

RIGHT

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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



Drawing by Franklin Sims

A CALL TO ACTION

To the American People:

ANOTHER World War comes nearer every day. The points of conflict multiply—in Africa, in Europe, in Asia. The Fascist governments plot war; the others prepare for it. The economic crisis drives them all toward it. Millions who could get no other work are now barely keeping themselves alive by preparing and being prepared to kill one another.

Never has the world seen such armaments. Our own government is building the greatest army and navy in American history. Millions of children go hungry; schools are closed; but billions are being spent to make war. We profess peace and proclaim neutrality, but we get ready to fight.

The same forces that are making war are destroying democracy. The net result of the present attempt to patch up the economic system is that the profits of the great corporations go up while wages go down; prices rise but relief falls. This is a situation which can be maintained only by force. Hence the masters of business and their political servants are making vicious assaults upon organizations of workers, farmers, unemployed and progressives. Under the pretense of defending democracy they are seeking to pass the laws which will enable them to destroy it. If they are not stopped, they will make here another Fascist state, and trample our hard-won liberties under the iron heel.

There is only one way for the American people to escape Fascism and avoid war. All who desire peace and freedom must unite in time to defeat their enemies. For this purpose, the American League Against War and Fascism was created. For nearly three years it has been organizing in active struggle all opponents of war and reaction regardless of politics, race, religion or occupation. It is the only organization calling all the people to unite in a common drive to keep the country out of war, to beat back the forces of repression, to achieve peace and freedom.

To make plans for action in the world crisis now confronting us, the League has

A national Congress against war and fascism will soon assemble in Cleveland to work out a definite plan of action to safeguard our lives and liberties. In preparing for this Congress the national office of the League is working to its utmost capacity.

The struggle against war and fascism makes constant necessary demands upon the organization which must be fulfilled if our efforts are not to be in vain. Various states and cities ask and should have organizers, but to such requests and to others, equally important, the executive secretary can often only reply, "We need funds, funds, funds."

FIGHT appeals to the thousands of its readers to help:

1. Secure one new League member and FIGHT subscriber; the cost for the two is one dollar per year.

2. If your income is one thousand dollars per year or more, give one dollar for every thousand.

The struggle against war and fascism cannot stop for lack of funds. We need your help.

called its Third National Congress in Cleveland, Ohio, on January 3, 4 and 5, 1936, at the Cleveland Public Auditorium.

WE APPEAL to all sections of the American people to join in this campaign to defend their lives and liberties.

LABOR UNIONS! Your existence is at stake. When the next war comes, your rights end. You go under military control.

FARMERS! If you let the makers of profits and war, the destroyers of democracy, have their way, most of you will become their hired workers or go on relief.

PROFESSIONAL WORKERS! What's ahead of you? When Fascism comes, it is not safe for people to think.

NEGROES! If you do not unite with those white workers, of all sorts, who are ready to unite with you, you will be slaves once more.

MINORITIES! Fascism makes war upon racial and national groups in order to divert attention from its economic failure. Refuse to be made scapegoats.

WOMEN! Fascism multiplies the discriminations against you. Protect your rights as worker, professional, mother.

YOUTH! Save your lives from war and unemployment. Take your part in saving society from starvation and destruction.

VETERANS! Once you thought you were fighting to end war and save democracy. Now do it!

PROGRESSIVES, LIBERALS, RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS—all people of



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conscience and culture! You are doomed to be enslaved to the state, unless you make common cause with the masses.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR
AND FASCISM

Dr. Harry F. Ward, CHAIRMAN

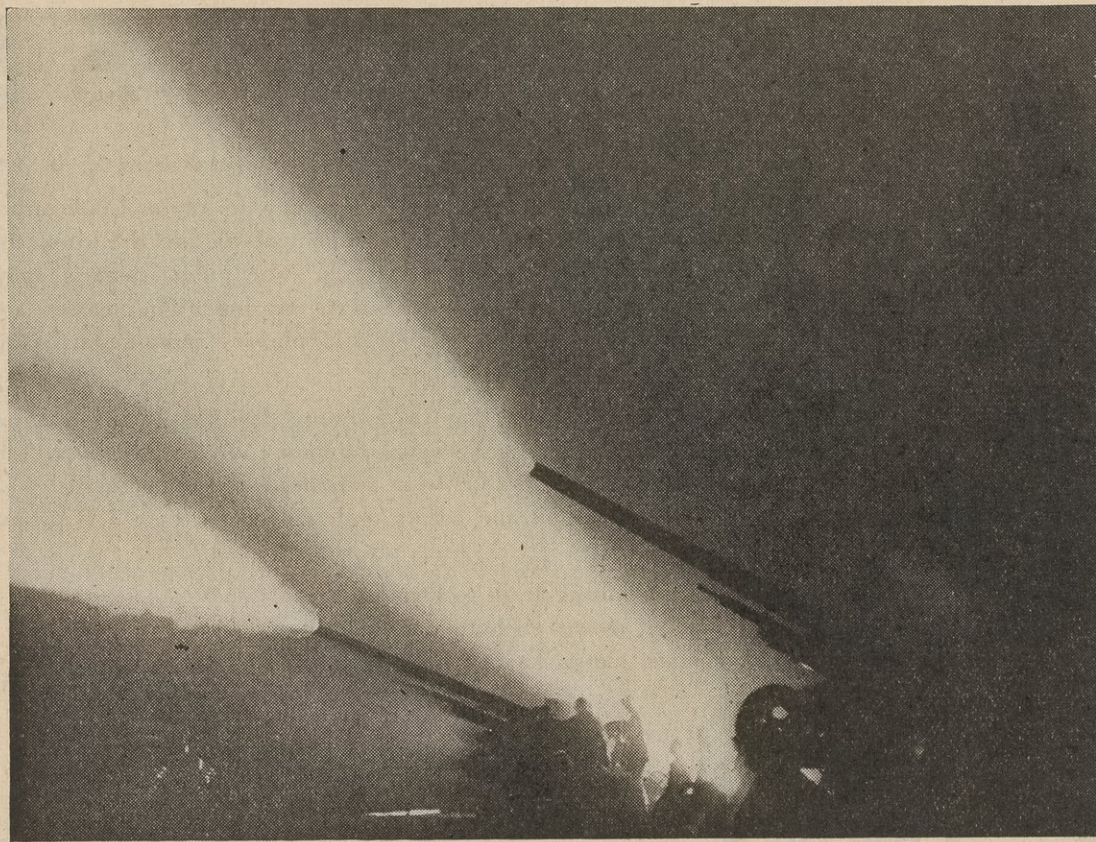
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Blowing Up Your Dollars!

Gun crews of the Sixty-Second Coast artillery in action at night against imaginary aircraft

FOR PEACE and FREEDOM

By **MAX S. HAYES**
 Editor, "The Cleveland Citizen"

The writer of this article, a pioneer in the American labor movement and a member of the Typographical Union for over fifty years, has held many offices within the American Federation of Labor, and at one time represented that body in the British Trades Union Congress. Mr. Hayes has for many years edited "The Cleveland Citizen," official paper of the Central Labor Union, which he aided in establishing in 1890.—EDITOR

WHILE the recent American Federation of Labor Convention has gone on record by unanimous vote in condemnation of fascism and Nazism, that is not enough.

This attitude, hailed with satisfaction by every friend of freedom, should now be given practical demonstration through affiliation with the *American League Against War and Fascism* and other groups that have been formed to combat the spread of treasonable propaganda and activities.

Every international, national, state and local organization of labor ought to be represented in the *League* and participate in the struggle to preserve the liberties that were won by our Revolutionary antecedents.

It Can Happen Here, Too

Let us not deceive ourselves that "it can't happen here." Over a year ago General Smedley Butler made the interesting public announcement that he had been solicited by intermediaries of certain financial interests to lead an army on Washington for the purpose of seizing the reins of government and establishing a dictatorship.

While the emissaries denied that they represented anyone and that the charges were unfounded, certain contemporaneous developments established the fact that a reactionary conspiracy was in the hatching and is continually spreading.

This plotting is reflected in the editorial and columnist eulogies of Mussolini, Hitler & Co. and their supposed "efficiency" as governmental administrators, in news reels depicting these

"popular idols" addressing huge mass meetings, the marching of troops and grandiose displays of tanks and bombing planes to spread destruction and death over peaceful peoples.

Cunning Schemes

This sinister method of pumping war psychology into peace-loving Americans is further evidenced in the cunning schemes that are on foot to suppress free thought and expression in our educational institutions, and by inculcating the jingoistic spirit in the minds of the young to make them easy victims to be sacrificed as cannon fodder for the enrichment of professional patriots and profiteers who are driving to establish a caste system and an American "nobility" of privilege.

Let the workers of this country bear in mind that the German labor movement, a dozen years ago, was the strongest in the world—that scabbing was virtually non-existent. The same was true to a large extent in Italy before the fascist regime. Today trade unions are defunct in those countries, and their leaders have been killed or are languishing in prison or hidden away in foreign lands.

Rally to the Congress

With these lessons daily before us, the organized American working people and their sympathizers, as a matter of self-preservation and to perpetuate our democratic institutions, ought to take immediate action to rally to the great national Congress that has been called by the *American League Against War and Fascism*, in Cleveland, on January 3, 4 and 5, and thus file notice on the powers of reaction and darkness that our liberties as a free people will be defended at all costs.



The Mass of the Nation

THERE is a phrase which has grown so common in the world's mouth that it has come to seem to have sense and meaning—the sense and meaning implied when it is used; that is the phrase which refers to this or that or the other nation somewhere, sometime or other, which wasn't capable of it—wasn't as able to govern itself as some self-appointed specialists were, or would be, to govern it. The master minds of all nations in all ages have sprung in affluent multitude from the mass of the nation, and from the mass of the nation only—not from its privileged classes; and so, no matter what the nation's intellectual grade was, whether high or low, the bulk of its ability was in the long ranks of its nameless and its poor, and so it never saw the day that it had not the material in abundance whereby to govern itself.—*Mark Twain*

ROBBER BARONS!

