

FIGHT

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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

IS OPPOSITION TO HITLER GROWING?

NO!

SAYS

JOHN
HAYNES
HOLMES



YES!

SAYS

JOHANNES
STEEL

Drawing by Frans Masereel

NEW WAR FRONTS — *By A. A. Heller*

BIGOT BRIGADES — *By Emmett Gowen*

HITLERISM OVER THE WABASH

TERRE HAUTE WORKERS FIGHT FASCISM — *By RUTH CRAWFORD*

IS OPPOSITION TO HITLER

Hitler Powerful Because He Is Popular

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Minister, Community Church, New York

I CAME BACK from Germany, after nearly a month of intensive observation and study in various parts of the country and among all sorts and conditions of people, with my ideas of Nazi rule unchanged except as they were strengthened and confirmed. I encountered in my own personal experience all the conditions of repression and terror which I had already indirectly met in the earlier accounts of trustworthy correspondents and writers. But I also encountered something which I had not anticipated—the ominous fact that Hitler's government was powerful because it was popular. I saw Germany more formidable and terrible than I had ever dared to imagine, because the Nazi rule was based not so much upon force and violence as upon the glad acceptance of a people restored to national self-respect after years of suffering and humiliation. Hitler, to the great masses of the people, especially the young people, is the nation's savior, and the atmosphere of all Germany, therefore, is Messianic.

In failing to recognize or acknowledge this, we are making the same mistake today when Hitler is holding power that we made a few years ago when Hitler was campaigning for power. We refused to believe in 1925, 1929, 1931, that this wild leader of the Nazis would ever be able to overthrow the republic. Again and again we joyfully proclaimed that his movement had reached the zenith of its influence and would henceforth decline, and at last disappear. It was this conviction inside of Germany, as well as outside, which explains the complete failure of the Anti-Nazis in 1930 and on to make common cause against Hitler. Not only was joint action difficult, but it was deemed unnecessary. Why, look at the forces against Hitler, it was said! The Social Democrats, millions of them—the Communists, so many more millions—the Nationalists and a dozen other hostile political groups—the sober-minded and conservative Protestants—the overwhelming mass of the Catholics—the Jews, the trade-unionists, etc., etc.! By adding up the totals represented by these groups it was perfectly easy to prove that the overwhelming majority of the German people were opposed to Hitler. The wonder was where on earth his millions of supporters came from! Yet in the most phenomenal rise to power since the meteoric days of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Nazi leader gained in a decade the mastery of the Reich. How was it done?

The answer is easy! What we forgot, in our observation of the German people in the days of Hitler's campaign, was the simple but momentous fact that the citizens of Germany were only incidentally Social-Democrats, and Nationalists, and trade-unionists, and Christians and the rest, and fundamentally were *Germans*. These millions of humble citizens were devoted to their political parties,

their labor organizations, their social and religious groups. But they were far more devoted to their country. If there were any Germans who were *not* primarily Germans at this time, it was the Communists, but these represented only a fraction of the population. The great mass of men and women in a nation beaten in the war, humiliated in the peace, ruined in the inflation, trodden under foot in innumerable and immeasurable indignities, were first and last and all the time Germans who suffered with their country and desired nothing so much as its liberation. It was the supreme genius of Hitler that he recognized and appealed to this passion of outraged and inspired patriotism. With fanatical zeal he addressed Germans as *Germans*, and rallied around him millions who were willing to sacrifice everything to the dream of "the new Germany." It was this fact which we observers here in America did not see, or would not see. We persisted in thinking of the citizens of the Reich as Social Democrats, or Communists, or trade-unionists, or Catholics, or Jews, and forgot entirely to think of them as Germans. But Hitler didn't forget—and, in a decade, to our vast confusion and dismay, he had gained his goal.

Now, with Hitler and the Nazis firmly planted in the seats of power, we are repeating our foolish error of earlier days. We are underestimating the power of the Nazis because we are still thinking of the Germans under Hitler as we thought of the Germans before Hitler, as primarily members of this, that, or the other political or religious group. We count up the number of these groups which der Fuehrer is fighting or persecuting, estimate the membership of each particular group, and then, adding up the figures, stare in amazement and confidence at the tens of millions of people who must be irrevocably opposed to Nazi rule. One trusted correspondent in Berlin, using this naïve measure of computation, has declared that not less than 90 percent of the German people must now be against Hitler and all his works.

But how ridiculous! Take the Jews, for example—about 500,000 persons! These are being horribly persecuted—to the infinite satisfaction of the overwhelming majority of the people who have been taught to regard the Jews as alien to Germany. We think a riot against the Jews in Berlin or elsewhere outrages the Germans as it does us. But it does not. Hitler does nothing that is quite so popular today as to bait Jews. And even among the Jews themselves, be it said, there is the tragic fact that many are loyal Germans, and are thus bewailing the loss of their country. I talked with more than one Jew who praised Hitler, and lamented that he was denied a share in what Hitler was doing for Germany.

Take the Catholics—over 20,000,000 of

In this issue, Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Johannes Steel present their conflicting viewpoints: both are strongly opposed to fascism, but differ widely in their estimate of the strength of the anti-fascist forces in Nazi Germany and of Hitler's popularity. It is important that we should know the strength of our enemies and of our own forces. It is well to remember the enormous difficulties faced by the opposition under a fascist dictatorship. But it is also a mistake to feel that the fight against fascism is futile, and that the enemy is invincible; such an attitude leads to pessimism and defeatism.

In a recent sermon Dr. Holmes made an eloquent appeal for unity of Christians and Communists in opposition to the forces of reaction driving toward war and fascism, and in struggle for the achievement of a better world based on brotherhood and cooperation among men.

If Churchmen will unite with Communists, Socialists, trade unionists and everyone else opposed to war and fascism, our forces will be tremendously strengthened, and war and fascism will not be inevitable. Already the American League Against War and Fascism

them! Are these millions against Hitler? Not at all! The majority of the Catholics are lukewarm in their religious devotions, and thus quite indifferent to what happens to the church. As between Hitler and the Vatican, their country and their church, they choose their country, and think Rome must be plotting wicked works if Hitler has to protect beloved Germany against the machinations of the Pope. It was the experience of a life-time to hear a distinguished Catholic layman tell me that, in any show-down between Germany and Rome, he would support Germany.

Or the Protestants—over 30,000,000 of them! Are these opposed to Hitler? Most of these millions don't even know that they are Protestants, or if they do, they don't care. If anything is dead in Germany, it is the Protestant churches. I had been told that the anti-religious war had aroused the churches and filled their pews. It may be so, but I saw no evidence of it. On three separate Sundays I attended many churches, but only once saw what might be called a good congregation. What the great mass of Protestants see is their government in difficulties with churches for the support of which they are obliged unwillingly to pay taxes—and they support the government!

Or the workers—millions of them, on the farms and in the factories! Are they opposed to Hitler? About as much as the workers of America were opposed to Wilson when he took us into the World War. How we fool ourselves when it is pleasant to do so! How we deify the workers as some kind of demi-gods, immune to all influences that determine the phenomena of human nature! I may be wrong—I make no assertions; I simply testify that I found the workers quite as patriotic in Germany as in other countries, and patriotism today in Germany means Hitler.

And doesn't Hitler know this! For more
(Continued on page 5)

GROWING? . . .



ALL QUIET IN GERMANY!

has brought together in its ranks people of diverse political and religious beliefs, liberals, radicals and revolutionists, of all races and creeds.

Whether the estimate of Dr. Holmes or Mr. Steel is correct, it is clear that fighting fascism before it triumphs is much easier than afterward, and that now is the time to get together for this big job. Inertia is an ally of fascism. Millions of Americans are against war and fascism, but remain inarticulate; let's overcome their indifference, and arouse them to the dangers that lie ahead; let's get them into the American League before it is too late.

Under a fascist dictatorship or after the United States enters the next war, you will risk imprisonment and even death for organizing opposition to fascism and war, and for distributing such literature as *FIGHT*; even today it is a crime in many states to do such work. Now, while we still have some of the liberties won through centuries of struggle against tyranny; now, before our rights are lost, we must unite all progressives against the reactionaries who threaten to destroy freedom and democracy.

The German People Hate Hitlerism —Terror Fails to Smash Opposition

By JOHANNES STEEL

Foreign Editor, New York Post

IT SEEMS TO ME that the contents of the article by John Haynes Holmes in this issue of *FIGHT* betrays a total ignorance of what is happening in Nazi Germany, and that he proves himself lacking in the qualifications necessary to enable him to make an accurate social and political survey of conflicting forces in Germany today. I have profound respect for the zeal and sincerity with which Dr. Holmes has consistently fought on the liberal side of social issues, but I feel absolutely certain that he is entirely mistaken in his estimate of anti-Nazi forces.

How can anyone who has any knowledge at all of the social process and knows that the coercive power of any state is always operated for the benefit and on behalf of a very specific group, suggest that the psychosis from which certainly a substantial part of the German people are still suffering today, is anything like devotion to der Fuehrer? The ranting, incoherent incantations of the castrated megalomaniac who is the nominal head of the German people today may have succeeded in sending some of them into a stupor that has numbed their social consciousness for the first year that he was in office—but today the story is different.

