

FIGHT

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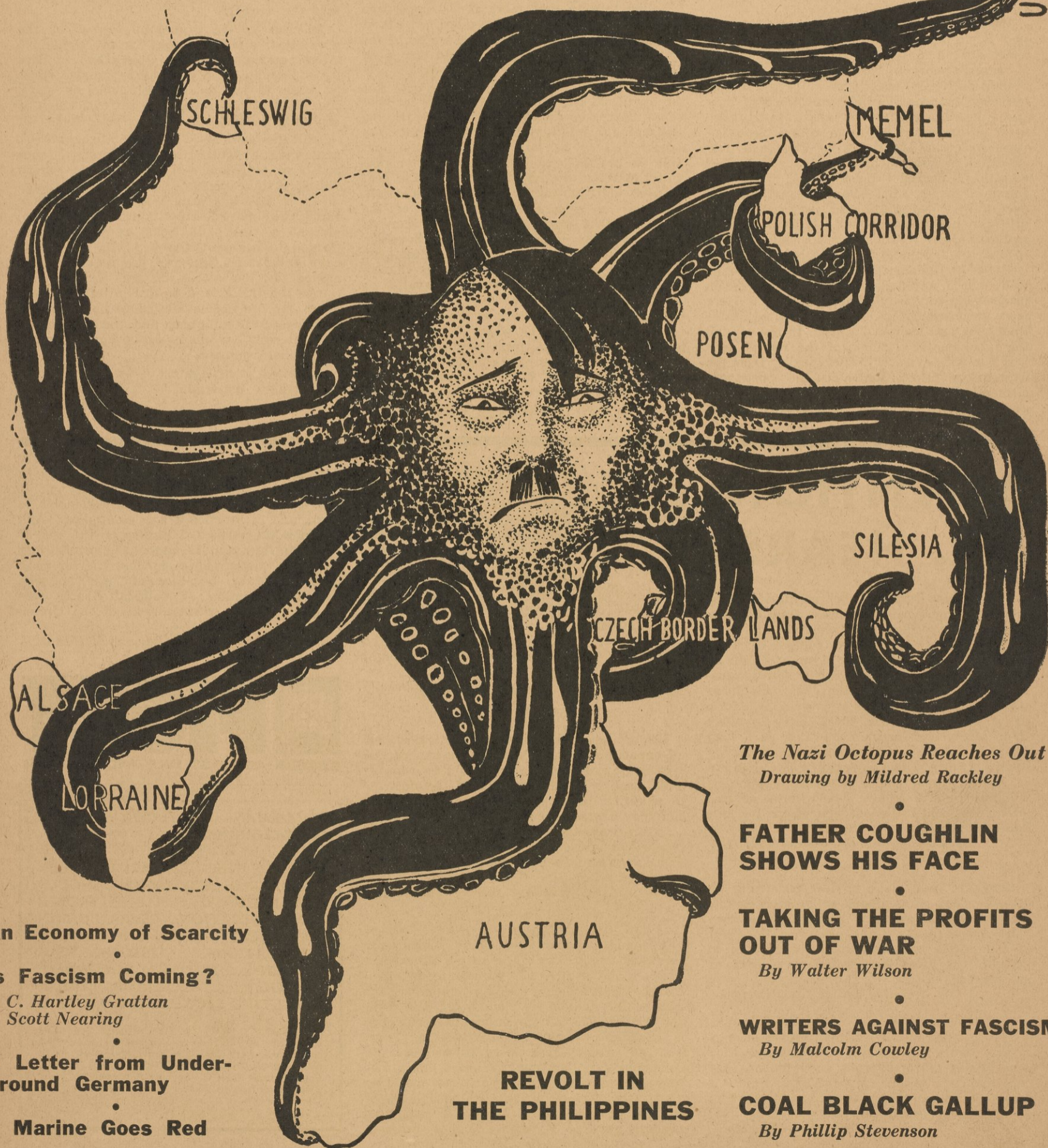
JUNE

1935

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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

UKRAINE



The Nazi Octopus Reaches Out
Drawing by Mildred Rackley

**FATHER COUGHLIN
SHOWS HIS FACE**

**TAKING THE PROFITS
OUT OF WAR**

By Walter Wilson

WRITERS AGAINST FASCISM

By Malcolm Cowley

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An Economy of Scarcity

Is Fascism Coming?

*C. Hartley Grattan
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**A Letter from Under-
ground Germany**

A Marine Goes Red

AUSTRIA

**REVOLT IN
THE PHILIPPINES**

HOW MUSSOLINI "SAVED" ITALY—By GEORGE SELDES

IS FASCISM COMING IN THE U. S. A.? ARE WE ON THE VERGE OF WAR?

C. Hartley Grattan and Scott Nearing answer these questions. Next month we shall print statements from other prominent Americans, giving their position on contemporary social trends.

I AM COMPLETELY opposed to all alien and sedition legislation, being firmly convinced that, whatever its open and avowed intent, its secret purpose is to suppress not only Communists but also all radicals, liberals and other pro-labor dissidents of whatever tint. Such legislation can only bring in its train that host of evils gathered together under the rubric, Fascism.

Fascism unquestionably represents reaction and is, in its essence, a desperate effort to choke all the forces making for progress. As it becomes more and more obvious that the economic forces making for progress are bursting asunder the old institutions of control, those benefiting by those institutions make a desperate effort to retain their favored position. In doing so they not only make an assault upon the rising social class which is prepared to sustain and extend the forces of progress but also upon anything and everything, ideological and material, which also threatens their power. It is, therefore, not only the revolutionaries who have reason to fear and oppose Fascism, but the intellectuals—writers, scientists, artists, etc.—as well; indeed, any person or group interested in progress in any way whatever. As yet I see more unconscious Fascism in the United States than open and avowed Fascism. In my opinion the fundamental elements of the Fascist outlook flow with extraordinary logicity from the capitalistic outlook; and since the constituent elements of the American mind are, to a very great extent, capitalistic, it naturally follows

that Fascism is, to the uncritical, simply a natural extension of traditional ways of thinking and acting. I quite agree that men like Long, Coughlin and Johnson have Fascist characteristics, but I doubt that they are true Fascists in their present state. They are harbingers but not the genuine article.

I expect War in the near future, and I am appalled to note that most of the opposition to it is emotional and scatter-brained. It is my pessimistic opinion that nine-tenths of the existing anti-War sentiment would disappear like morning dew before the blasts of pro-War propaganda when that propaganda has the open and avowed support of the government. Moreover anyone acquainted with the story of our relations to the last great War cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that we are, in official circles, no better prepared to resist the blandishments of the War makers and in many respects worse off. There is no general understanding of the significance of trade entanglements, there is the same feeling that moralistic emotionalism is a sufficient guide to diplomatic action, and the same low quality of personnel is characteristic. In addition we have a navalist as President, and a much more self-conscious military and naval crowd in the government today than in 1914-17 when, it will be recalled, the militaristic propaganda came from outside, from General Leonard Wood and Theodore Roosevelt. I am convinced that the United States will sooner or later be drawn into any War, whether in Europe or the

East, and I venture the opinion that the road to the next War can be fairly well predicted from a study of the road to the last War, the probable similarities being more important than the probable differences. An outstanding difference, however, will be that we shall spend a shorter time on the way.

C. Hartley Grattan.

Democratic institutions, established during the period of capitalist expansion, are abandoned during a period of decline. The sedition bills are a part of this program. Propertied and privileged groups take this line to shoulder the chief burdens of the decline onto the workers.

Fascism is the organized retreat of the propertied and privileged from higher to lower economical levels. Open Fascism does not ordinarily begin until an aggressive effort is made to set up the self-sufficient state. The U. S. A. is moving toward this stage of capitalist decline, but has not yet reached it.

All signs point to Wars: capitalist countries versus the U.S.S.R.; Germany versus France and her allies; the United States versus Japan. Britain seems to be pulling the strings in all of these potential War situations. Her ruling class must destroy its principal enemies, one at a time. It looks as though they wanted to begin on the U.S.S.R., but might have to start on Germany, despite their preference for the attack on the U.S.S.R. Of course the U.S.A. will be drawn into the next War: first to accumulate more bad debts in exchange for munitions, and then to defend her interests in these debts and in other imperialist ventures.

A united front against War and Fascism is pressingly important.

Scott Nearing.

ATTENTION: MR. HEARST

"... Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness... when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

Declaration of Independence (1776).

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

United States Constitution.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

Abraham Lincoln.

"We have forgotten the very principle of our origin, if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices, if it be necessary to readjust matters."

Woodrow Wilson.

If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other, it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us, but freedom for the thought we hate.

Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The cry has been that when war is declared, all opposition should therefore be hushed. A sentiment more unworthy of a free country could hardly be propagated. If the doctrine be admitted rulers have only to declare war and they are screened at once from scrutiny... In war, then, as in peace, assert the freedom of speech and of the press. Cling to this as the bulwark of all your rights and privileges.

William Ellery Channing.

It would of course be doing violence to history to imply that the principle of freedom of press and speech was universally accepted among the founders of this republic. Every school-child knows the history of the Sedition Act of 1798. Frightened by the criticisms of the Jeffersonians bent on ousting them from power, the Federalists hurried through Congress a law drawn in broad and loose language which in effect penalized everyone who passed severe strictures upon the Government of the United States. In fact, this measure gave to Federalist judges, prosecu-

tors, and executive officials the authority to arrest, fine, and imprison any of their political foes who were especially objectionable to them, and in practice it was so applied. And all know the verdict of history on this act of partisan fury and tyranny. The party that passed it was buried in oblivion, and for more than a century, in peace and war, no such sweeping violation of political liberty was placed upon the statute books of the United States.

Lamar T. Beman.

FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

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HOW MUSSOLINI "SAVED" ITALY

By **GEORGE SELDES**

Noted journalist exposes the concealment of vast deficits; an excerpt from "SAWDUST CAESAR: The Untold Story of Mussolini," to be published by Harpers.

IN JANUARY of 1922 an Italian journalist went to a "peace" conference at Cannes. He handed a cashier of a bank several hundred lire notes. The cashier shoved back just half that many francs.

"It was a humiliation," the Italian exclaimed, "a blow to the self-respect of a victorious nation; it indicated our progress toward bankruptcy. Up leaped the thought that this situation must be cured by the vital strength of Fascism."

The journalist was none other than Benito Mussolini. The patriotic emotion engendered by this humiliating experience resulted later in the gold stabilization of the lira, in the promulgation of the Fascist Corporative or Totalitarian State, "the greatest achievement of Fascism."

But facts found in official reports of the Italian Fascist State show that the "progress toward bankruptcy" has continued. The lira had gone down to 23.91 to the dollar in the second half of 1920; thereafter it rose in value, and just before Mussolini marched on Rome, the lira was 20.15 to the dollar. Then under Fascism it dropped until in August, 1926, it reached 30.53 under the miracle-working Duce. Economics had defeated patriotism.

Rapturously Mussolini proclaimed in 1927 that the lira was back on a gold basis on a "sound ratio," despite the opinion of American and European economists that stabilization at 19 lire to the dollar was insane. This brought about a deficit of 2,500,000,000; conservative British economists place the loss at 3,500,000,000 lire. It was certainly one of the most expensive gestures in financial history.