FOR MONTHS NOW a fascist state on the verge of economic collapse has been maneuvering on the African chess board with guns and tanks. At home, in Italy, the bankers, industrialists and big land owners are faced with a situation which calls for drastic action or . . . a complete breakdown of their economic order and a total eclipse of that iron rule which has turned Italy into a land of dividends, hunger and war.

Mussolini has been in power now for thirteen years (October, 1922). For thirteen years the world has been observing a fascist state in operation. We have seen the powerful Italian trade unions with over two million members completely crushed, their leaders killed, imprisoned and exiled. The industrialists and bankers have had a free hand with wages and hours of labor. The labor parties of Italy have been destroyed—they can exist only as illegal underground parties. Only Mussolini and his fascist party can function openly. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of

assembly and the right to organize—these have all been abolished.

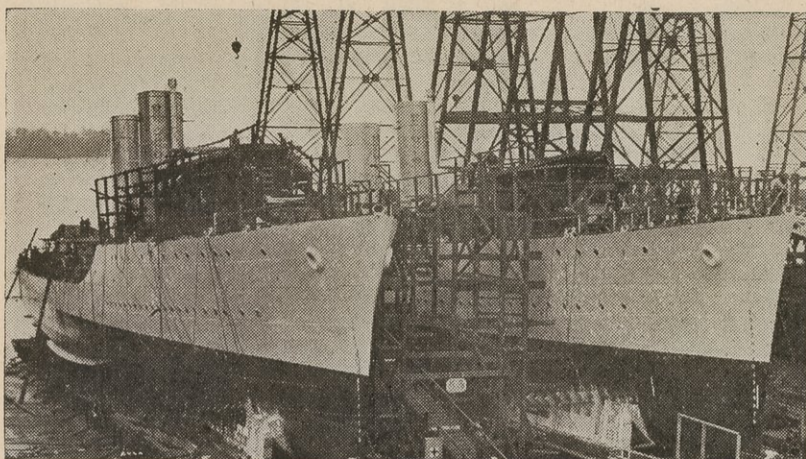
And what are the results of thirteen years of fascist dictatorship? The living standards of the Italian people are the lowest in Europe. The cultural base is sinking. The public debt is daily increasing. The supply of gold is decreasing. The masses are hungry. Even Mussolini's bombastic phrases cannot satisfy an empty stomach and low spirits.

To save the day for the Italian ruling class Mussolini is waging war on Ethiopia. "This tropic storehouse of coal, copper, oil, cotton, sugar, coffee, grain is what Italy needs to compensate for . . . a teeming population and scanty outlets overseas. . . ." (Current History)

Fascism means death to Democracy!
 Fascism means exploitation!
 Fascism means war!



Drawing by Joseph Kaplan



More ships, more dollars, more waste! Navy Day witnesses the launching in Philadelphia (LEFT) of two new destroyers, and in New York (RIGHT) a formation of navy blimps staging a practice "parade"

'NEUTRALITY'—SMOKE SCREEN

IS THE loudly-proclaimed "neutrality" of the United States regarding the Italo-Ethiopian War little more than a diplomatic smoke-screen behind which American finance-capital will proceed, under full steam, to exploit new markets and to preserve old investments? The same smoke-screen "kept us out of war" twenty years ago—until a certain cable from Ambassador Page made it clear to President Wilson that "neutrality" was far less important than the preservation of democracy.

First, American investments in Italy: According to recent figures, *private long-term investments* in Italy, as of 1930, are reported as follows:

<i>Direct investments of American corporations to Italy.</i>	\$131,200,000
<i>Loans to Italian government, including states and cities..</i>	142,900,000
<i>Loans to Italian corporations:</i>	
<i>Government guaranteed</i>	28,400,000
<i>Private</i>	108,600,000

That makes a total of \$400,000,000 staked on Mussolini's fascist State by American financial interests—and this is probably a conservative estimate—which, moreover, takes no account of numerous short-term loans and credits.

Suppose we confine ourselves to Italian bonds issued and outstanding in this country, and list a few of these which have been floated by the same Morgan interests which had so much to do with our "love" of France back in 1917-18:

<i>Kingdom of Italy.....</i>	\$100,000,000
<i>Fiat Works (rise in stock value of about 150%).....</i>	10,000,000
<i>Italian Credit Consortium for Public Works.....</i>	12,000,000
<i>Italian Superpower Co.....</i>	22,250,000
<i>Pirelli Co. (electric cables, rubber tires)</i>	4,000,000

A Simple Question

Now, just ask yourself this simple question: If my entire savings (\$100, or \$1,000, or \$100,000) were kept in a vault flying the Italian flag—or any kind of flag; and the contents of that vault were being staked on a big gamble with a lot of

By HAROLD WARD

Contributing Editor, "Living Age"

unscrupulous gangsters—how long would I manage to keep up the pretence of being "neutral" as to the outcome? If, furthermore, I were selling a lot of things at a high rate of profit to the "owners" of that vault, and "my" government told me to lay off (while secretly permitting my big competitors to go the limit)—it would be just too bad—for the government.

And that brings us to the second point: American exports to Italy. Note these facts, which were set forth in a recent issue of the authoritative London *Economist*: the United States normally supplies Italy with 58 percent of her cotton imports (the largest single item), 11½ percent of her iron and steel, 21 percent of her oil, 50 percent of her wheat, 25 percent of her copper, and about 8 percent of her machinery. During the 12-month period ending July, 1935, Italian cotton imports from the United States represented one-tenth the value of all American cotton exports—and the real war boom has just commenced.

Cashing In

A few individual cases—aside from armament and munitions, which are difficult to isolate and which, in any case, Italian factories are quite capable of manufacturing from apparently "non-military" basic materials:

In the past twelve months American exports of scrap iron and steel have increased by 450 percent over the normal annual figure for the eight years 1925-1933. 62,169 tons were shipped in July, 1935, as compared with slightly over 21,000 tons a year ago. The value of scrap shipments rose from \$240,367 in June to \$610,161 in July, 1935. Shipments of airplanes, motors and parts in the three months June-August, 1935, were valued at over \$300,000, against \$25,687 for the same period of 1934. American motor cars, busses and trucks were bought by Italy to the amount of over \$56,000 during the six months January-June, 1935: more than three times the figure for the 1934 period. In August, 1935, alone,

motor car sales, at \$54,094, were thirteen times the value of shipments in the previous August. The Ford Company alone is responsible for some 2,000 units, on order or made since March—all of them intended for Italy's Ethiopian forces. A high official of the U. S. Department of Commerce has stated that Massawa, chief port of the Italian colony of Eritrea, has become the largest import center in the world for American motor cars. In August, 1934, Italy's African colonies absorbed only about \$10,000 worth of American goods. *Since the beginning of 1935 this colonial trade amounts to nearly \$2,000,000 monthly.*

Oil! Oil! Oil!

And what about oil? "Who has oil has empire!" runs the story—and 60 percent of the world's oil production comes from the United States and dependencies. Now comes an item in the New York *Times* of November 6th, headed, OIL SALES TO ITALY BY U. S. GO UP 600 PERCENT—and—THE PRESIDENT LACKS POWER to stop shipments of this basic war essential.

During the past two months, August and September, four full loads of various types of oil left by tanker for Italian ports—as against less than one tanker for the same period last year. That is, 384,437 barrels, compared with 65,478 barrels. During the same period (August-September, 1935) close to nine million barrels of oil left the Gulf ports of Galveston, Sabine (Texas), and New Orleans alone—last year the same two months registered oil shipments from these ports of a little over six and a half million barrels. There can be little doubt that Mussolini's tanks and aeroplanes are soaking up most of this flood of oil.

Reliable figures, broken down by products and regions, are still lacking for numerous other war commodities which find their way to the Italian front. Sanctions, embargoes, warnings, prohibitions about this, that and the other sound wonderful on paper over the President's signature. But the big trusts and combines (General Motors, Ford, Standard Oil, du Pont, U. S. Steel, etc.) are not in business for their health.

GAG-BILL MENACE

By **WILLIAM P. MANGOLD**

Labor Editor, "New Republic"

THE PRICE of freedom, it has been said, is eternal vigilance. Perhaps these words have become a trifle hackneyed, yet their message was never more urgent than today.

For a new drive is now being prepared to get Congress at its next session to enact various bills that would gag and stifle labor and progressive groups throughout the country. The immediate goal is the enactment of two bills—the *Tydings-McCormack Military Disaffection Bill* and the *Kramer Sedition Bill*. These two measures, together with some two dozen other bills of the gag variety, were blocked in the last session of Congress by the strong, united opposition of liberal Congressmen, labor and church groups, and by effective newspaper condemnation. But these bills, it is important to note, were merely blocked; they were not defeated outright. All of them still remain on the House and Senate dockets, from which they may be called when Congress meets. And that is precisely what the *Chamber of Commerce* and other reactionary forces now plan to do.

Slipping 'Em Over

In a recent issue of the *Chamber of Commerce's* new monthly publication, "Safeguards Against Subversive Activities," we find the following tip-off:

The Tydings-McCormack Bill and the Kramer Bill will be called up for consideration on the first Suspension Day after Congress convenes.

This means that the proponents of these measures may be able to sneak them through on the first Monday after Congress meets in January. Under suspension procedure there would be no open hearings and probably little debate. It is important, accordingly, for labor and liberal organizations to act quickly to forestall such tricky procedure. They must familiarize themselves with the real purpose behind this gag legislation and unite their ranks against it.

