

FIGHT

VOL. 2

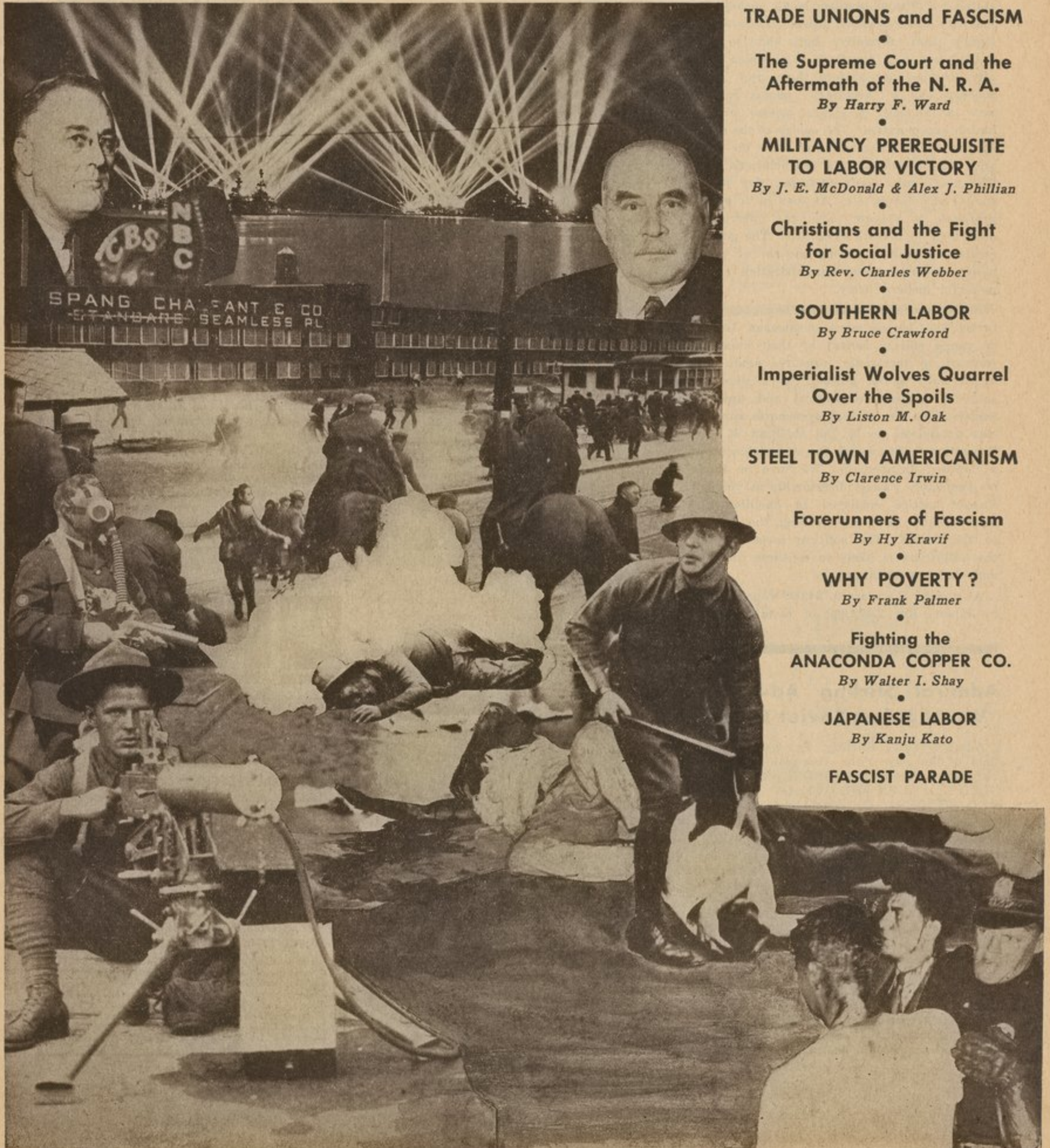
No. 9

JULY

1935

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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



TRADE UNIONS and FASCISM

The Supreme Court and the
Aftermath of the N. R. A.

By Harry F. Ward

MILITANCY PREREQUISITE
TO LABOR VICTORY

By J. E. McDonald & Alex J. Phillian

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JAPANESE LABOR

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FASCIST PARADE

JAPANESE TRADE UNIONS OPPOSE WAR

By KANJU KATO

Chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions, Japan

SEVENTY YEARS AGO Japan was but a weak, backward country of feudalism, struggling to safeguard her land with a fleet of wooden vessels against the modern navies of the western powers. . . . A new era dawned in 1868, the year of the "Meiji Reformation," which put an end to the old feudal structure of society, and opened the way for the creation of a modern bourgeois state. . . . Feudal serfdom being abolished, a majority of the peasants became "free owners" legally and formally, but had to pay a land tax of a "modern" sort, which actually absorbed one half of their crop. Such robbery was a "necessary" means for the new government to create capital and to hasten accumulation. The money of the entire surplus value snatched away from the peasants was expended in a characteristic way. *The government built factories, dug mines, bought steamships, etc. As soon as it proved profitable to operate them, the government gave them to private capitalists.* The government also built a strong system of police power, a bureaucratic administration and a powerful modern army.

Since the "Manchurian Incident" our militarists have become more conspicuous. Groups of young officers backed by their superiors resorted to terroristic measures again and again, such as an attempt on a wholesale scale to assassinate political and financial leaders. The aim of such systematic attempts was proclaimed to be the abolition of parliamentary politics and the establishment of a military dictatorship. We have in Japan no completely Fascist dictatorship as yet, but Fascist tactics employed in handling the masses, equal to, if not excelling, the German or the Italian. The political ascendancy of the militarists is likely to continue till they make a mess of things.

At present there are 5,764,000 wage earners in Japan. But 2,423,000 of them are day-

laborers. We have no statistics on unemployment except ridiculous official reports which shamelessly tell us that there are about 300,000 unemployed in all the country. Several experts have agreed in estimating unemployment at no less than 2,500,000. According to official statistics, 381,565 workers are organized into unions, of 7 per cent of the wage earners.

We have half a dozen Fascist "unions." But as the rank and file have learned through experience what their leaders are and have begun to show deep dissatisfaction, so most of our workers have been aware of the fact that the leaders of the Fascist "unions" are well paid by the militarists and have never fought for the interests of the workers. Following the fight for the workers' May Day we created the "Society of the Friends of Far Eastern Peace" and called a national conference of organizations in support of the "Anti-War Congress" to be held in Shanghai, with a view to sending Japanese delegates to the Congress.

The National Council of Trade Unions came into existence in November, 1934. Within six months since inauguration, it doubled its membership with the affiliation of 20 additional local unions, and brought under its influence large opposition forces within the reactionary unions.

I spent several weeks preparing for my journey, by meeting thousands of workers, by asking what messages they have for American workers and what they advised me to learn from them. They are internationalists. They want me to assure American workers of their feeling of brotherhood and solidarity, their opposition to the war being waged against China by the imperialists, their opposition to war against Soviet Russia, and their hatred of Fascism. It is the task of both Japanese and American labor to prevent war between our countries.

Admiral Stirling Advocates War Against Soviet Russia

Admiral Yates Stirling, Jr., wrote an article in the *New York American* of June 9 under the caption: EUROPE, RIPE FOR STRIFE, FACES MENACE OF RUSSIAN RED FORCES." His concluding paragraphs were:

"Europe today seems ripe for strife. Can these great armies, fully panoplied, be effaced without war? Will the full force of this universal desire for conflict be expended in a fratricidal war in Europe? Or may we not look for a united front against Communism?"

"Will a leader appear who will have the eloquence, appeal and driving power to bind together these discordant nationalities and set the armed forces marching under a single banner?"

"Germany in such an alliance must become the great organizer and industrial producer. In her factories the instruments of war on a colossal scale could be turned out.

"The resources of the world can be assured to such an alliance only through the command of the seas. This would be obtained should Great Britain throw in her sword on that side. With the seas open for trade, the American markets could not be expected to remain closed.

"In the guise of such a great crusade, maybe yet inarticulate in men's thoughts, cannot one see the outlines of a daring plan, not only forever laying the ghost of Bolshevism but for opening up the fertile lands of Russia to a crowded and industrially hungry Europe?"

A storm of protest from prominent liberals and radicals, including Senators and Representatives led by Vito Marcantonio, flooded Congress, the President and the War Department. The National Bureau of the American League Against War and Fascism wrote Roosevelt demanding that Admiral Stirling be disciplined and removed from his post as Commandant of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. The War Department sidestepped by disclaiming any responsibility for Stirling's writings.

An appeal to YOU, as one of our subscribers:

You are a subscriber to FIGHT, and as such you must personally be interested in helping in the struggle against the growing tendencies toward Fascism and the alarming increase of armaments in the United States and all over the world.

You can do something right where you are to combat these forces which if allowed to grow will destroy everything that makes life worth living. Everyone who reads FIGHT becomes more and more conscious of just where he stands in this struggle, and what he can do about it. The more persons who read FIGHT, the stronger are the forces against war and Fascism.

What does that suggest to you? New subscribers! This is one small way that you can help. Get us at least one new subscriber. Today! And don't neglect your foremost task, to recruit new members for the League Against War and Fascism.

Reserve Officers Training Corps Vigilantes

The Connecticut State College has banned criticism of the R. O. T. C. on the campus, while unctuously affirming their belief in "freedom of speech." R. O. T. C. students broke up an anti-war meeting in a neighboring town and threw the leader of the Social Problems Club into the lake. Similar action of student Vigilantes against radical students have occurred recently at Wisconsin University, the University of Chicago, Michigan State College, and the University of California at Los Angeles.

From *The Arbitrator*.



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THE SUPREME COURT AND THE AFTERMATH OF THE N. R. A.

By DR. HARRY F. WARD

National Chairman, League Against War and Fascism

THE N. R. A. DECISION of the Supreme Court indicates a turning point in the development of American Fascism. It shortens the term of the polite speaking, professedly humanitarian and allegedly constitutional type of Fascism. It speeds up the development toward openly dictatorial and brutally repressive Fascist controls. Just how does it do this?

As the American League leaflet, "What do you mean—Fascism?" points out, the essential fact in Fascism is the use of all the powers of the state in the attempt to restore the broken down capitalist economy and its failing controls. In this attempt an all-powerful centralized executive authority is created and democratic rights are suppressed. This was done in Italy by an unconstitutional seizure of power. In Germany, with even more ruthlessness, it was accomplished after power had been trickily gained by a formal observance of constitutional procedure. This country began to move in the same direction by a formal grant from Congress of unprecedented powers to the President. Now the Supreme Court says this procedure was unconstitutional. It declares in effect that the capitalist system cannot be saved that way.

But this opinion cannot stop the effort to use the state to that end. Just as capitalism, contrary to its original doctrine, was compelled increasingly to use the state to aid its expansion so it is even more compelled to use state power to prevent its decline and avert its destruction. What it cannot do constitutionally it will be driven by the inexorable law of self preservation to attempt unconstitutionally. Its New Deal would-be saviors are now proposing various unstable compromises with the constitution. This brings nearer the day when those without such compunctions will act.

This broad consequence of the N. R. A. decision appears first and will develop fastest at the point of labor relations. As events are swiftly indicating, what the Supreme Court has decreed in this field is strikes and still more strikes. It has revived the cut-throat competition in disorganized industries which lowers prices by actual destruction of the living standards and the very lives of workers. It has strengthened the resistance of the monopolistic industries to labor organization. For the workers there is, and can be, only one answer. The Supreme Court has driven home the lesson begun in the capture of N. R. A. agencies by the employers. Thus it still further shatters the illusion which leads organized labor to rely upon the state to do for it what it can only do for itself. Thereby it shortens the period of labor's deception by Fascist promises, and makes it more possible for the awakening of the workers to come before instead of after they have been bound in chains by the repressive Fascist state. At least it has roughly awakened some labor officials who had been

resting so contentedly in the arms of the New Deal.

The resultant strikes will be met with an increase of that terrorism whose organization by the employers, usually with the cooperation of the state, has become our typical American industrial conflict technique. We shall have more and still more of that clubbing, tear gas, shooting, red hunting, framing and third degree justice which has already accompanied the humanitarian words and the social welfare pronouncements of the New Deal. This native American capitalist Fascist brutality will now ripen to its culmination. As the strikes against which it will be massed become sufficiently widespread, that "state of national emergency" provided and prepared for in the war preparations at Washington will be the occasion to attempt the completely repressive Fascist state. That is, unless this event has not already happened as the necessary consequence of a declaration of war.

