

# FIGHT

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## AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



### TROOPS ARE MARCHING

At top and right are shown some of the 300,000 Italian troops in or on the way to Africa. Mussolini is reaching out to seize the last independent African country; all the rest of the continent has been divided between rival imperialist powers. At the left are Ethiopian troops. With the machine gun is Emperor Haile Selassie; above him on horseback is the Ethiopian chieftain who led the Ethiopians at Ualual.

# Increased Terror Part of Italy's War Against Ethiopia

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

**I**TALIAN FASCISM, having reduced an entire people to poverty, is now waging war in order to subjugate the last surviving independent people of Africa, at the risk of thus setting fire to Europe and of provoking another world-wide conflagration. To prepare for this war, a new wave of terrorism is now breaking over Italy. The Special Tribunal of Rome has, in the first few months of 1935, already exceeded the total of 1934 for the number of trials and years of imprisonment inflicted upon the heroic adversaries of fascism. Former prisoners, liberated after the "conditional" amnesty of September 1934, have nearly all been re-arrested and sent for five years to the "Confino di Polizia." Young men have been sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for their personal opinions. Wives and mothers have undergone the same treatment. Men who had already served 6 or 7 years of hard labor, after a few months of conditional liberty, sometimes on mere suspicion, have been once more arrested and condemned to very heavy sentences for having been found in possession of a mere pamphlet or even for having protested, in the correct legal forms and in the fascist unions themselves against the theft of their wages and the annoyances to which they had been submitted in the Italian factories. Mothers, wives and children are considered responsible for the anti-fascist opinions of their sons, husbands and fathers. Everything possible is done to hinder them in finding work. Political prisoners and likewise their families are forbidden to accept money from their friends and relations. Whoever gives or receives help is inexorably condemned. Fascism tries to starve and to an-

nihilate—morally and physically—not only its enemies, but also whoever is connected with them by bonds of relationship or friendship.

The protest of hundreds and hundreds of anti-fascists suffering inhuman treatments is rising from fascist Italy, from the accursed islands of Ponza and Ventotene, from the dungeons where they suffer and where they die. Dozens of intellectuals of high standing have recently been arrested in Turin, Milan, Padua and Venice. Scholars, journalists and university professors have been imprisoned not only for revolutionary or anti-Fascist activity, but simply because they did not think along fascist lines. Not only is liberty of speech denied and oppressed, but even the expression of opinion in private is forbidden. People whose names are well known throughout the whole world are to be found among the arrested: Professor Carrara, Paola Lombroso, the woman writer, Barbara Allason, the son of Senator Einaudi, the classical scholar Augusto Monti, the professor of philosophy Geymonat, Professor Cesare Pavese, Professor Franco Antonicelli, Massimo Mila, Giulio Muglia, Piera Luzzatti, Carlo Foa, Carlo Levi and many others renowned for their talents and intellect.

Long sentences have been imposed on 500 anti-fascists recalled from deportation on the islands of Ponza and Ventotene. In the past four months, a total of 1,210 years of imprisonment has been imposed by the Special Tribunal. Such is the balance-sheet at the beginning of Italy's subjugation of Ethiopia. Our duty is to expose these facts to the whole world and arouse protest against such atrocities.

## FASCIST PARADE

**A** REPORT listing the names of 352 men allegedly killed in Germany for political reasons since January 1934, was issued by the Anti-Nazi Federation. The list gives the dates and circumstances of the deaths of the victims, many of whom were reported killed "while trying to escape." An analysis of the list shows that 46 were Communists, and that nearly 200 had no indicated party affiliations.

**T**HE IMAGINATIVE picture of the next war, with fleets of robot airplanes without pilots dropping explosives and poison gas over the world's largest cities, seems nearer realization. The British Air Ministry announces success in the development of robot planes controlled by radio, effective for 10 miles. Engineers in every great power are working toward the development of such planes which can be controlled for greater distances. If successful they will revolutionize warfare as much as it was revolutionized by the naval torpedo from submarines in the last war.

### Twenty-two Workers Killed in Economic Struggles in First Half of 1935

The International Labor Defense reports twenty-two workers killed in strikes and other

struggles for economic betterment during the first six months of 1935. Of these, seventeen were white and five were Negroes, one of whom was lynched for his activities in organizing the share-croppers' union in Alabama. Of the twenty-two workers killed, thirteen were murdered during strikes, by National Guardsmen, thugs, and vigilantes. Two were killed in Gallup, N. M., and this was followed by a veritable reign of terror in which 600 were arrested, ten of whom are held on charges of murder, and by the kidnaping of Robert Minor and David Levinson.

In addition to these twenty-two killed in economic struggles, there have been six lynchings of Negroes in the past six months, four in Mississippi and two in Louisiana. One arose out of the struggle of Negroes for the right to organize, and others grew out of altercations with white men. Only one Negro was accused of "attacking a white woman." None of the lynchings have been prosecuted.

**N**ICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, president of Columbia University, did not enjoy a particularly "peaceful" trip when he attended a session of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace in Paris recently; he was bombarded with a series of telegrams and letters from noted European scientists, writers



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and labor leaders, protesting his approval of the firing of teachers and students at Columbia University Medical College, for their opposition to war and fascism. The American League Against War and Fascism has received a letter from Henri Barbusse reporting that Professors Langevin, Prenant, Wallon, Perrin (Nobel Peace Prize winner), and Professor Rivet, chairman of the Comité de Vigilance and the International Union of Intellectuals, had written Dr. Butler a sharp letter of protest; that Jean Painlevé and Professor Pelsener of Belgium had telegraphed their disapproval of such retaliation against anti-war teachers and students; and that delegations from various organizations, including the World United Front of Students, visited Dr. Butler in Paris—but he had fled, and they delivered their protest resolutions to his secretary.

**T**HE TEACHERS' Oath Bill which will require all American teachers in Massachusetts' public and private schools to pledge allegiance to State and national constitutions by October 1st, has been signed by Governor Curley.

The teachers' loyalty-oath bill and all other repressive legislation abridging civil liberties were defeated in the Illinois legislature. The investigation of the University of Chicago resulted in making druggist Walgreen ridiculous, and a suggestion that Robert Morss Lovett might retire—the investigators disapproved of his liberal views, his opposition to war and fascism, and his pro-labor stand. The American Federation of Teachers at their convention in Cleveland on August 25 will plan a campaign for academic freedom. The National Education Association at its annual convention at Denver denounced loyalty-oath bills and the firing of liberal and radical teachers, and opposed military training in schools.

Massachusetts is the seventh state to pass loyalty-oath bills this year. The others are Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, New Jersey, Texas and Vermont, making a total of 21 states which now have such laws on the statute books.

**A TELEGRAM TO YOU:**  
VOLUNTEER WORKERS NEEDED IN NATIONAL  
OFFICE OF FIGHT TO WORK ON MAGAZINE  
STOP URGENT STOP COME IN TOMORROW STOP  
RESEARCH WORKERS ALSO WANTED  
LISTON M OAK EDITOR



The American League Against War and Fascism appeals to all Americans who love justice, peace and freedom to rally to the defense of the independence of Ethiopia and in opposition to Italian imperialism, which is a threat, not only to Ethiopia, but to the peace of the world. Show your hatred for war and fascism on August 3. Organize united front demonstrations against war and in defense of Ethiopia. Write to the Italian Ambassador at Washington protesting fascist terror against Italian opponents of war; demand that Italy stay out of Ethiopia.

*Ethiopian artillery in action at the battle of Adowa, where the Italian invaders were decisively defeated in 1896.*

## Italian Imperialist Brigandage in Ethiopia

By LOUIS PERIGAUD

*Member of the World Committee Against War and Fascism*

**I**TALIAN IMPERIALISM follows its inexorable destiny. It seeks in foreign conquest for a solution, which it cannot find within its own country, for the crisis which is undermining all the capitalist régimes on the globe. Fascism pretends to be able to exorcise the specter of unemployment, poverty, financial and economic crisis. But it has failed completely to solve these problems, and hence is driven to war as a way out.

It is not only our hatred of fascist tyranny which has made us predict that it would lead to ruin and war. A scientific study of the facts proves that this conclusion is inescapable. Fascism has long been struggling with political, financial and economic difficulties which threaten its very existence. Only drastic measures have enabled the fascists to create a false impression of relative stability. Their desperate measures to stop the fall of the lira, including prohibition of imports, of needed raw materials, were ineffectual. Il Duce proclaimed that it was necessary to become accustomed to a lower standard of living—a confession of defeat and impotence in the face of the inexorable process. The tremendous expenses of preparations for war against Ethiopia are absorbing whatever gold remains in this unfortunate country. From July, 1934 to June, 1935, Italy spent 845 million lire, 525 million in May, 1935 alone. These figures have a tragic and indisputable eloquence.

The disastrous economic situation has given rise to political difficulties. The Italian workers and peasants have protested against the lowering of their already miserable standard of living, against war plans which necessitate still greater sacrifices. In order to silence the mounting protests, a new wave of terror has swept Italy.

Even within the fascist General Staff, new appetites for power are manifest; the fascists' quarrel among themselves portends the fall of Il Duce. Mussolini's popularity is waning and fissures are appearing within the

structure of his régime. Machiavelli and Borgia appear upon the scene—from Spirito to Balbo, rivalries are uncovered. The upper nobility fears that the African adventure will prove Mussolini's Waterloo, and end the fascist régime.

War, like patriotism, is the last resort of scoundrels—and of Caesars embroiled in internal difficulties. It is the means by which Mussolini hopes to solve economic and political problems and restore his prestige.

But Europe is no longer an easy battlefield for dictators in need of regeneration. Imperialist contradictions are too sharp, rivalries too keen to permit enduring friendships and alliances between capitalist nations. It is necessary to bargain for, to pay for the support of this or that country.

Imperialist interests converge and diverge rapidly. Pledges, treaties, the honor of nations, are trampled upon.

In 1906, France, Britain and Italy guaranteed the independence of Ethiopia, but that country owes her independence, not to the honor or magnanimity of nations, but to the isolation and geography of its land, permitting the Ethiopians to resist invasion.

"Italy," says Mussolini, "has furnished enough workers to other countries. All of Africa, except Ethiopia is in the hands of the French and the English. We are faced today with the supreme necessity of creating an empire." To this we answer, "We are faced with the necessity of destroying all empires and imperialism, and we will prevent you from establishing a new one."

England, fearing that its possessions in the Sudan and Egypt are menaced, proposes compromise. Without consulting the inhabitants, Britain would divide up territory and humans like herds of cattle. France opposes the British solutions as contrary to her own interests. But both France and Britain are playing their parts in the delivery of Ethiopia to Italian fascism.