American Bankers Saved the Savior of Italy

Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan and Co., wrote a hymn of praise; Mussolini had

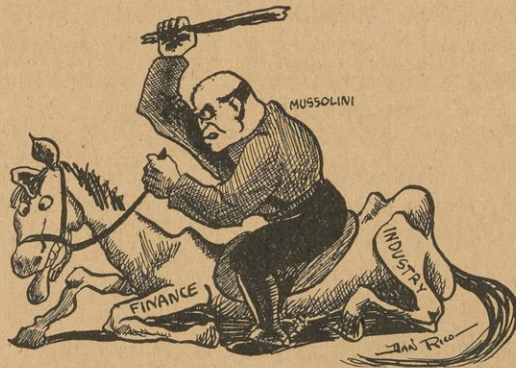
saved Italy, and American financiers floated \$600,000,000 in Italian bonds. Most of this was wasted in such graft and corruption that even Mussolini was forced to send a famous vice-duce to jail.

From the beginning of Fascism the government has announced either balanced budgets or a surplus. Arnaldo Cortesi, correspondent of the *New York Times*, cabled such "news" to his paper. He has been the most enthusiastic voluntary agent of Fascism in Italy. Here is one example of the buncombe which the world press has published: Mussolini jubilantly stated that: "We have a balanced budget. Self-ruling units, the provinces and the communes, have balanced their budgets, too."

Financial Juggling

No journalist sending out this claim took the trouble to examine the government's own figures. This is what they showed:

Debts in lire:	Provinces:	Capital Cities:
January 1, 1925	954,000,000	3,066,000,000
January 1, 1928	1,326,000,000	5,481,000,000



In another budget a British journalist found one item of expenditure, officially announced, of 14,000,000,000 lire, has not one lira debited

in the national budget although it figures in the treasury accounts. This sum alone would practically consume the whole income from taxation for that year. A favorite trick employed by Mussolini is to falsify the state budget by transferring state expenses to the municipal budgets. American financiers have not spotted this method of "balancing the budget." The Fascist financial jugglers still get away with it.

Under Volpi, who had the advice of Andrew Mellon, 1,211,000,000 lire were cancelled from the cash items of the treasury accounts pub-



Italian children in gas-masks.

lished July 31, 1928 as a sum "not liable to be spent." But the next year the treasury account announced that the fiscal year had closed on June 20 with a surplus of 2,352,000,000. This was widely heralded in the American press. But a month later a slight correction was made—a reduction of the "surplus" by 2,845,000,000 lire, with the explanation: "Reduction of the cash fund for operations to be credited to the preceding fiscal year." Next month there was a further "correction" of 83,000,000 lire. Thus, two months after the Fascist dictator had informed the world and particularly American bond holders that he had more than two billion credit, there was actually a deficit of 574,000,000 lire!

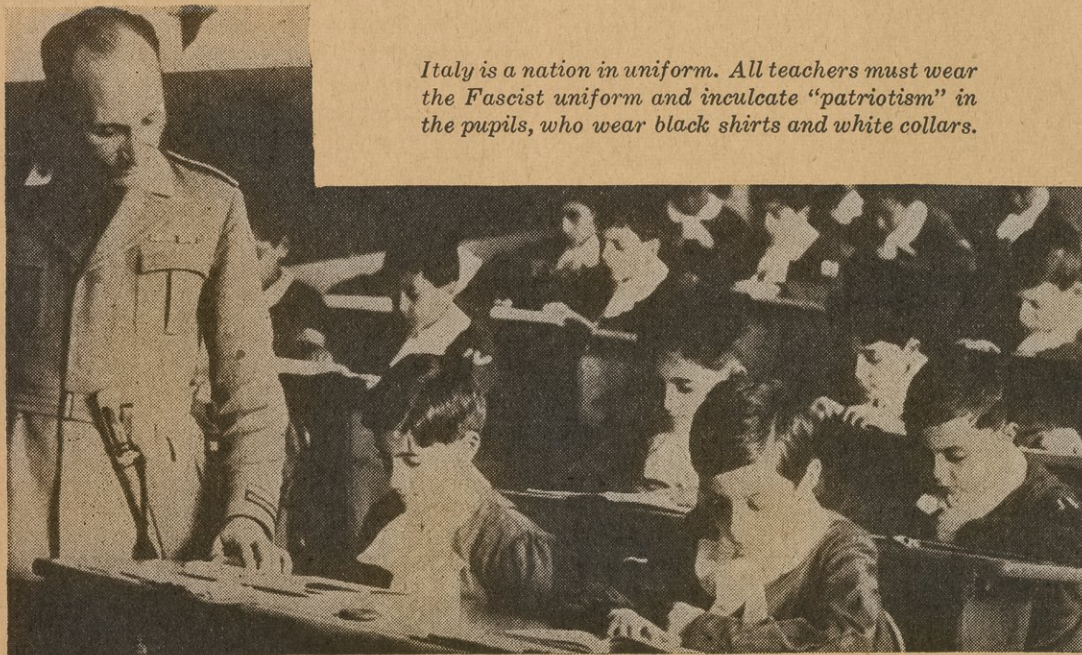
In 1930 the budget showed a cash surplus of 2,261,000,000, and again supplementary accounts published a month later brought a "correction" of 1,581,000,000 lire.

On June 30, 1930 the Ministry of Finance issued the following amazing statement: "The value in Italian lire of the total bonds floated abroad, is 7,200,000,000." But, if official reports are analyzed, the fact appears that in June, 1930 the Italian debts contracted abroad were 11,500,000,000 lire and not 7,200,000,000. "One would think" says the French economist Valois, "that the official statement had been compiled by an adversary of Fascism, seeking to discredit it completely."

Mussolini Blames Wall Street Crash for Fascism's Failures

Then came one of those master-strokes of Machiavellianism for which great statesmen and bankers should pay tribute to Mussolini. On December 10, 1930 he delivered himself thus:

"The situation in Italy was satisfactory until the Fall of 1929 when the American market crash exploded like a bomb. . . . We remained



Italy is a nation in uniform. All teachers must wear the Fascist uniform and inculcate "patriotism" in the pupils, who wear black shirts and white collars.

astonished because we had been given to understand that America was the country of endless prosperity. . . . Everyone was rich there. . . . Everyone gambled on the stock exchange and stocks rose incessantly. . . . Suddenly the beautiful scene collapsed, and we had a series of black days. . . . From that day we also were pushed into the high seas, and navigation has become extremely difficult." Howard Brubaker commented: "Mussolini has calmed growling Italians with the information that Wall Street is responsible for their lower salaries; their unemployment, their low returns on farm products. About the only crimes not attributed to Wall Street were the earthquakes of last July."

But, despite intricate and ambiguous official statistics which made it impossible to arrive at a correct estimate of the situation in Fascist Italy, a hundred instances can be found proving that three or four years before the American crisis began the Italian crisis was in full sway. Cash reserves of the treasury grew rapidly smaller and the public debt increased.

Fascist Figure False

How can one trust Fascist figures when they are so contradictory? The *Reconditi Generali Consuntivivi* gives the annual deficits from July 1, 1928 to June 30, 1932 as 2,576,000,000; 507,000,000; 288,000,000 and 2,300,000,000; a total deficit of 5,671,000,000 lire. But the *Bolletino Mensile di Statistica* (August, 1934) claims for the same years, 555,000,000 surplus; 170,000,000 surplus; 504,000,000 deficit; and 3,867,000,000 deficit; total, 3,646,000,000 deficit.

American tourists have repeated Mussolini's boast that Italian trains run on time, magnificent automobile roads have been built, marshes drained, vast public improvements made. And yet the national debt has gone up only four or five billions. How account for this miracle? The Fascist government has hidden its debts by postponing them ten to fifty

years! In the Fascist Senate finance committee reports, there are annuities listed as follows: March 29, 1924, 6,546,000,000 lire; December 31, 1930, 65,390,000,000 lire; March 31, 1932, 75,118,000,000 lire; February 28, 1933, 74,315,000,000 lire.

These figures, taken from official sources by Professor Salvemini, explain the "co-existence in Italian finance of an allegedly balanced budget with an elaborate system of public works. . . . The Fascist dictatorship has dodged the difficulties of the moment by creating a mountain of hidden debts. It has left the future to take care of itself—*apres moi le deluge!*"

Although the magazine *Fortune* in its Italian number July, 1934, gave 176 pages of glowing words and pretty pictures to glorify Mussolini, it nullifies all claims by admitting that: "The long established poverty of the Italian masses has been emphasized everywhere. . . . The average wage of Italian agricultural and industrial workers has fallen perhaps 25 percent in the last five years. . . . The masses are struck at every turn by the indirect tax policy of the State. . . . Unemployment has been slowly increasing. . . . The standard of living of Italian labor has been estimated as the lowest of any country in Europe. . . ." *In other words, everything glorifying Fascism is propaganda or window dressing. Behind this facade Fascism is a failure.*

General taxation has just about doubled under Fascism: 20,000,000,000 lire annually as compared with 12,000,000,000 before Mussolini "saved Italy." Among the many reasons is the enormous increase in the budget of the War department. Mussolini believes War is inevitable, and is preparing for it with all possible haste.

Fascism Drives Living Standards Down

The maintenance of the dictatorship requires an espionage system costing more than a billion lire annually. Another two billion

goes to the Fascist militia and the OVRA, secret political police. Fascist Italy spends ten times as much for policing as does France.

The public works program, similar to that of the N.R.A., drains billions from the treasury. Millions of lire are yearly spent on propaganda, which includes subsidizing pro-Fascist Italian newspapers in the United States.

The tremendous cost of Fascist rule necessitates the doubling of taxation. The burden falls most heavily on the necessities of life; there is a tax of three cents a kilogram on bread, 26 cents on sugar, 6 cents on salt. *Real wages and living standards of the Italian workers are declining, and Mussolini has repeatedly warned the Italian people that continued sacrifices are necessary for the greater glory of Italy and of Fascism.*

In pre-Fascist days, between 1918 and 1922, Italian labor had won for itself better living conditions. These gains were wiped out by Fascist rule. Labor disputes have continued, but are settled in court or by the syndicates which are a part of the Corporate State. The right of labor freely to organize has been abolished; workers were robbed of their most potent weapon when striking was made a criminal offense.

In 1926 William Bolitho reported that the Italian peasants were in a state of serfdom. Since then conditions for the whole country have grown worse—and now industrial workers also are serfs. Slavery is inherent in Fascism.



