

FIGHT

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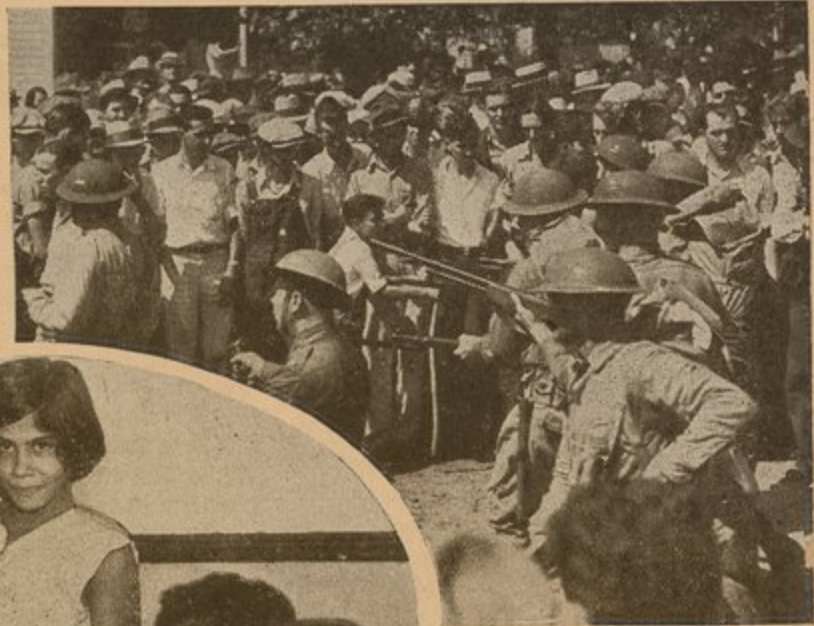
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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

5 YEARS OF HUNGER



Workers in their militant struggle against hunger! (LEFT) Silk machine operators stopping their looms in a mill at Paterson, N. J., on the morning of the general strike. (RIGHT) National



Guardsmen bare their bayonets and draw their revolvers at a meeting of striking textile workers near the Judson Mills, Greenville, S. C. (CENTER) Typical children of textile workers



NOW WE FIGHT!

Five years of cold hell have taught us that.

In October, 1929, a smart stock-broker dived out of a Wall Street skyscraper and his blood and flesh had to be washed off the building as high as the fourth story above the street. To millions of American workers, it seemed that something in Wall Street and Washington had slipped; in thirty, sixty or ninety days it would be fixed up, Hoover said so; the newspapers said so. Being fired, going hungry, standing off the rent were temporary headaches. Even four million workers who had been unemployed before the crash took their "hard luck" lying down. Things will be fixed up pretty soon.

In 1930, prosperity was just around the corner. Millions of workers had sent back their instalment furniture, the radio and were doubling up in overcrowded tenement flats and houses. Those who had jobs were taking wage

cuts week by week. The jobless were starving, in the cities and on the farms, a few hundred thousand had got the idea. They started demanding instead of asking. *Five and a half million unemployed.*

In 1931, the capitalist world cracked wide open. England told Germany the Versailles Peace Treaty should be revised and perhaps it would be all right to unite with Austria. France pulled her loans out of Austria and her money out of London. Austria went broke; England went off the gold standard; German capitalists threw more money to Hitler; France, left high on the gold standard, saw her trade fall. The trade war became a money war. Nations speeded up War preparations. Millionaires belted and squeaked over the radio to "share," to contribute to private relief funds. **More workers, more farmers got the idea. They demanded, they marched, they demonstrated, they stopped sheriff's sales, they stopped evictions. Nine million unemployed.**

In 1932, four unemployed workers were shot and killed when Henry Ford's police tried to disperse several thousand who had gathered at his Dearborn plant to demand work. The Federal Government shot and gassed hungry ex-servicemen. Farmers forced sheriffs, judges, bank cashiers, Governors and legislators to stop foreclosures, not by farms, but by counties and States. Banks flattened out like hen-coops in a high wind; insurance companies clamped down on policy loans, kept going by writing worthless securities into their books at "par value." Police and militia attacked mass demonstrations of unemployed everywhere. BUT, cities, townships, counties, States and the Federal government, forced to give in, began to appropriate money for relief. Backed by the Astors, the Raskobs, the du Ponts, the Rockefellers, Baruch, Roosevelt barnstormed the country, selling the New Deal. American farmers and workers, victims of their schools,

(Continued on next page)



FIGHT

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

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LIFE UNDER FASCISM

The following items of news which have been gathered from various sources have not been given publicity in this country by the regular press. We present them here as being of interest to those who wish to learn the economic and social conditions existing under the Fascist dictatorship of Hitler and Mussolini.

BERLIN.—Drastic wage cuts have just been made by the *Berlin Traffic Company*. The two holidays a month which were formerly granted to the employees have been canceled, thereby increasing the working hours per month from 192 hours to 208. The wages per hour have also been reduced from 97 to 87 pfennigs. At the present scale an employee now earns 161 marks a month, or 24 marks less than he earned previously.

There also have been serious wage cuts in the construction field. Formerly building workers averaged 84 marks weekly, but now they earn from 22 to 51 marks a week. The work is, of course, seasonal, extending usually not more than five months a year.

TARANTO, Italy.—After a series of demonstrations against War in this province, 250 anti-Fascists were arrested and committed to the prison of Bari. Though the larger number of these protesting workers and peasants were released, fifty were held while the others who were freed were placed under close surveillance by the police.

MARANO LAGUNARE, Italy.—The inhabitants of this small fishing village, in a protest against the exorbitant taxes which the Fascist government had imposed upon them, joined in a mass demonstration here recently. On the day when some of the fishermen's houses were being forcibly sold by the state authorities, the women of the village marched through the streets, shouting, "We want bread!" This outburst of spontaneous revolt against Fascist rule is not restricted to this section of Italy.

HAMBURG, Germany.—In view of the desperate economic situation of the populace here the government has forbidden anyone from

moving into the city. This drastic regulation has been adopted because of the rapid increase of unemployment here and the lack of food.

TURIN, Italy.—The inhabitants of a neighboring village, angered by the threats of government officials to seize the cow of a peasant in lieu of taxes, gathered with their tools as weapons and drove off the sheriff and his aides. The Turin police were called and a pitched battle ensued, the 150 peasants being greatly outnumbered by the police. The whole section here is still in a high state of excitement.

BERLIN.—The wages of women factory workers are still falling with an ever increasing rapidity. Though a woman worker before the advent of Hitler received from \$7.92 to \$11.88 a week, she now receives from \$4.75 to \$5.94. Saleswomen in department stores have received a similar decrease in wages, while the dole received by unemployed women has dwindled to the vanishing point.

Meanwhile the cost of living has soared. For two rooms having no water, gas, electricity or other modern conveniences a worker in Berlin is forced to pay \$17 a month. Food has also risen proportionately. Butter, for example, which before Hitler's dictatorship cost in the best shops about forty cents a pound, is now selling for more than sixty.

Standard Statistics Co. report on Remington Arms Co.:

At the last year-end, net working capital of \$5,972,665 exceeded the \$3,845,000 total funded indebtedness by a wide margin. Because of this satisfactory financial position, together with the better earning prospects for the current year and the company's subsidiary relationship to du Pont, debt service is considered secure. . . .

Investment Securities reports:

This company (*Remington*) paid off during 1933 all of its Bank Loans of \$1,250,000, its 3 year notes of \$1,750,000, and bought in and retired \$522,500 of its 1st mortgage bonds. Yet on Dec. 31, 1933, it increased its current assets by \$416,328 over this item for Dec. 31, 1932. This would appear to be a remarkable record. . . .

5 YEARS OF HUNGER

(Continued from page one)

their radio, their press, bet their votes on Roosevelt in a despairing hope. *Sixteen millions unemployed.*

In 1933, Technocracy bloomed and died. It showed the world a vision of plenty and security, but didn't tell how to get it. More banks closed. Rich men bought gold, canned goods and high powered rifles. The unemployed formed organizations, worked out programs of united action, forced payments of relief, marched into City Council and Legislative chambers and delivered their demands to white-faced officials. On March 4th, Roosevelt formally drove the money-changers from the national temple. On March 5th and 6th, he conferred with a committee of bankers. He announced the New Deal. General Johnson, dog-robber for Wall Street millionaires, was put in charge of NRA. Over-hopeful liberals and "practical" radicals hit the trail to Washington and were given jobs in the back rooms. Industry was to be regulated; Labor was to be freed. It was a hot-cha revolution. Labor began to organize; employers began to organize company unions, to form price-fixing monopolies, to set minimum wages and to fire employees who asked for more or joined unions. Strikes broke out. Government mediators overran the country, "settling" strikes by promising arbitration, union elections, failing to deliver, swinging the Government behind the employers, breaking strikes right and left. Corporations profits rose. Meantime, Roosevelt took millions of Public Works money for building up the Army and Navy, further stimulating the international armaments race. As winter came on, he sought to divide and buy off the rebelling millions of poor farmers and workers with the AAA, CCC, and CWA. *Fifteen million unemployed. Eighteen million on relief.*

In 1934, the mask is off. Open Fascism, government terror supporting the employers, the bankers. The automobile strike, the steel strike are staved off by "talking to" the leaders. Clubbings, bullets, tear and vomit gas become standard factory equipment. BUT, in Buffalo, Toledo, Detroit, Flint, Chicago, Minneapolis, Seattle, San Francisco, Providence, Charlotte, and all up and down the Atlantic seaboard the workers fight. The Second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism meets to plan for action. *Fifteen million unemployed; Fourteen million on relief. Donald Richberg estimates twenty million on relief by February.*

This winter? *More Fascist attempts to quell us.*

Next spring? War—

UNLESS

We fight, harder and harder, with more and more courage, more brains, more and more of swarming in for the death of Fascism and War and the beginning of the time when we can live like men. Fascism and War must die, or we die. Say which, and when.



