

FIGHT

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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



Words and Deeds

Drawing by Gropper

March, 1933

"Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily, this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. . . . Yes, the money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. . . ."—From President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933.

March, 1935

Federal funds to bankers, industrialists, etc.: \$2,341,669,104. War budget calls for a 64.6 percent increase. Retail food prices up 28 percent in two years (*U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics*). Government figures show real wages have fallen over 3 percent since low point of March, 1933. 16,000,000 unemployed. In the temple of the large "money changers" (Chase National Bank, Bankers' Trust Co., Corn Exchange Bank, Guaranty Trust Co., etc.) the reports for 1934 show "satisfactory" profits and large "earnings."

U. S. COURT GOING FASCIST

By Dr. GEORGE A. COE

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

THE FASCISM of Fuehrer Hitler assumes that the State has a right to command every man in every respect in peace as well as in War—that even in times of peace no individual, family, or church has any reserved right whatsoever. In contrast to this, consider the Constitution of the United States and the traditions of our government. Amendment IX recognizes rights “retained by the people,” and Amendment X speaks of “powers” reserved to the people; and those powers are distinguished from those reserved to the respective States of the Union. The Supreme Court gave a good example of what this means when it decided some years ago that the right to decide what a child shall be taught resides only partly in the parents and partly in the State. In this respect parents have rights that are just as fundamental as any right of the State.

In the Past

The First Amendment, which provides for what is popularly called “the separation of church and State,” likewise recognizes that what individuals or groups do within the sphere called “religious” is strictly their own affair. In England and in some of the American colonies church and State had overlapped, with consequent confusion and friction. Historically, the separation of the two powers meant that, just as the church was henceforth to be excluded from the area that we now call “political,” so the State was to be excluded from that which it had hitherto jointly occupied with the church. That is, the First Amendment restricts the State just as truly as it restricts the church. But, since the term “religion” lacks precision, the courts have taken a hand in determining certain limits of State action—for example, with respect to the use of the Bible in the schools.

The Supreme Court, Hitler and God

The question whether our Supreme Court is going Fascist is to be answered in part by noting its recent utterances with respect to this un-precise area. Three cases—the Schwimmer and the Macintosh naturalization cases, and the Hamilton-Reynolds R. O. T. C. case—show that something is happening. In the naturalization cases the reasoning of the majority of the Court was substantially this: The State has a right to exist; the Congress is the sole judge of what is necessary in order that the State may continue to exist; therefore the Congress may compel the citizen to fight (or, by implication, to do anything else) that neighbor Jones, neighbor Smith, *et al.*, who are sent to represent us in Washington, happen to regard as needful for “national defence.” One passage in this remarkable argument says, in effect, that of course we ought to obey God, but that in mat-

ters of national defence it is the Congress that tells us citizens what is the will of God! The parallel with Hitler is unmistakable. He, too, on behalf of national defence, guides the whole people in the ways of his God.

A dissenting opinion written by Mr. Chief Justice Hughes claimed that this majority decision reversed an old principle of American government. With emphasis he pointed out that many unquestionably loyal citizens always have made reservations with respect to obedience to the State, and that the Congress itself has recognized the propriety of such reservations by granting to religious conscientious objectors immunity from military service. That is, the American State, though it has the *power* to compel every individual to be a soldier whenever the country is at War, has *chosen not to exercise this power*. So reasoned Mr. Hughes and his three associates of the liberal minority.

Liberal Justices Join Reactionaries

But less than four years later, in the case of two students kicked out of the University of California at Los Angeles because they wouldn't drill, there is no minority of the Court. In fact, the supposedly “liberal” Justices join the others in a still further restriction of the rights reserved by the people. The question now was not what immunities a conscientious objector is to have in time of War, but *in time of peace*. The effect of the Court's decision is to authorize compulsory service in time of peace in a branch of the Federal military establishment, namely the R. O. T. C. Rather oddly, the opinion rendered does not squarely face this issue, but instead falls back upon the “well-nigh limitless extent of war powers,” and upon the duty and the propriety of “national

defence.” No right of conscience was invaded, says the Court, because these students were still able to believe what they liked and to tell what they believed! The State respects conscience, it appears, as long as one thinks and talks—but does nothing!

Not even a minority of the Court—not even a Brandeis, a Stone, a Hughes, or a Cardozo—stands squarely and unequivocally against military control of the civilian populace in peace time. The U. S. Supreme Court is going Fascist.

FROM A GERMAN SEAMAN

TO THE EDITOR:

A friend smuggled a copy of FIGHT on board, so I write to you that you may know how it is on a German ship.

About two years have passed since the swastika flag flies o'er the topmast of our ship. It should have been a sign that things turned to the better, but what is the real situation? Our wages have been lowered through so-called voluntary “donations” and compulsory demands to join Fascist organizations. Our hours are now nine hours at sea and ten hours in port—and no overtime paid. I am going six years to sea and I'm still an ordinary seaman, because the ship company has cut down on expenses by having nearly all A.B.'s signed as O. S.

I get only 28 marks a month. My wages are supposed to be 60 but 28 is all what is left after deductions (taxes). When we came to a French port (name I don't like to give because they will know then the name of our ship) the longshoremen refused to unload the ship. Police came and scabs did the work.

We saw, with grim insight, how the capitalists of all the world stick together when it goes against the workers.

The captain told us threateningly to go down and not to show our faces on deck. Hitler promised us plenty and has kept none of his promises. Us seamen he cannot catch with such nationalist phrases instead of bread. Even his own men say that if Adolf will not show something pretty soon we will show him something.

A few of us have gotten together. We study together and work very carefully on the rest of the men. A few times we went to the Captain to complain about the rotten food, and we had the support of all men in the focsle. Most of the German seamen don't believe in the Hitler regime, and even prepare for the day when the workers will rule in a free Germany. Then we will make a clean job of it!

Fraternally yours,



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Cannons or Old Age Insurance?

An old and hungry man pausing before the window of a restaurant in Milwaukee

COMMUNICATIONS READY FOR WAR

By HY KRAVIF

The writer of this article is at present at work on a pamphlet on "Labor and the Communications Industry," which will be published in the *International Pamphlets* series under direction of the Labor Research Association.—EDITOR

THE GREAT significance of the Communications Act approved by President Roosevelt on June 19, 1934, has been almost lost in the alphabetical shuffle of "New Deal" legislation. And yet the act is of the utmost importance to all sincere opponents of War.

Briefly, this act sets up a Federal Communications Commission of seven, with power to regulate interstate and foreign communication whether by wire or by radio. At the present moment an effort is afoot to merge *Western Union Telegraph Company* with *Postal Telegraph and Cable Corporation*. Furthermore the *Bell Telephone System*, that gigantic telephone monopoly with assets of nearly five billions—the largest business enterprise in the world—and the *Radio Corporation of America*, through its two radio-telegraphic subsidiaries (*R. C. A. Communications* and *Radiomarine Corp. of America*), are also involved in what has been termed by the press, "the most gigantic communications monopoly under government supervision."

An Important Link

Although there had been for some years talk of merging *Western Union* and *Postal*

Telegraph, and of government regulation of telephone and radio telegraphy, President Roosevelt's suspension of the anti-trust laws under the NRA, has paved the way for the proposed mergers. And so we find among the President's early requests upon assuming office a study of the communications set-up by an Interdepartmental Communications Committee. The Committee's report was made public on January 23, 1934. Among other points it stressed this: "The navy is the first line of defense for this country . . . France and Germany must rely for immediate action at the outbreak of war on their domestic wire systems. The United States must rely on her radio communication with the fleet and merchant marine."

In commenting on this report, the *New York Herald-Tribune* pointed out: "Considerations of economy and of national defense in times of emergency are credited with the development of sentiment for private monopolies." It was also recalled that President David Sarnoff of the *Radio Corporation of America*—one of the companies involved in the proposed merger—had outlined a similar plan in an address before the *Army Industrial College* on May 4, 1933. Sarnoff declared: "This program is suggested as economically sound in times of peace, (and) practicable for prompt and effective transition for use in war." (My emphasis.—H. K.) And since it was a step which, according to the *Herald-Tribune*, December 4, 1933, "bankers for all the companies are said to favor,"

the *Communications Act* went through as scheduled.

After passage of the act in the U. S. Senate, the *New York Times* pointed out: "It empowered the President in time of war to take over radio and wire offices in the interest of national defense"; while the *New York Trust Co.* in its monthly publication, *The Index*, January, 1935, admitted that "the problem of overseas communications in relation to national defense" figured largely in its passage.

Militarizing Personnel

In December, 1934, hearings were held in Washington by the Federal Communications Commission preparatory to a more or less final report soon to be issued. I quote at length from a *N. Y. Herald-Tribune* account of these hearings:

National defense is a vital factor in the consolidation program. . . . *The Army and Navy* insist that in time of national emergency there should be a co-ordinated communications organization that could be taken over in its entirety as an entity by the government. In the Communications Act, and all previous laws affecting radio, there is a proviso giving the President power to commandeer these facilities in time of national emergency of any kind.

At the recent hearings Colonel Walter Krueger, senior member of the joint planning board of the Army and Navy, took the view that "the Communications Act should be developed subject to the needs of national defense," and "the communications companies' operators should be trained in military requirements and the personnel should be in the enlisted or commissioned reserve." The same view was reflected by Mr. Sarnoff and Colonel Behn [Sosthenes Behn, President of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. of which Postal Telegraph is a subsidiary.—H. K.], both reserve officers of high rank. (My emphasis.—H. K.)

The Communications Act is definitely a part of the War machine set-up in the United States. That it has been watched over so carefully by the Administration and passed at the present time bodes no good for the friends of peace.

A youth Congress Against War and Imperialism has just been held in Colombia, South America. At present there is a struggle for control of the oil deposits on the Colombian-Venezuelan border. The combatants are the *Standard Oil* and the *British Royal Dutch Shell*. In order to recruit soldiers for the Colombian Army (backed by *Standard Oil*) squadrons of soldiers surround an entire city block in a workers' neighborhood and actually kidnap all young men physically fit for army service. Special taxes to pay for the War preparations must be paid by those born since 1907.