I know that there is today no German who is not a member of the Bureaucracy and the spoils system that the Nazi party has built up, who is not opposed to Hitler. The German people know that today the whole coercive power of the state, the army, police, the secret police and the Special Storm Guards, is at the disposal of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the President of the Reichsbank and economic

dictator, and operated by him solely for the benefit of those who gave him his job as supreme economic arbiter of the Third and in all probability last Reich, namely the vested interests.

Today the German people know that apart from the fact that there are eight million workless, not counting forced labor, ten million Germans are earning less than \$25 a month.

On the other hand, the German people also know today that sixty per cent of Germany's total national wealth is in the hands of the official and industrial oligarchy of some 225,000 individuals who control the destiny of the Third Reich. The German people know that one-half of this sixty per cent or 30 billion marks are owned by no more than 2,300 persons, and that during the last two years some 2,350 private individuals earned not less than five billion marks while 4,966 companies earned more than 25 billion marks.

They also know, because they have suffered under it, that at the same time the social services of the Reich have been reduced by fifty per cent, that the cost of living has been raised by thirty-five per cent by artificially lifting the prices of all consumers' goods.

They also know because they can see it all around them that the standard of health of the German people has declined considerably; the entire populations of several cities have been afflicted with diseases due to under-nourishment.

The German people also know that during the year 1934 they consumed half the amount of bread, half the amount of butter, half the

amount of eggs, half the amount of meat, of their average consumption during the years before Hitler came into power.

Those who, like Dr. Holmes, say that the German people favor Hitler's anti-Semitism, are libeling the German people. Hitler himself has admitted that he "created anti-Semitism as a means to an end," the end of course being the achievement of power.

The current anti-Jewish riots all over the Reich were created in order to withdraw the attention of a restive people from the shortage of food and threatening famine.

Of course some German Jews are all for Hitler, and regret that they cannot have a "share" in Germany's "regeneration." These Jews are part of those vested interests for the benefit of which the dictatorship operates.

Some of them are today in this country arranging for American cotton credits to Germany, many of them are still on the boards of the great industrial and banking enterprises and quite a few of them have been made "honorary Aryans."

They are simply the members of a class that can perpetuate its rule in Germany only by those brutal methods of repression of which the fascists are masters.

It is of course true that, to the casual observer, Germany presents outwardly a fairly united front to the world in spite of the tremendous social strife and unbridgeable social contradictions in all the phases of German national life. This is so only because the censorship is so efficient that when the Government puts its ear to the ground it hears nothing but its own echo.

Dr. Holmes says there is no opposition. I ask Dr. Holmes, what about the ninety thousand men and women that are still rotting in concentration camps? What about the thousands of men and women that are in prison? What about the heroic men and women who distribute the hundred and fifty illegal newspapers all over the Reich by risking their lives daily?

And I ask Dr. Holmes, what about the 284 organizers and leaders of the underground opposition that have been shot or beaten or tortured to death during the past eight months alone?

I ask Dr. Holmes, what about the four or five thousand men and women who have been murdered by the Nazis since Hitler came into power?

How can Dr. Holmes dare to suggest that all is well in Germany when the Hitler government saw itself forced to pronounce during the past two years prison sentences amounting to no less than 135,000 years, upon 280,308 persons?

Is it not a fact that in January, 1935, alone, prison sentences totalling 679 years were handed down and that the terror wave has been accelerated ever since?

If Dr. Holmes failed to observe any articulate and effective opposition it is because such opposition is underground, and he was not able to get in contact with the members of this illegal opposition. Those who risk their lives in the daily battle against Hitlerism cannot afford to trust neutral or liberal foreign visitors, cannot give them interviews. For this is a fight to the finish, a battle in which there are only two sides—for or against.

Hitlerism Over the Wabash

By RUTH CRAWFORD

A LABOR holiday in Gene Debs' hometown! A victory for the workers that gives courage to all forces fighting against fascism in America today! The Terre Haute working class, in the aftermath of its general strike, has shown the way.

The workers have given blow for blow. Arrayed against them are the bankers and manufacturers of the city. When the latter issued a brazen threat to organized labor, the workers dubbed their announcement a fascist manifesto, and answered with an ultimatum of their own: Unless every strike-breaker was out of Vigo County by Monday, July 23, labor would declare a holiday. Forty-eight unions were involved.

They struck, in what the *New York Times* described as "the most effective strike in the nation's history." For forty-eight hours the strike was ninety per cent solid.

The employers dealt the next blow. At their request the city was placed under martial law, and the National Guard patrolled the streets and hurled tear gas into the picket lines around the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company's property.

Fascist terror was unloosed against the workers that took from them every vestige of civil liberties. Yet one thing the terror could not do; it could not get men and women to work in the mill, which had become the testing ground for the strength of forces.

The working class withheld its labor.

Again the fascist forces met. The Chamber of Commerce, the Retail Merchants Association, the Realtors, along with professional red-baiters, and corporation and Ku Klux Klan attorneys formed the Citizens' Protective Alliance. The most brazen of their proposals was the organization of vigilante committees.

A permanent force of "vets" was to be on hand at all times to put down such disorders as Terre Haute had just experienced. These veterans were to be paid the munificent sum of \$1 a day, the same wage that the government paid in 1917 for the saving of American loans to the Allies.

Already withholding their labor power, the

Terre Haute workers now threatened to withhold their buying power. Committees from the Central Labor Union visited every merchant in the city "talking things over," and getting signers for anti-fascist pledge cards.

Twenty thousand of these cards were signed in two days. In a city of 62,000 people, this means that half the adult population of the city aligned itself with organized labor, which placed the issue clearly before the community. The Americanism mask—the cry for law and order—of the Citizens' Protective Alliance was stripped from its face, revealing its vicious contempt for democracy.

The attack was turned against the latter. The twenty-thousand signed as "defenders of law and order by regularly constituted government officers" as against the "formation of vigilante committees that would take law enforcement into their own hands."

Organized labor then broadened its attack. Since Terre Haute was still under martial law, and no mass meetings of workers were permitted, they sought the aid of their neighbors. The result was the calling of a mass meeting by the Central Labor Union in Clinton, a coal mining center in a neighboring county. Five counties participated in this meeting, further organizing the united front against the attack on labor being made by the Terre Haute employers.

Thus, the entire Wabash valley was called upon to choose sides, and many a potential "vigilante" sponsor found himself shaking at the prospect of seeing trade pass his door to go where there was a little card in the window stating that the owner was a signer of the "law and order" pledge.

While rejoicing in their victory and in the militant example which these workers have given all anti-fascist fighters, one must not overlook the ugly picture of the latent fascist forces in America revealed in lightning-like clarity with the calling of the general strike.

Terre Haute is no different from other American cities, unless it be that its popula-

tion is almost totally native-born American. These Hoosiers, descendants of pioneers who moved up into Indiana from Kentucky, resurrected their revolutionary traditions in this fight for a redress of grievances. And they had grievances enough.

Terre Haute felt the effects of the crisis even before most other cities. Its mines were losing out in competition with non-union mines in the South. Once a prosperous railroad center, it found itself becoming a way station. Home-owned industries disappeared, and national firms moved in. Technological progress threw men out of work. Women, whose labor was cheap, went to work in canning and garment factories. Home-owned stores gave way to chain stores. Banks consolidated. Newspapers consolidated. One family owns both newspapers, Democrat and Republican.

Wages were driven down to "coolie" levels. Large sections of the middle class were ruined.

Driven to desperation, labor fought back. In spite of sell-outs under the N.R.A., Terre Haute went ahead with its union organization. Today it is ninety per cent organized; and therein lies the bulwark against the ever-encroaching fascist attacks of the employers, no different from employers elsewhere, unless it be that that they show their hand more openly.

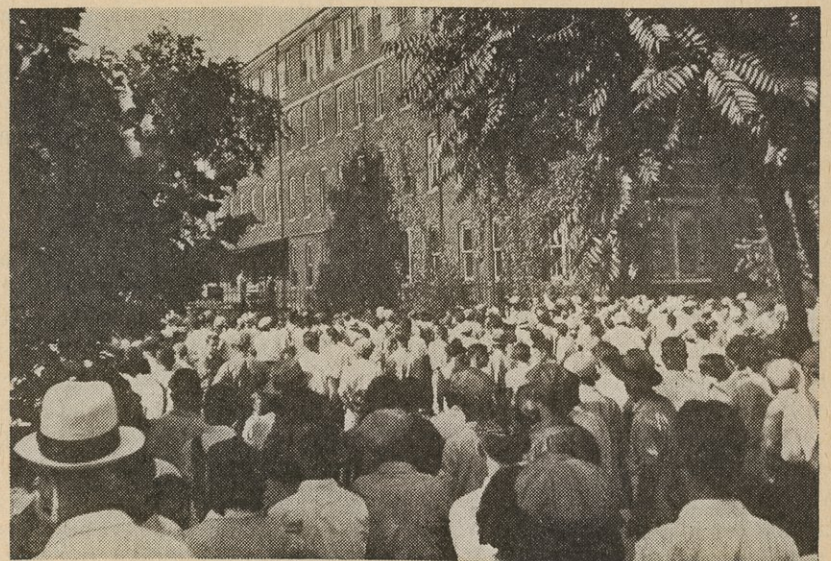
The test of strength came with the stamping mill's refusal to recognize the closed shop demanded by its employees. This demand arose after the union charged that the mill was breaking faith with an agreement underwritten by the Regional Labor Board a year ago. The workers charged that the company was setting up a union of its own.