From an etching by Phil Reisman

THE LYNCHING of a SHARECROPPER

THREE STATES

By JOHN HOWARD LAWSON

Author of "Processional," "Loud Speaker," "Success Story," etc., etc.

I OCCASIONALLY meet people who profess to be deeply shocked at the excesses of Hitler's regime—yet who are completely non-plussed at the suggestion that the same brand of Fascism—as deadly and moronic as Hitler at his worst—is rapidly establishing itself in the United States.

To these people, I suggest that they give a little consideration to three of our United States: California, Alabama and Georgia. When I went to Georgia and Alabama recently, I felt that these states were Hitlerized to a degree as yet unknown in other parts of the nation. However, I am now observing California at close quarters. When it comes to abolition of civil rights, wholesale oppression and violent interference with human thought and human culture, I think it's only fair to give California the Royal Palm.

In San Francisco the general strike was put down by a campaign of armed gangsterism which was a disgrace to a supposedly civilized country. This was covered up by the spreading of newspaper filth against Communism, liberalism (and, indirectly, against trade unionism) which made the Goebbels propaganda machine in Germany look like a free press. Hearst led the way in this, chanting about his own particular brand of Americanism: in Hearst's lexicon, Americanism means Big Business, Big Wars, Starvation for Workers, and Death for everyone who disagrees.

Hollywood and Sinclair

Following wholesale arrests of radical sympathizers, District Attorney Neil McAllister,

in Sacramento, announced he would get out an injunction against anyone giving financial or moral aid to radicalism. Thus, not only is an exorbitant bail set for working class prisoners, but the District Attorney sets out to prohibit anyone from supplying the bail which has been set. James Cagney, the tough boy of the screen, accused of giving money to assist the struggle of the working class, was promptly forced to make a ridiculous statement proclaiming his two-hundred percent Americanism. The purpose of the Cagney episode was no doubt to frighten the movie colony. The liberals among them hardly dare now express their political views above a whisper.

Meanwhile a muddle-headed ambitious old boy named Upton Sinclair appeals to the bankrupt lower middle class of California with a demagogic program which corresponds to the program used by the brown-shirts to inveigle the lower middle class of Germany, before the Nazis achieved power. Sinclair, in his feeble efforts to avoid committing himself on the strike-breaking and subsequent terror, has issued statements which are masterpieces of inanity. Thus Sinclair, even before the election, is giving us a comic and badly rehearsed imitation of Roosevelt and La Guardia.

Hitler Likes It

Hitler would approve of California. But he'd be even better pleased with Georgia and Alabama. In the former state, he'd find the death penalty invoked for the crime of holding any

opinions with which ignorant state and county officials happen to disagree. He'd find a neurotic and unbalanced Assistant Solicitor General, John H. Hudson, whose mind is as obviously diseased as the mind of the half-insane Göring. Germany has placed no blacker stain upon modern jurisprudence than the conviction of Angelo Herndon, sentenced to eighteen to twenty years on a Georgia chain-gang for having made a five-minute speech at a peaceful unemployed demonstration, and for having a few books on Communism in his possession.

In Alabama (as in the other states mentioned) the authorities make no pretense of respecting constitutional rights. The ordinary safeguards of civil law are simply eliminated for anyone suspected, directly or indirectly, of sympathy with the working class. This was graphically illustrated in my own case. I was arrested on both my visits to Alabama: the first time I was picked up for *being present* in a court room where six alleged Communists were on trial and for being seen leaving the courtroom with the defense lawyer. There was no charge whatsoever against me, but I was finger-printed, photographed, held for several hours and ordered out of town. I went—but I came back, still naively trusting in my supposed right to move peacefully about the streets in Birmingham. With a Committee of liberals, I called on City Commissioner W. O. Downs, who stated that Negroes were in his opinion an inferior race, that he guessed there was no room for radicals in Birmingham, but that no persons were illegally interfered with. The fact that I was arrested in the corridor as I left the Commissioner's office added a nice touch of irony to our interview. On this occasion the detective who arrested me had great difficulty in cooking up a reasonable charge. On the following morning I was kept waiting for several hours, while the detective admitted that he was trying to discover a charge which would hold water. Finally the frame-up for criminal libel was arranged, and I was released on three hundred dollars bail.

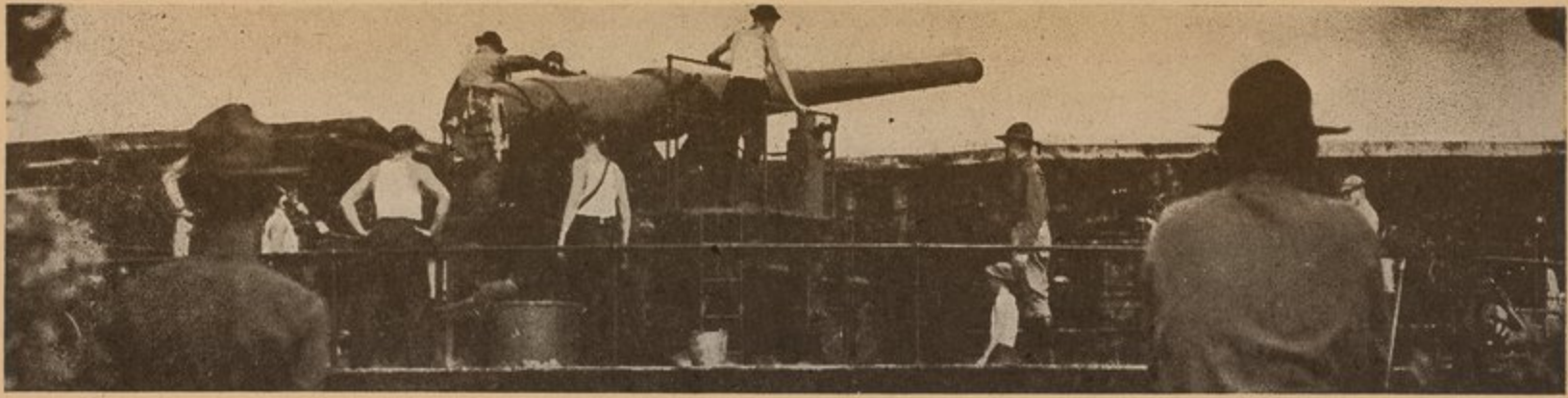
The libel is based on signed newspaper articles wired by me. Thus Alabama takes another significant step toward Nazification, by instituting direct police censorship of the press, setting a precedent for the arrest of correspondents who wire material displeasing to the local authorities.

The United States is learning Fascism with ghastly rapidity. California, Georgia and Alabama have the doubtful honor of leading the way.

We Must Struggle!

Workers and honest intellectuals should realize that their elementary rights are being jeopardized—not only the right to organize and to strike—but the right to think, to speak, to hold opinions, to read books. While we hesitate and wonder and ponder, Fascism is taking away every shred of liberty that remains to us.

We must struggle to protect these rights. In a short while it will be too late; the last remnants of cultural independence and free thought will be wiped out; we shall be reduced to the feudal level of Hitler's Germany—or of Hearst's California!



Boys in Civilian Military Training Camps (C. M. T. C.) learning the "art" of firing the giant artillery at Fort Hancock, N. J.

Militarism in Education

By DR. GEORGE A. COE

Professor of Education (Retired), Teachers College, Columbia University

Dr. Coe is Chairman of the "Committee on Militarism in Education."

THE MILITARISTS in Congress, not being able to impose universal service upon our young men—not able as yet—managed to insert into the *National Defense Act* of 1916 and 1920 provision for the training of civilians in *Reserve Officers Training Corps* and in *Citizens Military Training Camps*. These are entering wedges—not small wedges, either. One hundred twenty-six colleges and universities, and 102 secondary schools have full-fledged R. O. T. C. units. There are enough partly fledged institutions to make a grand total of 339. The number of students who are here preparing to slaughter and be slaughtered is 147,999. The land-grant colleges, which always have given military training, are included in this total. To it should be added the 15,000 young men in the C. M. T. C.'s. A rather impressive number of "trainees" for a country that has no warlike purposes!

Theoretically, the purpose of this training of civilians is to provide officers for the Reserve Army so that we may be "prepared" when the day comes. But the hundred and more high-school squads furnish no such officers, the C. M. T. C.'s practically none, and the colleges only a few. Yet these "training" agencies, particularly the R. O. T. C., are the "apple of the eye" of the Army. Why? Because militarizing the mind of young America is fully as important for War-makers as having officers ready to assume command.

The Cost

It is from this angle only that the history of this national scandal can be fully understood. The wastefulness, inefficiency, and evasiveness of the system have been proved before congressional committees and before the House itself; but the whole force of the military lobby is massed in favor of renewing and increasing the appropriations. During the last session funds were sought for an enormous in-

crease in the number of corps. What the system costs is never made public, for the direct appropriation tells only a fragment of the story. In addition, civilian training employs over 1,600 officers, besides over 2,000 horses and mules. Add to this the material and equipment that are provided out of the regular War Department stocks, and the dandy summer cruises for students in naval units, and the whole makes a tidy sum. In 1925 a computation was made of the cost of the R. O. T. C. alone. The figure was \$10,696,504. What it is now one can only guess. The cost of the Civilian Military Training Camps is more than one million dollars annually.