STOP, LOOK, LISTEN!

LOOK at this chart! Study it! Read the figures carefully!

Then buy a paper or listen in on Father Coughlin, Hearst, Huey Long. Compare what they say with what Hitler said before he took power—and with what he is doing now.

It all sounds very familiar. Why? In Germany there is a crisis. We have a crisis. And in crises, leaders like Hitler, Huey Long, Coughlin, Hearst come forward with talk pretending to favor the common people, but their concrete proposals favor only the bankers and Big Business.

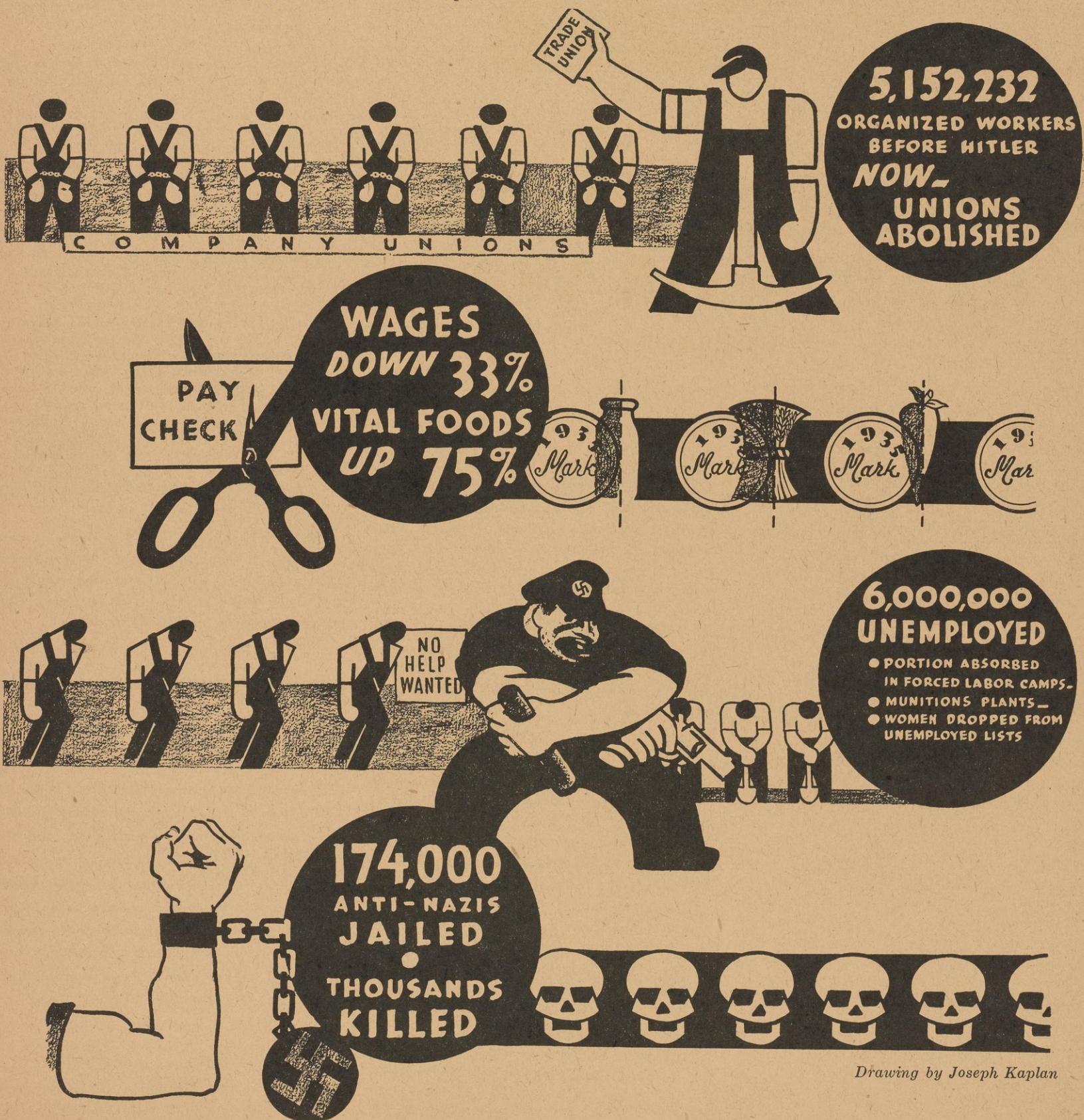
Look at the chart. Hitler abolished the trade unions so that Big Business could have full sway. And the result:—(Look at the chart)—low wages and higher living costs for all the common people. Hitler could not solve the unemployment problem, so he marched some of the unemployed into forced labor camps, where

they work for bread and potato peelings. Hitler took other unemployed workers and put them into munitions plants. Hitler threw women out of their jobs, driving many to the streets where the Nazi government receives part of their earnings. Hitler killed thousands of his working class opponents, and placed tens of thousands in jails and prisons.

Study this chart! Read these figures carefully!

Then listen to Coughlin, Huey Long and Hearst. Compare what they say with what Hitler said before Fascism came into power and with what Nazi Germany is doing now.

We must understand these forces AND WE MUST ACT. We must organize and fight for our rights—or slavery, too, will be our lot!



Drawing by Joseph Kaplan



What sedition legislation and terror means to the workers. (LEFT) Age and sex does not stop the National Guard (under orders) from arresting this woman when she passed the "deadline" at the Electric Auto-Lite Plant during the recent strike in Toledo (CENTER) San Francisco police raiding and breaking up workers headquarters. (RIGHT) Police shoot and club Denver workers who strike for higher wages and better conditions



FEDERAL DRIVE ON LABOR

By **ROGER BALDWIN**

Director, American Civil Liberties Union

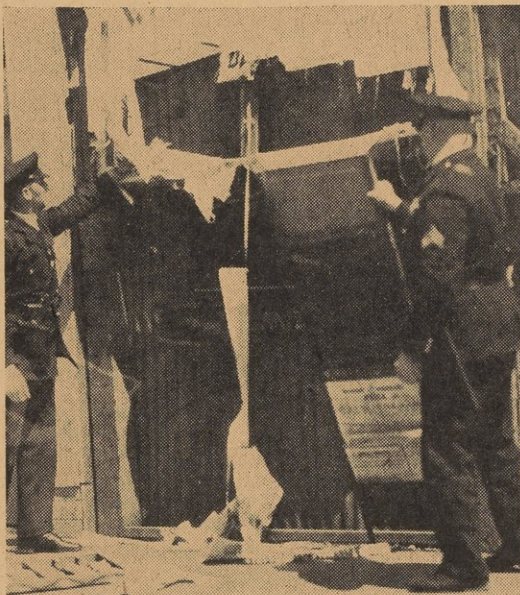
THE "PATRIOTS." They are scared. Not in years have they united on so vitriolic a campaign against Communists, left movements in general and particularly the propagandists against War and reaction. I have seen all the anti-red campaigns of the last fifteen years rise, run their course and die. Few of them left much behind except scattering prosecutions, a new local gag law here and there, and black-listed workers.

Now a Real Menace

But now their purposes are menacing because directed to a sweeping program of federal bills which would outlaw Communists, revolutionary Socialists, militant opponents of War and left-wing labor. The red herring has again been drawn across the trail of industrial unrest to divert attention from the collapse of the promises of the New Deal to labor and consumers. It seeks to mask the huge program of militarism. Behind the drive are massed the forces making for a Fascist suppression of the left—the only source of militant opposition.

Who are the defenders of American institutions who proclaim this new campaign, who cry out their fears of the reds? Their leadership is the *U. S. Chamber of Commerce* and the *American Legion*, with Hearst as their chief propaganda agent. Clustered about them are the lesser fry of patriotism—the *D. A. R.*, the army and navy crowd, the *National Civic Federation* and *Bernarr McFadden*. The *Elks* trot along in the rear with a monster petition.

This is a formidable array. It has influence both on public opinion and on the administration. While the legislative proposals have



not yet been introduced in Congress, the way is being prepared for them by a perfect avalanche of literature, petitions, editorials, pamphlets.

What this campaign proposes is:

First, a federal sedition law under which it will be a crime for any person privately or publicly to advocate what may be construed as the overthrow of government by force and violence. Anyone who is familiar with such prosecutions under state sedition laws knows how any strike, speech or radical campaign may be construed.

Second, an act to bar from the mails all publications of any organization which is held to advocate such a doctrine. That is aimed, of course, at the Communist Party; but under pressure such a law would be used to reach any group with a militant anti-capitalist program.

Third, an act making it a crime to distribute any material intended to cause disaffection among soldiers and sailors. This is aimed at such propaganda as is conducted by militant anti-War organizations. In practice it would certainly be used in times of strike to jail strikers fraternizing with the National Guard.

Fourth, and more important in its effects than all the others, is the establishment of a political secret service in the Department of Justice, similar to that of the regimes of Mitchell Palmer and Harry Daugherty, when the world's greatest detective, William J. Burns, headed the bureau of red-hunters. Such a political police in the Department of Justice would put stool-pigeons and spies into practically every working-class and radical organization in the country. They would rig up the very offenses they were supposed to prevent. They would inspire

wholesale free speech prosecutions and lawless raids.

And finally is, of course, a proposal to tighten up on radical aliens by making deportations easier and admissions harder.

Clearing the Road for Fascism

There is an easy assumption among trade-unionists and liberals that these proposals haven't got much chance, or if they did get written into law they would not be used, except possibly against a few Communists. Nothing could be more false. Legislation like this is not promoted for fun. It would put new weapons of terrorism into the hands of those itching to use them. Its backers announce that they mean to suppress absolutely, as has been done in other countries, the whole radical movement. In it they see the rallying-point around which greater forces will organize to resist Fascist reaction when faith and hope in New Deal promises have collapsed. They will not stop with attacking Communists. They will strike at the threat of anti-capitalist power wherever it arises—in the trade-unions, the Socialist Party, the middle-class, among the farmers. Such laws are always stretched in times of crisis and fear to cover all opponents of the ruling class. Suppression of the left clears the way for the organizations of reactionary power masquerading under some such guise as the phony popular programs of a Huey Long or a Father Coughlin.