LIVING STANDARDS IN GERMANY AND ITALY

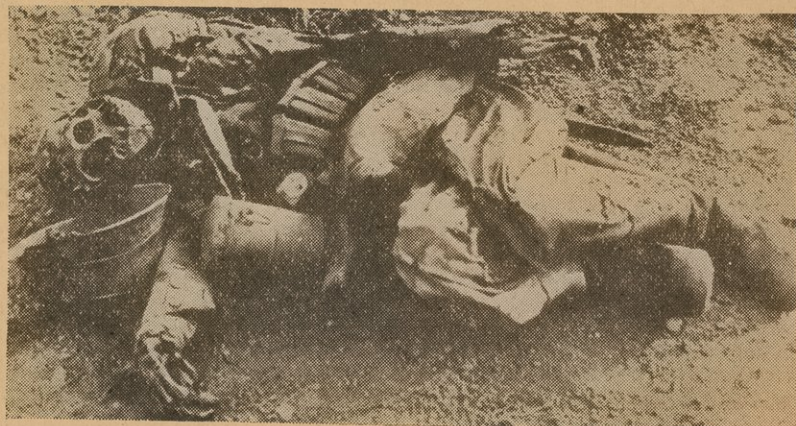
Wages have gone down an average of 45 percent; prices of consumers' goods generally have risen an average of 30 percent. The standard of living of the German people has been reduced by half and unemployment, not counting forced labor, has been stabilized at seven million men and women. But note this fact: there is an increase of 80 percent in the profits of the 25 greatest corporations. And in Italy under Mussolini the living standard of the Italian worker and peasant is lower than anything we have up to now known in civilized Europe. It is these harrowing internal conditions that account for the sabre rattling of these countries. Their fascist tyrants cannot solve the bread and butter problems of their people, so they divert their attention by frightening them about the warlike intentions of their neighbors. *Presbyterian Tribune.*

April 18, 1935.



BEFORE— AND AFTER

Mussolini's troops leaving Italy for Africa. Ferdinand Kuhn cables to the New York Times: "Drought, malaria and blistering heat are inflicting intense suffering upon Mussolini's young fighting men, who sailed from Italy with so much enthusiasm only a few months ago."



"Verboten" Truth Gets Through from Germany

A German member of the American League Against War and Fascism sends us this letter received through underground channels from her sister in Berlin.

I HAVE received your request through P— (an American tourist.—Ed.) and will try to give you the information you ask about conditions in our Fascist country.

The Nazis claim to have increased employment by 3,000,000, but official statistics show that the total wages paid to all workers remain about the same. Figures also prove that consumption of wheat, rye and barley has decreased by nearly 4,000,000 tons, and consumption of meat declined too. It is evident to us all that dissatisfaction is growing, and it is being shown more openly than before.

Everyone is required to make sacrifices for rearmament. In nearly every factory some sort of War material is being made, and the workers have to pledge themselves to secrecy. Talking about it is considered as high treason, and the penalty is death. But we know that chemicals for poison gas, for instance, are labeled something else. From the factory in which I work there have been heavy shipments of War materials to Japan.

You can be assured that the activity of the party and of all anti-Nazi forces increases, despite the continual terror. Up to last year the sentence given Marxists for anti-Hitler

activity was three years hard labor. Now a sentence of eight years is not uncommon. One comrade who was caught crossing the frontier has just been sent to a labor camp for that long.

One woman who just came out of the prison camp at— reported that all women prisoners are regularly beaten with whips to which iron balls and hooks are fastened. Her skin still shows scars. She lost 50 pounds during imprisonment. She is still in bed, and has to be artificially fed. Apart from the beating, the bad food resulted in an ulcerated stomach, and she vomited everything she ate and was taken to a hospital only when she fainted continually.

One comrade was arrested one year ago when the police found an anti-Nazi paper in her mail-box. She could not stand the constant torture and said that H— might have put the paper in her mail-box. So H— was arrested, and a year later tried and sentenced to 3 years hard labor.

There have been large headlines in the papers about "an inhuman mother who let her three children die of hunger." They say she spent all her money on drink, and locked her children up to starve. Her husband is in a lunatic asylum. The truth is that he was driven insane by torture, and the woman did not have money to feed her children, and also went insane.

Widespread poverty shows itself again in the schools. A year ago shoes were provided for poor children, but not any more. I now see children going to school in the snow with slippers or rags on their feet, and others stay home barefoot. Many stay inside classrooms during recess in order to keep warm while the more fortunate play outdoors.

The winter relief organization used by the Nazis to compel people to make "voluntary contributions," has done almost nothing to relieve suffering this past winter. All the cash collected went to the Saar. The poor get less and less relief. Complaints are met with cynical indifference or with violence. The unemployed get only barely enough potatoes, flour and tapioca to keep them alive.

News has just come that our former Reichstag deputy, K—, has finally, after endless tortures covering a period of two years, been taken to the insane asylum. He was one of the finest men I have ever known, a gentle, kindly person and an eloquent orator who, although an aristocrat himself, devoted his whole life to fighting for the workers. This news has affected us all deeply—it seems more tragic somehow than torture and death. That brilliant brain warped forever by Nazi barbarism!

We have also just heard from a reliable source that a concentration camp has already been established in the Saar. Now the Saar workers too will know what fiends the Nazis are; but they will join us in the great united front against Hitler that is being welded throughout Germany and which gains in strength with every day.

Lovingly, your sister,

J—.

An Economy of Scarcity

THE PRODUCTION DIVISION of the A.A.A. has calculated that 335,661,000 acres would be required to produce enough food to provide everyone in the United States with a minimum diet necessary to health, worked out by Dr. Hazel Stiebling of the Bureau of Home Economics. This chart shows the number of acres harvested in 1934, contrasted with the additional area which should have been cultivated if we had an economy of abundance instead of an economy of scarcity. The insanity of the policy of destroying crops while people starve is conclusively proved by this factual chart.

The A.A.A. reduced corn production last year by 10,000,000 acres; since then corn has been imported. This country has never produced enough milk for our needs, yet milk production was curtailed by the A.A.A. Wheat acreage was reduced by 15 percent in 1934 resulting in an excess of imports over exports of 16,000 bushels. Neither the farmer nor the consumer has benefited. The A.A.A. "surplus" of foodstuffs, cattle, hogs, etc., has become an acute shortage, aggravated by the drought and dust storms, even more destructive than the A.A.A. policies. Even the A.A.A. experts have become alarmed, warning us that prices of meat and other foods will skyrocket soon.

—From Facts For Farmers.

PRESENT FOOD PRODUCTION - AND INCREASED PRODUCTION NECESSARY TO PROVIDE LIBERAL DIET FOR U.S. POPULATION.



Writers Against Fascism

By MALCOLM COWLEY

Associate Editor of *The New Republic*

Revised version of a speech given at the opening session of the American Writers' Congress.

THE WORLD IN which we lived before the War was dominated by the idea of automatic progress. We learned it in school, we read about it in the newspapers, till our whole minds were colored by it. Year by year, so we believed, there were more people in our school district, our city, our state, our nation. Year by year there was more food for them to eat, there were more clothes for them to wear, there were new machines, new labor-saving inventions. Year by year our civilization was spreading, automatically, and was carrying with it more schools, books, newspapers, wealth, freedom and security. Today that picture of the world has vanished. Living standards are falling instead of rising; schools are being closed; political liberties are shrinking until in some countries they have vanished completely. And in all the western world the idea of automatic progress is being replaced by the equally simple and silly idea of automatic decay.

I remember that when I was a small boy writers were fond of presenting their pictures of the world as it would be in the year 2000. Always the pictures were compounded of prosperity, leisure, science, peace and kindly people in flowing white robes strolling under palm trees in the streets of Utopia. The writers of the past five years have again begun drawing pictures of the year 2000, but this time they are using a different set of colors—black for reaction, crimson for blood, yellow for plague, and brown for the skins in which savages will dress themselves when the world has been reduced to universal darkness.

The Threat of Decay

An English novelist named John Collier has written a book about his own country as it will be in a hundred years. It will be populated, he says, by little tribes clustering for protection around an Old Man and fighting each other with weapons salvaged from the ruins of factories. It will be considerably less civilized, he implies, than were the British Isles in the year 2000 B. C. And there is, moreover, a degree of plausibility in what he says. Automatic decay is a silly notion, but man-made decay is entirely possible. Unless we fight certain powerful tendencies that now exist, unless we prevent them from being carried to their logical conclusion, it is likely that our whole civilization will be destroyed, leaving those few of us who survive back where our forefathers were at the dawn of the Middle Ages.

Most people who try to follow what is happening in the world today are agreed that the culture built up in Europe and America during the last thousand years is showing symptoms of decline and disintegration. This is true no matter what may be our definition of culture—whether we regard it as the whole sum of the work, wealth and happiness of mankind,

or whether we restrict the term narrowly to books, art, music, science and our ability to appreciate them. In either case culture is threatened, but in both cases there is considerable difference of opinion as to the exact nature of the forces that are attacking it.

Some critics believe that the capitalists themselves are the principal enemies of capitalist culture. Others, on the contrary, say that the real threat lies in the masses, the dark and unlettered masses, who have begun to meddle in matters that ought to be left to their cultural and economic superiors. Still other critics say that the Bolsheviks are to blame—the Bolsheviks are striding into the libraries with bomb and torch, the Bolsheviks are tearing from the shelves the collected works of Tolstoy, Shakespeare and Eddie Guest, the Bolsheviks are stamping on culture with their Russian boots, and the capitalists are doing their level best to defend it—if necessary by throwing tear-gas bombs from the library steps.

Fascist versus Soviet Culture

I cannot help burlesquing this great argument which has been raging in at least three continents. Why is it such a difficult task to determine just which classes in our present society are threatening culture and which classes are trying to keep it alive? In two great European countries the capitalists have established a dictatorship so absolute that they can—theoretically—do anything they please. In a still greater country the masses have established a proletarian dictatorship. It should be a fairly simple matter to decide how culture flourishes under the two systems.

During the years from 1926 till 1932 Germany enjoyed a literary renaissance. There were more good books—and more bad books, too—being written in Germany than in any other part of the western world. At the end of January, 1933, the renaissance ended overnight. Adolf Hitler proved himself to be a literary critic of astounding discrimination. He divided the good authors from the bad authors, the goats from the sheep. He sent nearly all the good authors into exile—not merely those who were good politically, but those who were good artistically, the poets with a gift for picturesque images, the essayists with a clear style, the novelists who knew something about the world and could tell an interesting story. The bad authors, the muggy, sentimental authors, were allowed to stay in Germany as cultural ornaments of the Third Reich. If you read any intelligent German books today, you can be pretty sure that they were written in France, Switzerland, Austria or Czechoslovakia. Almost the only good book that has reached us from Germany since Hitler is *Fatherland*, by Karl Billinger, an underground Communist organizer. It was smuggled out of the country in manuscript, chapter by chapter.

The point about Italy is the complete deadness of Italian culture under Fascism. Mussolini doesn't hate writers and artists, like

Hitler; he doesn't conduct an open warfare against them, but neither does his system permit them to come into contact with any fresh sources of life among the Italian people. In the new generation, in the ranks of the "bold, confident Fascist youth," there have appeared no writers of force or distinction. The old writers go on in the old way, becoming each year a little dryer and shriller, like crickets surviving after a frost. In Italy since 1925 no novels have been written, no poems sung, no pictures painted that deserve a place in the history of literature or art.

The point about the Soviet Union is simply that more books are printed there, in bigger editions, and are read more eagerly than anywhere else in the world. In our country, if a young poet is lucky enough to get published at all, he receives a first edition of five or six hundred copies. In the Soviet Union five thousand copies are a minimum, even for a poet. Here if a novel sells fifty thousand copies it is likely to lead the best-seller lists. The most successful American novels of the last three decades ended by selling about a million copies apiece, in the course of years. But in the Soviet Union one novel was recently published in a first edition of five million. There are more copies of books by many American writers—Dos Passos and Dreiser among others—in the Moscow public libraries than there are in the New York public libraries. As for the classics, I have heard that even Shakespeare is now more widely read in Russia than in England.

American Writers—on Which Side?