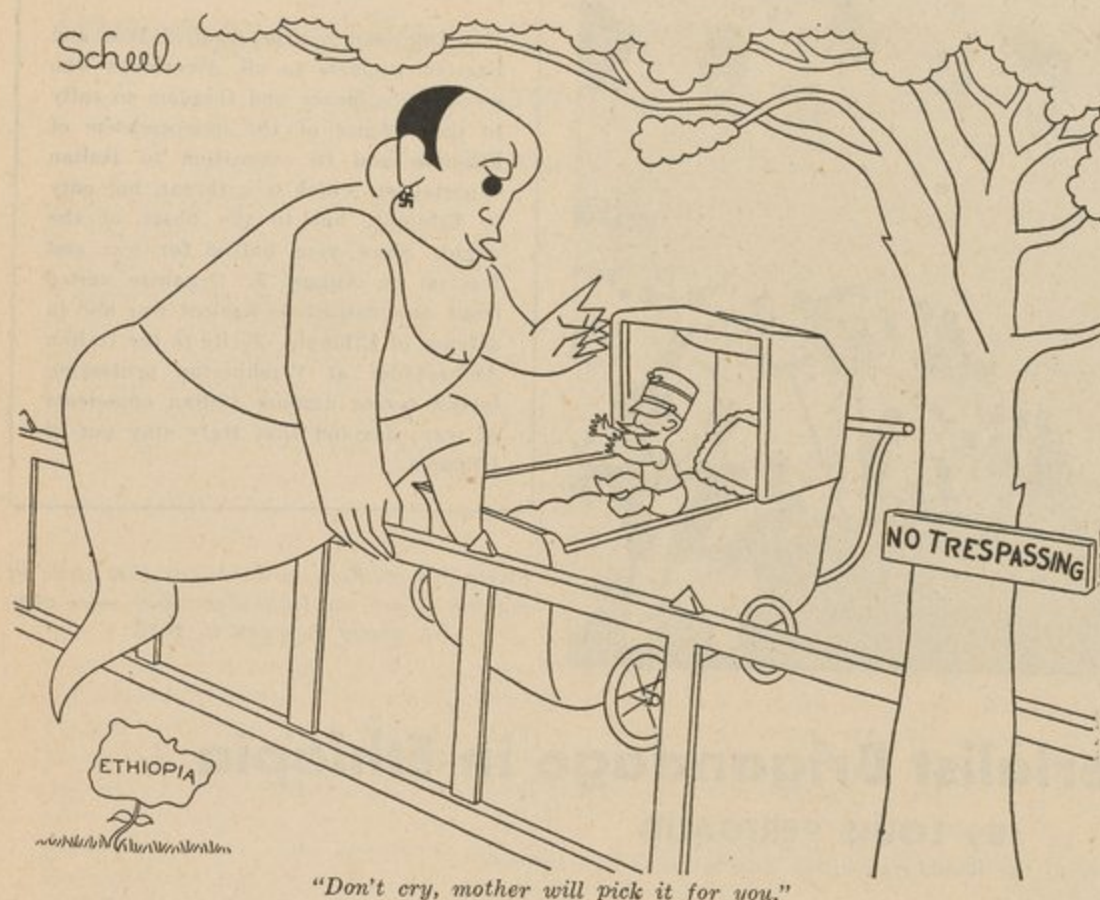
While rival powers negotiate, Italian troop ships steam through the Suez Canal. Between 300,000 and 400,000 men are on a war footing in Italian Somaliland and Eritrea, with over 200 airplanes. The Italian General Staff knows that half a million well-equipped soldiers will be needed to overcome the heroic resistance of 500,000 Ethiopians who will wage devastating guerrilla warfare on their mountainous plateau.

The Pope supports the propagation of "Christian civilization" among "backward barbaric blacks." He cites alleged persecutions of Catholic missionaries to justify "pacification" by fascist hands. France aids Italy by the granting of a loan of a billion francs as gold coverage by the Bank of France. There is no money in France, the bankers say, for the unemployed, but one billion is found for war. Britain, moving toward an alliance with Nazi Germany, seeks to dominate in the welter of diplomatic intrigue, threats of blackmail, maneuvering for the balance of power.

In Africa, as in Asia, the League of Nations reveals its impotence. Its commission of investigation was dealt a humiliating blow by Mussolini.

We do not desire to protect the throne of the Ethiopian emperor, representative of a surviving feudal caste which oppresses a peaceful and hard-working people, but we must save the Ethiopian, Italian, and doubtless the French and English workers, from slaughter in defense of imperialist interests. In the face of this terrifying spectacle of a powerful European nation attacking a peaceful people, those who love peace and freedom and humanity, must be aroused to action in defense of Ethiopia.

*Demand that all Italian troops be recalled from Africa. Send protests to Italian Consulates. Let the Italian fascists know that the vast majority of the world's peoples want peace and are opposed to imperialist brigandage against Ethiopia.*



"Don't cry, mother will pick it for you."

## The Rape of Ethiopia

By WILLIAM LLOYD IMES

Pastor, St. James Church, Harlem, New York City

**N**O EARNEST living man or woman can be unaffected by the distressing news that has come out of Europe and Africa this summer of 1935, that one of the greatest poseurs and swashbucklers of all times, imagining himself to be the spiritual, if not the lineal descendant of the Caesars, has done the wonderfully brave thing of declaring war against a little nation with about one-tenth the population of his own! Even the old pagan gods must give a horse laugh!

But, in a more serious vein, it is no laughing matter, for it means not only the ruin of Emperor Haile Selassie and his people, but probably indicates the beginning of a conflict more bloody and terrible than any the world has ever known. If Sarajevo served as the tinder-spark that started the conflagration of 1914, it might not be far from the truth to prophesy that this madness of Mussolini and his Black Shirts will certainly spread death and ruin far and wide, and that the real losers will be not merely a vanquished state, despoiled of its man power and of its commerce, but also the masses of all peoples, innocent workers and toilers in all countries, first in Europe and Africa, and then in all other parts of the world. No nation liveth to itself, and no nation dieth to itself.

The roots of modern wars, as brilliantly pointed out by Burghardt Dubois nearly a generation ago, have had their extension deep into the soil of Africa. This is because Africa is the weakest of all continents, and is the game preserve of the so-called civilized world. It is the "happy hunting ground" for the modern "braves," and no European power, no, nor America herself, for all her pious pretense

to international probity, can rightfully claim exemption from grave responsibility and culpability in this frightful and criminal procedure. Because Africa is rich in natural resources, and because modern industrial nations must have these raw products for their factories, the rule of plunder and exploitation has been the only standard which the stronger nations have used.

### Ethiopia Appeals for Aid

Who could read the straightforward appeal for justice in the Ethiopian Emperor's note to the United States without emotion? For sheer knowledge of the exact purposes of Italy under fascist rule, and for understanding of what the rôle of a nation that signed the Kellogg-Briand pact should be, this document must win the respect of all people who have any desire for justice and fair play. Yet how cleverly and selfishly our Secretary of State hides behind technical reasons, namely, that Abyssinia is a member of the League of Nations, and so is Italy, *ergo*, we cannot interfere!

The people of the world who really hate war and exploitation know that far more than this lies behind our State Department's refusal to act. Any nation that will receive Italian fascists with honors in both public and private institutions, and will endeavor to compel students in our schools to give them and their system the honor of recognition, will not be apt to rebuke that nation when it rattles its sword, nor to call a halt to its insane desire to annihilate a little country without reason and without mercy. The very fact that the League of Nations, weak as it undoubtedly is,

(and probably never so weak as now when Great Britain and France, its strongest members, are at odds over the German re-arming program) was willing and ready to appoint a commission to settle the differences between Italy and Ethiopia, and to report before the end of August, 1935, shows that the problems were considered by more thoughtful minds in Europe to be entirely soluble without recourse to war. As this goes to press, the commission has collapsed because the Italians refused to listen to proof that the trouble at Ualual was the fault of Italian troops on Ethiopian soil.

### Slavery—Black and White

One of the alleged excuses of Great Britain for not bringing its powerful pressure to bear on restraining Italy, has been the old and moot question of slavery in Ethiopia. Most well-informed people now know that Ethiopia does not officially countenance slavery, and that this evil practice is being put down progressively, and that even at its worst, it could not compare with those forms of slavery which in the last century disgraced both Great Britain and America. For that matter, these two proud English-speaking countries are hypocritical even today when they talk of slavery, for what slaves are worse off, anywhere, anytime, than the black peons of American Southern cotton plantations, or the miserable wage-slaves of English mines and factories? Match their civilized slavery if you can with the very worst that so-called semi-civilized people can offer.

We note with approval that American churches are helping through the clergy, and trying to break down denominational barriers in order to effect a united appeal to the conscience of this nation to do its full share of protest. The date of Sunday, August 18, according to the Committee for Ethiopia, has been agreed upon by such groups as Episcopalian, Congregational, Disciples, Baptist, Evangelical, Friends, Moravian, Presbyterian, Methodist, United Lutheran, Jewish, Russian and Greek Orthodox churches, for a united "prayer and protest" (note the two-fold emphasis) to make the public at large conscious of the great wrong that is being perpetrated against Ethiopia, which is accounted the "oldest Christian nation in the world."

Be that as it may, whether oldest or youngest, this is at least a hopeful gesture of the Church. Too often has religion been content to give aid and comfort to the exploitation of the weak by mere silence in the face of proved injustice and aggression. The League Against War and Fascism earnestly appeals to the entire Church, those named in this enterprise and others who are conspicuous by their absence, that this matter be one of the very first for their consideration. If Italy can do this monstrous thing, then no one, large or small, is safe from fascist terror. *What may come to Ethiopia now, may come to many another nation sooner than we think. Americans of African descent should stand as a unit in their defiance of this fascist malice and threat. Americans of every descent should unite with them for their own freedom, which also hangs in the balance; for fascism is nationalism gone mad, and is the arch-enemy of an ordered and progressive world.*

# Save Ethiopia from Fascist Butchery

By F. A. COWAN

President of the Pioneers of Ethiopia

THE BANNER of the Pioneers of Ethiopia is proudly borne today by millions of white and black men and women. We welcome the support of, and pledge our co-operation, with, the American League Against War and Fascism. In our great task of defending the people of Ethiopia against the aggression of the Italian fascists we need all the help we can get. In vain have we searched for the whole-hearted, enthusiastic co-operation of similar groups.

The platform of the Pioneers is peace, the promotion of a spirit of good-will and co-operation between the races of mankind, the encouragement of a practical fraternal fellowship among the peoples of Ethiopia wherever they may be found, and the development of opportunities for educational, scientific, and economic advancement for Ethiopians.

From the time of Neanderthal man, history proves that racial, national and social development results from cooperation between races. American history shows the truth of this.

The Pioneers of Ethiopia remember the service rendered by the white pioneers of American freedom who gave freely of their time, money and even their lives in the heroic campaign against chattel slavery, in rescuing blacks through the "underground railway," and in fighting for the rights of blacks. This great revolutionary American tradition is kept alive today by those whites who are fighting for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys and Herndon, and all the other Negroes persecuted and harassed; and by those who are demanding an end to the horrible atrocity of lynching.

People of African descent have contributed greatly to the development of the United States in every field. Today they ask for friendship and cooperation on behalf of their brothers in Africa who are threatened by an imperialist nation bent on conquest and slaughter. We know that we can count on help from white friends of Ethiopia.

For centuries European imperialism has sucked the life-blood from African veins; the continent has been carved up for the benefit of British, French and other capitalists greedy for profits. Now these imperialists would turn Ethiopia over to one of the worst of the European butchers—the fascist Mussolini who has inflicted such suffering upon the Italian people themselves.