In 91 colleges and 28 civil secondary schools the training is compulsory for all able-bodied male students. For many years the land-grant colleges assumed that the Morrill Act, which obligated them to provide military training, obligated them also to make this training compulsory. But the Wisconsin legislature in 1923 made the training in the state university elective, and subsequently both the Department of the Interior and the Attorney General rendered opinions that refuted the early assumption. Last June another land-grant institution—the University of Minnesota—abolished compulsory military training. Early in the R. O. T. C. game, however, a claim was made that military drill is good education even regardless of military ends—good physical education, and good character education. But the physical-education experts unitedly said "No"; experts in secondary education denied that drill has any proper place among high-school boys, and educationists again and again shattered the character-education fallacy. Then came an educational bomb. Nearly 350 educators from all over the country—many of them professors of education in colleges and normal schools, or presidents and deans—petitioned Congress to take the federal government entirely out of the business of general education as physical culture and character training. These, under our constitutional system, fall to the states, not to the federal power—so said the

educators, and no one has even attempted to refute them.

Students Resist

As far as argument is concerned, the War Department has been whipped "horse, foot, and dragoons." But in peace, as in War, the final reliance of the Department is upon force, not reason. Its influence has been against open discussion and for compulsion. Even now it is intervening in a case that is to come before the Supreme Court of the United States. For students in many parts of the country have sought exemption from drill, and here and there by refusing to drill they have laid the ground for legal contests. At the State University of Maryland, Ennis Coale and Wayne Lees were suspended. Coale secured a mandamus commanding that he be reinstated. The State Court of Appeals reversed the mandamus, and the Federal Supreme Court refused to take jurisdiction. Then young Reynolds and Hamilton of the University of California at Los Angeles provided another case—this time one of which the Federal Supreme Court has already taken preliminary cognizance with a prospect that it will be argued in October. The War Department intervenes as "a friend of the court." The last local struggle up to date—but not the least, for others are coming, is one in which thirty-one students at the State University of Ohio stood out against drilling. Some of them were exempted, some squared their conscience with drilling, but more than half of them stood their ground.

The Motive

Under the surface of the War Department's policy, but not far under, is an economic motive—that of protecting American wealth and the system that has placed it in private hands. This is a strong statement, but anyone who cares to verify it can do so by referring to Training Manual No. 2000-25, entitled *CITIZENSHIP*, a document prepared under the direction of the War Department for use in the R. O. T. C. and C. M. T. C. and published by the Government Printing Office.

Chicago Packing House

By MARTHA LEVANS

At the recent International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism held in Paris, the writer of this article, a young Chicago packing-house worker, was one of the forty delegates representing the U. S. A.—EDITOR.

WORK in one of the largest packing houses in the country. My work is packing sliced bacon. I have been working for the company for five years, and during these years many changes in methods used and in the type of worker employed have taken place here. But what interests me most is that the new machine, so simple and so perfected, has made it possible for the government when War comes to send every single able-bodied man to the front. The women will be able to do all the work here.

Let me tell you, for example, what has happened in my shop. First the new machines came in. These machines took the place of large numbers of the men, who were dropped from the pay roll. But more than this. The machines also made the work so light that all kinds of women workers could be substituted. So even these few remaining men were discharged and their wives hired in their places at one third of the pay. So the men folk stayed at home, while their wives worked all day trying to support their families on one third the wages they had supported them on before.

Speed Up

The women operators, too, don't seem to work like human beings. They are turned into machines themselves. Meanwhile they are being driven faster and faster for the machines are being sped up constantly. If we slow up a second the boss comes over and bawls us out for loafing on the job. Then the big boss comes around and complains that the packages of bacon aren't spaced correctly. But they'd never take into consideration the terrific pressure we work under.

Cheap Bacon for Soldiers

Most of the time we pack the best grade of bacon, but during the War between Japan and China our department received a rush order for 30,000 pounds of the cheapest grade. To fill this order more than two hundred girls were hired, but only twenty extra men had to be taken in to handle the shipping. So you can see from this example that the bosses can put practically all the men into the trenches to fight their Wars for them.

For several months now various shops are working three shifts a day on government orders, almost all of them being War supplies. This shows what an important part the stock yards will play when War comes. But it also proves what a great power the women workers will have if they organize to fight against War at home.

The report of the *International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism* recently held in Paris described the huge War prepara-

tions being carried on throughout the world. Munition factories in every nation are running day and night, army supplies in vast quantities are being stored in warehouses, the shipyards are working feverishly to build more and bigger battleships. The report read at the recent Congress seemed to awaken many pacifist organizations that did not realize how immense the preparations for War were.

One organization at the Congress asked why we should protest against Fascism. It was then told what Fascism really meant.

That the thugs and machine-guns used by the bosses to fight the workers and break their strikes were just like those used by Hitler or Mussolini. Women delegates from Japan, Germany, Italy where the forces of Fascism are strongest, told of similar acts of terrorism in

their own countries. When members of the organization realized that the beginning of Fascism exists in their own countries, under a different name but in an only slightly different form, they came onto the platform and admitted they had not realized how dangerous Fascism was and they then pledged to work for its destruction.

Young Workers

Now young people who do not remember the World War have taken the place of the older workers and they must be taught of the danger of War and Fascism. The older employees know what War means to the workers, but the younger ones must be taught. For they must march shoulder to shoulder in a united struggle against War and Fascism.



"For the complete emancipation of women." The International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism meeting in Paris—40 delegates came from the U. S. A.

GERMANY AND JAPAN

By CHARLES B. STRAUSS

Situated between the East and the West, Soviet Russia watches both more fearlessly and with greater assurance than ever before, but alertly because she sees dark war clouds on either horizon. Russia feels that, if the Western storm is nearer and apparently more ready to burst, the Eastern clouds are more lowering and charged with greater menace.—Walter Duranty, in the New York Times.

"ECONOMIC SPACE has not expanded in proportion to technical development." Such is the German capitalists' analysis of the situation as their spokesman, Von Papen, expresses it. While factories and fields curtail their production and the necessities of life become increasingly unavailable to the masses, the Hitler-Fascists ascend the platform to explain that there are but three alternatives left in these dark days: *Reduction of living standards, replacement of machinery by hand, and War for expansion.*

It has been amply shown elsewhere how grievously the living standards have actually been reduced. To be sure, the expansion desired by the Nazis and their monopolist backers has not yet arrived, but the point to be made is that expansion would not solve anything permanently if it did come. What country that gained more territory by the World War has escaped the crisis? And yet we find Alfred Rosenberg (Nazi leader) employing Von Papen's parade of alternatives, from which the only acceptable solution has been omitted, to arouse the increasingly bewildered and impoverished multitudes with the thought that "the German people must turn their faces to the East again."

The Enemy on the East

Meanwhile, the Fascist nation at the other door of the Soviets musters the same gross arguments and plans, for it, too, is acted upon

by the same economic factors. National Socialism's intense campaign for capitalist aggrandizement at the expense of the Soviet Union is balanced in the Far East by an equally intense Japanese campaign. Just as one is not surprised to learn from the German press that the Nazis "regard Japan as their future ally in the realization of the great plan" (imperialist War against the Soviet Union), so there is nothing unexpected in Vice-Admiral Mitsusita's speech in Berlin when he declared that "we Japanese are watching developments in Germany with great sympathy and joy because our strivings are very similar to the strivings of the Nazis." For in addition to their openly Fascist character, have not Germany and Japan in common the fact that they both arrived late in the imperialist game as important powers and so missed a few rounds in partitioning?

Thus one can find a real basis of sympathy between these two bedfellows, who incidentally possess no colonies where they compete with each other for markets. In the arena of international diplomacy they collaborate to destroy any chance of avoiding War. While Soviet Russia shows up their withdrawal from the League by making overtures towards it, she goes further in establishing her desire for peace by again and again proposing non-aggression pacts which Germany and Japan consistently reject.

The Mailed Fist in China

United they stand in China, too, where "the Nazi General Seeckt's repeated visits to China in his capacity as military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek are made with the connivance of Japan." The fact that Chiang Kai-shek is engaged in combatting Chinese workers and peasants and has never opposed Japan must be coupled with the news, discussed by Dr. Tyler Dennet in *Current History* that the "Japanese appear to be meeting with the Chinese in a conciliatory spirit. Such reports are interpreted as indicating Japan's desire to disentangle herself towards Russia further north."

This is significant not only as an additional indication of Japan's familiar plans against Soviet Russia, but also because it shows two mutually aggressive capitalist governments being forced together by their common antagonism toward a workers' and farmers' republic, antagonism which Hitler makes peculiarly his own. The Japanese can plan to snatch the last vestige of autonomy from the Chinese capitalist government, but they drop this plan on realizing that the completion of China's sovietization would stand far more strongly in the path of their imperialism. And so it would, for you can at least bargain and connive with another capitalist government, while every workers' republic reverses the entire imperialist field in its sweep towards the goal of peace.

A Natural Alliance

Taking all these factors into account, is it any wonder that Germany and Japan, the two Fascist countries of the world which have the most to gain from the destruction of the workers' lands, today stand side by side in their campaign of aggression?

WHITE-COLLAR MAN

By MURRAY GODWIN

The writer of this article is a contributor to various national publications including the "North American Review," "Saturday Review," "American Mercury," "New Republic," etc. etc.

WHAT DOES the white-collar man—the pharmacist, the chemist, the technician, the journalist or copywriter, the accountant or statistician, the research worker, the artist—think of the idea of getting into O-D, hobnail shoes, and a gas-mask, and setting forth to get poisoned, blown up or fried to a crisp for the good of the old U. S.—Steel Corporation? What he thinks on this



Adolph Hitler!

