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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



GOVERNMENT BY REVOLVER, GAS AND CLUB

Plans For Legal Terror Against Labor—Pages 2 and 4

War Is—Business

By HARRY F. WARD

National Chairman, American League Against War and Fascism

THE SENATE COMMITTEE investigating the munitions industry has thrown quite a lot of light upon the tie-up between the War and Navy Departments on the one hand and private, profit-taking business on the other. The policy of the War Department, officially stated in 1928, is "to encourage the manufacture of munitions in the United States by commercial manufacturers." In pursuit of that policy the Secretaries of War and of the Navy opposed the embargo resolution before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in 1928 because, to keep them in practice for a "national emergency," the munitions manufacturers must be allowed to sell freely. For the same reason government contracts for War materials are generally "split" with private firms even though government arsenals and shipyards are able to do the work.

The official aid to private business goes much further. In '28 the War Department supplied the *Driggs* company with Army designs for anti-aircraft guns on which \$2,000,000 of public money had been spent, and hoped it would be successful in obtaining an order for a considerable number "of the latest U. S. Army design." It is the practice for government arsenals to be used for testing grounds by private manufacturers of arms, who pay the expense involved. Reports are made by government officials, some of them secret. The record shows that the arms makers have been able to get hold of these reports and use them as a part of their sales promotion in other countries. For this purpose they also use the news reels and press reprints of the pictures which correspondents are allowed to make of these tests. When foreign arms purchasing com-

missions come to this country, the War and Navy Departments further oblige the private manufacturer by having army and navy officers demonstrate their wares for them to the foreign observers, on government proving grounds.

Federal Munitions Salesmen

This general practice has reached the point where the War Department frankly recognizes itself as the sales agent for private business. In '27 Assistant Secretary of War Robbins wrote to the Mr. Driggs who got the army designs for nothing, that an article published by Major G. M. Barnes in *Army Ordnance* "should serve as very good sales literature in convincing foreign governments of the efficiency of U. S. Army anti-aircraft material." Naval and military missions to smaller countries have been used as commercial agents to get orders for home industry. Thus Peru and Colombia were trained and armed to fight each other with American methods and materials by our naval missions, with an American naval officer receiving commissions on some of the sales. Army and navy pilots have been lent to airplane manufacturers to demonstrate for them before prospective foreign purchasers. The president of *Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation* testified that they certainly had been helpful in making sales. He further said that in most cases with which he was familiar they were in active service or on leave "approved by the Secretary of War and Chief of the Air Corps." The climax of this part of the record reveals the sending of the flagship *Raleigh* to Constantinople so that Turkish officers could board her and see the *Driggs* gun, because the sales agent found European competition so stiff that Turkey would not order until the gun had been displayed.

These various ways of using our armed forces as attachments to the sales departments of private business corporations are only a part of the interpenetration of the army and big business. There is an increasingly interlocking personnel. The DuPonts have been not incorrectly described as a "semi-official" part of the government. This interpenetration of business and the armed forces is a natural and inevitable process. It was accelerated by the fact that our entry into the World War threw thousands of business men into uniforms. Their influence, as well as the necessities of modern mass warfare, revolutionized the ways of our small, professional army which was made and trained on the aristocratic, Prussian type—model of 1800. This was a hangover from feudalism when War was the major sport of the aristocracy. Modern mass killing by high explosives and gases is not a knightly game but an organized business. The soldier is no

longer the social superior of the business man. He is either his subordinate or his Siamese twin. And in the latter case it is the business part of the combination that gives the orders. Was it not Pershing, in the expansive after-dinner mood, who informed his hosts: "You business men start the wars. We soldiers only finish them." Has not Smedley Butler recently told us that for fifteen years, as head of the marines, he served as debt collector for American finance? The next step in the process is that the army and navy are turned into drummers for private firms, carrying a suitcase full of sample instruments of death. The story of Manchukuo shows that even the Samurai become salesmen in the decadent period of the business era. Translated into current speech, Sherman's epigram that "war is hell" means "war is business."

The Link

Here is one of the vital connections between War and Fascism. In the declining period of capitalism national defense is not a smokescreen phrase for imperialist advance. It is the last defense of the profit system and the interests of the profit takers. Where a business man's army has developed, with similar minded and controlled auxiliaries in the reserves, the national guard and the American Legion, what need is there of subsidizing Fascist storm troops? It is frankly admitted by their planners that the unprecedented War preparations of this administration are as much for internal as for external purposes. In the past—Ludlow for example—the coming of the federal troops has sometimes been "welcomed" by strikers, as one degree better than the business officered state troops. But today . . . Remember what was done to the Bonus Army in Washington. The mechanizing and chemical isolation of Warfare under the system of private profit has brought about a practical partnership between industrial control and army control.

Because the use of the state by big business for the purpose of protecting the profit system and the interests of the investing class which is the essence of Fascism is so well developed here in the alliance between the army and the munitions industry (including steel and chemicals), it was perfectly natural for Raskob, former Chairman of the Democratic Party, when he was planning the *Liberty League* to write to R. M. M. Carpenter, retired DuPont vice-president, that not even the Mellons or the Morgans had more power than the DuPonts, and that he was the logical man "to definitely organize to protect society from the suffering which it is bound to endure if we allow the Communist element to lead society to believe. . . ."

Big Business in Action

The full import of the tie-up that has been effected between the army and big business will be realized only when War is declared, or that other "national emergency" for which the mobilization plans have also been made.

(Continued on page thirteen)



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PEACE WITH TEAR GAS

By H. C. ENGELBRECHT

Author of "One Hell of a Business,"
Co-Author of "Merchants of Death"

THE SENATE Munitions Committee has revealed an Army leadership which is frankly Fascist in character. In "the next war" these Army authorities would virtually abolish the rights of the workingman, "because you can't have two bosses in war," while they would gladly countenance "reasonable profits" by the War industries.

This is nothing new. Every student of labor history knows that the War Department placed armories in the great industrial centers after the great struggles of 1877 and that military men have published instructions and pamphlets on "the strategy of street fighting" and on "riots in cities and their suppression."

A New Weapon Against Workers

It remained for the allies of the Army and Navy, the munitions makers, to introduce new elements into the conflict between Capital and Labor. This they did by the invention and widespread sale of tear and vomiting gases. There was some debate at the Senate hearings as to whether these gases may properly be listed as munitions. It was pointed out on the one hand that these gases originated in War and that the guiding spirits of the gas companies never tired in their advertising to emphasize their connections with the military departments of the U. S. Government. This promotion material presents these manufacturers in military uniforms, reproduces in photostat the endorsement of military men, etc. But whatever the value of these gases in international War, there can be no doubt as to their effectiveness in industrial War.

The salesmen of these gases tend to emphasize the "humanitarian character" of their wares. In Machado's Cuba some 3,000 people were shot down by rifles and machine guns, while the introduction of tear and irritating gases caused virtually no casualties at all. An American author brought these gases to India again purely out of "humanitarian" concern for the Indian people. A missionary sold them in Ecuador and his superiors refused to accept his resignation because he had been animated by "humanitarian motives."



Woodcut by Lynd Ward

ON WINGS OF GLORY

Yet there is no doubt as to the effectiveness of these gases. Said the president of these companies: "When that (tear gas) hits you, no matter what you are doing you will want to do something else." The Washington correspondents reported at the time of the Bonus March under Hoover that the valiant charge of the soldiers with tear gas against the unarmed bonus army caused the death of two babies, but this was denied by the manufacturers. The last years of labor conflict demonstrates clearly the effectiveness of this new weapon. It does the job of dispersing pickets and strikers with magnificent impartiality.

Neutrality?

Curiously enough, the gas manufacturers depart from the widely-touted impartiality of the munitions makers by selling only on the side of "law and order." In international sale of munitions they sell to both sides even in times of War, because they "want to preserve their neutrality," but in industrial War they sell only to the "proper authorities." These authorities include the police, banks, armored car companies, "large industrial corporations and leading law enforcement agencies." That means that these companies will sell to the great industrialists and to strike-breakers as well as to the police. In no strike, as yet, have the strikers been equipped with these gases.

The extent of sales made by these industrialists in times of strikes may be seen from the following figures supplied by one of them. In the Toledo strike this company's sales amounted to \$8,000; in the San Francisco general strike, \$30,000; in Youngstown, \$25,000; in Pittsburgh, \$75,000. This same company has about sixty agents in all parts of the country on the look-out for trouble—and business. Sometimes these salesmen encounter anti-gas legislation. In that case they are informed by headquarters that such legislation was "usually sponsored by radical leaders who wish to prohibit the use of tear gas against communistic or labor demonstrations."

Dental Work on Ten Commandments

Tear and irritating gases have made the suppression of picketing and labor demonstrations a bit easier. The old method of machine gun slaughter causes too much resentment and publicity, the new way avoids all this and is just as effective. That the manufacturers of these gases understand this and are glad to bolster the cause of the lords of industry, may be seen from a catalogue item describing a shoulder gas gun. It reads: "If this gun does not render society invulnerable, it renders it less vulnerable, and if, like the auto, it can be employed by the bad against the good, it is a great persuader and helps to put more teeth into the Ten Commandments." *Sapienti sat!*



Drawing by Hugo Gellert

A WALL OF IRON!

HAVE YOU ever been hungry? Have you ever been on strike? Have you ever been in search of a job, week in and week out? Have you ever lost a son, husband, brother or sweetheart in War? Have you, after years of hard work, lost your home or farm? If you have, then you may have some inkling of the talk now going on in Wall Street, in pent houses, in Big Business offices. And it is more than talk. It is a specific and definite plan of action.

WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT?

For more than five years the machine known as Big Business has been breaking down. Millions of men and women are unemployed and hungry. Millions of farmers have been and are being evicted from their farms or are wondering how much longer they can hold on. Millions of small business men and professionals are wondering how much longer **THEY** can hold on. These dissatisfied millions are a real danger to the bankers and big business men who own all the wealth of the country. The ruling class are wondering how much longer the common people are going to stand for hunger, unemployment and insecurity. They, the ruling class, see the signs of the time.

The bankers and industrialists have therefore formulated a plan of action.

And this is their plan.

Under the pretense of a "red" scare or stopping "un-American activities" they intend to enact laws to stop the common people from doing anything about the miserable condition they are in. They, the bankers and big business men, will propose federal legislation at this session of Congress so we, the workers, farmers, common people will "take it lying down."

They propose to pass a sedition law so they can jail us if we belong to any organization which advocates a government of and by the common people.

They propose to exclude from the mails any newspaper, maga-

zine or book which they don't like. The American Civil Liberties Union's recent report states that "a vigorous movement is now being conducted by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, patriotic societies and the Hearst press to enact legislation aimed at freedom of speech and press."

They propose to enact laws to stop us workers and farmers from asking a national guardsman or soldier not to shoot our fathers and brothers when they are out on strike. (This under pretense of national defense.)

They propose to deport our foreign-born workers who fight side by side with American-born workers for a decent standard of living. (They never deport foreign-born scabs—they only deport foreign-born "agitators.")

They propose to stop us from fighting against War.

They propose to add a snooping department to the Federal government so they will be able to go into our unions and homes, stool-pigeon and search without warrant.

What are we going to do about it?

We must unite and fight this legislation. We must unite on one program with but a single plank:

FREE PRESS, FREE SPEECH, FREE ASSEMBLY, THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE FOR THE WORKERS, FARMERS AND THE COMMON PEOPLE WHO ARE STRUGGLING FOR THEIR RIGHTS.

We workers, farmers, housewives, middle-class people must form an impregnable line in defense of our rights. Whoever stands against these rights is an enemy of the people.

We must organize mass protest meetings. We must tell our Congressmen and Senators what we think of it. We must go to our unions, granges, locals, churches, clubs, chapters and organize and demand of Washington that this legislation shall not pass.

We workers, housewives, professionals, farmers must in this critical moment form a wall of iron around our hard earned rights and fight for these rights.

THE "MARCH OF THE 47"

By JOSEPHINE FENWICK

THE "March of the Forty-Seven" took place in the heroic uprising of the Austrian working-class against advancing Fascism in those bitter days of February, 1934—days that evoked the tears and cheers of the whole world. The *Schutzbund*, the workers' defense organization, had taken the railroad station at Floridsdorf, a working-class quarter on the outskirts of Vienna. One detachment prepared to meet attack at a bridgehead near the station. Another held itself ready to withstand a siege of the station itself. The story of their fight and the orderly retreat of the *Forty-Seven* to the Czechish frontier is told in detail by Heinz Roscher, commandant of the Floridsdorf region, in the recent pamphlet, *After the Defeat, Before the Victory*.

The counter attack of the Fascist forces began early in the morning with the bursting of a shell right in the middle of the waiting room. For a few moments the defenders were routed. Pieces of stone, fragments of the walls, beams, were hurled into the air. An enormous hole yawned in the ceiling. Karl Stern, commander of the station, called out, "Anybody hurt?" "No one!" the men yelled back, and they again took possession of the waiting room, of which one wall had been completely demolished and from which a big stove three meters high had been blown onto the platform. They repulsed attack after attack. Finally, when an armored car which had come on the scene, withdrew the attacks ceased, with nothing but the cellar of the station left whole. In this cellar cowered seventy Fascist prisoners, who trembled for their lives. Later in the evening the *Schutzbund* freed them, unharmed.

All night long rockets burst at ten to fifteen minute intervals. Nobody slept. A grenade fell on a kiosk and boxes of cigarettes and cigars rolled out. The brave workers of the *Schutzbund*, without food, without sleep, could, at least, have tobacco. They strutted about with cigars in their mouths. To many of them, long unemployed, the



Anti-Fascists lined up against a courtyard wall of the Vienna police headquarters as they are questioned, searched and jailed

taste of tobacco was almost forgotten. They were as happy as children.

Holding the Fort

But at eight o'clock in the morning a general attack developed with armored cars and artillery. At last the order was given to evacuate the station. Stern, himself, with a few faithful comrades covered the retreat.

They retired to Jedlersdorf, just north of the station. To them came a certain labor functionary to urge them to surrender to the Fascists, "who would certainly let them go free—for they admired their courage." But the boldest section of the *Schutzbund* decided to try the march for freedom to the Czechish frontier. That their decision not to trust either their enemies or their misleaders was wise, was abundantly demonstrated by subsequent events. They were sixty-five when



Dead workers on the streets of Vienna

they set out; forty-seven when they arrived at the frontier fifteen hours later. The march of these men, exhausted by two days and nights of fighting, weighed down with guns, tormented by hunger and thirst, hunted and shot at by armored trains and cars, is an epic in the struggles of the Austrian working-class.

Near Sussenbrunn they met a bread truck. The driver was on his return trip and he had only six loaves of bread left. But even these loaves cost money—if the driver was not to suffer for it—and money was just what they didn't have. Pockets were emptied of their last miserable coins and the loaves were divided. The march continued along the embankment of a railroad. An armored train followed them "like a serpent," bombarded them, but in vain. Farther on, nine companies of the *Heimwehr* sought to bar their way; but when the *Schutzbund* brought up their three machine guns, the *Heimwehr* heroes took to their heels. Another supposedly armored train turned out to be only a passenger train, with the faces of the passengers lining the windows in fright. Word had gone out that a heavily armed detach-



One year ago the Austrian workers died fighting against the dictatorship directed and financed by the Austrian ruling class and Mussolini. (ABOVE) Heimwehr (Home Guards) run to the aid of their chief, Starhemberg. More photos below

ment of the *Schutzbund* was crossing the country and destroying everything in sight. A cordon of police in armored cars was drawn around them, but melted away, probably to seek reinforcements. A skirmish took place in a wood; but the enemy retired before the fire from the rapidly diminishing ammunition of the *Bund*. The men suffered much from thirst. At last they came to some springs; but no sooner had they pushed back their helmets to drink than a police car dashed up. Although a Fascist bullet hit the lock of one of the rifles, no one was hurt.

Courage, Courage!

But hunger, thirst, exhaustion, were breaking the spirit of many. Snow mixed with mud was not enough to assuage thirst. They had no compass, no guide, and night was falling. For the first and last time on the march, they made for a farmhouse, where they drank their fill of water. Then, shoulders aching, heads throbbing, they set out again. When they approached a village where there might be some of the *Heimwehr*, they charged a peasant woman to spread the news that they would demolish the village if any action were undertaken against them. The appearance of the men, unshaven, unwashed, covered with dust and sweat, seemed to bear out this threat. They were unmo-
lested.

Once, in crossing a railroad embankment, a comrade who was carrying a machine gun tripped and fell. A part of the mechanism was lost and could not be recovered in the thick, overcast winter night. The gun was abandoned.

The fear grew ever stronger that they might have lost their way, might even be wandering in a circle. Suddenly they found themselves at the edge of an irrigation canal, completely frozen over, and with steep icy banks. They had to cut a path and attempt the descent. There was a strangled cry. One of the advance guard made a misstep and fell into the canal up to his waist. The force of the fall cracked the ice the whole width of the canal, and the men, car-

rying their guns, had to wade through the icy water. They lost a good bit of their ammunition, and, for some time after, their pants were frozen stiff.

Soon, They Will March Back

And now the march continued in a heavy apathy. The men had not slept in almost seventy hours and had scarcely eaten or drunk. They had marched practically forty-seven miles for fifteen hours at a stretch, bearing hundreds of pounds on their sagging shoulders. An auto lighted up the ground with its headlights. The men dropped to the ground. The car passed. The men lay down to rest. When the young commander, Zarteli, gave the order to go forward, one man threatened to kill him and the others refused

to get up. It was only with the greatest difficulty that fifteen of them got under way. It took them forty minutes to make the mile that brought them, at last, to the frozen river which was the Czechish frontier. Then they retraced their steps to their comrades. By means of threats and, even, of actual violence, they got them onto their feet. On the fifteenth of February, at twelve-thirty, midnight, forty-seven men reached the frontier. Eighteen of the original sixty-five had been behind in the shadows, worn out by the rigors of the march. Some, perhaps, had committed suicide. Meanwhile, in Vienna, in the Goethe Quarter, the struggle had continued. The heroic fight, all unknown to the combatants, helped to cover the march of the forty-seven to freedom, and to a future victory.

stract principles are enjoying something very like a contact with actual experience. He begins to look about him as he walks the streets. He takes his generalities out of the closet and begins to use them.