These laws, if passed, will be applied as they always have been, not against *any* advocate of the prohibited doctrines, but against radicals.

Determined Opposition

This drive for new federal gag laws can be beaten only by the strongest possible unity of every opposed force—organized labor, the farmers, middle-class, religious organizations and the radical political parties. Every reader of *FIGHT* should get busy in the campaign at once by (1) getting material and sample resolutions from the national office of the *American League Against War and Fascism* and putting them up to local groups; (2) by writing to local papers letters of opposition; (3) by addressing letters and telegrams to every Senator and Representative as soon as bills are introduced. Determined and united opposition can beat them.

Students on Strike

By SANFORD SOLENDER

The writer of this article was the New York University representative at the recent World Student Congress Against War and Fascism at Brussels. There were a total of ten American students at this international gathering.

THAT MANY students in America are aroused against War and Fascism is now an established fact. Most important, however, is the unqualified militancy which their opposition has assumed. An ever growing mass of students in the United States are becoming increasingly aware of the significance of War and Fascism and of the threat these offer to modern civilization. As never before, students of this nation are becoming alive to these dangers, and are crystallizing their awakening into determined and aggressive activity.

On April 13 of last year, American students gave their first concrete warning to the War-makers. Over 25,000 young men and women, representing high schools and colleges throughout the nation, remained away from classes in a most astounding anti-War demonstration. Students in U.C.L.A., Oklahoma, and Wyoming, in Chicago and in many colleges in the New England and New York areas all participated in this nation-wide manifestation against War. Nor was the strike confined to left-wing adherents. Students of all shades of political opinion took part, and in Vassar College there was held an impressive anti-War parade, led by the President of the college. Of particular importance was, first, the participation in New York City especially, of several thousand high school students; and second, the encouraging number of instructors who gave their active support. The strike signalized the first tangible achievement in the efforts to evolve a powerful and effective movement against War in America.

Since Then

Since April 13, 1934, great strides have been seen in the development of student opposition to War and Fascism. Not only has the spirit spread throughout the nation, but the resultant form of activity has been one of unprecedented militancy. The movements have devoted themselves to two general aims: first, to oppose and struggle against all forms of militarism, both within the college and without; and second, to expose and fight all evidences of Fascism in America. The first of these tasks has shown the most widespread activity. In this connection students have vigorously opposed the R.O.T.C. and all other forms of military training. They have fought against utilizing the facilities of the colleges for War preparations. This has been particularly true in the case of the scientific laboratories, which, in many cases, are carrying on experiments for the War department. Students have consistently opposed the pro-War policies and activities of the

government. They have rallied to the Oxford oath, the foremost slogan in the April 13 strike, and have pledged themselves "NOT TO SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN ANY WAR IT MAY CONDUCT." They have sought out, exposed, and fought against all efforts at the fascistization of American youth. They have indicated categorical opposition to Fascism, the movement which today leads the world in the direction of War.

The fall months of 1934 saw regional and college anti-War conventions throughout the nation. Armistice Day was also the occasion for innumerable student demonstrations. The struggle against military training in the colleges was intensified. In the universities of Ohio, Missouri and California, students were suspended for these activities. However, the anti-R.O.T.C. activities have not gone for naught, for student opinion was successful in obtaining the abolition of compulsory drill in such colleges as Minnesota and New York University; and in De Pauw University military training was entirely abandoned. Student opposition to Fascism, while it has not been as widespread as that against War, has gained a constantly increasing number of adherents. Formidable anti-Fascist demonstrations were held throughout the nation on the occasion of the visit of the delegation of Italian students. In the College of the City of New York twenty-one students were expelled for their participation in such a demonstration.

Following American Students

On December 29 to 31, the *World Student Congress Against War and Fascism* was held in Brussels. 375 delegates, representing students in 31 different countries, participated in this significant meeting, and enthusiastically and unanimously endorsed a program designed to promote a universal and united student struggle against War and Fascism. Following the example set by the successful student strike in America, the World Congress declared an international student strike against War and Fascism to take place on April 5, 1935.

Last year's strike was initiated through the *American League Against War and Fascism*, *Student League for Industrial Democracy*, *National Student League*, etc., etc. Though these organizations have initiated the movement for the approaching strike in America, its scope has already been considerably widened. This must be attributed to the international character of the strike, to the acuteness of the War danger, to the alarming growth of Fascism, and to the increasing student realization of the significance of these developments. Already such organizations as the *Methodist Students' League* and the *Michigan Teachers' Association* have indicated their support.

April 5 is Our Day

That an increasingly great number of American students are on the march against War and



Jiro Minami, Commander of the Japanese Imperial Army now invading Manchuria

Fascism can therefore no longer be questioned. Constantly growing in size and militancy, this student movement is an ever-present threat to the War-lords of the nation. On April 5 the students of America will join with their fellows the world over, and, with unprecedented but firm determination, will demonstrate their absolute unwillingness to submit to destruction and reaction —to War and Fascism.



Santa Cruz, Cal., branch of the *American League* reports a lecture attended by 275 people, over the most vicious Fascist opposition. The *Painters Union* adjourned their meeting held on the same night and attended the League's meeting in a body. The sentiment among them, after the meeting, points to early affiliation. The CCC authorities at Capitola did everything in their power to keep the boys from coming to the meeting. Movies were shown both the night before and the night of the meeting to distract their interest. Trucks were not allowed their usual trip into town. The authorities personally tore down the posted leaflets from the walls. In spite of all this, twelve CCC boys made their way into town to the meeting. The speaker was Dr. Whitaker, who spoke on War and Fascism.



A FARMERS' MEETING

IT WAS one of those misty nights when the fog spread itself on your windshield like butter on bread. We crept along at five miles an hour, peering into the distance for the beam of light which would announce our destination, the Elm Township Hall of Dickey County, North Dakota.

There was to be a regular meeting of a farmers' local. Farmers came for many miles to these meetings to lay their grievances before their organization, and to discuss means of redressing their wrongs. If tonight, in weather like this, the meeting materialized, then there could be no doubt that the organization was serving a real and definite purpose.

When we reached the hall only two farmers were there before us. They had a fire roaring in the furnace and the gas lights were lit. Presently the sound of cars outside announced the arrival of others. They came in, stamping the mud from their feet, slapping themselves to keep warm. Some one looked out the window and counted headlights in the distance. Even in a fog you can see lights pretty far on the Dakota prairies, and every pair of headlights meant another group bound for the meeting.

The Meeting Opens

In a few minutes B. C. Moore, the chairman, opened the meeting, with twenty-five or thirty farmers and their wives and children sitting on the benches before him.

"Tonight," said Moore, "we are going to turn the meeting over to the Anti-War. They have a little program for us." Mrs. Ellen Moore, his wife, an energetic young woman, came forward and without much ado opened her program.

First she called on Louis Tveit's boy, a dark haired child, to say his piece. It was a poem about War. Then she called on Louis Whelan, a farmer and a leader of the *United Farmers League*, to read a paper he had prepared on *Profits in War*.

Louis Whelan had followed closely the newspaper accounts of the munitions investigations in Washington. He spoke of the tremendous profits in the manufacture and sale of munitions. He told how government officials had been involved in the conspiracy to make bigger profits for the armament makers. He figured that if the people could take the profits out of arms manufacture War might be abolished.

Whelan finished his reading, but he still had more to say. He told a story that had rankled in him for a long time. "During the last War," he said, "we were told to buy bonds. We asked them why they didn't get the rich fellows to buy the bonds. They told us they wanted us to share in the dividends of these bonds as well as the rich. Of course we knew that the rich would get all the dividends anyway. But they brought so much pressure on us that most of us figured we better take our quota. Well, I had to borrow the money at six or eight percent to buy the bonds, and then I had to sell

By **ROB F. HALL**

Associate Editor, *Farmers Weekly*

them pretty quick to raise money for my family. I sold mine for 75 cents on the dollar, and the big fellows bought them in."

A Veteran Speaks

Mrs. Moore called on Adolph Hinden, another farmers' leader in the county who had seen service in the World War.

Hinden spoke of conditions in the army hospital at Kansas City where he had been sent to recover from his wounds. "Most of the fellows had tuberculosis, contracted as a result of the conditions," he said. "There was a fellow next to me who had been shot thirteen times. One fellow had been a patient there for eight years. When he came in, he was forced along with other patients to clean the floor. He refused, and they put him in solitary confinement. He finally got out, and he raised such a stink along with some of the others that they never dared to put patients on this kind of work again."

The last person to speak was Louis Tveit. A high forehead, a sober and grave manner give Tveit an impression of studiousness. When you see the books on the shelves at his farm house, you realize that the impression is justified.

"It Is Part of the Profit System"

He spoke on the prospects of an approaching World War. He differed from Louis Whelan, he said, in one respect. It is not the profits of the munitions manufacturers alone which

First Gas then Bullets!

Federal Laboratories, Inc., Pittsburgh, advertising gas for use in strikes and demonstrations against "respectable men and women, and even children, who sometimes find themselves . . . outside of the law"

cause War. It is the profits of all big business undertakings. It is a part of the profit system.

"During the War they tried to make us believe that the people were eager to serve in the War, but you and I know that most of those that went to War did not want to go. The majority were drafted. If the soldiers had wanted War, why did they have to draft them?"

"Our boys had no grudge against the German workers and farmers. They had no desire to kill. Then why was there a War?"

Tveit then explained simply the drive of the big monopolists and financiers to find markets for their so-called surpluses. He showed how similar conditions exist today, and that unless we fight against it, we, the working people and producers, shall be thrown into the hopper of a crushing, destructive imperialist War.

When Tveit sat down there was discussion from the floor. Every one was anxious to clear up in their own minds certain economic problems in connection with this War danger. It isn't only a market for their products which the big industrialists are seeking. There is something else. As the discussion developed it became clear that the markets for money were just as important in the question of the War danger. The bankers were exporting money as well as products, and this was a root, too, of the War danger.