Our opportunity to defeat this attempt lies in the fact that the stripping of the New Deal

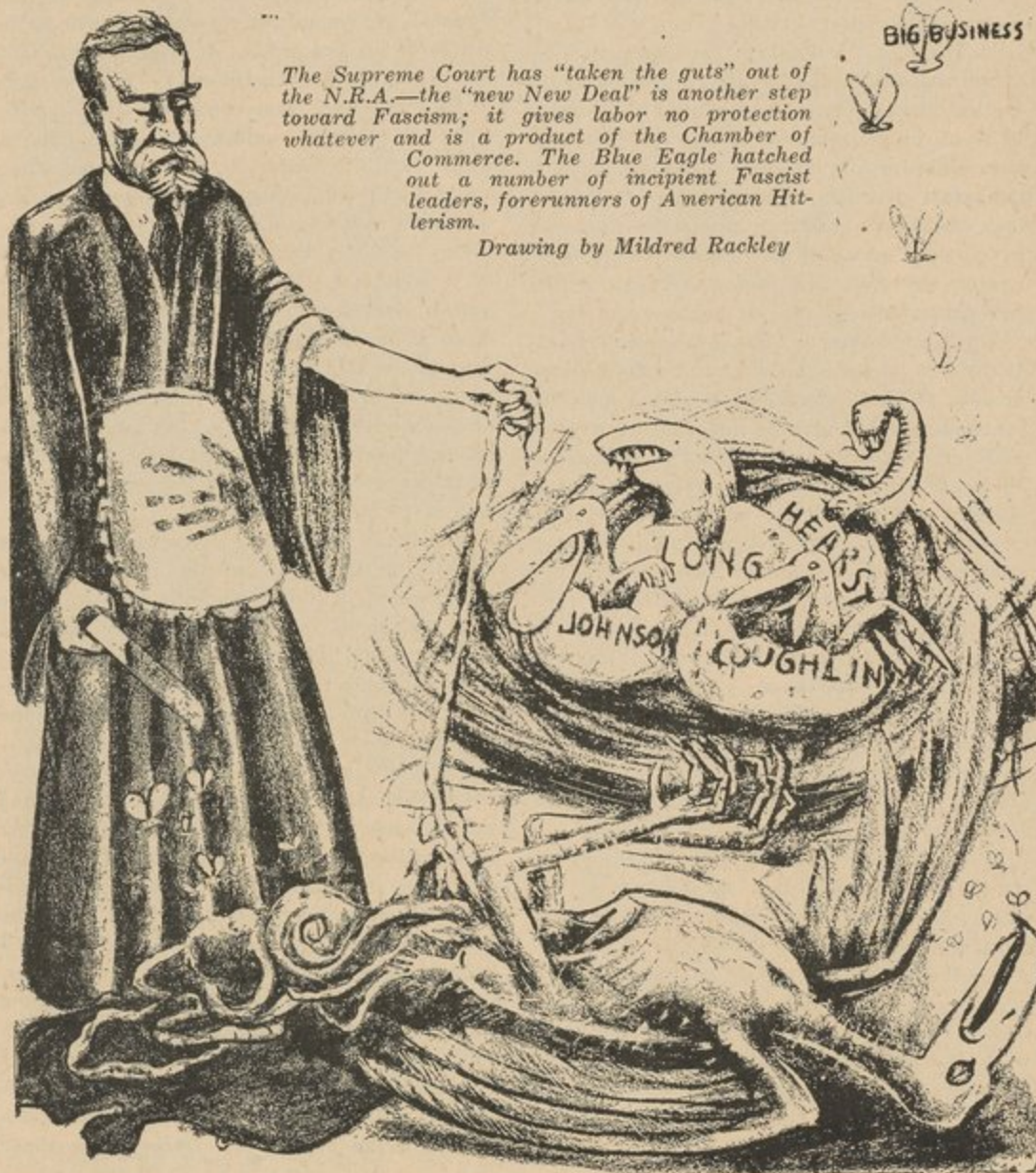
mask from American Fascism by the Supreme Court will now bring labor face to face with the enemy of all of us in his most brutal form. Because this will occur before, instead of after the working millions have been beguiled by false promises into complete submission to Fascist control, that disastrous development can be avoided.

If the members of the American League Against War and Fascism can sufficiently penetrate the ranks of labor with the meaning of the Supreme Court decision and the events which will follow it, we can prevent in this country the organization of the completely repressive Fascist state.

Wage Cuts Admitted by Official Statistics of the "Labor Front"

The official organ of the "German Labor Front," the "Arbeitertum," records the following average weekly wages paid in the leading branches of industry during the two years of Hitler's rule (in marks):

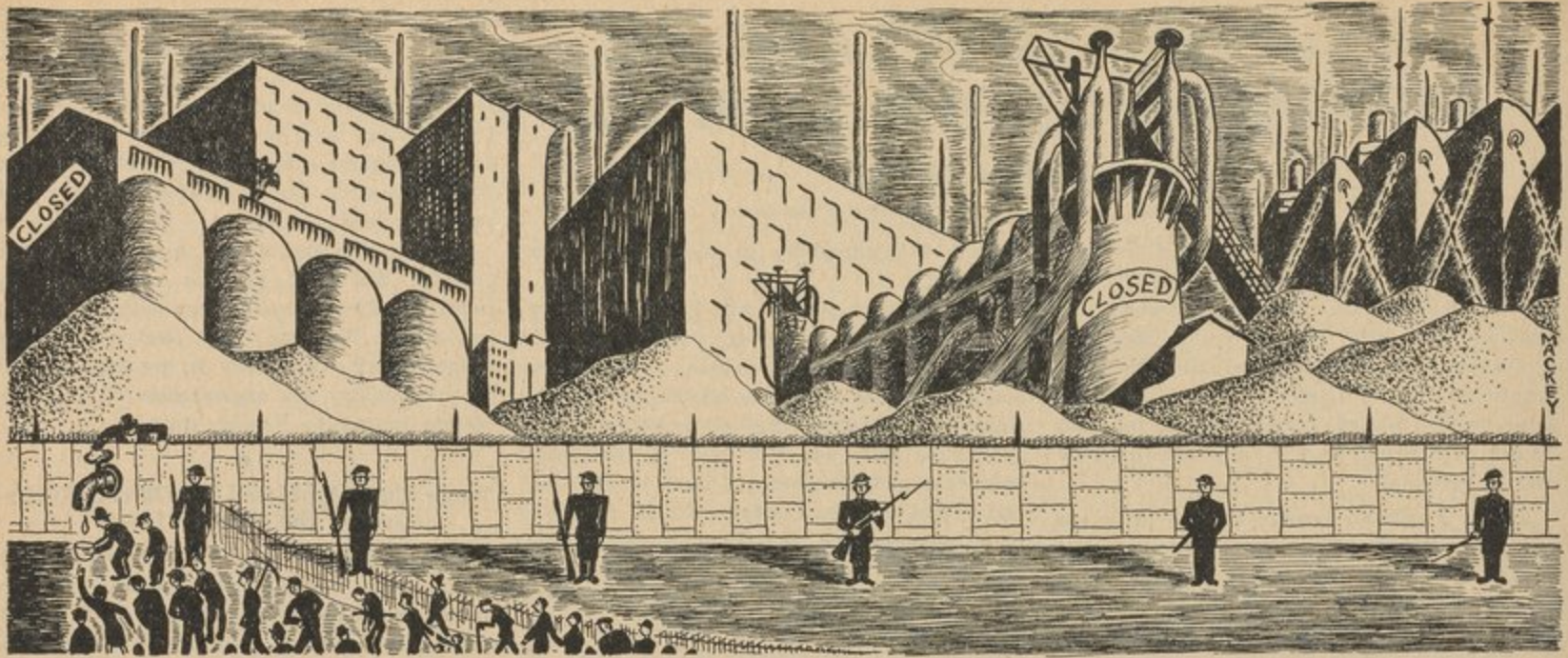
	1933	1934
Building trades	43.44	28.51
Mining	38.08	24.72
Wood workers	43.20	26.54
Metal manufacturers	41.76	32.14
Textile industry	33.60	21.47
Leather industry	38.88	29.57
Chemical industry	32.49	20.05
Food industry	47.04	25.64



The Supreme Court has "taken the guts" out of the N.R.A.—the "new New Deal" is another step toward Fascism; it gives labor no protection whatever and is a product of the Chamber of Commerce. The Blue Eagle hatched out a number of incipient Fascist leaders, forerunners of American Hitlerism.

Drawing by Mildred Rackley

BIG BUSINESS



WHY POVERTY?

Why are factories closed, why are crops destroyed, when 12,000,000 are jobless and nearly half of the population lives on a level of bare subsistence? From an industrial plant capable of producing plenty for all, comes a trickle of wealth for the masses. How can we turn on the faucet full force?

THE INSANITY OF SCARCITY IN THE MODERN WORLD

MANKIND faces the choice of two roads. One was aptly described by Mussolini when he told the Italians that they must "repose on a lower standard of living." The other is best illustrated by the attempt of the Soviet Union to double the standard of living of their people in five years.

Nowhere in the world is the distinction between these two roads as sharp as it is in the United States. Here there can be no shortage of food, of clothing or of any of the other necessities of life unless we embark upon a deliberate program of destruction. Our economy can be so abundantly productive that only by plowing under by government edict, or by closing the mills and mines through another government decree can we achieve scarcity.

The United States is like a gigantic factory. It can run on full schedule and produce a vast amount of goods—or it can run on a curtailed schedule, producing only the limited amount which can be sold at a profit on the market. We in the United States are faced with prospects of doing the latter—of deliberately closing down and living a crazy-quilt life even madder than the dreams of "Alice in Wonderland" or "Through the Looking Glass."

Let us peer through the looking glass of present-day America and find what we have—and what we could have.

Just one glance will show us that our giant factory is running in low gear—and the wheels of industry are creaking ominously. But we see that they could run at full speed—and produce plenty for all.

In the past we have been handicapped by our ignorance. We had machinery, farms, mines, timberland—but we farmed them haphazardly, and never knew precisely how much we could get from them each year if they were run in scientific, logical fashion. Now we know. The National Survey of Potential Product Capacity, a government-created group of engineers has measured the nation—and found it not wanting in the capacity to produce abundance for us all.

By **FRANK L. PALMER**

Eastern Bureau Manager, Federated Press

If the factories, farms, mills and mines were utilized to full capacity, each family could get an annual income of \$4,370 (in terms of 1929 dollars) the committee reported. \$4,370 is the result of no guesswork. It was reached only after months of careful study and research work. The men who conducted that survey were no "outside agitators." Harold Loeb, Felix Frazer, Walter N. Polakov and other capable engineers did the work—and accuracy was their watchword.

But \$4,370 a year for each family would be only a starter. It would increase, both in amount and in purchasing power. We do not buy a home each year. By eliminating all hindrances to the work of scientists and engineers, rapid technological progress could be made. And by eliminating all waste, all needless expenditures, more and more of our national income could be used for constructive as well as consumptive purposes.

Under an abundance economy, not only would a larger share of the income go into consumptive channels, but the whole income level would be quickly raised. In 1929 the Survey found our national income was 93 billion dollars. It might have been 135 billion. In 1933 a real new deal would have brought us an income of 141 billion dollars.

Think of that sum: *One hundred and forty-one billion dollars!* Then think of 1933—and all the other years of the depression. Think of the wicked waste in industry and the piteous waste in human life. Think of the millions of unemployed, picture kids in rags, Think of these humans living in misery—and babies without milk, the aged without income. then think what we might and should have had. Think of the wages under Roosevelt's work-relief program—\$19 to \$94 monthly! The majority employed under this program will get less than \$50 a month. Lowell Limpus wrote in the *N. Y. Daily News* that:

"More than 96 percent of the workers in the United States receive less than \$2,000 a year. . . . According to the U. S. Federal Trade Commission, in 1926 one percent of the people owned 59 percent of the wealth reported, and since that time the rich have been getting richer and the poor poorer."

Had our mines, timberlands and factories been operated to capacity in 1929 we would have used 50 percent more anthracite coal. We'd have doubled our educational facilities. We'd have bought 25 percent more automobiles. We'd have consumed twice as much butter. We'd have had more milk to drink. We'd have eaten more fresh vegetables; kept our country's chickens contended by consuming 25 percent more eggs. We'd have eaten 5 billion pounds more beef, worn 38 million more men's suits, bought 75 million more coats for the women folks, 30 million more pairs of shoes.

And we would have been able to afford them. The machinery and the men and the brains and the need were all there. We simply didn't use them. *We could—and we can—have an economy of plenty, an economic system run for use. We can end unemployment, give our people economic security, make our society really civilized. We can abolish poverty and unemployment!*

What stands between us and this life of plenty for all? *There can be only one answer—the profit system.* The Survey showed simply and clearly that *abundance can come only through a planned, socially-owned society.* But under capitalism individual owners scramble for profits at any cost, and there can be no real planning. Employers lower, rather than raise the standard of living; and as long as the profit system endures, there can be no hope of production for use and plenty for all.

The owners of the system tell us that we must be content with what we have. They
(Continued on page 17)

Fighting the Anaconda Copper Co.

By **WALTER I. SHAY**

Editor, *The Eye Opener*, Labor Paper of Butte, Montana.

FOR more than twenty years Montana has been a corporation-ridden state. Nowhere in the Union could you find more complete domination by big business than here; the Anaconda Copper, Northern Pacific and allied interests were the government. One result was that Montana was the only state to show a decrease in population.

But some rays of sunshine are beginning to break through the heavy black clouds. Two months ago a progressive, Charles Hauswirth, was elected Mayor of Butte, defeating the candidate backed by a score of corporations, and in opposition to the corporation-controlled political machines of the state and county. A year ago the Wall Street interests got a shock when the Butte Miners' Union went on a three month's strike. For the first time public sentiment favored the strikers. Although they won only a few concessions, the moral victory was a severe blow to the Anaconda (Rockefeller) interests. Another encouraging sign is the decline in power of corporation lobbyists at the late legislative session at Helena. Eleven members of the State Legislature, formerly employed by the Anaconda and allied interests, lost their jobs after the session ended as a result of their loss of legislative control.