Abnormal and Unreal

To counteract this literature there has not come into existence any body of creative literature (as opposed to critical articles and essays) that can be called directly Fascist. But this is not surprising. Fascism faces towards the past, under conditions which many of us believe make its revival impossible. Neither Germany nor Italy has been able to promote any literature presenting the contemporary Fascist society without making it utterly preposterous. As a rule, and when it has any esthetic quality whatever, literature under Fascism is a distraction. It delves into the exceptional, the abnormal, or it flies on the familiar wings of romance away from the reality of the present world. Of such literature the United States, as John Strachey has pointed out, is already getting its share. The poems of Archibald MacLeish, though they reject the present scene as disgusting and unpoetic, are willing to go back to the days of rugged Warfare in the settlement of the west and still further to the glories of conquest under Cortez. The novels of Thornton Wilder isolate certain aristocratic and chivalric manners from the same distant past or the more remote decadence of ancient Rome. What Mr. Strachey did not say, probably felt that he need not say, was that we have always had this sort of literature. There is a wholesome encouraging tendency in the fact that so many of our generation see thru and reject this nostalgia for a past which many of us are convinced was much less rosy in the reality, and which, in any case, cannot be brought back unless we wish violently and cruelly to destroy the whole structure of industrialism. Our fathers, when they were pacifists, did not see so clearly. If we now recognize that our most popular magazines abound in stories that are thinly disguised advertisements to join the army or the navy, it is not that they have changed. It is we. The growing number of persons who are not merely sentimental pacifists, but see the implications of War and Fascism wherever they occur, whether in life or in art: here is the bulwark against the violence of these enemies of civilization that can be depended on.

"WHITHER?" BOOKS

By EDWIN BERRY BURGUM

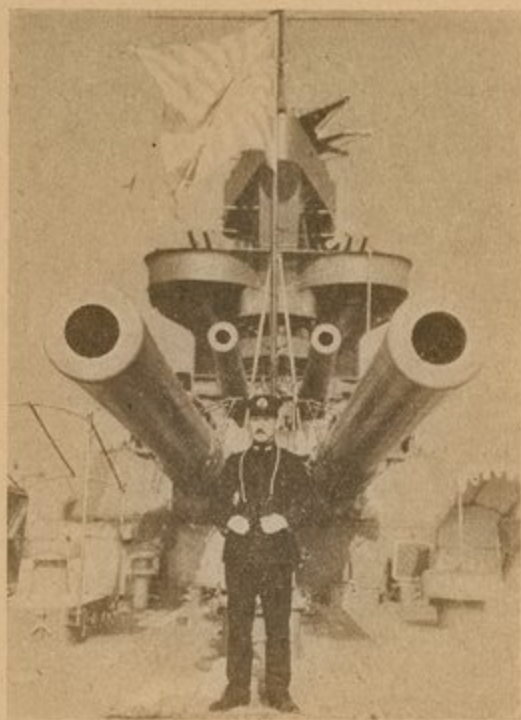
Associate Professor of English, New York University

DURING and after the World War, the United States produced little or no literature that was against War. We had no parallels to Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* or Barbusse's *Under Fire*. On the contrary, our soldier authors turned out either sensational narratives like Empey's *Over the Top* or sentimental diaries extolling War's superficial picturesqueness. I have often wished that the caustic hostility to oppression masquing a love of personal freedom which made Cummings' *Enormous Room* such good and profitable reading had been applied not to prison life but to that other and more horrible prison of the front line trenches. Instead, the nearest that we got was Dos Passos' *Three Soldiers*, a novel that was excellent for its revelation of the human values in the common soldier and for its warm atmosphere of comradeship in the rank and file. But this novel was not, after all, specifically directed against War itself.

Exposing Fascist Methods

The years since have seen the growth of a considerable amount of literature which, if it is not against War, is at least against Fascism. Indeed, one can say that, whatever its political bias, almost every working class novel one reads is either directly or indirectly against Fascism. At the same time that these novels lay bare the misery and poverty of the laboring class, they do not fail to show the Fascist methods which are more and more often being employed when the workers' constitutional right to strike and to picket is near to achieving its goal. Novels like Lumpkin's *To Make My Bread* and Rollin's *The Shadow Before*, and even Herbst's *The Executioner Waits* and Waldo Frank's *The Death and Birth of David Markand*, though they do not predict Fascism, disclose very clearly the tendency of industrialism to resort to Fascist tactics when left to itself, when not restrained by

those forces in the United States that still read the Declaration of Independence and believe that the ordinary citizen is guaranteed certain rights under the Constitution. Such novels must be of immense aid to these forces, for they bring vividly home to any reader the humanitarian feelings and democratic principles the reality of the situation. If he has not himself experienced the brutality of the police in a strike of the callous recklessness of the national guard, but has only depended upon the misleading reports of violence in the newspapers, he will find himself protected against taking the news at its face value and he will discover that his ab-



The new Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Navy, Sankichi Takahashi, who is making full imperialist preparations for the coming, so-called "emergency period" of 1935-6

The *National Youth Congress* held in Washington the first part of January called to outline a program of action for American Youth decided to sponsor the students' strike against War, April 5, in all colleges and universities, to have monster parades and demonstrations in every city on May 30th, protesting increasing War preparedness and Fascist activity. A campaign designed to bring pressure on the Senators and Congressmen to pass the *Workers Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill* (HR 2827) by holding hearings on conditions of youth in industry and agriculture was adopted. The *Second American Youth Congress* will be held in Detroit in the latter part of June. Address all inquiries to the *American Youth Congress*, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

Why War Was Declared

A Cablegram Sent by Walter Hines Page, U. S. Ambassador In Great Britain, To President Woodrow Wilson, On The Eve of America's Entry Into the World War. This Revealing Cable Is Published Here In Full.



THE REAL REASON

March 5, 1917.

TO THE PRESIDENT

"THE INQUIRIES which I have made here about financial conditions disclose an international situation which is most alarming to the financial and industrial outlook of the United States. England has not only to pay her own war bills, but is obliged to finance her Allies as well. Up to the present time she has done these tasks out of her own capital. But she cannot continue her present extensive purchases in the United States without shipping gold as payment for them, and there are two reasons why she cannot make large shipments of gold. In the first place, both England and France must keep the larger part of the gold they have to maintain issues of their paper at par; and in the second place, the German U-boat has made the shipping of gold a dangerous procedure even if they had it to ship. There is therefore a pressing danger that the Franco-American exchange will be greatly disturbed; the inevitable consequences will be that orders by all the Allied governments will be reduced to the lowest possible amount and that trans-Atlantic trade will practically come to an end. The result of such a stoppage will be a panic in the United States. The world will be divided into two hemispheres, one of them, our own, will have the gold and the commodities: the other, Great Britain and Europe, will need these commodities, but it will have no money with which to pay for them. Moreover, it will have practically no commodities of its own to exchange for them. The financial and commercial result will be almost as bad for the United States as for Europe. We shall soon reach this condition unless we take quick action to prevent it. Great Britain and France must have a credit in the United States which will be large enough to prevent the collapse of world trade and the whole financial structure of Europe.

"If the United States declare war against Germany, the greatest help we could give Great Britain and the Allies would be such credit. If we should adopt this policy, an excellent plan would be for our government to make a large investment in a Franco-British loan. Another plan would be to

guarantee such a loan. A great advantage would be that all the money would be kept in the United States. We could keep on with our trade and increase it, till the war ends, and after the war Europe would purchase food and enormous supply of materials with which to reequip her peace industries. We should thus reap the profit of an uninterrupted and perhaps an enlarging trade over a number of years and we should hold their securities in payment.

"On the other hand, if we keep nearly all the gold and Europe cannot pay for reestab-



lishing its economic life, there may be a world wide panic for an indefinite period.

"Of course we cannot extend such a credit unless we go to war with Germany. But is there no way in which our government might immediately and indirectly help the establishment in the United States of a large Franco-British credit without violating armed neutrality? I do not know enough about our own reserve bank law to form an opinion. But these banks would avert such a danger if they were to establish such a credit. Danger for us is more real and imminent, I think, than the public on either side of the Atlantic understands. If it be not averted before its manifestations become apparent, it will then be too late to save the day.

"The pressure of this approaching crisis, I am certain, has gone beyond the ability of the Morgan financial agency for the British and French governments. The financial necessities of the Allies are too great and urgent for any private agency to handle, for every



WHAT THEY TOLD US

FROM PRESIDENT WILSON'S WAR MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, APRIL 2, 1917

"THE WORLD must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted on the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensations for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make it. . . .

"We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe of liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the Nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and for the privilege of men

(Continued on page ten)

THE PAGE CABLE

such agency has to encounter business rivalries and sectional antagonisms.

"It is not improbable that the only way of maintaining our present preeminent trade position and averting a panic is by declaring war on Germany. The submarine has added the last item to the danger of a financial world crash. There is now an uncertainty about our being drawn into the war; no more considerable credits can be privately placed in the United States. In the meantime a collapse may come."—PAGE



"A young fellow wheels his bike towards the ship. He stops and looks up at the bridge. A few of the third class passengers try their German on him. He smiles, says nothing."

THE GERMAN refugee keeps below deck. The ship cuts through the choppy North Sea into the canal. The mouth of the canal is choked with shadows. A Nazi officer steps out from the shadows. He straddles his legs, watching the passengers on the foredeck narrowly. He hides in the shadows until the Soviet ship slips down the canal.

All night long the ship throbs slowly towards the Baltic. The passengers cannot sleep. They huddle together in the cold mist which sweeps from the banks. A seaman stops to answer a question. No, the crews never allow themselves to be provoked. But some of the passengers have found it hard in the past to control themselves. The Nazis here have always been quick to protest to the Soviet government.

A stocky gray-haired woman among the passengers says there should be little trouble this trip. The Nazis have their hands too full with their "recent purge" to do much taunting or nose-thumbing. The woman is a veteran revolutionary who had been flung into a prison ship on the Baltic in 1919 when the German militarists had helped the Whites crush the Finnish revolution.