The idea of progress survives and grows stronger in the Soviet Union at a moment when it is disappearing from the rest of the world. It is the normal thing to expect better things each year, a higher standard of living, a higher literary standard, a wider diffusion of taste and knowledge. But, unlike the Americans of the year 1900, the Russians do not believe that progress is automatic. They know that it can be achieved only when people unite and work hard for it, under a system no longer ruled by chance and the hazards of the stock market.

And what about our own country? American literature today is roughly in the position that German literature held in 1926. In spite of the publishing crisis we are now at the beginning, I hope, of a fertile period when new writers of talent will be appearing every year. The best of the older writers are being recognized and translated all over the world. At the same time, we are threatened by a disaster like that which has already overwhelmed our colleagues in Italy and Germany—and, less immediately, by a world War that might overwhelm American and European civilization.

If our culture survives it will be only by virtue of a fight in which the writers and the artists will take part like everybody else. They shouldn't have any trouble in choosing sides, with all the evidence at hand. Today it is the capitalists who are destroying the so-called capitalist culture. The only way to defend it is to take it out of their hands and to spread the best of it as widely as possible among those who have shown themselves best qualified to keep it alive—that is, among the broad masses of the people.

COAL BLACK GALLUP

By PHILIP STEVENSON

ON THE FOURTH of April in Gallup, New Mexico, there was supposed to be a public hearing of a case against a working-class leader named Novarro. A group of sympathizers, coal miners with their wives and children, gathered together outside the office of Justice of the Peace Bickel, protesting their exclusion by knocking on the door and window. When the door was opened they made no attempt to enter by force. The sheriff and his deputies in charge of the prisoner concealed from the crowd that the public hearing had been postponed until the sixth, and began sneaking their prisoner out the back door. The crowd at the window saw the maneuver; their suspicions and fears for Novarro's safety increased.

The four officers found another group of protesting workers in the alley. What happened next is not yet clear, but shots rang out and Ignacia Velarde, New Mexican worker, was instantly killed. Sheriff Carmichael fell dead. Another worker, Salomon Esquibel, shot in the back, died eight days later. Two deputies and four more workers were wounded. Novarro escaped. The defense claims that Carmichael was killed in the cross-fire of his own deputies. The prosecution claims that he was shot by the worker who was then killed by a deputy.

By noon a reign of terror hard to match outside of Germany was in full swing against Gallup workers. Hundreds of vigilantes, some drunk and many of them young boys, were handed guns and told to "get the damn Reds"—especially those workers who had been prominent in strikes, in struggles for relief, and against evictions from houses they had built themselves on company land. Formalities like warrants for search or arrest were dispensed with. Workers' wives were ridden into the country and threatened with armed drunks; workers' children were snatched out of school and questioned at the points of guns as to whether their parents were "Communists" or "attended meetings"; men were brutally beaten, their homes wrecked in raids, their union cards stolen, the pitifully small treasuries of unemployed organizations filched from them. In jail, sixteen women and four chil-



A Jobless Gallup Miner

Rackley

dren (one 2½ years old) were jammed into two small cells. The press raised the Red scare.

In 1933, in the face of armed terror by local, state, and federal forces, Gallup miners had won by strike a victory for unionization. In 1934 they had successfully resisted attempts to cut F.E.R.A. wages, and won battles for more relief. In 1935 their militant opposition had crushed a vicious criminal syndicalism bill backed by the mine bosses. Novarro's hearing was on the charge of breaking into a house to replace the furniture of an evicted miner. The house was owned by State Senator Vogel (convicted in 1934 of protecting the Gallup prostitution racket). The Gallup workers were an example of militant determination, and thus deadly enemies of the incredibly corrupt political ring dominated by the Gallup American Coal Company, a subsidiary of the Kennecott Copper Company, backed by Rockefeller banks. So, by whatever means necessary, the Gallup workers' organizations must be smashed!

An Obvious Frame-Up Against Militants

No one was held on any charge for the death of two workers, but officials admit that for the death of Sheriff Carmichael over 600 were rounded up in the terror; the number is probably nearer 1,000, or 15 percent of the total population of Gallup. And 48 people, 36 men and 12 women, were charged with *first degree murder*, under an old territorial statute which permits the indictment of all members of a "mob" present at a "riot" resulting in the death of a peace officer. The prosecution does not claim that any of the defendants actually killed Carmichael. These 48 defendants were hand-picked for their activity in workers' organizations, rather than because of their presence at the scene of Carmichael's death. Indeed, several "positively identified" as present at the shooting were later proved to have been working all day in the mines!

Defended by I.L.D. attorneys David Levinson (active in the Reichstag Fire defense) and Clarence Lynch, aided by A. L. Wirin of the A.C.L.U. and Wheaton Augur, a Santa Fé attorney, the 48 had their preliminary hearing in Santa Fé before District Judge M. A. Otero, Jr. No gun had been found on any worker, dead or alive, no proof established that the crowd constituted a "riotous assemblage," no connection had been shown between any defendant and Carmichael's death, no conspiracy or concerted action by the crowd either to kill the sheriff or to free the prisoner. Yet ten men who were "identified" as being present were held for trial on first degree murder—four without bond, six on \$7,500 each. And four others (on \$500 bond), for aiding a prisoner to escape.

Meanwhile federal immigration authorities in collusion with the prosecution are crippling the defense by arresting for deportation dozens of workers, among them many defense witnesses. Protests to Secretary of Labor Perkins remain unanswered.



Robert Minor After the Kidnaping

Fascist tactics were used in Gallup during the 1933 strike; since April 4, 1935, Fascism has grown. At the present writing the sheriff's office is trumping up "incriminating" evidence against the accused, making a new series of raids and arrests, and triumphantly finding such "riot weapons" as a hunting knife, a twenty-two calibre rifle (Carmichael was killed by a large-calibre bullet, probably a .45), and . . . a mimeograph machine!

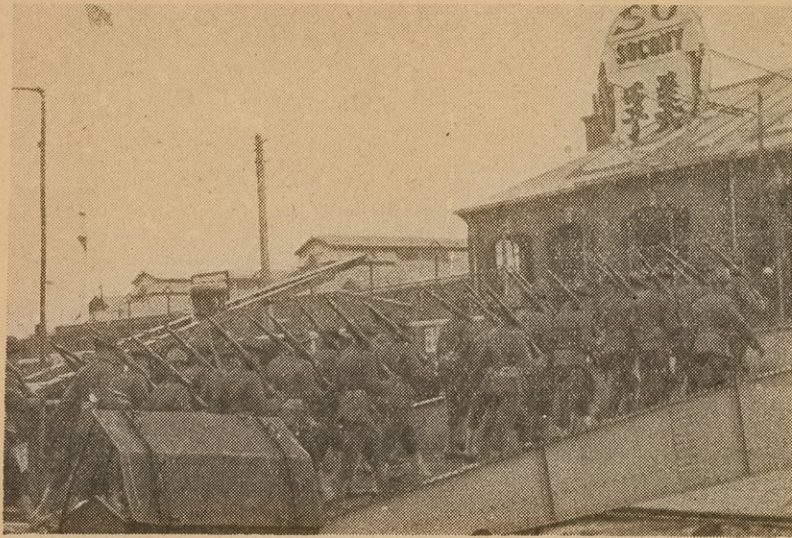
These are Hitler frame-up methods. The Gallup case, unless exposed, may become one of the hugest frame-ups in history. The local press smoke-screens the facts by shrieking that "radicals" are "blackening" the fair name of Gallup—as if such a thing were possible. The Fascist record of Gallup is as black as the coal from its mines. It can only be cleansed by mass defense resulting in the unconditional release of the defendants.

Robert Minor was selected to head a national defense committee, and went to Gallup to expose the frame-up. With David Levinson he was examining Julia Bartol, wife of one of the defendants, in her automobile in the plaza near the swank hotel, El Navajo. About 10:30 P.M. three cars stopped alongside. Well-dressed men wearing Ku Klux hoods and armed with revolvers opened the door of the auto, dragged Minor and Levinson out, beat them, told them to shut up when they shouted for help. The plaza is in the center of town. There were people nearby, who ignored their appeal for aid. Minor and Levinson struggled, were beaten to insensibility, and thrown into separate cars, which speeded out of town in the direction of the American Coal Company's mines.

No one on the street or at the hotel responded to Julia Bartol's frantic appeal for help. Neither did the sheriff's office. They expressed doubt as to whether there had been any kidnaping, and so did the state authorities later. Investigation was delayed.

Whenever Minor or Levinson recovered consciousness they were again beaten. Finally they were dumped out, their heads covered with hoods, on the Arizona desert in a Navajo Indian reservation. They stumbled along, falling in the mud with exhaustion, until dawn,

(Continued on page 11)



Marines landing at Shanghai "to protect American lives and property." Whose property is indicated by the Standard Oil sign.



Pack train of American marines in Haiti, bled white by American imperialism. Demand the withdrawal of all American soldiers from foreign lands.

A MARINE GOES RED

By JOSEPH SIGMUND

(This story was told to me by one who has been in the Marines. All incidents mentioned actually occurred.)

ENLISTED in the Marine Corps in 1924. Like many men in my outfit I had been unable to get a job in civilian life. My father and mother were farmers just like their parents had been. Good old pioneer stock, heavily in debt. In the city once in a while I could get an odd job. Nothing permanent. And of course the amazing tales of adventure, heroism, sports, and education told by recruiting officers made a fellow feel like the best thing in the world must be the U. S. Marine Corps.

One morning, after missing out at a few employment exchanges, I ambled aimlessly around town, day dreaming about what I could do if I landed something steady. While taking a drink of water at a street fountain I felt a pressure on my arm.

"What do you say, husky?" I looked up and saw a Recruiting Sergeant. He smiled and said, "Come over here and I'll tell you about a life that'll interest you."

A few happy days later I pulled into San Diego. The next three months were spent in quarantine and disillusionment. The food was mostly beans and bread and only one helping.

Upon leaving quarantine we were put through some tough training. In the barracks arguments broke out as the men became discontented. Fights took place. Many men deserted. About one-fourth of the recruits became "good" marines.

Bringing Civilization to Nicaragua

Eventually a bunch of us were assigned to the U.S.S. Pennsylvania. In 1925 we steamed across the Pacific on a "Good Will" cruise. . . . On later trips to China and Nicaragua we fulfilled our true purpose as killers and sluggers. Of course, I didn't look at it that way then and neither did my buddies.

Nicaragua hardened me for some of the things I was to experience in China. Never before had we heard such emotional and eloquent addresses on the humanitarianism of the Marine Corps, and never before had we been given as gruesome a task to fulfill. Marine patrols slid canoes through the jungle morass, killing natives at sight. They resisted heroically, fighting to protect their homes and families. Many marines were killed in these battles fought among prolific tropical maze, and a still greater number contracted fever and died. On their bodies lime was thrown and they rotted in the slimy swamps. The marines burned villages and slew the valiant resisters. More than once I thought of the Recruiting Officer who had told me of teaching school in Haiti. *I wondered if we were to kill off half the population of Nicaragua and tutor the remainder in American ethics.*

On our return to the States we were assigned to mail guard duty. A few months later, on February 2, 1927, came the call to mobilize marines in China. On April 17 we embarked on a large passenger liner, the "President Grant," chartered from the Dollar Steamship Company. Eighteen hundred men, twenty trucks, tanks, machine guns, field artillery, supplies for one year. Eighteen days passed and we arrived in Olongapo, Philippine Islands.