The *Tydings-McCormack Military Disaffection Bill*, which was slipped through a dozing Senate last June without a record vote, hearing or debate, contains sweeping prohibitions against inciting soldiers and sailors to disobey any of their regulations. It is so worded that it threatens any pacifist opponent of military preparations, any worker condemning the use of the National Guard in strikes, in fact any critic of the army and navy. The alleged purpose of this bill is to safeguard the army and navy from Communist propaganda, or from appeals to join anti-war or anti-fascist organizations.

Good-Bye, Free Press!

But an equally obvious purpose is to make



Count them and wonder! A publicity story came out of Chicago with the above photograph to the effect that "with a relief allowance of \$30.00 a month for food, Edward Schultz has managed to feed—and to feed pretty well—his family of 18." The moral is, be satisfied with about six cents per day for food—and build more battleships

the armed forces of the government available in industrial warfare. The bill would make it a crime to advise a soldier not to shoot down fellow citizens on the picket line. It would apply not only to speeches and direct incitement but also to "whoever publishes or distributes any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter, or other writing." Thus even a letter written by a mother to her son, advising him not to shoot strikers would expose her to a two-year sentence. In operation, the bill would insulate the armed forces from liberal and progressive thought.

After its passage in the Senate, the *Tydings-McCormack Bill* was promptly reported out for passage by the House Committee on Military Affairs. It now needs only House action to make it law. However, a minority report of the House Committee, written by Representatives Maverick of Texas and Kvale of Minnesota, has properly exposed the nature of the measure. "This is fascism pure and simple," said their report, "a brash piece of Hitleristic fascism."

Aimed at Labor

In the same way that the *Tydings-McCormack Bill* would "insulate" the armed forces, the *Kramer Sedition Bill* would protect the general public. It would prohibit all statements and publications advocating overthrow of the government by violence under penalty of drastic fines, as high as \$5,000, or of imprisonment for terms as long as five years. Existing laws more than adequately protect the government against violence. Thus, clearly, the *Kramer Bill* is obviously not needed for this purpose. It is aimed not at violence but solely at statements that may be made in speeches or in writing. Frequently under criminal syn-

dicalism laws, prosecutions have been based, not on personal advocacies, but on mere membership in radical organizations. They have been directed, therefore, not at actual or threatened violence, but at political or economic opinions of minority parties and labor unions, and have been instituted usually in time of strikes.

"Fascist Concept"

This type of law, the *American Civil Liberties Union* has pointed out, "is the weapon of those who fear full and open discussion of all ideas." The minority report of the House Judiciary Committee, written by Representative Celler of New York, goes a step further, declaring that the *Kramer Bill* "sets up a fascist concept of law." In actual practice, says Mr. Celler, the bill "would doubtless lay an ax at the foot of the tree of free speech, would subject the great majority of the American people, particularly the workmen, to the absolute domination of the small minority of powerful and vested interests, would be the means of oppression against unpopular minorities, and would be used by employers and reactionary interests against those engaged in union and legitimate strike activities."

Fight the Gag-Bills!

It is not difficult to understand why the *Chamber of Commerce*, the *American Legion*, the *National Civic Federation*, William Randolph Hearst, fascists in embryo and other outspoken agents of a hard-pressed employing class are actively working for such gag legislation. But it is imperative for labor unions, churches, newspapers, for friends of free speech and a free press to be on the alert to fight the gag-bill menace.

TRIUMPH AGAINST REACTION

By HARRY F. WARD

National Chairman, American League Against War and Fascism

THE Third U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism is not being called just because we had a Congress last year and the year before. We don't intend to become victims of the Congress habit. We discussed fully the question whether it would not be better this year to have just a conference of those responsible for the work of the organization. We realized that a Congress takes time and energy away from other work—lots of it; that it takes money—plenty of it. But in the end we said that this year there must be a Congress—because of the war situation, because of the increase of fascist symptoms and the plans to put through fascist legislation in Washington, because of the urgent necessity of increasing our forces and organizing them more effectively.

Our Aim—Concrete Work

This Congress is going to be different. It will have some big inspirational meetings, but it won't have so many sessions with a program of miscellaneous speeches. The work of the Congress will be done in and through the discussion and reports of a series of commissions. They will consider and make recommendations concerning organization problems, activities against war and fascism, work with labor unions, women, youth, Negroes, minorities and religious groups. In their initial form these commissions are already at work in district conferences in various sections of the country. The information they are gathering, the recommendations they are making, will be assembled and analyzed for discussion by the national commissions which will meet at Cleveland. Their findings will be submitted to full sessions of the Congress for consideration. This means that the program which the Congress will consider and adopt will not have been made by a few people sitting in an office. It will be the result of an interchange of experience and of judgment by those who are actually carrying on the work in the field.

Weak Spots

This procedure is designed also to remedy one weakness which was discovered after last year's Congress. It was found that in some cities all the other work of our organizations had been practically suspended in order to get a good delegation to the Congress, and it was some time before the work could get back again to full operation. Also it was found in some places from which a good delegation came to the Congress that no practical work had resulted. This year the work of the local commissions in preparing for the Congress is helping the city committees to discover the jobs that haven't been tackled and to find the weak spots in their organization. Then those who come to the

Congress will bring back not only inspiration but also practical plans and suggestions which have come out of actual experience.

Our Program

There are two other big things which this Congress should accomplish. We have to hammer out our policy concerning war legislation. The concrete issues are neutrality, appropriations, conscription of wealth and industry. On each of these issues the makers of profit are deceiving and are planning to further deceive those who will be the victims of the next war. Our program must be sharp enough to pierce their deceptions and to destroy the illusions of their dupes. Also we must plan the campaign to defeat the two bills which the *United States Chamber of Commerce*, the Hearst press, and the financial powers behind them expect to get passed early in the next session of Congress. These bills are the Kramer Sedition Bill and the Tydings-McCormack Bill concerning disaffection of the armed forces.

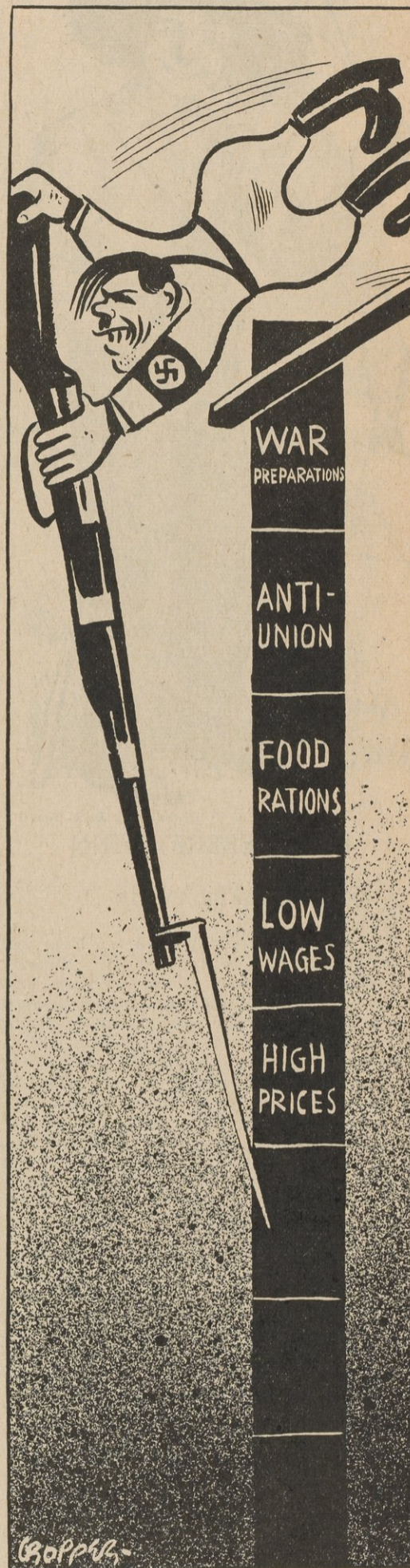
Our other task is to lay the foundations of a Pan-American section of the World Committee Against War and Fascism. We will have a delegation from Canada where the League has grown lustily in its first year, from Mexico and from Cuba. We may have one from two South American countries.

Broaden the Base

This will be a memorable Congress. Whether or not it accomplishes the tasks which the historic moment has laid upon it depends upon what each of you does to secure a broader delegation from your locality than came to Chicago last year. Remember our first slogan—Broaden the Base!

“You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death. To be loyal to rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal. . . . I was from Connecticut whose constitution declared: “That all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit, and that they have at all times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such a manner as they may think expedient.”

“Under that gospel, the citizen who thinks he sees the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal, he is a traitor.”—Mark Twain



Drawing by Gropper

Nazi—Olympics

“Sports—the life-blood of American youth—food for the body and soul of our young generation and of generations to come.”
But, utilizing sports to pole-vault over political difficulties, the Nazi rulers are turning the Olympics into a political weapon against the people

MARK TWAIN



Drawing by Ruth Covert

HUCKLEBERRY FINN

A NOTE ON MARK TWAIN 1835-1935.

The man who wrote *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer* once introduced Mr. Winston Churchill at a dinner in this country with these words: "... I think that England sinned when she got herself into a war in South Africa which she could have avoided, just as we sinned in getting into a similar war in the Philippines. Mr. Churchill by his father is an Englishman; by his mother he is an American—no doubt a blend that makes the perfect man. England and America; yes, we are kin. And now that we are also kin in sin, there is nothing more to be desired. The harmony is complete, the blend is perfect."

This was Mark Twain.

Deep were his roots in the soil of his country; carrier of that tradition which gave birth to our first great writers—the New England group—socially conscious, alert, his militant energies were poured like hot lead into a cauldron on the heads of the dominant propertied class, the slave holders, the war makers and the makers of gag laws.