A German artist gives his conception of how the Nazi leader looks as a Kaiser

point may make a considerable difference in the outcome of the War plans now in process. He formed some of the brawn and quite a share of the brains in many an outfit that toed the line in 1917-18. What will he do next time?

Disillusioned

In the slow months of service in France following the armistice I had the opportunity to note a general feeling of weariness toward military monkey-shines. I happened to be stationed during this period of attrition with a motley crowd of troops detached for clerical service from outfits all over France, and the nature of the work necessarily brought together a white-collar majority.

Not a few of the men in my company made a point of avoiding discussion of the events leading up to November 11, 1918, and some of them I knew well became irritated and embarrassed at mention of the advertised objects of the Wilson crusade for Democracy. When Pershing visited the post most of our outfit kept to barracks. About the only enthusiasm I heard expressed during the last three months came from a Camp Meade replacement infantryman, who wished he had been sent to Archangel to shoot Bolsheviks. So, undoubtedly, did the Polar Bear infantry brigade, members of which had been bombarding the English-language newspapers with howls of protest at having to duck shells in the Arctic, where they saw no reason for fighting.

And Then Came the Crisis

Since the depression started I have trotted around quite a lot in pursuit of subsistence and have come into contact with many white-collar men who had been lulled into a state of complacency during the decade preceding 1929. And while I am aware that the white-collar man, existing as he does in that fuzzy social zone betwixt-and-between downright exploiter and downright exploited, is the flightiest thinker and biggest sucker for catchwords in the world, I am at the same time convinced that the average intensity of enthusiasm for War service among white-collar men in general today, taking 100 as par, is indexed by the figure 12.5.

This goes not only for the veterans who looked on aghast while the pompous frauds at Washington fought to the limit all attempts to get the delayed compensation settled in order to help tide over needy ex-service men during the depression. It goes also for the youngsters who were on the verge of military service when the War ended, and even for that generation which remembers the World War only as days of strange, incomprehensible excitement and grief.

Times Have Changed

It would be an exaggeration for me to say there is active opposition to War among unorganized white-collar men. But those I have talked to of War service—none of them radicals in any sense—have listened laxly and leaden-eyed. Something has gone out of the ideal of gloriously battling and suffering for one's country.

I remember the first-wave boys of 1917-18, full of bile and pepper, raring to go. Then there were the majority, waiting for conscription: plenty of them were cheerful and willing, and they held back for conscription because they had responsibilities they did not feel justified in relinquishing unless necessity demanded, and because they felt, and said, the draft was a fair and square method of filling the ranks.

But today's white-collar men, except, per-

haps, the one in twenty—the inevitable starry-eyed ass—seem to have absorbed, almost unconsciously, a deep decided distrust of War service. They ponder and ask what the hell is in it for them—a most significant query; it was almost unthought-of in 1917-18. Many of them know and mention families who have had to struggle to keep alive in the best of times, because of the loss of bread-earners through the War. Perhaps the logic of their reaction includes a doubt that a nation which attacks the problem of hunger by destroying food is worth fighting for; I don't know. But they are unenthused. Finally, and significantly again, they suggest they would take arms to defend

their homes—to resist foreign invasion. That is as far as they will reluctantly go. Foreign (i. e., imperialist) service is something they have been inoculated against. This is to say that "my country," which once meant the country of Rockefeller and Morgan, has shrunk to a patch of rented earth and a few relatives. The thrill of adventure, which adhered to service in 1917-18, has departed from prospective service in 1934. Heroism is out. What is left is a picture of perilous drudgery and misery, profitless wounds and death. This passive, chill distrust of War service, this disbelief in military sacrifice, can, in a measure, be turned into militant hatred of imperialist War.

stant War production is possible for the following:

All the acid-producing plants: acetic, boric, citric, hydrochloric, hydrofluoric, nitric, phosphoric, sulphuric, tannic.

All the alcohol factories: amyl, methyl, glycerine, methyl acetone, acetate of lime, ammonium, chlorine, bisulphites, hydrogen peroxide, hypochlorites.

The calciums: arsenate, carbide, chloride, phosphate; copper compounds, cyanides, formaldehydes, leads, magnesium, sodas, sulphides and sulphites. . . .

And this list merely scratches the surface. Any chemist will tell you that some of the most lethal "gases" known (chlorine, for example) result from carefully specified treatment of substances either harmless in themselves or harmful under very restricted conditions. In some cases a virulent gas or liquid constituted a minor "stage" in a chemical reaction designed for purely beneficent purposes. That is one reason why chemical warfare can develop with such speed, in such unexpected directions, and with so terrible an effect upon both mind and body. J. E. Zanetti, a Colonel in the Chemical Warfare Reserve of the United States Army, has stated, in his reply to a questionnaire on the abolition of lethal and other gases (1925): "The extreme facility with which these [chemical] factories can be transferred almost overnight into factories for chemical warfare material introduces an element of fear and distrust towards a chemically powerful neighbor that can easily be understood by those familiar with the possibilities of chemical warfare."

As for "protection" against gas raids from the air on civilian populations, we have the recent experience of England, France and the United States to confirm the statement of another American authority, Colonel Fred H. Wagner, of the U. S. Ordnance Reserve, that "in consideration of all the possibilities pre-

(Continued on page thirteen)

CHEMISTRY and WAR

By HAROLD WARD

Contributing Editor, "Living Age"

WHO SAYS War today says Chemistry. Some, including Wickham Steed, the French savant A. Trillat, and the "General X" of the *Berlin Diaries*, will add, Bacteriology. "War as a branch of applied chemistry—that is the situation today, unemotionally stated," quoting Miss Elvira K. Fradkin, whose *Air Menace and the Answer* should be read by all civilians who still naïvely believe that only soldiers and sailors are directly involved in War.

Consider these facts:

During the first quarter of this century the American chemical industry developed from next to zero to a production valued at more than two billion dollars. Today, according to one authority, the output of the three major chemical works of the United States (*du Pont de Nemours, Allied Chemical & Dye, Union Carbon & Carbide*) is double that of the Herman Farbenindustrie colossus, or of Britain's gigantic *Imperial Chemical Industries*.

U. S. in Lead

Despite its huge capacity, the United States imported, in 1933, chemicals to the value of over \$87,000,000, making it the world's largest customer of base materials for whose "peacetime" uses there is an admittedly decreasing need.

On a recent visit to Japan, Sir Harry McGowan, of the *Imperial Chemistry Industries*, "concluded a reasonable reciprocal arrangement" with Japanese producers of synthetic nitrogen, euphemistically known as a "fertilizer." About the same time other representatives of the \$400,000,000 I. C. T. network were attending to expanding activities of subsidiaries in South America (affiliated with the *du Pont's*) in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa (home of the *African Explosives and Industries, Ltd.*, affiliated with the *de Beers* mining interest.)

In Japan, openly as a result of the boom in munitions, the year 1933 witnessed remarkable expansion in chemical production facilities. Increased outputs by the amounts indicated are

thus recorded: *Sumitomo Fertilizer Co.*, 40,000 tons; *Showa Fertilizer*, 80,000 tons; *Ube Nitrogen*, 50,000 tons. A Mitsui affiliate, *Toyo High Pressure Industry Co.*, will be ready by 1935 to produce 152,000 tons annually of so-called "industrial chemicals."

In Manchukuo, that geographic annex of Japanese imperialism, the *Manchuria Chemical Industry Co.* is in process of formation: its first year's production of ammonium sulphate will be of the order of 200,000 tons.

"Innocent" Plants

Those readers who protest against the tendency to exaggerate the military aspects of chemical production, pointing to the obvious peace-time nature of many processes and products, would do well to realize the swift convertibility of even the most "innocent" plants to War uses. Of the thousands of factories scattered throughout the world, many of them working overtime and under close governmental supervision, not to say subsidies, in-

FOR A BUMPER CROP



Drawing by Walter Quirt

THE RETREAT By E

This chapter from the War-diary, "Write That Down, Kisch!" is translated from the German by Margaret Lamont.

AT QUARTER of three in the morning we formed the left wing. Lieutenant Mima shouted to me:

"The Fifteenth will go now!"

We had to run to get word to all the corps commanders that the order had gone out:

"The Fifteenth Division is to retreat from the eleventh sector."

It was easy to give such an order, but difficult to carry it out in the almost impenetrable darkness, in the midst of the terrific din and confusion, for other regiments and companies had mixed with our lines. We had to make sure that none of the comrades was left be-

hind, so I ran from one dugout to another to spread the order and to ask for the corps commanders. I had succeeded in notifying only two when I saw that the retreat was fully under way.

We could hear a cry made of a thousand different voices, a single cry from a thousand throats, ceaselessly wailing, tearing savagely at us. Just as we had anticipated, when we received the order to retreat, the ferry-crossing was a scene of wild chaos. The sound of turmoil grew louder as we approached. The ferry landing could be identified by the milling throngs of human beings on or near it. The uproar and our own fear handicapped us. Slowly, as the crowd sucked us in, we began to see more clearly in the dim moonlight.

Some of the men threw their knapsacks and

guns down on the sand, sat on the ground and hurriedly unlaced their shoes. Most of them were standing shoulder-deep in water with their full equipment, so that they could catch hold of the boat even before it reached the shore. In an effort to attract the attention of the pilots they howled like beasts and waved their arms frantically, fighting the men beside them who made still wilder gestures in the hope of getting attention.

Others attempted to wade right through the river. Their lines advanced in closed formation, the men in water up to their necks. I joined them and pushed my way from the rear. My gun got in my way when I tried to keep my balance with my hands, so I slung it over my shoulder. We were continually stepping on knapsacks and guns. In the middle of the

DEATH FOR

This is the first of a series of sketches on famous munitions makers. The second will appear in the November FIGHT.