What adds interest to this set-up is that this mill is officially outside the city limits of Terre Haute, although in the heart of the working class district, and it is tax-exempt. Its employees, many of them small homeowners, help pay the taxes for the maintenance of a police force used to take strike-breakers into the mill.

From the day the general strike was called all pretensions were dropped. The Democratic sheriff, acting for the employers requested troops of the Democratic governor. With the National Guard as its ally, the employers' organizations wiped out all civil

(Continued on page 7)

Everywhere that workers are struggling militantly for economic betterment, violence is used against them, by police, National Guardsmen, vigilantes, and other strike-breakers. Terre Haute has followed Juneau, Tacoma, Aberdeen, Everett, Union, Eureka, Freeport, Los Angeles, Galena, Toledo, etc., etc. There is no sign of abatement of terror against workers, but rather a definite trend toward increased terror of a fascist nature. Until the National Guardsmen arrived (LEFT) the strikers in Terre Haute (RIGHT) picketed peacefully; with the importation of Chicago gangsters and troops (to preserve law and order!) violence began.



BIGOT BRIGADES

By EMMETT GOWEN

INVESTIGATING the brutal subjugation of workers in the South, our delegation of writers (Shirley Hopkins, Alfred Hirsch, Jack Conroy, Bruce Crawford and myself) had a taste of legal and extra-legal lynch terror by which the ruling class maintains its power in Alabama and Georgia. On behalf of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, we planned to petition Governor Talmadge of Georgia for a pardon for Angelo Herndon, to interview Governor Bibb Graves of Alabama on the Street Anti-Sedition Bill, and to test the notorious Birmingham Downs' Ordinance, which makes it a crime to possess two identical pieces of "seditious" literature, with even liberal literature being construed as "seditious." We were shadowed, hounded, threatened, "investigated," shot at, with the newspapers carrying open indictments to violence to us as "reds." We barely escaped beating, or worse.

In the attempt to test the constitutionality of the Downs' Ordinance, Bruce Crawford, Alfred Hirsch and Shirley Hopkins were arrested, the two last named fingerprinted, and Hirsch clouted by a policeman for refusing to answer stupid questions. Then they were released to find themselves in headlines, "Hol-lums Warns of Violence to Reds." The newspapers blandly printed the lie that we had been "received with measured politeness," appending statements of the police chief which intimated to the White Legion-Klan-Vigilante elements that open season was declared on us.

All night the vigilantes circled our hotel and the next morning followed us 63 miles south of Birmingham, where, at a wooded stretch, one of them fired at us from an automobile, two bullets striking our car. We fled back to Clanton, where we had breakfast, and telephoned a demand for protection to the Governor. He, however, sent District Solicitor Winston Huddleston, who "investigated" all day, while vigilantes stood around in front of the hotel or drove up and down the highway. Then the Governor, a former Klan Kleagle, declared that we had fired upon ourselves as a "publicity stunt." He likewise intimated that the vigilantes had his sanction, and refused us protection. We had to abandon our car and escape by bus, train and taxi from the hundred per cent Americans. However, with publicity accruing to the anti-sedition bill at the crucial time of signing, the Governor apparently found it unwise to sign it.

In Georgia, where we urged that Angelo Herndon be freed, we found the Governor's office full of vigilantes. We had the disgusting experience of being interviewed by the leaders of the Fulton County Americanism Commission, an organization designed to lead a united fascist front consisting of the American Legion, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Men of Justice, United Daughters of the Confederacy, the D. A. R., various Masonic lodges, the Disabled American Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars, United Spanish War Veterans and (personally, not

officially, according to the spokesman) the Solicitor General's office. "Our intention," said Kenneth Murrell, head of the Americanism Commission, "is to keep niggers like Herndon in jail."

During the interview Murrell declared that we "represented the most gigantic racket in the United States—Communism," and this stupidity the venal Southern newspapers seized upon for their headlines.

Although Governor Talmadge said that he would "consider a pardon for Herndon," his ex-officio henchman said: "*We are good marksmen in this state; if we shoot at you we won't miss, like they did in Alabama.*"



Eleven known lynchings for 1935 is the record made by the "bigot brigades." These two Negroes were the victims of a recent double lynching in Columbus, Miss.

Is Opposition to Hitler Growing?

(Continued from page 2)

than two years, now, he has been in power. Steadily, day and night, through all this time, he has been appealing to Germans as Germans. With all the instruments of censorship and propaganda at his disposal, he has stirred a spirit of nationalism more fervent than anything of the kind elsewhere in Europe at this moment. He uses with consummate skill the memories of Germany's shame in years gone by. He pictures in radiant splendor the glamour of Germany's glory at this present hour. He uses the very terror which horrifies us to excite the people to new loyalty to a government which protects the nation so triumphantly against the enemies who would betray or destroy it.

Opposition to Hitler?—yes, among Jews, the intellectuals, the Protestant and Catholic clergy, the underground Communists and Socialists. But these groups amount to little. Opposition as such is gone—destroyed by the terror, or engulfed by the new patriotism. What the people feel is that they are Germans, able once again to hold up their heads among the nations. They are proud that they are once more free, strong, independent. They are conscious of a new courage and a fresh confidence. They are themselves again—and to Hitler they give the praise. The young people tell the story! Millions of boys and girls, trained and drilled to a fanatical loyalty to the Swastika, lift up their voices in glad acclaim of "the new Germany."

Hitler is all-powerful today. His attacks on the Jews, his war against the churches, his suppression of the veterans, are all so much evidence of his power. He does these things not because he is so weak that he must do battle against his enemies, but because he is so strong that he can ruthlessly wipe them out. And his strength lies in the devotion of a people who believe that der Fuehrer has saved them from the darkness of chaos, and restored them to a place in the sun. This does not mean that there is not discontent, grumbling, occasional sharp and bitter criticism in Germany. Especially among certain labor groups is there growing dissatisfaction over low wages, the declining standard of living, the persistent campaigning for personal contributions to public causes. But the impressive thing is that such restlessness does not touch Hitler. It has no political significance. What is fundamental is that the people cling to Hitler today as they reached for Hitler yesterday, as their one fixed hope in a confused and dangerous world. This I regard as altogether the most dreadful thing in Germany today.

Four years ago, in 1931, when I was last in Germany, I came home and made myself vastly unpopular by saying that nothing could stop Hitler. This year I have come home again, and have again made myself unpopular by saying that nothing is blocking Hitler. He may fall in some stupendous economic debacle, of which there are many signs, or in some great war, of which there are also many signs. But these signs all point to a not near future, and meanwhile things remain in Germany what they are.

YOUNG CANADA MARCHES

By LON LAWSON

Secretary, Youth Section, Canadian League Against War and Fascism.

AS THESE LINES are written, 450 young men and women are marching along the highways of Ontario on their way to Ottawa, the capital of Canada. They have been on the road for three weeks, marching fifteen to twenty miles a day in the wilting heat. Many of them have sickened on the way from physical weakness brought on by years of undernourishment. But they continue to march, cheerfully, confidently, in well-disciplined ranks. For these are the representatives of the unemployed of Canada, on their way to present to the government their demands for work at a minimum wage of 50 cents an hour for unskilled, and union rates for skilled labor.

The fight of the Canadian unemployed for work at wages, which started in the relief camps and which has led to the historic march on Ottawa, is an epic in the struggle of the working class against hunger and repression. More, it is a warning to the people of America that fascism is already entrenched on this continent, and that its present stronghold is in our "democratic" state apparatus.

The Canadian relief camps for single unemployed men are the equivalent of the C. C. C.; the camps are under the supervision of the Department of National Defense, and their primary function is to train the unemployed youth for war. The inmates work eight hours a day at back-breaking labor on airports, barracks, and other military projects, and receive in return 20 cents a day, three scarcely edible meals, and a bunk to sleep in.

Under such conditions organization and struggle are inevitable. In the face of police terror and black-listing, backed up by liberal use of stool pigeons and provocateurs, the Relief Camp Workers Union has grown in size and strength ever since the inception of the camps. On April 5 the union called a



The British Columbia Relief Camp Strikers marching through the streets of Calgary.

general walk-out of the camps in British Columbia, and 2,000 men left the camps and gathered in Vancouver.

For two months the men tried to open negotiations with the government around their demands for work at wages and the abolition of slave labor. The citizens of Vancouver and the workers of the west coast raised over \$23,000 for their support during this period. On May Day 40,000 people, including 3,000 striking high school students, cheered the marchers at the largest mass meeting in the history of Canada.

