

FIGHT

VOL. 1

No. 9

JULY

1934

5¢

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



Ruling class terror everywhere! (LEFT) Two of the nine Scottsboro Boys in prison for over three years—Heywood Patterson and Roy Wright. (UPPER) Mrs. Mary Kosch and her 5 year old child, both suffering from leg wounds, as they flee from Police Clubs and Tear Gas Bombs outside the Curtiss Airplane Plant in Buffalo. (LOWER) Nazi Police torturing and dragging to prison an anti-Fascist in Berlin

FALL IN!

CALL FOR U. S. CONGRESS
AGAINST
WAR AND FASCISM

FALL IN!

To All Opponents of War and Fascism:

War and Fascism are menacing the United States and the entire world.

Events of the past year have fully confirmed the estimate of the issues voiced by the great *U. S. Congress Against War* held in New York City on September 30-October 2, 1933, at which a broad united front was unanimously created. This unanimous Congress, consisting of 2,616 delegates from 35 states, representing a cross-section of anti-War and peace organizations of the United States, initiated the first

American mass movement against War. It has already struck root in all sections of the country.

Now more than ever before, gathering War clouds cast their shadow over the earth. In every capitalist country the menacing rise of the forces of Fascism threatens to destroy the last remnants of democratic rights, as the prelude to unloosing the horrors of a new world slaughter.

Our own country is ever more deeply involved in the world drift toward War and Fascism. The judgment was expressed by the

U. S. Congress Against War that Roosevelt's military and naval policies will inevitably lead to imperialist War, and his economic policies to Fascism in America. That judgment is confirmed by the billion-dollar naval program, the increased funds for military training, the currency and trade wars, the growth of monopoly business, restriction of the right to strike, and the government's support of company-controlled unions.

Only a conscious and militant mass movement organized from below on the basis of

(Continued on page four)

THE RED CROSS

By JOSEPH FUNNEL

In his first article (June FIGHT), Mr. Funnel disclosed the close bond between the War Department and the Red Cross, whose funds are audited by the War Department, whose proceedings are published by the government Printing Press and on whose administrative staff are Army and Navy officers. On March 7, 1932, the Red Cross was designated as official government distribution agency for the 95 million bushels of free wheat and the half million bales of free cotton appropriated by Congress for the needy. This article proceeds to illustrate how Red Cross relief distribution in the hands of the ruling class is discriminatory.

A typical illustration of this point of view of the Red Cross unit occurred in Tennessee. Albert E. Barnett, of the civilian Nashville-Wilder Relief Committee, organized to relieve striking miners, wired to Everett Dix, Assistant Manager of the Eastern Area of the Red Cross, on December 17, 1932: "Two hundred families destitute at Davidson and Wilder, Fentress County, Tennessee. Speak from personal investigation. Red Cross flour withheld during period of court injunction against miners. Cloth distribution in hands of mine superintendent's wife. Investigate. See that flour is supplied immediately." Four days later Mr. Dix answered this telegraphic inquiry by letter, saying that this flour and cloth made from government supplies was intended for "all families in need, regardless of the fact of whether they were miners or non-miners, striking miners or non-striking miners, union members or non-union members." He also sent assurances that a Red Cross field representative would investigate and remedy the situation. On the 23rd of December, Mr. Barnett wired Mr. Dix again, in part as follows: "Spent yesterday in Wilder. Relief situation in Wilder and Davidson desperate. Expect you to cut red tape and get flour and cloth distributed. Your plan all right, but it isn't working." Mr. Barnett informed the Red Cross that he had counted more than five hundred yards of cotton lying undistributed in a near-by warehouse for two weeks and that mothers of babies asked his associates: "Please, you cut us some of this cloth for our babies. They will not do anything to you, but we dare not touch it." December 24 a Red Cross field worker was ordered to Wilder. On December 28 a meeting was held by the field worker. On January 3 miners in Davidson and Wilder informed Mr. Barnett that Red Cross supplies were still unavailable, and he called to the attention of Red Cross National Headquarters "the rumors that the County Committee (Red Cross) was being controlled by considerations other than the needs of the people." On January 12 miners came with a truck to the Nashville Relief Committee for a load

of supplies. They informed Mr. Barnett that the Red Cross supplies had not yet been issued.

Class Lines

If this were an isolated case, it might be classed as an exception, but many other instances can be cited to show that local chapters, receiving but little actual control and supervision from Red Cross National Headquarters, operate along the same lines. In the vicinity of Gillespie in Macoupin County, Illinois, Red Cross relief broke down badly. At least 10,000 miners and their families in central Illinois mining regions were entirely dependent upon relief agencies other than the Red Cross because the local units did not distribute free government cotton and flour adequately and the national organization was blind to their needs or unable to meet them. Instances may be cited at length in West Virginia also, and wherever the economic struggle between the vested interests and the workers is sharp and bitter.

Jim-Crowing Her Children

Discrimination in relief tactics of another kind has been prevalent in many portions of the South. Many complaints have been filed with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against Jim Crow Red Cross relief distribution. At Clearwater, Florida, one case of Red Cross chapter discrimination is indicative of many that have occurred throughout the Southern states. In this instance Negroes were compelled to do work for the free government flour and cotton cloth distributed by the local Red Cross unit, which was specifically against the intent and legislation of Congress. A delegation of the local Colored Welfare Association protested against this enforced labor for free commodities with the result that two members of the Negro association were abducted and flogged by a mob of whites.

The usual correspondence ensued with Red Cross headquarters and an investigation was ordered: The Secretary of the Palm Beach County Chapter of the Red Cross, Mrs. J. A. Goodrich, is reported by Florida papers to have made the following explanation of the discrimination charges: "About 200 Negroes applied for aid, saying they had no food. Such Negroes were offered work to be paid for in food, other than Red Cross flour, on the assumption that flour would be useless to them unless they had additional food. Extra food was furnished locally along with Red Cross flour. When Negroes refused to work, no flour was given them on the assumption that persons unwilling to work were not in need of food." Congress, however, specifically stated in making the grant of wheat and cotton, that it was to be free and not to be paid for either in money or service.

It was this sort of logic of this Florida chapter and complaints from Georgia, Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi that prompted Negro and other organizations to request Red Cross headquarters to send out a national bulletin "specifically instructing them (local chapters) against discrimination on account of race or color and against requiring any labor or pay for the flour." To date no such bulletin has been issued and complaints by Negroes against the Red Cross are being received constantly. It is important to note, also, in the opinion of many observers, that for every Negro in the South who is literate and courageous enough to write and complain about this discrimination against his race, there are dozens of others who cannot or who are unwilling to complain.

All War Funds to the Needy

If the Red Cross wishes to prove its claims of great service and broad humanitarianism, this national crisis should be its grand opportunity. Instead of decreasing the number of

(Continued on page three)



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173

Published monthly by the AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM
 Yearly subscription, 50 cents; single copies, 5 cents



Two Fascists meet—And a Deal is made against the Workers and Farmers!
(LEFT) Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria.
(RIGHT) Premier Mussolini of Italy

NAZI CAMPS

By COLSTON E. WARNE

Associate Professor of Economics,
Amherst College

The work service camp movement promises to be an important step in the militarization of the German nation. It is the intention of the Nazi leaders that within the next two years every German youth shall be compelled to do compulsory service for the government of between six months and forty weeks. The movement is described by the government as an attempt to "destroy the class struggle" by marshaling all young Germans for the service of the state. Five thousand camps have been established, enrolling in all some 250,000 people between the ages of 17 and 25. When fully developed, 900,000 youths will be forced into the camps.

Here is what happens in a typical work service camp. This one, located near Harburg, we visited last summer. Thirty-five unemployed had been drawn from neighboring cities to beautify the grounds of a sports club. The group arose at 5 A.M. and at 5:30 were called to attention by the commander, who was a uniformed army major. For more than an hour they drilled, finally coming to a salute in a Nazi flag-raising ceremony. Military discipline

featured every part of the day's activity from the reading of the orders of the day to the lowering of the flag.

Following breakfast, the group paraded to the scene of the day's work—a sand bank. For six hours they shoveled and graded the sand so as to beautify the spot for the vacationing members of the sports club. We talked to a number of the men. Unfortunately the major stayed within earshot. We learned that one was an unemployed baker who saw no hope of finding a job in the city and so came to the camp in order, as he said, "to be doing something." Another, an unemployed machinist, stated quite frankly that the food was more plentiful in the camp than in the city. Still another was ambitious to become an officer in the movement when it was expanded on a compulsory basis.

Slave Labor

In the afternoon "political education" was on the program. During this period the Nazi doctrines were set forth by the army major and his staff. Points especially stressed were related to the superiority of the Aryans and the necessity for supporting the Nazi state, which was "awakening" the German people. Following the educational session came potato peeling, the assembled group singing Nazi songs as they worked.

The cost per person of maintaining the camps was, we were told, about 2 marks a day. Each worker is given his food and clothing, is barracked, and has in addition 25 pfennig a day for other expenses. The government thus cuts down the bill for unemployment relief in the cities while conducting forced labor and military preparations in the camps.

Militarizing Germany

The expectation is that the work service movement will soon be spread to include women. A school for the training of leaders is in operation at Spandau. Leaders of the effort stress on every occasion the public works projects undertaken and fail to mention the military aspects. Dr. Müller-Brandenburg, the publicity director, states: "Our projects include the creation of 100,000 new farms by irrigation and drainage, the building of roads, and the use of the surplus men to work in the harvest fields." It is perfectly apparent, however, that the military purpose is uppermost. The drilling, the giving of orders while standing at rigid attention, and the extensive use of Nazi propaganda for loyalty to the Third Reich, all smack more of the military machine than of public works.