SIR BASIL ZAHAROFF, né Zacharias Basileos Zaharoff, whose name pops up whenever munitions are mentioned or War threatens, is not half so mysterious a personage as the papers love to describe him. He is no more a "Man of Mystery" than half a dozen other munitions makers or sellers. The only difference between them is that Sir Basil is far more adept than any of his competitors in the shadowy underworld of international intrigue.

At least that is what one was lead to believe by various fragments of testimony before the big munition boys ganged up and squelched the Senate Munitions Investigation.

For fifty years, Sir Basil has been peddling instruments of death. For fifty years, at the slightest rumbling of War, he has gone scurrying from one nation to another, order book in one hand and bribes in the other. His line of guns, shrapnel, shells, etc., have always been first class, up to the minute in style and guaranteed to blast your enemies to bits. Anyone

could have them for the price, for Sir Basil like all good munition men draws no line between nations. In fact he claims citizenship in four different countries and can talk up his goods fluently in ten languages, including Swedish.

A Good Beginning

Though for some reason he denies his lowly origin and is always eager to cast the glamor of romance about his birth, Sir Basil is pure Greek, having been born in Anatolia in 1849. His career did not begin auspiciously. Having been befriended by a wealthy uncle in Greece who took him into partnership, Sir Basil one day dipped rather heavily into the till and departed the same day for England, presumably for his health. However, under the cabled orders of his uncle, he was arrested there and spent the larger part of a year cooling his heels in Old Bailey. He was finally brought to trial and discharged on a technicality.

Sir Basil has not been burnt again. Soon after his release he entered into partnership with a Swede who had developed a rapid-fire gun that could rub off more men per minute than any gun previously invented. Sir Basil scurried about Europe, order book in hand.

SIR BASIL ZAHAROFF

Imperialist Dealer
In Munitions and
Mass Murder

Drawing by Theodore Sheel



EGON ERWIN KISCH

AUTHOR OF
"PARADISE AMERICA"

river we had to halt for some of our comrades were coming back. They could go no farther; the water was too deep, the current too swift.

All at once the yelling of the masses of men became one single cry:

"The Serbs have already reached the shore!"

On every side the same thing was happening. Drowning men, screaming, gasping, choking, stretching their hands out of the water, tried to pull themselves above the surface to grasp at nothingness. Here and there feet protruded from the water. A few men who could not swim clutched at those who could. These latter tried to shake them off by flailing about with their arms. Soon swimmers and non-swimmers sank below the surface. Whenever anyone near us lost his footing we grasped him and pulled him towards us, for we were still able

to keep in line. I saved two this way. The first ran straight back to the shore. The second swam for a little while, then sank.

We could feel a concerted movement toward the right. Three boats were coming toward us. Carried on by the rush of men I, too, hurried in that direction, though it could hardly be called hurrying for the water was shoulder deep and in many places up to one's mouth. The boat I reached had been held at some distance from the bank and now lay parallel to the shore. While everyone struggled with renewed desperation, trying to swing himself up into the boat, I made my way to the farther side that lay nearer the Austrian shore, and grasped hold of the side of the boat. It was already full to capacity. Men were shouting.

"Push off! No one else aboard!"

I begged a man who had helped me in the water to take my hand, but he, already in the boat, would not come to my aid. My former neighbor in the water, who had me to thank for his life, would help me not at all.

In the meantime, the sides of the boat had been grasped by more than sixty despairing hands.

"We cannot steer with these men hanging on!" cried the pilots. This was the signal for an attack by those who were on board. They pounded the fingers of the men who were clinging to the edge with the butts of their guns, or beat them with their fists until the clutching hands relaxed their hold. Then the arms fell back into the water. Men gurgled, rose to the surface, many of them two or three times, and sank again. . . .

R SALE

By
SLATER BROWN



The company prospered and Sir Basil's fame as a super-salesman of super-armaments spread. Maxim, whose machine-gun was fascinating the generals of Europe with greater visions of mass slaughter, heard of Basil's triumphs. They joined hands at once and opened their shop to sell this new instrument of terror which would "make War so terrible that no nation would dare enter upon one."

Capitalism's Right Hand Man

Under the wizardry of his salesmanship and the insatiable demand of capitalist nations for new weapons to extend their imperialist desires, Sir Basil became one of the richest men in Europe. But it was the World War, the War for which Zaharoff had awaited all his life so impatiently, that made him one of the richest men in the world.

When it began Zaharoff controlled practically all the great munitions works in Europe—Vickers, Beardmore, Whitehead (in France), Le Nickel, and several Russian enterprises. At once these great factories began pouring out munitions, guns, airplanes. The company of Vickers alone during the War did a seven billion dollar turnover. In his role as supplier of munitions to the Allies he became so indis-

pensible that he was consulted before any great allied drive was launched. Nations fell over themselves to do him honor. Clemenceau, himself, referred to him as the "Sixth Power of Europe." And when peace was finally declared, leaving its millions upon millions of mutilated and dead, Sir Basil smilingly retired to his chateau to count up the fortune which capitalism and imperialism had paid him as a tribute. What his fortune is no one knows, but it cost \$10,000 to kill a man during the great War, and Sir Basil was on the big end of the cut.

Decrepit and Powerful

He is an old man now and the hatred, suspicion, distrust on which he battered, gleams in his goatish face, expresses itself in his private life. He lives alone, except for an old valet to whom he gives orders merely by snapping his fingers. Two doctors are in constant attendance upon him, one sitting at his bedside all night long while he sleeps. He is distrustful of strangers, even of his old friends. He fears someone may poison him. The old man, the old merchant in slaughter, is afraid of death, death which made him one of the most powerful men in all Europe.

THE FOREIGN BORN

By DWIGHT C. MORGAN

"Answering your telegram to me in regard to action by the federal immigration authorities, I assure you that the Department of Labor will cooperate with California officials to the full extent authorized by law. "The applicable immigration statutes authorize the department to take into custody and deport, first, any alien who has entered the United States unlawfully; second, any alien who advocates disbelief in or opposition to all organized government or teaches Communism or otherwise falls within the scope of the act of Oct. 16, 1918, as amended by the act of June 5, 1920; and third, any alien who is sentenced to imprisonment for a term of one year or more because of conviction in this country of a crime involving moral turpitude committed within five years after the entry of the alien into the United States, or who is sentenced more than once to such a term of imprisonment because of conviction in this country of any crime involving moral turpitude at any time after entry."—Secretary of Labor Frances E. Perkins, in a wire to Governor Merriam of California as quoted in the New York Times.

A NEW wave of deportation and persecution of foreign born is rising. The solidarity of the workers in the San Francisco strike drove the bankers and industrialists on the Pacific Coast into a frenzy. Every available device was resorted to in the attempt to break the unity of the masses in their struggle for the right to live. Under the pretense of "safeguarding the Constitution," the Bill of Rights was almost completely violated. To maintain what vigilantes call "American institutions," a terror much like that of Hitler's was unleashed.

As part of this terror against the strikers and their sympathizers, Governor Merriam of California sent a wire to Secretary Perkins hysterically demanding the aid of her department in deporting all aliens, "guilty of . . . aiding any unlawful action or riot." The Secretary of Labor immediately responded promising the co-operation of the Immigration Department.

Washington in Action

Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor during the 1919-1920 Palmer raids, stated that the deportation law of 1918, amended in 1920 (now in effect), was dictated by Pacific Coast employers after Secretary of Labor Wilson had refused to deport members of the I. W. W. under the then existing laws. Although this law was made to order against the militant workers of more than a decade ago, it does not quite suit the present needs of the California rulers because it does not mention "Communism."

Frances Perkins tried to remedy this deficiency and in her telegram to Governor Merriam dragged in by the coat-tail the phrase,

"teaches Communism" as though this were listed in the provisions of the law among the activities for which an alien became subject for deportation. She also linked the provisions of the law regarding criminals with those concerning political opinion in such a way as to aid the employers, California officials and the yellow press in raising the cry of "criminal aliens" as being responsible for all strikes and discontent.

Hitler and the Czar

When a member of the delegation which called upon Secretary Perkins on July 27 to protest these actions, brought her attention to the close similarity between these tactics of the Department of Labor and those of Hitler in his campaign against the "Criminal Marxists," she said, "I had no idea you wanted a demonstration here today."

Frances Perkins' telegram appeared in the press on July 19. On July 20, General Johnson in a speech in Los Angeles suggested that if all the "aliens" were deported and their jobs given to citizens, unemployment and destitution in the United States would be reduced by one third. Commanders of the American Legion, fearing that the tactics of Hitler would not be sufficient, sprang into print with a page from Czar Nicholas and demanded that all "agitators," whether native or foreign born,

be deported to the ice fields near Point Barrow, Alaska.

Facts and Figures

In 110 years, 148,000,000 people have come to America, "the land of opportunity." According to the Census of 1930 the foreign born population is now over 14,000,000, and with their families constitute more than one-third of the population. About 8,000,000 are naturalized.

Foreign-born workers predominate in the basic industries, coal, steel, etc. In the last few years the tide of migration has been away from the United States. Last year, while 23,068 immigrants were coming in, 80,081 were going out. Paying no attention to these facts, many Congressmen continue to blame all unemployment in America upon the "horde that is continually coming here from Europe."