When it became evident that their attempts to open negotiations were useless, the men voted to march to Ottawa, on the other side of the continent, in order to present their demands to the government in person. A well-disciplined army of 2,000 trekkers board-

ed the east-bound freights; these men, most of them under 25 years of age, nearly all of them Canadian born, won the sympathy of citizens in every city. Thousands turned out to meet their train; tag days raised thousands of dollars in their support. Citizens' Defense Committees were set up in every large city, a united front ranging from the Communist Party to the Salvation Army and the Rotary Clubs.

On June 14 the trekkers arrived in Regina, Saskatchewan, where they were met by two Ministers of the Federal Government, who had hurried from Ottawa to stop them. These gentlemen offered to send six delegates to Ottawa at the expense of the government, while the rest of the trekkers waited their return in Regina. The delegates went, and were met by Premier Bennett with insults and slanders and a refusal to listen to their demands. Returning to Regina to resume their march, the delegates found that the government had used this breathing space to mobilize its forces. It was determined to stop at all costs any attempt of the trekkers to exercise their democratic rights to petition the government.

Regina had become an armed camp. Hundreds of Royal Canadian Mounted Police patrolled the streets, armed with machine guns and tear gas. The railway yards were surrounded by barbed wire and lighted by powerful searchlights. When the strikers attempted to leave town by trucks they were halted and thrown into jail. It was announced that a secret order-in-council had been passed making it a crime punishable by imprisonment to transport the strikers, or aid them in any way, even by donations of food and clothing.

In order to make this bit of fascist legislation more palatable to the public, the Bennett government decided on a piece of



The strikers arrive in Calgary from British Columbia

open provocation against the strikers. On July 1 a peaceful meeting of 3,000 strikers and sympathizers on the Market Square in Regina was attacked without warning by the mounted police. Fighting raged on the streets for hours as the police beat and shot down strikers and citizens. A police officer in plain clothes was killed; witnesses have been found to swear that he was killed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who were waiting for such a pretext, and immediately they ordered the arrest of 113 strikers, some on charges of murder.

The strikers, realizing that to continue their march meant more bloodshed, and that they had won a great victory in bringing their demands before the Canadian people, accepted the government offer of free transportation back to Vancouver. Meanwhile strikes and demonstrations spread through the East. 1,500 camp strikers gathered in Winnipeg, 1,000 more in Port Arthur, and 1,900 men struck at the Valcartier camp in Quebec. A delegation of 500 marchers, representing the eastern section of the march, left Toronto on their way to Ottawa. The March on Ottawa had stirred the whole country.

At the present time Arthur Evans and other strike leaders are facing trial in Regina under Section 98 of the Criminal Code. The government is trying to use this infamous legislation, under which the Canadian Communist Party was made illegal, to smash the Camp Workers Union and to imprison its leaders. The Canadian League Against War and Fascism is playing an active rôle in the united front movement from coast to coast which is defending the strikers, and carrying on a campaign against Section 98.

TERRE HAUTE

(Continued from page 4)

liberties. The Labor Temple, strike headquarters, was closed. Militant leaders were jailed. It was impossible for the strike committee to meet, as no more than three persons were allowed to congregate. More than 150 citizens were arrested for the most trivial offenses. Tear gas and vomit gas were used. Machine guns were mounted in the stamping mill arsenal.

The workers had succeeded in stopping the publication of the local papers, but they were



Ethiopians are preparing to defend their independence against the threat of conquest by Italian fascists. In the background is a village on the outskirts of Addis Ababa, located on a high plateau. At the right is shown a group of Ethiopians on the way to the capital, barefooted and armed with old rifles. The American League urges all friends of Ethiopian independence to help stop loans and shipments of munitions to Italy, to protest against the threatened war, to demonstrate before Italian consulates.



unprepared for their replacement by the radio, which was taken over by the National Guard. Every few minutes announcements were broadcast to discourage the workers. It is charged that even the strike committee's announcement of the calling off of the general strike was censored.

But in spite of the Republican Mayor's threat to call in the United States Army if necessary, something was taking place in the community which was beyond control. Terre Haute had taken sides, and the majority stood with that valiant band of men and women who are still on strike outside the stamper, still there in spite of every effort to break their ranks and open the mill.

Farmers sent food to the commissary;

members of unemployed organizations joined the picket lines. Transients refused to go in as strike-breakers, in spite of threats. Liberals responded splendidly, protesting the imprisonment of a college professor. Small business owners openly expressed their sympathy with the strikers. Women joined the picket line. Children, black and white, pestered the Guards with their sling-shot brigades.

Unfortunately the ministers of the city seem able to talk more effectively against fascism than they act. They have been the leading force in the community in acquainting it with the danger of fascism. But when their own midweek services were suspended because the congregations were largely working class, when Sunday came, the ministers invited the National Guard to their services. Three hundred troopers were scheduled to attend services in a church, the pastor of which was company chaplain.

The churches relinquished leadership of the fight against fascism, but fortunately, organized labor in Terre Haute had the militant courage to fight back. Around the leadership of organized labor the community rallied to set an example for the nation; yes, for the world.

It seems fitting that this first American strike on the clean-cut issue of fascism should come from the "birthplace and home of Eugene V. Debs," as its Chamber of Commerce advertises, adding that he is buried on Route 40, the National road. They may yet learn that Eugene V. Debs is not safely dead!



Italian troops encamped near the border of Eritrea, and troops departing for Africa.

National "Solidarity" and Civil "Peace" in Nazi Germany

By JAMES LERNER

Secretary, Youth Section, American League Against War and Fascism

IT WAS UNFORTUNATE for Dr. John Haynes Holmes that he came back with his report that civil peace and national solidarity had been established behind Hitler at the precise moment when the Nazi government had gone into a new violent rampage to destroy the invincible opposition. The headlines of the widening of the terror to include not only Jews and radicals but also Catholics and Protestant objectors, tell part of the story in a sensational manner. News seeping through the various underground sources adds to the distressing evidence.

Stefan Lorant, author of *I Was Hitler's Prisoner* (Dutton—\$2.75) offers somewhat of a clue. In his diary, kept surreptitiously for six months while he was in jail and concentration camp, he comments on travelers who see only a surface of "perfect order" in a trip through the land. They see the parades, and mistake that for national unity. They feel the quiet, and mistake it for civil peace.

Stefan Lorant was not in politics. He was the editor of an illustrated weekly which was owned by a very conservative Catholic firm. Arrested when Hitler took control, he never was able to find out why he was held. For six months he pieced together the bits of news that seeped into the jail, and came to the conclusion that his incarceration was due to the desire of Nazi business and professional

rivals to gain control of a chain of publications.

When Lorant's wife became too insistent in her attempts to free her husband, she too was jailed. The news dispatched from Germany is emphatic in its proof that the fascist regime not only strikes at the communist but, with him as the springboard, lands on all who refuse to take a positive "enthusiastic" stand for the ruling powers. The month's news from Germany includes the story of the arrest of 27 Storm Troopers at Dinslaken. They were subjected to an examination which ended only when they had to be put in a hospital. Lorant's jail included Storm Troopers who for various reasons had lost favor in der Fuehrer's legions. Then there is the news that two Catholic priests, Rev. Schwarz and Rev. Kentner, were arrested in Dresden and charged with having distributed among Catholics large quantities of "Marxist subversive literature." Whether this was actually so or whether the "Marxist" is a red herring covering general opposition to the government, is not known although reports from other sources substantiate such a theory.

In the first six months of this year 2,418 Germans were sentenced to a total of 5,607

years imprisonment and hard labor. Among these were 93 women. Prominent in the recent terror news has been the revival of "racial purity" drives. One of the men sentenced is a Düsseldorf worker who, in answer to a "Heil Hitler" salute, answered "Long Live the United Front." He was sentenced to jail and sterilization, which sentence was immediately carried out. And, according to the Sanitary Commission figures, one out of every thousand Germans has been subjected to this "purification."

Mr. Lorant was not subjected to torture while in jail. He was allowed to buy food and wines, he had the pleasant company of co-workers in one cell. From the distance, however, he could hear the agonizing cries of the proletarian prisoners and those who had been active in anti-fascist work. He spoke to those who had been tortured, and saw them collapse after their "examinations." This in the very first days after Hitlerism had arrived.

But that there has been no let-up is indicated in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*: Those taken to prison "are habitually struck across the face so that the blood flows from the ears and mouth. The rooms and corridors are often bespattered with blood. The stench is unbearable. . . . Perpetual groaning of those who have been beaten. . . . In Dresden a certain Socialist was arrested. He was badly beaten by an official. When brought before the official a second time, being a good boxer, he gave the official a knockout blow. Two other officials intervened, but they also were knocked down. Thereupon others arrived and beat the man to death."

Other news, indicating the terrible storm raging, tells of the sentencing of Communists to terms of from 9 months to 4 or 5 years on the charge of "preparing to commit high treason." Urich, the leader of the German Metal Workers Union, and Kunstler, the leader of the Social Democratic Party of Berlin, have been killed "while attempting to escape." In Düsseldorf 71 Socialists, Communists and trade unionists have received sentences ranging from 2 years to life. The terror is not without cause or reason. It, and the attempt to smash even the religious organizations, flows out of the desperation of the Nazi government in the face of the increasing opposition of the people and the worsening of the internal conditions. Trade unions are being rebuilt. Strikes have begun to take place. One of the most important of these was at the Vegesack submarine works in Bremen, where demands for pay for overtime and discharge of a brutal foreman were partially won. Another strike took place at the Ruetgers Works in Treptow near Berlin.