Ethiopia possesses valuable deposits of iron, coal, gold, sulphur, copper, platinum and oil, which are coveted by Italian imperialists who need these resources for their war machine. In addition, Italy's two African colonies, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, are separated by Ethiopian territory. Italy wants to build a railroad between these colonies and own the adjacent land.

But we believe that Ethiopia should be developed for the benefit and welfare of the people there, and not to enrich Italian capitalists. Ethiopia, too, has national pride and will not be subjected to slavery under the heel of a Fascist dictator. Those who think

Ethiopia, thou land of our fathers,  
Thou land where the gods loved to be,  
Like the swift bee to hive sudden gathers  
Thy children come rushing to thee.  
From oppression that long linger'd o'er us,  
From hatred and many a wrong,  
With our God and our future before us  
March we with the Anti-war throng.

that Italy will win an easy victory are mistaken. Ethiopians are prepared to defend their homeland, and Italian invasion would mean a long-drawn-out war, with the danger of other European nations being involved. If Germany seized the opportunity to move into Austria and displace the Italians there, a world war would almost surely result. Therefore everyone opposed to war must oppose this threat to world peace. It is the concern,

not only of the people of Italy and Ethiopia, but of the entire world.

We appeal to the American people to demand that the Red Cross give its services to the wounded among Ethiopians defending their country in case of war. It is seeking an excuse to refuse to minister to Ethiopian soldiers when the war starts. We are forced to organize our own Red Cross unit, and need financial aid for doctors, nurses and medical supplies.

The race of Toussaint L'Ouverture lifts its voice in appeal to Americans of all races to assert their opposition to Mussolini's war plans. We know that millions will respond who realize the injustice of what Mussolini would perpetrate upon the last independent African nation, and who realize that Italy is threatening, not alone Ethiopia, but the peace of the entire world.

Ethiopia does not seem to appreciate the "benefits of fascist civilization" promised by Mussolini, who charges the Ethiopians with "deliberate hostility toward Italy." "Abyssinia will not cooperate with Italy in a civilized manner," he declares to departing troops, demanding that Ethiopia "end her aggressiveness and recognize our rights."



# Munitions, Monopoly, Imperialism and War

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

*This sensational article by a noted revolutionary journalist and labor leader gives the Communist answer to the questions: Can the profits be taken out of war? Would nationalization of the munitions industry stop war? Is the worker a less important part of the industrial machine, as Stuart Chase and the technocrats contend? Is war inevitable? The view point of liberals, pacifists and radicals of other political affiliations has been presented in preceding issues and will again be given in future issues, in accordance with the united front character of FIGHT and of the American League Against War and Fascism.*

THE ORDINARY service cartridge used by the army contains brass, sulphur, chloride of potash and antimony sulphide, smokeless powder, cotton, a bullet with a cupro-nickel jacket and a lead core, according to a government report. The production of this single object involves the mobilization of practically the entire chemical and metal resources of a country, and also the services of technicians and labor. To produce not only cartridges but all of the needs of an army, the whole of industry must be made part of the war machine. Because of this fact, and because of the highly mechanized character of modern industry and modern warfare, the working class becomes not less but more important than ever before in the production of the supplies without which war cannot be waged. Therefore the ability of workers to prevent the outbreak of war, or to stop it afterward, is greater than it was even in the last war. If the working class is organized, conscious of its power, and determined that there shall be no more war, it is in a strategic position to paralyze the attempts of the imperialists to make labor part of the machinery of wholesale destruction.

## Vast Needs of Modern Army

Outside of the general staff of the American army, some experts and engineers, few people have any adequate idea of the tremendous technical and industrial requirements for achieving the greatest feat in the history of the world—that of mobilizing four to five million men in 1917-18, equipping and feeding them, transporting about two million of them across three thousand miles of ocean, landing them in a foreign country, and putting them into the trenches. From the purely technical standpoint this was an achievement of organization without parallel in human history.

It was made possible only by the fact that the basic industries of American capitalism were mobilized for imperialist war—mobilized to defend the interests of the ruling class, mobilized for slaughter and destruction.

Supplies for an army are listed under the laconic term "ordnance"; but this refers not only to munitions, but covers everything that enables an army to move, live and fight. The listed requirements of the Quartermaster-General of the United States Army included about 120,000 separate articles. In 1918 more than 7,500 factories in the United States were engaged in producing this vast assortment of items. The minimum cost of these supplies was

around \$12,500,000,000. Experts calculate this would have paid the cost of a Panama Canal every thirty days.

The government purchased for the army 8,000,000,000 square yards of cotton cloth—enough if laid out in a strip one yard wide to accommodate fifty-five worlds the size of the one we live on. Cotton is as necessary to the waging of war as steel; it has innumerable uses and there is no substitute for it. Any country which does not possess a stable source of cotton is seriously handicapped in waging a modern war.

The iron and steel industry is the basic industry of capitalism, necessary if a people is to reach beyond the level of a primitive agricultural economy. No nation can hope to



wage successful war unless its military and naval operations are based on a well organized iron and steel industry. The United States has within its borders the most highly developed iron and steel industry in the world, together with the natural resources for supplying the necessary raw materials. One of the most amazing attainments of modern industry was the uninterrupted production by this industry during the war of an incredible amount of military necessities.

A greater tonnage of projectiles was fired in one month on the Western front during the World War than had been fired in all the other wars recorded in history. The enormous amounts of iron and steel needed in modern warfare reach astronomical figures. There never was enough of the hard, high-grade steel necessary to fulfill requirements in artillery, projectiles, etc., and also for the special machines and equipment for machines making artillery, machine guns, rifles and other weapons.

The average life of these weapons is brief. After a few days or weeks rifles and big guns have to be repaired, discarded or replaced. It took ten months to construct a 14-inch gun which could fire not more than 150 rounds without repair.

The French General Staff could have ended the World War in six months if they had organized an offensive through the Briey Basin, the iron and coal district from which Germany got its supply of the high grade steel and iron used to kill Frenchmen. These iron and coal mines and steel plants are owned jointly by French and German capitalists. High French army officers were demoted for merely proposing an offensive through the Briey Basin. ("Where Iron Is, There Is the Fatherland"—by C. K. Streit, Geneva correspondent for *N. Y. Times*). Not alone the munitions makers but the iron and steel magnates, too, operate on an international basis, for profit and not for patriotism. In spite of internal contradictions and double-crossing, capitalists will not destroy the source of profits for mere love of country.

While the United States was taking part in the World War, over 21,000 steel and metal workers were employed in the construction of big guns alone. An equal number were employed in making gun carriages and the precision instruments for fire control. This simple fact illustrates the enormous demands made upon the iron and steel industry by war. In the Civil War the Union gunners fired an average of only four rounds of ammunition per gun daily. The average daily expenditure per gun in the World War was 30 rounds for the American forces.

Facts could be piled high proving the enormous demands made upon the iron and steel industry in time of war, but it is clear from these few citations that the successful prosecution of war requires a complete mobilization of this industry and of the workers it employs. It is evident that it is of basic importance to organize the iron and steel workers, and draw them into the anti-war movement.

## Mobilizing Industry and Labor for War

What is true of this industry is true of others. The expenditures involved in building new structures during the World War was greater than the total of all construction in 150 of the largest American cities in any year previous to the war. The building of huge army training camps, cantonments, housing for workers, terminal docks, warehouses, storage depots, powder plants, railroads, arsenals, chemical plants, roads—all this made unprecedented demands upon industry.

The army had to be supplied with vast quantities of food, clothing, medical supplies, tooth brushes, razors, and a host of other items. The transportation of these supplies was almost equally important with that of their manufacture, straining the railroads to the breaking point. In addition, if the war had continued into 1919, it is estimated that the American army would have needed 185,000 trucks, 30,000 motor ambulances, 40,000 passenger cars and 70,000 motorcycles. During the final months of the war the American ambulances alone needed 200,000 barrels of gasoline monthly.

In the nineteen months of America's parti-

icipation in the war, 633,000,000 pounds of smokeless powder were produced; and 375,000,000 pounds of high explosives. The du Pont firm, members of an international gang of wholesale murderers for profit, reaped a rich harvest in this field.

Phosgene gas, cheap and extremely poisonous, was made in enormous quantities. By the time the Armistice was signed the Edgewood plant alone produced 20 tons of phosgene daily, as well as 31 tons of chloropicrin, and 30 tons of mustard gas, which caused such unendurable suffering. During the World War the United States shipped to Europe 3,600,000 tons of various poison gases. Here again, as in the iron and steel industry, to achieve this miracle of modern industrial production it was necessary to mobilize natural resources, technicians, and labor in the chemical industry, for purposes of mass murder for profit.

Another example of the pressure put upon industrial resources and chemists is shown in the production of helium gas. In 1916 the entire world produced only 100 cubic feet at an average cost of \$1,700 per cubic foot. When the Armistice was signed the United States Ordnance Department, as a result of the pressure put on chemists and research experts in this field, had ready for shipment an average of 50,000 cubic feet of helium per day.

During the war 180,000,000 feet of spruce, fir and cedar for use in airplanes were cut and delivered, at great profit to the railroads owning lumber in the Northwest. But in spite of the fantastic expenditures—some estimates are as high as \$1,200,000,000—only 240 planes were shipped to France. The airplane industry reeked with corruption. Rickenbacker described these planes as "flaming coffins."

### Profits Before Patriotism

More than 10,000,000 yards of a substitute for linen for airplanes were delivered. Other incidental items for the Ordnance included 3,000,000 square yards of burlap per month; 21,000 tons of barbed wire; 200,000 compasses; 1,250,000 trench knives; 500,000,000 pieces of small hardware; 1,200,000 axes; 75,000 steel measuring tapes; 250,000 storage batteries for radio equipment; \$500,000,000 worth of wool; 750,000,000 feet of moving picture film; 68,000 miles of wire per month for the signal corps. These miscellaneous items show clearly the utter impossibility of separating the "munitions industry" from the basic industries of monopoly capitalism. Every basic industry can be considered as a munitions industry.

The aluminum trust divides honors with the iron and steel industry in "serving" the army's needs in the World War—at enormous profit to the Mellon family who own one of the greatest monopolies in the world. The production of the American aluminum monopoly during the last war was far greater than that in all other nations combined; aluminum was required for use in airplanes, guns, gas masks, dies, and dozens of other products.