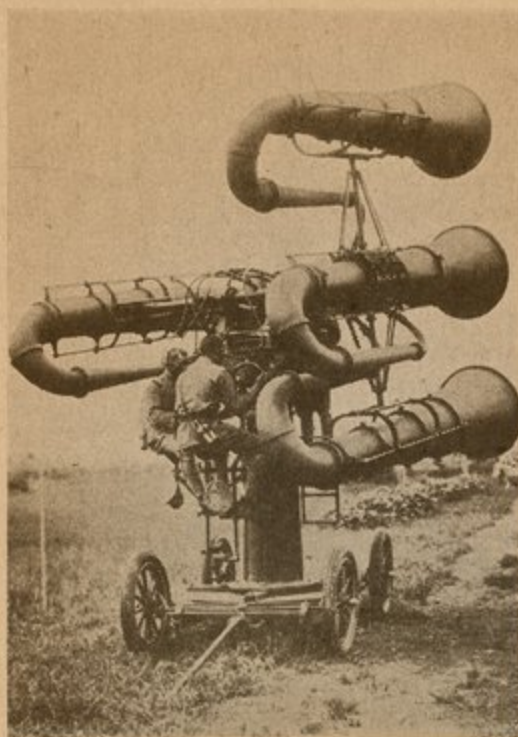
Exclusion acts barring Chinese, Japanese and other races, quota and deportation laws, heralded as "safeguarding American institutions" and the "American standard of living"; in reality have been designed to pit races and nationalities, native and foreign born, against each other as part of the general scheme to Divide and Rule.

The twenty or more workers now held for deportation for strike activity on the Pacific Coast are but one small group in the picture of deportation terror. Thousands of families of foreign born workers are broken up every year. An American Indian who went on strike and a Texas dentist who taught anthropology to a class of Negroes are among those who have been held for deportation.

The campaign to deny all jobs and relief to non-citizens and to pass the *Dies Bill* and measures for finger-printing and registering the foreign born is being intensified.

America—with proud traditions of being the land of liberty and the asylum for the oppressed of every nation—faces the menace of Fascist tyranny. The struggle for full economic, social and political equality for the foreign born is one of the important issues in the fight against Fascism in the United States.

Native and foreign born, Negro and white must unite to defeat deportation and persecution of the foreign born.



Twelve hundred soldiers and naval flyers took part in Japanese aerial maneuvers, costing \$1,500,000. (ABOVE) Quadruple-barreled sound detector machine, most modern now in use, which indicates the presence of airplanes when they are miles away

The song contest initiated by FIGHT has been canceled for lack of suitable material. Although many songs arrived from various sections of the country, the time given to the composers and poets was probably altogether too short. FIGHT appreciates the efforts made by the many musicians in furnishing us with material and, although very anxious to have an anti-War and anti-Fascist song for the Chicago Congress, our judgment dictates this decision. We hope in the near future to initiate a new contest.—EDITOR.



(RIGHT) Mussolini addressing 5,000 Italian officers at Bologna where he told them that "We (Italians) are a militaristic nation." (ABOVE) Making Italian anti-aircraft guns



"The intelligent press does not believe that virtue can be made a factory product turned out by legislatures. It believes that improvement is more likely to come from within, through volition, than from without, through coercion."

A PATRIOT TAKES THE STAND

By **GEORGE R. LEIGHTON**
Assistant Editor, "Harper's Magazine"

During the month of March, 1931, there were laid before a War Policies Commission sitting in Washington the most elaborate plans for the militarization of this country. To be sure, the congressional resolution had specifically stated that its purpose was "to promote peace and equalize the burdens and to minimize the profits of war" and that the Commission was "to study and consider amending the Constitution of the United States to provide that private property may be taken for public use during war and methods of equalizing the burden and to remove the profits of war" should be dealt with. But that was a small matter. It developed that comparing notes on the best way to run a War was the real business afoot and that, far from taking the profits out of War, they were most interested in seeing to it that profits would be guaranteed.

Before this committee more than fifty eminent witnesses appeared, among them that great liberal HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE.

SOME WILL remember Swope best as the man who in other days used to christen Arnold Rothstein's race horses or as the man whom Walter Lippmann referred to as a "fascinating lucky devil." But he has been occupied in many other ways. He got his start as a newspaper reporter, and from 1914 to 1916 was War correspondent with the German armies. From 1916 to '17 he was vice-chairman of the New York Committee for National Defense. In July, 1918, he was appointed an Associate Member and Assistant Chairman of the *United States War Industries Board*. He was chairman of the American Press Delegation and Committee on Publicity at the Paris Peace Conference. From 1921 to 1929 he was

Executive Editor of that great liberal organ, the *New York World*. He is a director of *Radio-Keith-Orpheum* and other corporations. It is interesting to note that he sits on the board of *North American Aviation* along with Howard Coffin whose testimony before the War Policies Commission has already been considered.

"Just as other constitutional provisions are ignored in time of war," declared Swope, "so, too, must there be an abridgment of free speech, free press, free assembly and even free thought. In no other way can a nation save itself."

Mr. Swope must have been kidding when in his Phi Beta Kappa address at the Hobart College Commencement on June 16, he said: "For its evolution civilization needs . . . fewer laws of compulsion and more laws of reason. It needs less of enforced obedience and more of free choice."

A Liberal on Free Speech

"Enlightened and informed public opinion in war is ideal," he went on to tell the War Policies Commission, "but the plan is dangerous. We must have a stencil. If we take the muzzles off the dogs of war, we must put the muzzles on the people and the press. . . . Thinking along independent lines must be stopped . . . free speech and free press become empty words. This is brutal but expedient, for when men are not permitted to give expression to their thoughts usually they stop thinking them . . ."

Mr. Swope is also a Doctor of Humane Letters and at the time the degree was conferred upon him he said:

"The desire for victory must become universal. To win is to carry out the will of God in the popular mind; to win becomes the great national purpose. So in the philosophy of war opposition becomes disobedience to the divine will—sacrilege—as well as unpatriotic . . . assuming a nation to be activated by a nearly universal impulse, sharp measures can be taken against the few opposing the national will—however intellectual, however honest, however courageous they may be . . ."

This statement constitutes a warning not to take Dr. Swope seriously when he tells a graduating class that: "There is a growing tendency in America that threatens its civilization. That is the permeation throughout our social strata, by a sort of Prussian rule of divine right, whereby laws become sacrosanct and even honest criticism of them becomes sinful. The suppression of liberty cannot go much further than that. It is a duty of journalism to be a mouth-piece, regardless of its own beliefs, of honest and intelligent oppositional views in any public matter."

"Censorship and propaganda are the agencies of domination . . . All wars are states of mind. It is rare—it is never—that a nation is instantly galvanized into the vast emotionalism that is needed in war."

It is painful to report a difference of opinion between Dr. Swope and the War Department, but the Industrial Mobilization Plan, the national defense death-warrant, prepared by the War and Navy Departments, contains the following statement: "In this country war is declared only in response to a very definite expression of popular will." If that is true, why is a censorship necessary? What is the reason for the use of a propaganda wimpus on the public?

"The issues," says Patriot Swope, "colored and excitative, must be brought home to each.

Every manner of appeal must be employed."

In the next War, Mr. Swope don't forget the one about cutting the breasts off the enemy's women. That was a honey.

"For home consumption all wars are defensive and all are based upon questions of national honor . . ."

Is that the reason why, in the revision of the Industrial Mobilization Plan, provisions for the coercion of neutrals by the United States was soft pedalled?

"Principles Meant Nothing"

" . . . two things are essential in dealing with public opinion: 1. Negative—Censorship. . . 2. Positive—propaganda; which, however naïve at times, shall proclaim our virtues, sublimate our aims and accentuate our successes and indict the vices of the enemy and minimize his achievements."

You're not supposed to know, when you read this, that Mr. Swope ever said: "Honest ignorance is always harder to meet than deliberate knavery. Ignorance, indeed, is the world's greatest danger."

"The first can be brought about in part by voluntary agreement, but behind this there must be some sort of licensing system established so that offenders may be punished."

It was Liberal Swope, not Patriot Swope, who elsewhere said: "There is something worse than the conscription of the body, and that is the conscription of the will. The one may save a monarchy; the second will destroy a republic. The tendency toward coercion is most noticeable in a nation when it begins to give itself over more to the prevention of evils than to the protection of rights."

And on this triumphant note, Dr. Swope brings his War testimony to a close: "Peace, always beautiful in war, is less beautiful when war is over."

Listen, Herb, were you thinking about yourself when you once wrote this: "As with all bigots, principles meant nothing; prejudices everything."

Will They?

One could go on through the eight-hundred-odd long pages of the Hearings before the War Policies Commission giving endless citations, but the burden of the song would be the same. Coffin and Swope, the big men and the little men, contentedly await the time when the War machinery may again be set in motion. They are serenely certain that millions of farmers, clerks, cow-punchers, book-keepers, riveters, stenographers, iron puddlers, students, line men, school teachers, dress makers, C. C. boys, plumbers and manicures, the jobless and the jobbed—the whole one hundred and nineteen million—will knuckle under and take the gouging that they took before.

But will they?



Drawing by Franklin Sims

HAIRY APE

GUNS AND CASTOR OIL

"Rioting has broken out in some of the Southern strike centers . . . workers have broken their contract, apparently for no reason except to be on strike . . . it all reminds you of the big talk you hear at the beginning of a war . . . it is entirely possible that these strikes and other economic forces at work may break down our democratic system, and that we may flop into Communism or Fascism. . . . Fascism would probably be more pleasant for most of us."—Editorial in N. Y. "Daily News," sister paper of "Chicago Tribune."



"Instructive detail of the reform of the German penal code to conform with National Socialist ideas and doctrines are contained in a pamphlet issued by Franz Guertner, the Minister of Justice. . . . Consideration is invited of the question whether a person condemned to death should not receive an opportunity to carry out the penalty himself by drinking a poison cup."—Wireless to the New York "Times."