An article attributed to Minister of Economics Schacht discloses a public debt of \$1,135,900, which had been kept out of previous official figures. This money was used in armament building and for some of the



Britannia Rules the Waves—in alliance with Nazi Germany. The Prince of Wales, Ramsay MacDonald, Britannia herself, Stanley Baldwin, Adolph Hitler, and General Goering get together. Italy is challenging British domination of the Mediterranean Sea, and Britain makes an alliance with the Nazis.



American Boy Scouts are represented in a Hitler Youth Jamboree at Kuhlmuhe in Germany, where youthful admirers of fascism gathered recently to learn how they can help to spread the gospel of Hitlerism over the world.

artificial make-work plans. Together with this figure is an appeal for economy. Exports continue to shrink so that the adverse balance of trade is estimated at one billion marks. There is almost no gold left in the Reichsbank, and the German people are faced with the nightmare of inflation. Add these things together and the desperation of Hitlerism is self-explanatory.

Beside the continued impoverishment of the people and the gradual collapse of the state financial structure, there is the news that the Krupp armament works show a net profit of \$2,750,000 for 1934, and of \$1,800,000 for the first half of 1935. In 1933 the company had a loss of \$1,400,000.

This is the situation two years after Stefan Lorant was rescued from jail by the intervention of the Hungarian Government of which country he is a citizen. Unlike Karl Billinger's *Fatherland*, his book does not give a picture of the tremendous forces which fought Hitlerism and continue to haunt him. One does not get the reason of "why" and "wherefore" this rule of madmen. But put the two together and you have a rounded picture of the effect of fascism on all sec-

tions of the population, an effect which no tourist on a hurried journey through Germany is permitted to investigate and report.

William Gropper, who contributes cartoons to FIGHT, aroused the ire of the Japanese Emperor by this cartoon in VANITY FAIR, depicting Hirohito pulling a ricksha laden with the Nobel Peace Prize. The magazine was barred from Japan, and North China.



Vote Against Death — for Life

By DOROTHY McCONNELL

Secretary, Women's Committee, American League Against War and Fascism

OVER A BILLION dollars will be spent by the United States this year on armaments and the modernizing of the army and navy, including work relief projects. Money is being poured out for tanks, chemicals, airplanes, bombs, battleships, guns and bullets. The people of the United States pay the bills. This equipment has no use other than that of dealing death. If within the next few years it is not used for this purpose, the equipment will have lost its effectiveness and will have to be scrapped. New guns and airplanes, new chemicals and bombs and battleships will again have to be paid for by the people of the United States.

It is strange that, in all pro-war talk, the *business of war* is never described as the *business of death*. Even the smallest school-boy knows that war's chief activity is killing someone. "Bang! You're dead!" he says as he plays at war. But the militarists talk vaguely of something called "defense"—for whom and from whom they do not say. So we pay the bills and growl at taxes.

But this preparation for death is not only costly in the actual equipment. In the outlay of vast sums for material necessary only for war we deny ourselves the necessities of life. We cannot afford both the necessities and the luxury of war armaments. So we choose death rather than life.

Oh, this is not all done willingly. Today as I sit writing, the desk is covered by petitions lately arrived by mail. They are from Wisconsin and Minnesota, California and Florida. New England joins with the Northwest, and the South finds a bond with the Middle West. These are the people who are paying the bill for death. And they do not like it. They are petitioning that their money be used for the social betterment of the nation and not for armaments. They ask for total disarmament.

They do not say in actual words what they

mean by "social betterment," but we have only to look at the situation in the country today to know what they mean. Some 20,600,000 men, women and children are living meagerly on relief. Many more are living on bare subsistence wages. In not one state in the Union today is there maternity insurance. At the time we started our great drive for bigger and better armaments one out of every five school children was suffering from malnutrition, and the United States Children's Bureau estimated that the situation was growing worse all the time. Schools have been closing every year since the Great Crash. Over 2,280,000 children of school age are not in school at all.

Social workers and relief administrators are asking even now: "How are we going to take care of our people through the winter?" And yet this very week Roosevelt approved a recommendation for a bigger air service at an indefinite cost. True, he objected to the indefinite cost, but he said that he approved it because it was in accordance with his policy of military preparedness in the air, on land, and on the sea.

There is no money then, or rather inadequate money, for life, but an indefinite sum for bombing purposes.

Sometimes the cost of preparation for death cannot be measured in dollars and cents. There is something that gets loose over a country when it begins to arm heavily—a temper of the atmosphere that can be as deadly as the malaria-breeding rains of the tropics. To successfully prepare for war or for heavy armaments it is necessary that not too many questions be asked. Military men are notoriously unfit to answer the most elementary questions. The men who back the militarists do not care to answer questions. There grows up, then, an atmosphere that is fatal to freedom of speech. The most patriotic citizen rising to ask questions in

the interest of his country becomes suspect. He is labelled a "dangerous red," a "subversive influence," and his legitimate questions are lost in a fog of accusations meant solely to confuse the issue. If public opinion said "No!" to war, what country would dare to launch a war? If public opinion said "No!" to heavy armaments, it would be hard to get big war appropriations adopted. That is why freedom of speech is cut down, and we pay by forfeiting rights for which Americans have fought for three centuries.

Finally, there is another cost that concerns every mother in America: Should the war equipment be used, it would be used in war. In no war that was ever fought were the deaths all on one side. This means that the mother who has risked her health, and sometimes her life, to bear her children, who has made untold sacrifices to raise them so that they may be of social worth to the community, now sees them called to man the battleships that she has helped to buy. The human waste of war affects not only the generation that goes to the battlefields and the generation that comes after it, but it affects the generation that is left at home who sees its dreams shattered, its sacrifices vain.

The men and women who have signed the petition for total disarmament have taken the first step in showing that there are some things that the people will not willingly brook. The campaign for signatures to this petition will be carried on until the opening of Congress—probably in January. We should have many more names added to those we already have. The petitions may be had by sending for them to the Women's Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism. There has been some talk of the dangers of petitioning for total disarmament when the other nations are arming at such a rapid rate. If that is bothering any of the men and women who would otherwise sign the petition, let us tell you that the Women's Committees affiliated with the Women's World Congress Against War and Fascism are carrying on this campaign all over the world, so that this is a world-wide movement for universal disarmament. Each person who signs the petition is casting his vote against death—for life.

Third Congress of American League

THE NATIONAL BUREAU of the American League Against War and Fascism has announced that its Third Annual Congress will be held in Cleveland on January 3, 4 and 5. It calls upon all opponents of war and fascism to lend their aid in making this a mighty demonstration against these twin evils threatening civilization, and an event which will mark a tremendous increase in the activities and influence of this united front in defense of peace and freedom.

A Congress Preparations Committee is busy working out details of the plans for making the Congress a huge success. The Public Auditorium in Cleveland has been engaged. The national meeting will be preceded by a series of regional and district conferences, which like the Cleveland Congress, will meet on the commission plan.

Founded in the fall of 1933, the League has had a phenomenal growth. To the Second Congress, held in Chicago, September, 1934, came 3,332 delegates representing 1,807,201 members of League branches and affiliated organizations. Since this great representative gathering, both the membership and the organization of the League have been strengthened. New branches and City Committees have been established, new affiliations secured, until today the League membership, together with the membership of affiliated organizations, numbers well over two millions.

The unprecedented flood of alien and sedition bills and other repressive legislation abridging civil liberties which were introduced into State Legislatures and Congress this year has necessitated a wide campaign in defense of civil rights, in which the League has taken the lead. We have succeeded in helping to defeat such gag laws in many states. Mass meetings have been held throughout the country starting with a huge meeting in Madison Square Garden. Delegations have been sent to Washington and to state capitols to demand the defeat of proposed reactionary legislation of semi-fascist nature.

Among young Americans the Youth Section of the League has been a constant force working against the militarization of youth and the development of fascist organizations. The Youth section played an important part in the nation-wide student strike of April 12th, the mass demonstrations of May 30th, and in the recent American Youth Congress held in Detroit.

One of the most significant developments has been the growth and extended activity of the Women's Section. This department of the League's work has enlisted the active support of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and many other women's groups. A national drive for one million signatures for total disarmament is being conducted at present as a part of the campaign organized by the Women's Department of the World Committee Against War and Fascism.

A number of important campaigns have occupied the attention of the League in the past few months. Telegrams and letters bombarded Washington, demanding the dismissal of Admiral Yates Stirling, Jr., for his war-mongering. The murder of trade unionists, radicals and liberals in Germany brought a host of protests, directed to the German Ambassador. Stamp petitions against the projected alien and sedition laws were circulated over the country, signed and sent to Washington. League members and branches joined in the campaign against Hearst and his red-baiting, war-breeding, fascist program. Members of the League who are religious leaders have been especially active in challenging Hearst's attacks on civil liberties and workers' rights, and his campaign for the dismissal of radical and liberal teachers and ministers.