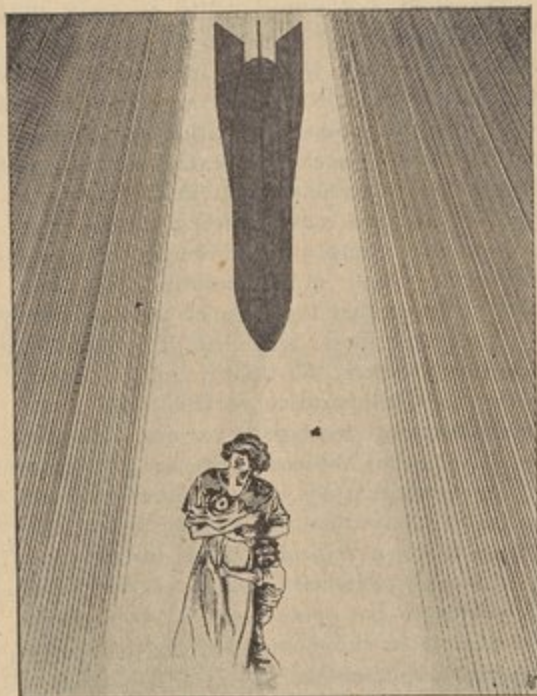
In 1919 alone the United States Navy required 10,500,000 barrels of oil. An uninterrupted supply of petroleum is essential to effective conduct of war, hence the reserves set aside for the use of the navy—reserves which are being drained by slant drilling today on the Pacific Coast by the Standard Oil Com-

pany, as the oil in the Teapot Dome was stolen by the Sinclair interests. Profits take precedence over patriotism.

Under war conditions even materials like cement and crushed rock, seemingly least warlike in nature, become ordnance supplies of first importance. During 1917-18 the shipping of cement and crushed rock was second in importance only to the transport of troops and ammunition.

Other resources indispensable to warfare are copper, zinc, lead, tin, of which, with the exception of tin, the United States has vast resources, and rubber, acquired by exploitation of the resources and native labor of Liberia.

It is axiomatic that a nation must be either self-sufficient in the production, or the importation and storage, of adequate supplies of all these war materials and others. It is because they need coal or iron or oil or some other raw material that Japan, Italy and Germany



are now engaged in a scramble for colonial possessions as well as markets. South America, Asia, Africa, were carved up by Great Britain, the United States, France and other rival imperialist powers in order to secure such raw materials; nations coming late into this division of spoils are clamoring for a re-division. Japan and Italy both justify their aggression in Asia and Africa by pointing to the fact that they are only following the example of their competitors. Mussolini's demagoguery about "bringing the benefits of civilization to backward, barbaric Ethiopia" is reminiscent of Hearst's demand that the United States "civilize Mexico." American imperialism has played the same game in Cuba, the Philippines, and South America, and Britain in India and Africa, that Japan is playing in Asia and Italy in Ethiopia—and for the same reasons. Monopoly capitalism, demanding constantly expanding markets and supplies of raw materials, especially war materials, inexorably drives toward economic and political conflict which finds its logical expression in military conflict.

But such a war is not inevitable. This brief outline of a few of the requirements of a country at war is based on data contained in government reports in the archives at Wash-

ington, where are embalmed many facts dealing with the organization of war that are important to the working class and all who are opposed to war. This information is essential to a successful campaign to stop war. The worker must know how the militarists plan to mobilize industry for war in order to know how to cripple their war plans.

### All Capitalist Industry Profits from War

Back of the Nye investigation and the bills introduced in Congress to "take the profits out of war" is the plan of American imperialists to establish more unified control over all industry for the purpose of perfecting the war machinery. To accomplish this it may be necessary for the government to take over directly certain war industries, as the railroads were taken over during the last war. But the munitions industry is an integral, inseparable part of the whole production machinery of monopoly capitalism. It cannot be isolated as something apart from the profit system, and its evils eliminated without revolutionary social change. Every capitalist industry shares the guilt of the armaments industry in fomenting war and profiting from it.

It is clear that the workers occupy a more decisive position in the technical organization of war than ever before. If the imperialists can be prevented from mobilizing all resources and labor into the war machine, the oncoming war can be prevented. The war plans of the Roosevelt Administration call for "conscription of capital and labor"; but the joker is that capital still runs the country, and in the interests of the ruling class. Mass murder for profit can be stopped only by the resistance of the working class.

All talk of "regulating" industry in wartime, of "taking the profits out of war," only serves to confuse the issue, and to conceal the fact that the production apparatus of capitalism as a whole is organized for war. Profits cannot be taken out of war until the entire industrial system is socialized and the working class seizes political power—and then imperialist wars will cease.

Millions of workers who supported the last war are now disillusioned. They know that their interest is in fighting for the right to work and live, not in fighting in defense of the predatory interests of Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, duPont and the rest of the little clique of multi-millionaires who rule American society and who will permit nothing to interfere with their profits in peace or in war.

The gigantic requirements of a modern army place in the hands of the workers the power to paralyze the war machine. But if the working class waits for war to break out before it organizes and acts, it will exact a terrible toll from its own ranks before the war makers and their system are overthrown. The time to fight imperialist war is all the time.

The millions of workers needed to produce and transport the ordnance requirements of the military forces in the last war, could have stopped the slaughter in 1917. This they did not do because of corrupted leaders—and the working class of the entire world paid the most fearful penalty in the history of man.

*We can and must stop the next war!*

# Defend Academic Freedom!

By JAMES M. SHIELDS

*The author was Supervising Principal of Schools at Winston-Salem, N. C., for thirteen years. He was dismissed because his book, JUST PLAIN LARNIN', raised hell about control of schools by reactionary industrialists in the South, and because he favors a union of teachers and takes a liberal, pro-labor position on social problems.*

**T**HE FUNCTION OF FASCISM is to perpetuate class domination and exploitation by the forced arrest of social and economic progress. Its procedure consists initially of three movements directed respectively toward (1) suppression of the class struggle by methods of violence, including denial of free speech and the right to strike; (2) restriction of all production and public service to fixed limits suitable to monopolist capital; (3) development of a national isolationist policy curtailing international trade and involving increased friction with other nations. Its methods are forced regimentation and open violence. Its philosophy is an overpowering pessimism. Its inevitable result is social decay, war and self-destruction.

The first stage of fascism appears as an elaborately bureaucratic and non-progressive state capitalism which regiments industry by stabilizing competition, expansion, accumulation and production within limits determined by the maximum profits possible to the governing class, which fixes wages, hours and living standards of workers at new low levels; which discourages science, invention and education except for military purposes; and which destroys independent labor organizations by violent and forcible suppression of all civil liberties.

Are we now in or approaching such a stage of development? Are our American schools already in the grip of advancing fascist forces? Is education being needlessly curtailed, utilized for military purposes, its personnel regimented into fearful conformity to the will of the dominant class? Affirmative answers to these vital test questions are all about us.

The concerted move to reduce the services of schools is in the identical direction taken by countries where Fascism is ripe—and rotten. Between 1930 and 1934 total expenditures for education (according to official figures of the N.E.A.) dropped over 300 per cent. The Federal government alone in the past year dropped its expenditures for education by nearly 20 per cent, while it increased grants for national defense by nearly 23 per cent. Throughout the nation funds have been curtailed, terms shortened and special services discontinued. In some states large numbers of rural schools have failed to open at all. Teachers' salaries, never proportionate to the value of the services rendered, have been cut again and again, have been delayed, even withheld altogether. Millions of children supposed to be in school are not there. School rooms are overcrowded, and ill equipped. Courses have been dropped; tuition fees have been established. Almost without exception the cause of public education has met with devastating reverses on every front. Such protests as have been made have lacked the militant mass strength necessary for effectiveness.

It is, however, in the realm of the actual teaching, the personal and professional rights

and duties of teachers effectively to teach the facts and processes necessary for social progress, that incipient fascism has gone farthest. Herein lies the crux of education, that on which hangs the fate of society: the exercise of the right of the teacher to speak and to act in such manner as will best develop the thought and action of learners toward individual and social progress. Give this right full sway and encouragement and progress must result; curb it and decay sets in.

## Who Controls "Our" Schools?

The right and responsibility to teach the facts of social and economic relationships as they exist today is being increasingly and violently denied. Not that there has developed any pronounced inclination on the part of the mass of teachers to exercise such professional and personal right and responsibility. Isolated and conservative, teachers as an occupational group are notoriously timid and quiescent. Until quite recently there was little evidence that the mass of teachers were in any real sense aware of the issue of academic freedom. So tightly and so cleverly have the administrative controls been maintained that most teachers never even dreamed, as did some of the early French Revolution philosophers, that the aim of education is not to instill admiration for existing institutions but to create a critical attitude toward them so that each generation may not be compelled to submit to the opinion of its predecessors, but that it be enlightened sufficiently to govern itself by reason.

Teachers and administrators generally fail to question the right of outside pressure groups such as Chambers of Commerce, the American Legion, patriotic organizations and wealthy alumnae to interfere in the curricula and programs of public schools. It was assumed that "the public" should determine what its school should teach—but no intelligent, courageous effort was made to distinguish "the public" from these selfish pressure groups each with an axe to grind.

As to its internal staff organization, the school system matches the army itself in the absolutism of its controls through superintendents, principals, supervisors and even top sergeant heads of departments. The teacher simply obeys orders or gets out—and most of them prefer to obey orders.

But with the terrific squeezing of the teachers' pocketbooks, with curtailment of jobs and services, the spread of unemployment, and the heightening of the national economic crisis generally, here and there individuals and groups in the profession have waked up. They have learned that academic freedom is not a dead issue; that a class struggle is actually going on and that they are definitely a part of it. They have perceived that Boards of Education as constituted, represent class control of school poli-

cies and personnel, that this class control is in the interest of powerful industrial and financial exploiters; they have found that schools and teachers are being used surreptitiously and openly to foster and perpetuate interests and attitudes satisfactory to these controlling exploiters. The braver, adventuring souls have then proceeded to include in their teachings presentation of obvious facts and principles of a very different sort from those demanded by the lords of their respective communities. Some of them have even had the effrontery to shout aloud their findings and their teachings. Whereupon the controls have been jerked tighter, the offenders expelled and blacklisted. For "education must be kept clear of subversive propaganda, of foreign agitators!" And so we have had and are having increasing epidemics of anti-red campaigns, loyalty-oath laws for teachers and even for pupils, yellow dog contracts, a renewed emphasis on militaristic training in public schools, renewed patriotic demonstrations, and a general purging of the courses of study.

So much noise has been made over these disciplinary measures that for the first time large masses of teachers are rousing to a confused awareness of this intangible something known as academic freedom.

## "The Little Yellow Schoolhouse"

Even the National Education Association, that paragon of iron-clad bureaucracy, has been compelled to finally adopt resolutions condemning suppression of academic freedom. Those of us who have experience by this and similar bureaucratic educational organizations in the expert sabotaging of plans for actually fighting cases where academic freedom of teachers has been violated, know how to evaluate such half-hearted resolutions. Heywood Broun's epithet of "The Little Yellow Schoolhouse" characterizes the attitude shown by the official leaders of American education toward the advance of fascism. No hope can be expected from the powers that be. The rank and file of teachers will be betrayed by its superintendents and administrative officials in controversies with School Boards and powerful exploiting forces just as labor generally has been betrayed by reactionary leaders.

What can be done to avert this ominous advance of fascism in American schools? It cannot and will not be averted in time by any existing professional leadership machinery or



*A young victim of the brutality of Omaha strike-breakers, police, National Guardsmen & vigilantes*



by rank and file efforts on any scale now being attempted. The controls are too ably held by the same forces that are at work in society at large to retain by law and by force the *status quo*. And just as the hope of American society to avert the onrush of fascism lies solely in the development of a broader United Front by an aroused rank and file from farm, industry and office, so the hope of American schools lies with its rank and file teachers. Only through an awakened awareness of the acuteness of the situation, of the futility of further dependence on administrative protection, on their own cumulative might as an organized body 500,000 strong, affiliated in a United Front with other workers can they successfully combat the stranglehold of reaction on American education.

