEAR LEFT before the United States enters the war.

WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO IN THIS YEAR?

In the face of this powerful war drive by the government the revolutionary movement has not reacted to any appreciable degree.

Not one group in the movement is effective. Some are strong in one locality or one situation or one organization of workers. But not one has national significance. And not one actually leads masses of workers in struggle against the class enemy and the state.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IS WITHOUT ANY INFLUENCE ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE. It is no threat either to the ruling class or the reformists at the head of the workers' organizations.

* * *

That the United States is moving rapidly toward a revolutionary breakdown unprecedented in world capitalism's history is common knowledge. Without powerful working class organizations facing it, exposing it—American imperialism is **STILL** being drawn to its doom by the play of those inexorable economic forces which are hurtling world capitalism more and more swiftly back to barbarism.

The objective weight of the giant army of the unemployed—feeding the unemployed cost 16 billion dollars in the last seven years—is dragging the United States colossus to its doom.

And the gigantic expenditures for war purposes—a total waste of capital—is another economic factor grinding Yankee imperialism to pieces.

The standard of living of the masses measured in real wages has been cut in half: from \$25 weekly in 1929 to less than \$13 in 1939.

The national debt, which at the end of World War I, was 26 billion, today is 43 billion. And American imperialism **IS NOT YET TRANSPORTING TROOPS**. We can expect the national debt to increase tremendously upon entry into the war.

Economically the U.S. is ripe for the transformation to communism, far riper than any other country in the world, including the Soviet Union. The creation of the new revolutionary party is the immediate, concrete task before the revolutionists of this country. The work of constructing it **MUST BEGIN AT ONCE**.

There is a great danger that the American working class will enter the period of revolutionary developments without a vanguard. If that were not fatal in itself, it would, in the best case, constitute a very great handicap which would give an enormous advantage to the enemy and seriously jeopardize the possibility of victory.

The task is great; the time is short. The need is for revolutionary unity.

* * *

We need not just an abstract summary of Marxian principles; but a program of action, a program for a fighting organization—for the class struggle against the **MOST POWERFUL OPPRESSOR IN THE WORLD**—United States imperialism. It is the most powerful enemy of the American working class, the international working class, and especially the working class of the Soviet Union.

The best way to defend the remains of the October property relations in the Soviet Union is not abstract agreement on the Russian question; but **CONCRETE AGREEMENT** to build a revolutionary party to overthrow United States imperialism **WHICH IS THE BIGGEST THREAT TO THE SOVIET UNION**.

* * *

WE HAVE A YEAR, they say. There is no time to lose.

Let us use this year to build a fighting party strong enough to take the decision of war and peace out of the hands of the capitalist government **INTO THE MIGHTY HANDS OF THE WORKERS**.

Let us raise once more the fighting slogan of Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and of Lenin: **THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME**.

If those few words—**THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME**—sink into your minds, into your hearts, into your whole lives, as they have sunk into ours; if you make them the **FOUNDATION STONE** of your program—**WE WILL BUILD THE PARTY**.

In the words of Nikolai Lenin, the greatest leader the international working class movement has yet produced:

DELAY IS DEATH! DELAY IS DEATH!

This is **REVOLT'S MAY DAY MESSAGE** to all revolutionists and to all workers:

DELAY IS DEATH! DELAY IS DEATH!

The second anniversary of the massacre was under the direct supervision of the Chicago City Council which passed an order requiring the city to erect a grandstand to "celebrate (!) the steel mill's CIO strike battle of May 30, 1937."

3,000 workers came out to honor the memory of their fallen class brothers. They were addressed by Fontecchio, the usual priest, rabbi, minister, and Alderman. The Alderman, Rowan, head of the City Council Committee on Industrial Relations, told the audience that he didn't want any more "riots."

A huge floral wreath stood at the point where the police had murdered the strikers. Over it was a banner:

TEN DEAD MEN WILL PICKET HERE FOREVER.