The work service plans are heralded in the German press as being basic in Hitler's attack on the unemployment problem. They are frequently coupled with the move toward the settlement of city workers on the land. The city unemployed are to be militarized and turned into peasants at a minimum cost. Youth is to be conscripted. In connection with the problem, one must, however, appreciate that the young German workers seeking employment for the first time now are in the numerically small age-groups, born during the

World War. In 1934, 155,000 more Germans will attain the age of 15 than in the preceding year. In 1935, the 15-year-old age group will include 315,000 more than in 1933. If Hitler's conscription methods fail, as at present, to make a dent upon the existing unemployment, one wonders what will be his plight when the working population resumes its normal rate of growth.

Preparing Imperialist War

Whether in Germany or America, the work service camp movement seems to point in the same direction. Our C.C.C. camps have, like their German counterparts, become feeders for the American military machine. Is it entirely accidental that both movements should be run by the army? Or are both a part of the campaign of preparedness for armed conflict?

SONG CONTEST

FIGHT announced in its June issue a prize contest for an original anti-War and anti-Fascist song. The judges of the contest will be Charles Seegar, Isidor Schneider and the editors of *FIGHT*. The prize will be a round trip ticket to the **SECOND U. S. CONGRESS AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM** held in Chicago, September 28, 29, and 30.

RULES

1. All songs, words, and music must be original and based mainly on American conditions in relation to War and Fascism.
2. Simple language.
3. Quatrains.
4. Short terse refrain, if possible, with *FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM* as the theme.
5. Music must be within comfortable singing range—neither too high nor too low.
6. Avoid difficult intervals.
7. Every entry must come in six copies.
8. Words and music must reach office **SONG CONTEST**, c/o *FIGHT*, 112 East 19th Street, New York City, by August 15th.
9. The judges reserve the right to cancel contest if material received is not found suitable.

(Continued from page two)

its staff workers 20% since the depression, they should be increased. Its original function as a sub-military organization should be subordinated. Many of its activities for soldiers and sailors could be omitted for more urgent relief of actual misery. More of your Roll Call dollar ought to reach the hungry man, who finds himself on the streets through economic cause rather than Act-of-God disaster. If the Red Cross is the great peace organization that it professes to be, let it divest itself of securities in War material producing corporations. Let it release the four millions provocatively set aside for War purposes and devote this sum to our peace-time sufferers from unemployment. Let it see to it that flour and cloth and all forms of relief are distributed without hint of discrimination.



(LEFT) A Fascist Parade in Newark, N. J.

(RIGHT) An anti-Fascist Demonstration held in the same City under the Auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism



Fascism and Race Hate

By HARRY F. WARD

Author of "In Place of Profit," "Poverty and Wealth," "The Labor Movement," etc., etc.

Fascism is not always anti-Semitic. But always its inflated nationalism is joined with race pride. Mussolini rhapsodizes over the virtues and the glorious future of the Italian people. Hitler enters the lists against him, proclaiming in more unctuous tones the superiority of German blood and German character, bolstering his claim by an absurd myth concerning the Aryan race. Wherever the conditioning circumstances are favorable this egoistic race pride necessarily excites race prejudice and then fans that prejudice into race hate.

Old Order at Work

In its broadest aspect Fascism is the convulsive movement of an old order and its rulers in opposition to the coming of a new day. In its effort to halt the future, it reaches back into the past and uses as weapons those blind, evil forces which have so long held back the development of humanity—absolutism, militarism, nationalism and race hate. The oldest of these evil spirits, born in the earliest days of tribal history but still terrible in its destructive power, is racial antagonism—the instinctive fear of the outlander, the man from another place, of other blood. Today, after all the centuries of human acquaintance, when this fear is excited by economic competition or lashed into fury by the threat of an oppressed class rising to power, it drives supposedly civilized men into deeds that are bestial. Both these conditions occasioned the hate and the persecution of the Jews in Germany. Some of them were successful capitalists and some were ardent Communists, and some were neither. These contradictory facts clearly destroy racial responsibility, but as the old proverb has it, any stick will do to beat a dog with. Also exciting crowds to beat innocent victims is an old device of the rulers to distract attention from their own misdeeds and failures.

In this country anti-Semitism will not go so far nor become so violent, except in certain local situations. Here another victim has been historically prepared for the slaughter

of a Fascist regime. The Negro has borne the brunt of our pogroms, and will again. It is true that our incipient economic Fascism is being accompanied by a whispering campaign against the Jews. It is mean and vicious, and as conditions grow worse it will gain headway in certain centers, but here the Jew will not be the main object of Fascist terrorism. This country is too big and too cosmopolitan for that, also the Jew has become too much a part of it. The real hate in this country is being expressed against and reserved for "the dirty reds," the "outside agitators" who are leading the suffering unemployed, the protesting farmers, and the underpaid, company-union, cheated workers. Some Jews will feel this hate and some will express it. It will be used to incite a feeling against the race, but it is not in the record that Jewish bankers in Germany or even Jewish department storekeepers suffered as much as Jewish Communists.

The Target

It is the Negro who is getting and will get the full force of the race hate with which the Fascist reaction incites the perpetrators of its outrages. Jim-Crowed and lynched, segregated and shut out of most of the trade unions, this victim of the white man's greed, pride and ignorance is now to be feared as economic competitor and as rebel determined to get his rights. The increase in the number of lynchings during the past year, the beating and killing of Negroes by white men who wanted their jobs, the Scottsboro and Herndon cases, are all evidence of the impact of the class struggle upon the racial conflict. The crossing of the color line by the workers in united action at the bottom of society necessarily increases race fear and hate at the top. In those sections of the South where a Negro can be killed for any reason or no reason at all, and his death go unreported or unnoticed by the law, what may we expect when white and black workers together present a real threat to the power of the dominant class! Its answer will be a terror beyond all restraint. This will be

the climax of Fascist brutality in the American scene.

Unite Against the Common Enemy

To avert this disgrace from the human record it is necessary for all the sufferers from race prejudice and all who have emancipated themselves from this evil spirit to unite their forces in time. None can save themselves except as they work to save all. Jew and Gentile, white and black, men and women of all colors and creeds, must unite now—before it is too late—against the common enemy. The foe we have to fight is the Fascist state as the organized power of the capitalist economy. Against it we struggle with all our forces, not for ourselves but for the future of humanity, for a human society where all races can live, and build, and grow, together.

(Continued from page one)

the program adopted last year at the U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism. Only the power of the aroused masses in taking these issues into their own hands will halt the War-makers and budding American Fascists.

Already the work of the American League Against War and Fascism, small as it is, in less than a year proves the wide response to this fight. Our delegation to Congress to oppose War appropriations, the students' anti-War strike which stirred the entire country, the hundreds of local and regional conferences, the enthusiastic support that has developed for the magazine FIGHT—all demonstrate that hundreds of thousands are awakening to the imminent menace of War and Fascism, and will follow a clear lead for united struggle.

The National Committee of the League, elected at the great Congress Against War last October, therefore heartily carries out the decision then made to hold in a year a second United States Congress Against War and

Fascism. The Congress is hereby called to take place in

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

ON SEPTEMBER 28, 29, AND 30, 1934

The basis of representation will be the same as that adopted by the First Congress, namely:

Delegates should be elected from all local groups and organizations opposed to War and Fascism. Every organized group is entitled to one delegate for its organization, plus an additional delegate for every 250 members or major fraction thereof.

National, state, county, and city bodies shall each be entitled to two delegates.

The program adopted by the First Congress will be subject to such amendments and additions as the Second Congress shall deem necessary in the light of the year's experience.

The National Committee will invite outstanding international leaders of the struggle against War and Fascism in other countries to attend.

An Arrangements Committee will be set up to act in consultation with the National Committee in planning the program of Congress activities, to gain the broadest possible participation.

We call upon all supporting organizations and local committees to begin systematic and energetic work, to secure the building of more and stronger local committees, so that the Congress will comprise at least 5,000 delegates representing every section of the country and every element joining in our struggle.

Forward to the defeat of the War-makers and Fascists in America!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST
WAR AND FASCISM

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Louis Weinstock
Ella Winter
Charles Zimmerman

SAVE THAELMANN!

The Life of an Anti-Fascist

Ernst Thaelmann was born 48 years ago in Hamburg, Germany, the son of Jan Thaelmann founder of illegal German trade unions under Bismarck's anti-Socialist laws.

Occupation—longshoreman, sailor and transport worker.

Joined the Social-Democratic Party at the age of 16.

Joined the Transport Workers Union at the age of 18.

Factory his chief field of activity. Black-listed and out of work for two years. Declined paid position with the trade unions because of his disagreement with reformist policies of union leaders.

One of the founders of youth section of trade union movement before the World War.

Organizer of anti-militarist circles within trade unions and Social-Democratic movement.

From these circles emanated the famous anti-War leaflets to the German Navy.

Opposed Social-Democratic leaders at outbreak of World War.

Drafted into army in 1914. As a private at the front was active in left radical circles gathered round the *Bremer Bürgerzeitung*. Engaged in illegal propaganda in the army. Wrote and distributed anti-War leaflets and pamphlets. Court-martialed and imprisoned.

Joined Independent Socialist Party of Germany.

After the November revolution of 1918, while working on Awbrack wharf, became the recognized leader of the Hamburg dock workers—the elite group of all the revolutionary fighters in Hamburg.

Worked with *Spartacus* group in which Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were leaders.