Today when we are celebrating his one hundredth anniversary it is both tragic and comic to watch our "learned gentlemen" trying to forget the Mark Twain we know. But his seditious books remain—they have not yet been burned—and the entrenched ruling few cannot blot out from our memories those pages of satire, and pages of love and hate. They remain, and here FIGHT reprints a few of them.—J. P.

CLASS BETRAYAL

THE painful thing observable about all this business was the alacrity with which this oppressed community had turned their cruel hands against their own class in the interest of the common oppressor. This man and woman seemed to feel that, in a quarrel between a person of their own class and his lord,

it was the natural and proper and rightful thing for that poor devil's whole caste to side with the master, and fight his battle for him. . . .

It reminded me of a time . . . when the "poor whites" of our South who were always despised and frequently insulted by the slave lords around them and who owed their base condition simply to the presence of slavery in their midst, were yet pusillanimously ready to side with the slave lords in all political moves for the upholding and perpetuating of slavery, and did finally shoulder their muskets and pour out their lives in an effort to prevent the destruction of that very institution which degraded them. And there was only one redeeming feature connected with that pitiful piece of history, and that was that secretly the "poor white" did detest the slave-lord, and did feel his own shame. That feeling was not brought to the surface, but the fact that it was there and could have been brought out, under favoring circumstances, was something. . . .

—Connecticut Yankee.

COLONIAL OPPRESSION

"YES, they go telling everything, these chattering. They tell how I levy incredibly burdensome taxes upon the natives—taxes which are a pure theft; taxes which they must satisfy by gathering rubber under hard and constantly harder conditions, and by raising and furnishing food supplies gratis—and it all comes out that when they fall short of their tasks through hunger, sickness, despair and ceaseless and exhausting labor without rest, and forsake their homes and flee to the woods to escape punishment, my black soldiers, drawn from unfriendly tribes and instigated and directed by my Belgians, hunt them down and butcher them and burn their villages—reserving some of the girls. They tell it all; how I am wiping a nation of friendless creatures out of existence by every form of murder, for my private pocket's sake. But they never say although they know it, that I have labored in the cause of religion at the same time, and all the time, and have sent missionaries there (of a "convenient stripe" as they phrase it) to teach them the error of their ways, and bring them to Him, who is all mercy and all love, and who is the sleepless guardian and friend of all who suffer. They tell only what is against me, they will not tell what is in my favor."—King Leopold's Soliloquy.

EXPLOITATION

NOW, then what is going to happen as regards wages? In that remote day, that man will earn, with one week's work, that bill of goods which it takes you upwards of fifty years to earn now. Some other pretty surprising things are going to happen, too. Brother Dowley, who is it that determines, every spring, what the particular wages of each kind of mechanic, laborer, and servant shall be for that year?

Sometimes the courts, sometimes the town council; but most of all, the magistrate. Ye

may say, in general terms, it is the magistrate that fixes the wages.

Doesn't ask any of those poor devils to help him fix their wages for them, does he?

Hm! That *were* an idea! The master that's to pay him the money is the one that's rightly concerned in that matter, ye will notice.

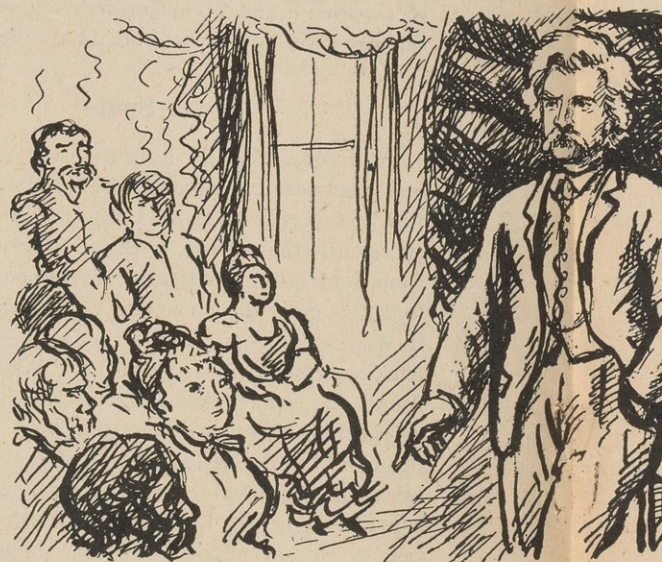
Yes—but I thought the other man might have some little trifle at stake in it too; and even his wife and children, poor creatures. The masters are these: nobles, rich men, the prosperous generally. These few, who do not work, determine what pay the vast hire shall have who *do* the work. You see? They're a combine . . . and then all of a sudden the wage-earner will consider that a couple of a thousand years or so is enough of this one-sided sort of thing; and he will rise and take a hand in fixing his wages himself. Ah, he will have a long and bitter account of wrong and humiliation to settle.—A Connecticut Yankee.

IMPERIALISM

EXTENDING the Blessings of Civilization to our Brother Who Sits in Darkness has been a good trade and has paid well on the whole, and there is money in it yet, if carefully worked—but not enough in my judgment to make any considerable risk advisable. The People That Sit in Darkness are getting to be too scarce—too scarce and too shy. And such darkness as it now left is really of but an indifferent quality and not dark enough for the game. The most of these People that Sit in Darkness have been furnished with more light that was good for them or profitable for us. We have been injudicious.

The Blessings-of-Civilization Trust, wisely and cautiously administered, is a Daisy. There is more money in it, more territory, more sovereignty and other kinds of emoluments, than there is in any other game that is played.

But Christendom has been playing it badly of late years and must suffer by it in my opinion. She has been so eager to get every stake that appeared on the green cloth, that the



Mark Twain addressing a

WAIN SAYS

PEOPLE WHO SIT IN DARKNESS have noticed it—they have begun to show alarm. They have become suspicious of the Blessings of Civilization, more—they have begun to examine them. This is not well.

The Blessings of Civilization are all right and a good commercial property. There could not be a better in a dim light. In the right kind of a light and at a proper distance—with the goods a little out of focus—they furnish this desirable exhibit to the Gentlemen Who Sit in Darkness:

LOVE	LAW AND ORDER
JUSTICE	LIBERTY
GENTLENESS	EQUALITY
CHRISTIANITY	HONORABLE DEALING
PROTECTION OF THE WEAK	MERCY
TEMPERANCE	EDUCATION

There, is it good? Sir, it is pie. It will bring into camp any idiot that sits in darkness anywhere—but not if we adulterate it...

It is a distress to look on and note the mis-moves, they are so strange and so awkward. Mr. Chamberlain manufactures a war out of materials so inadequate, and so fanciful that they make the boxes grieve and the gallery laugh, and he tries hard to persuade himself that it isn't purely a private raid for cash, but has a dim vague respectability about it somewhere if he could only find the spot.

It is bad play, bad. For it exposes the Actual Thing to Them That Sit in Darkness, and they say, "What! Christian against Christian, and only for money? Is this a case of magnanimity, love, gentleness, mercy, protection of the weak—this strange and over showy onslaught of an elephant upon a nest of field mice on the pretext that the mice have squeaked an insolence at him—conduct which 'no self-respecting government could allow to pass unavenged?' as Mr. Chamberlain said. Was that a good pretext in a small case when it had not been a good pretext in a large one?... Is this Civilization and Progress? Is it some-

thing better than we already possess? These harryings and burnings and desert-makings in the Transvaal—is this an improvement on our darkness?...

Next, to our heavy damage, the Kaiser went to playing the game without first mastering it. He lost a couple of missionaries in a riot in Shantung and in his account he made an overcharge for them. China had to pay a hundred thousand dollars a piece for them in money; twelve miles of territory—containing several millions of inhabitants and worth \$20,000,000; and to build a monument and also a Christian church; whereas the people of China could have been depended upon to remember the missionaries without the help of those expensive materials. This was all bad play. Bad, because it would not and could not and will not now or ever deceive the Person Sitting in Darkness—He knows that it was an overcharge.... And by and by comes America, and our Master of the game (McKinley) plays it badly.

For presently came the Philippine temptation....

The more we examine the mistake, the more clearly we perceive that it is going to be bad for Business. The Person Sitting in Darkness is almost sure to say, "There is something curious about this—curious and unaccountable. There must be two Americas—one that sets the captive free, and one that takes a once-captive's new freedom away from him and picks a quarrel with him with nothing to found it on; then kills him to get his land."...

The truth is, the Person Sitting in Darkness is saying things like that, and for the sake of the Business we must persuade him to look at the Philippine matter in another and healthier way. We must arrange his opinions for him. I believe it can be done—for Mr. Chamberlain has arranged England's opinion of the South African matter, and done it most cleverly and successfully. He presented the facts—some of the facts—and showed those confiding people what the facts meant. He did it statistically, which is a good way. He used the formula: "Twice two are fourteen, and two from nine leaves thirty-five." Figures are effective, figures will convince the elect.

Now my plan is a still bolder one than Mr. Chamberlain's, though apparently a copy of it. Let us be franker than Mr. Chamberlain; let us audaciously present the whole of the facts, shirking none, then explain them according to Mr. Chamberlain's formula. This daring truthfulness will astonish and dazzle the Person Sitting in Darkness, and he will take the Explanation down before his mental vision has had time to focus....