The May Day parade held in Butte this year was one of the biggest ever witnessed in this state. More than 5,000 members of the Miners' Union marched. No hall was large enough to accommodate the crowd. An open air meeting filled the street in front of the courthouse, lasting three hours. State Senators Garrison and Taylor made stirring speeches against war and Fascism. Other speakers, affiliated with recently organized Butte unions, roundly condemned various local unions for not taking part in the May Day demonstration.

A year ago the *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, one of the Hearst chain of newspapers, put on a subscription campaign in Butte. The Miners' Union had boycotted the two local papers owned by the Anaconda. The writer was asked to be the Montana correspondent for the Hearst sheet. But after a few

weeks, Hearst's fascist propaganda compelled him to resign. During the past six months the Butte circulation of the Hearst paper has dropped more than 50 percent.

When Jeanette Rankin, first Congresswoman, returned from Washington to tell a Butte audience why she had voted against entrance into the war, she could not get any hall in town. Her open-air meeting was broken up by company gunmen and lobby-gows. But today anyone opposed to war and Fascism could get any hall in Butte and a large audience.

One highly important fact of which the public knew nothing at that time may have something to do with the breaking up of the Rankin meeting. The Butte copper mines carry a big by-product of gold and silver. During the war the price of silver reached \$1.29 an ounce. The Anaconda was producing more than 1,000,000 ounces of silver a month and about \$600,000 worth of gold. The American copper companies were selling copper to the Allies at 33 cents a pound, and

the Anaconda monthly copper production was about 30,000,000 pounds. (The fixed price was 23½ cents a pound, but before the U. S. entered the war the price to Germany was 40 cents.—Ed.) With the gold and silver by-products practically paying operating costs, wages and overhead, the Anaconda was netting about a third of a million dollars daily from its Butte properties. No wonder this corporation objected to Miss Rankin speaking against the war. And this was also one of the reasons that Frank Little, I.W.W. organizer, was taken from his bed in the middle of the night, dragged through the streets and hanged to a railroad trestle. Across his mutilated body was a placard reading: "Bill Dunne, Tom Campbell and other agitators. (The placard read "3-7-77-(2)-D.C.M." The initials are those of strike leaders, and the numerals were the vigilante symbols with the meaning as given here.—Ed.)

If another war comes, the Anaconda and other such corporations which profit from war will again attempt to suppress those opposed to it. Now, while we have some of our liberties left, while we have the right to organize, we should build up a strong movement against war and Fascism; and labor should give its whole-hearted support to this movement against the forces of reaction, directed from Wall Street.



Liberty Today

By **C. E. M. JOAD**

E. P. Dutton & Co., \$1.50.

This "re-statement of the eternal case of freedom" contains nothing that has not been said, and better said, by champions of liberty from John Stuart Mill and John Milton to Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Oswald Garrison Villard. Professor Joad fails to analyze the forces in modern society which are threatening freedom today. His plea for preservation of liberty is eloquent, and all opponents of Fascism will agree with him about this. But he suggests no means, no methods, by which we can preserve the best traditions of freedom and democracy. Liberal humanitarianism is not enough; the ethical approach divorced from realistic economics is out-of-date.

MIDSUMMER NIGHTS' DREAM—1935

IMPERIALIST WOLVES QUARREL OVER THE SPOILS

By LISTON M. OAK

IF JAPAN should demand that Roosevelt be removed from office, that the United States Army and Navy abandon the Philippines and other Pacific possessions, and that Japan be given a mandate over them, this would be the equivalent of its demands upon China. These demands and the conquest of North China are outrageous; yet no worse in principle than those made upon China when the British forced their opium traffic on the Chinese, or upon Spain by the United States before the Spanish-American War, or the conquest of colonial peoples generally by the big powers. Imperialist conquest is invariably reprehensible. But this doesn't justify either Japanese aggression in China or Italian aggression in Africa.

War has been narrowly averted many times



The American Navy with its bombing planes, in the Pacific, ready—for what?

during the past year; now the danger that conflict over Abyssinia and China, added to the numerous antagonisms among European powers, may flare up into a world conflagration, is greater than ever.

The Chinese war-lords have capitulated abjectly to Japan's demands. What will be the next objective of Japanese imperialists? Probably Inner Mongolia, and then the Outer Mongolian People's Republic and Soviet Siberia.



The shaded area (UPPER RIGHT) shows Chinese provinces being occupied by Japanese troops; the dotted area is controlled by the Chinese Red Army, the strongest anti-imperialist force in China.

Italian troops, 200,000 strong, move toward Abyssinia (LEFT) while Japanese troops move into Hopei and Chahar (RIGHT).



Nathaniel Peffer writes in the *N. Y. Times* of June 16: "Japan has acquired a position from which it can easily flank Soviet Russia. Mongolia offers a springboard from which the Trans-Siberian Railroad could be severed, and Eastern Siberia cut off from Russia." But Japan will not find the Soviet Government so willing to surrender its territory and its people to Japanese exploitation as were the Kuomintang war-lords.

The League of Nations long ago showed its impotence to check the implacable advance of Japan in realization of its plan, outlined in the Tanaka Memorial for the conquest of Asia and domination of the Pacific. It is questionable whether any power or combination of powers could or should take any effective action against Japan—a World War would be the certain outcome. Possibly the recent overtures of Britain for "unity" with the United States "to preserve peace" may be tentative diplomatic moves toward joint action to defend the imperialist interests of the two nations in Asia which would be adversely affected by Japan's conquest of China. Perhaps the recent Pacific naval maneuvers and the enormous appropriations of Congress for strengthening the American Army and Navy have some connection with developments in Asia. The demands made upon China now are almost identical with the "Twenty-one Demands" of 1915; after the World War the United States and Great Britain "persuaded" Japan to withdraw these demands. But Japan in 1935 will not again peacefully surrender its gains.

Another historical fact that is interesting in this situation is that one of the reasons the United States sent an army to Siberia in 1918 was to keep Japan from acquiring that territory. Since then our State Department has limited itself to feeble protests against Japan's flouting of the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact, and the slamming of the Open Door.

Japan is making its conquests alone and without the sanction of the League of Nations. The conquest of Abyssinia may receive such sanction. Many European diplomats favor acceptance of Mussolini's proposal that Ethiopia be divided into three spheres of influence and handed over to Italy, France and Great Britain, as the only way to avoid war. France particularly fears that Mussolini cannot be checked any more successfully than Japan was checked, and that if Italy is engaged in an African campaign, Germany will

seize the opportunity to move into Austria and Memel.

Italy has mobilized nearly a million soldiers, of whom about 200,000 have been sent to Eritrea, in Africa. Thus Il Duce has stolen a march on the other European powers. It is axiomatic that the loss of a day in mobilization after a declaration of war may mean defeat. Mussolini is ready for the war he says is inevitable, and which he has glorified as the highest expression of humanity.

But to accomplish this coup, the Fascists had to tighten the terror. There have been a series of mutinies among Italian troops and "riots" among the civilians who object to the hardships, sacrifices, and hazards being forced upon them—they know they will not benefit from the conquest of Abyssinia. They do not care to be slaughtered or starve for the glory of Italy and Il Duce and the enrichment of Italian capitalists. The *New York Post* states that these mutinies and strikes, in addition to the threat of economic disaster, aggravated by the enormous cost of maintaining a huge war machine, present the Fascists with a dilemma. "Fascism and the arms manufacturers have brought the economy of Italy to that stage of deformity wherein it can avoid collapse only by accelerating perpetually its war preparations, a fact equally true of Hitler Germany."

In May the Italian Treasury announced the cost of the Abyssinian campaign thus far as \$51,000,000. The Rome correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* was expelled from Italy for writing articles on the financial crisis and reporting mutinies; the *New York Times* has been barred for an editorial on the people's opposition to Mussolini's adventure and the possibility of his being overthrown.

The Italo-Ethiopian conflict has resulted in the Emperor granting the British the right to build a dam at Lake Tsana, which feeds the Nile, source of irrigation for England's cotton-growing colony in the Sudan. "The Ethiopian Emperor is said to realize it is not unwise to have Britain's protection against a possible Italian invasion in the Tsana region," says the *Times*. Ethiopia will pay a price for Britain's protection, and Lake Tsana will not be the last concession given.

Mussolini accuses Britain of subsidizing and arming the Ethiopians and encouraging their hostility to Italians; Germany is also charged with arming them. Il Duce says Britain wants a protectorate over this last independent Afri-

(Continued on page 17)

Steel Town Americanism

By CLARENCE IRWIN

Former President, Sixth District of Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, expelled at the recent convention by the Tighe machine.

PRESENT day conditions in the steel towns are a perfect picture of feudalism at its worst. The steel companies completely dominate every phase of the workers' lives. The local government is run by the companies. Workers are subject to police brutality for the crime of fighting for unionism. Union halls are bombed. The spy system of the Steel Trust is notorious and efficient. The mere whisper that a man is dissatisfied is rated as sufficient cause for discharge.

The growth of the company union under the NRA is an abridgement of the rights of workers and a long step toward the elimination of real fighting trade unions which is a part of the setting up of a Fascist state.

Discharge, demotion and discrimination of workers for fighting for their civil rights of free speech, free assemblage and the right to organize is nothing new, but it has reached a climax in the past few years. Thousands of workers in Clairton, Aliquippa, Weirton, Alton, and elsewhere are walking the streets because they dared exercise their constitutional rights in defiance of the will of the Steel Trust. Discrimination is especially bitter against foreign-born and Negro steel workers. Both national and racial jingoism are used by the bosses to keep the workers divided.

All these conditions are prevalent today, making the exercise of the Constitutional rights of free speech, free assemblage and the right to organize not only difficult but actually dangerous. Persecutions under the existing laws inevitably follow any attempt on the part of the workers to exercise these rights.

Democracy today is not for the workers, but is reserved for the employers and the bosses. The basic civil rights do not apply to the ordinary workers but only to bosses and those workers who are content to be wage slaves. Only those workers who will crawl

on their bellies to the boss, only those who are content to be mere profit-making machines for the owners, only these can exercise their "rights."

Any further repressive legislation means placing more weapons in the hands of the employers to be used against the workers. This will mean the even more complete subjection of the workers. The rights of the workers, curtailed as they are today, will be almost completely destroyed by any further repressive laws. The encouragement given the companies by such Government approval of their terrorism will mean that no worker who dares to assert his rights will be safe from violence and torture even in his own home.

This road will lead finally to the loss of all democracy and the establishment of a Fascist state of wage slaves who serve no purpose except as profit-makers and cannon-fodder in the imperialist wars which are sure to follow. These various repressive laws may be aimed at certain groups, but past experience has shown that they will be used indiscriminately against all workers who dare to fight for their most elemental rights. An attack on any group of workers means an attack on all workers; and all workers must rally to the support of the group which is attacked, and shoulder to shoulder wage a continuous and bitter fight for the rights of all workers.

In the face of this new attack by the employers it is a tragedy and a lasting disgrace that even in the ranks of organized labor we find certain treacherous leaders who not only support these enemies but actually work and fight for the anti-labor laws. Such men as Matthew Woll, Acting President of the Civic Federation, which is nothing but a strike-



breaking agency, and also a Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, are nothing but active Hearst agents in the ranks of organized labor, traitors to the cause of labor. Other labor leaders who advocate no-strike policies, class collaboration, peace at any price, are also giving encouragement to the enemy. Those labor leaders who seek discriminatory laws in the unions are certainly setting a fine example to the employer class who seek the enactment of similar laws on a national basis.

We steel workers have experienced these traitorous tactics to the full in the policies of M. F. Tighe in the steel union. Wholesale expulsions, revocations of charters, forcible ejection from our own building in Pittsburgh are to be expected from the Steel Trust, but such tactics from the President of a labor union can be regarded as nothing but treason not only to the steel worker, but to the entire labor movement. These tactics serve no one but the employers, and lead to still further exploitation and persecution of the workers.

What is needed by the workers is more rights, not less. The rights which the workers have won by many years of hard fought struggle must be increased, not lessened. These rights are sacred, and we must organize solidly to not only maintain them but to increase them. We have seen in Germany the inevitable result of division among the workers. The workers of Fascist Germany also faced this stage of affairs. We must profit by their experience and, forgetting all differences, unite all workers in defense of all our rights. We must organize to go forward, not back. Victory will not be easy but will be won by hard determined work and a continuous militant struggle against all enemies who seek to curtail in any way our rights. These enemies may be many, but we can win by hard work and organization of all true workers and those who believe in justice.



Fascist Terror Threatens American Labor

By ALEX. J. PHILLIAN

Member Joint Executive Board, American Federation of Silk Workers, Patterson, N. J.

FASCISM is the open reign of terror. It is as brutal as the axe of Hitler's executioner, and as crooked as his swastika. However, there is nothing new in Fascism. It is old-fashioned savagery, now used to perpetuate collapsing capitalism. It is the last resort of the capitalist system desperately trying to save itself from inevitable doom. It is capitalism gone mad. It means conflict among nations and disaster to the human race. It will mean the doom of human civilization unless all decent-minded people everywhere organize to fight it in the most intelligent way.