When the Anti-War meeting adjourned and the meeting of the farmers' local began, we visitors knew that here were some fifty persons who had no illusions about what War means to the mass of impoverished American farmers, and that they were determined to fight with all their strength against the big bankers' attempts to force them into a program of slaughter.



This actual photograph shows how desperate criminals are forced from barricaded buildings and overpowered with tear gas without gunfire.

A RED line of crime and civil disorder courses across every page of history.

There is scarcely a city or town . . . even a community . . . which has not experienced conflicts resulting in bloodshed, the destruction of property and disruption of the peace.

Most of these violences are between criminals and the authorities. But too frequently they involve quite responsible citizens, whose hitherto orderly lives are made tumultuous by circumstances which temporarily place them outside of the law.

The habitual criminal deserves only brief consideration. If he submits peacefully he is entitled to judgment by due course of law. If he resists to the point where others are endangered, bullets may well punctuate the final moment of his life.

Bullets For Bandits But Not For Citizens

But much harm must be done before the forces of order feel justified in the use of gunfire against respectable men and women, and even children, who sometimes find themselves violently at odds with society.

With such a group the police feel the responsibility of protecting the crowd against its own folly. A mob is a whirlpool, with only a few at its center who incite the rest and draw them into a situation in which they would never consent to have a part if their sober judgment had not been temporarily overbalanced.

And yet such a group can become as grave a menace as the most vicious criminals, for nothing is sacred when a crowd loses its reason.

ALL IN

Emery Balint, the Hungarian novelist, is now living in the U. S. A., an emigré from the Horthy Fascist régime. The author spent twenty-eight months in the trenches as a soldier in the Hungarian army during the World War. This section of an unpublished novel depicts a bewildered soldier driven to inhuman acts in a War whose causes and slogans are strange to his class instincts.—

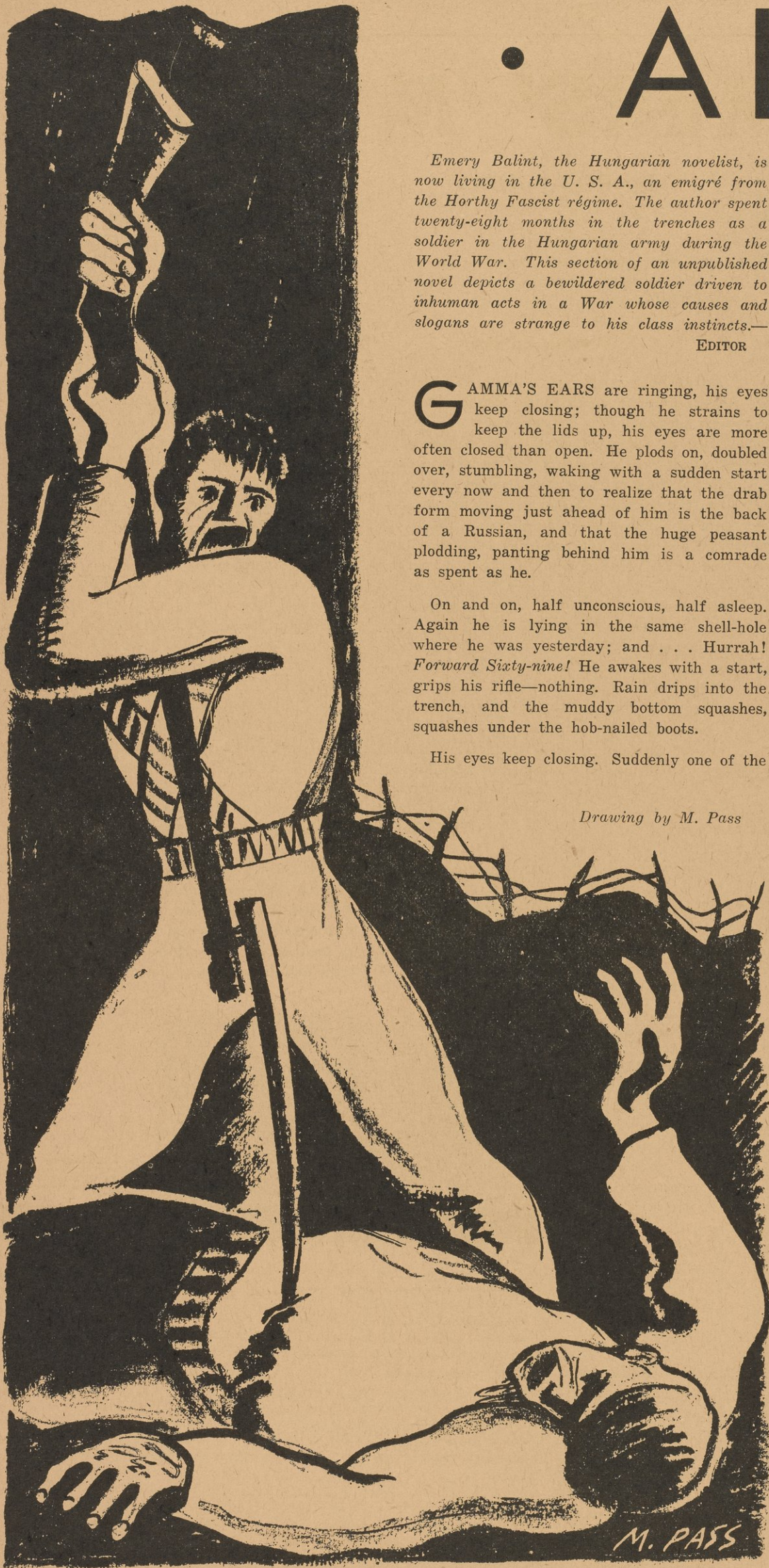
EDITOR

GAMMA'S EARS are ringing, his eyes keep closing; though he strains to keep the lids up, his eyes are more often closed than open. He plods on, doubled over, stumbling, waking with a sudden start every now and then to realize that the drab form moving just ahead of him is the back of a Russian, and that the huge peasant plodding, panting behind him is a comrade as spent as he.

On and on, half unconscious, half asleep. Again he is lying in the same shell-hole where he was yesterday; and . . . Hurrah! Forward Sixty-nine! He awakes with a start, grips his rifle—nothing. Rain drips into the trench, and the muddy bottom squashes, squashes under the hob-nailed boots.

His eyes keep closing. Suddenly one of the

Drawing by M. Pass



Russians steps aside into a big, black opening dug into the trench, perhaps mistaking it for the continuation of the trench, perhaps wanting to show their former "nest" to their captors. The opening is half covered with a tarpaulin, but he never notices that the Russian marching at the head holds open the tarpaulin. When he is inside the Russian lets it fall, and suddenly everything becomes black, dreadfully black.

Gamma is at the mercy of his struggling emotions. To flop down, not to go a half-step forward, not again to force open his eyes; to throw his arms wide and up, like the ones shot in the head, and to stretch out, doing absolutely nothing! Afraid, he opens his eyes. Nothing—darkness. In front of him, but far away—Or is it only his senses refusing to function?—the Russians are chirping, barely audible. Something sizzles by. It is a match, dying out at once; but in that fraction of a second he can at least see where he is. He glances behind him. There is a faint crack of light from the tarpaulin. He gropes with his hand and his rifle to find his comrade. He can't find him anywhere. He calls out in Hungarian. A new match sizzles in the hands of the Russian. Nobody answers in Hungarian. A third match bursts into flame. Someone says something to him in Russian.

A howling, desperate, terror-stricken madness comes over him. He bellows: *Hey, pal, where are you?*—and falls back, a veil before his eyes. This is only a horrible nightmare. He knows: Here's where I'm going to feel a terrific stab in my breast! Howling, he lunges in the darkness, stabbing and swinging and plunging. His bayonet strikes into warm, pungent flesh, and he leans into it with a last upflaring of madness. The bayonet crackles, swishes in the soft intestines, flesh and bones; and falling—everything falling—forward. Yells: "One, two!" He has no strength to pull his bayonet out of the falling body. He, too, falls forward, shrieking, frantic. Russian boots trample over him. A cold blast comes from the tarpaulin torn off by the fleeing Russians. The gurgle at his side grows fainter and fainter. A boot kicks him—a strong kick, a few weak ones. His hand is swimming in a pool of blood. Let it. His eyelids are closing. The Russian boot stops jerking. The gurgle stops, too. His eyelids are made of iron. They are pressing in deep, down to his nose. All the way in.

He falls asleep.

2

"Herr Lieutenant, I wish to speak to you privately."

"Privately? It is a long time since I heard

TWO DAYS

By EMERY BALINT

Author of "Alpha, Beta, Gamma," "Simon," "Anna in Wonderland"

that word—'privately.' What does it mean?"

"Unofficially. Outside of the service."

"How can I place myself outside of the service just to please a plain infantryman? Come around after the war, then I'll gladly be at your service. Outside of the service also. But now we're all in dead earnest, inside instead of out," answered the officer frivolously.

"Herr Lieutenant, don't go away!" yelled Gamma pleadingly and with despair in his voice.

The Lieutenant turned around, almost snapped back, then saw Gamma's eyes piercing into his like steel blades, ready for anything.

"Unofficially and alone, Herr Lieutenant!"

The Lieutenant bit his lips and looked at him sternly, beginning with his boots and up and up. They looked rigidly into each other's eyes for seconds, then the Lieutenant turned away; and only after taking a few steps did he call back severely to the dejected boy slumping back into himself: "Be in my dug-out in half an hour!"

They forgot to salute each other.

3

"Sit down. Light one of these Princesse cigarettes, and tell me what's the trouble. Monday—Tuesday was the first time you were in a real battle, and today is Thursday; so you're full of complaints, I'm sure. You have no old aunt near in whose lap you could cry your heart out, so you come to a Lieutenant of the Imperial and Royal Army. Or, perhaps, you want to blame me for letting you join the Army in Lemberg?"