Having now laid the historical facts before the Person Sitting in Darkness we should bring him to again, and explain them to him. We should say to him:

"They look doubtful but in reality they are not. There have been lies—yes, but they were told in a good cause. We have been treacherous, but that was only in order that real good might come out of apparent evil. True,



Drawing by Ruth Covert

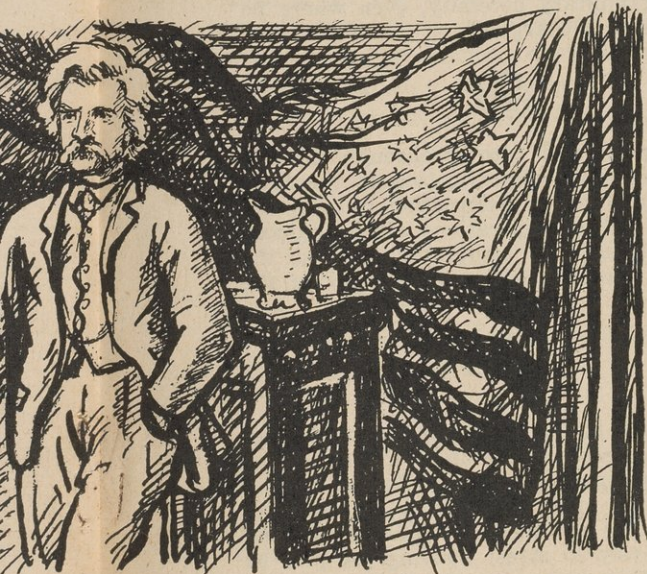
TOM SAWYER

we have crushed a deceived and confiding people. We have turned against the weak and friendless who trusted us. We have stamped out a just and intelligent and well-ordered republic; we have stabbed an ally in the back, and slapped the face of a guest; we have bought a shadow from an enemy that hadn't it to sell; we have robbed a trusting friend of his land and liberty; we have invited our clean young men to shoulder a discredited musket and do a bandit's work under a flag which bandits have been accustomed to fear, not to follow; we have debauched America's honor, and blackened her face before the world; but each detail was for the best. We know this. The Head of the State and Sovereignty in Christendom and 90 per cent of every legislative body in Christendom including our Congress and our Fifty State Legislatures are members, not only of the church, but also of the Blessings-of-Civilization Trust.

"This world-girdling accumulation of trained morals, high principles and justice, cannot do an unright thing. It knows what it is about. Give yourself no uneasiness. It is all right."

Now then, that will convince the Person, you will see. It will restore the Business. Also it will elect the Master of the Game to the vacant place in the Trinity of our national gods, and there on their high thrones the Three will sit, age after age in the people's sight, each bearing the Emblem of his service: Washington—the Sword of the Liberator. Lincoln—the Slave's Broken Chains. The Master—the Chains Repaired.

It will give the Business a splendid new start. You will see.—*To the Person Sitting in Darkness.*



Drawing by Ruth Covert

Wain addressing a meeting



A Christmas card from Hitler

Drawing by Theodore Scheel

'PEACE' PLANNING

By F. M. VAN WICKLEN, Jr.

PLANNED destruction—this is the essence of economic planning under our present social order. This is the essence not only of the plans evolved by fascism—the Corporate State, the Totalitarian State—but obtains also in the great conglomeration of plans submitted and applied by the New Deal Government.

The A.A.A. is a typical case of "peace" planning in the United States. Its purpose was to raise the price of farm commodities thus allowing greater return to the grower. In order to do this crops had to be destroyed or limited. The plan—an attempt to overcome evils within the price system—became in action an anti-social force.

Advocates of planning within a profit economy prefer such examples as Norris Dam and Muscle Shoals. Here we have the forces of nature harnessed for production. One might assume from the inspired publicity emanating from the Tennessee Valley Authority that this production was part of a social economic plan to make nature serve the needs of the people. Instead, the Government offers to sell this power to private industry. But only a limited number of private industries buy. Government power goes begging. The "planners" are disappointed but not entirely disheartened, for war offers a way out.

Death Charts

The great productive forces of the Tennessee River have, in fact, already been conscripted for the next war. Under "Powers and Duties of the Corporations," contained in the little publicized Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, we find the following: "To establish and maintain experimental laboratories for the purpose of enabling the corporation to furnish nitrogen products for military purposes; such products to be available to the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Navy at cost. To furnish to the War Department, without charge, as much power as is necessary—" The needs of war of big business will be served. Thus again we learn

that under a profit economy planned production equals planned destruction.

"If it be true that the United States is spending more money in preparation for war than any other country in the world, the task which the Civilian Conservation Corps has undertaken on the vast military reservation seven miles north of this city (Little Rock, Arkansas) may be considered both significant and premonitory." We quote from Captain Hilton H. Railey writing in the *New York Times* of October 24: "—One may speculate on the military possibilities of this body at a time when in Europe and the Far East 'the storm is up and all is on the hazard'" and poses the question, "—for an expeditionary force in the next war?" The C.C.C. headquarters, of course, refuse information. Concluding, Captain Railey says, "Perhaps it would be more expedient to ask the War Plans Division of the General Staff at Washington." The C.C.C. today is a War Department plan, and the War Department is no piker at planning.

A Farsighted Crowd

Just as destruction is the essence of all economic planning under capitalism, so the forces directly involved in destruction—the army, the navy, etc. (known as "instruments of defense")—prove to be the most complete and efficient although the least publicized examples of economic planning within a profit economy. The gentlemen who plan the machinery of war are a farsighted crowd. The mapping out of maneuvers, the plans for mobilization and conscription of man power, the concentration points for ordnance, problems of transportation, etc., merely give us a glimpse of the complete military picture. The war "planners" include in their blueprints the industrial as well as natural resources of the nation. Each potential war plant at present making peacetime products is prepared at a moment's notice to be con-

(Continued on page fourteen)

GUNS AND CASTOR OIL

By order of the Secretary of War and signed by Douglas MacArthur, General, Chief of Staff, the United State Government has recently issued a military manual on civil disturbances. In the main, the examples given deal with strikes. We reprint here a few of the items:

"In some cases it will be necessary to make a house-to-house search for arms, or for the purpose of arresting the male inhabitants.

"Mopping-up or searching parties will be sent through the houses on each side of the street, and it may be necessary for such parties to enter some of these houses through breaches made in connecting walls.

"If houses are not connected, it may be best for parties to approach rapidly from different directions at the same time, while fire is being brought to bear on windows."



"Troops have a right to use such force as is necessary to carry out their orders and to accomplish their military mission, and individual officers and men are not liable for honest errors of judgment in determining how much force is necessary in a given emergency. . . ."



"Blank cartridges should never be used against a mob, nor should a volley be fired over the heads of the mob even if there is little danger of hurting persons in rear. Such things will be regarded as an admission of weakness, or as an attempt to bluff, and may do much more harm than good."



"It does not follow that a prisoner arrested and detained by the military authorities under martial law or otherwise in aid of the civil authorities would necessarily be released or turned over to the civil authorities for trial at the hearing of the writ, for the courts usually hold such arrest and detention to be lawful in such situations upon reasonable showing of military necessity, even where no specific crime is charged."



"Driving the mob into or through the districts of the city where looting is the least profitable and where destruction of property incident to military operations will be reduced to a minimum and preferably fall on the rioters or the class of people composing the rioters."



"There will be many cases where tanks can be used to good advantage. Certainly the moral as well as the physical effect of a tank bearing down upon a mob will do much toward breaking up the mob. Tanks have been used effectively in street fighting. A pole or spar has been lashed to the tank and this used as a battering ram to break in doors or make breaches in barricades."

THE TWO AMERICAS

1. In the U. S. A.

By **LOWELL WAKEFIELD**

Editor, "Voice of Action"

A BOARD ship is the black shirt gang. Ashore are the members of the Seattle local of the MFOW (Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers). Leaders in the great general maritime strike, in the tanker strike, they were among the first to adopt as their own the Northwest's militant and glorious traditions of anti-war action.

Ship reports listed the arrival at East Waterway on October 13 of the Italian motorship *Cellina* (Unlucky 13 for the Blackshirt dictator), to load the Northwest's priceless spruce for airplanes.

In the Lead

The waterfront had buzzed for a week. Militants in the union, on their toes, drafted a resolution:

"Whereas war between two nations is no longer a mere threat but is today a horrible reality;

"Whereas, each day, as the fascist legions of Italy advance further and penetrate deeper into the invaded territory of peaceful Ethiopia in their attempts to enslave Ethiopia and thus conquer an additional market, **A WORLD WAR IS IMMINENT!**

"Whereas, certain American capitalist firms, notably Standard Oil Company of California, are preparing to transport oil to the Italian army thus creating a possibility of involving us in a war to protect their profits;

"Whereas, our President has correctly proclaimed that seamen sailing into the war zone do so at their own risk,

"Therefore, be it resolved, that we refuse to sail on any ships chartered for Italy, Eritrea, or Italian Somaliland, and that we instruct our delegates to the Washington State District Council of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, and to the Central Labor Council, to recommend to the above bodies that they instruct their respective affiliates to refuse to handle or load any commodities destined for Italy, Eritrea, or Italian Somaliland,

"And further be it resolved that copies of this resolution be immediately submitted to the press."

A *viva voce* amendment making the resolution cover "any war zone" was carried. And the resolution itself was cheered to unanimous approval.

Action! Action!

Next night: Central Labor Council. The delegate of the Marine Firemen reads his resolution.

Ed Weston jumps to move its adoption; Weston—storm center of the council's bat-

les, business agent of the Boilermakers, secretary of the Metal Trades Council, and beaten by but a few votes for Central Labor Council secretary.

And the Seattle Central Labor Council voted the resolution, with cheers.

The local Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia rapidly drummed up a picket line. Newspapers ran leading articles: **TIE-UP THREATENED.**

But the *Cellina* dodged the picket line, went secretly to Olympia, was rebuffed there, sneaked into Seattle at 2:30 A. M. two days later, and out again.

Here in Seattle there is more than sentiment against war. We have acted, and gone on record.

And in Seattle labor may be proud of its record.

Our National Guardsmen "mutinied" rather than attack Pullman strikers at the close of the last century.

Our printers struck Hearst's *Post-Intelligencer* during the world war, and, in a declaration that electrified the world, decided that not a wheel would turn until a jingoist advertisement was removed and the first edition (already in the mails) was recalled and destroyed.