This is no time to take a defeatist attitude and accept repression without a struggle. We have seen what happened in Germany to the liberals who succumbed to Hitler without a protest because, as some liberals declared, "he was inevitable, and if given enough rope would hang himself." We face identically the same dangers. There may yet be time to develop sufficient mass momentum to avoid wholesale martyrdom.

## FASCIST PARADE

**N**EARLY one-third of the world's armament exports come from Great Britain. The League of Nations' Statistical Yearbook of the Trade in Arms and Munitions, 1934, gives the following percentage of the world total of armament exports from the main exporting countries:

	1928	1932
Great Britain .....	33.7	29.9
United States .....	18.1	8.7
France .....	14.7	27.7
Sweden .....	4.6	11.0
Czechoslovakia .....	3.6	4.2

Where do these exports of munitions from Britain go? The figures show that the past four years have seen a rapid rise in the proportion of armaments shipped to foreign, not British, countries, and especially to Japan. The value of exports from England to Japan increased from £98,200 in 1929 to £230,600 in 1932, and the growth has continued since. While the League of Nations and the British Government were protesting against Japan's violation of the Nine Power Treaty, British arms makers were shipping to Japanese militarists the weapons to carry out their imperialist designs.

Munitions shipments to the Chiang Kai-shek government of China increased from £16,700 in 1930 to £223,500 in 1933. These weapons were used to slaughter the Chinese people in Soviet areas.

Other countries receiving large shipments of British munitions were Bolivia, Paraguay, Poland and Spain. Although no figures are available on the value of exports of munitions to Germany, without Britain's aid the Nazis could never have rearmed with such speed.

According to figures originating in the Japanese Finance Department and reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian*, the percentages of funds for war preparations, out of various national budgets, is as follows:



A mural in a Terre Haute high school, painted by Gilbert Wilson, member of the League. The difficulties and dangers faced by American youth is the theme of the painting. The profit-motivated industrial system, dominated by reactionaries, denying opportunity to youth; the ruthless destruction in war for profit; the lack of intelligent social planning in this chaotic world; millions of jobless reaching for relief; the hypocrisy of patrioteers; the greed of munitions makers; the need for unity of young workers of all races; the possibility of abundance for all—these ideas are all symbolized by figures in the mural.



	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35
Japan .....	34.65	36.71	42.50	46.62
France .....	22.85	23.35	21.67	21.57
Italy .....	27.20	26.29	22.76	21.29
United States .....	19.54	18.68	18.66	18.14
Great Britain .....	11.72	11.03	13.01	13.57
Germany .....	6.44	8.22	11.32	13.85

**"H**ITLER seems to have achieved his most important immediate objective," says the *New Republic*, "by arriving at the naval agreement with Britain and splitting her from her former allies while he prepares for his future attempt at conquest on the Eastern frontier." England gives her sanction to Germany's again violating the Treaty of Versailles, thus antagonizing France and Italy, and adding to the dangerous tension in Europe.

**O**UT of 11,627,765 British voters who registered their opinions in a great peace referendum concluded recently, 10,470,489 voted for disarmament and nearly as many against manufacture of armaments for private profit, showing that the overwhelming majority of Englishmen are opposed to war.

### Nazis Safeguard Personal Fortunes

Hitler's publicly expressed belief that the Nazi Reich will last a thousand years does not seem to be shared by his associates. How little the Nazis themselves believe in the stability of the Hitler system is indicated by the fact that some of the leading Nazi officials are depositing their money with foreign, notably Dutch, banks in Germany, and making arrangements to transfer these funds abroad. Most of these fortunes have been gathered since 1933 by means of graft, robbery of public funds, and blackmail—according to the Trans-Atlantic Information Service.

### Vickers Limited Make a Gun

**T**HE armorers meet in their council hall—  
They are all for one and one for all,  
For money is money the world around,  
And profits are good wherever found  
For Vickers, Schneider, Creusot, Krupp—  
A hearty toast, boys,  
Fill them up!  
"We'll sell in Sweden, Denmark, Spain,  
And they can sell all over again  
To the Japs or the Huns, we don't care who  
May buy the stuff—we're neutral too.  
Good luck to Hotchkiss, duPont, Krupp,  
A hearty toast, boys,  
Drink it up!"

So Vickers Limited make a gun,  
And clap with glee for a job well done.  
It's nothing to them whom their wares may  
kill—  
A pound, or a mark, is a profit still.  
Oh, hail to Nordenfolt, Skoda, Krupp!  
Here's a hearty toast, boys,  
Bottoms up!  
Brave soldiers fight and women weep,  
But Vickers Limited lose no sleep;  
They sell to the Boer and they sell to the Hun,  
And the more they sell the greater the fun.  
Hurrah for Schneider, Hotchkiss, Krupp,  
A hearty toast, boys,  
Bottoms up!

On Flanders' field lie Englishmen.  
"Too bad," says Vickers, "alas, but then  
Think of our profits! All men must die.  
Our dividends grow and our shares are high.  
Thank God for duPont, Creusot, Krupp!  
A hearty toast, boys,  
Bottoms up!"

The British capture a hostile gun  
And take it home to a place in the sun.  
The boys and girls all come to see  
This sinister work of the enemy.  
Now let them sing to Vickers and Krupp:  
"A hearty toast, boys,  
Bottoms up!"

The cannon's snout is grim and cold,  
And one side bears a legend bold.  
It's: "Made by Vickers Limi-ted."  
But the other side lists the soldier dead  
Who drank to Vickers, Hotchkiss, Krupp,  
Though all unknowing,  
"Bottoms up!"  
—Madeleine Ruthven.

# Trade Unionism Under Fascism

By BEATRICE BILYIEU

*The author is active in the "Big Six," Typographical Union. She is a member of the National Bureau of the Women's Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism*

THE FINANCE capitalists and big industrialists who back fascism have exploited formerly radical workers as fascist leaders, to win popular support. But fascism is a movement owned and controlled by capitalists; and its function is to overcome every obstacle to reduction of wages to the lowest possible level, and to increase the employers' profits to the maximum. A fascist leader comes into power with the understanding that he must do three things:

1. Abolish trade unions;
2. Thwart the co-operative movement; and
3. Smash all political parties of the workers.

Trade unions are annihilated in order to put labor at the mercy of employers. The co-operatives, organized to produce for members at cost, are abolished in order to protect the large monopolies and their huge profits. The political parties of the working-class are smashed in the attempt to suppress opposition to capital's dictatorship, and to eliminate all the social services such as workmen's compensation, maximum-hour laws, social insurance, etc., which have taken workers years of hard labor to get on the statute books.

It is easy to tell of these concrete facts, but it is much more difficult to make you feel the sad spirit of the people who live in a fascist country. Never have I breathed such a sigh of relief as when it was time to leave Germany after my visit for one month there. It was the only country of the nine we visited where our baggage was minutely examined. No newspapers, magazines or books of any kind were allowed to be taken in, so careful are they that their people be kept in ignorance as to what is happening in Germany and in the outside world. The German press is completely controlled by the Nazi Government. No meeting is held without an emissary of the Government in attendance, part of a complete espionage system. There is no friendliness between friends or even between relatives. Every one is suspicious of everyone else, and all live in deadly fear of someone framing them by saying that they said something derogatory about the Nazi régime. No one ever knows when he may be thrown into jail for something he may or may not have said. One of the very saddest things in Germany is to meet people whose fathers or brothers are missing, who do not know what has become of them, and yet dare not ask for fear they may suffer the same treatment.

Women in a fascist country are shoved back into the Dark Ages. They are discharged from their positions, and told to go home and bear children for the battlefield. In Germany a woman without children, married or not, is considered unpatriotic and useless. Women are refused higher education, and are not allowed to hold professional positions. They are conscripted into forced labor service.

But the thing that hurt me most was the absence of union meetings. Think of it: Germany, once the most highly organized country



*Fascism leads to industrial stagnation, economic crisis, and the death of science.*

in the world, now without a trade union! Of course, for appearance's sake, they retain a skeleton organization, and issue a call to meet whenever the Government has some political purpose to serve, but this "labor" organization has no more value than a company union. Naturally, with the loss of the unions they have lost everything worth while. Wages have been cut to the very bone; shop conditions are terrible, with long hours; and unemployment is increasing. Real money wages fell one per cent between April, 1933, and September, 1934; while the cost of living rose 6 per cent.

Although profits have increased, workers dare not ask for more pay. It wrung my heart to meet a group of printers, my brothers in trade, and see how beggarly they and their families looked, although they were working long hours every week. The people's attitude is one of helplessness. They keep repeating: "If only we had foreseen, we would never have gotten into this mess!" But now their hands are tied. One wrong word or move—and they are among the "missing." They are even afraid to be seen talking to strangers. The workers gave up everything—freedom, trade unions, security, peace of mind—because they believed their sacrifice would build a greater country, which would give back to them a richer and nobler cultural heritage to pass on to their children. *They now know that they gave up everything to perpetuate the profits of the capitalists.*

In Italy the story is the same. Statistics show that for ten years Italy has suffered the same economic troubles as other countries. The people are as poor and insecure, as subject to unemployment and even more cruelly exploited than the rest of us, and more fearful of what is to come. From 1927 to 1934 there were four successive wage cuts in Italy, amounting to a reduction of 63 percent, while

the cost of living fell only 16 percent. Fascism has served only to lower the standard of living.

An analysis of the New Deal shows its similarity to the economics of German and Italian fascism. Like Hitler, Roosevelt made demagogic promises to the "forgotten man"; he pledged a more equitable distribution of wealth, and is still promising with his fake "tax the rich" program; he promised reduction of unemployment, and has boasted that this has been done; and he pledged to defend the rights of labor to organize and to bargain collectively.