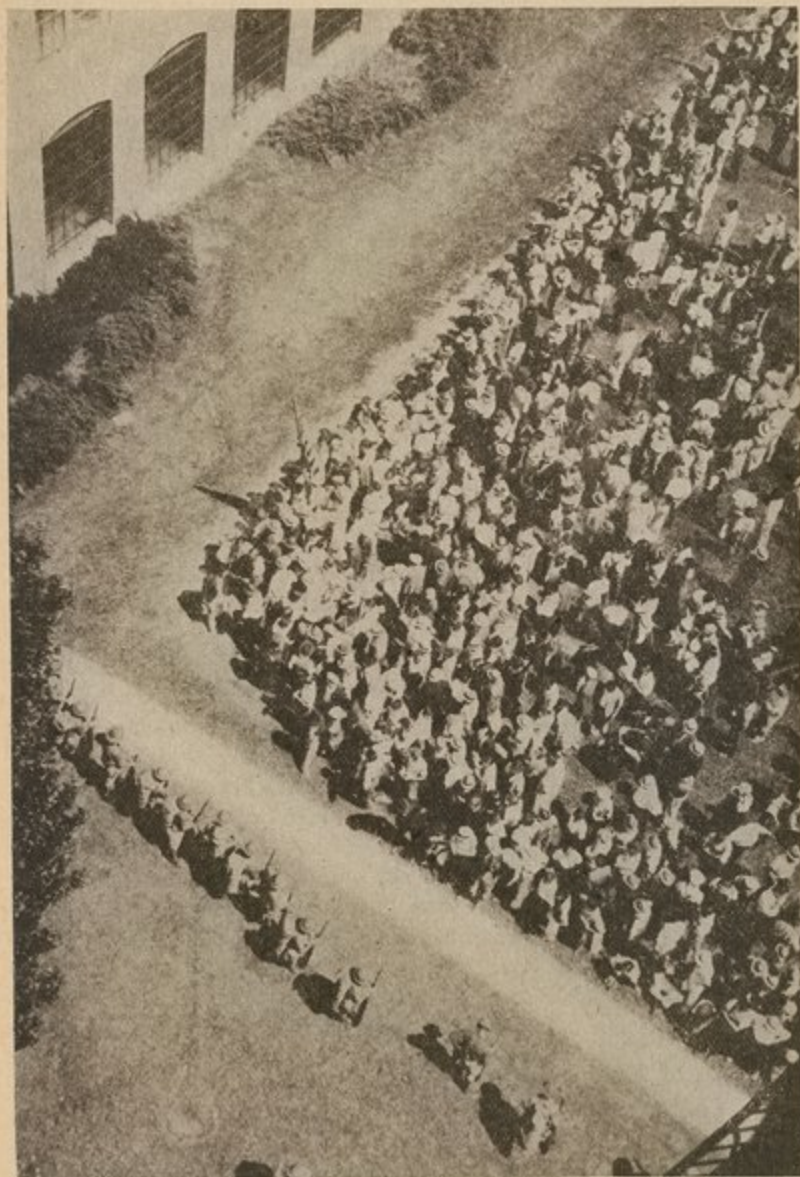
There are two general ways of influencing human behavior: persuasion and coercion. Every human institution or organization uses one or both methods to govern the behavior of its members. The aim of civilization is to establish a society governed by reason instead of coercion. People are civilized to the degree they are governed by reason; they are noble to the degree they defy terrorism.

Capitalism is a profit system founded on wage-slavery. Capitalist society is, therefore, made up of two general classes: the exploiters and the exploited. Capitalism is based on the philosophy of "rugged individualism," which defends the exploitation of man by man, and maintains that human beings can best secure the essentials of life—food, shelter, clothing, etc.—by individual competitive enterprise as opposed to collective cooperative enterprise, which is the basis of Socialism. This "every-man-for-himself" philosophy of capitalism naturally creates the sort of destructive cut-throat competition which pits man against man, and nation against nation. The resulting conflict leads to war and Hell on Earth.

With the development of the modern machine age and imperialism, the inherent contradictions of our present society have become more and more clear and sharp. Modern scientific means of production and distribution have thrown millions of people out of work. This and the development of a

Socialist society on one-sixth of the earth has made it impossible for the robber barons to persuade the masses peacefully that "Capitalism is the best system in the world," so, now, they are resorting to coercion—to organized force, terror, Fascism. Mussolini may hide his axe in a bundle of sticks, and his atrocities may be somewhat less flagrant and open than Hitler's shocking torture and mass murder of his opponents. Nevertheless, the executioner's axe remains the best symbol of Fascism.

The Fascist axe has already been wielded against labor in America, the stronghold of capitalism. With twelve million unemployed workers, with growing misery among the masses, big business is driven to desperate straits, and has already begun to wield the axe. The use of the militia in strikes, the organization of Vigilante bands, the imprisonment and brutal murder of strikers, and the new "Dred Scott Decision" handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court against Angelo
(Continued on page 17)



Strikers versus the state; this scene in the general textile strike last year when National Guardsmen, supplemented by the police and vigilantes, were mobilized against workers, is being duplicated now in Omaha and elsewhere with increasing frequency as labor rallies its forces to resist wage cuts.

PROGRAM

OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other material essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes; to likewise withdraw the professional classes from service of the war machine and to enlist them in agitation and educational propaganda against war and every aspect of Fascism.
2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding "national recovery."
3. To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed, the distressed farmers and those deprived of education and the social services.
4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.
5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union and especially the proposals for total and universal disarmament, which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world.
6. To oppose all developments leading to Fascism in this country and abroad, and to aid international agitation against Fascism, especially in Germany and other countries under Fascist dictatorship; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorism and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to mobilize aggressive defense of the civil liberties of these groups and so stop the growing Fascist trend of our so-called "democratic" government.
7. To win the armed forces to the support of the program.
8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to Fascist and war propaganda.
9. To give effective international support to all workers and anti-war fighters against their own imperialist governments; and to all who suffer and struggle under the Fascist State.
10. To form committees of action against war and Fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations.

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

Southern Labor Fighting for Right to Organize

By BRUCE CRAWFORD

Noted Southern Journalist, Editor, and Champion of Labor's Rights

THE SOUTHERN RULING class may be "backward and degenerate," as a liberal writer has said. It may cherish a nostalgia for the simplicity of ante-bellum economy, under which black labor was a chattel, and troublesome poor whites betook themselves to the scrubby marginal lands of the hills. But a degenerate class can become a ruthlessly desperate class. The Southern aristocracy rules through a one-party government. Southern owners are still imbued with the master-slave psychology, and are not so "backward" as are capitalists in other parts of the nation in one particular—they are making the quickest strides toward Fascism.

Owning-class paternalism has been more pronounced in the South. A psychology of servility has tended to prevent self-determination and self-reliance in the masses, black or white. The owners have kept their workers in ignorance, fostering a servile dependence, and have assumed the rôle of paternalistic uplift toward their benighted victims. The idea prevails among Southern owners that no outside influence should presume to "tell us how to handle our niggers," or to "impose upon us Northern labor restrictions."

Southern capitalism is becoming more savagely opposed to attempts at self-determination by the working people of both races. It is turning quickly to fascist methods of suppression by means of which to maintain its power and profits. Hence the wave of terror against trade unions, sharecroppers, militant Negro workers, and labor organizations in the South.

Terrorism has lately been most violent in Arkansas, Alabama, and Kentucky. The May issue of FIGHT gave an account of terrorism against the tenant farmers and sharecroppers in Arkansas. In Alabama the Sharecroppers' Union is putting up a strong fight against a wage scale of forty cents a day for cotton chopping and picking. The union demands \$1.25 for an eight hour day. It is also resisting raids on corn cribs by sheriffs sent by landlords to collect debts which the sharecroppers feel they do not owe. The workers organize under constant threat of attacks by landlord nightriders, who have the sympathy of Governor Bibb Graves, formerly an active Ku Kluxer.

Birmingham recently passed what is known as the Downs literature ordinance, which provides a fine of \$100 and a jail term of six months for possession of radical or "seditious" literature. *What constitutes seditious literature is determined by corporation judges.*

In Alabama such authorities consider the *Nation* and *New Republic* and FIGHT, as well as Socialist and Communist publications, as seditious. Recently Robert Wood, district secretary of the International Labor Defense, was arrested for violation of the Downs ordinance. After widespread protest, he was released. Then he was kidnaped by Vigilantes, beaten up and thrown into a creek. Others have been kidnaped and beaten up by fascist gangs employed by the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company in Birmingham.

Homes have been raided and arrests made without warrants by gangsters hired as detectives by corporations. As usual the red scare has been raised, but most workers are not being fooled by that.

And now Harlan County, Kentucky, is again in a state of terror. Labor leaders are being driven out, and the whole population is being intimidated by Sheriff Middleton who has deputized scores of mine guards for the coal operators. Reprisals are being practiced against those citizens who show sympathy for the miners. Living conditions are appalling. Harlan Coal Companies used fascist tactics back in 1931, when committees headed by Theodore Dreiser and Waldo Frank investigated that region. With a change of politicians, the situation is as bad now as it was then. A commission recently appointed by the Governor to investigate the situation reported "unspeakable conditions," but unless the United Mine Workers' leadership in the field pursues a more militant course there will be little if any let-up in the fearful exploitation of the workers.

One of the newest moves which would facilitate Fascism, especially in the South, is the proposed utilizing of the coal industry. The largest coal operators in the South are behind the movement, which culminates in the Guffey Bill. Strangely enough the bill also has the support of John L. Lewis. *This bill would put the coal industry under the control and protection of a government commission dominated by the big operators, who would set standards which the small operators could not meet.* More miners would be thrown out of work, but these would be "rehabilitated" in primitive fashion on patches of land. The Guffey bill, praised by John L. Lewis and the big operators, would be a precedent for similar set-ups in other industries. *It would mean the further trustification of private industry. It would be a step toward the corporate state in America.* And if the officialdom of the A. F. of L. acquiesces in such a movement, the U. M. W. A. will become a big national company union. Strikes would be outlawed, and rank and file workers would be regimented as a labor army.

Everywhere in the South the "marginal labor" problem is perplexing the owning class. There are "too many workers" in industry, so they must be "rehabilitated" on the land. There are too many dispossessed small farmers—77 per cent have lost their

farms since 1929; they constitute a "menace," so they are advised to borrow from the government and thus help bail out the banks and insurance companies, and get back on their lands as interest-paying tenants of a government controlled by these same banks and insurance companies. The plan is, generally, to spread the work to more people, in order to keep down militancy; but the plan predicates still lower living standards. Those who refuse rehabilitation or shared work will be corralled in concentration camps and subjected to fascist treatment.

The poor in most Southern states are disfranchised by the poll tax. *Where they do vote, they must support candidates named by the corporations. Government relief work is rationed to those who vote for such candidates.* Hence the state governments, controlled by the corporations and big landowners, send highway-patrolmen to any point of industrial dispute or working-class demonstration. *The state is always a strike-breaker.*

Southern liberals, especially newspaper editors, should more vigorously protest against the terroristic acts of fascist gangs. They should protest against the passage of gag laws and any other legislation conferring more power upon those responsible for this terrorism. They should support the workers—the only class in a position to effectively defend civil rights and achieve democracy for the majority. And to support the workers, the liberals must fight against the barbarism of Fascism which desperate capitalists would impose upon us.



NORMAN THOMAS and ANGELO HERNDON

The Socialist leader has pledged his aid to the campaign initiated by the International Labor Defense for a nation-wide, united front protest movement to free the Negro youth from a sentence of 18 to 20 years on the Georgia chain gang. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has also joined the united front defense, endorsed by the N. A. A. C. P.



American Federation of Labor leaders at the Madison Square Garden meeting on May 23 to protest against the "coolie" wage scale set by Roosevelt for his work-relief program. LEFT TO RIGHT: Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, State N.R.A. Director; Joseph P. Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Association; William Green, President of the A.F. of L.; Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; John Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers.

Labor Militancy Essential to Victory Over Fascism

By J. E. McDONALD

THE MILITANCY of railroad workers in action is traditional. Their ability to organize, to negotiate and enforce agreements with the railroad managers needs no comment here. Any departure of the railroad unions from their traditional fighting policy is of the greatest concern to the entire labor movement of the United States.

For where the working class has followed the line of compromise and conciliation (Germany, Italy, etc.) there Fascism has invariably grown and conquered.

The railroad unions grew out of struggle, and from the time when they were first organized until the beginning of the economic crisis and business depression, railroad workers relied upon their strike power alone to enforce contracts and win concessions.

During this period the Brotherhood leaders maneuvered and preached in vain for a policy of compromise to replace strike action.

Efforts of Brotherhood leaders to turn the railroad unions away from a policy of struggle date almost from the birth of the organizations. In 1907 Warren G. Stone, President of the Locomotive Engineers, Garretson, President of the Conductors, and Morrissy, President of the Trainmen, started their American Employees and Investors Association, the purpose of which, according to the constitution was: "To cultivate and maintain between its members (R. R. employees and stockholders) such a mutual spirit of interest and concern for the welfare and prosperity of American railroads as will promote their successful operation."

This scheme failed to impress railroad workers, as did all profit-sharing partnership schemes undertaken by owners with support of the union leaders.

A broad public demand for safe transportation brought passage of the Hours of Service Act in 1909. This same demand coupled with pressure for increased efficiency, supported by powerful lobbies of manufacturers of appliances, brought passage of Safety Appliance Laws.

This legislation was heralded by Railway Labor Executives, as they christened themselves, as pointing the road to progress—as showing the advantages of legalism as against economic action.

In 1916 the demand for an eight-hour day was backed up by a general strike threat. To prevent the strike Congress hurriedly jammed through the Adamson Bill. The eight-hour day was granted with time and one-half pay for overtime to all transportation department employees.