Our longshoremen risked cancellation of a hard-won agreement to hold up the steamer *Delight*, loading with arms for Vladivostok and the hordes of Kolchack.

Great Tradition Continues

Sparks of the spirit which inscribed those chapters into the history of the fight against war glow again today in the Seattle labor movement.

As I finish this article a wire from our Portland correspondent comes to my desk:

LONGSHOREMEN REFUSE HUNDRED PER CENT LOAD BOAT CELLINA STOP VOLUNTARY PICKET LINE.

The Pacific Northwest has set the standard for American labor!

A section of the peace demonstration in New York participated in by tens of thousands of people at which the Italian invasion of Ethiopia was denounced

2. South of Texas

By **LUCILE PERRY**

TO THE shrieking of factory sirens one day in October half a million workers in Mexico City left their jobs to demonstrate in the streets against the invasion of Ethiopia by Italian fascism. A few days before, demonstrators had broken the windows of the Italian Consulate and presented a resolution to President Cardenas demanding the severing of diplomatic relations with the Italian Government. But this biggest demonstration in the Western hemisphere against Mussolini's war, taking place just across the border from Texas, caused scarcely a ripple in the United States.

Even though it failed to make the headlines the demonstration in Mexico was of immense importance to the people of the United States. It was not only a strike against Italy's aggression in Ethiopia—it was also a strike against the "gringo" Liberty Leaguers and their pals who have all too long encroached upon the economic and political independence of Mexico and the other countries of Latin America, and who are, at the same time, busily handing out anti-labor propaganda in the United States. The strike was a dramatic warning that there exists a vital and growing movement in Latin America against feudal and imperialist reaction.

Oil, Nitrates, Cotton

That it took place at one of the world's greatest sources of raw materials made it doubly important. Mexico produces oil. So do Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela, the latter the world's third largest producer. From Chile come nitrates, from Argentina and Uruguay preserved meats, from Brazil cotton, from Cuba sugar. These are all needed for war. In view of this the Mexico strike appears almost as significant as would, say, an anti-war strike of munitions workers in the United States.

And the strike in Mexico was simply the



opening gun of a whole series of explosions that are bound to occur in Latin America. There is Brazil where every progressive political party, every trade union and every organization really representative of the people have united in the *National Liberation Alliance* to combat the Hitler-tainted fascist movement of the *Integralists* and imperialist despoilers of their country. Cuba, Argentina, Uruguay, geographically our next-door neighbors, are putting up a gallant and effective struggle against the same influences that threaten the liberty and security of the people of the United States. Yet to the average American the republics south of the Rio Grande still seem as remote as Afghanistan or Morocco.

Cash and Cocoanuts

To those other Americans—imperialistically inclined—and to the White House which has looked after their interests, it is a different matter. They realize with alarm what is happening. They realize, too, that competition with Great Britain, Japan and the other powers for control of Latin America is becoming sharper, and is bound to lead to ever more serious difficulties. It was not merely because of an idle whim that President Roosevelt went angling for sword fish off the Cocos Islands (incidentally a source of cocoanuts from which gas masks are made).

United States capitalists have investments in Latin America to the tune of some five billion dollars. They control the lion's share of the raw materials and of the markets in Latin America. They have imposed not only economic vassalage on Latin America, but political vassalage as well, reducing the various republics to the status of semi-colonies. And to show both the rival imperialists and the Latin American nations themselves that they mean business they spend American taxpayers' money on elaborate military defense at the Panama Canal, on a naval base at Guantanamo, Cuba, on the military Pan-American Highway and on diplomatic representatives who are kept too busy with the internal affairs of the nations to which they are sent to represent the real wishes of the American people. It is hard luck for Latin America, but it is our hard luck, too.

An American Front

And the best way we can change that hard luck is to unite the movement against war and fascism in the United States with that movement in Latin America. The action of the Mexican workers parallels that taken by the Seattle trade-unionists, and is an indication of the community of interests of the people of the two Americas. The *American League Against War and Fascism* in extending invitations to Latin American delegations to attend its coming Congress has already opened the way for uniting the anti-war and anti-fascist movements throughout all the Americas. It will be more than a neighborly gesture. It will mean a greatly strengthened movement and an all-American front against war and fascism. That the militarists will not like it is just that much more proof that we need it.

YOUTH Under FASCISM

By M. B. SCHNAPPER

ALMOST THE entire generation brought up under Italy's Fascist régime has been subjected to intensive psychological and physical training from early childhood by the most thoroughgoing military preparation machine which has ever threatened the civilized or uncivilized world.

The Fascists themselves lay claim to the fact that their system is far superior to that of the Spartans—in techniques and results. Proudly asserts *The Opera Nazionale Balilla*, official publication of Italy's gigantic youth military training organization:

Education which in Sparta was merely crude and cold becomes on the contrary strong, orderly, and graceful in Italy.

There can be no denying that Mussolini's methods are artistic when compared to those of Lycurgus, Sparta's chief "legislator." Lycurgus indeed seems like a Quaker minister beside Mussolini.

Sparta at its most vicious did not, as does Italy, attempt to exert military influence on the child before it became seven years of age,



The dealer in death, Irenée Du Pont, of the munitions firm of E. I. Du Pont de Nemours, dancing gaily during a recent ball in Havana

did not give military training with weapons to juveniles, did not require youngsters to wear uniforms and to salute incessantly, did not militarize academic education, did not appoint military officers as teachers, did not militarize girls or young women in any way, did not give the boy intensive military training before he was twenty years of age.

Babies in Uniforms

While the military training of Fascist Italy's youth is, of course, more intensive today than it has ever been, its essence has been in existence since Mussolini smashed his way into power in 1922.

The influence of Fascist militarism upon the child is exerted—through birth bonuses—even before its conception. Its direct influence begins at birth—and ends at death. The Italian child's first toy, more often than not, is a celluloid rattle depicting Mussolini's militia prancing about. His first picture book fairly bursts with gay photos or drawings of Black Shirts of every variety and in every conceivable pose. His first impression of deity is derived from the ubiquitous photos of Il Duce resplendent in Army regalia, which become almost as familiar to him as his mother's face. His swaddling diapers are replaced at the earliest opportunity by one of the colorful variations of the juvenile Black Shirt uniforms.

Almost as soon as he is taught to walk he is taught to handle a gun. He gets that instruction when at six years of age he becomes a member of the *Sons of the Wolf*.

At the age of 8 he is incorporated into the *Balilla* and subjected to elementary military training.

At the age of 14 he is graduated—whether he likes it or not—into the ranks of the *Avanguardisti*, and until his 18th year is given intensive training for actual participation in battle. If the *Avanguardisti* officers so determine he is, in lieu of battle training, prepared for the Air Force through special instruction given by that organization.

If he lives in a seaport town he is trained for Navy service between his 8th and 18th years by the Naval *Balilla* and *Avanguardisti*.

Girls and Boys

Girls between 8 and 14 are trained by the *Piccole Italiane* along lines which differ little from that of the *Balilla* for boys of the same age group.

Girls between 14 and 18 are prepared by the *Giovane Italiane* to take their place on the industrial battlefield in case of war, and to look forward eagerly to the day when they may become the proud mothers of Italy's soldiers.

At 18 the Italian boy is put through compulsory preparatory military training along specialized lines until at 21 he is drafted into the Army for two years of service. Upon completing Army service at 23 he remains subject to intermittent periods of post-military training and liable for military service until his 55th year.

Drilling the Mind

The various forms of physical military training from the 6th year upward are complemented by mental military preparation in
(Continued on page fourteen)



NEWS ITEM: "After a long series of conferences the Japanese Army has decided to offer active aid to Chiang Kai-Shek."—New York Times

Drawing by Gorelick

The Far Eastern Situation

By LAWRENCE HEARN

THE FORCES now at work in the Far East have developed fast in recent months. The race for leadership in the destiny of a quarter of the world's population will be decided not only by the groups directly involved in the Far Eastern situation, but to an important extent by the indirect pressures that can be brought to bear on national policies in other parts of the world and by the assistance which other groups can give to the two camps in China and Japan and to the one camp in the Soviet Union.

Broadly speaking, the forces now operating for human welfare are three: the workers and farmers of Japan under the leadership of a relatively small militant trade and peasant union organization and a ruthlessly suppressed radical political movement; the workers and peasants of China under the leadership of the Chinese soviet movement, and the partisan anti-imperialist forces struggling against Japanese control in Manchukuo; and the Soviet Union with its determined policy of peace.

Enemies of Peace

Pitted against these is the unremitting pressure of imperialism with its familiar by-products of war and fascism. In the Far East this pressure springs directly from the Japanese financial and economic oligarchy where it frequently finds expression through the army and navy; from the Nanking government of China inevitably, in the logic of the situation, linked to foreign imperialisms, including the Japanese, and gaining local support from the remnants of feudalism and the beginnings of capitalism; and, thirdly, from the other imperialist powers, besides Japan.

In judging the outcome of the contest between these two groups of forces great weight must be given to recent developments in Soviet China. An historic meeting of worker and peasant forces from the northern and southern parts of the country took place last June in the extreme western interior, in the province of Szechuan towards the headwaters of the Yangtze River. There a region which had for

a year been under militant influence was greatly extended and the process of sovietization hastened. During the next three months parts of the Red Armies pushed northward in fan-like fashion to occupy the entire southern third of the province of Kansu and the southwestern corner of Shensi province. About two hundred or two hundred and fifty miles to the northwest another large area, already largely sovietized, has been expanding over a region occupied for over a year in the northern caps of Shensi and Shansi provinces. In other parts of China the worker and peasant areas are also being maintained or strengthened, but it is in these northwestern regions that the main concentration of the liberation is located.