In the field, the League now has five full-time organizers. These men strengthen the League organization and program in the large centers, organize the fight against war and fascism in the smaller cities, and carry the movement into the smaller towns in many parts of the country. One of them recently made a tour to the West Coast, another is doing intensive work in New Jersey, a third has just taken up his duties as organizer for the whole West Coast area, with still another in the Mid-West. A multitude of volunteer workers carry on the active program of the League in over a hundred cities.

In the organization of the League, recent developments have been the formation of an active National Religious Committee and an aggressive Trade Union Committee. Having gained the support and co-operation of important sections of the population, both of these groups are bringing new forces into the program of the League.

The American people—industrial workers, middle class, professionals and farmers—are becoming keenly aware of the rapid development of the fascist state and of the mounting preparations for war. As a result, new Branches are constantly being formed by our City Committees, and entire districts are being drawn closer together in more effective

organizational form in the face of the growing crisis. The shadows of coming events serve as a spur to action.

Attention now is being focussed on the Third Congress Against War and Fascism. The crisis which brought the League into being—the growing breakdown of our much-vaunted economic system—has deepened, and grows more foreboding from week to week. With Mussolini's determination to take Ethiopia, the Japanese drive in North China, Great Britain's collusion with Germany, and American hostility to Japan, the world is plunging headlong toward another blood bath. With the new deal in terror against strikers and the unemployed, the wave of fascist repression in the educational field, and the more open fascist tendencies of the Federal Government, the United States faces an emergency. Rallying to the cry—UNITE AGAINST FASCISM FOR PEACE—the League is calling its Third Congress in order to broaden its base, strengthen its organization, and prepare its forces to fight against these evils more effectively. The American League Against War and Fascism is the historic movement for all those who would defeat fascism and stop the next war. The Third Congress is our next point of concentration and extension!

Repression in the Cradle of American Liberty

By JIM ALLEN

ON THE official Seal of the Town of Provincetown, Mass., is inscribed the legend: "Birthplace of American Liberty." The Provincetown people are proud of that tradition. At an early age, as school children, we are told the story of the heroic little band of Pilgrims who, persecuted at home, dared the terrors of an Atlantic crossing in a cockleshell ship. We are told of the stormy sixty-five day voyage; and how the battered "Mayflower" finally dropped her anchor in what is now our harbor on a bleak evening in November, 1620. The forty-one adult males in the company convened in her stuffy cabin and combined themselves "together in a civil body politick"; the Compact to which they then affixed their signatures guaranteed complete freedom of conscience.

The Provincetown Board of Selectmen conducted a hearing in their offices on the morning of August 1, 1935, to determine whether they should rescind a permit, issued more than a week previously, granting the use of the Town Hall auditorium for a meeting of protest against war and fascism. The background against which this hearing took place was well arranged. Outstanding were State and local police, American Legion functionaries, and "representative" business men.

Amid these "friendly" surroundings the protest-demonstration Committee, consisting of a Congregationalist Minister, the Rector of the local Episcopal Church, and a well-known Provincetown artist, was informed that the meeting would be allowed only on condition that Antonio Sameiro, a Portuguese textile worker from New Bedford, who was scheduled to speak in his mother tongue on the fascist dictatorship in Portugal, be withdrawn, and that one of the ministers be chairman of the meeting and guarantee to throttle any speaker who might make utterances of a "communistic nature."

In the course of the discussion that followed, the Committee discovered that public officials who make such ridiculous propositions are little inclined to recognize either

reason or constitutional rights. "Antonio Sameiro," chorused the Selectmen, "is a Red and a rioter. The New Bedford Police told us so over the 'phone. We don't want Red riots in Provincetown." . . . Permission to use Town Hall was rescinded. The Committee had hardly left the building before posters advertising the demonstration were ripped off the billboards outside the hall.

Protest meetings against war and fascism have taken place in Provincetown on two previous August firsts. On each occasion the Board reacted with nothing more violent than a frown.

Why, then, the sudden suppression this year?

The people of Provincetown are predominantly Portuguese. For the first time, the program of the meeting announced a Portuguese speaker. Not a Communist Portuguese but a militant A.F. of L. trade unionist. Sameiro had something to say to the Portuguese people of Provincetown. But the Selectmen do not want the Portuguese people of Provincetown enlightened. Enlightenment might lead to trade unionism; and trade unionism is anathema to certain cold storage officials and employers who fatten on cheap Portuguese labor.

And that is why there was no meeting of protest against war and fascism in Provincetown this year on August 1st.

The legend still stands today on the official Seal of the Town of Provincetown, a hollow mockery of all those brave persons and principles that give it meaning. The harbor and dunes which witnessed the birth of American liberty are today, three hundred and fifteen years later, the scene of its strangulation. The slimy tentacles of fascism have made their way into the very cradle of American Liberty.

A small group of modern lovers of freedom, organized in the American League Against War and Fascism, are working tirelessly to cut those tentacles, so that liberty may not be strangled in its own home.

NEW WAR FRONTS

By A. A. HELLER

"FRESH GOLD discoveries intensify Russia's determination to hold the East; need for a mainland line of defense—and for assured markets—drive Japan westward. Two great nations meet on a new frontier." (*Business Week*, June 15) The new frontier is represented by the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia), which separates Soviet Siberia from North China (Inner Mongolia, Chahar, Jehol, Hopei). In addition to taking virtual possession of North China, Japan is stretching grasping fingers toward the territory of the Mongolian Republic. As in the case of Manchuria and North China, military conquest is preceded by "border incidents." Such "incidents" on the Mongolian border have increased in frequency since the beginning of the year. On January 24 a Japanese-Manchukuoan patrol killed a Mongolian officer and a private on Mongolian territory; on June 23 the Japanese militarist Inukai, accompanied by a White-Russian aide, Habibulla, made an attempt to penetrate into Mongolia to make topographical studies, but were captured and delivered to the Chinese side. Thereupon the Japanese and Manchukuoan officials drew up a strong protest and presented a number of "demands" on Mongolia: to open the country to Japanese agents—investigators, officers, surveyors; to permit Japan to build a military telephone line, etc. Another "untoward incident" was reported on July 25: a band of "red bandits" raided the town of Pah-sientung, near the border, "dressed as Manchukuoan police, burned the magistrate's office and other public buildings, and killed scores of Chinese and four Japanese." (*N. Y. Times*.)

"Incidents" may be skillfully engineered—such as the burning of the Reichstag, or an attack by Ethiopians on an Italian outpost, or a "bandit" raid. An aggressive imperialist power can always find pretexts for war. What prompts Japan to seek new adventures in far-off Mongolia? There is considerable

similarity in the plans of the three outstanding fascist states—Germany, Italy, Japan. They dream of big empires. Hitler dreams of the Great German Empire of Central Europe, from the Rhine to the Dnieper. Mussolini has already taken steps to realize his dream of an African Empire. Japan is carving out a big Asiatic Empire. The aims of these powers have been proclaimed to the world, and all three have violated treaties and committed atrocities in defiance of world opinion. Each successive step has been mapped in advance; in the case of Japan, it is now carrying through the second stage in its imperialist program, in preparation for launching the third stage. This is to be the conquest of the Soviet Far East. To facilitate this conquest and guard its rear from "communist bandits" (in Central and Southwestern China), it must have, in addition to the recently acquired provinces of North China, the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic as a base for military operations.

The Mongolian Republic is in friendly intercourse with the Soviet Union; centuries-old trade routes, connecting Russia and China, pass through Mongolia; the riches of Soviet Siberia—the famous Lena gold mines, etc.—lie just north of Mongolia. Capture of this territory would give Japan immediate access to Lake Baikal and the Trans-Siberian Railway; by cutting the railroad at that point Japan counts on an easy conquest of the whole Soviet Far East, from Lake Baikal to the Pacific Ocean. And at the same time, they hope to cut off the USSR from all contact with China, from all influence in the Far Eastern sphere.

There is of course the possibility, as *Pravda* recently expressed it, that imperialist Japan may break its neck in this adventure. True, the Mongolian People's Republic (area 1,400,000 sq. miles, population around 5 millions) is in no position to fight Japan—less

so than Ethiopia against Italy. The Ethiopians are a warlike people, their terrain is unsuitable for large scale modern army operations; and Ethiopia has another, though illusory, advantage: the hope that England, in self interest, may intervene in her behalf, for England's imperialist interests conflict with Italy's, and the British fear a general African revolt. But the rape of Mongolia by Japan will not be opposed by other imperialist powers, since they hope the Soviet Union will be involved in a war with Japan that will weaken her vigilance in the West.