It was a victory for mass pressure and the threat of strike action but the labor executives again claimed that a substitute for strike action had been found.

The concessions granted to railroad workers during the wartime Government Administration under Wm. G. McAdoo strengthened these arguments.

The Plumb Plan League promoted by the Brotherhood chiefs was based upon the theory that the war time conditions for railroad labor (conditions actually induced by the necessity to avoid the possibility of strike tie-ups in this vital industry while our capitalists waged foreign war, and to enable railroad magnates to participate in war profits) could be made permanent without resort to strike power. The plan was defeated.

By this time the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers had gone into banking, real estate and other capitalist ventures in a big way, under the leadership of Stone.

These ventures gave so much promise at the start that in 1920 President Prentice, successor to Stone, was moved to declare: "In America there is no such thing as a working class as distinguished from a capitalist class. It is the aim of the Brotherhood to show its members and workers generally how to become capitalists as well as workers. We have demonstrated America's answer to the theories of Marx and Lenin, to the theories of the class-struggle."

During that same year however the rank and file gave a remarkable demonstration of their contempt for the vacillating policies of the leadership. The so-called "outlaw" switchmen's strike broke out in a dozen of the largest railway centers—spontaneously and over the heads of their leaders.

Only by declaring the strike illegal, using one section of organized workers against the organized strikers, and the closest cooperation of the labor executives with the railway executives, were the men driven back to work without having won the increase in wages demanded.

Again in 1922 the attempt to reduce wages of shopmen "back to normalcy" resulted in a nation-wide strike of shopmen despite all efforts of the labor executives to prevent a strike and accept a wage cut. These leaders accepted a wage cut for the less militant, poorly organized track workers on the day preceding that set for the strike. Continuance of the same sort of tactics added to those used in 1920 defeated the strike.

The Railway Labor Act was passed in 1926. In round table fashion railway labor executives and railway managers jointly drew up this law.

Adjustment, Mediation, Special Investigating and Emergency Boards, under this law take the place of strike action as the means of settling disputes and enforcing contracts.

That the law failed to remove the possibility of a railroad strike, however, is proven by the fact that strike votes were taken on a number of large systems during 1933 and 1934 to enforce settlement of thousands of accumulated grievances deadlocked or stalled in the apparatus of the adjustment machinery. The law encouraged violation of contracts by the roads due to the fact that



The Fascist Beast Snarls

it made strike action more difficult to crystallize. Mr. Loree was also confronted with a strike threat when he attempted to repudiate agreements.

Employees of the Mobile & Ohio voted for a general strike to prevent wage cuts beyond the national agreement, but were led into a compromise settlement under which an additional 3 percent was imposed.

In 1934 the Railway Labor Act of 1926 was amended. The railroad labor leaders proclaimed this revised law as a new "Magna Charta" for railroad labor. It strengthened the arbitration machinery, made acceptance of Adjustment Board decisions compulsory, and opened the way for legalizing company unions which the collaboration policy brought to shop workers.

Except for a flood of telegrams that poured upon Congress when the bill was on the floor, the entire campaign for a Railroad Employees Retirement Pension Law was confined to lobbying alone. The Supreme Court ruled the law unconstitutional, dealing a blow to the nation-wide campaign of labor for social insurance.

The labor executives are now assuring the railroad workers that the six-hour day without reduction in earnings, train limitation, full crews, in fact any and all demands can be won in the lobby halls and without strike action.

The Fascist trend of these policies should be apparent. When labor begins to rely upon the state to fight its battles then it is on the way to be delivered by the state into the hands of the employers. Labor must control its own destiny. Fascism, the open, terrorist, iron fist rule of capital over all productive forces through a centralized dictatorship can be defeated only by a militant labor movement, in alliance with all middle-class opponents of war and Fascism.

"Forerunners of Fascism" in Up-State New York

By HY KRAVIF

Staff worker, Labor Research Association

THE PIONEER AMERICAN HOME PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, Inc., with a frank program for "American Fascism," is an organization which has been functioning in up-state New York since 1932. The present headquarters of these "Pioneers" are at 148 Glen Street, Glens Falls, New York, and they have published three issues of its monthly organ, *The Vigilante*, begun in January of this year. W. J. Kearney, a bond salesman employed by William E. Lohrman Co., 70 Pine Street, New York City, heads the "Pioneers." He spends most of his time up-state.

Patterning itself on "The Thinking Middle Class of the United States," the Pioneers' Bulletin No. 1, entitled *American Fascism: Its Mission*, states frankly that it fosters the

"promotion of 'vigilance committees' in communities where the lives and property of honest citizens need protection from the criminal and racketeering, and where anti-American activity is attempting to undermine the American economic and political system."

School Officials Among Leaders

The authors of the 28-page program are Kearney and Lynn F. Perkins, the organization's "national treasurer." A resident of Luzerne, New York, Perkins is one of the District Superintendents of Schools in Warren County, which includes Glens Falls and 12 other towns and villages. Another Pioneer "booster" in the school system is Randall Saunders, who is reported to be an Inspector in the State Department of Education under Dr. Frank Graves, State Commissioner of Education. Needless to say, there have been no protests against these "un-American" influences in the schools from William Randolph

Hearst, self-appointed protector of American education.

L. J. Fredella, a former West Point cadet, is the organizer in Glens Falls, a city which was a stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan several years ago. A Warren County Sheriff named Glassbrook is reported a member. The organization claims a membership of 400 in Plattsburg alone.

Among those whom Kearney has approached for financial support are Floyd Carlisle of the gigantic Consolidated Gas Company, and also the multimillionaire du Ponts. With this bit of information, we can better understand the official statement that: "If capitalism, seeking to preserve itself, is to be freed from the germs that are now destroying its own organic being, capitalists, industrialists and financiers must do it, or be induced to do it for themselves." And yet this open admission of subservience to capitalists is followed by professed anti-capitalist declarations and an appeal for strong middle-class support.

The 15-point "General Program of the Pio-



American Legionaire Vigilantes

neers" is in a number of respects suspiciously like Hitler's own 25-point program before he came into full control. It calls for "the right of every American citizen to gainful employment at all times." (Like the Nazi's point 7). "Restriction of immigration." (Like Nazi point 8.) And so on, even to the Pioneers' demand for "sterilization or isolation of low grade morons, insanes and imbeciles."

Like similar Fascist outfits, the Pioneers feature attacks on the "New Deal," not from a militant labor viewpoint, but from that of the American Liberty League and the Republican Party. Thus the headline in the April *Vigilante* reads: "The Constitution is Gone"; while two pages are devoted to the Ross-Haas bill, "a Soviet Bill," under which New York would "become a Soviet Province"! A monthly financial page with advice to investors is a regular feature of the *Vigilante*. And of course there are the usual attacks



upon the Communist Party and other revolutionary or radical organizations.

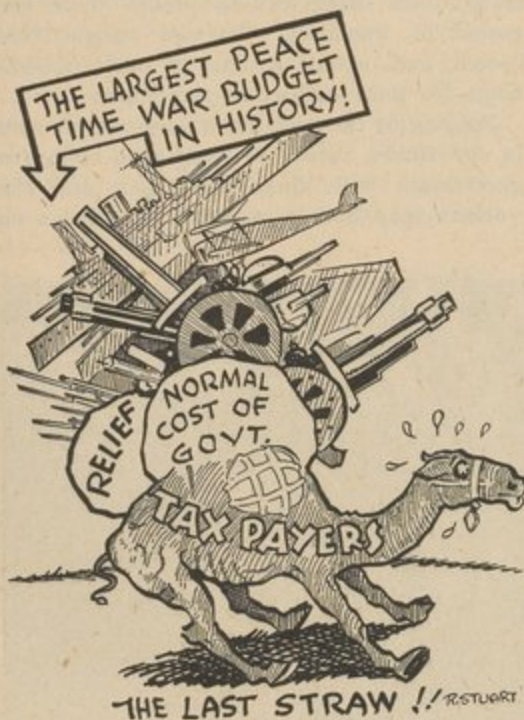
In their appeal for middle class support, the Pioneers especially denounce various forms of taxation which hit the middle class, particularly home owners. They call for the eventual abolition of real estate taxes. But at the same time they demand that taxes "on capital investments shall be greatly reduced."

The entire Pioneer program is thus a mixture of demagogic anti-capitalist declarations among which are smuggled a few statements showing its real aim: to preserve private profits. The fact that Kearney has sought support from such big capitalists as Carlisle and duPont is far more indicative of the true nature of the organization than anything that appears in his printed matter.

They declare quite openly that "if the Pioneers be called a Fascist organization by its friends or enemies, let it be understood that the basis of American Fascism is Democracy and the Constitution of the United States.... The great middle class of America must preserve its identity by organization to protect itself by rallying to the support of both democracy and capitalism; otherwise its economic and social interests will inevitably be submerged."

THE YOUNG GO FIRST

Several branches of the League Against War and Fascism have arranged theatre parties at performances of "The Young Go First," a powerful play exposing the use of Civilian Conservation Camps for military training, produced by the Theatre of Action at the Park Theatre in New York. The theatre has long been neglected as a weapon against war and Fascism, but now such organizations as the Theatre of Action, the Theatre Union, the hundreds of theatres affiliated with the New Theatre League throughout the country, and dramatics groups in other organizations, are realizing the effectiveness of the drama in combating reactionary forces.





DESPITE the glowing promises of the New Deal, it has become increasingly evident that capitalists in the United States cannot meet the present economic and moral problems of the crisis satisfactorily; that the New Deal, instead of being a step toward greater equality and justice, has established economic Fascism, and is rapidly preparing for participation in another World War.

Our capitalists cannot or will not give living wages to all who work, or give adequate relief to the ten millions or more who are out of work. Nor will they recognize the fundamental right of those who have jobs to organize into trade unions and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. They have not, and it is very doubtful if they will, put through a thorough-going comprehensive social insurance plan against unemployment, sickness and old age. Disarmament, they claim, is unthinkable.

Capitalism stands condemned by the principles of Christian ethics, because, through the unjust distribution of wealth, such evils as unemployment, widespread poverty, Fascism and international war inevitably result, accompanied by strife, bitterness, hatred, and the destruction of human personalities.

What, then, can we who are Church members do in the struggle to abolish capitalism and to build a planned social order?

Get the Truth

Our first task is to get facts. We must learn how our government is using the power of the state to stabilize our declining capitalism. We must know what unemployment does to people; what it means for a family of five to live on \$16.00 per week or less. We must understand why employers of labor feel it necessary to crush trade unions. We must find out why capitalist nations build huge navies to protect foreign investments; why they declare war, and send members of the Church of Jesus out to slaughter each other in the name of the Prince of Peace. We must organize a permanent fact-finding committee in each one of our Churches to keep us informed as to the wage rates of the corporations in

Christians and the Fight for Social Justice

By the REV. CHARLES C. WEBBER

Affiliations Secretary, American League Against War and Fascism; Instructor in the Department of Church and Community, Union Theological Seminary, New York.

our own cities, and their attitudes toward organized labor and social insurance. We must learn which employers, through intimidation and coercion, compel their workers to join company unions. We must know what forces and interests are behind the campaign to enact alien and sedition laws, to suppress civil liberties, and to throttle the expression of unorthodox, radical opinions and protests.

This data must be published in such form as to be available for use in Sunday schools, in open forums and in sermons. It will thus become splendid ammunition to arouse our church members to a realization of the evils of capitalism, and to a determination that "these things shall not be."

A comprehension of the unethical and unchristian character of capitalism, thus gained, gives us a base from which to wage a vigorous attack. We must call upon employers of labor and appeal to them to join with us in a movement that will destroy our present profit system, and to replace it with one based on social justice. We must use our influence on the side of organized labor in its struggle for recognition and for social insurance, and in its fight against company unions, Fascist repressive legislation and war.

Our presentation of the case against capitalism, one of the main causes of war, may be supplemented by the literature published by our denominational Social Justice Commissions, and by such organizations as the American League Against War and Fascism, and the League for Industrial Democracy. This material should be made available to all the members of our Churches. Church forum speakers, also available through these organizations, must emphasize the unethical character of capitalism and its concomitants, Fascism and war, and shall set forth a sound program for the establishment of a planned economic order.

We should issue to the press statements as to the causes of unemployment and inadequate relief, and the need for positive remedial action on behalf of the victims of social injustice. Petitions should be taken to our muni-

cipal, state and federal legislatures, urging legislation not only for adequate relief, but also for social insurance and for the socialization of industry. If we find that relief administrators are failing to provide adequate relief and are calling upon the police to intimidate and "beat up" the unemployed, we have an obligation, due to the very nature of our religion, to join as a church group with the organized unemployed in carrying out protest meetings and mass demonstrations.

Support the Struggles of Organized Labor

Right now the trade unions deserve special consideration from us. Many of their objectives are also the goals of social-minded Christians. We are trying to build a society in which all those who toil shall receive a living wage; in which all shall be protected from the hardships of enforced unemployment, sickness, and old age; in which no one shall be denied the right to be represented, in the making of collective wage agreements, by persons of his own free choice. Therefore our church members who are working in industries where there are unions should join them. If no unions exist, they should form them. Of course they will meet with opposition. They may be discharged. They may be denied the right of free speech. Their unions will be refused places for public assemblage. They will be prohibited from distributing literature in advocacy of their cause.

Such occasions furnish opportunities to our churches to render signal public service by opposing Fascism and by maintaining the fundamental civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. We can throw open the doors of our churches and invite the trade union organizers to preach there the gospel of unionism. We can uphold free speech, and provide a place of public assemblage for those subject to persecution.