The New Front

Geographically, these developments place the Chinese workers' and peasants' movement on the threshold of, and in some parts actually within, the north China territory that Japan is attempting to grab. And it places it at the back door of China's peripheral provinces (Sinkiang, the Outer Mongolian People's Republic, and Inner Mongolia) through large parts of which Japanese imperialists must move to attack the Soviet Union.

Combine with this geographical position the possibilities of forming a powerful united front of all the groups in China—and there are many—which are either anti-Japanese or anti-Nanking, and you see the reason for stressing the Chinese worker and peasant development.

Of all the forces for or against war and fascism in the Far East the two most rapidly moving are the Chinese united front and Japanese imperialism. The Nanking government is hopelessly and inexorably pinched between them, and can only maintain a dying existence as the tacit accomplice of Japan. The United States, Great Britain and France throw their weight in favor of Nanking, and hence, though it is not necessarily part of their conscious policy, in favor of Japan. The Soviet Union stands firmly on a policy of strictly minding its own business, and is thereby developing

with all the speed possible the living example of a society from which can spring no tendencies towards war and fascism.

What We Can Do

Americans, despite their geographical remoteness from the Far East, are by no means excluded from participating in the struggle. Indeed, if the American movement to prevent war and fascism is to be really effective, it must do everything in its power to strengthen the peace policies of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese liberation movement, and of the workers and peasants of Japan and to weaken the imperialist opposition.

Specifically, Americans can do this: they should strengthen the forces of peace by agitating against the maintenance of American gunboats and marines in China, against the administration's big navy policy, against the sale of munitions, arms and airplanes, and against the designation of military aviation instructors to the Nanking government.

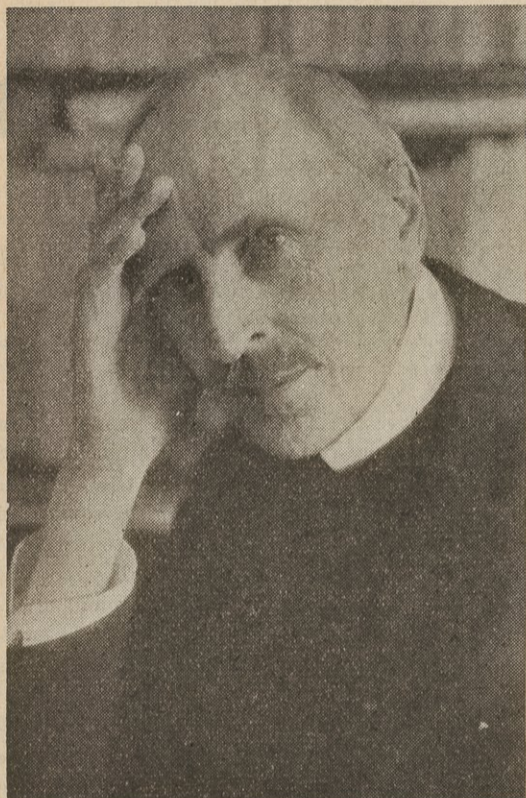
Cesar Vilar, General Secretary of the National Cuban Federation of Labor, leader of 420,000 organized workers, was arrested on October 31. Three charges have been preferred against him: participation in the attack on the fascist march of the ABC on June 17, 1934, in Havana; planning an "attack on the lives of United States Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, the Chief of the Army Batista, and President Mendieta"; the planning of a general strike alleged to be aimed toward an insurrectionary attempt "to overthrow the Cuban government." A friend of the anti-war and anti-fascist movement, who is at present in Cuba, writes us "these charges are obviously false. Cesar Vilar is not a terrorist, not an adventurer. He is the outstanding trade-unionist in Cuba, a man devoted to his daily job of building the labor movement. His arrest is part of the organized attack on labor in Cuba. Undoubtedly this is intended as a warning to labor and liberal sympathizers of labor not to interfere with the plans of U. S. imperialism—to legalize the military dictatorship in Cuba at the elections on December 15."

'PEACE'

(Continued from page ten)

verted—thanks to the War Department "planners"—into a functioning unit of military production.

In New Jersey, for example, a series of war chemical plants and ammunition factories have recently been erected along the Raritan River. These plants are isolated from centers of population but have access to railroad sidings and to the river channel which connect them directly with the Raritan Ordnance Depot of the United States Army strategically located in their midst and with the Raritan ammunition anchorage in Raritan Bay. The latest large industrial unit to



Out of their experiences in the World War they learned how to struggle against war. (LEFT) Romain Rolland, newly elected head of the World Committee Against War after the recent death of Henri Barbusse (RIGHT), who is pictured here as a soldier in the French army in 1914. The American League Against War and Fascism is an affiliate of the World Committee

go up, that of the Titanium Pigment Company, a National Lead subsidiary, enjoyed the benefit of a newly dredged channel right up to the plant property, the dredging of which was done under Army supervision, and the cost carried by the taxpayers.

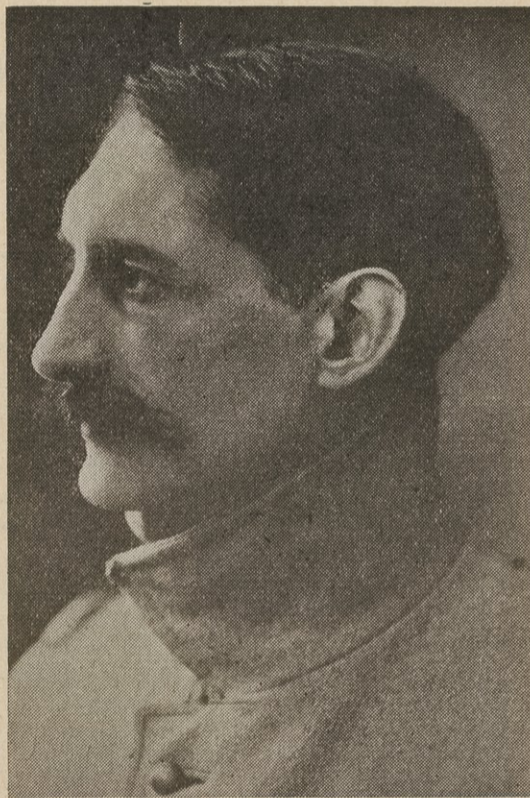
The public, of course, is not informed of such military plans, but it is not hard to see in this concentration a plan originating from the War Department. The army "planners," in fact, have not only helped certain private industries to locate in this neighborhood, but have gone so far as to survey a strip of land across New Jersey from New York Harbor to Delaware Bay, leading to the dredging of a canal as a possible double outlet for war products from this very concentration.

War planning does not compete with pri-

private industry. War planning is, in fact, private industry's plan to obtain future markets and to protect the investments of private industry in foreign lands. Private industry does not oppose this kind of planning. It pays—and the public pays. The industrialists, like the militarists, are interested in the kind of national planning that raises prices on the one hand and, on the other, reduces the uncertainties of the labor by destroying trade unions and sanctioning low wages. In any case the ultimate result of such planning is a destructive one—and most destructive where most planned.

The Motive

The "believers" in social planning within the frame-work of a profit system only confuse the issue.



True, this kind of thing is utilized by astute politicians and by certain industrialists as camouflage to hide the real plans of big business. Economic planning within a profit system must of necessity be restrictive planning. Economic planning thus becomes an instrument in harnessing the destructive forces for more effective destruction.

Sept. 10, 1910.

EVERY Lynching account unsettles the brains of another set of excitable white men, and lights another pyre—115 lynchings last year, 102 inside of 8 months this year—in ten years this will be a habit on these terms.—Mark Twain in a letter to the Rev. J. H. Twitchell.

YOUTH

(Continued from page twelve)

the schools. Militarism is incessantly inculcated by teachers who are invariably members of the Fascist Militia or the Fascist Party and who, in compliance with Ministerial regulations, wear their Militia or Black Shirt uniforms while teaching. The warlike spirit of Fascism is reflected by practically every textbook in public school, high school and college. Courses in "military culture" (military science) are a compulsory part of the public, high school and college curriculums; no student may obtain a diploma or degree until he has satisfactorily completed these courses.

The university student is automatically trained to be a reserve or a regular officer. As a member of the University Militia he becomes an active member of the armed forces of the nation; as a member of the Fascist University Groups he becomes virtually a member of the Fascist Party.

A camp of millions of youngsters, armed for war physically and mentally—this has been Italy since the advent of Fascism in 1922.

The Italian Fascist example of what happens to youth is not one to be ignored or derided even by those living in a democratic state. It can happen here, too, unless we are on guard.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933, OF FIGHT Against War and Fascism, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1935. State of New York } ss. County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Mildred Rackley, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of FIGHT Against War and Fascism and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation) etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher: National Executive Committee, American League Against War and Fascism, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C. Editor, Liston M. Oak, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C. Managing Editor, none. Business Manager, Mildred Rackley, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) National Executive Committee, American League Against War and Fascism, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C. Harry F. Ward, Chairman, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C., Wm. P. Mangold, Treasurer, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C., Paul M. Reid, Executive Secretary, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (if there are none, so state.) None.

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily publications only.)

MILDRED RACKLEY,

(Signature of Business Manager)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1935.

MARTHA HOHMANN,

(My commission expires April 17, 1936.)

[SEAL]



By PAUL REID
Executive Secretary

ON TO the Congress! New District Conferences are being held each week in preparation for our Third Congress. Trenton, New Jersey, started the ball rolling on October 26, and drew 147 delegates from 23 cities and towns. Jay Wright, New Jersey state organizer of the *League*, and Philip James were in charge of the program. Speakers and commission leaders included Dr. Harry F. Ward, Mrs. Ward, Charles Webber, Paul Reid, and Abraham Isserman. An effective anti-war play—*Peace on Earth*—was produced on the first night of the Conference. A Continuations Committee is carrying on, extending the *League* in New Jersey and developing wider support for the Congress.