Joined Communist Party in 1920.

Elected 1923 member Central Committee, Communist Party.

Elected to Hamburg Town Council.

Elected to Reichstag.

After the famous struggle of the Hamburg workers in 1923, Thaelmann became more and more the recognized leader of the German militant workers.

President of *Red Front Fighters' League*.

With the rise of the Hitler movement came the Nazi song of which the refrain ran: "We shall hang Thaelmann!"

Communist candidate for President of Germany.

Drew up the *Programmatic Declaration* issued in August 1930, on the *social and national emancipation* of the working people of Germany.

Assumed theoretical as well as practical leadership of the German Communist Party.

Leader of the anti-Fascist struggles in Germany.

Responsible for *Programme of Peasants' Relief*.

Imprisoned by Hitler when Nazis took power in 1933.



Framed for his anti-Nazi activities; about to go on trial for his life in a Hitler court

THE SMALL TOWN

By Rev. R. LESTER MONDALE

The writer of this article is Minister of the Unitarian Church of Evanston, Evanston, Illinois.

You have asked me to describe how the "people in a small town look upon Fascism." Throughout the myriads of Mid-Western small-town communities, under five thousand in population, the people do not look upon Fascism, THEY ARE FASCISTS, and always have been.

In the typical small town large numbers of the ambitious sons of German and Scandinavian immigrants, because of their obvious superiority to the offspring of the first Yankee settlers,

are emerging from the semi-proletarian masses. Under such circumstances capitalistic individualism, and the Fascism it leads to, are organic in the present-day small-town mind. To such a mind any co-operative, socialistic movement which has the appearance of leveling is utterly abhorrent.

Small-Town Aristocracy

The real proletariat of the small town never raises its voice. From the near-by farms the "hired men," counting for less than nothing in the inflexible social scale, come of a Saturday evening to Main Street and linger timidly and silently, as scarcely more than shadows,

by the store corners. No one is lower than your neighbor's hired man. And in keeping with the good taste of a community, section hands, steamstresses, janitors may be seen but never heard, even if they should raise their voices. Only the renter-farmers, with a few hundred dollars' capital in livestock and machinery, and a memory of the frontier, have the courage to speak and the strength to make themselves heard—but what happens to their restlessness I shall describe in a following paragraph.

For all its appearances of democracy-in-poverty the small town is strictly an aristocracy—its social machine is an intricate organization of "wheels within wheels." Roughly, the churches—Episcopalian and Congregationalist, and latterly an occasional Lutheran, for the upper crust; the Methodist, Disciple, and Baptist, for the small home-owner; and the Holy Rollers, Christian Missionary Alliance, etc., for the lower strata—indicate the caste structure. Accordingly, any minister denouncing communistic or socialistic trends, veiled in moral or anti-atheistic abhorrence, is certain of a response.

Community politics respond quickly, in all vital matters, to the will of the grocery store, retired farmer, and banker middle-class majority. But there is always a city hall gang headed by the banker-representative of the public utility (which keeps large deposits in his vaults) and followed by the most prosperous garage owner bent on orders for future fire trucks, and a doctor or two interested in public health from the stipend point of view. Aldermen quickly respond to a railroad president's threat of removal of a roundhouse or a train; and the state Republican or Democratic machine holds the community in tow, neither by patronage nor by public works but by inviting the leading citizens, including always the editor of the local weekly, to sit on the platform with the Governor when he makes his Fourth of July oration.

Farm co-operatives, except for the creamery associations which fix prices, are usually short-lived. If a farm co-operative buys poultry, the local independent merchant soon ends it by offering the members temporary higher prices. And thus the members kill their own enterprise. The farmer selling his cream for butter and buying oleomargarine for himself is a common sight.

Though the inhabitants wouldn't know a Jew if they saw one, and never have had a Negro resident in town, they are all strongly anti-Jewish and anti-Negro on principle. Here the Klan or Silver Shirt fanaticism flourishes on prejudices which only yesterday were vented on unconverted and unregenerate sinners outside the pale of Christian respectability.

Parasites and Storm Troopers

How the community quickly puts aside legal procedure and musters storm troopers is illustrated whenever gypsies come to town; a common method of making these "kidnapers" move on is to encourage school children to rotten-egg them. But more serious is the constant threat from the renter-farmer. The

PIE IN THE SKY



Drawing
by Wm. Gropper

retired owner lives in terror for fear the renters will vote in a "consolidated school" with bus and driver—which means a sharp rise in taxes. Stronger fears quake the small town when the renter-farmer is organized into a Non-Partisan League whose socialistic ideas are murder to the railroad superintendent, the store-owner, the banker, and his utility. Whenever the renter raises his head the small-town storm troopers are ready to strike it down with Fascist weapons.

During the World War, when Townley had captured North Dakota and was stepping into Minnesota, patriots raised the cry, "Pro-German," "destroyers of religion," "destroyers of democracy." Churches joined in the outcry. Town marshals ordered League parades outside of corporate limits, and respectable citizens joined wealthy farmers in sprinkling tacks across their paths. Merchants secretly gave school children sticks of candy and nickels and dimes for every election banner torn off a farmer's car.

Since 1920, however—the beginning of the agricultural depression—the small-town caste system has been rudely shaken by myriad bank failures, confiscatory taxes, and chain stores. Even the absentee farm-owner, whose rentals do well if they meet ditch and school taxes, has been unclassed to the extent of voting against the Republican candidate of the local weekly. The ever-present agricultural grouch to which Bryan appealed and which Townley effectively organized has risen to a universal heated unrest which is rapidly making radical bedfellows of renter and absentee owner, minister and section-hand.

The Outlook

Agricultural unrest, however, has yet to be effectively channelized. Roosevelt reformism gave the small town a revengeful chance to vent its fury upon a "Wall Street" Hoover. But it was with a cynical smile that the farmer cast his vote—he had not the least ex-

pectation of realizing more substance from these promises than from the Republican. The farmer is still skeptical but will vote Roosevelt as long as farm prices can be pegged. What will come then depends upon who is first to meet him on his fields. Both renter and owner, both banker and section-hand, are ready for a Hitler or a Mussolini. Such a person, they say, could "do something," "be practical," "lay down the law to big business." And yet—and herein lies a germ of hope for Anti-Fascists—suggest to the small-town grocer or farmer that the American Black Shirts would be made of American Legion members, then with a sickly frown on his face he changes the subject.

Whatever political party captures the small town and the near-by farmer must be one which not only promises decisive action but one which by heroic action and sincere leadership has demonstrated its power of "doing something" and of "being practical." The stronger the action the better.

The field is open. The time is short. Will it be Fascist blood and thunder or will a party of economic sanity take the lead? The answer lies with the reader.

EDITOR'S NOTE

This issue of *FIGHT* presents a discussion of various phases of Fascism in Germany and in the United States. Opinions expressed in these articles are not necessarily those held by the American League Against War and Fascism and *FIGHT*. (See Program and Manifesto of the League.) The Editors invite discussion.

TO LONGSHOREMEN!

By PETER KING

The writer of this article, a longshoreman in Boston, writes: "The enclosed article has been worded in the form of a direct appeal to longshoremen. The reason for this is that while I have not had much experience in writing articles for publication, I certainly have had much experience in addressing longshoremen by means of leaflets."

We address this message directly to you out of the pages of FIGHT because the stage is rapidly being set for a new World War. The important position you hold in a key War industry means that you especially must lead the fight against this War and know what is happening today. All about us we see the capitalist countries of the world arming to the hilt, ready to spring at each other's throats in a frantic struggle for world markets. The world has become too small for them. The cry is "markets, Markets, MARKETS—get them at any cost!" What does it matter if millions of workers are killed or maimed for life in the attempt to take them away from some other country. That's boss patriotism—and if capitalism can't continue its existence except by a mass murder of workers—then, what the hell, there are too many unemployed workers anyway!

Longshoremen! This is what is in the back of the minds of the ruling clique that is running this country. The same clique and the same class that has cut your wages, increased your sling loads, and is driving you to the wall with starvation working conditions. Most of us know what is going on. We all remember the old 1914 days when the propaganda machines were working overtime. We all remember the phoney "War for Defense" argument, and know that it is being used in the same way today as it was used in 1914. But why don't we do something about it now, before they let loose another world slaughter on us as they did before?

A Common Illusion

Many of us do nothing because we have illusions. One of these illusions, which is held by workers who fall for newspaper ballyhoo, is that our President stands for peace. These workers have already forgotten another President who stood for peace in 1916, and got himself elected on the slogan, "He kept us out of War." We know now that he used these fine words about peace as a smoke-screen to cover up his preparations for sending us into the massacre shortly after his election. Perhaps the most common illusion, held by the most workers, is the idea, "Well, they'll never

get me into another bloody slaughter—let the other suckers go, but I'll stay home." This is a dangerous illusion, fostered by straw bosses, which disarms the worker and makes him a helpless individual to be sucked in like a straw by the powerful capitalistic War machine. What would you think of a worker who knew that a wage-cut was coming and said, "Well, let the other suckers take the wage cut—but me, I won't"?

Organizing on the Job

The same principle works in the fight against War. War is not a problem to be left in the hands of conniving statesmen and learned professors. You, yourselves, who have to shoulder the guns and load the munitions, must decide. How do you resist wage-cuts or gain better conditions? Not by relying on some guardian angel or the big-heartedness of the ship-owners. You organize and show by your united strength that you are a power to be reckoned with. A power to decide, according to the size of your organization and the unity within your ranks, just what your conditions shall be. We must carry the lessons we learn in our daily struggle for bread still further. We must learn how to apply these lessons in a bigger fight to rid the earth of these periodic slaughters which threaten to destroy our civilization. The very largest majority of the people of this country do not want War. They did not want the last War and feel that nothing can possibly persuade them to take part in or support the next one. But unless these people are organized into a solid force with direction, they will be powerless to do anything about it. As single individuals without plan or direction, they will be helpless before the powerful War machine of the organized capitalist class.