"No, Herr Lieutenant. It's not that at all. I want to report that I'm a beast. I want to know why, for whom, have I become a beast? I'm a mean beast who has shed the last trace of civilization, humanity, good will."

"Oh, you're kicking because the war isn't conducted according to a tuppenny book on etiquette, that shells aren't filled with eau de cologne? Is that it?"

"I want to report that I'm a wild beast who should be clubbed to death."

"Is that all that's bothering you? Then everything's all right, because if this bloody war lasts another few months we'll all of us be dead. It doesn't matter whether we're clubbed to death or blasted to pieces; the fact is that we'll surely be dead. Are you satisfied now?"

"Don't be cynical, Herr Lieutenant!"

"My dear fellow, where my own hide is concerned I may be as cynical as I like. Here we're all paying dearly for our sins. We're even paying like sports, 'way in advance for all the sins we might commit in the future."

"You were an officer in peace time, too, Herr Lieutenant. This is your profession. You've had to prepare for all this. You were impregnated with Kaiser and King. They're in your blood. You know what this is all about. But I . . ."

"Youngster, you're mistaken. I'm just as sensitive and reasoning a man as you civilians, perhaps because I come of a civilian family, and have always mixed with civilians a good deal. I'm not the rigid, professional type of officer. My real self is not an officer by tradition, hard-boiled by training. The Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, has Generals, politicians, bankers, war-contractors; and the aristocratic ladies in Vienna are dying of ennui even now. They know why; they know what it's all about. They're the only ones who know for whom and for what we are suffering here. Since I'm a reasoning man and not a dyed-in-the-wool officer, I don't. I'm just the same kind of low beast of war as you are—or as any artillery horse is, for that matter."

"Herr Lieutenant, Herr Lieutenant, but I'm not a war beast but a mad beast! I raped a girl who was half-dead of starvation. I stabbed to death unarmed, defenseless prisoners. I can almost see myself with foaming mouth, my fur matted with blood."

"Congratulations! I hadn't suspected what a good soldier you've become!"

"Don't torture me, Herr Lieutenant!"

"Come on, tell me all about it. The part about the prisoners doesn't interest me, but tell me all about the girl. Go ahead. Light another cigarette and lean back comfortably as if you were the battle-scarred Colonel of the English novels and I one of his audience of aristocratic ladies."

"Herr Lieutenant, you're making fun of me, of that little bit of humanity still left in me. I know well enough what I've done—my despair; that's just why you're making fun of me."

"Maybe you're right, youngster, but what else can I do? I just want you to remember that we soldiers have been in the habit of telling each other these little adventures with women ever since the old English colonels started it in the novels. These are the themes for stories, for novels. Who in hell is going to take such an affair seriously? Not having a woman is bad; it's so bad at times that it even becomes painful. But having one! You

ought to brag about it, Boy. I envy you. If we weren't knee-deep in war I might even ask for her address, so help me God!"

"Herr Lieutenant, Herr Lieutenant! Please let me go! I haven't told you a thing. Please forget it. I wasn't even here!"

"Stay here till you've finished your cigarette. It'd be a shame to throw it away, wouldn't it? You seldom get a chance to smoke a genuine Princesse. Besides, I wouldn't like you to finish it in front of the other privates. That would get you in bad. They'd whisper about 'pull,' that you came out of my dug-out smoking an officer's ration cigarette, that you were trying to get on the right side of me, perhaps even squealed on them, and all that sort of thing. You know how it'd be yourself. In the meanwhile you can tell me about that prisoner."

"I killed him."

"Was he trying to escape, or did he attack you?"

"I was sleepy and dead tired. My brain and my body had both ceased to work. I was a beast, and lunged into him with my bayonet as a tiger sinks his teeth in another animal's throat—just like that. That's how it seems to me. When I came to myself I found I was in a deserted Russian dug-out, lying in a mess of coagulated blood that almost glued me to the ground, and a dead Russian was lying next to me. My bayonet was sticking out of his chest."

The Lieutenant threw his cigarette away, and stood up. The boy stood up, too, automatically. The Lieutenant put his hand on his shoulder and spoke seriously, without the slightest trace of his former cynicism or banter.

"Is it true that on Tuesday morning you volunteered to bring in the Field Post?"

"Yes, Sir."

"Is it true that you held out for hours between the two lines, joined in the fight, and were one of the first to jump into the Russian trench, and in the hand-to-hand fight fought like a hero?"

"Not like a hero, but like a beast. I never want to think of it. I wasn't a hero. I was a beast."

"The official report mentions the heroes of the Sixty-ninth Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment. Never a word in it about the beasts of the Sixty-ninth Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment, which, by the way, would be deeply resented by the whole army. I haven't told you yet—it's still an official secret—but you've been voted the Silver Medal for Bravery, and by to-morrow, whether you want it or not, you'll be acclaimed one of the heroes of the Sixty-ninth Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment."

PRELUDE TO CASTOR OIL

By LOREN MILLER

AREALLY NOTORIOUS for the severity of its criminal syndicalism laws, California will take its place as the first Fascist state in the union if a series of so-called anti-red, in reality anti-labor, bills now before the state legislature are passed. The proposed statutes are so all-inclusive in their scope and so vicious in their intent that outsiders may marvel that they could even have found sponsors. Those who know the history of the McNamara and Mooney cases and who have followed events in San Francisco and Imperial Valley strikes will understand.

The Iron Heel

One provision of the bills would set up an elaborate espionage system under which police officers would be required to submit weekly reports on all radical suspects to a central police authority. Possession of subversive literature—an elastic term in this state—would be a felony.

is obvious that the bills are only the legal expression of the editorial policies of the reactionary Los Angeles *Times*, San Francisco *Chronicle* and the Hearst papers. Back of them lies the determination of California employers to crush the labor unions that gave them so much trouble in the agricultural and water front strikes last year.

Virtual control of the judiciary has already been secured by taking away from the voters the election of supreme and appeals court judges. A reactionary interpretation of the proposed laws or only the few of them that may pass will assure employers a free hand not only to break strikes but also to choke off all open manifestations of sympathy in future strikes.

Preparing to Slaughter

A well organized campaign to pass these laws is being developed. Not only are local

reprinted. Hardly a week passes without attacks on Filipinos. Anti-Oriental feeling is a well-spring of hatred that can be tapped almost at will. James E. Davis, Texas born Los Angeles chief of police, tells all who will listen that radicals are forcing white women to cohabit with Negro men to win them to the cause. Martin Luther Thomas, political preacher, broadcasts that Los Angeles' Negro section is a hotbed of Communism. Formation of Mexican labor unions has been seized upon to incite racial prejudice against foreign born.

Nor is the formation of potential storm troopers neglected. There are skeletal groups everywhere. Victor McLaglen heads a troop of *Lancers* for the upper-crust playboys. Vigilante organizations exist all over the state, and there are *Campus Americans* for the collegians. The *American Legion* is in reactionary hands, and it is significant that Frank Belgrano, its banker president, and Homer Chaillaux, Americanism committee chairman, are both Californians. Police officers were recently exhorted to use their spare time to collect signatures on anti-radical petitions. Michael Shannon, another Californian and national head of the Elks, has called for a "crusade" against all un-Americans.

A Concentration Point

This state is spending thousands of dollars in an effort to convict union leaders of criminal syndicalism in the state capital. Long Beach Masons refused their hall to Harry Elmer Barnes. It is evident that the reactionaries have selected California as the focal point in their drive against Civil Liberties. Meanwhile new strikes are brewing in the agricultural sections, and the water-front troubles are by no means over. An unexampled wave of terror will sweep over the state if labor trouble does come. That's the real reason behind the latest orgy of red baiting. There is acute danger that all safeguards to freedom of speech and assemblage may be wiped out at the height of the next struggle unless anti-Fascists rally on a national scale to meet their California foes. Our triumph of reaction here would mean its extension elsewhere.



Caroline Decker, one of the 18 defendants, facing 6 to 84 year sentences in Sacramento, Calif., on charges of criminal syndicalism

Attending meetings under police ban would incur a prison sentence. Buildings used for such meetings could be abated as nuisance while those who rented them would be charged with a crime.

Citizens who advocate changes in governmental structure would be deprived of the right to vote or hold office. Teachers in private or public schools who instruct pupils in a manner consonant with modern thought would face jail. Minority parties would be driven off the ballot by requiring them to secure a larger percentage of the total vote. And one of the most remarkable features of the proposed laws is that which defines as a "misdemeanor" distribution on the grounds of any school or college of any literature advocating opposition to faculty ruling!

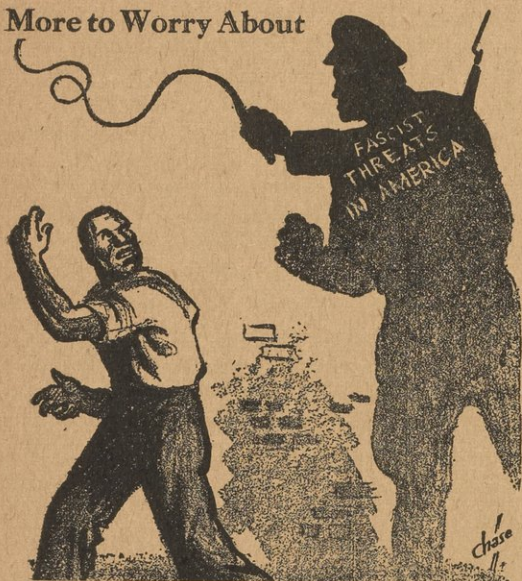
This series of laws has the open endorsement of the *American Legion*, the *Elks*, *Daughters of the Golden West* and the *United States Junior Chamber of Commerce*. It

employers determined to rid themselves of labor "agitators," but the constant reiteration from Washington that radical propaganda is permeating naval personnel on the west coast shows that national support is being given. Anti-Fascists may not be aware of it but the War makers are alive to the fact that the Pacific coast must be thoroughly "pacified" to prepare for the eventuality of trouble in the Far East. Above all things is it necessary from their viewpoint to abolish worker control on the water front. Munitions loading may become necessary.