The N.R.A. was finally stopped by the Supreme Court when it had outlived its usefulness to the Chamber of Commerce crowd, the big industrialists and bankers in whose interests it was conceived. According to the Labor Research Association, the N.R.A. produced the following results:

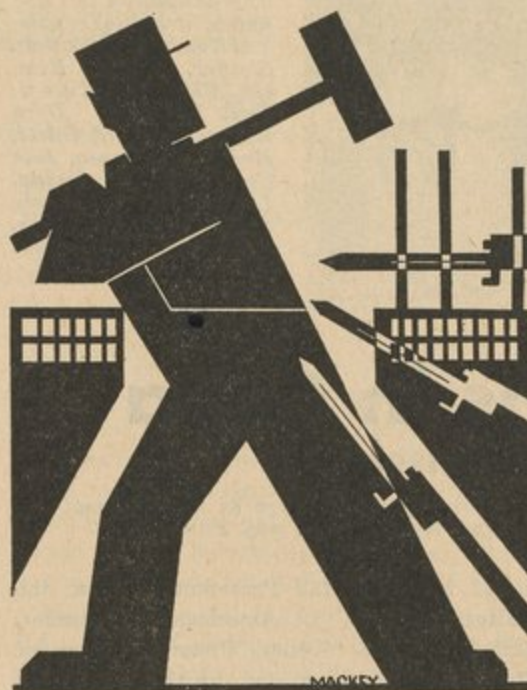
1. A Brookings Institute report shows that the "N.R.A. retarded recovery."
2. The N.R.A. minimum wages were far below the minimum established by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics as necessary for health and decency. Less than half of the employees in all industries received wage increases.
3. The increase of about 14 per cent in the cost of living was greater than the increase in wages, says the National Industrial Conference Board. The Labor Research Association estimates that real wages at the end of the N.R.A. were 5 per cent lower than at its beginning.
4. Full-time jobs were not increased as a whole. About 1,750,000 were put back on payrolls on the Hoover share-the-work plan.
5. Speed-up was accelerated.
6. While the N.R.A. did lessen child labor it did not abolish it, and the codes were violated wholesale.
7. Comparatively few sweatshops were abolished.
8. Section 7a was not enforced. Courts time and again upheld employers who violated this "protection of labor," ruling against trade unions and encouraging company unions.
9. The tendency was toward integrating the trade unions into the government apparatus (toward the corporate state) with A. F. of L. leaders cooperating with the government and employers to the extent of jeopardizing the interests and independence of the unions.
10. The codes strengthened trade associations and other employers' organizations much more than they strengthened trade unions.
11. Monopoly was further entrenched at the expense of the small business man.
12. Consumers' interests were not safeguarded.
13. Negroes suffered from greater unemployment and more discrimination than before the N.R.A.
14. Retail trade has declined according to figures of the United States Department of Commerce, although profits of big department and chain stores rose.
15. The N.R.A. had definite fascist trends. "It increased the power of employers over the public and its employees

by the undemocratic machinery of the codes," says Raymond Swing in "Fore-runners of American Fascism." Like fascism, the basic purpose of the N.R.A. was to maintain the profit system of capitalism or private ownership of the means of production; in this it succeeded, for it enabled big business to adjust itself and make profits even while the depression continues; 1934 dividends were 50 per cent above the 1926 level while total payrolls were 40 per cent below. Profits were increased. In 1934 the profits of the 1,292 largest corporations were 60 per cent higher than in 1933, and in the first months of 1935 profits of 306 corporations increased 29 per cent above last year, according to Standard Statistics Corporation. "The drift is toward compulsory arbitration," under which "there is no real collective bargaining," writes Swing. Finally, repression and the use of violence against workers increased under the N.R.A.

Since the decision of the Supreme Court against the N.R.A., there have been indications that the bankers and the industrialists will take the next step—toward more open fascism with increased terrorism against workers. Today troops are being used against strikers in Tacoma, Aberdeen, Omaha, and wherever workers present militant opposition to threatened wage cuts. During the first half of this year twenty-three workers have been killed in struggles for economic betterment, and hundreds more wounded, some of them crippled for life, and additional hundreds jailed. This New Deal terror was not ended by the Supreme Court decision! It is becoming worse, with vigilantes supplementing the troops, police and the employers' thugs, in the flourishing business of strike-breaking.

Labor cannot and must not rely on the state and arbitration boards controlled by employers. That road leads to the corporate state under which unions are reduced to the status of company unions. Labor must not surrender its rights to collective bargaining and its most effective weapon, the strike. As the big employers mobilize their forces to establish a more completely repressive fascist state, labor must organize in defense of its rights.

The people who suffer most from fascism are the workers. Fascism can be successfully fought and avoided if workers realize when their rights are being taken away from them by a seemingly liberal program. All workers should unite in a broad mass movement against fascism, and the leadership of the fight against fascism must come from the trade unions. The American League Against War and Fascism offers a program for a mass movement and a united front against these evils. Through educational methods, distribution of literature, sending of speakers to all kinds of meetings, demonstrations, protest action, constant agitation and organization, the League points out to workers the history of fascism, how it has affected workers in fascist Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain, and indicates the fascist trends in this country. No one trade union, no one group of workers can fight fascism single-handed, but by combining efforts through an organization such as the American League they can combat the complete destruction of decent standards of living, and keep us from the war that inevitably comes with fascism.



Labor can stop war and smash fascism.

#### CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

WANTED: Alliance with other powers in war against Soviet Russia to save civilization. Fair division of spoils guaranteed.—ADOLPH

WANTED: Large loan from international bankers to meet deficit in budget; fascism must be preserved to prevent revolution; need funds to maintain army of million to preserve peace and for use in campaign to bring civilization to Ethiopia, backward barbaric country threatening peace of world.—IL DUCE.

WANTED: Husky ex-bootleggers, racketeers, thugs, for service as vigilantes to protect Americanism against red menace. Only those with experience handling men need apply.—U. S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

WANTED: Experienced, capable organizer to mobilize slum proletariat and Elks, Rotarians, Legionnaires, into private army against reds and pacifists and union agitators in defense of sacred American tradition of open shop, high profits, low wages, company unionism. America is calling for a great leader like Hitler or Mussolini in this hour of need. Big rewards to right man.—AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE

## The Man Who Did Not Applaud

By SEIKICHI FUJIMORI

From "The Cannery Boat"—International Publishers

SUDDENLY noticed him.

A peculiar type indeed—why doesn't he join in the applause?

The whole assembly greeted the speakers' burning words with rounds of hearty applause. The sound of clapping as it filled the hall was like a storm. Many cried aloud in their excitement.

"Right for you!"

"Quite true!"

"The police arrested all the comrades!"

"They're increasing armaments, but as for unemployment insurance. . .!"

At this moment the police, who formed a cordon round the hall, brandished their swords menacingly. This had no effect on the meeting. The revelations of the speakers, their description of the colossal growth of armaments and the astronomical figures for expenditure on the war industry proved too convincing. Then they went on to expose the preparations being made for fresh bloodshed—all carried on under the cover of pacifist phrases and paper pacts. This meeting of protest against the threatened war had turned into a trial of its instigators, with the crowded audience as jury. The heated addresses of the prosecutors, eagerly seized upon by the jury, left no doubt concerning the crushing verdict. For defendants there were these gendarmes encircling the hall, visible representatives of the criminal system on trial. Should the gendarmes resort to force, they would find themselves up against a huge agitated mass of workers, silently clenching their fists and ready to defy provocation. This, the defendants—the gendarmes—understood perfectly, and so they contented themselves with malicious glances and the brandishing of swords. The trial of the war-makers continued.

But why is this one man so indifferent? He sat next to me. His pale face was distorted by a huge scar. And under his right eye there was a deep wrinkled cavity instead of a cheek bone. Apparently some shrapnel had smashed the bone. The right eye, above the cavity, had an uncanny stare. He wore the rough khaki clothes of a laborer, and in every respect looked like an elderly workman. His lips were pressed tightly and he stared at the speaker fixedly.

The scoundrel! Why does he stare so? Why does he glare at the speaker's face as if he were noting every detail!

It's plain, the last war did not decorate him enough! Just look at that mark, the mercenary dog! What more does he want? I am only sorry that the gun which sent millions of honest workers to their graves didn't consign the whole of your ugly mug to hell!

I looked at him challengingly and stubbornly. He didn't clap once the whole time, nor make a single exclamation. It seemed as if the orator's words had no effect on him.

A strange feeling came over me.

Either he is a novice in the spy business or else a hardened old wolf.

"Look here," I shouted aloud, unable to hold myself and paying no attention to the speaker.

Just then a strange light seemed to shine in his eyes.

Funny! Surely the cur can feel something.

The man lifted his arm as if with the intention of clapping, but it fell heavily on to his knees.

His eyes glared in the gathering twilight. In an instant the very blood froze in my veins.

On his knees were two artificial arms.

The man had no hands.



The delegation to Cuba under detention: Conrad Komorosky, Nathan Shaffer, Herman Reissig, Elsa Waldman, Paul Crosbie, Dora Zucker, Clifford Odets, Manning Johnson, Jose Santiago, Paul Irving, Lucille Perry, Celeste Strack, Mary Gruber, Maurice Halperin, and Frank Griffin

## Fascism Wins in Cuba

By HERMAN F. REISSIG

Pastor, Kings Highway Congregational Church, Brooklyn; Chairman of the National Religious Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism

**S**EVENTEEN AMERICANS, representing twenty national organizations, left New York on June 29th for Cuba. These men and women had been instructed by their organizations to spend two weeks investigating social and economic conditions under the Mendieta Batista régime. The commission was met at Havana by the police, the army, and the secret service, detained on board for two hours, then sent to the Tiscornia immigration station, imprisoned in the barracks for seventeen hours, and deported back to New York.

From the time the ship docked at Havana until the gangplank was pulled up for the return voyage these men and women were guarded and menaced by sub-machine guns, rifles and revolvers in the hands of a hundred policemen, soldiers and marines. Two Negro members of the commission were brutally mishandled. Baggage was subjected to a rough and minute inspection. The persons of the investigators were searched. Books and pamphlets, notes and private papers were confiscated. At Tiscornia practically no food was provided, members of the commission slept on wire springs without mattresses, and no communication was permitted with friends at home or with American officials in Havana from 8:30 P.M. on Tuesday until 2:30 P.M. on Wednesday.

What did the commission propose to do in Cuba? It planned to carry greetings to the Cuban masses who are suffering under an economic and political tyranny as bad, if not worse, than that of Machado, deposed dictator. It wished to say to the Cuban people that the hearts of millions in the United States are with them in their struggles. We planned, in the second place, to see for ourselves, with honest and impartial eyes, the actual situation with respect to conditions on the farms, in the schools, in the prisons, among the Negro workers. We had made most careful outlines for the conduct of our investigation. But, as Americans, we were especially interested in the extent to which American business interests are making impossible the development of a free and happy Cuba.

The members of this non-partisan commission were sent by no political party, and were entirely without obligations with respect to the nature of their report. Why then were we treated like common criminals, and deported? The answer is as clear as daylight. Cuba is ruled by a fascist government made

up of Mendieta, the President, Batista, the military dictator, the American Ambassador, Caffrey, Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State at Washington, and, as the real power behind these officials, American business-finance. The Cuban people are being impoverished today to fill the pockets of American business men, together with a few rich Cubans and foreign interests of other countries. Here in Cuba is imperialism at its worst. Here is a brutal capitalism using political power to maintain itself, against the desires of the overwhelming majority of the population. Here, in short, right at our doors and fostered by us, is a dictatorship which has all the essential characteristics of fascism.

That is why we were imprisoned and deported. That is why some fifty Cubans who were in the throng which had come to welcome us were beaten and thrown into jail. It is to the interests of sugar and tobacco concerns, dominated by Americans, that the Cuban people should not be free. It is to their interests that no investigation should be made. The important facts to remember are, first, that the present Cuban government is not acceptable to the Cuban people, and, second, that this government would fall in ten days were it not bolstered-up by our American State Department which is in turn serving the interests of American bankers and business men.