In the Islands we built roads, cutting through the jungle, soaked every day as mighty blasts of warm rain tumbled down on it. Then the sun, like an idiot drawing water from a well and throwing it back, would sop it up in huge steam clouds. Tropical diseases took their toll in sick and dead marines, just as they had in Nicaragua.

Protecting American "Rights" in China

A month later we sailed for Shanghai. We were told that "The worst may be expected." It was late at night when we tied up alongside the Standard Oil Dock. I stood the

morning four to eight watch on the wharf. I spotted a sampan approaching, manned by a lone coolie. The boat rode slowly under the ship's stern. I motioned for the coolie to leave and poked at him with my bayonet. I couldn't reach him and he refused to go.

My orders in such a case were "shoot to kill." I raised my rifle and aimed at him. He bared his chest and shouted apparent scorn at me. I would have killed him but I had been so sleepy when I turned out that I had forgotten my ammunition.

Later I learned that many coolies go alongside ships to salvage food refuse that pours out of the scuppers! Also I observed that baring their thin yellow chests is characteristic of Chinese workers in the face of certain death or clubbing.

We were barracked in Shanghai for a month. Scarcely ever did twenty-four hours pass without our having been called out for an "emergency." Headquarters would be notified that a "riot" had broken out on a certain street. Though there might not be an American for blocks around we were "protecting American lives and property."

We would rush angrily to the scene. We blamed the "damn Chinks" for keeping us so busy and disturbing what free time we had! As a rule, when we arrived we would find a street jammed with people from wall to wall. On the walls anti-imperialist slogans had been inscribed.

Sikh, Italian, French, English, American, White Russian, and Chinese police, soldiers, sailors, marines, would plunge into the mass of workers and students. Clubs, bayonets, and sabers hacked a path. We struck indiscriminately at everyone that was Chinese and didn't wear a uniform.

In situations like this I saw hundreds of workers rip open their shirts and shout their hatred in the faces of all the murderous assaulters. Blood would run, many would be arrested or beaten senseless, but the next day

we would be dashing madly through another mass of living defiance.

Fighting Chinese "Bandits"

We left Shanghai and sailed up the Coast to Taku Bar. We piled into lighters and these were pulled by tow boats up the Hai Ho River. The country was flat like a floor. We landed at Hsinho, a village of about fifteen hundred.

Two months of suffering were spent here. The continual rains kept us drenched. Some of the officers stayed in the home of Hsinho's Standard Oil Superintendent. The rest rented well-constructed and spacious homes. In contrast, we were at the mercy of the stormy weather. The poles of our tents sank in the water-loosened dirt. The tents came flapping and whipping down on us. The officers amused themselves with the White Russian and bourgeois Chinese women. One day a notice appeared on the bulletin board announcing that in the future enlisted men would not be permitted to associate with the Russian women as some of them were Bolshevik spies!

Most of us became afflicted with dysentery or various fevers. Two large tents served as the hospital. Many marines breathed their last in those gloomy, cold tents, and were embalmed and thrown into boxes for shipment to the States.

When we left camp and departed on oil barges for Tientsin, a short distance up the river, it was at midnight. Coolies had to do nearly all of the work. Most of us were too weak to carry our rifles. I had lost forty pounds and now weighed only one hundred and twenty, and had a fever of one hundred and two.

In Tientsin we were quartered in an abandoned Prince's palace. There were five hundred of us. Regularly we were sent out in patrols

from the town to root out "bandits." Plenty of sickness resulted from these expeditions. We would be out for two or three weeks. The winds of the Gobi Desert would blow particles of decaying bodies against us. The dead Chinese were buried by erecting a mound over them. The poorer they were the lower the mound. Consequently it did not take long for the brisk breeze to uncover a decomposing Chinese.

The Chief of Police in Tientsin was an American, a former Boston detective. One day over five hundred workers were executed at his order. Another time six were executed in front of the Y. M. C. A. Heads were hung on the International Bridge. Every few days they were replaced by fresh ones.

A wealthy Chinese merchant contracted to buy all the leavings on our plates. He hired coolies to recook and remold it. We were astonished to see this sloppy garbage turned into large round cakes, which were sold to the longshoremen.

Through Tientsin runs Taku Road, the main stem. On either side are clean, colorful buildings, the front of the town. This is the part of the city seen by the tourists, and we were ordered not to go below it. However, the order was ignored, and we found that the Tientsin where the masses lived was much different from Taku Road. During the winter nights rickshaw drivers sometimes froze to death while huddled in their vehicles. Twelve-year-old girls, kidnapped from Korea and mute with fear, were legally raped in the houses of prostitution. Dressed in rags, living in dilapidated huts, infrequently sure of their food, the workers were treated inhumanly.

Gradually it dawned on me why the U. S. Marine Corps fights to protect investments of American financiers in foreign lands. But it was not until I returned home that a realiza-

tion came to me of all the implications involved in being a "good" marine. *My folks on the farm were worse off than ever.* The Wall Street crash came. An ex-marine found that there were no jobs to be had. So I became one of 15,000,000 jobless, unwanted men, an American "coolie."

Like a somnambulist who awakens to be told that he has murdered someone, I came to and understood the oppression I had assisted in forcing upon the struggling poor in colonial lands.

A few weeks ago I was slugged, handcuffed, and beaten by vigilantes and police while leading several hundred unemployed workers in a demonstration. I was knocked unconscious twice, and between times thousands of bared, yellow chests flashed before me, Chinese "coolies" hurling defiance at the "foreign devil dogs." I felt a deep kinship with these yellow men. I knew for the first time the meaning of internationalism. That's why I am a revolutionary worker, determined never to fight again against colonial people but against American imperialism and in defense of my brothers and comrades in Nicaragua, Cuba, the Philippines and China.



Marines in action—against the people of one of the colonies of Wall Street.

No-Profit Legislation Means Conscription

By WALTER WILSON

Author of "Forced Labor in the United States."

NO HONEST opponent of War and Fascism—laborite, liberal, churchman or pacifist—can give support to a draft law in whatever dress it may masquerade. On no other issue than conscription can so much real, effective anti-War sentiment be mobilized among the masses of this country. The common people have no hankering to be cannon fodder, and will oppose efforts to impress them into Wars against their will if the issues are clearly understood by them. And none but the draft law can give so much aid and comfort to the War-mongers. Once the draft law is enacted the militarists will sit back and lick their chops; the last and most important cog in the War machine will then be in place, and the whole machine ready to hum.

That is why they are trying to incorporate a conscription plan in all of the proposed laws before Congress to "take the profits out of War." Under the War Department's draft plan millions of workers and farmers would be conscripted against their will into the army,



A Good Soldier. Drawing by Dan Rico.

and other millions would be sent into industries as forced laborers, denied the right to organize or to strike, and be paid wages no higher than those of the soldiers, possibly as little as \$1 a day.

Every preparedness advocate in the country from William Randolph Hearst to Franklin Delano Roosevelt knows that the people of the United States are overwhelmingly opposed to a draft act. They know that to get such a law it is necessary to confuse the issue. It is an old trick of politicians to tie up an unpopular measure with a popular one, and by emphasizing the popular features and soft-pedaling the despised features push the whole through and make it law. The great majority of the people are admittedly against War and War profiteering; therefore the militarists use the strategy of emphasizing the "War profits" angle of their proposed legislation, when in reality they are concerned with the conscription and forced labor aspects.

The McSwain Bill which has just passed the

House of Representatives was ballyhooed as a bill to "take profits out of War," when in reality it was as vicious as any War plan ever introduced in an American legislative body. Fortunately insurgent Congressmen were able to expose the bill and kill the features of it which would have set the President up as a complete dictator during War time or in periods when War was "imminent." The draft provision of this bill was also eliminated. Congress, however, has not yet adjourned, and we must expect the militarists to fight to force through a draft law during this session.

Conscription Opposed to Best American Traditions

The draft is out of harmony with American traditions. *Up until the present Congress no one has ever dared propose a draft law in peace time.* During the American Revolution anyone foolish enough to have proposed conscription would have been deported.

The first time the idea of a draft was proposed in public in America was in 1812. Although the proposal never had any real strength behind it, it was enough to horrify and enrage the masses. Daniel Webster and many others denounced the idea. *Webster declared that those who were craven enough to submit to such an autocratic measure did not deserve to be free.*

The third year of the Civil War saw the first Federal draft law in the United States (the South had enacted it one year before). It proved to be an extremely unpopular act, and in the long run hindered rather than promoted the successes of the Union arms. The early part of the War saw the Union armies flooded with more volunteers than could be enrolled and equipped. But in time many of the common people became disillusioned with the vicious abuses permitted to flourish—War profiteering, corruption, favoritism, waste and display among the newly rich and the socially élite, lack of pay for soldiers, the great rise in prices and the same old \$13 a month for private soldiers, the privation of the soldiers' families, harsh punishments and many other grievances.

Instead of trying to correct the great inequalities of the War, the government then resorted to the draft as the cure-all. The masses were opposed to the whole idea of conscription. More especially were they bitterly opposed to certain discriminatory provisions of the Civil War draft act. The thing that rankled most was the clause permitting War profiteers and wealthy conscripts to evade military service by paying \$300 in exemption money. It is estimated that \$26,000,000 was paid to the government by those evading service. Among these were most of the founders of the great present-day fortunes in America, including J. P. Morgan, Philip Armour, Jim Fisk, and John D. Rockefeller. The common people immediately raised a cry which proved to be a serious blow to the morale of the Union armies and the cause: *"A rich man's war and a poor man's fight."*

Violent draft riots broke out in New York City, in some of the upstate counties and in several states along the Atlantic seaboard. The most serious of these occurred in New York City where over 1,000 persons, most of them workers or members of their families, were killed by policemen and soldiers. The

draft resisters were from sections of the city that had already furnished more than their share of volunteers to the Union armies. The resistance was based on the claim (most likely true) that the draft law was unconstitutional, and that it put a much heavier load on the poor than it did the rich. It was not an attack on the government nor was it anti-War. In the end the resisters won the concession from the city of having a municipal fund to pay for the exemptions of deserving members of the poorer classes. Promises were also made that the constitutionality of the draft would be speedily tested. On two different occasions during the Civil War was the draft declared unconstitutional by the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court. But the Federal government refused to allow the matter to go before the United States Supreme Court for review. Two or three Southern States also declared the Confederate draft law unconstitutional. All told, in 1864 slightly over 200,000 new Union soldiers were sent into the field, of whom only 50,000 were drafted men and the rest were volunteers. And, of course, up to the middle of 1863 there were no drafted men. The Civil War was fought and won by volunteers and not by conscripts.