From far off on the left bank of the canal a dog barks hoarsely as if some one were strangling it. The mist is thick as guncotton.

In the morning a few farm houses, a few mowed meadows. None of the factories along shore shows even a feather of smoke. Faded paint, cracked windows. Only near the city of Kiel a chemical works for War industry belching smoke which hangs powerfully over the country. A church spire stuck through the smoke like a bayonet.

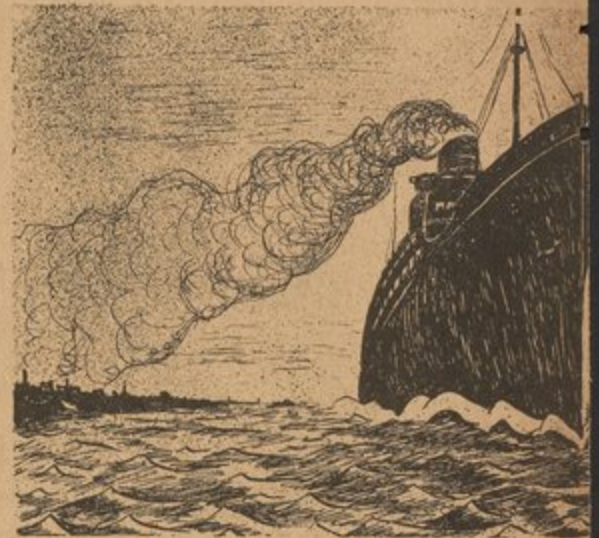
Among trees a bunch of wedge-shaped tents. Soon after, a sand pit gouged out of a hill. Brownshirts hopping here and there with pistols slapped against their bellies. Men, stripped to the waist, shove cars, shovel dirt. A girl passenger flutters her handkerchief over the ship's railing. There is no response. One worker bends over his shovel. One watches us furtively from behind a wheelbarrow. A quick bend in the canal. Now all you can see is the hill, a Brownshirt, and the heavy lead of the sky.

The ship ties up at Kiel. On the other side of the lock a German freighter with only half a load of woodpulp. A couple of peddlers with rundown shoes rush up with ciga-

K I

By BEN

Illustrated by



"The ship full speed"

rets and chocolate bars. Only a few of the passengers buy. The peddlers tear their boxes loose feverishly. They blink anxiously with screwed-up faces at the boycotters. They hurry from stem to stern calling, fluttering their shabby workers' hands, like seagulls for scraps and droppings.

A fat German in knickers, looking like a Baltic baron or what Karl Marx calls "cabbage junkers" comes up from the street leading to the town. He looks back at his parked car. He greets the captain of the freighter: *Heil Hitler*.

A young fellow wheels his bike towards the ship. He stops and looks up at the bridge. A few of the third class passengers try their German on him. He smiles, says nothing.

SUICIDES IN THE

"WAR KILLS. Modern warfare brings about the complete ruin of the economic and social life of the stricken countries." So Professor Liebmann Hersch, the eminent Swiss statistician, opens his valuable study on the *Demographic Effects of Modern Warfare*, prepared for the *Inter-Parliamentary Union of Geneva*, and subsequently published in the symposium, *What Would Be the Character of a New War?*

It is known that the first World War resulted in the death of close to 42,000,000 of the world's inhabitants. Of this gigantic massacre (exceeding the entire population of France or Italy, and two-thirds that of the United Kingdom) direct military losses amounted to 13,000,000, while indirect (civilian) casualties were more than double that

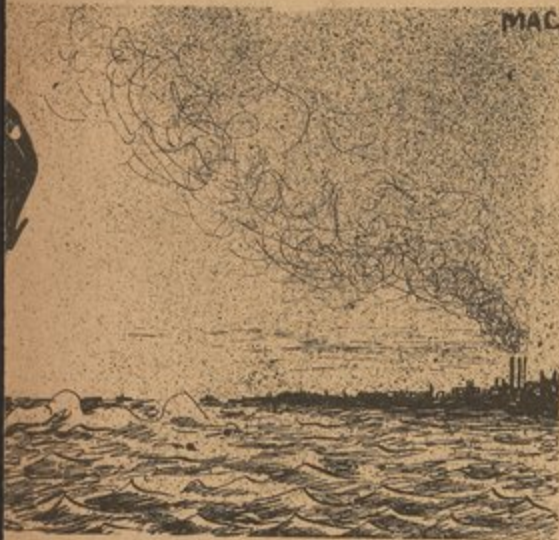
figure, or 28,379,000 people. Losses by death alone in six non-combatant countries came to nearly 600,000, of which, significantly enough, Spain had the largest share, her "surplus deaths" coming to 370,000. Further facts: the ravages of the 1918-19 influenza epidemic—generally regarded as a direct outcome of the War—accounted for 15,000,000 victims killed; mortality from tuberculosis in the single year 1918 increased over that of 1913 by from 10 percent in the uninvaded parts of France to 67 percent in Austria. In Russia alone the grim holocaust—from whose future repetitions President Roosevelt promises noisily to remove only the "profits"—brought on monster epidemics of typhus, typhoid, cholera, small-pox, dysentery and malaria, most of which diseases swept also through Serbia, Poland, Austro-Hungary, India, and the colonies of France and the United States.

Self-Destruction in Imperialist War

War kills. A little-known and seldom discussed by-product of its destructive forces is Suicide. In his carefully documented volume, *Suicide Problems*, Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, the dean of American statisticians, writes, "There is possibly no phase of the suicide problem that is of greater interest than the self-destruction of officers and enlisted men of the army, brought up under exceptional conditions of self-discipline and self-control. Yet we find," continues Dr. Hoffman, "in proportion to the mortality from all causes, suicides in the army constitute a measurable factor of no small importance." Although during the War years 1917-19 the U. S. Army suicide rate dropped to a low average of .19 per 1,000 men (nearly two suicides to every 10,000 men), in the year immediately preceding our entry (1916) the rate reached

EL FIELD

John Mackey



s for the Baltic . . . "

The doctor from Colorado, who is a linguist, comes up to the railing. He looks at the lean young German. He looks up at the sky. He tries the wedge which always works. He says, "It may rain."

The German looks up at the sky. He says slowly, "It may." He leans back on his bike.

The doctor says, "What is the ribbon, the green ribbon in your coat?"

The German glances down at his button-hole. "I am a storm trooper."

The doctor leans quickly over the railing, "Where is your uniform?"

The storm trooper looks beyond the doctor at some other passengers. "On vacation."

The passengers laugh.

The doctor says, "So it will storm soon?"

The demobilized storm trooper looks at the



"A fat German in knickers looking like a baron. . . It is the 'cabbage junker' sidling up to him. . . He stares at us. His jaw drops into a grin."

doctor, he looks up at the sky. He says nothing.

"Are there many unemployed here?"

The storm trooper mutters, "Not so many."

The doctor presses home the point. "We have heard. It is bad enough."

In a second the storm trooper's whole body stiffens up. The eyes turn hard and shifty. It is the "cabbage junker" sidling up to him. The storm trooper does not turn around. He stares at us. His jaw drops into a grin. The man in knickers must be asking what it is we were all laughing about. He moves off, the trousers stretched tight over his great rump.

The storm trooper leans back against the bike once more. Now and then he looks over his shoulder.

"Better times are coming," says the doctor.

The storm trooper catches him with the corner of his eyes.

"Do you go to church?"

"No."

"Why?"

"What's the use?"

"Do you go to school, university?"

"I'm a worker. School is for the rich."

The ship's bell clangs.

The doctor says, "We'll meet again."

"Maybe."

The hawser ropes are loosened.

"Come with us."

The storm trooper's fist tightens on his bike saddle.

The engines throb.

"Kommen Sie mit?" (*Are you coming along?*)

The bell clangs. The engines throb louder, louder.

"Kommen Sie mit?"

"Ich hab' nichts gegen," (*I have nothing against it*) cries the storm trooper hoarsely. His face leaps up with a smile. He stands before us squarely saying again he has nothing against coming with us. He stands with his head back as the ship slips into open water.

The ship full speeds for the Baltic, the Neva, Leningrad.

Last we see of the storm trooper is the hand raised in Fascist salute as his bike flies down the Kiel streets.

E ARMY

By HAROLD WARD

Contributing Editor, "Living Age"

a high of .43, and in the trying post-War years 1920-35 climbed up again to about .32, as against a general average for the whole country of .11. In other words, suicide among members of the American land forces is three times as high as among civilians, while in the Navy the rate is about twice that of the general average. To the argument that most of these suicides may be due to neurotic impulses among the younger and more inexperienced officers and enlisted men it may be replied that many of the cases were of men with service-records of from twelve to twenty-five years. For the years 1916-1925 mortality from suicide in the Army averaged (per 100,000 men): white enlisted men, 17; colored enlisted men, 8; officers, 37. The highest mortality was registered among the Porto Ricans, with 82 (258 per 100,000 in the one year 1922), thus vividly showing

the effects of militarism upon colonial peoples. In 1933, according to the Surgeon General, there were 57 suicides in the U. S. Army.