Longshoremen! Our path is clear. We must

unite with all honest and sincere people around a common program of struggle against War, and against the arch-enemy of the working class, Fascism, which breeds War. It is your duty, and the duty of every honest fighter against these curses of civilized mankind, to join the American League Against War and Fascism, which unites all these fighters regardless of race, color, or political belief, into a powerful intelligent force. If you are a member of a trade union or any other organization, discuss with your fellow-members the question of affiliating the organization to the League.

Let us unite our forces and take up the struggle now before it is too late. You especially hold a key position in the capitalist War machine. Nearly all munitions and War supplies must finally pass through your hands. Your position at the nerve-center of the whole War machine places a responsibility on your shoulders that the workers in very few industries have. Your brother longshoremen in Seattle in 1919 fulfilled this responsibility when they refused to load munitions which were to be used to shoot down the Russian workers, who had freed themselves from the bloody rule of capitalism. You too have this same power to decide whether a profit-mad ruling class shall plunge the world into another mass murder.

STOP THE SHIPMENT OF MUNITIONS AND WAR SUPPLIES TO THE IMPERIALIST POWERS NOW!

JOIN THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM!

"The sword of justice is sharpened again and the executioner wields his axe as in the past."—Nazi Prosecutor Landmesser.



While the Capitalist World is closing schools because of the Economic Crisis, Soviet Russia, under a Socialist Economy, is opening new ones. (ABOVE) Peasant Women of the Ukraine in a class of World Events

KIANGAN—in the PH

Sitting behind my desk at Malabang, Lanao Province, Mindanao, in the Philippines, I faced some forty-odd Moros of both sexes, ranging from babes in arms to hoary-headed old men.

The Moro is a Mohammedan by religion and education. He is loath to accept the teachings of infidels. He is closely akin to the American Indian in character. He is nomadic and fatalistic. He has been taught to hate members of other races or tribes not professing the true faith of the prophet. And since he will not let his children attend school where infidels are teachers, he is ignorant of law and letters.

Taking Land from the Natives

The middle-class mestizo Filipinos in Manila, ushered into power under the Harrison-Forbes administration, have control of the legislature and all business in the islands. The laws they have enacted are for the benefit of capitalist acquisitiveness. One of these laws is that of domain and public lands. The law reads that, after a certain date, "all land in the islands that has not been filed upon for ownership will become public domain and may be purchased, leased, or homesteaded by any party who so desires."

This particularly affected the Moros, who make up most of the population of Sulu and Southern Mindanao. The land which they have dwelled upon for thousands of years is rich forest land, valuable in timber, and later for coconut, rubber, hemp, and tapioca production. Also the southern portion of the islands lies somewhat out of the typhoon belt and has a more even distribution of rainfall. Here is a perfect set-up for imperialist exploitation: ignorant, peace-loving natives, rich land, and facing them an armed force.

It was in settlement of an affair coming under this law that the forty-odd assorted Moros were assembled in my office. As I listened to their pleas, I toyed with the yellow ejection order issued by the court of Lanao and turned over to me, as Deputy Sheriff and Governor, for execution. These Moros were a family group residing on the particular piece

of land described by the technical boundaries and maps enclosed with the ejection order.

A Native Delegation

An old greybeard was talking. As leader of his people Macalangan addressed me; no oratorical gestures, only a calm statement of facts. His oriental features and those of his people displayed no emotions save that their eyes were a little brighter and harder than usual. Young as I was, the greybeard addressed me as father. When he had finished, I felt like a robber. Morally I knew he was right. I knew this not only from his words of explanation, from my own personal experience, and from hearsay, but also from the fact that I had spent three days in the burning tropical sun hiking over every foot of the area in question, examining landmarks, timber and grass growth, evidences of old stake fences and crop plantings. I found hovels abandoned for several years, old, rotted pole and stake fences, second and third growth timber, and large areas of cogan grass, free of all trees, but dotted with rotting stumps and brush piles.

The Moro, as I have said, is nomadic and "lazy." He moves to the edge of the forest, clears a little patch of land by chopping down the trees, and uses the wood of the trunks for boards, which he laboriously rips out by hand. The branches, trimmed of their foliage, are used for building fences and houses. His house is a mere hut—sometimes just a lean-to. He will plant one or two crops, depending on his mood and the rapidity with which the cogan grass grows.

The forest land is rich in rotted leaf mold and free of weeds. Having planted tobacco, corn, camotes, beans, upland rice, etc., between the tree stumps, he sits idly by while nature grows his food. As soon as the prolific cogan grass starts to choke out the crops, he abandons everything and moves on to a new forest clearing. This method is called "kiangan."

In my tour of inspection I found all over this area evidence of centuries of kiangan. I talked to leading Moro *datus* of the district, who confirmed the fact that Macalangan and



100,000 Natives in Manila demonstrating against American Imperialism

his people before him had lived in that same area for ages. Hence my conviction that these Moros were morally in the right.

Legal Trickery

But the law-makers were not concerned with moral rights. The Moros could not read, so

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WOMEN UNDER HITLER

By MARGARET E. FORSYTH

Associate of Religious Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University

There is probably no person living in a Fascist state who does not sacrifice something in his civil liberty, in his cultural interests, even in his religious beliefs. But to no person does it come more directly and more personally than it comes to the woman. The laboring woman returns to her home from the factory

to bear more children and to take care of her mate. Now that does not sound so bad to most working women, but it is quite likely that she did not set out to work for the fun of it in the first place. She worked because she needed the money. Now the chance to earn is closed to her. And the government has chosen to throw into the unemployed class one who is least likely to make a row about it, particularly when she is told what a beautiful thing

it is to be a real woman and not mix with men in the work of the world.

Driven from Professions

The woman of education who has turned her energies and abilities to business or politics as a profession or to the arts finds her work taken away from her. She has nothing to do. She is useless unless she is able to bear children.

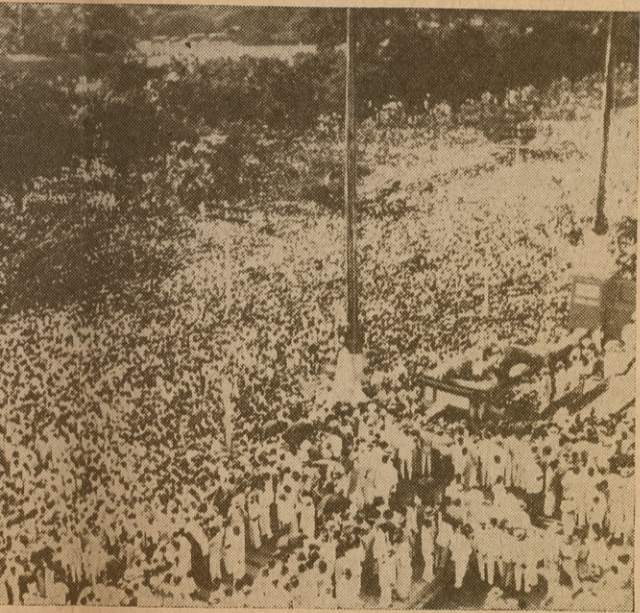
Last year I was in Germany, and it is of

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PHILIPPINES By a SOLDIER



Starving Filipinos carving up a Horse for a Meal



the notices posted in conspicuous places at the Municipal courthouse three months prior to the date set for the reversion of the land to public domain—as the law prescribed—did them no good. Nor did they take the Spanish and English newspaper from Zamboanga, some two hundred kilometers away, in which the notice had been posted (the regulations

requiring publication in the nearest newspaper at least three times).

Big Business Steps In

So the Moros lost their land. A large American corporation had leased and bought up fabricated homesteads and public domain until it had acquired some four thousands hectares of the finest cocoanut land in the world.

At this time the corporation had a thousand hectares of seven-year-old trees and had progressed so far in their planting that the hard-pressed Macalangan and his relatives were to be driven completely off the land they had claimed for generations. The corporation had moved Macalangan and his people several times, but at last, when they were to be shoved off the estate entirely, they rebelled. The corporation appealed to the law, and I as its agent (or rather as a tool of imperialism) was compelled to do my duty.

Old Macalangan was closing his address with the words: "Either we die, or the American — and his men die. For we will not give up our homes." Full of youth and my own importance, I made what I thought a glorious speech in reply.

"It is your own fault you are losing your land," I said. "You will not send your children to school. You cannot have representation in the legislature if you do not study. You cannot know the laws or help make them unless you educate yourselves. I do not make the laws, the Filipinos in Manila make them, I am only here to carry them out. If I don't, I will lose my job and someone will take my place who will enforce the law. I am your father—you are my children. I have soldiers here to help me enforce the law. If you disobey the law and go out and fight, you will be acting very foolishly and I will have to shoot some of you—and I would feel very bad about that."

I was using an interpreter, so I had the opportunity of watching the emotions of the assemblage. I learned nothing, but I did repent of my threats as I saw the women, children, and old men in the group. I felt that I must do something to take the harshness from

the threat I had just made. So after the translation was completed I said: "All those who still want to die—stand up!"

The patriarch arose and the rest with him. I could not kill women and children, so I sent them home, and locked the fourteen adult males in the post stockade.