The grave danger in the situation lies in the fact that attack on Mongolia, or Ethiopia, might prove the spark to set the whole world aflame. The present day snipers of imperialism—Germany, Italy and Japan—are threatening world peace, which is indivisible, by their acts of aggression. They are in no position to back out: the internal difficulties in these countries, as attested by impartial, even conservative observers, force them into reckless foreign adventures. Economically, they are on the verge of bankruptcy; politically, only jails, torture chambers and concentration camps enable the fascists to maintain their dictatorship. The leaders of these countries are faced with the alternative of rule or ruin. That their aggressions may involve the whole world is of little concern to the fascist dictators. In fact, the great "democratic" imperialist powers of the world, Great Britain, the United States, and France, are openly or secretly encouraging these lesser powers, in the hope that the Soviet Union may become involved in a war and thereby weaken the Soviets and at the same time exhaust themselves, thus clearing the field for the big powers, for the uninterrupted domination of American, British and French finance capital over the entire globe.

But the gentlemen of the financial oligarchy may miscalculate. The Soviet Union is on guard; and so are masses of conscious workers and intellectuals the world over. The USSR is sparing no efforts to block the imperialists' schemes; it is drawing together in peace pacts and mutual aid alliances all governments opposed to war, and peoples whose independent existence and very lives are threatened. It has overlooked numberless provocative acts on the part of Japan and Nazi Germany in order to avoid war. By its sincere and persistent peace policy it has won the good will of millions of honest men and women throughout the world, sincere opponents of fascism and war.

"The peace work to which the Soviet Union is consecrated," says Henri Barbusse, "and its disposal to make every sacrifice; its vigilance, its indefatigable search for new methods of maintaining peace, has right up to now held in check the fury of war. . . . 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 gave this country a tremendous encouragement for the formation of a popular united front. . . . The realization of our unity in France, in the People's Front, imposes upon us a sacred obligation: that of extending the united front to other countries, of making unity more thorough and of continuing it everywhere, until the very end."



General Jiro Minami, chief of the Japanese forces in Manchukuo and North China, and his troops in action.



Luigi Pirandello, who was a distinguished Italian playwright until he became a fascist propagandist. He is now in the U. S. A. and justifies the conquest of Ethiopia because other imperialist powers also conquered backward countries!

The united front in France against fascism and war is a challenge to every sincere opponent of fascism and war in America. The American League Against War and Fascism must consider it a sacred duty to build a broad united front among the American masses on the widest possible basis to combat the growing danger of fascism in America, against war in any part of the world, war that will lead to a catastrophe beyond the scope of any one's imagination.

Italy's war on Ethiopia, Japan's war on China and Mongolia are of immediate concern to the people of America. For these wars carry the seeds of a world conflict in which the United States will sooner or later be drawn in. We seem to be, as yet, far away from these "local" battles, and we do not hear the cries of the anguished Italian mothers over their sons dying of tropical disease in Africa; nor the cries of the young girls who are forced to follow the Japanese armies . . . nor the bitter anguish of millions of Chinese impoverished, tortured, slaughtered for the enrichment of Japanese capitalists. . . . But for selfish as well as humane reasons we must come to their aid and defend the Chinese and Ethiopian people against imperialist aggression, while fighting against fascism and war preparations in our own country. If we want to block the imperialists' schemes, if we want to save ourselves, our wives and husbands, our sons and daughters, from the horrors of war and fascism, we must draw together in a mighty League Against War and Fascism, in a powerful united front that will upset the calculations of the fascist dictators and their backers, the financial oligarchs. It can be done in America as it is being done in France.

Recommended Literature

THE FUTURE OF SEA POWER IN THE PACIFIC, by Walter Millis.
WAR AND DEPRESSION, by J. B. Condliffe.

Both books are published by the Foreign Policy Association and the World Peace Foundation; paper edition at 25c, cloth at 50c.

Condliffe, in his anxiety to prove its horrible consequences, attributes all the ills of the world to war. He does not see that war is the outcome of capitalism, of imperialist rivalry, and only one of the manifold evils of the profit system. But both books contain valuable material for the fighter against war and fascism.

SHOVELS AND GUNS, by James Lasswell.
International Pamphlets No. 45.....3c

An excellent and valuable pamphlet on the C.C.C. in action, emphasizing the militarization and forced labor aspect of the camps. "The C.C.C. constitutes the largest human reservoir placed in the hands of the Army in time of peace." Assistant Secretary of War Woodring is quoted to the effect that the Army, the veterans, and the C.C.C. men should be organized "into a system of economic storm troops" that could "cope with social problems in an emergency . . . our great insurance against chaos."

The fight against the C.C.C. and all other such projects for the militarization of youth is an essential part of the fight against war

and fascism. This pamphlet deserves wide distribution. League branches can get a discount of 20 percent in quantities of 10 or more.

HALT, CRY THE DEAD.
by F. A. BARBER, Associated Press.....\$1.50

The gruesomeness of war, in text and pictures. Among the tables is one by Prof. L. Hersch of Switzerland giving the number of deaths caused, directly or indirectly, by the World War, as 41,435,000. The war destroyed \$400,000,000,000 worth of property and cost \$9,000,000 an hour for four years.

Returns from Sub Contest

FROM MAY 22 TO AUGUST 15

Literature Agent	Branch	Number of Subs Sent in
Helen Feldman	New York City	670
J. Hafner	Pittsburgh, Pa.	40
Thelma Bramley	San Francisco, Calif.	39
S. R. Zorfus	Los Angeles, Calif.	28
S. Philip Blechman	Coatesville, Pa.	27
J. F. Conway	Philadelphia, Pa.	22
Lew Davis	Plainfield, N. J.	17
Robert Immordino	Trenton, N. J.	16
Beverly Gootzit	Springfield, Mass.	14
H. O. Busch	Englewood, N. J.	14
M. Rosenberg	Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.	14
Natalie Langbein	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	14

Contest Closes September 10. GET BUSY!

ATTENTION!

AN APPEAL TO READERS, MEMBERS, FRIENDS

Our organization is spreading rapidly. League branches are springing up in many new sections of the country. The demands on the National Office are many, and are increasing daily.

We must intensify our fight against—

1. The war threat in Ethiopia.
2. The Nazi atrocities in Germany.
3. The anti-sedition bills and other fascist threats at home.

We must also strengthen our own organization by

*Maintaining and extending the work of our organizers in the field.
Building up Regional and District Conferences in preparation for our Third Congress at Cleveland in January.*

Despite the urgency of all these issues, the National Office is desperately handicapped by lack of funds. To be perfectly frank, we are having difficulty in meeting the ordinary operating expenses such as telephone, postage, rent, and other items that are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of an office and its staff. In the past month, the office staff has had to take drastic reductions in wages that were already far too low.

But the work of the League must go forward. Our efforts to build a mass movement against war and fascism must not be crippled.

The National Bureau calls upon you for immediate response. We must have your financial assistance!

READERS—MEMBERS—FRIENDS

Your organization needs your help. Now is the time; don't make us wait until it is too late. Help us strengthen the struggle for united action against fascism for peace. \$1,000 must be raised by September 15th to enable us to carry on.

Send all checks, money orders, dollar bills and stamps (no donation too large or too small) to The American League Against War and Fascism, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Los Angeles Scores Against Pro-Nazi Lecturer

THE POWER of organized protest was strikingly exemplified in the success of the Los Angeles branch of the American League to force the cancellation of a pro-Nazi lecture by Louis Jay Gerson. First scheduled for July 12, in Hollywood's fashionable Hotel Roosevelt, this lecture was switched to July 17, and finally abandoned after the League had aroused a roar of protest. Included among the hundreds who made individual complaints to the Hotel Roosevelt were 26 guests who threatened to check out.

The lecture was next announced for the Musart Theatre, but the threat of boycott compelled the theatre management to cancel the engagement. Then Mr. Gerson came to the headquarters of the League in Los Angeles to explain that he is "impartial." He said: "I am a travelogue lecturer, not a propagandist. I am interested in showing the culture, science and beauty of Germany." Selma Matlin, Helmer Bergman and Oliver Drexel, II, asked if he mentioned, in his impartial lecture, the fact that most of the prominent scientists, writers and artists of Germany are now in exile or in concentration camps? No, Gerson's impartiality did not extend that far—his job was to be entertaining and non-partisan. No future date has been announced for Mr. Gerson's lecture.

Difference Between Fascist and Soviet Dictatorship

IN AN OPEN letter to the Hearst Newspapers, Mary van Kleeck, Roger Baldwin and Harry F. Ward recently replied to the series of articles by Fred Beal in the Hearst papers, which attacked the Soviet Union. The letter stated:

"There is all the difference in the world between the dictatorship of Soviet Russia and fascist dictatorships. Governments are not to be judged by the forms of control which they adopt, but by the economic purposes of the system they serve. Fascist countries are all dedicated to the preservation of an economic system under which the rich remain rich and



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173



George Dimitrov, heroic Bulgarian anti-fascist fighter, defendant in the Reichstag fire trial, who made an eloquent appeal for unity of all anti-fascist forces at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. He stressed the necessity for Communists to join with Socialists, liberals and all progressives in defense of democratic rights and civil liberties, and in opposition to all war preparations, in united action along the lines already proved effective in the French People's Front.

the poor hopelessly poor; for these governments do not tolerate any organization by which the workers who produce and consume goods may advance their interests.

"The Soviet dictatorship, on the other hand, is organized to serve the economic interests of those who produce and consume the wealth of the country, without tolerating any class which can gain wealth by exploitation.