The American League Against War and Fascism joins with the other organizations represented on the commission in the determination that there shall be no cessation of effort until all the facts are known to the American public, and until long-suffering Cuba is actually as well as theoretically free from foreign exploitation. For the moment fascism has won. But the fight has only begun. Another commission will be sent. We must fight fascism in Cuba as well as in the United States.



National Guardsmen dispersing the picket line of lumber mill strikers in Tacoma, Wash. Tear gas, bayonets and bullets were used to break the strike.

## George Sokolsky— Munitions Salesman

This excerpt from the galley proofs of the Nye Committee hearings was deleted from the final publication. It proves that Sokolsky, while correspondent for the *New York Times*, was an agent for a munitions manufacturer. Agnes Smedley, in an article in *The Nation*, accuses Sokolsky of being one of a group of American journalists in China who are subsidized by the Kuomintang and Japanese imperialists. Sokolsky was editor for a time of the *Far Eastern Review*, openly financed by the Japanese. The owner is George Bronson Rea, advisor to the puppet state of Manchukuo at a fat salary. *The Nation* says of Sokolsky's recent book, *Labor's Fight for Power* (Doubleday, Doran and Co., \$2): "If Mr. Sokolsky's book has not been subsidized by the National Association of Manufacturers, it should have been."

*Mr. Monaghan:* That is right; just what you pay for.

*Senator Clark:* Along further in that letter, in the second paragraph on the second page, you say (reading):

"So you would know what we are doing, we gave you in confidence the name of George Sokolsky, who is now in New York, and, according to our information, although he does not say so himself, *Mr. Sokolsky represents the Soong interests*. You know Mr. T. V. Soong is the Chinese Finance Minister, and his sister is the wife of President Chiang Kai-shek. At our request, Mr. Sokolsky about two weeks ago sent a cable in his private code to Mr. T. V. Soong, asking if he was interested in obtaining supplies of 7.9 cartridges, but so far no response has come in."

So you identify Mr. Sokolsky, whom you had sent cables over to China for you?

*Mr. Monaghan:* I do not recall how I met Mr. Sokolsky. I did meet him in New York at that time.

*Senator Clark:* During that time he was a foreign correspondent for the *New York Times*, wasn't he?

*Mr. Monaghan:* I recall reading articles of his in the *New York Times* that impressed me greatly.

*Senator Clark:* That was his ostensible business, was it not, being foreign correspondent for the *New York Times*?

*Mr. Monaghan:* I do not know.

*Senator Clark:* Mr. Sokolsky, so I am informed, is now touring the United States lecturing in the interest of the necessity for heavy armaments. Do you know whether he is receiving pay from any munitions company for so doing?

*Mr. Monaghan:* So far as I know, he is not receiving a cent. I have not seen Mr. Sokolsky since shortly after that letter was written.

# The Soviets Lead in the Fight for Peace

By HENRI BARBUSSE

*Noted French novelist; Secretary of the World Committee Against War and Fascism.*

**N**UMEROUS messages have informed us with what anxiety, with what disquiet the working masses of the United States regard events and developments in the old world.

This apprehension is not surprising: Mussolini's army is but waiting for the best moment to attack the people of Ethiopia and to reduce them to slavery. The government of France is doing everything in its power, not only secretly but also openly, to encourage Mussolini in his criminal designs.

On the other hand, since the introduction of obligatory military service in Hitler's Germany, there reigns in Europe an atmosphere of war such as has not been prevalent for twenty years. The English government is lending its aid to Hitler in building its naval, air and land armaments. Japanese imperialism is continuing unpunished its brigand war against China, and has the cynicism and impudence to go on to acts of aggression on Soviet territory.

The general crisis which imperialism is facing and the conflicts between nations, enormously accentuate the dangers of war and there can be no doubt, that whether it be today, or tomorrow, the world may be headed for unpredictable catastrophes.

Let us say, loud and clear: The peace work to which the Soviet Union is consecrated and disposed to make every possible sacrifice (which it has already proved), its vigilance, its indefatigable search for new methods of maintaining peace, has right up to now held in check the fury of war. It is because of the Soviet Union that we still have peace in the world.

The Soviet Union began its methodical peace work in offering itself as an example—by announcing the liberation and independence of all its people, in putting an end to slavery, the colonization of the diverse Russian nations which lasted for centuries under the Czar, by annulling the unfair pacts which the old Russia had made with China, and by banishing war from the destiny of a continent which has a population of 170 million and which covers a sixth of the earth's surface. Let us then never forget what Soviet Russia has been able to achieve with the hundred nations which make up its federation and among which racial hatreds were once endemic; and that it has inaugurated a logical régime of peace—not by force and annexation, but by the free cooperation of all.

*The Soviet Union has acquired an unalienable right to the gratitude of other races by the way in which it has up to now unveiled and defeated the imperialist machinations of other countries, and by the powerful and practical system of brakes which it has applied whenever war has come dangerously close, particularly in the past eight years, that is to say, since Russia has appeared on the chaotic scene of world politics and held her position there as a strong power.*

Russia and Russia alone took the initiative in the movement toward complete disarmament,

which has been received with enthusiasm by the masses of all countries, but which was checked by the unanimous and absolute resistance of the imperialists controlling all other countries. Later it struggled for disarmament, partial and progressive. The Soviet Union is also the author of the definition of aggressor, a definition which leaves nothing to be desired in the matter of clarity. The uncompromising nature of its peace policy has led it to sign non-aggression pacts with all of its neighbors save Japan—and for cause, since Japan not only meditates upon but has avowed a crusade against the Soviet Union.

When Japan and Germany withdrew from the League of Nations, and revealed by that act that something resembling a new 1914 was lifting itself up among the world powers, the Soviet Union did not hesitate to join the League of Nations in order to fight the state of mind, which twenty years ago led to worldwide slaughter, and to transform the League into a means of preserving peace.

At that moment two tendencies appeared in world politics and struggled against each other. One has its main support in Hitler's fascism, which by methodically fomenting race hatred, chauvinism and rearmament, incontrovertibly pushes the world toward war. Japan, Italy and Poland follow the same road, and it is England which carries the heavy responsibility of this shameful coalition. The enormous arms expenditures of the United States as well as the vast international traffic in munitions are a powerful encouragement to the war-makers.

The other tendency, the peace movement, is represented by the Soviet Union where there no longer exist social groups which would in any way be interested in war, no ruling class to profit from murder.

Nothing is more natural than the savage hate of the partisans of Hitlerism for this powerful adversary which menaces its plans.

The Franco-Soviet pact is the result of the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

Is it difficult to recognize and to mark the deep differences between these two systems of world politics?

Hitler exploits the differences between his imperialist rivals in order to draw from them a pretext and a justification for his armament policy, for his ambition to make of Austria, the region of Memel and German Czechoslovakia and other countries, vassal states; and to use them to provoke the Soviet Union. But even this common front of Italy, England and France, announced with great pomp four months ago, proves to be only a house of cards, and we see that the laurels M. Laval so proudly claimed were only tinsel—as soon as imperialist interests came into play. The Ethiopian affair rudely prove this to credulous optimists.

Quite different is the policy of the Soviet Union. It utilizes the differences which exist between imperialist nations to win those who are not interested at the time in making war (because they have nothing to gain at the

moment) to these pacts of mutual assistance designed to stop the aggressor. The countries which at the moment are not "interested in" war are France, the little Entente, and the small Baltic states.

Certainly it is not the imperialist French government which gives the Franco-Soviet pact its force. The strength of the pact lies in the fact that it bears a defensive character, that it is not directed against another country, and that Germany and Poland are at liberty to use for their own ends the same methods of security, in abiding by existing pacts. But the strongest point in the pact is the absolute and unanimous desire of the Soviet Union and the working masses of France which are ready, over the heads of the government of Laval or anybody else, to guarantee its effectiveness.

The World movement of the Committee Against War and Fascism is supporting with enthusiasm the new efforts of the Soviet Union for organized peace. These efforts are wholly in the spirit of the Manifesto of Amsterdam from which this movement sprang. The policy of the Soviet Union corresponds not only to the vital interests of its own people, but also to those of the people of the whole world.

A steadily growing confidence in the peace policy of the Soviet Union is making itself felt among the masses of France. The Franco-Soviet pact gives this country a tremendous encouragement for the formation of a popular united front. It suffices to mention here that the appeal of the National Committee Against War and Fascism for the great demonstration on the Fourteenth of July has found a cordial response among the great mass of the population, a response which surpasses anything seen up to now. July 14 (the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille) finds Socialists, Communists, Radical and Radical-Socialists, the two syndicalist movements, the large group of intellectuals and the war veterans side by side. Cost what it may, and despite everything, we are finding the basis for a mighty mass action for peace, for collaboration with the Soviet Union against fascism and for liberty.



# American Youth in Action

By WALDO McNUTT

National Chairman of the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism; reelected Chairman of the National Council of the American Youth Congress.

**B**ORN IN STRUGGLE against American fascism, baptized on the field of activity, and grown to manhood at its Second Congress, the greatest united front ever achieved in the United States is the American Youth Congress.

This movement began in August, 1934, with the First American Youth Congress held at New York University where the delegates overthrew the fascist-minded Viola Ilma and her cohorts, Wm. E. Porter and Samuel Mines. So, with a successful struggle against incipient fascism and its program of militarization for youth, the Youth Congress was launched. Twenty-five regional gatherings from Boston to San Diego have given the Youth Congress a mass base rooted in the trade unions, churches, Y.M.C.A.s, Y.W.C.A.s and student organizations.

The student strike on April 12, the May 30 demonstrations and any number of meetings and protests have been a part of the work of the Youth Congress in the fight against war and fascism during the past year.

The preparations for the Second Congress aroused the ire of the Hearst press which attacked the Congress bitterly through the *Detroit Times*. The American Legion carried on a campaign to oust the Congress from its headquarters and to set up a boycott of hall owners so that we could not meet. They failed. We succeeded in getting an order forcing the Detroit Board of Education to allow us to use the Cass Technical High School for the Congress sessions over the protests of the Legion, Hearst press, the fake "American Youth Congress Incorporated," and the fascist organizations such as "Young Americans."

Twice during the Congress itself we stopped and put into action our program. The hotel where registration took place and a drug store in the same hotel started a "Jim-crow" policy of discrimination against the Negro delegates. Spontaneously the delegates set up mass picket lines and emergency committees to handle the situations, and two victories were recorded for the Congress.

The Congress took a firm stand on the fight

against war and fascism, for peace and freedom. The Declaration of Rights adopted by the Congress as its basic document expresses forcibly our uncompromising stand on this issue, which states, "threatened by war in whose making we have no part, but into whose trenches we are the first to be driven to die, we declare we do not want to die. Yet we see that a new war is even now being prepared by the forces of destruction, a war from which we can reap only misery, mutilation and death. . . . We oppose this war, this militarization and these mounting armaments. We declare our rights to peace and our determination to achieve peace."

The declaration in stating the Congress' opposition to fascism says: "We have a right to Liberty. In song and legend America has been exalted as the land of the free, a haven for the oppressed of every nation. Yet on every hand we see this freedom—freedom that should be ours—limited or destroyed. . . . Minorities are exposed to arbitrary deportation. . . . The Negro people, victims of discrimination and lynching, are robbed of social, political and economic rights. . . . A growing wave of violence is directed against the working people who strike for a living wage. We affirm these to be omens of that modern tyranny—fascism—more brutal, more vicious, more reactionary than the tyranny against which our fathers rebelled in 1776."