Eviction!

Hurriedly making out a complaint of threats against persons, I presented it to the court. It was approved and I held the Moros for twenty-four hours. In the meantime I placed a detachment of twenty men and a sergeant on the ground in question, to prevent the relatives and neighboring groups from getting together with the wives and children of the incarcerated men and sympathizing with them to such an extent that trouble might flare up.

The next afternoon I enforced the ejection order, by bodily carrying the household effects of the people over the boundary line. Amid the crying of babies and the howls and curses of the women we placed the last item of property over the line, while laborers from the plantation uprooted the stake fences, trampled the small garden patches, and tore down the houses.

Assembling my men in column formation I started the ten-kilometer march to the station. I had not gone a hundred yards when a sudden drenching tropical shower came up, soaking the poor unfortunate, homeless victims of capitalist greed. Their meager clothing and household effects piled around them, the women, babies in arms, sat in the rain. I learned later all their rice became moldy and had to be thrown away.

A Vow

Upon returning to the station I had my first sergeant release the captive males and permit them to go to their families. I did not have the heart to face the reproach in their eyes.

This and several other little acts of exploitation cured me. I vowed that never again would I be connected in any way with the administering or enforcing of such justice.

Germany I write. But these things I write are typical of all Fascist states. In some you find racial prejudices may not be pushed so far as in Germany because certain alien groups within the country must be won over. But all Fascist countries regard woman in the same light—as the breeder of men, and that alone.

Two years ago German women had risen to high places. Long before an American woman sat in a governing body in the United States, German women were members of the Reichstag. They had achieved distinction in business and in the professions.

Where are these women today?

A newspaper woman told me of talking to

a German artist who visited this country last year. She had won praise and renown in her own country several years ago but, when she was asked if she would be allowed to hold an exhibition of her work in Germany, she looked fearfully around her, rose and closed the door, and then said earnestly: "Please do not ask a question like that. It is hard enough for women as it is."

Destruction of the Women's Movements

The German women's movements were known all over Europe, and the members of those movements were international leaders. Today they are dissolved. As the April 13

number of *Spectator*, student journal of Columbia College, says in its article, "Maedchen in Uniform": "In sixteen months German Fascism has been able to wipe out the work of a hundred and fifty years. Over night it has upset the entire structure of women's rights which feminists the world over strove so laboriously to erect."

The women's movements were dissolved because the leaders of those movements would not submit to expelling those members "tainted" with Jewish blood nor would they declare themselves for a National Socialism that asked this of them.

Today there is a new women's movement, just one. It is headed by a man who is ap-



Women Workers are now electing their Delegates to the Women's International Congress Against War and Fascism meeting this month in Paris. (ABOVE) Interior view of the Coil Winding Division—Mica Department of the General Electric

pointed by the government. And no woman of any prominence or intelligence belongs to it.

Of course many women have dropped out of the universities. In the first place, a very small percentage are allowed to matriculate, but the women themselves feel it hopeless. One German woman said to me: "Too many of us have gone on for higher education in the past, and now we realize that women should spend more time studying the home arts and not compete with the men in training for the professions. And what good would it do anyway? There is no place for us."

Another woman said, one who had been mentally active all her life: "Oh, the monotony of this life! The deadly, deadly monotony! Nothing to do and no way to find out what is happening. I wish that I had never had the opportunity to learn to think for myself and to do things. Then I might be content now."

Hitler says: "In the education of woman emphasis must be laid primarily on physical development. Only afterwards must consideration be given to spiritual value and lastly to mental development. Motherhood is undeniably the aim of feminine education."

"Her Children to War"

How ironic this seems when we remember the exaltation of the Asiatic women at their first women's Congress (many of them still in purdah) that they were beginning to prove they were persons in their own right, like their European sisters, rather than *just* the means of bringing babies into the world.

And a few short years after this Congress their European sisters were told by the Woman's Order of the Red Swastika: "There is no higher or finer privilege for a woman than that of sending her children to War."

And in this one sentence is the crux of the philosophy of Fascism—a philosophy of exploitation for the purpose of a capitalistic state. But in this case not only is the labor of men's hands exploited—but also the very flesh and blood of a woman's body.

MUCK and ARMS

By QUINCY HOWE

Editor, "Living Age"

The international outcry against corruption in armaments had a precedent thirty years ago in the national outcry against corruption in politics. Today publicists in every country lay the whole blame for War on a handful of munitions makers; at the turn of the century the so-called "muck-rakers" with Lincoln Steffens at their head were blaming a handful of politicians for most of America's ills. But just as Steffens finally pointed out that the system and not the individual was at fault, so today it should be pointed out that the armament industry is not the only big bad wolf in the woods. The leading statesmen of England and the United States call for an embargo on arms shipments in order to stop the warfare in the Chaco, while at the same time they spend additional millions arming their own countries. Is it possible that America and Britain are increasing their defenses on land, sea and air merely to please the munitions makers? Surely if American and British munitions makers will forego their profits in order to rescue the Paraguayans and Bolivians from the horrors of War, they would make some sacrifice for their own people.

Industrialists Behind Hitler and Munition Makers

But just as Hitler and his gang are not the only Germans with a vested interest in Fascism, so the Du Ponts and Schwabs are not

the only Americans with a vested interest in War. During the early weeks of the Hitler regime we heard almost nothing except atrocity stories, but after a few months had passed we also heard that Hitler had been receiving funds from many of the largest industrialists and landowners in Germany. Today we hear that munitions stocks are booming and that the "merchants of death" are increasing their profits. But we need only recall the profits of Morgan, Mellon, and Rockefeller during the last War to know that every great banker and industrialist stands to win the next one too.

These reflections come to mind in connection with Senator Nye's investigation of the American armament industry. If that investigation discovers more facts about the munitions makers, so much the better. That is one of its purposes. Another is to consider the possibility of a nationalized munitions industry. If our wealthiest citizens possessed an atom of enlightened self-interest, they would be supporting a nationalized munitions industry just as generously as they have supported the *Navy League* and every other agency that strengthens the national defense. In backward China rival landowners maintain private armies, but in more advanced countries the well-to-do classes have discovered that they make more money by letting the state do their fighting for them. Meanwhile Japan, the most highly militarized country on earth, has a nationalized munitions industry as well as a nationalized army, navy, and air force.

Hit the System!

The millionaires of Western Europe and the United States may have improved upon the methods of their Chinese counterparts, but they still have a lesson to learn from Japan. Some of them will protest against the attempts of "reformers" to take the manufacture of armaments out of private hands just as they have protested against the "socialism" of the New Deal. But the more intelligent of our bankers and industrialists will come to the aid of the Nye investigation just as they have come to the aid of the New Deal, provided that investigation serves their interests just as faithfully as Roosevelt has. The private manufacturers of arms and the private armies of China have nothing to be said for them except that they lend themselves easily to muck-raking. But in simplifying the issue, the muck-rakers also confuse it. They focus attention on the individual rather than on the system and the present system is as much bigger than Bethlehem Steel as the system of 1900 was bigger than Tammany Hall. And the munitions industry can be "reformed" just as New York City is being "reformed" today. But to "reform" the whole system, well, that's something else again.

DIVIDE AND RULE

By RABBI BENJAMIN GOLDSTEIN

After four and a half years of deepening economic suffering, affairs in all the western countries are rapidly approaching a crisis. The ranks of the unemployed have not decreased, or if they have, it has been in such numbers as to make no material difference. The vain assurances of an early return to prosperity "in a few weeks," "next fall," perhaps a year, have failed of fulfillment. Leaders in industry are inclined to use their incantations—for they were nothing more—sparingly. Men realize that such promises no longer delude the majority of men who find no reasonable justification for starvation in the presence of plenty, nor unemployment in the face of needed work. It is not prosperity that is lacking. In increasing numbers men are coming to realize that the error is in the system which cannot distribute our present abundance. Too few have too much; too many have not enough. The thoughtful unemployed and the barely employed grow impatient with fanciful explanations of prices, and constant bickering about money standards; it is no satisfaction to know that the country is on the gold standard when individuals are reduced to coppers. The immediate need of people is for food, shelter, clothing,—the necessities of life. They grow weary of patient suffering.

Rise of a New Class

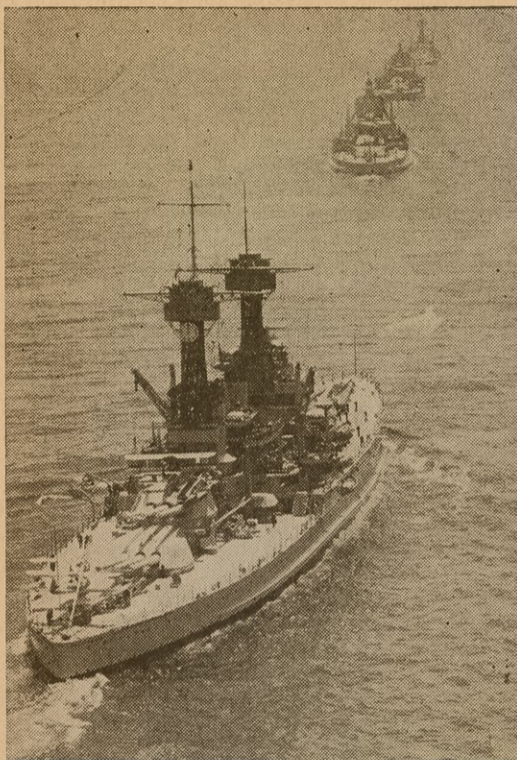
Considerable time elapses before men out of employment face their situation rationally and realistically. The first impulse is to blame oneself: employment and unemployment are part of the game we are called upon to play; life has its pleasures and its pains. This type of reasoning is made all the easier by the anticipation of an early return to work and by the comfort of some small savings to tide over the dark days. But time and increasing misery drive men to other thoughts. Gradually joking turns to sullen resentment. The needy are not inclined to regard their condition as divinely ordained, socially desirable or humanly unalterable. Talk of change, of revolution, gets in the air. The old phrases which once before destroyed the power of kings and defied paid armies are repeated. The unemployed, the disfranchised races, the exploited, find voices with which they articulate both their demands and their understanding of what is implied in these demands. "The rights of men"; "all men are born free and should have an equal opportunity to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"; "any people anywhere being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. . . . It is a quality of revolutions not to go by old lines or old laws, but to break up both, and make new ones."