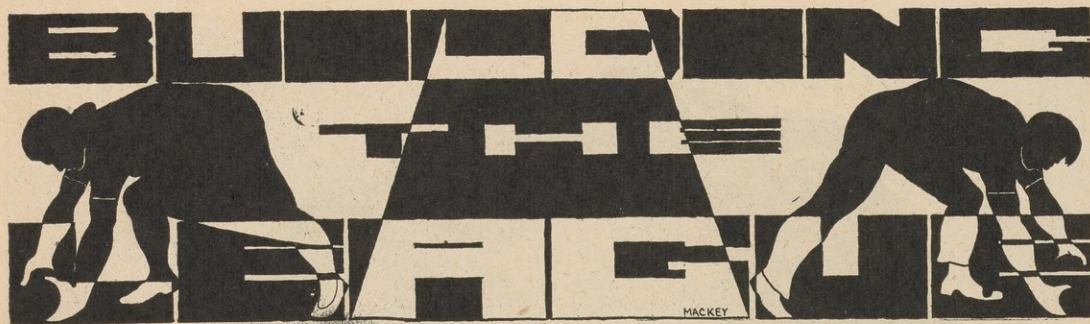
"This is the fundamental difference between these dictatorships, as alike in outward appearance, as one authority has put it, as 'two express trains on parallel tracks going in opposite directions.'"

Norman Thomas, in another letter, also condemns Beal's anti-Soviet articles. He declares that the Hearst papers "have long ago sacrificed any regard for truth and justice in their vicious campaign to divert attention

of the masses from real evils to alleged menaces, yellow or red. . . . I have continuously held that there is a great and important distinction between the Communist dictatorship in Russia, which seeks to abolish the capitalist form of exploitation, and the fascist dictatorship which seeks to maintain it."

Volunteer Help Needed in National Office

Both FIGHT and the American League still need additional assistance—our work is increasing so fast we can't keep up with it, without more volunteer workers who are willing to show their opposition to war and fascism concretely. We need typists, and other technical helpers, research workers, speakers, literature agents, organizers, etc., in all parts of the country. Write today, and we will tell you what you can do to aid the fight against war and fascism.



By PAUL REID

Executive Secretary, American League Against War and Fascism.

August Anti-War Meetings: In many cities the League took part in large demonstrations and meetings commemorating the outbreak of the World War, and protesting against the impending Italian aggression in Ethiopia. Phoenix, Arizona, organized a demonstration on August 1st through a Provisional Committee. Hartford, Conn., participated in a number of open-air meetings on the same date. Under a United August 1st Committee, Baltimore held a huge protest meeting in which many Negroes took part. Provincetown, Mass., was denied the use of the Town Hall, and the League was confronted with State Troopers, armed with tear gas bombs, who prevented a street meeting. The Detroit Committee of Action for August 1st staged a huge rally. Ithaca, N. Y., organized an anti-war meeting on August 3rd, and had many CCC camp boys in attendance. The Westchester County League held a mighty demonstration in Yonkers, N. Y., after winning their fight for a parade permit.

A huge rally in Harlem included a mammoth parade made up of Negroes, Italians, Philadelphia delegates, church groups, trade unions, and many other organizations. Reverend William Lloyd Imes was chairman, and among the many speakers were A. Johnson of the Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia, Tito Nuncio, editor of *L'Unita Operaria*; Miss Eleanor Brannan of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, S. A. Cowan of the Pioneers of Ethiopia, Robert Minor of the Communist Party, and Rabbi Michael Alper of the National Religious Committee of the American League. Boston sponsored an August 4th meeting at the Old South Meeting House with Rev. Donald Lester as chairman. Englewood, N. J. held a meeting the same date at McKay Park with Protestant and Jewish speakers. Toledo, Ohio achieved a very significant united front in a mass meeting in the Negro section. Speakers included representatives from the Central Labor Unions, the Socialist Party, the Mechanics Education Society, the Communist Party, the Negro population, and the National Office of the League. Milwaukee held a broad united front meeting in a large Negro church with Italian, trade union, and Negro speakers. Madison, Wis. organized an anti-war meeting on August 5th, while Akron, Ohio held a large meeting on August 9th. In Chicago on July 28th, the police prevented a parade and mass meeting arranged by the Joint Conference for the Defense of Ethiopia. Cleveland observed July 30th as anti-war day, and massed a huge crowd in the largest Negro church of the city. The main speaker was Alex Phillian, national organizer of the League. In Pittsburgh, Baltimore and Newark the League is continuing to organize around the Ethiopia issue, and special defense committees are being set up.

Terre Haute, Indiana: League members took part in the recent "labor holiday," and are carrying on further activity around this issue. Demand for the withdrawal of troops was made. One League member was arrested during the strike.

San Francisco: Recent activities:—Kato mass meeting, banquet and reception; delegation to Eureka to investigate fascist terror; huge Hearst trial on July 31st, 20,000 stickers, 25,000 buttons and 50,000 stamps issued in anti-Hearst drive. Boycott of Hearst press and advertisers under way. The League here now has 12 affiliates including the Inter-Professional Association, the Democratic Council and a Yugoslavian Workers' Club.

Denver: A Regional Conference for November 9 to 11 is being planned. The states to be included are New Mexico, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah. The local Executive Committee is being strengthened, and an efficient Educational Committee is at work.

Upper Michigan: As a result of a tour by Rev. Ralph Compere, state chairman of the Wisconsin League, new branches have been set up at Iron Mountain, Iron River, Ironwood, in Michigan, and at Phelps in Wisconsin. The Michigan towns plan to organize themselves into a district and to spread the League further into this area.

Croton-on-Hudson, New York: Though organized but a few weeks ago, the Croton League has drawn the attention of the American Legion, and the Charles H. Fox Post has accused the League of being Communist in origin. The local paper carried a scare story, quoting extensively from a recent attack made by their national director of the Americanism Commission. The League promptly took up the charges and challenged the local post to a debate on the issues involved.

Irvington and Plainfield, New Jersey: These two branches recently took part in picnic meetings with anti-war speakers and programs. Plainfield put on a puppet show, entitled, "Mr. Morgan and Dear John D." and a dramatic production, "Uncle Sam Wants You."

Mount Vernon, New York: Summer heat has not hampered this organization. A Youth Branch has been organized, office quarters for the League have been secured, and several new affiliates have been added. A successful street meeting was held in the Negro section of the city in preparation for the August 3rd demonstration at Yonkers. Negro, Italian, and League speakers were on the program.

Toledo: The League here is planning a District Conference for October, preceded by a mass meeting and picnic in September. The entire membership of a Bricklayers' Union recently became a branch of the League. Toledo now has 12 A. F. of L. trade unions affiliated with it, the latest of which is a Paperhangers' local. The Painters' District Council has just endorsed the League, and the Teachers' Union has recently affiliated with our organization.

New York City: A boat ride up the Hudson provided recreation and relaxation for the New York City Committee after its strenuous work on the August 3rd meeting. Over 800 people made the trip, and enjoyed the entertainment and refreshments.

Oxford, Mississippi: The League here is already busy raising funds to send a good delegation to the Third U. S. Congress at Cleveland in January.

Cincinnati: When two men were arrested for distributing leaflets on the street advertising an August 1st united front demonstration, the League immediately took up the issue and protested strongly to the city authorities.

New Orleans: The League has just been re-established in this southern city, and is already busy with a local issue. Handbills protesting the showing of "Stranded" at a local movie theatre were distributed, and two of the distributors were arrested. The League is fighting for their release and is contesting the Censorship board set up by the city administration. With a firm foothold in Huey Long's empire, the League is certain to have plenty of issues to fight on.

New Jersey District Conference: On July 19th representatives from the various League organizations met at Jersey City, and began organization work for a District Conference to be held in Trenton during the latter part of October. Philip James of Bloomfield was elected Chairman of the Conference Executive Committee, and chairmen were elected for the various sub-committees and commissions. Plans are going forward rapidly. The Call has already been written, several of the commissions are busy at work, and plans are laid for an attendance of 500 delegates at Trenton. John Franklin of the National Organization Committee is doing the advisory work in the absence of Jay Wright, New Jersey state organizer, who is on his vacation. This District Conference is serving as a laboratory and working example for our other district conferences all over the country.

Anti-Hearst Drive: Pasadena League members are circulating a petition against Hearst, and are planning a post-card campaign. Springfield, Mass., continues its activities against the Hearst newsreels, and recently sent a delegation to the manager of the local theatre. New York City has renewed its picketing of some of the neighborhood theatres because of a lack of action on the part of the manager of the Loew Theatre chain. Mount Vernon League members are co-operating with the New York City members in their campaign.

New Branches: During the past month inquiries have come from a number of widely scattered cities, and the prospects are good for the establishment of the League in the following places: Westville and Benld, Illinois; Mason City, Iowa; Pontiac, Michigan; Ithaca, New York; Provo, Utah; Covington, Kentucky; Franklin, Michigan; Schenectady, New York; San Antonio, Texas.

Herndon Petitions: Requests have come from several cities for additional petitions. Several branches have organized special Herndon meetings in order to get these petitions before the public and secure signatures.

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