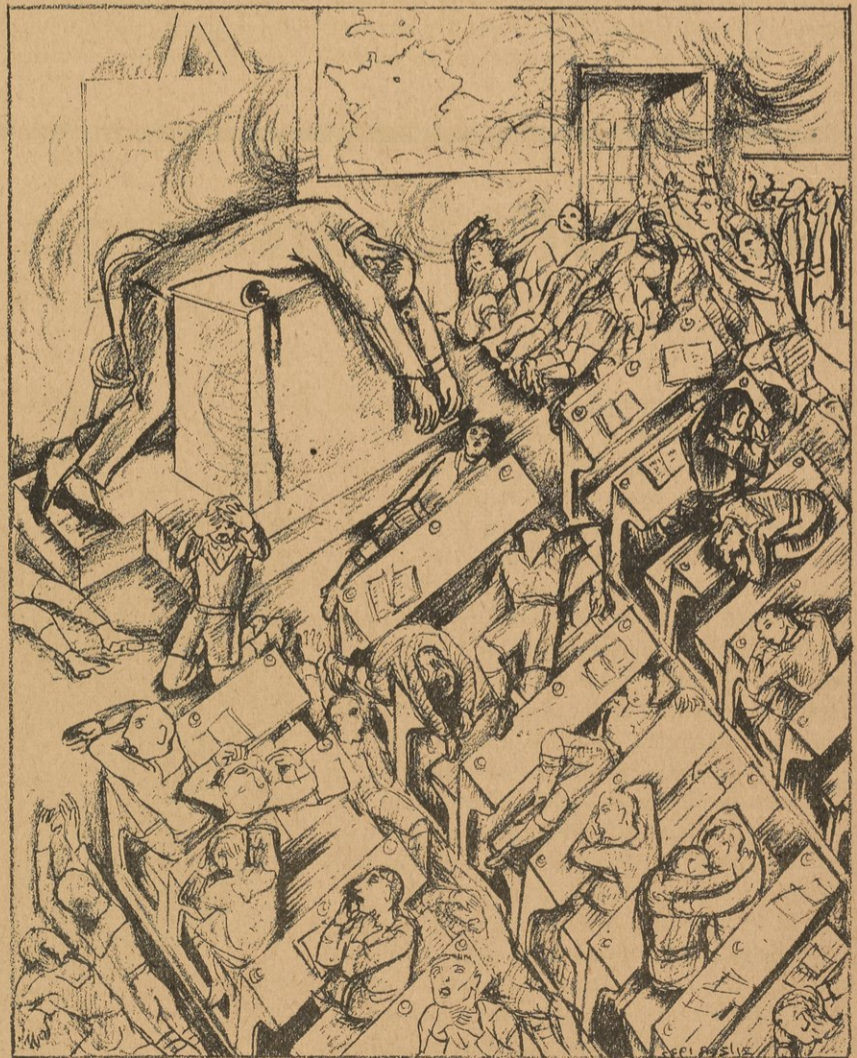
Opposition to 1917 Draft Law

Senator James Reed of Missouri, speaking against the draft bill before Congress in 1917, said: "The streets of Missouri cities will run red with blood before the people will submit to such a law." Senator Champ Clark called the draft a "convict law," and also predicted resistance to it. Many others spoke in like vein. The House Military Affairs Committee actually recorded an adverse vote on the draft.

Administration leaders were in a great sweat. Newton D. Baker, Hugh S. Johnson and General Enoch Crowder had already illegally and secretly spent millions, before a cent had been appropriated, setting up a machinery to administer the draft which they expected Congress tamely to rubber-stamp. But it was not until President Wilson personally button holed Congressmen and begged them "to stand by the President" that the law was pushed through. Even then the subterfuge had to be resorted to of having Congressman Kahn, a Republican, sponsor the bill. The final vote was: Senate, 65 for and 8 against; House, 199 for and 178 against! Over half of all who registered claimed exemption from the draft. Over a quarter of a million successfully evaded it; almost as many tried to evade it and were caught. Armed resistance appeared in several spots in the Southern mountains.

Many of those drafted in 1917 and 1918 came back home saying that "the next time they have a War, they'll have to come and get me." Some of the War Veteran organizations came out against conscription. In 1924 Bob La-follette got 4,822,000 votes for President on a platform which included plans for a referendum on declaring War and against conscription. Large sections of the labor movement are also on record as opposing the draft. But perhaps the most conclusive proof that the people are against the draft can be seen in the action of the House in killing the draft section of the McSwain Bill. Who can doubt that these Congressmen have been hearing from their constituents? No organization hoping to win mass support in a fight against War and Fascism can afford to neglect to make the fight against the draft a part of its work.

A scene in a schoolroom during the last War. In the next war, no civilian, man, woman or child, will be safe from the torturous death inflicted by poison gas dropped from the skies.



Lithograph by G. Zigler.

We Must Unite and Fight

By FAITH AYERS

A speech to the Conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington, D. C., May 3, 1935. Miss Ayers is a student at Teachers College, Columbia University.

WE ARE ASSEMBLED to demand: No More War! But the United States prepares for War. The government of this country, in spite of peaceful declarations, is more aggressively than ever promoting policies whose only logical result is War. In the face of potential plenty, and with technological advance capable of producing more than enough for all, we are today operating under a profit system of enforced scarcity. Over one-sixth of our population are unemployed; they are denied the right to work to earn a decent living. And at the same time the government is appropriating millions upon millions for increased armaments. Under the guise of public works, the N.R.A. has diverted immense funds from the care of starving multitudes to the building of a vastly larger navy and to the mechanization of the army—so that now we have a larger armament budget than ever before in our history.

What meaning has this for us? First we must realize that modern War is a business—and a profitable business. In the declining period of capitalism, in which we now find ourselves, national defense is not a smoke-screen for imperialist advance—it is the last stronghold of the profit system and of the interests of the profit takers. National defense is admitted to be necessary not so much for external protection as for internal protection. Against whom? Against those who dare to protest the abolition of their civil liberties, who protest their right to collective bargaining, who protest man's inhumanity to man.

Secondly, we must realize that it is not enough to take the profits out of the manufacture of munitions. Other industries, too, find war a lucrative business. Armies have to be clothed, fed, transported—and the industries supplying these goods and services prosper in War.

Thus, we must recognize that War and Fascism spring from the same source—the inability of the capitalist system to solve its economic problems. We see Fascism and War inevitably connected. Fascism means militarization, lower standards of living, accentuation of national hatreds, chauvinist incitement

as instruments of moral preparation for War. It means abridgement of civil liberties, it means promotion of economic nationalism and subsequent War. Thus to the degree that we fight Fascism, we fight the fundamental cause of modern War.

Fascism is a Death Grip on Progress

Why does this challenge us?

Our lives are at stake; the lives of those we cherish are at stake; the institutions of American democracy which we claim as our heritage are rendered impotent by the inroads of Fascism—their very existence is threatened.

We recognize that if a War comes, all of our hopes, all of our aspirations for peace and freedom, all of the educational advance made for centuries—all of the chances to build a better world will be completely blasted. The forces of reaction will fasten a death grip on progress.

Let us defy this avalanche of Fascism; let us defy this ogre of War. Let us say, *We will not support imperialist War.* We will not become cannon fodder for industrial profits. We will not kill our brothers—our fellow workers in other lands.

Martyrdom is Not Enough

But individual defiance of War, individual martyrdom for peace is not enough. To rot in a concentration camp in result of our protest for peace, has no allurements for us. We would live for our fellow men. We must UNITE on every front against War and Fascism. Only in mass organization is there power—power to match and to conquer the combined forces for War.

We may not agree on specific economic theories, or particular political philosophies, but in view of the situation challenging us, in view of the unity of the forces supporting Fascism and War, in view of the present attack on human liberty, freedom of speech, the menace to human civilization in the imminence of war, we must UNITE.

We are challenged to create a united front—students, professional workers, rural, industrial workers, to struggle together, shoulder to shoulder, resolute, implacable—a united mass which shall liberate power that cannot be denied, demanding that human justice shall prevail; in such unity we shall triumph in our demand: **NO MORE WAR.**



Chiang Kai Shek to Military Attaches of Western Powers: "Please observe the effectiveness of the new American bombing planes and poison gas. Civilization demands the extermination of these Red bandits."

NAZIS DEFEND HAUPTMANN

The greater part of a recent number of "Der Sturmer," official Nazi organ, is devoted to the defense of Richard Hauptmann, murderer of the Lindbergh baby. Streicher's newspaper prints the translation of an article which appeared in an American Fascist rag, "The Fascist," asserting that the Lindbergh baby was the victim of a ritual murder. This article bases its assertion on the circumstance that the baby was kidnaped on March 1st, and the Jewish Purim festival took place on March 22nd! The editor of "Der Sturmer," Fritz Brand, adds an article of his own in defense of Hauptmann, and states that the German Bruno Richard Hauptmann has been sentenced to death on the motion of the Jew David T. Wilentz, who acted as public prosecutor at the Flemington trial. This makes the whole matter as clear as day, and the murderer Hauptmann appears as the Nordic salt of humanity persecuted by the Jews.

THE DEBTS OF THE THIRD REICH

Under the régime of Shacht, steering a course toward bankruptcy, the debts of Germany are running into astronomical figures. By March 31, 1935, the floating debt of the Reich had increased to 2,116,700,000 marks, as compared with 2,093,300,000 on February 28, 1935. To this must be added treasury notes for security guarantees, etc., which increased from 355,900,000 to 370,100,000. Taxation credit certificates are in circulation to the amount of 1,179,600,000 marks.

Coal Black Gallup

(Continued from page 7)

resting in abandoned Navajo hogans. About noon next day they came to the hut of Benny Tohe, Navajo Indian, who gave them food and drove them in his truck to the hospital at Tohatchi.

Officials refusing to act, Minor and Levinson themselves back-tracked with Tohe over the ground they had covered that night, as soon

as they were strong enough. With newspaper men present they established clearly just what had happened. Both local and state authorities were apathetic, attempting to discredit their statements, refusing proper protection to Minor, Levinson and others on the defense committee.

Deputized gunmen continue to patrol Gallup streets, terrorizing workers and arresting defense witnesses, boasting that they are going to "run all the Reds out of Gallup." Only

nation-wide publicity and militant protest can prevent a repetition of such terroristic acts as the kidnaping of Minor and Levinson, the deportation of defense witnesses, and the rail-roading of the defendants to the electric chair. Write or telegraph Governor Tingley of New Mexico and your Congressman or Senator today; demand protection for members of the defense committee and a cessation of the Gallup terror. Defend the civil rights of Gallup workers!

FATHER COUGHLIN SHOWS HIS FACE

By HAROLD PATCH

AN ANALYSIS of Father Coughlin's series of lectures on "Social Justice," just issued, and of his speeches at recent large mass meetings in Detroit, Cleveland, and New York, shows the unmistakable Fascist road which the Father Gapon of Detroit is traveling.

In content, in method, even in phraseology he shows a remarkable resemblance to his German and Italian precursors—the same vague, radical-sounding generalizations about the necessity of a "just and living wage," fulminations against the international bankers, attacks upon the "degeneration of modern capitalism," denunciations of the concentration of wealth. This is coupled with a vigorous defense of the "right to private property," of the right to "equitable profits," of the right to the industrialist to hold his factory as a "sacred stewardship."

The first step of every Fascist dictator has always been to abolish the right of the workers to organize in genuine labor unions and to strike. Coughlin subscribes to this doctrine. In his speech of December 2, 1934, he says: "The National Union for Social Justice contends that strikes and lockouts are absolutely unnecessary." On November 18, 1934: "Social justice cries to heaven for the workingmen to unite *with* the industrialist, not *against* him." Practice in every Fascist land has shown that it has served as a means of degrading workers' standard of living in order to increase the profits of the industrialists. Instead of strikes

he proposed that "The Department of Labor shall not only protect labor but shall counsel and guide it in its negotiations with capital." The workers of San Francisco, Arkansas, Imperial Valley, Toledo, and of dozens of other places have had excellent samples of the "counsel and guidance" of the Department of Labor which Father Coughlin recommends as the "substitute for strikes."