Baltimore, Duluth and Toledo held District Conferences the week-end of November 2. Roger Baldwin, John Franklin and Dorothy McConnell from the National Office took part in the program at Baltimore. Sam Swerdloff, our local secretary, was largely responsible for the broad character and the pronounced success of the conference. Every Commission voted to organize and carry on permanently. Delegates were present from Washington, D. C., and from several Virginia cities. Trade unionists and Negroes played an important part in the conference. At Toledo, under the direction of Francis Murphy, the *League* secretary, delegates came together from Detroit, Pontiac, and the environs of Toledo. Dr. Harry F. Ward spoke at the mass meeting and led one of the commissions. The Central Labor Union and City Council were represented by delegates. Rev. Ralph Compere of Milwaukee and Herman Griffith of Duluth were the leaders of the Lake Superior District Conference.

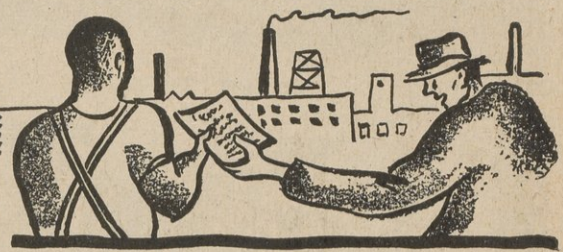
Denver was the host of the Rocky Mountain Conference on November 9-11. Delegates came from the states surrounding Colorado. Leaders included Paul M. Peterson and Clifford B. Noxon, president and past president respectively of the Utah and Colorado Federations of Labor, Bert C. Leech, Jr., West Coast organizer of the *League*, and Joan Gray, secretary of the Denver *League* organization. The conference had a broad endorsement and was attended by delegates from trade unions, churches, women's organizations and many other groups.

Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and Portland, Oregon, held conferences the week-end of November 17. This makes a total of nine conferences already held. At least sixteen more are planned, eight of them on the West Coast.

State farm conventions in North and South Dakota and Minnesota have already elected delegates to the Third Congress, due to the good work of Kay Harris, who represented us in this region. The honors go to the farmers for being the first group to take this step!

The Congress Call is out, and endorsements are already coming in for our annual assembly. Indications from our District Conferences are that we will have the broadest and largest Congress the *League* has yet held. The program is taking shape. Delegations are expected from France, Cuba, Mexico and

BUILDING the LEAGUE



YOUTH SPARKS

Canada. Outstanding leaders will be present to take part in the special commissions.

On October 26, the New York City Committee organized a very impressive People's March for Peace. Over 50,000 people took part in this mass demonstration against the Italian fascist conquest of Ethiopia. Speakers included Rev. George F. Miller, Negro minister of Brooklyn, who acted as chairman, Miss Eleanor Brannan of the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, Clarence Hathaway, Waldo McNutt and Alan Taub. The speech of Francis Gorman was read in his absence. Numerous trade unions and other organizations supported this huge anti-war parade.

The Cultural Committee of the New York City *League* has organized a playwriting course for beginners in the interests of developing anti-war and anti-fascist plays. Alfred Kreyborg, well-known poet and playwright, is the instructor. The course will begin about the middle of December, and Mr. Prentis, the Cultural Director, is inviting students from cities near New York to enroll in the class.

This Committee is also conducting a song contest for both words and music of anti-war and anti-fascist songs.

ARMISTICE DAY DEMONSTRATIONS

Cleveland held a mass meeting on the eve of Armistice Day with Congressman Stephen M. Young, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner and Max S. Hayes as outstanding speakers. New York City *League* held an impressive service at the Eternal Light in Madison Square where a wreath was placed by Albert Bein and brief speeches were made by a war veteran, a youth and a representative of women. In New Jersey, special meetings were held at Newark, Lakewood, Paterson, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy and Hackensack. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., was the main speaker at Albany's meeting. Westchester County, New York, rallied at Yonkers for a huge demonstration. Los Angeles and San Francisco, among other cities on the West Coast, staged mass meetings. Milwaukee *League* people took part in a large peace rally. The *League* in many other cities throughout the country took an active part in making Armistice Day a time for protest against war and for organization for peace.

Last minute reports from District Conferences are most encouraging. The Conference at Denver drew 74 organizations, including the *Socialist Party*, representing over 10,000 people. Among the delegates elected to the *Cleveland Congress* were Paul Peterson, president of the *Utah Federation of Labor*, and M. Easton, a professor at the University of Colorado. Two of the Commissions have been organized on a permanent basis and have set the date of their next meeting. Though Senator Costigan could not be present to speak, he sent lengthy greetings. The Pittsburgh Conference brought together 70 delegates representing 58 organizations, as well as 85 official observers. More than 22,000 people are being represented by the delegates.

AT THE Youth Commission of the Baltimore Conference there was a wide representation of young peoples' organizations. Among the prominent groups were: Baltimore Peace Congress, which includes the youth groups of all Protestant churches in the city; Young Peoples Forum, the largest Negro youth group in the city; YMCA discussion groups, Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist youth organizations. The conference had also received the backing of the Christian Endeavor Society.

Reports on "Youth and Crime," "Youth and Unemployment," "Militarism in High Schools and Colleges" and "Discrimination Against Negro Youth" were delivered. A representative of the YMCA discussed the CCC Camps and their relation to the militarization of youth.

This Youth Commission and many similar ones throughout the country will give their reports and findings at the National Congress in Cleveland. The Youth Sessions there will be held on Friday, January 3. A special letter inviting youth organizations to pitch in has been sent out with the Congress Call.

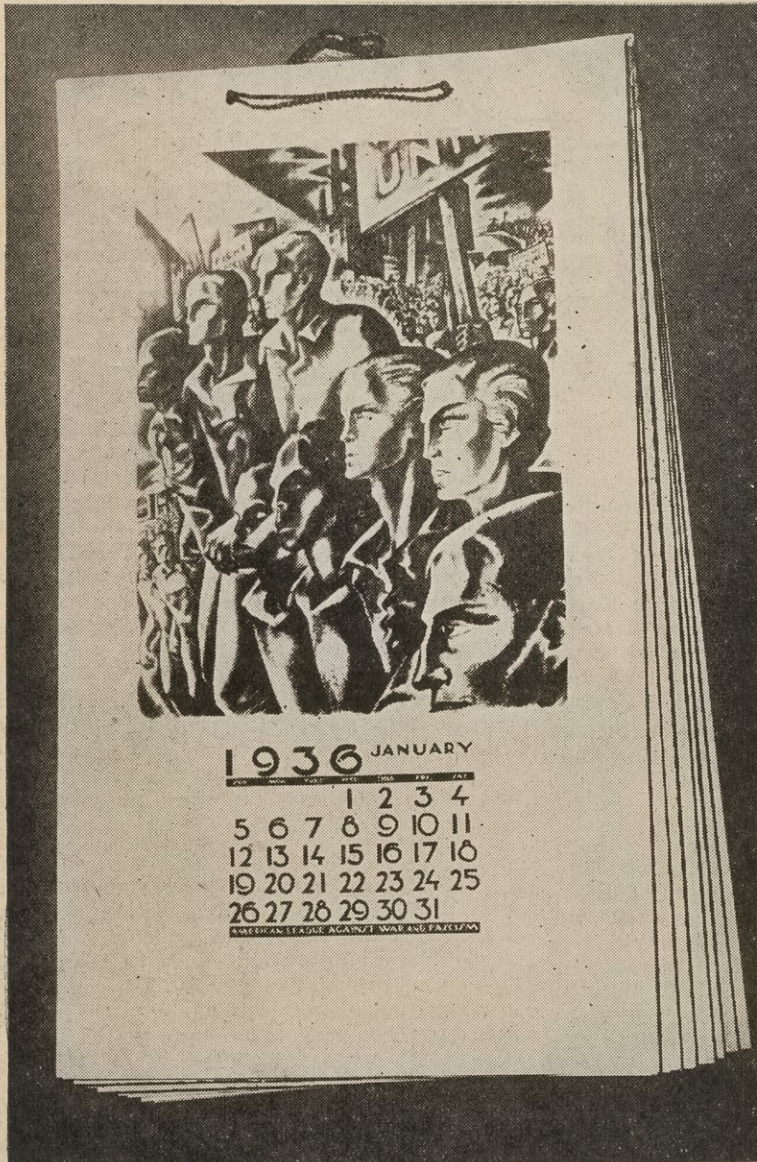
A delegation of youth leaders told President Roosevelt on November 11 that about 500,000 students had demonstrated against war in the Student Mobilization for Peace. This was the first time that the President "recognized" the student anti-war movement. On the delegation there were representatives of the National Student Federation of America, the Student Divisions of the YMCA and YWCA, Committee on Militarism in Education, American Youth Congress, Student L.I.D., N.S.L., American League Against War and Fascism and a few students from college anti-war groups.

The main mass activity at present is centered around the opposition to holding of the Olympics in Germany. The New York Youth Section is printing its own petitions and setting aside a special Sunday on which booths are to be erected throughout the city for the collection of signatures.

The report that the athletic union of Holland has voted a boycott of the games if they are held in Germany shows that the chances for victory are bright. America's fastest runner, a sure Olympic man, Jesse Owens has announced his opposition to holding the games in Germany. Owens, a Negro student at Ohio State, knows what racial oppression means.

The National convention of the Amateur Athletic Union will be held on December 6 at the Commodore Hotel in New York City. Organizations should send letters and wires to the convention on that day urging a transfer of the games to a country which believes in fair play and sportsmanship. Such actions would help those in the A.A.U. fighting for transference.

The Youth Section in Cleveland has just formed a new branch of over fifty members at the Kinsman Council Educational Alliance. Under the leadership of the new secretary, Alice Allen, youth work is gaining rapidly. The Brooklyn Cultural Club and the Eintracht Sports Club have affiliated. Another branch is being organized at Fenn College.—J. L.



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