There will be other strikes. The corporations will hire gorillas, equip them with guns and tear gas. Chambers of Commerce will organize back-to-work movements sponsored by vigilantes. The police will be on hand to shoot workers in the back.

What will the workers do? Will they again march peacefully to be shot down?

Or will they show that they have learned the lesson of the Memorial Day Massacre? Will they protect their picket lines, their strike, their union, the bread and butter of their wives and kids, and their lives by organizing defense against the murderous violence of the corporations and the police?

Jack Drake

Letter to Revolt

THE QUESTION of cooperation among the several CIO-WPA auxiliaries here in Detroit has come up in many meetings of these organizations of late, but an interesting indication of contemporary official attitude is evidenced in the struggle between the WPA Department of the UAW-CIO and the WPA Auxiliary of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO. The rank and file of the UOPWA-WPA have made several requests for a meeting with rank and filers from the UAW-CIO, but such requests have come to naught because of craft unionism and picardism in the souls of leaders on both sides.

The UAW-CIO is quite willing to grant the UOPWA full jurisdiction over those projects which are distinctly and unmistakably "white collar" projects in exchange for recognition of the UAW's jurisdiction over all other types of WPA projects.

THE UOPWA, on the other hand, demands the right to organize and represent all clerical workers, including clerks, timekeepers, junior timekeepers, etc., no matter on what project they may work. They also demand that UAW shop members on such jobs transfer into the UOPWA.

With such a typically craft union state of mind, is it any wonder that the several CIO-WPA auxiliaries find it impossible to work together. With the leadership of all CIO affiliates fighting over the right to collect dues from the handful of WPA workers who ARE organized, is it any wonder that the majority of such workers are left to shift for themselves?

WPA workers! No terms of expression are too strong for us to use in stressing the fact that every one of you needs to become a part of the struggle for a national union of your own, and for the end of "popular frontism" between the conservative leadership in the CIO and the super-fakers who hold public office as a result of political support from the CIO.

Every spare moment you have must be spent in working solely toward the achievement of a national union, powerful enough to enforce your demands upon Congress and the New Deal Administration.

GET TO WORK

M. A. H.

JOHNNY

Continued from Page One

air. The war was over. The dead were buried. The other prisoners were released. But they were keeping him. Why? Why? Why?

And then he knew. For he was a testimony. He was the future. And if all the guys who got to do the fighting saw this future they would ask questions. And they would find the answers. They would say to the governments which ordered them to fight, we won't fight. We won't die. We won't be butchered for you.

Joe now saw it clearly. If the fellows who got to do the fighting saw him they would understand and they would say to the warmongers. "If you make a war, if there are guns to be aimed, if there are bullets to be fired, if there are men to be killed they will not be us.... Oh no, it will not be us who die. It will be you. It will be you—you who urge us on to battle, you who incite us against ourselves, you who would have one cobbler kill another cobbler, you who would have one man who works kill another man who works, you who would have one human being who only wants to live kill another human being who only wants to live.... Remember this well, you people who plan for war.

"If you destroy our peace, if you take away our work, if you try to range us one against the other, we will know what to do. If you tell us to make the world safe for democracy we will take you seriously and by God and by Christ we will make it so. We will use the guns you force upon us, we will use them to defend our very lives and the menace to our lives does not lie on the other side of a no-man's-land that was set apart without our consent. It lies within our own boundaries here and now. We have seen it and we know it.

"You plan the wars, you masters of men, plan the wars and point the way, and we will point the gun."

H. Marsh

THOU SHALT NOT KILL

New York, May 14 (Chicago Tribune.)
—The Right Rev. William T. Manning, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of New York, today declared it to be the duty of the United States to give "immediately our utmost material assistance" to Britain and France and their allies.
....600 clerical and lay members....
cheered him repeatedly....
Bishop Manning.... said no Christian could be neutral.