The present Fascist campaign still lacks the necessary mass support. That deficiency is being remedied. Max Socha, prominent banker whose wife is a Los Angeles city official, is in control of the German-American groups. These are rapidly becoming centers of Anti-Semitism, and Socha issued a statement hailing the Saar vote that was widely

The annual report of the Vienna Police Detective Department covering the period between the middle of March, 1933, and the end of December, 1934, shows that 38,130 arrests were made in Vienna alone for political reasons. (2% of the total population). 19,040 of these arrests admitted Social Democrat and Communist affiliation. The police report also states that 106,300 houses were searched for political reasons. According to this official data there can hardly be a working class home in Vienna which has not been touched by the Fascist terror.

More to Worry About



From *The Baltimore Afro-American*
What Fascism means to the American Negro

militant trade unions, did the Fascist government return to its ideas about the syndicate state.

The first significant act was the recognition of Fascist syndicates exclusively as representatives of the workers. This was in April, 1923; and the agreement with the employers, at the Palazzo Vidoni in October, 1925, definitely established the new system. It had been theoretically evolved by Alfred Rocco, then Minister of Justice, who has since stated that he had not guided the economic factors in a logical evolution but had merely provided *a posteriori* an explanation and perhaps a justification of the ultimate economic situation.

A Slave State

This tendency for action to precede doctrine is an essential and very significant part



From A. I. Z.
Hitler arrives in the Saar

THE ITALIAN STATE

By CARMEN HAIDER

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

TODAY, when there are persons who claim the philosophy and structure of the corporate state as the ultimate solution of the problem of capitalism, it is important to remember that Mussolini himself adopted this program only as an expedient, and attached no theoretical value to it. In his speech at Udine in September, 1922, which prepared the way for the March on Rome, he stated: "We had to adopt syndicalism; we have done it." In 1925, after three years in power, he confirmed this attitude of his early days: "Fascism, having become a phenomenon of the masses . . . saw the problem of syndicalism burst forth in its entire vastness . . ."

In fact, between 1922 and 1925 the proponents of Fascist syndicalism received scant attention from Mussolini. He was then still trying to win to Fascism, through the support of labor leaders, the masses of the people. Only when that failed, and when the employers pressed for the liquidation of the



From *Der Simpl*
"Big Bertha—The Lady for whom he yearns"

of Fascism. This being so, we shall, in seeking to evaluate the corporate state, consider pragmatically the actual results after its nine years of operation.

There are two ways by which, even in a capitalist democracy, workers may gain a hearing for their claims: First, through representation, political as well as economic—that is, through legislative bodies and through trade unions; and, secondly, by utilizing the

strike as a means of improving the living conditions of the workers. Under the corporate state the Italian workers are today completely deprived of these weapons. In the legislative bodies labor has, ostensibly, an equal voice with capital, not dependent, as in a political democracy, on the numerical proportion between the two parties. Labor is thus stripped of the weight that might attach in a non-Fascist state to the power of numbers.

Moreover, while the law provides that the representatives of the workers' syndicates might be either elected or be appointed by the government, in actual fact they are almost never chosen by the workers. To quote the Secretary-General of the Fascist party: "The party can . . . not abandon the syndicates to themselves until all the last traces of socialism, which are still numerous in the working masses, have disappeared." Nor do the representatives of the workers come from the ranks of the workers themselves. In the words of Bottai, when minister of Corporations: "To the young men who are preparing to increase the unutilized and useless reserves of professionals without professions, this new profession (of syndicate representative) must be indicated." The Fascists do not consider it the business of these officials to represent the workers. The Fascist labor newspaper states: "The syndicate officials must remain black shirts, delegated by the party to direct the syndicates."

To Prison if You Strike!

The third weapon of industrial, economic or political struggle, the strike, has by legis-
(Continued on page fourteen)



Imperialism at work! He plows. He sows. And then he reaps



From *Izvestia*

WHAT CHOICE?

By AL HAMILTON

The U. S. Supreme Court's recent decision that land grant colleges can expel students who, because of religious and conscientious objection, refuse to submit to military training, was based on the case of Al Hamilton and W. Alonzo Reynolds of California. Mr. Hamilton is Chairman of Social Action, National Council of Methodist Youth.—EDITOR

FOR SOME TIME certain true spiritual forces of the church and the economic forces in present day society have been moving in opposite directions. And to the extent that these religious groups move along the road toward a just economic system, toward true democracy of those who produce, and toward a Warless world, by so much will they find themselves coming into more direct opposition with the state. Sincere and intelligent Christians are faced with a choice—support of the church's struggle for social justice and peace, or a militarist state speaking for the dominant economic group in a capitalist society.

The Struggle for Markets

To understand more fully the reason for this alternative one must understand exactly the direction in which the state is moving. A state under the profit system inevitably finds itself coming into economic conflict with other nations. As private industry finds the internal market decaying and no longer able to consume what is produced, it utilizes the mechanism of the state to support its attempts to sell abroad. Tariff manipulation, currency control, and all the other devices of modern economic conflict are resorted to. With this, goes an increasing tendency toward militarization. A similar tendency in regard to the various national entities added to the psychological forces at work tend to make the situation cumulative. What happens in one nation is reflected in all, and thus the race toward complete militarization grows ever keener.

America today, under the economic drive of a decaying profit system, and with the consequent play of psychological forces, is entering into evident preparation for a War-time state, in which all socially-minded groups and ideas will be subject more and more to the domination of the state. Today we can see very real preparation for a War-time "totalitarian" state. Such preparation is being reflected by the position into which the church is being forced.

Supreme Court in Action

The true religious impulse is not something separated from life. It must be felt in everyday affairs. As the protestant church begins to place itself in opposition to War, it is finding itself in opposition not to some abstract principle, but to the state itself. The

result of an attempt to exercise conscience on the matter of War training, may be judged by the recent decision of the Supreme Court upholding the right of a state university to compel students to take military training regardless of their religious or personal beliefs.

In this decision, the ideological basis of the "totalitarian" state from the standpoint of the military position was made clear by Justice Butler in his repetition of his words in the Schwimmer case. He said that:

... the duty of citizens by force of arms to defend our government against all enemies whenever necessity arises is a fundamental principle of the constitution ... whatever tends to lessen the willingness of citizens to discharge their duty to bear arms in the country's defense detracts from the strength and safety of government.

Further he stated:

And yet he (the conscientious objector) may be compelled by force if need be against his will and without regard to his personal wishes or his pecuniary interests or even his religious or political convictions to take his place in the ranks of the army of his country and risk the chance of being shot down in its defense.

In the Macintosh case Justice Hughes had delivered an emphatic statement upholding the right of conscience, but in this case he was silent. Support of the War psychology and the denial of freedom of religious belief was given by the concurring opinions of Justices Brandeis, Stone, and Cardozo. Thus the Supreme Court now rules that the state shall dominate all.

With this latest and unanimous decision of the highest court in the land to the position that religious freedom and conscience are subject to the domination of the state, the church may well begin to realize its position. The church may still believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man, but if it attempts to exercise the brotherhood of Man in response to higher duty, it will find itself in opposition to the religion of nationalism. The brotherhood of nationalism means the right to slaughter those who work and live under the domination of the same process of exploitation, responsible for the precipitation of the slaughter in which you may be

engaged. The triumph of nationalism in the courts has placed the Christian in the position where he no longer has the right to practice his religious beliefs unless these beliefs include the practising of military science.

What does this mean? Perhaps it means that the struggle for freedom and the struggle for peace must be realized outside the arena of the courts. If the courts as well as government have become merely the voice of nationalism, and the process of "human exploitation" existing today, then the realm of constructive accomplishment appears to be in the field of economic change, combined with organization to hinder and stop the workings of the War machine. If this is true, the Christian must begin to aid in the organization of workers, students, and intellectuals for fundamental economic change and for effective action to stop the functioning of the "totalitarian" state.

The Final Choice

Thus the Christian today must choose between conscientious loyalty to the best in society, loyalty to those who will pay the price of another War, the workers, the students, and the professionals . . . or subjection to the will of a state that has become merely the expression of the profit system unable to maintain itself except by War.

To an American Workman Dying of Starvation

(Take Physic, Pomp)

Swell guy, you got to die.

Did you have fun?

I guess I know you worked.

I guess I saw you.

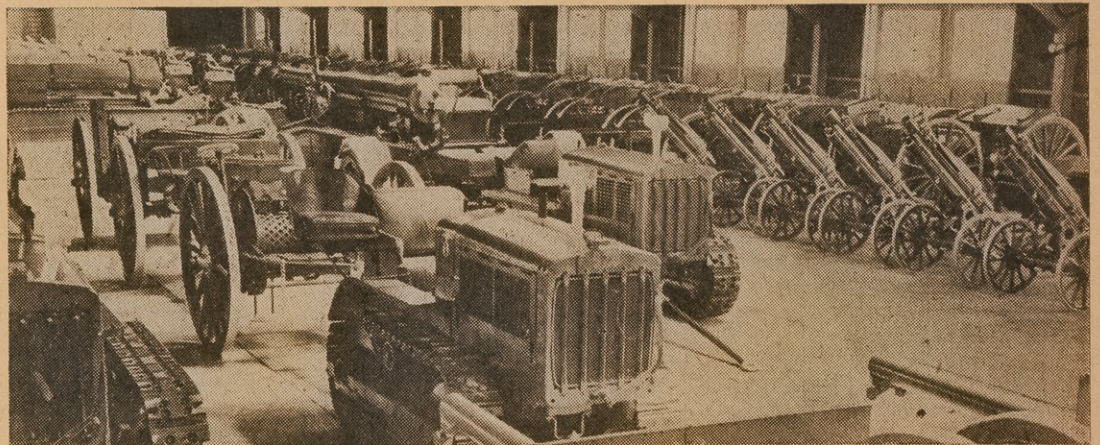
It got you just the same.

Say it with flowers.