Warmakers' Peace

Confirming these figures, we have the recent study of suicide, *To Be or Not To Be*, by Dr. Louis I. Dublin, chief statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. In his chapter on "The Influences of War" we read that "suicide is traditionally frequent among soldiers. . . . It would appear, from reliable sources, that military service does tend to aggravate the tendency toward suicide." During War this tendency, both among soldiers and civilians, is arrested: guns, gas, famine and disease are then killing off so many that self-destruction is hardly necessary, even if there were time

to think about it. Promptly with the arrival of "peace," however, the suicide rate goes up, in all the belligerent countries—eloquent testimony to the moral and social devastation wrought by War on entire populations. The following figures compiled by Dr. Dublin should be a sufficient answer to those who still think that War, National Defense and Progress are synonymous terms. They give the percentage increase in mortality from suicide in the years 1926-1930, as compared with 1915-1918. Only her comparatively brief period in the War and her geographical isolation saved the United States from a worse showing:

United States	.....	3 percent increase
England and Wales	.....	68 " "
Scotland	.....	118 " "
Australia	.....	9 " "
New Zealand	.....	23 " "

(next page)

Union of South Africa	45	percent increase
Germany	58	" "
Italy	28	" "
Japan	17	" "
Sweden	19	" "
Switzerland	27	" "

Let us permit Professor Hersch to draw the lesson from these facts:

"Thus war sows death not only among the combatants but to a formidable degree also among civilians; it kills not only men but also women, not only young adults but also children and old people, not only persons in health but also the sick; it kills today more than ever, not only on the battlefields but also across oceans, not only in the belligerent countries but also in the neutral countries having relations with the countries at war. Modern warfare is the affair, therefore, *not of the belligerents alone but of humanity as a whole.* (Our emphasis.)

Organize!

Therefore also, but with ten, or hundred, a thousand-fold emphasis, the fight against War and Fascism is the affair, not of isolated pacifist, liberal or even radical groups agitating by fits and starts and with no disciplined coordination, but of humanity, of organized humanity as a whole.

WOODROW WILSON

(Continued from page seven)

everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. . . .

"I am now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a war against mankind. . . .

"Our object now as then, it to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up among the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purposes and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. . . .

"But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her she can do no other."

A GENERAL'S GIFT

By M. B. SCHNAPPER

OFFICIAL proof of the military character of the NRA has been obtained by the Senate Munitions Committee. The following significant facts have been uncovered by the Committee:

1. The NRA is an outgrowth of the War Industries Board.
2. General Johnson laid down the general outlines of the NRA in a report to the War Department.
3. NRA codes were written to facilitate the War Department's plans for War-time mobilization of industry.
4. Army officers were put in key positions in the NRA to see to it that the codes fitted snugly into the War Department's plans.

Making Capitalism "Efficient"

According to evidence held by the Senate Munitions Committee, General Johnson planned the entire NRA in a report ten years ago to the War Industries Board of which he was a member. Impressed by General Johnson's plans, President Roosevelt naturally made its author the chief administrator of NRA.

"If there is unquestionable advantage," wrote General Johnson in this report of ten years ago, "in Government participation in national business, not as a jealous master but as a force for co-ordination and co-operation and unification of American business in an efficient national system, then it would be a blunder to let this War experience pass into history with nothing more than a final word of commendation and farewell."

Five "outstanding lessons applicable to peace" noted in Johnson's War report are the very essence of NRA:

1. Increase of industrial efficiency through systematic co-operation within each trade, directed from a central agency.
2. Necessity of planning comprehensive statistics of resources and facilities.
3. Welcoming attitude of American industry to governmental guidance in a

"friendly, advisory and co-operative guise."
4. Control of labor.
5. Use of War material industries.

Testifying in behalf of the War Department before the Nye Committee, Colonel Charles T. Harris, director of the War Planning Division and of the industrial mobilization program, made several significant admissions.

The first admission is that NRA will serve to expedite War plans. Referring to the utilization of NRA for War purposes, Colonel Harris stated: "We have given a great deal of study to that, and we think codes and code authorities would be of great benefit to our plans. We are planning to utilize the advantages of the NRA."

Colonel Harris admitted that NRA labor administrators and code authorities would "unquestionably" aid the War Department's plans. He pointed out that NRA labor administrators would in War-time fix a maximum wage for workers just as price fixing committees or code authorities would fix industrial prices.

The War Department has assigned twenty-one officers of the NRA setup, partly, according to Colonel Harris, in order "to permit them to make studies and observations of value in the perfecting of the industrial mobilization plans." Nineteen of these officers are Administration representatives on code authorities representing nineteen basic industries, while the other two have been assigned to the office of the present NRA Administrator.

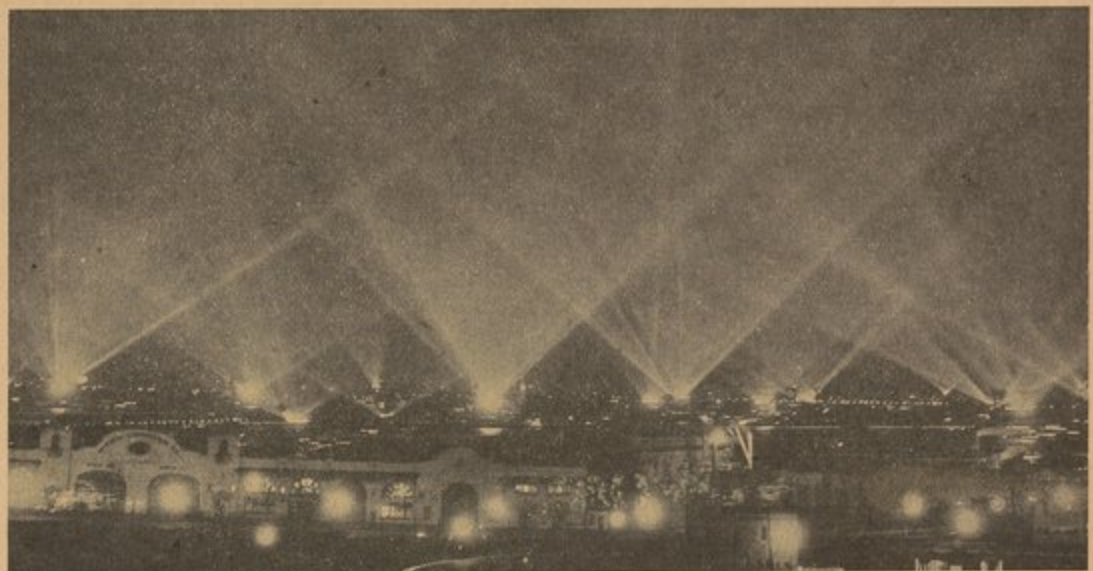
The Once-Over

Let's give General Johnson and a few of his NRA military muckymucks the once-over.

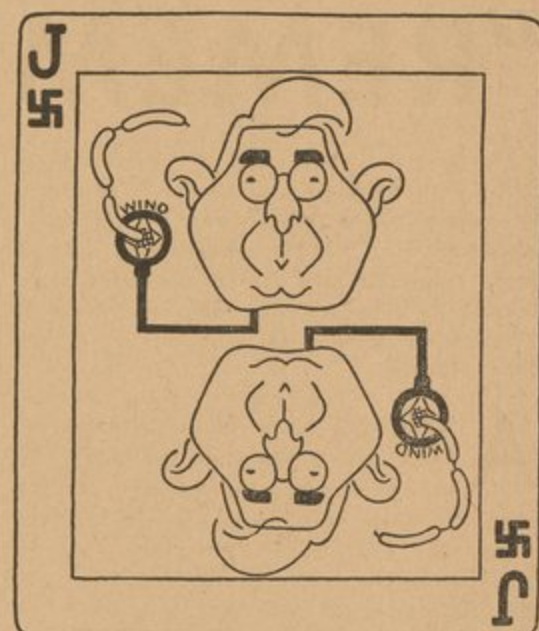
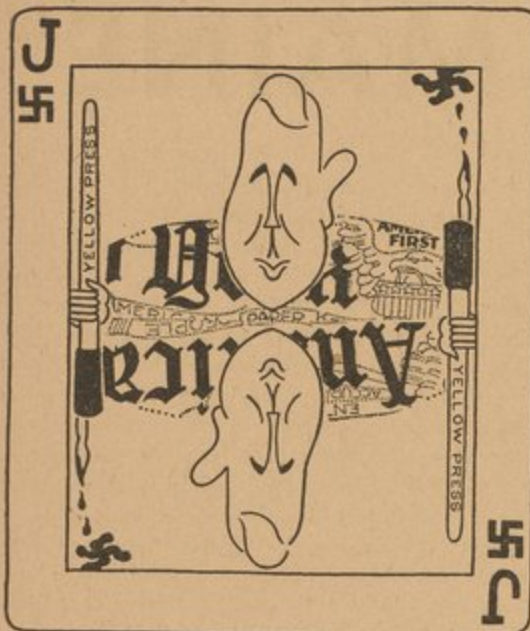
Make no mistake about General Johnson. He's not one of those Generals who die in bed. He'll probably be stretched across the floor of a Wall Street or munitions factory office when the Big General calls for him.

The General was best described once in the

(Continued on page fourteen)



Can Tom Mooney in prison see "the eyes of the fleet" as the U. S. Navy stages this demonstration of imperialist power at San Francisco?