The stand of the American Youth Congress on war and fascism is very similar to the one taken by the American League Against War and Fascism. Therefore all branches of the League are urged to help build the Youth Congress, to get organizations to affiliate with it, to become its champion and defender as the outstanding united front youth organization in the United States. Because of this friendly relation between the Youth Section of the League and the Youth Congress many people who have been active in the League are also active in the Youth Congress. This should be continued.

One of the outstanding organizational steps taken by the Congress was the creation of de-

partments of work, such as "Student," "War and Fascism," "Unemployment and Social Insurance," etc. The American League will work particularly with the War and Fascism section.

James Lerner, National Secretary of the Youth Section, was elected to the National Council of the Youth Congress, and will be our representative on the Executive Council of the Congress. This Executive Council includes representatives of the Young People's Socialist League, the Young Communist League, the Farmer-Labor Political Federation, the Young Epics, the Central Labor Union of Toledo, the Detroit Federation of Labor, the National Student League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Epworth League, the International Longshoremen's Association of San Francisco, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin and Steel Workers, Ohio, the United Mine Workers of America, Russelton, Pa., Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s of many cities, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and many other trade unions, workers' fraternal organizations, religious groups, and miscellaneous youth organizations. This partial list serves to indicate the scope of the united front formed, and we are confident that we can go forward carrying out the decisions and plans of the Congress, a united militant and progressive youth movement opposing the forces of reaction driving toward war and fascism.

## "ONLY GREENHORNS ENLIST"

*From Federated Press comes this story showing how smart capitalists value military service—for others:*

The death of James Ross Mellon, Andy's elder brother, recalls a Civil War incident when James was a law clerk here. James fell for the patriotic speeches of Chamber of Commerce patriots, and enlisted for 100 days to guard prisoners, far from the danger zone.

But Judge Thomas Mellon, founder of the family fortune, wrote Jimmy: "I had hoped my boy was going to make a smart, intelligent business man, and was not such a goose as to be seduced from his duty by the declamations of buncombe speeches. IT IS ONLY GREENHORNS WHO ENLIST. You can learn nothing useful in the army. In time you will come to understand and believe that a man may be a patriot WITHOUT RISKING HIS OWN LIFE or sacrificing his health. There are PLENTY OF OTHER LIVES LESS VALUABLE and others ready to serve for the love of serving."

Papa Mellon's sound patriotic arguments won out, and James ever after was a patriot without risking his own valuable life.



Drilling at Camp Smith, N. Y.; part of the citizen army being prepared for "national emergencies—in peace or war," for defense of the interests of big business

*Mustering fresh cannon-fodder; the government is seeking to enlist 60,000 American youths into its armed forces as part of its extensive preparations for war. Taking the oath to stop thinking for themselves*



# BUILDING THE LEAGUE

By PAUL REID

*Executive Secretary,  
American League Against War and Fascism*

**Kanju Kato on Tour:** This dynamic labor leader from Japan has aroused the sympathy and friendship of American people—workers and middle-class—in his tour across the country. He is now in California, speaking to various groups there. New York welcomed him at a mass meeting in the Hotel Delano on June 24. At Pittsburgh he was well received and left an excellent impression. Cleveland arranged a dinner and public meeting for him, while in Chicago he spoke to the Federation of Labor, gaining an ovation from that delegated body. A dinner at the Y.M.C.A. and several appearances before local trade-union groups were also a part of his program in this city. At Milwaukee Kato spoke before the Federated Trades' Council. The League participated in the arrangements in these various cities as a part of the National Committee that supported his tour.

**Activities in Defense of Ethiopia:** Chicago held a large conference on July 12. New York City is developing mass sentiment for a huge protest meeting on August 3 in Harlem. The National Office has cabled the World Committee urging action at Geneva. A pamphlet on the Ethiopian issue is being written by Rev. William Lloyd Imes of St. James Church, Harlem, and will soon be ready for distribution. Other cities are planning protest meetings and demonstrations.

**Against Hearst:** Several New York City Branches have picketed neighborhood theatres which were showing Hearst's Metrotone newsreels. Delegations have visited the manager of the Loew theatre chain, and he has promised to delete objectionable features. Hearst newsreels have been cancelled by six theatres already. Springfield, Mass., League people have also been active in directing opposition against Hearst on this issue.

**Cincinnati:** June 27, debate between Frank Palmer of the Federated Press, speaking for the League, and Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, president of the People's Church, on the question, "Resolved, that Father Coughlin is Leading Us Toward War and Fascism." Attendance over 700. Bigelow refused to answer many pointed questions put by Palmer. Coughlinites in the audience raised a clamor, and their own leader could not silence them. Palmer cited their conduct as evidence that Coughlinism was a potential fascist movement.

**Toledo:** League sponsored a John Mooney meeting on June 14. Many labor people were in attendance, and support was gained for the League.

**Philadelphia:** Weekly class being held on the problems of war and fascism, with good attendance in spite of hot weather. Groundwork laid for a League Branch in Germantown. Plan for League to take part in a broad demonstration on August 3 are maturing rapidly.

**Urbana, Illinois:** The Champaign-Urbana Branch of the League held a successful conference against war and fascism on May 30. Delegates represented 900 members of their respective organizations. Police interference occurred and Negroes were intimidated but the Conference was not stopped. Rev. Ralph Com-

pere, state Chairman of Wisconsin, was chief speaker.

**Milwaukee:** Civil Rights Rally, June 9, addressed by nearly a dozen civic leaders. The widest possible representation of speakers and audience was obtained. General fraternization of many interests was observed in the common purpose to defend civil rights. An entirely new audience was reached, in which Socialists and liberals were strongly represented. Signatures of over forty new persons obtained for the Wisconsin Joint Action Committee for Defense of Civil Rights.

**Springfield, Mass.:** Mass meeting on May 29 addressed by A. B. Magil and Prof. Oliver W. Larkin, with "Forerunners of American Fascism" the theme. The 350 people who attended were impressed by Magil's analysis, and Coughlin's followers in the meeting were effectively answered and silenced.

**Dorchester, Mass.:** The League here began a series of weekly open-air meetings on June 21. FIGHT sold on the street. Attention being directed to Ethiopian situation, and letters sent to Italian consul.

**Westchester County, N. Y.:** A trade-union mass meeting was held at the Westchester County Center on June 28, after a thorough canvass of the labor unions and publicity. Meeting addressed by Alex J. Phillian, of the Patterson Silk Workers, and other labor leaders. The trade-union issue of FIGHT was utilized to great advantage.

**Utica, N. Y.:** More intensified activity and stronger organization since the visit of Bert Leech. Successful mass meeting on July 3 resulted in gain in membership for the League. Special committee assigned to work with trade unions and labor groups to secure affiliations. Open-air mass meetings planned for last of July.

**Hackensack, N. J.:** Bergen County Committee was the first to follow the example of the National Office in holding a week-end school. Considered in two sessions "The Role of the League in the Present Crisis," and "Principles and Tactics of the United Front in the League." Speakers, Jay Wright, New Jersey organizer, Clara Bodian, and Paul Reid.

**Trenton, N.J.:** Open meeting July 9 attended by delegates from trade-union and other organizations, with great enthusiasm and broadening of the League's forces.

## NATIONAL OFFICE NOTES

John Franklin, of the National Organization Committee, met with the New England Regional Committee of the League on June 30, and helped them lay plans for the organization and extension of League work in this area.

A. Clayton Powell, Jr., of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, Harlem, has been made a member of the National Bureau of the League. New affiliates include the Brookline Anti-War League, joined with the Boston Central Committee, and the Workmen's Sick and Death

Benefit Fund, joined with the League nationally. Two branches of this organization are also affiliated with local organizations of the League.

Alex J. Phillian, a member of the Joint Executive Board of the American Federation of Silk Dyers, Paterson, New Jersey, has been made a National Organizer for the League, and left New York July 22 to take up his duties in the Midwest. He will concentrate in Ohio for the first two months, and will be of special value to our work in the trade-union field.

The Second Week-End School sponsored by the National Office was held in New York City on July 13. The major problems discussed at the two sessions were "The Impact of War and Fascism on Organized Labor," and "Trade Unions and the League Program." The sessions were opened by brief talks given by Clarence Hathaway, Shulman of the Printers' Union, Angelo Severino of the Bricklayers' Union, Harry Bridges, leader of San Francisco longshoremen, and Seymour Waldman of Washington. The proceedings of this very important school are being put in form for use by the League organizations all over the country.

Waldo McNutt and James Lerner have just returned from the very successful Youth Conference which met in Detroit. Marcus Feinstein and Belle Weiner of the National Office also attended the Congress.

Bert C. Leach, Jr., our new West Coast organizer, reports increased activities in our branches from coast to coast, in response to the growing need of fighting against the threat of war. In Albany, where a government employee organized a branch of the League, the members led a fight against the dismissal of Granville Hicks. In Philadelphia the League has helped in mobilizing trade unions and churches to participate in the August 3rd anti-war demonstration. In Pittsburgh the League is fighting against the attempt to close the schools for public meetings to liberal and radical and labor groups. It is also carrying on a struggle against the dismissal of Marion Briggs from the Y.M.C.A. This case has become a national issue.

Progress has been made in Toledo in getting trade union support. The proceedings of the Second Congress of the League were read in the Central Labor Union. The League is in the forefront of the fight to defend the rights of labor. In Denver the League is building a strong organization, and planning for a mighty demonstration and conference on Armistice Day. In San Francisco, where the reactionaries were amazed at the strength shown at the Pacific Coast Conference, the League had a public trial of Hearst as the foremost forerunner of American fascism and Public Enemy No. 1, on July 21.

In Detroit, Milwaukee and elsewhere similar progress has been made; the League is awakening from its lethargy throughout the country, and members are realizing the tremendous importance of our tasks and taking more energetic action than formerly.

Without compromising their faith or expecting us to compromise ours, Marxians are working harmoniously with Christians who are opposed to war and Fascism, in the American League Against War and Fascism.

George A. Coe.

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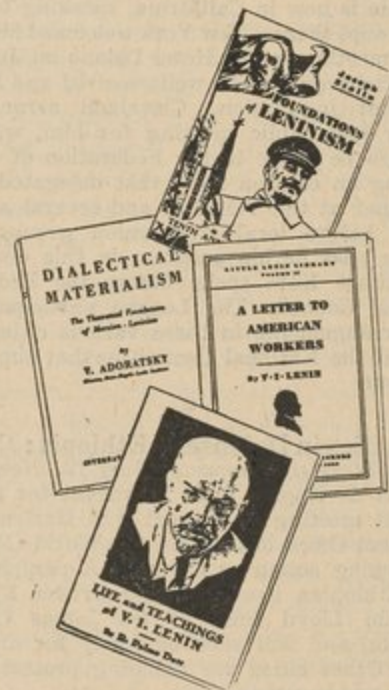
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