This sort of talk accomplished revolutions in the past; it has an uncomfortable sound to those in high places today. Once it overthrew

"the divine right of kings"; today it threatens to break the "sacred right of private property."

Beyond All Boundaries

Characteristically such talk transcends race and religions, and even national lines. It forges a unity of all the oppressed. Misery recognizes comradeship. Men no longer speak or think in terms of Negro, white, Jew, Gentile, Frenchman, American, foreigner. They



Ninety Five Battleships proceeding in the direction of Ambrose Lightship where they were Reviewed by President Roosevelt in the greatest Naval display in the history of the U. S. A.

talk of "the hungry," "the unemployed," "the rich," "the oppressors." Class lines take the place of religious or racial or national distinctions. The proletariat increases in numbers and equally in the consciousness that its enemy is the small but forceful group of capitalists. The struggle between these two classes for the power over the destiny of the world gains in intensity as time passes. Strikes for higher wages and shorter hours, demands for adequate relief, police brutality, the mobilization of the militia,—all this indicates that the conflict is growing sharper and sharper.

A technique has recently been perfected to handle crucial situations of this kind. The principle behind it is old. The honest version was expressed by The Caesars—"Divide et impera"—divide and rule. This was an old tactic in military strategy. The modern version is not so truthfully stated. In the name of unity,—a unity which, it is claimed, is above and beyond class lines, prejudice, bigotry, falsehood, brutality, are employed to split the ranks

of those who have been brought together by common wants and common suffering. In the name of a superior state, superceding in its powers the rights of all individuals, a deliberate and unscrupulous campaign is undertaken to turn one group against another on grounds foreign and removed from the real issues which confront them. "Our propaganda," as one of the recent champions of this tactic has said, "has no respect for the objective truth. Say anything at any time that will promote our cause." And the cause is to break down the growing understanding of the class basis of our present economic order, and substitute for that old prejudices and hatreds that will prevent the protestors from carrying on any concerted action. Gentile against Jew, white against black, native against foreigner,—this is the program by which issues are to be confused and action misdirected.

This program is promoted by hired professional "engineers" of hatred, men who are unrestrained by scruples or who do not hesitate at lies. They deliberately select the most inflammatory material. Special use is made of sex appeal. "The rape of Aryan womanhood." "Black beasts attack white girls." Officials of the law are paid to arrange individual acts of terror and brutality, such as lynchings, in order to lead the prejudice into channels of action. Though liberal constitutions guarantee equal privileges and rights to all regardless of race or creed or place of birth, "professional patriotic societies" are organized to support the constitution by hunting out and persecuting citizens who do not happen to be 100% "white" or "Christian" or "native."

"Divide the Oppressed!"

This is Fascism, whether it be called by that or any other name. It claims to deny class distinctions as disruptive of the unity of the state, and replaces them with a dozen other hatreds that split the state into constantly warring factions. It tries by every means to break the growing class and international unity that protests against starvation and War. Though its major hatred and discrimination may be directed against one group,—the Jew, or the Negro, or the foreigner, no possibility of dissension is neglected. Any prejudice, except the honest one based on economic issues, is valid for the Fascist program. Divide et impera! Keep the oppressed people divided so that a small, unscrupulous, brutal group may rule the state in behalf of an equally small and unscrupulous propertied class.

Great doubt has been expressed about the wisdom of oppressed people to recognize their own best interests. It has been said that the poor can be fooled constantly. The pressure that is brought to bear upon them is terrific. When persuasion and lies do not prevail deliberate purchase is resorted to—blood money to betray one's fellow sufferers.

Can the unity forged on honest issues withstand this lying propaganda? Must there be Fascism?

"M - DAY"

By HAROLD WARD

"M-DAY: The date designated in War Department orders as the first day of mobilization"—From the section, "Definition of Terms," in *Special Text No. 229* of the U. S. Army Extension Courses, entitled *Industrial Mobilization*. Prepared by the Planning Branch Office of the Assistant Secretary of War and—over the signature of General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff—"published for the information and guidance of all concerned." Dated 1931.

"Of all concerned": that is pretty much equivalent to saying, of every inhabitant of the United States. For this remarkable 68-page document (price, 15 cents if you can get it), issued under the provisions of the National Defense Act as amended by Congress in 1920, contains the substance of "two general plans for wartime operations." The first—with which the pamphlet chiefly deals—"arranges the detail for the production of Army munitions of War"; the second (for obvious reasons inaccessible to the simple citizen who will face the "enemy") is "a complete plan for the mobilization of the national economic resources to meet the industrial needs of the country in time of war."

Full Speed Ahead

Space is lacking here to review the scope, ingenuity and thoroughness with which the United States War Department, under its energetic Assistant Secretary, the Hon. Harry H. Woodring, is co-ordinating the industrial, economic, transportation, power, raw material and human resources of this country, in preparation for a War whose imminence is noisily denied by all imperialist governments. (And that at the very moment when the pathetic Disarmament Conference is being quietly put to sleep.) Let us see how "M-Day," under the skillful direction of the Planning Branch, is being prepared for in some of the more important sectors:

Power. "An adequate supply of power is essential to the operation of the industrial enterprises producing munitions. . . . For this reason a power section is maintained." A survey of the electric power facilities of the United States, commenced in 1922 by the Corps of Army Engineers, has assembled data on all plants of 5,000 kilowatts and over, located in eleven power zones. Constant communication is maintained with key power plants, Public Utility Commissions, and with the reactionary National Electric Light Association—which, in collaboration with "leaders" in the industry, has helped in drawing up "a plan for the control of the power during War," approved by the Secretary of War. An "Emergency Power Director" will be appointed when the emergency arises (it is significant that the document rarely says "if"), and mil-

itary discipline will be promptly enforced upon the operatives and workers in all units.

Enslaving Labor

Labor. The pamphlet states:

"The War Department's interest in the labor supply includes both requirements and national resources of labor; total numbers in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations and numbers by occupational classification in the skilled trades. It includes also a study of the geographical distribution in industrial areas of all classes of labor."

It is admitted that "labor is an essential in the production of requirements of equal importance with raw materials, power, facilities and transportation. Therefore, the peace-time knowledge of wartime requirements of labor is equally important in war planning."

To guard against "unnecessary migration of labor during War," dissatisfaction, unrest, strikes and other troubles, the War Department plans to have "the machinery for conciliation or adjudication ready to function immediately such disputes have become acute."

Japanese Tanks undergoing a rigid Inspection during a lull in Activities in the Far East



To this end, constant contact is maintained with employers' association and trade unions—both of which are regarded as vital "in the procurement and maintenance of the labor supply in wartime and in the peace-time planning for the performance of this mission." It is worth noting that, as a device to prevent possible labor solidarity, the War Department has developed an organization to keep the producing units isolated from each other: decentralization is considered essential wherever a "united front" is possible—although, of course, the Planning Branch does not so express itself!

Women. To the valuable material on women in War published in last month's issue of FIGHT—and particularly in confirmation of Grace Hutchins's well-informed article, "Who

Makes the Guns?"—we may well add the following. It carries the authority of the United States War Department: doubters, liberal pacifists, Christian cheek-turners and optimists of all varieties have no other recourse but to deny the quotation marks:

"The war effort will call large numbers of women into industry. Many of these women will have had previous experience and these can be fitted into the industrial machine with little effort. Some will be moved by economic stress and many others will be moved by patriotic impulse. These, particularly the latter group, will require guidance in order that their efforts may be diverted into channels where they can accomplish the greatest good."

Here is one of the ways in which the "guidance" will be offered:

"A group of prominent women, all of whom had experience along these lines during the World War, is giving this subject intensive study and there has been evolved the skeleton of an organization whose specific duty it will be to solve the problems connected with the employment of women and

children in war industries. Constant liaison will be maintained with this organization to insure its co-operation in securing the necessary woman labor in war industries."

Mass Action

"M-Day" . . . For the War Department a simple code-word, whose transmission at the proper time, to the proper key-men, will start a Mobilization machine constructed to operate with the smoothness, precision and relentless efficiency of a gigantic turbine. Only one power is still greater; able, if sustained long enough, completely to block it: and that power, too, begins with M—MASS—

MASS-action against War and Fascism. . . .



United Front Against War and Fascism! (LEFT) 15,000 youth marching in New York City on National Youth Day, under the auspices of the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism. (RIGHT) The huge mass meeting after the parade where James Lerner, Chairman, of the Youth Section of the League presided

WORLD EVENTS

By MARGARET SCHLAUCH

Assistant Professor of English,
New York University

In affiliating with the *World Committee for Struggle Against War and Fascism*, the *American League* has made itself part of a militant movement which today encircles the whole earth. The day-by-day struggles of American workers, farmers, students, professionals, etc., find their support in similar struggles elsewhere.