Drawing by Theodore Scheel

THREE OF A KIND

By BLACK TAYLOR

HEARST inherited millions, stolen by his father from the natural resources of America. Since the days when, just out of Harvard, he copied Pulitzer's yellow journalism and made it twice as yellow, he has been consistent, faithful and loyal to his own perverted genius. Known all over the world as a faker, a liar, a War-maker, a deliberate poisoner of public opinion, he has been able, because of his inherited wealth, to remain at large and in control of news services, a chain of newspapers, feature services and magazines, news-reels and film companies. Even "liberal" capitalists tolerate him because his money is sacred and powerful, and because he has made himself useful to capitalism. He steamed up the War with Spain which resulted in the capture of Cuba and the Philippines for American capital; he doped the millions of immigrant workers who came here in the early years of the century; after opposing the Allied imperialist powers (for circulation purposes) up to 1917, he ordered all his editors to use the American flag on every excuse and backed the Allies (and Wall Street, and the Government and circulation) to the end of the War. He has been by turns anti-English, anti-German, anti-Mexican, anti-Japanese, as it suited his private fortunes and the sales of his papers and other interests. Recently, after extended conference with Adolf Hitler, he returned to the United States to launch an anti-Red campaign in his press and on the radio. He has tried to create a lynch spirit against radicals, to trap and frame school and college teachers and students. His obvious aim is to create an anti-Red panic and reign of terror and then to extend this to a downright Fascist suppression of trade unions and working class parties, civil rights and the establishment of a Capitalist dictatorship, bossed, if not headed, by himself.

In a sane society, opposed to War and Fascism, Hearst would be committed as a measure of health and safety.

HUEY LONG is a natural, a home-grown long-staple confidence man, a salesman born and bred and the slipperiest catch-as-catch-can orator now at large in the United States. Washington writers play him for a clown. He's more. It's true that he's a heavyweight coward who'll start yelling for his bodyguard if a 98-pound Southern Colonel starts gathering back his whiskers to spit; he's the swell-headed Kingfish who likes to watch legislators voting by electric buttons as fast as he pushes up his bills; he's turned a State University into a sour joke—BUT, he has a mind that picks up, twists and uses ideas, causes and slogans. He can make dirty speeches, sweetness-and-light speeches, "liberal" speeches, "radical" speeches, speeches filled with statesmanlike blah and legal boloney. His "Share the Wealth" plan, with the slogan "Every man a king," and his promise that "no one shall be permitted to have more than a million dollars," looks like something figured out in a telephone booth while waiting for a long distance call, but it's getting support. He figured: "Every American who's gone to school and reads the papers would like to have a million dollars. Okay. I'll say no one can have more. They'll think they can have almost that much if they back me up—and I'll get mine." He's against Wall Street and he's just come out against cancer. He always knows enough to take a strong stand against man-eating sharks—and God knows America's full of them. The catch is that he doesn't catch nor kill them. He's a good deal of a shark himself. He likes to pick his sharks and, when convenient, to do business with them on a percentage business. Of course, you can call him a gag, unless you happen to live in Louisiana, or unless he gets the nod from those who today are combing the bush leagues for an American Hitler.

AT PRESENT, Father Coughlin has it over Huey Long and Hearst for at least two reasons. First, he's riding on Roosevelt's coat-tails; second, many of his possible radio audience of 60,000,000 (28 stations) think he's on the level because he's a Man of God. A lot of people may be persuaded to trail with Long and Hearst on the theory that, although neither can be trusted, they're smart enough to deliver *something*. But Father Coughlin—there's an honest man! Yawsah! Burns the pants off Cardinal O'Connell one week, tells Roosevelt where to head in the next; talks about Morgan and Mellon as Public Enemies Nos. 1 and 2, and is organizing the Common Peepul into his Union for Social Justice to get—what? "A share of the profits." How? By telling the Government to walk into the wildcats' house and say: "Nice kitties, give the Common Peepul more to eat." He's all for giving the workers a fair deal. How? No strikes (he is against unions); the Government just steps in and tells the employers to be nice to the workers and please give them an "annual wage." He's against War, but he says we ought to have twice as many planes as the Secretary of War asked for. Through his secretary, he bought 500,000 ounces of silver and, when Roosevelt, listening to the hard money bankers, didn't come through on time with inflation, the Reverend Father denounced Morgenthau as an enemy of "Gentile silver." Patriotic for profit, that's Coughlin. The danger is not that he may cut the bottom off his frock and try to become an American Mussolini, but that he may line up a few million dissatisfied American workers (confuse the issues) and sell them down the river to the highest Fascist bidder, so they can "share the profits" of forced labor, sweated wages scales or in time of War, be privileged to die with the name of the Shrine of the Little Flower on their lips. Already he's doing this in a small way. His "critical" support of Roosevelt makes him the most valuable "radical" stooge the President has.

"REMEMBER THE MAINE"

Thirty-seven years ago this month Wall Street initiated its first large scale imperialist venture. The result was the Spanish-American War. Official propaganda and the press (especially Mr. Hearst) managed very adroitly to cover up the real issues at stake. This article explodes the main slogan of that War.—EDITOR.

ATTENDING every conflict between nations is a propaganda campaign, detailing atrocities perpetrated by "the enemy." When, at 10 in the evening of February 15, 1898, the *Maine* blew up in Havana harbor with the loss of 260 men, the catastrophe at once was declared to be the result of a deliberate act. News dispatches of February 16, openly charged Spain with the responsibility. The acting commandant of the Brooklyn Navy Yard was quoted: "It is impossible for the blowing up of the *Maine* to have been due to an accident." The following Sunday, February 20, a leading paper presented an opinion in a featured type from Captain Zalinski, army artillery expert, who, after admitting that "with the meagre accounts at hand a definite final judgment can not well be formed," concluded that the vessel perished from a mine explosion.

In March a board of inquiry of naval officers submitted its report declaring the *Maine* to have been wrecked by explosion of "a mine situated under the bottom of the ship at about frame 18." Previously a Spanish board had determined the explosion to have been interior and accidental. In April, when Congress declared the "Independence" of Cuba, referring to "abhorrent conditions culminating in the destruction of a United States battleship," REMEMBER THE MAINE! became the battle cry.

The Truth Comes Out

Thirteen years later the barnacle-incrusted hulk was exposed. Caissons sunk around the wreck permitted the water to be drained and the hull and its immediate surroundings examined at leisure in the glare of a tropic sun. A second board of inquiry considered the evidence but, while its findings sustained the verdict of the earlier investigation, its conclusions differed in several important points.

Naval opinion in the nineties refused to believe that a ship's magazine would explode spontaneously. Spontaneous ignition of powder was unknown in the annals of the old navies. Combustion and explosion in coal bunkers was an accepted possibility, inapplicable because the *Maine* carried anthracite. Detonation of a magazine in naval circles implied culpability of the ship's personnel, for magazines were surrounded by such precautions that it was believed only the grossest negligence could permit an accident. Furthermore, it was not considered possible that the outer plates of a vessel could be sucked inward by the vacuum of a blast; they must be driven outward.

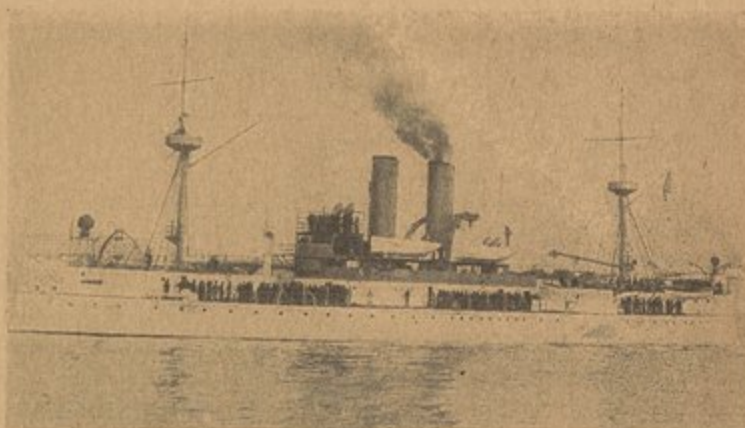
By A. B. SEAMAN

Careful scrutiny of the harbor bottom about the wreck failed to disclose evidence of a mine or torpedo. The years that have passed since 1898 have yielded no testimony linking Cuban or Spaniard with the *Maine's* misfortune. In the fever of excitement following the disaster, American opinion, stimulated and formed by the press and other existing agencies, charged Havana port officials with deliberately assigning the battleship to anchorage over a fixed mine, exploded with malicious intent. But aside from mere wantonness, no motive can be assigned a Spaniard for destroying a United States War vessel. Spain was ill-prepared, as results made apparent. Disparity between the two navies left no material gain in removing a single United States unit at a hazard so grave. The *Maine*, usually rated as an armored cruiser, was the least powerful and

fact. No more thorough proof that a battleship harbors its own destructive agent could be sought than the catastrophe that befell the *Iéna* in March 1907. This first-line craft was nearly twice as large as the *Maine*. March 12, 1907, the *Iéna* was in drydock at Toulon, entirely out of water. Workers from the dockyard and members of her own crew were aboard, when, early in the afternoon an explosion occurred in the after part of the ship. Like the first blast in the *Maine*, it did not seem severe, but it was followed by a tremendous detonation that hurled large pieces of metal more than a quarter of a mile. Fire raged, explosions continued. The casualties were frightful. Men, partially burned, leaped into the drydock 40 feet from the deck. No water was available to fight the fire until a sister ship flooded the dock by blowing holes in the gates with its guns, the rain of missiles making it impossible to reach the gate controls. More than 200 men

REMEMBER THE MAINE!

The battleship *Maine* accidentally blew up in Havana harbor, 1898, which gave Wall St. the excuse to initiate its first imperialist venture—the Spanish-American War



the oldest of six United States battleships.

On February 15, a Spanish armored cruiser was in mid-Atlantic en route to New York on a mission similar to that calling the *Maine* to Havana. No means existed of diverting the *Vizcaya* from her American destination, certainly a hazardous situation for one of Spain's best vessels had the *Maine's* destruction been aimed at fleet equality.