"I know the pulse of the people," says Father Coughlin. "I know it better than all your newspaper men. I know it better than all your industrialists. I . . . accept the challenge to organize these men and women of all classes. To consolidate for action, if you will." This is a bold bid for Fascist leadership.

One of the cardinal principles which Hitler put forth in his autobiography "Mein Kampf" seems to have struck a responsive chord in the heart of the radio priest, namely: "If you repeat a lie often enough, it will be believed." Here are some choice samples: In order to establish that remarkable theory of the unholy trinity, first espoused by Hitler, that Communists, International Bankers, and Jews are allied in a common plot to ruin the world, Coughlin said in his address of December 30, 1934, that "the breeding place" of Communism was to be found not in cellars, but in "the marble halls of the banker." He cited as an example, Adam Weishaupt, "founder of Communist philosophy," who lived in the eighteenth century, and who was never remotely connected with anything even vaguely resembling Communism, but was an ex-Jesuit and professor of Canon Law at Ingolstadt where

he founded a masonic order calling itself "the perfectibilists." The second "Communist" Coughlin mentions is Cagliostro, an Italian alchemist and forger, who lived during the same period, and who attempted to establish a masonic order in London. The third "Communist" is Martinez of Portugal, a Spanish Catholic, who founded a mystical cabbalistic order similar in form to masonry, which influenced such men as "Goethe, Herder and the Duke of Gotha," apparently all "Communists" to Father Coughlin. The last "Communist" he mentions is Adrien Du Pont. Apparently he referred to Adrien Du Port, who had the audacity to advocate the Communist (!) principle of trial by jury.

Perhaps the most flagrant disregard of truth of which Coughlin has been guilty is in his speech of December 23, when he advocated American intervention in Mexico. Coughlin repeats old atrocity stories and invents new ones, pandering to the worst passions and prejudices, as his friend Hearst does, to build circulation. Describing the educational system of Mexico, Coughlin states: "Blush not, for in your mind's eye you will see little children stripped naked—little children of both sexes, not only taught to examine themselves, but taught, by public performance in the classroom how to commit copulation with each other. I could hardly blame you for stopping up your ears when I tell you, upon my word of honor, that in these revolutionary schools, supported today by the Mexican government, sexual perversion is openly practiced and encouraged."

One is reminded of how the Nazis circulated forced pictures of Jews practicing perversions in order to arouse the poison of anti-Semitism!

Father Coughlin's vicious influence must be fought by intensified efforts to expose him before the masses for what he is—a liar, and an exponent of Fascism for the United States—a menace which daily becomes more ominous.

ITALIANS IN SOMALILAND

Natives have been discovered here who have been carrying on anti-Fascist propaganda among the whites. You may imagine the rage of the officers. The whites are punished severely, but the blacks are beaten with whips till they fall to the ground streaming with blood, their bodies covered with wounds. For some weeks the soldiers have had no leave of absence, as it is feared they might fraternize with the civilian population.

—From a letter written by an Italian soldier in East Africa.

METHODISTS AGAINST WAR

The Social Service Commission of the New York East Annual Conference, composed of 300 Methodist ministers, adopted the following declaration on May 10:

"The church must be in active opposition to War and stand for total and universal disarmament. We favor organized resistance to War and preparations for War. We urge workers and professional men to unite in an effort to stop the manufacture and transport of munitions and other materials essential to the conduct of War."

AN URGENT APPEAL TO FIGHT READERS

Send us today the names of at least ten friends who might subscribe to our magazine; we will send them free sample copies. Better still, send us \$5 for ten subscriptions.

The American League Against War and Fascism maintains a research bureau. A bulletin, FACTS AND FIGURES, is issued twice a month to seven hundred newspapers and individuals. It is available, free, to publications and to writers and speakers. We want facts for this bulletin; send in clippings from newspapers and magazines, reports and other material regarding War and Fascism, the suppression of civil liberties, etc.

We want letters from FIGHTers. Give us the benefit of your ideas and criticisms of the magazine. How can it be improved? Also report to us all local developments in connection with War preparations, and the trend toward Fascism. We want to build an army of FIGHTers, loyal opponents of War and Fascism, enthusiastic builders of FIGHT circulation, willing to fight War now so that they will not have to fight for profits later—determined to defeat Fascism now before they lose all their hard-won liberties.



Not visitors from Mars, but puppets of the British War machine, prepared for the aerial gas attack expected in the next War, equipped to burrow into the ground.

Revolt and Terror in the Philippines

By SAMUEL WEINMAN

THE Roosevelt-Murphy-Quezon Administration in the Philippines has suppressed another revolt, with sixty killed, hundreds wounded, 500 jailed. Fascist tactics are used to prevent the Filipinos from achieving their ambition for immediate independence.

Senate President Quezon has admitted that the basic cause of the clash was the "economic distress" of millions of toiling peasants and workers. The tenant farmers, share-croppers and owners of small farms are suffering from intolerable burdens of rent, interest and taxation. Tens of thousands face the threat of eviction from their lands and homes, foreclosure and bankruptcy. It is against the big landlords, the loan-sharks, the tax collectors, and American imperialism that the Filipinos are fighting desperately.

In Laguna Province the Tunasan Estates ordered the eviction of fifteen tenants on March 27 for failure to pay rent. Over 800 neighboring tenants gathered to prevent the eviction, and raised the demand that rent be reduced, that there be a moratorium on rents since 1933, and abolition of the 50 percent annual interest added to back rents. The Tunasan landlords concentrated a great force of constabulary to carry out the evictions, to crush the peasants' resistance. One peasant was killed and several wounded. But the evictions were stopped.

Such events have taken place throughout the Philippines. In Tarlac Province the tenants were successful in stopping evictions. Large areas are in the hands of revolutionary peasant committees, where landlords and tax collectors dare not approach. Red flags flying over the fields in Tarlac are a harbinger of what is to come.

In the sugar plantations thousands of workers have gone on strike. Workers in the urban

industries have also displayed a growing militancy. There have been dozens of strikes of cigar makers, longshoremen, seamen, tax drivers, candy makers, embroiders, lumbermen and others. In the strike of 11,000 cigar makers last August, the police attacked and killed three workers and wounded nineteen. Many were imprisoned.

Ever since the beginning of the strike-wave the agents of American imperialism in the islands have been conducting a Hearst-like campaign against the right to organize and strike. "The mailed fist" is openly advocated against all "Reds and trouble-makers." The semi-Fascist regime of Murphy and Quezon is depriving the people of civil rights. The Communist Party has been driven underground. Steps have been taken toward outlawing trade unions, and all opposition groups like the Sakdalistas. Meetings are prohibited for those opposed to Wall Street's policies.

Benigno Ramos, head of the Sakdal Party, has been in Japan since last September. He opposed the May 3 uprising because "the American government in the islands is so strong that revolt against it is virtual suicide." Other Sakdal leaders condemned the heroic struggles of the Filipinos and advocated "peaceful reform." It is charged that the Sakdal Party is a pawn of Japanese imperialism, and there seems to be evidence to support this view. At least it is obvious that the revolt broke out despite the Sakdalista chiefs.

The Roosevelt Administration has passed a bill forcing military advisers upon the Philippines. General Douglas MacArthur, chief of staff of the U. S. Army, is being groomed for the post of American High Commissioner to succeed Murphy. It is to be expected that the Administration will take further steps to establish a stronger military dictatorship over

the islands and to suppress all future opposition—if possible. But the heroic struggle for freedom of the Filipinos will not be easily crushed. Those opposed to War and Fascism should extend their sympathy and their aid to the people of that colony of American Imperialism.



Benigno Ramos, chief of the Sakdal party, Philippine Islands.

PRO-NAZI VOTE IN FACTORY COUNCILS DECLINES

The *pro-Nazi* majority in German elections has grown smaller successively, as shown by official Nazi figures. In the recent factory council elections the decline was striking. In Berlin and Upper Silesia the anti-Nazi vote was especially heavy, the *Essen National Zeitung* admits. In many large Berlin factories the vote approving Hitler's candidates was only 50 to 60 per cent of the total. In the Ore Mountains and the Hinderburg District of Upper Silesia the Fascists got only 40 percent of the total cast. In the Ruhr, votes for Nazis fell as low as 15 percent in several mines and shops. Elections in a Fascist state are not free but very strictly controlled and hence such a decline in the *pro-Nazi* vote shows greatly increased opposition to Hitler.

This fact and the apathy of the German masses to Hitler's patriotic appeals on May Day is regarded as evidence of growing disillusionment. The *New York Times* describes the mood of the people on May Day as "cold as the weather"—and there was a blizzard.

NAZI EXECUTIONS CONTINUE

During the past few weeks, a number of anti-Nazi leaders in Germany have been executed. The Former Reichstag members Max Maddalena, Reinhold, Jurgensen, Robert Stamm and Rembte were beheaded after torture. Other executions include the Communist functionaries George Handke, Ludwig Einecke and Helene Glatzer; two young trade unionists, Seibt and Rappach; the Social Democratic leader Werst; and Fritz Husemann, former secretary of the Miners Federation now outlawed. In Dresden an S. A. P. functionary, Lorenz; in Saxony, the Communist Schulz, and the Social Democrat Broede, were all martyred in jail—called suicide by the Nazis.

The severity of punishment for "treason" to Hitler is increasing and there is no abatement in the Nazi terror. Eight years at hard labor is not an uncommon sentence for those caught with anti-Nazi literature. Among those receiving such sentences recently are the trade unionist Behrs, Behrend, Rolke, Silz and Barth. This information is not usually given in news cabled from Germany

but leaks through the strict censorship.

The imprisonment of 500 German clergymen has been followed by warnings from Nazi leaders that "this is only a beginning." One thousand priests and pastors are now in Nazi jails.

The *Manchester Guardian* reports that a Nazi committee which is working on the revision of army laws has recommended the death penalty for pacifism.

Official German figures just issued show that in the year ending June 30, 1934, 212 were beheaded for opposition to Hitler; 280,308 were sentenced by Nazi courts; one of every 203 Germans was imprisoned in one year. These statistics do not include those murdered or tortured by Nazis who were never tried in a court, of whom there were thousands. These figures do not include those killed in the June "blood purge," nor 184 "shot while attempting to escape," nor innumerable "suicides" in concentration camps. In addition, there were admittedly 49,000 sent to concentration camps who were not tried in the courts. Furthermore, 12,863 were sterilized to "purify the Aryan race."

Paul Reid and Clara Bodian Join Our Forces

A Message and an Appeal from the National Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism

THE NATIONAL BUREAU of the American League Against War and Fascism announces the appointment of Paul Reid as Executive Secretary; in addition Clara Bodian has taken over the duties of Administration Secretary. Ida Dailes, who has served the League in this capacity since its foundation, has resigned to do other work in the fight against War and Fascism. We wish to express our deep gratitude to Ida Dailes for the splendid work she has done, and to wish her every success in her future endeavors.