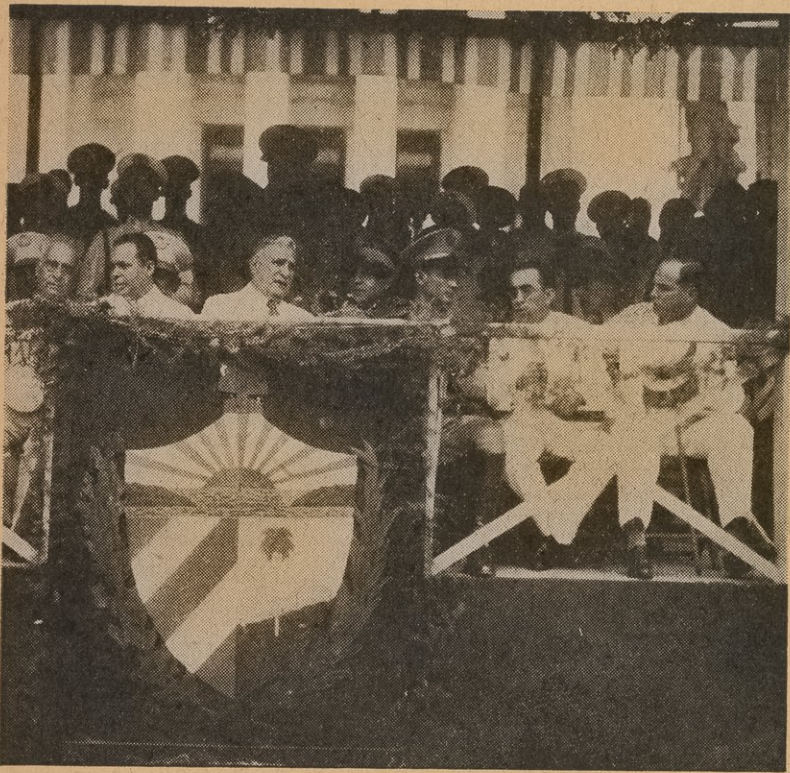
So long. We got the breaks. But we'll be seeing you.

There's a little job we got to attend to up here first.

GENEVIEVE TAGGARD



An interior view of the army storehouses at Quantico, Va., showing just a small amount of the heavy equipment which is ready to be moved at a moment's notice



(LEFT) President Mendieta of Cuba and his military retinue watching a military demonstration. (RIGHT) Fellow students surround the body of Antonio Gonzales who was killed by the Mendieta government as a direct result of the 48-hour student strike

BULLETS IN LATIN AMERICA

By LUCILE PERRY

THROUGHOUT Latin America is a reign of terror. In Cuba the death penalty is fixed for "sabotage" (strikes) of the sugar crop workers. In Puerto Rico four battalions of American marines are going through "landing exercises": a general strike is on in the sugar industry, and seventeen workers have already been killed. In Mexico two peasants are killed and many wounded by federal troops sent to evict a group of peasants from land they had occupied. A *Higher Council of National Security* is set in Brazil, headed by the President and the commanders of the army and navy. In Argentina hundreds of arrests have been made by the *Special Commission against Communism*.

These are but a few incidents in the wave of terror that is sweeping throughout Latin America. Incited and "advised" by the imperialists who maintain an economic and political grip on these southern countries, their respective governments are developing ever bloodier methods of repression, and are driving toward more sternly military dictatorships.

The Harvest of Blood

With the opening of the *zafra* (sugar-grinding season) in Cuba, President Mendieta again took up the slogan of last year's *zafra*: "HARVEST OR BLOOD!" Nor was it a mere coincidence that the death penalty for "sabotage" was decreed one day after American Ambassador Caffery had returned to Cuba from a conference in Washington.

This followed a whole series of terrorist decrees under which attempts were made to insure the profits of American capital by wiping out the last vestige of civil rights in Cuba. The decree for "Public Order" provided for emergency

courts similar to the "People's Court" in Nazi Germany. Other decrees established martial law, outlawed strikes, and suspended the right of *habeas corpus*.

Fulgencio Batista, chief of the Cuban army, who is credited with having originated the *zafra* slogan, makes no secret of his sympathies with the imperialists. Under his leadership the Cuban army recruits and protects strike breakers, and stations armed guards in every sugar mill throughout the island. In many towns the army has completely taken over the municipal government. The Havana police have been given intensive training in the use of tear gas by an American instructor. Another importation is the widespread use of castor oil for political prisoners.

The total number of workers killed by the Mendieta government is not known; but more than a hundred have been shot down on picket lines and in demonstrations.

Bullets, Bullets and Bullets

In Brazil the terror is carried out through Fascist gangs and the *Higher Council of National Security*. Last summer the first *Brazilian Congress Against War and Fascism* was held in the theatre in Rio de Janeiro. As the twenty thousand people who attended the Congress left the theatre they were attacked by the police. As a result three workers were killed and forty-five wounded, many women among them. On another occasion the Rio police granted the *Committee against War and Fascism* permission to hold a demonstration in Harmonio Park. But no sooner had the masses assembled than the police opened fire. Four persons were killed and scores wounded.

In Brazil the growing strength of the movement against War and Fascism is affecting even the army. In October of last year a united front demonstration against Fascism was held in Sao Paulo. When the meeting was attacked by Fascist bands and the political police, the soldiers and the regular police fought on the side of the workers, and the Fascist forces were routed.

Scientific Torture

In Argentina the *Special Commission against Communism* does not restrict its activities to exterminating Communism, but carries on a drive against all organized labor and anti-Fascist forces. It has devised a refined system of torture which is applied in a "scientific" fashion: Prisoners are first examined to determine how much each can withstand without dying, torture with electric current being reserved for those physically weak. Hardier victims are treated with needles under their finger- and toe-nails, singed with burning cigarettes, and are forced to swallow wads of paper. If this treatment fails to extract a "confession," the prisoner is turned over to the ministrations of a boxer, or is stunned with a chemical for further "treatment." Despite the "scientific" approach, two prisoners have already died from this torture, and the lives of twenty more are in danger.

In Latin America the masses are heroically fighting against the combined efforts of the imperialists and their native governments. Their struggle is part of our struggles. We must mobilize for their support if the forces of reaction in all the Americas are to be defeated.

CORPORATE STATE

(Continued from page eleven)

lation been taken away from the workers. Heavy fines and imprisonment are given those found participating in a cessation of work "in groups of three or more," and even heavier punishment is allotted those who incite to such action.

The employers, on the other hand, are free to choose their own representatives, subject to governmental approval. The Government will endorse only pro-Fascist candidates. In all cases, as is natural enough, the representatives of employers' syndicates come from the ranks of the employer group. Moreover, they have numerically a disproportionate representation. Furthermore, while the law forbids their declaring lock-outs, there is no legal limit to their freedom to close factories, allegedly for lack of work. All the weapons of industrial warfare, therefore, have remained in the hands of the employers while the workers have been deprived of their rights.

The result of this situation is that the real wages of Italian workers have fallen not merely below the level of 1922 (before Mussolini came into power), but below the 1914 level.

This drop varied from nine to fourteen percent, according to the industry. Nor was this fall due solely to the depression, as is shown by the fact that in 1928 real wages fell from fifteen to twenty percent below the 1914 level. The increase is due to the fact that, in pe-

riods of deflation, wages tend to fall more slowly than does the cost of living. Under these circumstances it is to be expected that there be discontent among the Italian workers. In order to suppress it, the machinery of the corporate state is constantly used to subdue and discipline the workers; and this to a constantly increasing extent. No amount of welfare work can compensate for this state of affairs. The Italian worker has definitely suffered inestimable losses as a direct result of the working of the corporate state; and these losses are constantly increasing.

"Lower Standard of Life"—Mussolini

At the same time industry finds itself con-

fronted with difficulties. Partly as a result of the world situation and partly because of the high value of the lira, the export market is constantly shrinking and industry must rely more and more on home consumption, which, in turn, is directly related to the level of wages. In consequence, business failures have risen to a vast figure—21,000 in 1933, the greatest number in any country in the world.

In the words of Mussolini: "We are probably moving towards a period of humanity reposing on a lower standard of life. We must not be alarmed by this prospect. Present-day humanity is very strong and is capable of asceticism as we perhaps have no conception of." This is what Fascism and the corporate state have to offer. They are no solution for the crisis of capitalism. They perpetuate, they aggravate and accept it.

J. B. MATTHEWS

former National Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism who resigned from the League about a year ago has rejoined, and offers "whatever assistance is within my power" in the struggle against War and Fascism.

Mr. Matthews' letter to the League:

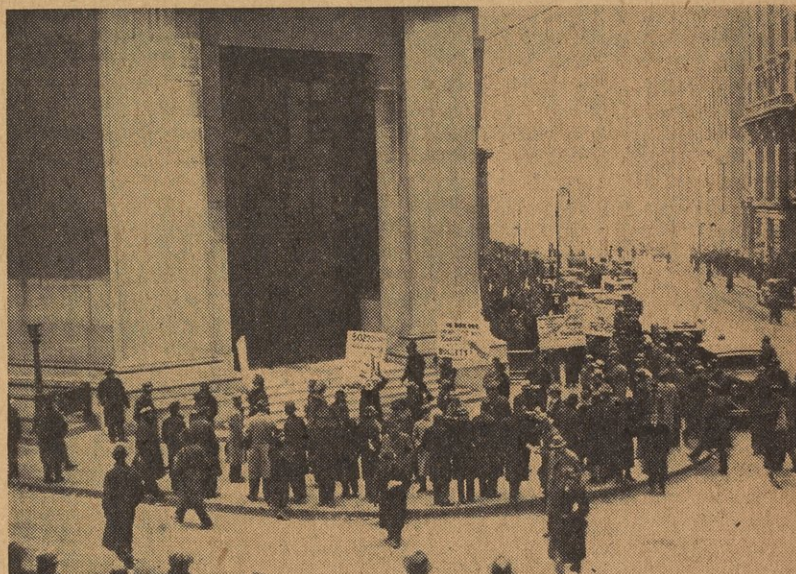
Dear Friends:

I have followed the work of the American League with the utmost interest during the past year. It has been gratifying to note the growing support which the League has been steadily enlisting everywhere. This is not surprising in view of the able and devoted leadership which has persisted in carrying on the work of the League in the face of trying difficulties. The forces of War and Fascism have, I fear, gathered strength in this period far beyond the capacity of any but the most concerted and determined union of anti-War and anti-Fascist forces to cope with. The recognition of this crying need for an absolutely cohesive "united front" impels me to express to you my hope that the work of the League may be strengthened at every crucial point, and to offer whatever assistance is within my power to effectuate such a united struggle. More power to you, and long live the "united front"!