Judging by the past, great corporations may in the future refuse to enter into collective agreements with their employees, and the workers may find it necessary to go out on

Troops are mobilized against workers in nearly every major strike these days. In Omaha 1,800 National Guardsmen maintain martial law, threatening compulsory arbitration.



strike. Attempts will then be made to break up their unions, to destroy their property, to prevent picketing, to evict them from their homes, and to starve them into submission. Armed guards will be imported and the National Guard will be called out in an effort to crush the strike.

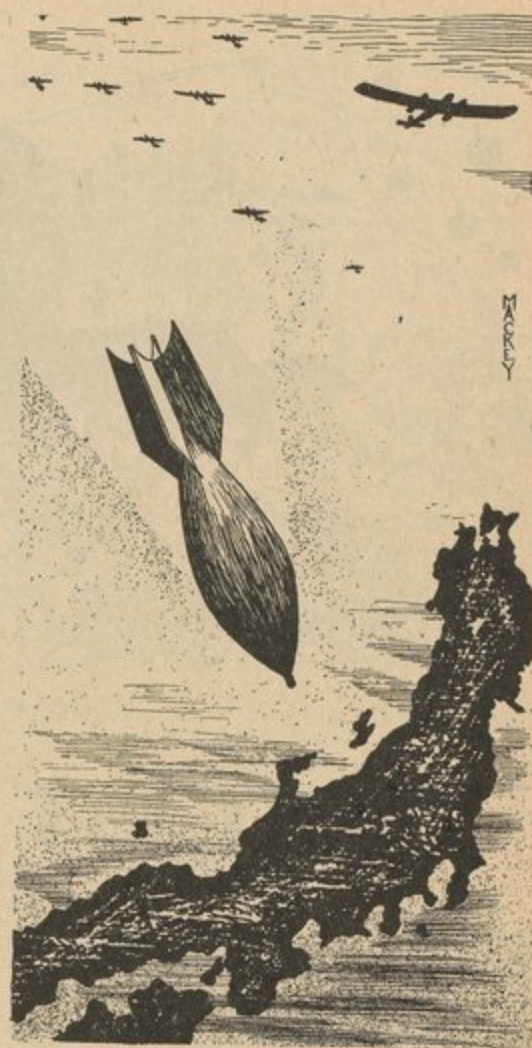
What can church members do under such circumstances? We can raise financial relief for the strikers. We can arrange mass meetings in protest against evictions and the use of armed force. We can throw open the doors of the "sanctuary" to dispossessed groups. Some of us can give legal aid, others medical. We can enlist the services of such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union and the American League Against War and Fascism in an endeavor to rally all the forces in the community that are opposed to the imposition of Hitler's tactics on the American people. Church members desiring to identify themselves completely with the workers who are striking to obtain justice should not only give the strikers moral and financial support but should go on the picket line, doing their utmost to prevent violence, which most frequently comes from armed guards, police and Vigilantes.

In this manner church men and women can demonstrate that the church and religion are not divorced from life, but have a vital concern in the issues of social justice. As a result, both the church and the trade unions will

be far more effective in resisting the encroachments of Fascism, and in preparing for the establishment of a planned social economy.

Needless to say, many leading representatives of the church will oppose such a program with all the power at their command. They will contend that it is not the function of the church to deal with the relations between capital and labor; that the job of the church is to set forth spiritual ideals apart from the everyday struggle of human beings for a better material life here and now. Unconsciously and consciously these church men and women will align themselves with the reactionary defenders of an unrighteous capitalism, and will strengthen the forces making for Fascism. Many who now oppose war, will support war when it comes under the illusion of patriotic duty and national defense; and even now many churchmen refuse to take the decisive militant action necessary to prevent war.

It therefore becomes all the more necessary for the militant minority in the church, which believes in letting "justice flow down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream," to affiliate with the American League Against War and Fascism, thereby joining its force with the forces of the religious, labor, political, women's, fraternal and youth groups in the League. If this minority remains alone, the Fascists in the church may destroy it. In the United Front it can render positive service in the fight against Fascism and war.



An American military expert has stated that American airplanes could deluge the cities of Japan with poison gas and explosives which would devastate the country and make the valleys inhabitable for months. Other militarists demand ever increasing appropriations for battleships and airplanes to "defend" the possessions of American imperialism in the Pacific. Congress has just passed the largest naval appropriation bill in our history. Organize opposition to the growing danger of war with Japan!

HEARST— Symbol of Reaction

By GEORGE S. COUNTS

Teachers College, Columbia University

STEADILY and inexorably reactionary forces are preparing the American people for the yoke of Fascist dictatorship. This is no sensational exaggeration, but a sober statement of fact. Under the guise of patriotism and diverse demagogic appeals, the American people are being shorn of those fundamental liberties which their fathers struggled to achieve and safeguard—the liberties which are of greatest worth in periods of stress like the present—the liberties of the mind. To an old-fashioned American, taught to have faith in the free play of intelligence, what is happening in the country seems almost incredible.

How are we to interpret these strange phenomena? Clearly the forces supporting this legislation, the great property interests which dominate the economic life of the nation, feel no special loyalty themselves to the constitution, state or federal, since they connive daily at the violation of its fundamental provisions. Thus through the loyalty oaths they are writing upon the heavens their firm belief that the foundations of their privileges are crumbling. They are declaring in words that cannot be misunderstood their loss of faith in the institutions of private capitalism and economic individualism. Since they are in a position to know whereof they speak, the American people should be grateful for such a clear and

unequivocal pronouncement. In the light of history they declare their incapacity to carry on the economic advance and announce their approaching demise. But they hope to maintain for a while outmoded practices by the repudiation of democratic processes and the wholesale repression of the mind. The symbol and most active agent of their reaction toward barbarism is William Randolph Hearst.

Ruhr Police Photograph Mourners at Graveside

From a letter written by a German worker in the Ruhr to a refugee in Paris.

A FORTNIGHT ago Hans died in prison. The Nazis report he committed suicide. I don't believe Hans would ever commit suicide. A large number of people attended the funeral. Some came from surrounding towns; Hans was known and loved by a great many. Nearly all brought wreaths, made of red flowers. A comrade spoke a few words at the graveside. Then the police seized the ropes holding the coffin, lowered it into the grave, and drove away the mourners. But before this, the police had photographed all those attending the funeral.

"A number of women broke through the police cordon to lay wreaths on the grave. They were roughly handled. A few of these women, and also several men known as anti-Nazis, including Communists, Socialists, and Catholics, were arrested.

"Every funeral of an anti-Fascist leader

nowadays is turned into a demonstration against the Hitler dictatorship. Hatred of the Nazi brutes is seething throughout the Ruhr, resulting from the terror, the increased cost of living and the worsening of conditions generally.

"Recently a conference of directors, officials and engineers of a certain great iron works was held in the Ruhr district. An engineer who had just returned from the Soviet Union made a report, accompanied by photographic slides, of what he had seen of the development of metallurgical plants there. A friend was able to learn what he said to this select circle: among other things that Soviet industry had made great strides, that the defensive capacity of the Red Army had grown, and also that: 'The hope must be abandoned that another government will seize power in Russia. The Soviet Government is firmly established and popular with the people. If they should be attacked they would fight with a fanatical devotion such as the world has never seen.'"



NAZI CARNIVAL

From Der Simpl

FASCIST PARADE

The World Committee Against War and Fascism, headed by Henri Barbusse, sends us this story. It was written by a German anti-Nazi who recently escaped over the border after his release from a concentration camp.

IN THE CONCENTRATION camp at Marienburg where I was held and tortured for my anti-Fascist activity, was the former Chief of Police of Altona, a Social Democrat named Eggerstaedt. He had become widely known in the days preceding Hitler's seizure of power in connection with the sanguinary struggle between the Nazi Storm Troopers and the Altona workers. The Nazis charged him with failure to carry out his duties with sufficient energy, and declared that his negligence had resulted in the death of several Storm Troopers.

He was thrown into the concentration camp and treated as a beast—quite literally. In front of the main building a large dog kennel was built especially for Eggerstaedt. A heavy chain was fastened around his neck and attached to the kennel. He was compelled to lie there day and night. The Nazi guards amused themselves by forcing him, under penalty of terrible torture, to bark and to gnaw bones thrown at him. Day after day Eggerstaedt was systematically degraded, treated as an animal.

When he became so sick that it was impossible to continue this horrid treatment, he was taken to a dormitory. The chain around his neck was locked to the bedpost. He was forced to lie most of the time on the cold cement floor; if he got on the bed the guards would beat him. The only amelioration of his suffering came when the other prisoners, mostly Communists, aided him. They released him from the chain, put him in bed, and stood guard while he slept.

Eggerstaedt endured the barbaric treatment courageously and without wasting his breath in futile complaint. During the last

days of his life he expressed over and over again his gratitude to his comrades for their effort to comfort him. He said he deeply regretted the mistakes he had made when Chief of Police in failing to prosecute energetically the fight against Fascism before it was too late, and in the action he had been compelled by the government to take against workers of Altona.

"Forgive me, comrades, my past mistakes. I can die more easily if I feel my suffering has wiped out my guilt, that my death will atone for my past. Help me to die!"

A few weeks later Eggerstaedt's relatives received notification that he had been "shot while attempting to escape."

German anti-Fascists turned his funeral into a mass demonstration against Hitlerism.

A report by the Foreign Policy Association on June 9 expresses the opinion that officers of the newly created conscript Germany army will try to check Hitler's imperialist adventures until they feel that Germany has an even chance of victory. "Yet it is conceivable that unrest at home might eventually lead Hitler to consider it necessary to stake everything on aggressive action abroad in order to maintain his power." The report adds that economic difficulties are increasing in the Third Reich, and would not be solved by changes sought by the Nazis in extending their frontiers and recovering lost colonies. "Germany's foreign trade has broken down."

"Hitler's sudden reintroduction of conscription was undoubtedly motivated in large measure by domestic considerations." The internal unrest, the antagonism between the Storm Troopers and the regular army, with the Nazi private army in a rebellious mood, made this move necessary, to try to raise Hitler's waning prestige. It "gives endless opportunities for mass spectacles and parades which are necessary to occupy a people whose standard of living is rapidly deteriorating."

THE GENERAL COUNCIL of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which met in Copenhagen from May 21 to 24, issued a statement calling on labor in all countries to organize effective opposition to Fascism.

The report pointed out that Fascism is a nationalist, not an international, movement. Fascism "leads to deadly rivalry between Fascist countries." It brings "aggravation of imperialism."

"The kind of brutality and imperialism varies from one Fascist country to another, but this should not lead to regarding one brand of Fascism as milder than another, but should merely indicate which section of the front in the fight against Fascism is the most dangerous, and should be subject to the greatest attack." Nazi Germany is designated as the greatest threat at this time. Hitler is described as seeking world domination.

There is a network of Nazi spies in every country, carrying on Fascist propaganda, intriguing, organizing anti-Semitic groups, the report declares. "If the world is to be freed from the spirit of Hitler, resistance must come from the millions of people who stand with the workers in denying this spirit."

The opponents to Nazi suppression of freedom of religion among the Protestant churches of Germany formed a united front to fight for a free church on June 5, at a huge meeting in Augsburg.

The report that Maddalena, Stamm and Rembte were executed by the Nazis turns out to be incorrect. They are in the notorious Moabit prison, denied visitors, and under frequent torture.

The Fascist press in Austria reported on May 12 the seizure of the illegal headquarters in Vienna for distribution of the Socialist paper *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, published in Brünn. Twenty-eight Socialists were given severe sentences and 19 were charged with high treason.

The defeat of the Bouisson cabinet in France in its demand for dictatorial powers was due to the united front of Socialists, Communists and others opposed to Fascism. Radical Socialists split from their leader, Edouard Herriot, and voted against granting the Premier the dictatorial authority he wanted.

"It is certain that the present crisis will eventually lead to the establishment of a government in France that rules by decree," Johannes Steele, foreign editor of the *New York Post*, predicts. "In France, as well as in other European countries, the social and economic set up has become so fundamentally contradictory that the government will organize society on the basis of permanent civil war"—as in Germany.

The victory of a Fascist party in the Czechoslovakian elections last month has given additional impetus to the movement for a united front of all opponents of Fascism in that country. Negotiations are proceeding between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Although the Fascist party won enough seats in Parliament to upset the coalition government, the S. P. and the C. P. both increased their votes.

A New Nazi Purge Predicted

The Basle *National Zeitung* of June 5 predicted a "new cleansing wave," which it says, may not be as bloody as that of June 30, 1934, "but certainly it will be as effectual, and is inevitable." The newspaper declares that plans for this purge are being discussed by army officers in South German garrisons. Reichwehr officers, it says, are "the determinative power in the state, and the Nazi functionaries mere dummies. The Reichwehr officers laugh at National Socialism and all 'revolutionary' theories, as useful only to keep the people quiet. . . . To the Reichwehr, Hitler is of importance only to the extent to which he guarantees rearmament."

Anti-Fascist organizations have computed that sentences totaling 18,812 years have been given the opponents of Hitlerism. The statistics are incomplete and the actual figure must be much higher. It is estimated that there are now 200,000 political prisoners in Germany. The *Manchester Guardian* estimates that 200 have been publicly beheaded. This does not of course include the hundreds murdered in prison.