France

The local committees of struggle, already numbering over a thousand, continue to increase. To a gratifying extent they report militant co-operation of Communists, Socialists and Syndicalists. In the provinces, over two hundred attempted Fascist meetings have been prevented or changed into anti-Fascist meetings by the aroused workers. At Lyons, on March 21, the *Croix-de-Feu* (Fiery Cross) had tried to hold a meeting in the workers' district. The local Committee of Struggle called the workers into the streets; the leader of the *Croix de Feu* was forced to flee, and the workers held a meeting of their own in the very hall of the Fascists. Similar events occurred within a few days at Troyes and Marseilles. At Hénin Liétard (near Lille), a worker named J. Fontaine was killed recently by the *Camelots du Roi* (a Royalist organization). The funeral was made the occasion for a solemn demonstration. Last November, dock workers in Le Havre refused to load hundreds of chests of machine-guns and explosives for export to Peru. The *Youth Committee of Struggle* gave the alarm and the dockers responded to a man, despite the unemployment and bitter exploitation to which they are subjected. For three days the munitions remained on the pier, and the ship was kept from sailing. Finally the captain forced his own sailors to do the work. Even then, strong detachments of police were required to keep the dockers from interfering. Sixty and more regional conferences were held throughout France to prepare for the Anti-Fascist Congress of May

20-21. Since the general strike of February, the united front has been gaining in breadth and effectiveness; these conferences report co-operation of all parties and types of workers.

Germany

Weltfront, the German language edition of the anti-Fascist and anti-War paper issued by the International Committee, and smuggled across the border, has been suppressed by the French government without warning or explanation. Workers in Alsace and Lorraine who distributed it were jailed. French democracy and German Fascism continue to collaborate; there is no doubt that the suppression occurred at the instance of Hitler's government. Despite savage repression, Anti-War Committees still function. In a large industrial city of central Germany, 900 former S. P. members have joined in active work on the basis of the Amsterdam manifesto. In February over 400 copies of *Weltfront* circulated from hand to hand. Committees of struggle are organized in centers of the steel industry which must perforce remain nameless.

England

In Preston and Newcastle, workers have actively opposed meetings planned by Mosley during April. Chiefly as a result of militant anti-War work by the English League, the government has projected a Sedition Bill which makes it an offense even to possess literature that might seduce soldiers or sailors from their "duty" or "allegiance." Search may be made on "reasonable ground for suspecting" the existence of such literature. The Trade Unions are already sending in resolutions calling for a general strike of protest. A National Youth Congress against War is being planned for August 4-5; 1200 delegates are expected from various organizations.

Bulgaria

In February, eight sailors were executed for preparing a meeting in the fleet. During 1933, 183 soldiers and sailors were tried and 55 executed for anti-War and revolutionary propaganda.

Japan

The revolutionary movement in the Japanese army is increasing. In March it was reported that the soldiers of Heavy Artillery Regiment No. 7 were before court martial for Communist activity. Even during the taking of Manchuria, whole disaffected battalions had to be disarmed and sent home.

AMERICAN FASCISTS

By CARMEN HAIDER

Author of "Do We Want Fascism?" "Capital and Labor Under Fascism"

The writer of this article was invited by the *Foreign Affairs Forum* to deliver a talk on Fascism over WNYC in New York City. The talk was substantially the same as this article, but this municipally owned station canceled the engagement on the ground "that some people who listen in might be offended." Miss Haider was asked to give a travelogue instead—which she declined to do.

There are three kinds of Fascist groups in this country. Nazi and Italian Fascist formations have been denounced at so many instances that it is hardly necessary to do more than reiterate the charge of insidious propaganda against them. Among the Nazi formations the *Friends of New Germany* and the *DAWA*, *Deutsch-Amerikanischer Wirtschaftswissenschafts* (German-American Protective Alliance), are the most important. The last is a racket charging German storekeepers \$5 for the *DAWA* anti-boycott emblem. The organ of the *Friends of New Germany* is the *Amerikas Deutsche Post*. The *Deutsche Zeitung*, however, although independent, also propounds Nazi views.

While the Italian Fascist formations in this country were abolished by Secretary Stimson several years ago as conflicting with the laws of the United States, several attempts to resurrect them have been made under the stimulus of the success which the Nazis scored.

If and when Fascism comes to this country, it will doubtless be "American" in form. We may outlaw these various foreign organizations and yet have Fascism. We may even have Fascism without the help of the numerous Shirt movements in this country. Yet we must not make the error of passing them over with ridicule as absurd and unimportant formations, lest we make the same fatal mistake as some of the European anti-Fascists were guilty of.

Those Without Shirts

As the various Shirt movements were so ably covered in the February and May num-

bers of FIGHT, I will not attempt to go over the same ground again. All these groups may be made use of, but they may be unsuccessful in gaining leadership of an American Fascist movement because they are modeled along European lines. More important and dangerous are those organizations which disregard all constitutional rights in the name of democracy and the Constitution. We may quote the *Vigilantes* in the Imperial and San Joaquin Valleys in California in this connection. These are growers' organizations, that is, middle-class groups, who fight for their class interests against workers who object to their hourly wages of between 10 and 20 cents. Their method of procedure is provocation, the kidnapping of labor leaders, who are beaten, abused, and stranded in the desert at night, indiscriminate arrests, holding innocent persons in jail for indefinite periods, etc. Police and the officers of the law collaborate with the ranchers.

Similar groups are springing up all over the country. Some are united into national patriotic societies, most of them secret. We know of the *Order of '76*, which gives its purpose as spying on radicals; the *Industrial Defense Association* in Boston, whose members are opposed "to the many destructive cults of Judaism"; the *National Civic Federation*; and the *American Coalition of Fraternal Societies*. These are mostly big-business interests who act through middle-class channels, as was the case in Europe.

Big Business on Its Own

Then there are definitely known big-business organizations, such as the *Committee for the Nation*, which was organized as a lobby in Washington in January 1933 to fight the "dangerous trends in business." Specifically, they fight against the securities act, regulation of the stock exchange, and the pure food and drug act, and for a devaluation of the dollar. Big industrialists and war manufacturers are on the directing committee: Bendix Aviation, Remington Rand, Sears Roebuck, Southern Cotton, U. S. Steel, etc. They claim 1,500 members, who pay annual dues ranging from \$25 to \$5,000.

Middle-class spokesmen are Father Coughlin and Lawrence Dennis, associate editor of the *Awakener* and America's accepted advocate of Fascism. His argument is that democracy cannot endure under the pressure of the economic and political struggle for power. We are faced with a choice between Communism and Fascism. The people do not want Communism. Therefore we shall have Fascism. If we do not fight, this reasoning will turn out to be a correct forecast!

There are innumerable other Fascist groups. They represent all shades of opinion from Anti-Semitism to Jewish counter-Fascist groups, from open Shirt movements to the democratic *Crusaders* in New York City, who claim to speak for the lower middle-class, fight inflation, and organize into military formations. One thing all these organizations have in common, whether middle class or big business, the defense of their prerogatives in this crisis, the attempt to perpetuate the *status quo* forever. What else is Fascism?

CHACO

By JOSEPH GREGG

July 15, 1934, marks the second anniversary of the current War between the United States and Great Britain officially being fought in the name of Bolivia and Paraguay in the Gran Chaco of South America. This bloody dispute continued almost unnoticed for two years. In the past few months, however, it has become the focal point of worldwide attention. The wide significance and international importance of this miniature imperialist War has been openly acknowledged. The connection between hypocritical peace-talk and actual warfare is clearly revealed.

An Under-Cover War

Superficially the cause of the War dates back to 1884, when Bolivia lost all her outlets to the sea. The dispute today is over a matter of boundaries. All attempts to stop the conflict are made futile by the jumble of changing interests of the Latin American nations as they are knocked about in the struggle between their financial masters: British and American imperialists.

Last December the League of Nations Chaco Commission left the scene of War to return to Geneva with nothing accomplished. Early in May, on the eve of another disarmament conference to be held at the end of that month, the Commission gave birth to a report on the Chaco. The report announced that War was horrible and ought to be stopped. However, it also delicately pointed out that oil had been discovered in the Gran Chaco swamp and even mentioned that the *Standard Oil Company* might be interested. In guarded language it warned the world that this War contained the seed of a world conflagration. What did the Commission propose for the cure of this murderous struggle between the English-speaking financial moguls? The Commission once again brought up the old cure-all, the arms embargo.

Upon the publication of the report, the Bolivian and Paraguayan armies again leaped into action after a quiet rainy spring. The battle-line was now close to the Bolivian border as a result of large gains made by Paraguay at the close of 1933. Each army began a decisive campaign to smash its enemy

once and for all. The feverish haste under which the campaign was conducted resulted in immense losses for both sides.

On May 18, President Roosevelt sent a special message to Congress. He asked them to approve of an old Geneva arms resolution of 1925 and to grant him power to impose an arms embargo when he thought necessary. The War was reaching a climax in the Chaco and Congress worked fast this time. "... The haste displayed in the past few days by the administration has been due to the expectation of a Paraguayan victory. This... would open the road to Paraguayan troops to the oil fields and refinery of the Standard Oil Company of Bolivia... this company has been furnishing... 400,000 gallons of oil a month to the Bolivian forces." (*N. Y. Times*, May 22.)