I am sure all readers of FIGHT and all League members will welcome our new staff workers, and give them their heartiest support and cooperation. With these new additions to our staff we hope to maintain more constant and more effective contacts with our local organizations throughout the country. This we can do if you will do your part, both for FIGHT and for the League, by sending in frequent and complete reports of your activities. Our forces are still far too weak for the tremendous task confronting us in the rapidly culminating crisis. Every one of you must help to extend our influence by distributing our printed matter, by penetrating into unaffiliated organizations, and by building an effective national united front against the menace of War and Fascism.

Paul Reid, the new Executive Secretary, has taken an active interest in the labor movement ever since he went out on strike at the age of sixteen, as a worker in a wall paper mill. He has worked in automobile factories, at building and road construction, and for a railroad company. He is a Hoosier by birth, and attended De Pauw University in Indiana where he actively opposed the R.O.T.C. After serving for two years as assistant pastor of the First Friends' Church in Indianapolis, he went to Union Theological Seminary in New York. He studied for a year at the London School of Economics under Professors R. H. Tawney and Harold Laski. He then visited the Soviet Union before returning to the United States.

For the past two years he has worked with Harry F. Ward and Reinhold Niebuhr at Union Seminary. He has aided in the struggles of the unemployed for more relief and for social insurance. As an active member of the New York City Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism he has led demonstrations of protest before the Spanish and German Consulates, and he spoke to a large protest meeting before the offices of J. P. Morgan and Company, War profiteers.

Paul Reid came to the conclusion that his life work is in neither the school nor the church, but in a mass organization, fighting militantly against the immediate danger of War and Fascism. He will devote himself to the tasks of the League—arousing the American people to the imminence of these twin menaces, and mobilizing the greatest possible number in a united front struggle to defeat the forces of reaction which would plunge us into slaughter under a Fascist dictatorship.

Paul Reid will be ably assisted by Clara

Bodian, a veteran in the labor movement. For the past three years she has been Secretary of the United Council of Working Class Women. She worked in a factory for twelve years, and was an active A.F. of L. trade unionist during this time, helping in the leadership of two strikes. As a result she was blacklisted and could not get a job. She was given a scholarship by the Women's Trade Union League, and prepared for further work in the labor movement. For a year she worked in an A.F. of L. office. She was sent as a delegate to the International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism held in Paris last year, and is a member of the World Committee. Since the Second Congress of the League in Chicago Clara Bodian has been a member of the National Bureau of the Women's Section of the League.

Again I appeal to every FIGHT reader to give cooperation to Paul Reid and Clara Bodian and to our entire National Office in our work, the importance of which grows daily more urgent. Constant vigilance, unceasing effort, are necessary.

As long as Congress is in session keep sending protests from every possible source against proposed gag legislation! Expose and fight against the enactment of local and state laws depriving the people of their civil rights. Demonstrate against all local Fascist developments. Show the meaning of the Administration's War preparations and arouse sentiment

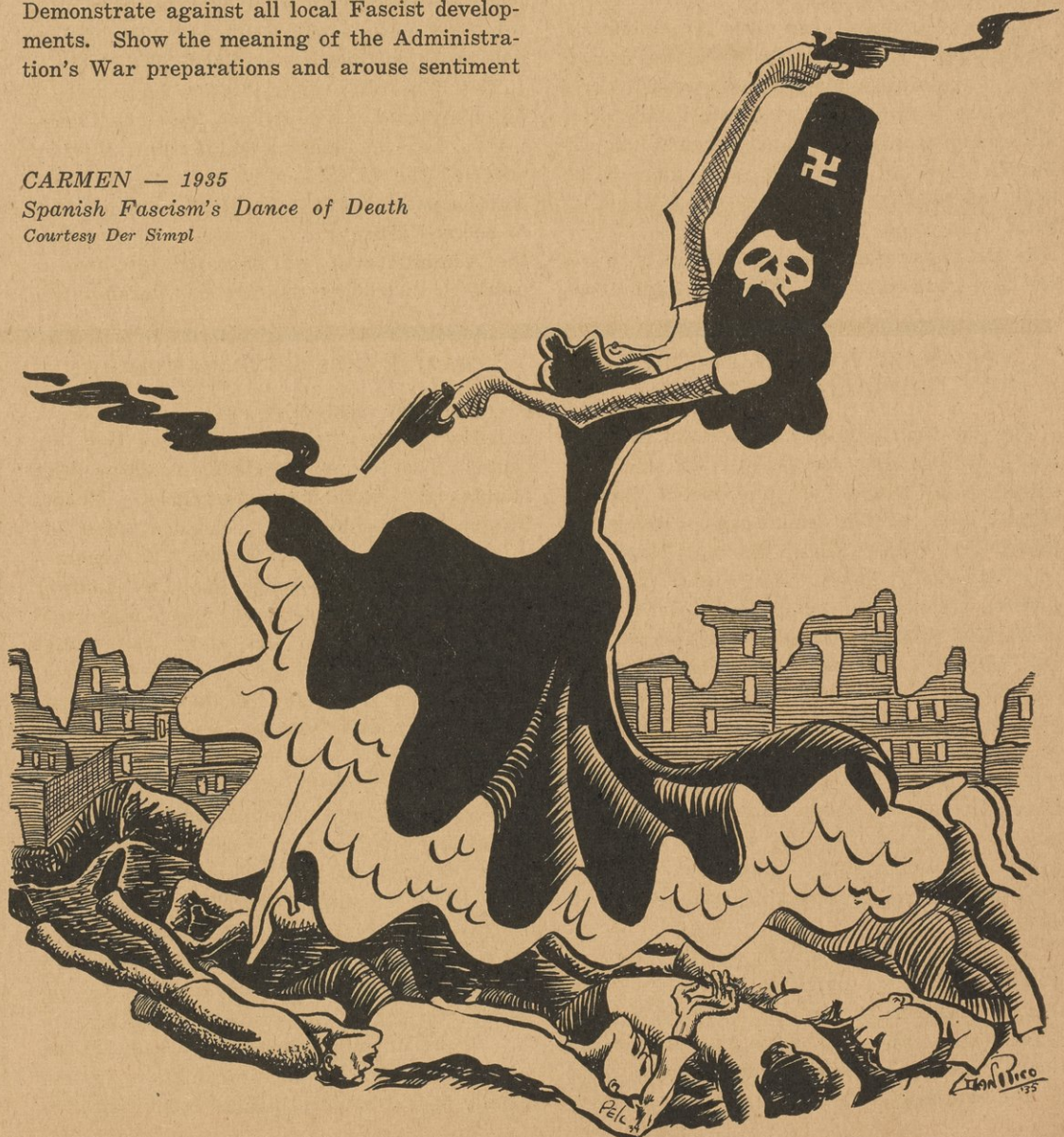
against it. Keep in constant communication with us. Send us accounts of what is happening in your community. Without your aid we are handicapped in the great battle which is now being waged and must be waged against War and Fascism.

*Dr. Harry F. Ward.
National Chairman.*

American Youth Against Fascism and War

The Second American Youth Congress will convene in Detroit on July 4, 5, 6, and 7. In one year the Youth Congress has grown from coast to coast. Regional Congresses have been held in fourteen states and a score of cities. The Youth Congress has been active in campaigns for social insurance, in co-sponsorship of the students' strike on April 12, in which 184,950 took part, and in opposing the military training of youth in schools and C.C.C. camps. It has fought for academic freedom, the defense of civil liberties, against the use of the National Guard to smash strikes, and against other Fascist trends, vitally affecting the youth of America. All youth organizations are urged to send delegates.

*CARMEN — 1935
Spanish Fascism's Dance of Death
Courtesy Der Simpl*



Can You Really Answer—

?

1. Do Communists believe in "force and violence"?
2. What solution does Communism offer the middle class?
3. Does Communism mean strikes? revolution? women's rights? "Moscow Gold"? democracy? patriotism? peace? war? Socialism? religion? atheism?

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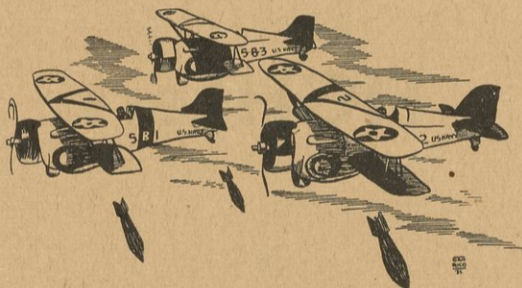
Delegation to Washington

A large delegation from the New York City Committee of the League visited the White House and Congress on April 29 to present a petition asking Congressmen to vote against pending gag legislation. The delegation included Osmond K. Fraenkel, noted constitutional lawyer, Professors Karl Llewellyn and Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University, the Rev. Cameron Hall, James Waterman Wise, Pauline Rogers, and fifty-three representatives of trade unions, fraternal and professional organizations. They told members of Congress that the proposed legislation would violate the fundamental rights of the American people, and would constitute a decisive step in the direction of Fascism.

We Want More Letters Like This

AT THE Dow Chemical Co. in Midland, Mich., where I work, you can see War preparations going on. In one new building they are making cellulose, used in gun cotton. Phenol is being shipped to Japan, China and Germany. There are other products of this factory used in War, such as tetrachloride, sulphurchloride, etc. During the World War the plant was increased about five times, and covers an area one mile square. Plans for further expansion have been announced. Nearly 300 products are manufactured, most of them necessary in War-time. It is equipped to make poison gas and explosives. We are now working on a new poison gas. The bosses do their best to keep the workers from joining a trade union. We are hoping to get a branch of the American League started here.

A FIGHTer.



Joy in Wall Street

By Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr.*

THIS is the war stock soaring high
That brings all the joy to Wall Street
This is the gambler, wild of eye,
Who shares with his broker, brisk and spry,
The profit in war stocks, soaring high,
That brings all the joy to Wall Street.
So this is the list of what they buy:
An orphaned infant's feeble cry,
A widowed woman's sob and sigh,
A field of graves where the dead may lie,
A shambles where thousands daily die,
A billion shells that in battle fly.
Gladness glows in the gambler's eye.
As he shares with his broker, brisk and spry,
The profits in war stock, soaring high,
That bring all the joy to Wall Street.

* Quoted and put in Congressional Record by the late Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr. For his opposition to the World War he was threatened with tar and feathers.

Playwrights Attention!

The American League Against War and Fascism and the New Theatre League will shortly announce a contest for the best new anti-War or anti-Fascist plays. Cash prizes will be given and publication and production throughout the country is assured the winning plays. Rules and details will be sent upon request. Watch for announcement in July issue.

LABOR UNDER HITLER, published by the Research Department of the Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe, 3 West 16th Street, New York.....5c

This pamphlet gives extremely valuable facts and figures regarding the status of labor under a Fascist dictatorship. It paints a tragic picture of the oppression of workers in Germany, the depression of their living standards, the abolition of trade unions, and of civil liberties. It is written from the viewpoint of a conservative trade unionist.

Who Advocates Violence?

I have never seen a drive against "Reds" in all my 15 years of fighting for civil liberties that was not actually a drive against organized labor. . . . The record shows that in 15 years not a single radical has been convicted for an act of violence, but scores have been imprisoned for radical opinions or membership in organizations which the courts hold advocate violence. The record also shows that those who defend the existing economic system not only advocate but practice violence without fear of punishment.

Roger Baldwin.

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- SOCIALIZED MEDICINE is the only means by which literally millions of workers can benefit by the advancement of medical research?

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