The illegal Communist Party of Latvia and the Social Democratic Party arrived at an agreement for united front action against Fascism, on May 15.

Austrian Fascism may be slightly less sensational and brutal than the Nazi brand, but hardly less thorough in suppression of civil rights, trade unions, and radical parties. From March, 1933, to December, 1934, according to official figures from the Vienna Police Department, 36,249 persons were arrested in Vienna alone for their political beliefs. Of these 12,000 were Socialists and 6,000 were Communists. And 126,740 homes were raided and searched, an average of 32 raids per dwelling house in Vienna.

The Fascist government of Austria fired 400 workers at the Buehler Industrial Works in Vienna for their trade union activities last month. In a paper factory at Bruch, 70 workers were dismissed for the same reason. These are characteristic of mass discharge of workers throughout Austria who dare to stand up for their rights.

Suppression of Academic Freedom

Dean Rappleye's statement supported by the affidavits of seven students that "big money



The Dies Deportation Bill is pending before Congress. If passed, thousands of foreign-born workers will be deported to Fascist countries. Even at present, hundreds are being deported for their militancy.



French Fascists on parade, led by Alain De La Rocque of the "Croix de Feu." Their first "putsch" was as unsuccessful as Hitler's first attempt to seize power. Thus far the French Fascists have been defeated by the United Front.

interests" forced him to expel six students, three technicians and two instructors from the Columbia University Medical Center, since May 18, throws light on the wave of repression by school and college administrations throughout the country.

Spurred on by the Hearst anti-red campaign and the charge by Walgreen that his niece was subjected to "communist influence" at Chicago University, the Illinois State Senate investigated that institution. This campaign has spread to Rennselaer Polytechnic Institute, where one of its foremost professors, Granville Hicks, was dismissed. In New Jersey, when the firing of Dr. Bergel from Rutgers University for his anti-Nazi views was questioned, Dr. Hauptmann, head of the German Dept., admitted that he had communicated with Dr. Goebbels, German Minister of Propaganda, for material for "cultural propaganda" to be sent all over the U. S., and that he had slapped a girl for expressing her anti-Nazi views. Teachers testified that Nazi literature had been disseminated at the college.

At Bryn Mawr College, the Summer School for Working Women, which had been part of the college for 14 years, was removed from the campus at the instigation of the Board of Directors. The dropping of Dr. Winslow N. Hallet of Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pa., for his pro-labor views, and the request for an investigation of Howard College by Congressman Mitchell indicate the nation-wide trend to suppress academic freedom.

In New York City, six Hunter College students have been ousted by President Colligan for their activity in the Anti-War Strike of April 12. The National Student League and the United Parents Association have protested to the Board of Education against the blacklisting of student participants in the April 12 strike at Abraham Lincoln, New Utrecht, and Clinton High Schools. At Morris High School seven members of the school-paper staff have been dropped for their anti-war activities. At Valhalla, N. Y., two teachers were dismissed for organizing a teachers' union. The students went on strike and 300 parents demanded the reinstatement of the teachers.

Another Fascist Gang of Anti-Semites

Hundreds of small organizations are springing up throughout the country which spread Fascist and anti-Semitic propaganda. As fast as one dies several others are born. The latest to come to our attention is typical—The Community Hour, of Houston, Texas. Innocent sounding title! Its literature reprints excerpts from the infamous "Protocols of Zion," long ago exposed as a forgery, and recently again found to be fraudulent by a court in Switzerland after thorough investigation. "Jewry threatens the world with economic, political and religious slavery," the letterhead of this organization proclaims, calling for "Militant organization" to rescue Gentiles from Jewish dominance. It uses the chain letter technique to gain members and organizers. One of the tasks of the American League Against War and Fascism is to expose these vicious groups and show their followers wherein the real menace lies.

Martial Law and War Gas

One spectator was killed and many seriously wounded when police fired into a crowd to force them to disperse as part of the attempt to break the street-car strike in Omaha. Fifty others were injured, mostly strikers. Hundreds, including a baby, were gassed. National Guardsmen took possession of the town under martial law. General Paul announced he would set up military courts to try "rioters"—i. e., strikers. He said tear gas is too mild, so regular "knockout" war gases will be used.

The strike has lasted two months. The street-car company refuses union recognition. General Paul says he will settle the strike by compulsory arbitration.

Other strikes, during the past month, in which violence used against the workers resulted in casualties, include the strike at Canton, where one man was killed, fifteen school children gassed, and twenty-four strikers injured on May 27 and 28; Picher, Okla., where several striking miners were injured and about fifteen arrested; Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where five workers were shot, scores injured and nine arrested when the police opened fire in striking miners; Columbus, Ohio, where dozens of strikers were hurt and twenty-two arrested, including Ohio State University students. These and other instances of violence by authorities against strikers, indicate the methods that will be used more and more often to suppress the impending wave of strikes against wage cuts which are following the reactionary decision of the Supreme Court on the N.R.A.

The New York East Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with 300 ministers present, adopted one of the most radical statements on political and economic issues ever made by a Church group.

The report calls for the establishment of a Socialist society. It reviews the effects of the NRA, and gives proof that it brought increased profits for the capitalists but lower real wages for the majority of workers. It condemns the Fascist trends in the United States and preparations for war. It points to the increased concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small fraction of the population.

The Methodist ministers defended civil liberties, including the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. They praised the consumer's cooperative movement. They called for a fight against lynching, racial hatred and persecution.

The Conference appealed to all Christians to support the work of the American League Against War and Fascism.

"The Asiatic policy of Japan is a menace to the peace of the world," Jacob Gould Shurman, former American Minister to China recently stated. "It is a challenge to other nations. . . . it curtails the rights and wipes out the property of other governments. . . . Whether the great powers of the West will surrender their special rights and privileges in China is not merely a question of national dignity!" These rights "have also a material value . . ."

Shurman pointed out that the Open Door guaranteeing American rights to trade in China has been nullified by Japan. "Most wars have been waged on account of trade interests. Is it likely that in the fierce trade competition of our industrial era the great trading nations of Europe and America will permit Japan without a struggle to close to them the greatest potential market in the entire world?"

He defended the naval maneuvers in the Pacific, and the creation of a navy "of maximum defensive efficiency." Such voices will be heard frequently from now on, demanding that the United States defend its interests against Japanese aggression. The danger grows—unless we build a much broader united front against war we are headed straight toward war with Japan.

Michigan "Patriots" vs. "The Reds"

On May 4, in Lansing, state capital of Michigan, a public hearing was granted on the Dunckel-Baldwin Substitute Bill No. 292, a vicious anti-labor measure. This bill, backed by the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Elks, and other so-called "patriotic" organizations, and ostensibly aimed at the "reds," was so worded as to empower the auto barons, who control this State, to jail for 14 years and fine any

one who raised his voice in protest against intolerable living and working conditions.

We met in Lansing, at this public hearing, 400 strong, from every corner of the State; factory, farm and church united in the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights to defeat the attempt of the self-styled "patriots" to deprive us of our constitutional rights of free speech, free press and free assembly. The Farmers' Union, the American Federation of Labor, the unemployed and relief workers' organizations, the Michigan Youth Congress, the Communist, Socialist and all left wing political parties were there, the teachers, the church, and numerous cultural educational and fraternal bodies, representing 450,000 people in Michigan.



Mussolini reviewing "The Sons of the Wolf," juvenile Fascist gang. Military training begins in the kindergarten in Italy and Germany.

1. We rallied people around one certain issue—and stuck to it until the delegates themselves, recognized their united strength.
2. We carefully and repeatedly explained the Fascist nature of the Dunckel-Baldwin bill and exposed its real purpose to crush the labor movement.
3. We gave our fight a strictly American character by utilizing the revolutionary tradi-



JAPPY

tions of the American working class, and the revolutionary utterances of noted Americans. 4. We saw to it that our Steering Committee embraced the widest and most divergent opinions of our affiliated organizations. We established real democracy right in our own Conference before going out to battle for it. The result was that the worst features were removed from the Dunckel bill.

From a report by the Detroit branch of the American League.

"Yours for the Crushing of Fascism"

IN THE EVENT of war, will organized workers respond to the call to "stop the manufacture and transport of munitions, and all other materials essential to the conduct of war through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes"? This is the first point on the program of the American League Against War and Fascism, and the answer will determine our effectiveness at the crucial moment. The Trade Union Committee of the League has launched a campaign to get trade unionists to express themselves on these vital questions. We are sending questionnaires to the secretaries of the American Federation of Labor and of independent unions, with the request that they read the questions to their members, obtain their vote on them, and inform us of the results.

The results so far can leave no doubt regarding the attitude of the workers. Of the 10,000 votes already received, 95 per cent declared that they would join in a mass protest or general strike in case war or Fascism threatened, and that they would refuse to ship war materials. Five per cent declared that although they would protest against Fascism, they would engage in "defensive war" if the United States were attacked.

We do not offer these figures as conclusive proof that organized labor is willing and ready to fight war and Fascism as an organized movement. The campaign has just begun; the votes are coming in slowly, and thousands of questionnaires are still unanswered. If officers of the American Federation of Labor locals and higher bodies cooperated so that every member received the opportunity to actually vote, we could go forward with renewed confidence and strength, for we feel certain of the results.

We have thus far reached auto workers, marine workers, railway carmen, iron molders, rayon workers, painters, plumbers, and workers in many other industries. Geographically the votes are distributed widely over the entire country, so that the results

of the campaign do not represent the sentiments of only one section. Moreover, the figures alone cannot show the reactions of those who voted. We received an indication of these feelings from the many letters which accompanied the questionnaires. From Salem, Oregon, one secretary writes: "... nothing is more important at this time than anti-war and anti-fascist work." A letter from an A. F. of L. local in upper New York State closed with: "... yours for the crushing of Fascism." Another communication reads: "The importance of developing an understanding of the danger of war and Fascism cannot be stressed too much."

The campaign so far has been conducted without an appeal to the workers for help. We realize that the questions must be brought directly to the unions and shops by interested workers who will demand a vote from the floor. As the votes pile up they will become a powerful stimulus to the entire movement against war and Fascism. The resultant publicity will give the war-mongers and Fascists something to worry about.

To the questionnaire is appended a request that the union become an active force in the struggle by affiliating with the League. Trade union and shop committees are being formed throughout the country which will give direction to the work. It is possible for every worker-reader of FIGHT to help make this campaign effective. We shall gladly send questionnaire forms for either group or individual vote to any part of the country. The extent of the publicity we can obtain will depend upon the number of votes received.

It must not be thought that war and Fascism are whirlwinds that strike suddenly and unexpectedly. They develop gradually and insidiously as a result of carefully organized plans. Trade unionists, together with unorganized workers, by combining their forces, have it within their power to prevent Fas-

cism and another war. They must oppose organization with organization. The American League recognizes that Fascism must be fought from day to day. It engages in the daily struggles against injunctions, interference with the right to picket and to freely assemble. It organizes protests against the use of troops and thugs against strikers. It fights the introduction of laws that will build company unions, deport and intimidate union organizers or active unionists, and place absolute power over labor within the hands of national labor boards. Trade unionists can successfully oppose the threat to their existence which Fascism holds, by becoming a part of the great united front structure of the American League Against War and Fascism.

WAR QUESTIONNAIRE

Trade union members voting as individuals please write YES or NO for each question. When vote is taken by group please give total number voting YES or NO.

1. Would you join in a nation-wide protest to prevent the United States from taking part in another war?
2. Would you unite in refusing to transport or produce munitions or other war supplies in the event of war?
3. Would you join in a nation-wide protest to prevent the formation of a Fascist government in the United States?

NAME

NAME OF UNION AND LOCAL.....

ADDRESS

Please fill out and mail today to
National Trade Union Committee
American League Against War and Fascism
112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y.

Imperialist Wolves Quarrel Over the Spoils

(Continued from page 6)

can nation. In denying these accusations the British reassert their "responsibilities" under the tripartite agreement whereby Italy, France and Britain jointly pledge to respect the "territorial integrity" of Ethiopia. In answer to Mussolini's charges British reactionaries have made a thinly veiled threat to close the Suez Canal to Italian troop-ships.

Mussolini, ridiculing the opinions of other nations, boasts that Italy will never abandon its plans. The Fascists also clearly indicate that if Italy's demands are not sanctioned by the League of Nations, "Italy intends to proceed without swerving from her march." They state plainly they will use the same tactics used by other imperialist nations in empire

Terror Threatens

(Continued from page 8)

Herndon—these are all unmistakable signs of the approach of Fascism in America. Even in such a rebel city as Paterson, and in Newark and other New Jersey cities, the authorities have bluntly refused to permit American youth to demonstrate against Fascism and war. The ruling class is tightening its grip!

The robber barons cannot afford to have the masses organized; therefore the first task of Fascism is to crush all types of working-class organizations, and particularly the trade unions. This Hitler accomplished by butchering the more important leaders, and throwing the rest into dungeons; also by terrorizing the workers by means of starvation and torture. Then he created the "Labor Front," controlled, like American company unions, by employers and the state.

Fascism does not establish itself by the axe alone; it uses also persuasion. It appeals to patriotic sentiments, it preaches race hatred, it promises glory, it uses all sorts of demagogic promises to win the support of the middle class and working class—promises which it cannot fulfill.