Such an act as charged by the Congressional declaration of April 19, 1898, never had been known in a civilized country since the establishment of steam navies. Nor has any nation at peace since suffered the destruction of a government vessel while in a neutral port. Explosions, similar in description, equal in effect, have effaced several warships under conditions precluding any but accidental means, known to be restricted to the magazines and presenting results as to hull demolition disproving the theory that internal blast must necessarily hurl outward every portion of a ship's keel or plating.

Peace-Time Hazards for Sailors

Experiences and experiments have proven beyond questions that explosives of the nature of those carried by men-of-war of the *Maine's* period will deteriorate and detonate spontaneously. France was first to learn this

were killed and 68 seriously injured, besides a child and several citizens dwelling in vicinity of the yard.

The principal blast, involving the magazine for the after heavy guns, blew out the ship's bottom. This phase of the accident alone coincided with the findings of the *Maine's* board of inquiry, for the French investigation determined that spontaneous ignition through chemical deterioration in a magazine for small ammunition introduced the series. Subsequently the battleship *Liberty*, larger and more modern than *Iéna*, blew up in Toulon harbor.

Disaster befell the *Liberty* September 25, 1911. The first fire broke out at 5:31 a. m., followed by serious explosions culminating in the detonation of the main forward magazine at 5:33. The *Liberty* sank, having taken the lives of 143 of its crew and 61 men from other vessels. A French naval board declared this catastrophe due to ammunition spontaneously taking fire. In 1921 the wreck was raised. While powder still remaining in one of the unexploded magazines was being taken ashore, after ten years under the sea, it burst into flame.

Japan's historic battleship *Mikasa*, flagship in the Russian War, sank after a series of explosions shortly after peace was declared.

Spontaneous ignition in magazines was the cause reported by the investigators.

During the World War several ships were lost by explosions accepted as wholly accidental. In the case of the German cruiser *Karlsruhe* no other explanation is tenable. This raider, one of the German commerce destroyers at sea when hostilities began, had cunningly eluded the British combinations to ensnare her. Raiding operations in the South Atlantic had been conducted to a satisfactory close. November 4, 1914, she was nearing Barbados. The sun was setting upon a calm sea. About the cruiser was gaiety and good cheer as the crew gathered on the fore-castle to enjoy the music of the band. The happy moment was terminated by a detonation that rent the ship asunder. With the shattered forward portion went down 261 officers and men.

The British battleship *Bulwark* was obliterated November 26, 1914, by explosion following accidental ignition of ammunition while filling magazines at Sheerness. Only twelve survived among 750 men manning her. Fire broke out in the magazine of the monitor *Glatton*, anchored in Dover harbor, September 16, 1918. To avoid disaster to the city two torpedoes were fired into the ironclad, which disappeared with a number of its complement.

The minelayer *Princess Irene* was destroyed May 27, 1915, by an explosion of great violence at Sheerness. Several small explosions preceded the final one from which flame ascended to an estimated height of two miles. Papers from the ship were found ten miles away. Between 1915 and 1918 the cruiser *Natal*, battleship *Vanguard*, and two Japanese capital craft, *Tsukuba* and *Kawachi*, were victims of internal explosions supposedly originating through ammunition combustion.

The Covered Lie

These losses, coupled with experiments, especially in France, prove the possibility of spontaneous ignition of deteriorated explosives. But in the archives at Washington, Spain remains convicted, and popular sentiment sent the young men of '98 to battle with the War-cry REMEMBER THE MAINE!

GUNS AND CASTOR OIL

"... Certainly people used to make little of bodily suffering which they could not stand at all today, such as floggings of five hundred lashes... a civilization based on the avoidance of suffering is an empty and hollow affair."—Norman Foerster in "American Review," Fascist journal



"This is my university. I can fire a thousand of these students, and get ten thousand in place of them, any time I feel like it."—Huey Long in Louisiana State University



"... John Strachey, English author and lecturer, arrived in this country on Tuesday. He had hardly stepped ashore from the steamship *Aquitania* when he said of President Roosevelt and the latter's program, 'He is politically clever, but the inevitable results will be disastrous.' This man should be ordered to leave the country at once, with deportation, as the law provides, as the instant alternative!"—From an editorial in the Hearst newspapers



"A middle-aged man can drive a tank as well as anybody. In the next war the oldest people should drive the fastest mechanized units. Graybeards should constitute the storm troops... Science has made war a much more suitable occupation for middle-aged people than it was in 1914."—Dr. Herbert Levenstein, President, British Institute of Chemical Engineers



"The time is ripe for an alliance of all forces intent upon the business of recovery. In such an alliance will be found business and banking, agriculture and industry, and labor and capital. What an All-American team that is."—President Roosevelt before American Bankers' Association

"I say to the whole civilized world that we will defend the lira to the last breath, to the last drop of blood."—Mussolini at Pesaro, Italy



"God has made it quite clear that to insure peace there must be at least readiness for warfare."—Rear Admiral Clark H. Woodward, U. S. N.



WAR IS—BUSINESS

(Continued from page two)

Then the financiers and industrialists whom Roosevelt has appointed on Councils, Advisory and Administrative Boards will show what they are there for. The workers will find themselves under a War labor administrative board on which they will have either no representation or no effective voice. The administrator is to be "an outstanding industrial leader." The bosses will give orders as army officers. There will be no comfort from an illusory 7A. "You can't have two bosses in time of war," Colonel Harris told the Nye Committee. A vital part of this mobilization plan is the merger of all telegraph, cable and radio corporations which the Federal Communications Commission is recommending to Congress with the backing of the White House and the War Department. This is an Army and Navy plan for a co-ordinated communications organization that can be taken over and operated by the (business man's) government in time of national emergency. Their planning board recommends that "the communications companies' operators should be trained in military requirements and the personnel should be in the enlisted or commissioned reserve."

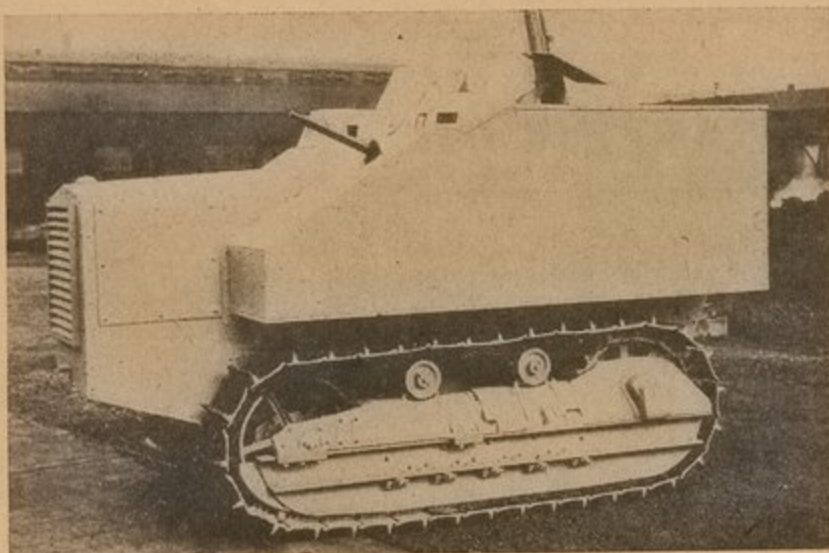
The whole plan which gives virtual control of the life of the nation to a big business-army coalition is all ready to be jammed through Congress in the emotional intoxication occasioned by the declaration of War. Along with the rest of the use of the state for the protection of the profit system it reveals clearly the Fascist nature of our present controls.

And it will work—until the workers, of all sorts, decide differently.



Boston Police using tear gas guns as workers demonstrate on historic Boston Common. Munitions makers catalogue describing gas guns reads: "It is a great persuader and helps to put more teeth into the Ten Commandments."

A new weapon! Two hours before this photograph was made, it was a farm tractor, its accessories attached, it is now a deadly implement of War, capable of sending forth machine gun and anti-aircraft fire and emitting murderous toxic gun gas



THE GIFT

(Continued from page ten)

Army Ordnance, American munitions organ, as "no stranger to those who are engaged in American munitions operations in the World War, nor is he less known to all friends of the Army."

An old hand at government by revolver, General Johnson has been equally well versed in the technique of mass suppression, both domestic and foreign. He learned the elements of imperialism while stationed as a second lieutenant in the Philippines from 1907 to 1909. In 1916 he was with General Pershing's Punitive Expedition into Mexico as a Judge Advocate. That little escapade of blood and adventure was imperialism after his own heart.

In March, 1918, he became a full-fledged Brigadier-General. In this last capacity, he organized and directed the purchase and sup-

ply bureau of the General Staff, and so came in contact with the big War industrialists.

Johnson was a member of the War Industries Board when Barney Baruch was its chairman. A life-long friendship developed between these two doves of peace, and today they sit side by side on Roosevelt's new commission which is going to "take the profit out of War."

To General Johnson goes the distinction of drawing up the rules and policies for the selective army draft in 1917—a draft which, of course, didn't affect him in the least.

And when the General wasn't drafting them by force, he was baiting them with militaristic propaganda, injected in his pulp novels, *Williams of West Point*, and *Williams on Service*. Reprints of this propaganda

drivel are busy today gathering in new "mazuma" and victims.

Other Birds

If Johnson was "no stranger to the munitions makers," Major-General C. C. Williams, Deputy Administrator in the NRA, was their life-long friend. He was connected with the War-mongers ever since, in 1916, he joined the Punitive Expedition into Mexico as a munitions officer. During the World War he was Chief Ordnance Officer of the American Expeditionary Forces.