"Naturally Berdyaev is on the side of the Angels as against the murderous Jewish nonsense of Marx whose real name was Mordecai. . . . Again he clings to the socialist idea that because of his poverty and insecurity the proletarian is spiritually better than other men; whereas no sensible man can neglect the obvious fact that, to some extent, poverty is due to the irresponsibility, the want of frugality and intelligent industry among the poor."—From the "American Review," intellectual organ of American Fascism.



"NUREMBERG, Germany.—The idea of woman's rights in politics was condemned today by Hitler as a product of decadent Jewish intellectualism. . . . While man makes his supreme sacrifice on the field of battle, woman fights her supreme battle for her nation when she gives life to a child. The conception of so-called woman's equality is a product of decadent Jewish intellectualism."—Associated Press cable.



"To the regular Army is chiefly due the splendid success of the Civilian Conservation Camps. . . . In most of the emergency relief agencies set up by the Roosevelt Administration officers of the regular Army have been drafted for the most important work."—From the Hearst newspapers.



"REICH TO GLORIFY HUNGER AS VIRTUE! Minister of Propaganda Paul Joseph Goebbels tonight geared his vast propaganda machine to the job of steeling Nazi Germany for the approaching Winter's hardships. . . . Dr. Goebbels has sounded similar warnings, but he is expected in the future to attempt to envelop suffering in the aura of romance . . . to spread widely the conviction that hardship, patriotically borne, is more precious than prosperity."—Associated Press.

THE CAMPUS DIVIDES

By JAMES A. WECHSLER

Editor, "Columbia Daily Spectator"

THIS WILL be a year of conflict and decision for the American student. The turbulent currents unleashed on a national scale during the summer months will be vividly reflected on every campus. In these hours, when a deep-seated alignment of forces is taking place, the undergraduate body swiftly divides.

There were portents of this cleavage last spring. On the day of the memorable student strike against War, hundreds of Harvard men pledged their fealty to Adolf Hitler. Several weeks later, the Harvard *Crimson*, student newspaper, strenuously advocated the presentation of an honorary degree to Herr Hafenstaengl, Hitler's emissary to America. On one side—25,000 firmly aligned against imperialist War; on the other—these devotees of Nazism, of the creed of War and economic exploitation.

In California, while hundreds of students were rallying to the courageous strike of the longshoremen, while the *National Student League* was organizing support for the strike struggle, another section of the student body was accepting the bribes of the industrialists. It scabbed; it joined the legions of terror, the "Vigilantes"; it enlisted in the ranks of American Fascism. Shortly after these events, a California student newspaper advocated the formation of "Vigilante" groups on the campus to drive the *National Student League* from the state.

These are two widely separated instances; but they are far from unique. They are indicative of this brewing warfare between those students prepared to smash the reactionary machine erected by bankers and industrialists and those who have aligned themselves with it. This emergence of Fascism as a critical, immediate issue constitutes a serious challenge to the thousands of students who are genuinely perplexed and disturbed by the most modern portrayals of what Americanism really means.

Fascism on the Campus

There will be one outward change in the University scene this year which demands particular, relentless attention. Thus far we have encountered only sporadic appearances of Fascists as organized groups; usually they have been diverse, rallied on the spur of the moment, quick to fade after a momentary outburst. But, from numerous reports I have received, it is safe to predict that they are ready to crystallize into permanent bodies.

And that is the relationship which we must perceive at once—the position of these Boards of Trustees behind the rising Fascist student groups. These Boards are composed in general of bankers and industrialists who have bought their way into the educational system, whose interests dominate what we are taught and what remains hidden. They are the supreme rulers of the University; other administrative officers dance at their commands; expulsions, academic reprisals, terror against militant student leaders are their methods.

These financial overlords of education are

the same men who promote imperialist War, who live by economic exploitation, whose vested interests are directly hostile to the interests of the American student. Faced with the spread of a mass student movement against War and Fascism, with the growing awareness of large sections of the student body, they must now look for alliances within the student ranks.

Primary Task

An understanding of this link is essential if we are to combat and destroy Fascism on the campus. The fight cannot be isolated. It must be part of a nationwide anti-Fascist movement. But in this particular sphere we must recognize that while administrative reaction is directed against us, against those who lead the day-to-day campaigns of students on the economic front, the Fascists will have all the facilities and financing they need. We must remember that Fascists don't have to fight for free speech; it is theirs by grace of Wall Street and the Board of Trustees.

We who are opposed to War, who are determined to stop the spread of Fascism in America, who are conscious that we must fight for our bread and butter in this decadent social structure, must see as our primary task the destruction of these Fascist organizations. Else they will wipe us out. That is no oversimplification. At every university the financial powers are growing restive, planning drives against the advanced sections of the student body. They will not invite us in to talk it over. Our weapons are demonstrations, strikes, education, mass action in every form, the mobilization of every honest, aware element for united action against Fascism.

No Time to Lose

We must capitalize every hour. We must expose the economic bases and the fantastic demagoguery of Fascism. We must win over those who are confused and bewildered and indeci-

sive. We must smash the illusions of academic impartiality, of the ultimate fairness of the administration, of the "non-political nature of culture and education."

The Board of Trustees, with its stake in imperialist War and economic exploitation, has no illusions about the sanctity of learning.

CHEMISTRY

(Continued from page seven)

sented, it seems almost impossible to establish a thoroughly dependable defense against a gas attack from the sky. . . ."

A Way Out

"Almost" impossible: the qualification is significant, though not from the essentially militaristic angle which conditions Colonel Wagner. Chemical, and all other warfare, will become impossible when, and if, all those who make, transport and operate "means of destruction" refuse any longer to do so. There is no power on earth that could resist for so much as one week the relentless force of mass-action directed by, and in the sole interests of, plain human beings who wish to control their destinies to the ends of peace, security and social progress.



"Hermann Goering, Premier of Prussia, declared today that those who voted 'no' in the plebiscite are die-hards and evil intentioned persons and we shall deal them a blow of the iron fist."—N. Y. "Evening Post."

"Even if the Brooklyn robber gang seems to have vanished into thin air with \$427,000 in cash, it is still permissible to question whether it was a "perfect" crime. The raid on the armored car was successful, but was it art?"—New York "Times."



Police opening fire at Cork, Ireland, on 1,000 assembled farmers demonstrating against a tax sale of farm stock. One farmer was killed and 150 injured

THE COPPER MINER

By BINA FLYNN

OUT OF the Southwest comes a new note in the menacing march of War Fascism. Under the amazingly bald title of the *United White Americans*, this maverick of the desert land is making determined efforts to capitalize race prejudice and to crystallize the confusion and desperation of unemployment into Fascism.

The *United White Americans* is a secret order, organized on the 26th day of October, 1933, in the city of Tucson, Arizona. The order claims a membership of three thousand in the state of Arizona. In conjunction with the order there is an auxiliary for United White American ladies. These white Americans have dedicated themselves to the following proposition:

As we believe certain abuses have grown up in the employment of labor in the United States and that a limitless amount of discrimination which affects White Americans has been and is being made with reference to employment; and we believe that such abuses can and will be remedied by this organization through the concerted efforts of its membership by the use of the elective franchise.

Divide and Rule

To qualify for membership one "must be of the white race and have no affiliation with any race of people not eligible to membership in this organization. The following persons shall not be eligible to membership in this order. Filipinos, Mexicans, Chinese and Japanese, and such other persons that from time to time, in the judgment of the majority of the membership may be excluded. . . ."

In the state of Arizona, close to the Mexican border, the full blast of the *United White American* steam falls upon the Mexican worker. While a great many of the Mexican people are naturalized American citizens and practically all of the young people are native born Americans, according to the Fascist standards of this model 1934 Americanism, the Mexican can never be either white or American.

Behind all this, as can generally be discovered behind all prejudice and bigotry, looms an economic situation of long standing.

Arizona is a copper-mining state. While there is some cotton growing and citrus farming in the irrigated sections, copper mining dominates and makes the economic wheels go round. With the advent of the War in Europe, the copper mines of Arizona were running full blast. *Copper was needed for ammunition! Copper was needed for War!* The copper-mining industrialists could not get it out of the hills of Arizona fast enough, or pile mountains of waste called tailings, that hem in the copper towns, high enough, to keep up with demand.

A Strike Against War

In 1917, the world's production of copper had reached its highest peak. The price of American copper during the period 1915 to 1918 averaged 24.0 cents a pound. About this

time a great copper-miners' strike took place in the industry. A manifesto was issued by the strikers of the Southwest which stated "Not a pound of copper for War!" Gunmen and scabs were imported into Arizona by the trainload, particularly from Tom Green County in Texas. The deportation of striking miners out of Bisbee, Arizona, into the desert took place and the body of Frank Little, an I. W. W. organizer, dangled from a railroad trestle in the copper camp of Butte, Montana. It was a battle royal while it lasted. President Wilson sent a mediator into Arizona, the leaders went to jail and the War marched on.

Since the strike a Texan is looked upon with suspicion by the old hard-rock miner of Arizona. Bisbee will never live down the dastardly deportation of her own miners and the mining companies, learning a lesson from the strike, decided to change their labor tactics.

With well laid plans the mining companies set about changing the personnel of their workers from white Americans to Mexican labor. In this they hoped to find relief from labor troubles, so-called high standards and find the opportunity to lower labor costs. So into the mining camps of Arizona the big companies brought labor from Mexico, first placing the Mexican workers on top and then gradually and skillfully placing them underground. Neither the Mexican worker nor the American worker was aware of the deliberate plan of the mining industrialists.