But let the robber barons and their Fascist henchmen be warned. The people will not long accept a crust of bread and the Fascist axe; for "man does not live by bread alone." The masses will rise, and then there will be hell to pay.

building. Hence the probability that the League arbitration will result in a compromise, forcing Ethiopia to cede Italy at least a slice of its territory linking Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

This conflict has brought Britain closer to Nazi Germany, and weakened the "united front" hailed at Stresa, against German aggression. Baldwin has come to a naval agreement with Hitler; it is evident that this rapprochement is a serious threat to peace. Germany's rearmament could never have taken place so speedily without British backing, financial, economic and political.

This illustrates again the enormous difficulties of consistent international cooperation while the contradictions of capitalism give rise to such basic conflicts of interest. Britain is playing her role as the nation holding the balance of power, the whip-hand, utilizing every situation to strengthen her position and to try to give the war, when it breaks out, the direction desired by British imperialists. They have hindered the realization of the Eastern Locarno, the system of peace pacts proposed by the Soviet Union; and they have even encouraged Hitler's ambitions to expand eastward. Extremists openly advocate a united front against Soviet Russia. The four nations immediately threatening world peace are Italy, Japan, Germany—and Great Britain!

Opponents of war cannot rely on imperialist diplomats maneuvering for advantage, nor on the League of Nations; nor even on peace pacts. To organize militant mass resistance to war is our task; to bring into a united front all who are against the forces of reaction driving rapidly toward Fascism and war. We must make Washington realize clearly that we are determined that the United States shall not risk war with Japan by interfering in the Asiatic situation under the pretext of defending China and the Open Door. If the United States goes to war against Japan it will not be to defend anything but the interests of American imperialists in the Pacific, just the same as Britain is interfering in the Abyssinian situation, not to defend the Ethiopian people against Italian aggression, but to defend the markets, colonies and investments of British capitalists in Africa, to wring concessions from other European nations and thus preserve their dominant position.



A hard nut to crack. The Fascists cannot solve the contradictions of the profit system and the economic situation gets worse in both Germany and Italy.



Economy of Scarcity

(Continued from page 4)

would have us believe that this is an age of scarcity. Their newspapers and magazines spread the same gospel. They are all refuted by the scientific findings of the Survey engineers. There is today no possible excuse for scarcity, no defense for poverty in the midst of potential plenty.

There are two roads we may follow. In the Soviet Union the people have chosen the path that leads to plenty. The rest of the world is being led along the road that stretches into the darkness. That road, leading to profits for the few and destruction and artificial scarcity for the many, has been taken by Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, by the dictators of Poland, Austria, Rumania, Lithuania, Cuba, Japan; by the dividend-supporting democracies of France, England, and the United States. At the end of this road lies Fascist terror, starvation, regimentation, enslavement of labor—and war.

The first road leads to a new, a truly civilized life. The other is the road back.

The choice lies before us—and only we, the masses of people, may decide which we shall follow. But we must choose now, before it is too late.



From Der Simpel

British diplomats reach a naval agreement with Hitler after "exploratory" negotiations. Der Fuehrer does a few tricks for them.



Brazilian Greenshirts; the Integralistas claim a membership of a half-million, but mass opposition prevented them from carrying out plans for a parade in Brazil last month.

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

OUR BRANCHES REPORT PROGRESS

From Los Angeles: Officials of the American League Against War and Fascism stated that Gary Cooper's resignation from the Hollywood Hussars forestalls a boycott movement against the actor which was to be inaugurated by numerous workers' organizations throughout the country. Similar action has been taken against Victor MacLaglen's Light Horse Cavalry, and George Brent's Escadrille, and other such organizations.

From Tampa, Florida: An anti-war club has been organized; in one month it has succeeded in recruiting 45 members.

From Albany, N. Y.: During the past week we have been busily engaged in collecting signatures for the reinstatement of Granville Hicks. Working as individuals, we were able to get a notable group of people, including the State Commissioner of Public Welfare, David C. Adie, to sign the petition. Also a trustee of Russell Sage College, Dr. Ruth C. Andrus, of the State Education Department, and many other prominent professional people, including ten clergymen. A committee of three, including one of our members, Dr. Randolph Smith, presented the petition to Edwin S. Jarrett, Executive Vice President of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, interviewing him for about three quarters of an hour.

From Seattle: The Seattle Central Labor Council has voted to endorse the Student League Against War and Fascism, and furnished the organization with credentials authorizing its representatives to appear before A.F. of L. locals to explain its program. The Central Labor Council last week sent a protest to President Sieg of the University of Washington, criticizing the latter's denial of campus recognition to the Student League.

From Pittsburgh: Under pressure from various groups, Y.W.C.A. heads have fired Miss Marian Briggs, Industrial Secretary of the Central Branch. The action was taken without the approval of the Industrial Committee, with which Miss Briggs works, and resulted directly, it was said, from Miss Briggs' activities for the American Youth Congress.

Mrs. B. J. Hovde, secretary of the Industrial Committee, bitterly denounced the dismissal and declared: "I think it is not unlikely that the unfavorable publicity given the Y.W.C.A. by the Hearst press during the regional conference of the American Youth Congress had much to do in effecting Miss Briggs' dismissal." The League in Pittsburgh has organized a campaign demanding her reinstatement.

From Toledo, O.: We plan to sponsor a mass meeting on the Italian-Abyssinian question, in conjunction with various Negro organizations. We plan to call an anti-war demonstration on August 1, and are proceeding to enlist the support of the Central Labor Union in the marshaling of many thousands for the parade.

From Brooklyn: The Association of Lithuanian Workers writes: We want the League Against War and Fascism to endorse the Lithuanian Congress. We believe that your statement endorsing our Congress against war and Fascism and urging Lithuanian organizations to support the Congress would help us. It will take place June 30 and July 1, in Cleveland.

The Bulgarian-Macedonian Workers Educational Club requested our permission to send

speakers to our branches for the purpose of presenting the conditions of the Balkan countries because of the Fascist regime, and linking this with Fascist manifestations in our own country.

From Cleveland, O.: The League is starting a campaign of resolutions and protests against the officials of Western Reserve University for refusing to grant their hall for a meeting with Heywood Broun.

From San Francisco: The First Pacific Coast Congress Against War and Fascism was held in San Francisco, Building Trades Temple, April 27-28, 1935. There were 415 delegates representing 238,000 people, who came from Washington, Colorado and California. Organizations represented included the Epic clubs, League for Industrial Democracy, Agricultural workers, various youth organizations, and political organizations, student groups, languages and fraternal organizations, women organizations, Letter Carriers Union No. 863, Boot and Shoe Workers Union No. 324, Central Labor Council of Alameda Co., Cooks, Waiters and Waitresses Union, many unemployed groups, Painters Union, Sheet and Metal Workers, also Laundry Workers Union, Carpenters Union No. 36, Democratic clubs, and many more organizations too numerous to mention. A Regional Committee was elected with headquarters at Los Angeles.



Slumming is such fun—for wealthy "democratic" philanthropists who get a kick out of dining with the jobless, wrecked by the crisis of capitalism. A scene in the New York Municipal Lodging House.



Manufacturers of gas masks are taking advantage of the fear of impending war to sell masks to civilians. But the experts declare that these commercial gas masks are worthless as protection against the new poison gas.

YOUTH SPARKS

SEATTLE informs us that 56 delegates were present at the Puget Sound Youth Conference held on May 30. These represented 23 organizations, including five A. F. of L. unions, the Seattle Central Labor Council, Commonwealth Builders and three church groups.

The month in the youth movement has been one of preparation for the Second American Youth Congress with all committees and affiliates of the Youth Section turning their attention to the election of delegates.

The National Committee endorsed this Congress in order to proceed one step closer towards obliterating the needless division between two youth set-ups, both of which are building united fronts against war and Fascism on practically the same lines.

Easter week saw a meeting of the World Youth Committee with which we are affiliated. There were representatives from 24 countries and some important discussion took place. Prominent among the delegates were 2 young Catholics from Germany. One of these was the former editor of a Catholic newspaper in the Saar. A highlight was his telling of the growing unity between anti-Fascist Catholics and Marxists. Not all the persecution of religion in Germany is due to theological differences. The root lies in the refusal of Catholic and Protestant workers to swallow Hitlerism. The conference decided to hold an international rally for peace, freedom and progress some time next year.

Jingoists and school authorities are still wreaking their vengeance because of the successful student strike against war which involved about 185,000 students. Six students and instructors at Columbia Medical School have been expelled. Students at Lincoln High School, New York, have been blacklisted because of this and are denied admission to the University of Michigan, Cornell and other institutions. The New York school authorities have announced that fighters for peace will have that recorded against them in applying for teaching jobs.

The Chapters of both the Student L. I. D. and the National Student League have had their campus legality revoked because they participated in the May 30th demonstration against war and Fascism.

The Newark city government came to the support of the Nazis by refusing a permit for the May 30th youth demonstration, and simultaneously arranging a huge welcome for the German Singing Organization at which Nazi government representatives were to speak. A grant of \$5,000 was given by the city for this Fascist song fest. The Newark American League threw its strength behind the fight. Although it was not possible to win the parade permit the accompanying publicity turned the Nazi affair into a failure. YMCA, YWHA and other youth groups.

The tours of Waldo McNutt and James Lerner revealed some very encouraging signs. Quite a few chapters of the Student L. I. D. are working with the League particularly on the West Coast and also in the mid-West. Increasing support is being gained from the YMCA, YWHA and other youth groups.

**WANTED:
ANTI-WAR AND ANTI-FASCIST PLAYS**

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM and the New Theatre League announce a \$200 Prize Play Contest for the best new anti-war and anti-Fascist plays. The contest will close October 1, 1935. A first prize of \$125, second prize of \$50 and third prize of \$25 will be the incentives to stimulate leading professional playwrights as well as all aspiring young dramatists to contribute in their special field to the fight against war and Fascism.

The social theatres of America, amateur and professional, stretching from coast to coast, are asking for plays with which to throw the emotional power of a militant stage into the battle against war and Fascism. It is in response to the demands of these groups—art theatres, workers' theatres, college theatres, settlement theatres, church theatres—that this contest is launched. These new theatres are a potent force with which to counteract the vicious war propaganda of the movies, the emergent Fascism of Coughlin, Long and Johnson over the radio, the high-pressure anti-red and anti-labor hysteria of Hearst and McFadden. We must supply these theatres with the necessary ammunition in the form of vital, human drama that will reach masses of people as yet untouched by the fight against war and Fascism. We must have good plays!

"Waiting for Lefty," the prize-winning play of the New Theatre-New Masses Contest held this year, brought forward the most promising young American dramatist of today, Clifford Odets. His play about the taxi drivers' strike is now being performed on Broadway, as well as by new theatres in twenty cities throughout the country simultaneously, reaching hundreds of thousands.

In addition to the awards and the assurance of nation-wide productions, the authors of prize-winning and published plays will receive 50 per cent of the ensuing royalties, 25 per

cent going to the maintenance of New Theatre League repertory work, and 25 per cent to support the work of the League Against War and Fascism.

RULES: Contest ends Oct. 1, 1935. Winners will be announced in November issue of NEW THEATRE and FIGHT. The New Theatre League and the American League Against War and Fascism reserve all rights, including publication and performance, of winning plays, and, with the author's permission, of other manuscripts considered worthy of production. They also reserve the right not to award prizes if the material submitted is not up to the necessary standard. Plays should take 30 minutes to one hour to produce; no full-length plays will be considered. Any subject dealing with the fight against war and Fascism is acceptable. Manuscripts submitted are to be clearly typed on one side of the paper, and accompanied by return postage. The author's name and address are not to be on the manuscript, but enclosed in a sealed envelope, with the name of the play on the outside of the envelope. Send plays to Repertory Dept., New Theatre League, 114 W. 14th St., New York City. All manuscripts will be registered, and those rejected will be returned with careful individual criticism.

JUDGES: Liston M. Oak, editor of FIGHT; John Gassner, of the THEATRE GUILD; Herbert Kline, editor of NEW THEATRE; Paul Sifton, playwright; Paul Peters, of the THEATRE UNION.



Spring in a Nazi
Concentration Camp
From Der Simpl.

PATHS OF GLORY

By Humphrey Cobb. The Viking Press, \$2.50

BRAVE soldiers advance to the front and return—back for a brief rest from the murderous hell of the front line trenches. Marked for death, they return to live before returning to die.

The enemy holds a strategic spot. Headquarters demands that it be taken. Promotion and glory are held up to General Assolant, Commander of this weary, shell-shocked, exhausted division. He boasts he has never failed to take an enemy position when ordered.

Brave soldiers, men, return to the front. The zero hour, rain and wind, the charge, the withering, devastating fire of the enemy, death and honor, men leaping from the trenches to fall back dead in the arms of their comrades. The attack fails. The general enraged, glory and promotion slipping from his grasp, orders his artillery to shell his own soldiers out of their trenches to force them to advance. The artillery officer refuses, demands a written order which the General is too shrewd to give.

Back out of the trenches, the entire division under arrest charged with cowardice and refusal to obey orders. Gen. Assolant demands that examples be made, that an entire section of each company be shot. The officers finally decide to select and court-martial one man from each company. The summary court is clearly made to understand that the men are to be found guilty.

Brave soldiers, men, advance to the firing squad. Ready, aim, fire! Paths of Glory. . . .

Humphrey Cobb portrays the horror and futility of war; but, though the implications cannot be escaped, he draws no conclusion, he offers no solution, and leaves the reader full of revolt but without knowing what can be done to prevent the repetition of such atrocities. The result is a sense of inevitability which does not do justice to so fine a novel.

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