Fraternally yours,

J. B. MATTHEWS

An Anti-War picket line in front of the "Morgan Temple" in Wall Street. The demonstration was organized by the New York Chapter of the American League Against War and Fascism



"TODAY no nation on earth is spending as much money for more war than is your country and my country. We've got to clean up our own backyard and wash our own hands and faces before we can go out and set an example for other nations."

— U. S. Senator Gerald P. Nye



BUILDING the LEAGUE



By **IDA DAILES**
Administration Secretary

MR. WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST appears to be very much concerned about the *American League Against War and Fascism*. Sometimes he even boosts it. In *Seattle, Wash.*, for instance, the *League* was very small and had not received much public notice. Then it planned a public mass meeting against Criminal Syndicalist laws. Mr. Hearst's high-powered red-baiters got busy and spread the news all over the front page of his paper, printed photostatic copies of the *League's* leaflet and other material, and brought about enough pressure to get one professor to rescind his agreement to speak at the meeting. The result was the largest meeting the *League* ever had in that city.

The *Pittsburgh League* is conducting a campaign against local Fascist trends, the latest of which is to require that all permits for the use of the public schools for meetings must be obtained from the Department of Public Safety, since meetings held recently in various schools have been too "radical." This chapter has also swung into action in the national campaign against the anti-sedition and other federal gag legislation now before the Dickstein-McCormack Committee which will come up in this session of Congress. All organizations that can be reached in Pittsburgh are asked to send resolutions of protest.

Cleveland held a highly successful conference to broaden the base of its organization. The delegates represented twenty-three A. F. of L. locals, seventeen social clubs, nine fraternal organizations, twelve women's organizations, six independent unions, the *Small Home and Landowners' Federation*, etc., etc., a total of sixty-nine organizations. The Secretary reports: "Our trade union committee has been enlarged, and the prospect of really launching a campaign in the A. F. of L. locals is good. We succeeded in involving many of the trade unions in the discussion." Officers of the *Cleveland League* include Rabbi Barnett Brickner, member of the *Regional Labor Board*, as Honorary Chairman; Professor Paul Rogers, of Oberlin, Chairman, and as Vice-Chairmen, Nathan M. Botwin, attorney; William Brown, *Street Carmen's Union*; Stephen Lesco, Painters No. 867 A. F. of L.; and Reverend Horace White, Negro Minister; Ruth Bennett, Secretary; and Dr. Zucker, Treasurer. An intensive campaign against the proposed Federal gag legislation is to be undertaken. The Secretary also reports that they have set themselves the task of increasing their FIGHT order 40%, and expect to exceed this.

The *New York Chapter* held a picketing demonstration in Wall Street as a protest against War. It was a good meeting, in spite of extremely cold weather. 5,000 leaflets were distributed and as a result numerous inquiries about the *League* were received through the mail. A Queens County conference was held with sixty delegates and about 150 visitors. The delegates represented a real cross section of the community. The *New York Committee* has set itself a goal of 2,000 new members by March 15th, the drive having been started January 1st. A three-months' plan of work setting definite objectives for branches and affiliated or-

ganizations is contributing to the growth of the organization in *New York*.

Through the cooperation of several Chapters of the *League* in *New Jersey*, it has been possible to send Waldo McNutt into that area for a period of six weeks. Each Chapter has agreed to cover a share of his salary and expenses, and Mr. McNutt has proved of great value as a field organizer. He is helping to stabilize the work in the various cities, speaking at mass meetings and before organizations not heretofore reached by the local committees, and is drawing prominent individuals into the work. In a few weeks his services will be available to other localities in the eastern and mid-western sections of the country if similar arrangements can be made with other City Committees.

Perth Amboy, N. J., one of the most recently organized chapters of the *League*, has held its first public meeting. It was quite successful, with an attendance of close to 200 people. The main speaker was Waldo McNutt. As a result several new groups were drawn in. Active work against the proposed federal anti-sedition legislation is being conducted.

League representatives in *Newark* have been addressing A. F. of L. unions on the proposed Federal gag legislation, and resolutions are being adopted and sent to Washington. Two Carpenters locals of the A. F. of L., No. 306 and No. 119, have been drawn into the *League's* work, No. 306 affiliating.

The *Hackensack, N. J.*, Chapter informs us that the member of the *League* who was beaten, arrested and released on \$250 bail in connection with their demonstration against a meeting of the *Friends of New Germany* has been tried and freed. This chapter is holding an anti-Fascist rally, and showing the anti-Fascist film, *Kuhle Wampe*.

Mrs. Chris Frederickson, who in her Minnesota farm community has been conducting patient, persistent work since the *Second Congress*, now begins to see results from her work. She writes: "Things look brighter here. Both the youth and the farmers are beginning to realize what it is all about. The local *Young People's Society* is sponsoring an evening for this work, and together with the *Farmers Holiday* are arranging a lecture by Rev. R. Compere, chairman of the *Milwaukee Chapter* of the *League*. . . . One bright instance occurred yesterday when the farmers had a big annual co-op Oil meeting and a young man moved that a resolution be passed and sent to our Senators and Representatives that that organization was in sympathy with the *League Against War and Fascism*. It was immediately seconded by six or seven voices, and the great majority voted for it. . . ."

Kalamazoo, Mich., Chapter has received the affiliation of the Central body of the A. F. of L. and the local of the *Electrician's Union* in that city. This chapter also has local Socialist support, and its Secretary is a member of the Socialist Party.

YOUTH SPARKS

THE CHICAGO Board of Education has applied to Washington for help in putting the Reserve Officers Training Corps into every high school in the city. The *Chicago Youth Section* has been engaged in intensive activity to squash this move. A demonstration was held in front of the Board offices. Petitions have been issued, a whole series of noon-day meetings in high school yards, neighborhood meetings and delegations to the Board meetings have been arranged.

Chicago is also working on neighborhood conferences. The first, held at Albany Park area, had delegates from *Epworth League*, *Methodist Church Hi-League*, a number of sororities and fraternities, high school forum, *Community Center Girl Scouts*, several other church youth groups, and from a council of 32 Boys' Clubs. The plans made include: Investigation of the CCC Camp at Stokie Valley; symposium on militarization of youth to which all local aldermanic candidates will be invited; an open hearing on Fascist tendencies in the neighborhood, the sale of FIGHT at a local union and outside of a certain shop. A large conference is now on the way on the South Side.

The big thing facing the students of America is the *Strike Against War* on the 18th anniversary of the U. S. A. entrance into the World War. On April 6 of last year about 25,000 students came out in organized protest against the growing wave of militarism and in memory of those hundreds of thousands of America's youth who were dragged into the World War. The strike this year was first endorsed by our *Youth Congress* last September. It has the backing of the *American League*, the *National Student League*, the *Student League for Industrial Democracy*, the *Methodist Student Federation*, *American Youth Congress*, the *American Committee of Students Against War and Fascism* (set up at the International Student Congress) as well as of numerous local groups.

In *New York* our Settlement House Committee is arranging a program to cover a full week's activity in the house from April 6-13.

At a recent ministers' conference held in *New York*, a Church Youth Committee with representatives of four denominations was organized.

A letter from a Nazi sport club printed in a *New York Nazi* paper states: "The article of the *New York Post* of Jan. 3 consciously damages our character and our pro-German attitude, which in large part has influenced America to accept the invitation to the Olympics. Men such as Brundage, Major Walsh (President of the Metropolitan Association of the AAU) and Charles Diehm (Vice-President of the same group) are friends and members of our club, and our fight for participation in the Olympics carried on by our President Dietrich Wortman, was supported by these people and other good Americans." All anti-Fascist students should utilize this material in fighting against the Olympic try-outs in the different colleges. America's athletes must stay out of the Olympics which are used to bolster Hitlerism.

—J. L.

A LETTER

Santa Cruz, Cal.

Dear Friends:

A meeting under the auspices of the Santa Cruz Branch, American League Against War and Fascism was held at Hackley Hall, Friday night. Dr. Whitaker's talk on the issues of War and Fascism was splendid. His remarks on "radical agitators," etc. received tremendous applause. This was decidedly not a radical audience.

The Painters Union adjourned their union meeting (which met on the same night) at 9 o'clock, and arrived at our meeting in a body. Most of the Epic Club members were there. The sentiment among them, after the meeting, points to affiliation with the American League in a short time.

The CCC authorities at Capitola did everything in their power to keep the boys from coming to the meeting. Movie slides were shown to the boys the night before, and the night of the meeting—trucks were not allowed their usual trip into town. The authorities personally tore down the pasted leaflets from the walls. In spite of all this, 12 boys made their way into town and to the meeting. . . . Every seat in the hall was filled. . . .

Considering our times, it is not at all surprising to find in our daily mail letters like the one above. In New England, Michigan, Florida; in California, New York, Ohio; workers, farmers, professionals and middle class people are initiating the movement to safeguard their rights and liberties. Fascism and War! Slowly but surely the common people of the U. S. A. are beginning to gather their strength for the conflict which is threatening our lives and the lives of our children.

"It is our job to mass that historic force in this crisis in the history of mankind."—DR. HARRY F. WARD

In your community, in your trade union, in your church, in your grange, in your office, in your shop, in your school, in your political party, bring this issue to the front.

We shall gladly forward any information you may request on the activities of the American League and show you how to make your work against War and Fascism more effective. Write today.

American League Against War and Fascism

112 East 19th Street

Room 605

New York, N. Y.