When Williams retired from the Army a few years ago, General Crowell, president of the *Army Ordnance Association*, paid him the tribute of his being the personification of the slogan "putting government into business." Crowell went on in ecstasy: "The best of his accomplishments, in my judgment, was the zeal with which he nurtured the infant prodigy, Industrial Preparedness. The World War proved modern munitionment essentially to be an industrial problem. No one accepted that conclusion more completely than General Williams, and no one endeavored to apply it with more understanding."

When Williams joined the NRA, he chose as his aide another munitions officer, Major General C. R. Baxter, formerly executive of the *Army Ordnance Association* and editor of *Army Ordnance*.

Another officer who joined the NRA in the role of an assistant deputy administrator is Lieutenant Col. George Stuart Brady, a former executive of the Union and Royal typewriter companies and—would you believe it?—the *Winchester Repeating Arms*. After the war, Brady got a taste of imperialism as American Trade Commissioner to Argentina. Prior to joining NRA he was a consultant engineer of Wall Street firms.

And these are only a few of the cords which bind the Blue Eagle to the Industrial Mobilization Plan.

The League's Program

1. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of War, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes; to likewise withdraw the professionals from the service of the War machine and to enlist them in agitation and educational propaganda against War and every aspect of Fascism.

2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for War being carried on under the guise of aiding "national recovery."

3. To demand the transfer of all War funds to relief of the unemployed, the distressed farmers and those deprived of education and the social services.

4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.

5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union and especially the proposals for total and universal disarmament, which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to War throughout the world.

6. To oppose all developments leading to Fascism in this country and abroad, especially in Germany and other countries under Fascist dictatorships; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorism and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to mobilize aggressive defense of the civil liberties of these groups and so stop the growing Fascist trend of our so-called "democratic" government.

7. To win the armed forces to the support of the program.

8. To enlist for our program the women

in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to Fascist and War propaganda.

9. To give effective international support to all workers and anti-War fighters against their own imperialist governments; and to all who suffer under and struggle against the Fascist State.

10. To form committees of action against War and Fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic War industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent War, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations.

National, state and city organizations of the League shall carry out these objectives through educational propaganda, action by mass meetings, demonstrations, picketing and political pressure on legislative and administrative officials. Every emergency calling for action shall be met by national campaigns uniting all our forces in common resistance to these allied destroyers of mankind—War and Fascism.



BUILDING the LEAGUE



By IDA DAILES

Administration Secretary

YOUTH SPARKS

THE PITTSBURGH Chapter is establishing an office headquarters. A committee to develop trade union work is making headway in this field and has already drawn local leading trade unionists into the League work. An actively functioning Research Bureau is gathering material for a pamphlet on Nazi activities in that locality. *East Pittsburgh*, an industrial suburb of Pittsburgh, has just formed a branch of the League. They are concentrating on a three-point program for the immediate future: membership drive; affiliation with Pittsburgh Chapter; developing the united front among organizations in the Turtle Creek and Westinghouse Valley area.

In the important shoe center of Binghamton, N. Y., a branch of the League has just been established. At the first meeting, addressed by Fred Biedenkapp, member of the National Executive Committee of the League, 35 membership applications were received and many copies of FIGHT sold.

A branch of two hundred members has been established in the community of Dagma, Montana. Meetings are well attended and the Secretary expects the work to expand.

Baltimore, Md., is extending its organization. Two important local groups, the *Women's Consumers' League* and the local of the *Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers* are now working with this Chapter. Preparations are under way for a city-wide conference to reach more affiliations and plan further local activities.

The highly successful Toledo conference represented 49 organizations with a membership of 7,600 people. A permanent Chapter was established and officers and committees elected. The unity of purpose of the delegates, together with the enthusiasm animating them, promises good results in organizing active opposition to War and Fascism.

The Research and Educational Committee of the Chicago Chapter has been organized and a number of projects are now under way. Among these are issuance of a local bulletin; formation of a Speakers' Bureau; preparation of speakers' outlines; building of a file of newspaper and magazine clippings; organization of classes. The Trade Union Committee of this Chapter has also its first meeting and will hold a conference of trade unionists, concentrating on those unions most interested at this time. In addition to general problems affecting trade unionists, it will take up specific local issues of War and Fascism. Organized sale of FIGHT at regular trade union meetings is also undertaken. A vigorous anti-Hearst campaign and actions against local Fascist developments are being conducted.

After receiving friendly and, we hope, helpful criticism from the National Office in connection with organizational weaknesses,

the *New Haven* Chapter checked over its work and made some important decisions which could well be followed by other Chapters. They decided to see that every affiliated organization receives regular reports of League work; to utilize the forthcoming Kurt Rosenfeld lecture for a campaign to increase activity of members and affiliates; to concentrate again on the *Winchester Arms* plant through sale of FIGHT as well as making personal contacts with workers in the plant; to send speakers to organizations not yet contacted for affiliations; to organize a series of discussions for the coming month.

On February 23rd, the *Milwaukee* Chapter will hold a conference of leading educators of the state and city to counteract the Hearst attack against academic freedom in the schools. The *Milwaukee Youth Section* has been picking the Y. M. C. A. which housed two hundred policemen who acted as strikebreakers in the strike of the Boston Store. A Jewish Section of the League has also been formed in this city.

Our *Los Angeles* Chapter has issued a local information bulletin, "Ammunition." This bulletin contains, among other things, movie and book reviews, pertinent historical and current quotations, and a cartoon. It has begun organization work throughout Los Angeles County.

The first open meeting of the *Urban, Ill.* Chapter was attended by 100 people from the campus and from the town. Fifteen new members joined. The meeting was addressed by Tom McKenna, Chicago League secretary.

The *New York* Chapter has set itself a goal of 2,000 members on the new yearly membership basis, to be obtained in its ten weeks drive now under way. The Strachey lecture held last month was a great success, attended by over 5,000 people. Activities have been conducted in connection with the Saar campaign, and the expulsion of anti-Fascist students from *City College*.

Bayonne, N. J., Chapter stopped a meeting of *Khaki Shirts* through a quickly organized counter-demonstration. They held a mass protest meeting against the *Khaki Shirts* which attracted new workers. An essay for high school students on the subject: "Youth in the Fight Against War and Fascism" will wind up with a mass meeting at which the winning essay will be read. LeRoy E. Bowman, member of the National Executive Committee of the League, will discuss the winning essay, develop the subject further, and award the prizes.

The Membership Branch in *Paterson, N. J.*, is calling a city conference for the establishment of a City Central Committee of affiliated organizations. Additional activities of this branch include a lecture by John Spivak and cooperation with the *Peace Council Conference* of Bayonne in a meeting at which Senator Nye will speak on the munitions investigation.

OVER 250 delegates attended the various sessions of the *American Youth Congress* held in Washington on January 5, 6, and 7. Many youth organizations who were unable to send representatives to Washington participated in successful regional conferences in Chicago, New York and Ann Arbor, Michigan. The *Youth Congress* represents a united front of groups of various tendencies around a program of common action. Many of the organizations which participated are affiliated to the *Youth Section* of the *American League*.

It is interesting to note that that part of the program adopted by the Congress which deals with international problems coincides with ours. The Congress endorsed the continuance of the anti-War demonstrations on May 30. It also called for a campaign against the militarization of the CCC camps.

It is clear that the programs of the two organizations coincide to a very great degree. It is to be hoped that we will build up cooperation on the CCC campaign and the May 30 demonstrations, as well as on local issues, and that in the near future a still greater unity will be achieved.

All *Youth Committees* are asked to send in the signatures which they have collected on the CCC petitions. Although we are informed that thousands of signatures have been collected, so far very few of the lists have reached the National Office. The lists should be completed and returned at once, so that plans may be made to send them with a delegation to Washington.

The latest city to fall in line in building the *Youth Section* is St. Louis. A very successful conference was held there last month, involving many youth organizations. In Toledo, Ohio, plans are going ahead to hold a city-wide conference this month at which a *Youth Section* will be set up.

James Lerner, National Secretary of the *Youth Section*, has just returned from an organization tour which took him to Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Pittsburgh. In Chicago he spoke before the convention of the *Student League for Industrial Democracy* on the question of affiliation to our *Youth Section*. A vote was taken on this question which revealed a sharp division among the delegates, who voted 32 to 15 against affiliation. The overwhelming majority of the votes against affiliation came from New York City. But even this does not give the full picture of what happened. In conversation with the delegates, Lerner found that they had been instructed to vote against affiliation even though some of them were for unity. Some of them, when voting, stated "Against, as instructed." However, the convention did pass a motion allowing S. L. I. D. chapters to affiliate with the *Youth Section*. This step will undoubtedly result in a furtherance of national unity.

The *Children's Committee* which has been set up in *New York*, has completed four short stories and one pageant suitable for children's groups. A committee is now at work on a project for a children's theatre.

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WE publish in this number of FIGHT the cable-
gram sent by Ambassador Page to President
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document, which according to Dr. Harry F.
Ward "is the clearest exposure we have ever
had of underlying forces in the modern world
that shape events," been buried this long?

A few sentences of this cable were in the hands
of the press about a month ago. And even those
few sentences "saw the light" in very few
newspapers. The NEW REPUBLIC commenting
on the suppression of this cable said editorially:

*Is this the freedom of the press about which
the publishers have been lately so solicitous?*

If the press owned, controlled and influenced by
that class in society which is responsible for War
will not publish the truth, it is our clear duty
to organize and support a press of our own.

But a free press alone is far from enough. With it
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