In 1931 the copper mines of Arizona closed. The price of copper dropped to 5½ cents a pound. Poverty and misery has been the lot of the copper miner—Mexican and American alike for almost four years. In Gila County, the mining heart of Arizona, there are 9,000 people on relief rolls. The copper miner now knows that with the discovery and the development by American capital of copper mines in Africa and South America the copper industrialists have again changed their labor tactics. Instead of bringing cheap labor to the copper mines they now plan to move the copper industry to the cheap labor market of

Africa and South America, and while the American Copper Industrialist will cash in on another War through his foreign investments, the copper miner in the United States is starving.

Life Again

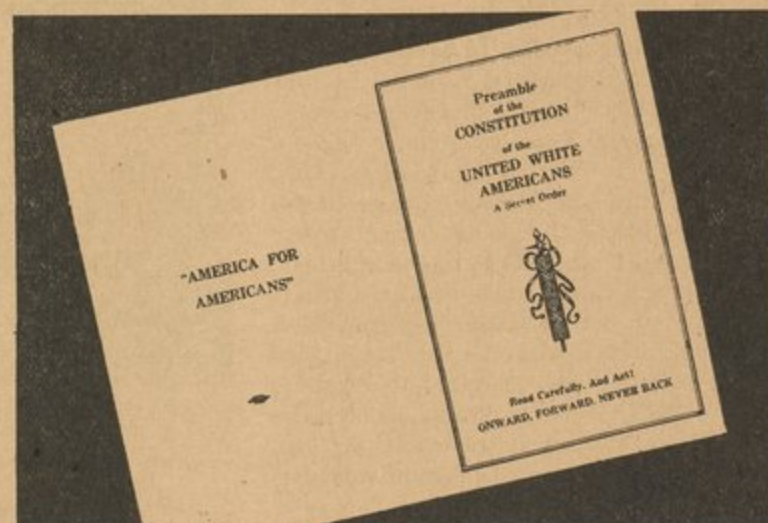
Unionism, dead since 1917, has now come to life again throughout the camps of Arizona. The American copper miner, down and out, loaded with debt and dependent upon the few pennies of Federal relief for his bread and beans, cannot be convinced by the *United White Americans* or any other agency that the Mexican copper miner is his enemy. He has his eye on the maneuvers of the White American Copper Industrialists and for the first time in years the miner is organizing.

EVER SINCE the Versailles Treaty there have been rumors that Germany, refusing to limit her armaments and her standing army to the amount which the Allies forced upon her, has been secretly rearming. Aside from the question how Germany can build up a fighting force undercover is the equally important question of how she can finance it. The following figures show how much the Nazis have been spending for future imperialist War, the income being based on the official budget of the Reich, the budget of the states, railroads, postal administration, and the funds provided by the bankers and industrialists for the support of the *National Socialist Party*. These figures are in marks:

Ministry of War.....	3,400,000
Army	654,600,000
Airplanes and Air Protection	210,200,000
Military Police	190,000,000
Work Camps and Storm Troops	250,000,000
Pensions	80,900,000
Navy	236,200,000
Grand Total.....	1,625,300,000

This is the sum Nazi Germany is now spending for rearmament, a sum which exceeds that spent by the German government in the years just preceding the World War.

Cover of the Handbook of the United White Americans, Fascist organization of Arizona.





BUILDING the LEAGUE



By **IDA DAILES**
Assistant Secretary

THE SECOND U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism provides a real opportunity for strengthening and consolidating the work of the League all over the country. Every City Committee should be alert to these possibilities, take advantage of them and stabilize local organizations.

Every Congress delegate can be made responsible for setting up a permanent anti-War and anti-Fascist committee in the shop, union, or organization represented and see that responsible delegates are sent to the permanent City Central and Neighborhood Committees.

Each delegate should be obligated to popularize the decisions of the Congress and bring new organizations and individuals into the League.

In addition to public meetings, arrange a meeting with your delegation, to be held shortly after your return home, where you work out with them plans for strengthening the League in your locality.

In planning post-Congress work, the question of financial support for the work of the League, both locally and nationally, must not be overlooked. Proposals adopted at the Congress must be brought back and carried out by the local committees.

While the League has done fairly good agitational and educational work in the past year, the big task ahead is to consolidate organizationally to enable us to be effective in a practical way in the struggle against War and Fascism. Every city and locality must distribute and increase the circulation of the League's official publication, FIGHT.

At the time of writing, it is difficult to judge the composition, geographically and occupationally, of the Second Congress. Already it is obvious, however, that more A. F. of L. local unions, more farmers, and more churches will be in Chicago than were represented at last year's Congress. It is also obvious at this time that many states that had no delegations at the last Congress will have delegations at the Second Congress; notably Arkansas (outside of *Commonwealth College*), Louisiana, Colorado, Oregon and Texas.

There is not sufficient space here to report the good work that has been done in many localities to reach hitherto unaffiliated groups

in the campaign for the Chicago Congress. A few examples must suffice.

Minneapolis, Minn., has obtained delegates to its local conference, in preparation for the Congress, of the Central Labor Union and a number of A. F. of L. local unions.

Pittsburgh has reached a number of U. M. W. A. locals in its campaign. Other A. F. of L. unions have sent in credentials for their delegates.

At the Marquette, Mich., conference, delegates were present from church organizations, a temperance society, a cooperative, a teacher's group, CCC groups, and trade unions.

The New Orleans Conference in preparation for the Congress is sponsored not only by leading individuals in the community, but also by the New Orleans Socialist Party and the League for Industrial Democracy, along with the local Communist Party, Marine Workers Union, etc.

In spite of terrible drought conditions and extreme poverty in farm regions, our committee in Iowa has carried on a state-wide campaign for the Congress and expects thirty-five delegates (most of them farmers) from that state. Arkansas, also one of the drought-stricken states, will send fifteen delegates.

Fifteen delegates is the quota set by the Provisional Committee of Iron and Dickinson counties in the heart of the Mesaba Range, seat of one of the basic War-material industries—iron mining.

Mrs. Maggie Pritschau, farm woman delegate to the Paris Women's Congress, has spent her time since her return speaking and organizing throughout the state of Nebraska. Not only has she reached farmers and workers in large numbers, but many middle class people.

The Provisional Committee in Akron, Ohio, is off to a good start, concentrating on organizations and unions in the rubber shops.

The newly organized committee in Tacoma, Wash., has already held a meeting attended by four hundred people and is getting a bundle of one hundred copies of FIGHT a month. The meeting was held successfully in spite of police opposition and interference.

YOUTH SPARKS

THE INTERNATIONAL Youth Committee Against War and Fascism sends us fraternal greetings for our Chicago Congress.

The Canadian League of Youth Against War and Fascism, which was formed at the Youth Congress held in Toronto on August 3, is sending four fraternal delegates to the U. S. Congress. The delegation will be headed by Peter Hunter, Secretary of the Canadian League, and will include a young Socialist from London, Ontario, a representative of an A. F. of L. union in Montreal, and a delegate from a Young Men's Church group.

In Milwaukee, a youth Conference was held, some of the delegates came from the following organizations: Y. M. H. A., Young Circle League of America, A. F. of L. locals, etc.

One of the resolutions passed by the National Council of Methodist Youth is to prepare a general student strike against the Reserve Officers Training Corps.

New Orleans, La., held a United Front Conference to set up a branch of the League and to elect delegates to the Congress. Among those endorsing the United Front and the Congress was Richard Babb Whitten, National Chairman of the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

While this column is being written, James Lerner, National Chairman of the Youth Section of the American League is in Chicago paving the way for the Congress. It is impossible in this short space, at this time (two weeks before the Congress) to report in full, of the remarkable progress made by the Youth throughout the country in sending delegations to Chicago. Suffice to say that even at this stage, a real united front of various type of organizations and individuals is being forged in preparation for the great Chicago gathering.

A Call to the Students and Intellectuals of the world has been sent out by the World Student Committee Against War and Fascism. It is addressed to all students, teachers, musicians, artists, scientists and social workers, urging them to endorse an International Congress of Students and Intellectuals Against War and Fascism. In the choice of a meeting place, the Committee indulged in a bit of irony—they have chosen Geneva, home of the League of Nations. The time set is the end of December.

The International Socialist Student Congress held in Belgium, has voted for an international student strike against War. The delegates from several countries, notably the United States and France, voted to carry on close activity with United Front organizations on the issues of War and Fascism.

50 --- CENTS

"LEFT! RIGHT! LEFT! RIGHT!

WHICH WAY WILL THE MOVING COLUMN GO?

In the pages of X— the editors will report and interpret the events of the exciting months ahead."

There is one difference (among others) between ourselves and a liberal neighbor of ours who publishes the above advertisement.

FIGHT not only reports the events of the month but helps to mould these stirring events.

These are days of action. In Providence, San Francisco, Detroit, Charlotte, Chicago, Berlin, Tokio, Shanghai, Paris, Moscow, Vienna, London, the lines are forming.

We are not on the fence. (A dangerous place to be these days.) FIGHT reports accurately the events of the day but reports them with a punch. The editors and writers are not afraid to call a spade a spade.

We are now facing a winter of hunger and struggle. Who can afford to stay on the fence? To sit still is suicide. To be active is life itself.

FIGHT is your magazine in the struggle for a better world, for a world without hunger and fear, exploitation and War, nightmares and Fascism.

By reading FIGHT regularly you are kept informed on what is going on in the world. The writers in FIGHT are authorities in their respective fields.

By spreading FIGHT you are helping in the struggle for a better world, for a world without imperialist War and Fascism.

By subscribing to FIGHT (only 50 cents a year) you are assured of receiving the magazine regularly, you save some money and you help us.

Do not delay. Subscribe today.

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