Meanwhile England marked time. "Stanley Baldwin, Lord President of the Council, today inferentially accused the U. S. of causing the breakdown a year ago of efforts to impose an embargo on arms shipments to Bolivia and Paraguay." (*N. Y. Times*, May 16.) "International action is necessary," said Roosevelt in his message to Congress. War continues to rage in the Chaco.

Congress soon consented to allow Roosevelt, on May 28 (a day before the Geneva conference), to issue a proclamation decreeing an arms embargo against Bolivia and Paraguay "under certain conditions." These conditions exposed the whole purpose of the embargo. Since the President was to decide to which country arms could be shipped, the embargo was clearly a weapon to prevent arms being sent to belligerent nations opposing American imperialist interests. The same day the following appeared in the *N. Y. Times*: "Embargo too late, Chilean declares... both Bolivia and Paraguay are now fully armed... the embargo... comes too late to be of any practical effect." On May 31 "Bolivia rejects ban on arms shipments" (*N. Y. World Telegram*). Yes, Bolivia and Paraguay had spent 20 millions for arms purchased in the United States and England before the War started. During 1933 and the first busy three months of 1934, this country has exported \$661,868 of arms to Bolivia and \$98,729 to Paraguay.

Thus the United States was able to display "her desire for peace" to the rest of the world at the Geneva Disarmament Conference on May 30, by flaunting her own kind of arms embargo in the face of the equally impotent embargo of the League of Nations, now in a deadlocked conference.

Bolivian Aviators, captured by Paraguayans in the Chaco War





BUILDING the LEAGUE



By **IDA DAILES**
Assistant Secretary

One hundred thousand copies of the Call for the *Second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism* are now off the press and partly distributed. Organizations of workers, farmers, professionals, veterans, Negroes, youth, women, pacifists, Socialists, Communists, men and women of every and no party—all organizations, churches and groups in any way interested in the struggle against War and Fascism must be reached with this Call.

City Committees and League supporters are urged to gather names and addresses of branches of all organizations in their community and order Calls for mailing to these organizations. Visiting committees should be set up to attend the meetings of the organizations and urge endorsement and participation in the Congress. Plans should be made for raising funds to send the delegates to Chicago, September 28, 29, and 30.

The cost of the Calls is \$4.00 per thousand; \$2.25 for 500; \$1.00 for 250; and 50c for 100 or less.

Send in a report of your plan for the Congress Campaign. Send in suggestions, tell us your problems; we will be glad to give and receive help in any way possible.

Since the First Congress, the following replacements and additions have been made on the National Executive Committee of the League: Winifred L. Chappell of the Methodist Federation for Social Service; George A. Coe, Chairman of the Committee on Militarism in Education; Professor George S. Counts of Teachers' College, Columbia University; Malcolm Cowley, Editor of the *New Republic*; Dorothy Detzer, Executive Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Margaret Forsyth of Teachers' College, Columbia University; Rabbi Benjamin Goldstein; Langston Hughes, noted Negro writer and poet; Rabbi Edward L. Israel of Har Sinai Congregation, Baltimore; James Lerner of the Youth Section of the American League; E. C. Lindeman of the New York School of Social Work; Rev. R. Lester Mondale, Unitarian minister, Evanston, Ill.; A. Clayton Powell, Jr., Abyssinian Baptist Church, Harlem; Lincoln Steffens, well-known journalist and writer; Maxwell S. Stewart, expert in foreign affairs; Dr. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary; Professor Colston E. Warne of Amherst College.

The Philadelphia Section of the League has been reorganized with Kay Lewis Harris as the new Secretary. Mrs. Harris plans to work not only in Philadelphia, but in surrounding communities as well. The address of the Philadelphia Section is 1627 North 16th Street.

New Sections of the League are being set up in Albany, N. Y.; Bayonne, Paterson and Plainfield, N. J. Omaha, Nebraska, newly organized, has had some successful meetings and a good conference.

A meeting against War in Iowa Center, Wyoming, attended by twenty-five people, unanimously decided to set up a permanent organization for that community. This new organization is conducting a vigorous protest against the suspension of a student of Green

River, Wyo., for publishing an article in the student paper against militarism and R.O.T.C.

The Newark Teachers' Committee Against War and Fascism, only a few weeks old, is conducting excellent propaganda and educational work among teachers. They have arranged a lecture series on "*The Menace of Fascism*" and attendance increased to two hundred at the third lecture.

The campaign to send a representative American delegation to the World Women's Congress Against War and Fascism is well under way. Women's committees have been set up in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Boston, Hartford, Pittsburgh, New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Newark, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, and in Nebraska.

Regional conferences to elect delegates to the Paris Congress are being held:

Chicago, July 7th, Hull House.

Cleveland, June 29th, Central Y. W. C. A.

Grand Island, Nebraska, July 1st.

San Francisco, July 3rd, War Memorial Bldg., Civic Center.

New York City, July 7th, Irving Plaza.

Conferences are also scheduled in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Boston and Detroit between July 1st and 7th.

From reports, we expect 15 delegates to be elected from the various conferences. A mass send-off demonstration for the delegates when they sail from New York, July 21st, is being organized. On their return, the delegates will tour various sections of the country.

The Committee on Trade Union Work for the League has set up a Ways and Means Committee. This Committee is raising funds for work among trade unions. Their first project is the circularization of a questionnaire on War to every local, city and national union they can reach. League supporters and City Committees are urged to send in trade union contacts, or write in for the questionnaire and take it up in their union meetings. After a brief preliminary statement, the following are the questions asked:

1. Would you refuse to fight in or aid another War of nations?
2. Would you take part in a nationwide protest or general strike to prevent War?
3. Would you favor issuing the billion and a half dollars spent this year by the United States Government for the Army and Navy for relief of the unemployed, and thus abolish all War expense? If not, how far would you go?
4. Would you refuse to produce or transport munitions or other War supplies in the event of War?
5. Would you take part in a nationwide protest or general strike against the formation of a Fascist government similar to those in Germany, Austria, or Italy?

YOUTH SPARKS

Twenty-five thousand participated in the National Youth Day demonstration on May 30 in New York. Fifteen thousand paraded through the streets with colorful cartoons, placards, hundreds of banners and numerous bands of music. In other parts of the country National Youth Day received great response. At Haverhill, Mass., the demonstration was smashed by the Vigilantes, led by the Police Chief. At a later gathering it was voted by the demonstrators to initiate a struggle against this Fascist band which was organized during the last shoe strike.

The call for the Youth Congress Against War and Fascism which is to be held in Chicago simultaneously with the U. S. Congress is on its way across the country already. Orders should be sent in immediately.

After the First Congress, we printed 25,000 copies of the Youth Manifesto. These are all sold. We are now publishing a pamphlet to be used in developing the anti-War campaign for August 4, Twentieth Anniversary of the World War. Entitled, *Twenty Years After*, the pamphlet analyzes the situations in 1914 and today as it concerns the young men and women in America. It was written by James Lerner, Chairman of the Youth Section.

We quote a letter from Detroit: "We have recently been successful in changing a Democratic Club into the *Northwestern League Against War and Fascism*. The membership has voted unanimously to affiliate themselves with the Youth Section, *American League Against War and Fascism*."

The National Bureau of the Youth Section has decided to issue charters to all groups, as well as City Committees. All organizations that have already paid their fees will receive these shortly.

Another recent decision was to issue a monthly organizational and news bulletin. The column allotted to the Youth in FIGHT is very insufficient in the face of the growing activities throughout the country. In this bulletin, which will be mimeographed at first, we intend inserting research material of use in articles, speeches, news of the activities of different committees and experiences in building the movement. All clubs and committees are invited to send contributions.

In line with this last decision we would like to appeal for short plays of an anti-War or anti-Fascist character which can be produced with a minimum amount of expense.

The Cornell Anti-War Council, affiliated to the Youth Section, has just issued the first number of its newspaper, *Students Against War*. It is an attractive four page printed paper, dealing with such matters as the role of the Cornell administration during the World War, R.O.T.C., and exposes of munitions industry.

For the first time this body recently carried out a demonstration against the R.O.T.C. Although the newest of all our college committees, it shows very promising vitality and initiative.

—J.L.

ENLIST

- To defeat the War makers and head off Fascism;
- To bring together workers, farmers, students, professionals, regardless of social, religious or political views;
- To organize a network of branches and committees of the American League Against War and Fascism;
- To build an invincible barrier against the greatest dangers that threaten all of us!

Join the

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

112 East 19th Street—Room 605—New York, N. Y.

I wish to register as an "ENLISTED SUPPORTER" with the American League Against War and Fascism.

Name.....

Address.....

Occupation.....Organization (if any).....

(Minimum registration fee for all "Enlisted Supporters" is 25 cents. An emblem pin will be mailed you immediately upon receipt of this pledge.)

I feel it my duty and privilege to increase my registration fee to the sum of \$.....

DOG DAYS AND HITLER

Speaking for ourselves, we have enough will and militant energy even in the dog days to go on, though the thermometer crack with the measure of heat it registers.

In fact, our spirits go kiting up like the mercury itself when we realize the strides we're making—have made; when we think of the material we have for our coming issues of FIGHT; when we see the growing force, influence and effect of FIGHT everywhere. We know we can kick 3 Hitlers into a cocked hat.

BUT—THIS IS a time of seasonal lag in the life of all publications, and ours, remember, is only 50 cents a year for 12 issues, carries no ads, and has to subsist entirely on its subscription list.

A FEW THOUSAND SUBSCRIPTIONS MORE AND OUR FINANCIAL PROBLEMS WILL VANISH!

If you're a friend of the struggle against War and Fascism, you must help us get more subscribers at once!

FIGHT *Against War and Fascism*, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

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