

FIGHT

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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



Drawing by Lynd Ward

NOTES on FASCIST ITALY

By H. C. ENGELBRECHT

Author of "One Hell of a Business,"
Co-Author of "Merchants of Death"

TRAVELING in Italy last summer I was struck by the fact that there was little or no war enthusiasm among the Italian people, particularly among those who were liable to military service in Africa. Young men who were subject to draft were trying to have themselves transferred to some foreign office of the firms they were working for, or were asking permission to go abroad to round out their education or training. But already in June the barriers were closed, and none were permitted to leave. Dozens of young men of military age protested to me that they had many more important matters to attend to than going to war; they wanted to learn a trade, or study art, or take care of their families—anything but military service and war in Africa! The draft took care of all of these.

Walter Millis' excellent *Road to War* points out that in days preceding 1917 there was terrific newspaper propaganda for war, there were preparedness parades and endless patriotic meetings. But when all was said and done and a check-up was made on the results of all this on army enlistments, the volunteers were found to be almost non-existent.

All of this recalls rather strongly that no modern war of any size has been fought without conscription. The press may froth at the mouth, and minute-men may yell themselves hoarse for cannon-fodder, but armies of millions are brought together only by conscription. Italy today is another illustration of the fact that in the fight on war, the people everywhere are far ahead of their governments. Persistent pressure by the cannon-fodder can and must eventually break the war habit.

2. Fascists Unite for War

Curious sidelights on the international ties among Fascists have been revealed by the African war. In this country General Sherrill, of the Olympic Committee, praised Mussolini and fascism openly before the Italian Chamber of Commerce. In France the fascist forces vehemently opposed every move directed against Mussolini's imperialism. They even went so far as to announce themselves war-resisters in case France should become embroiled in a war. Perhaps these new recruits to the anti-war forces ought to be welcomed. The only trouble is that their motives are a bit too patent. The leading fascist forces in France are openly supported and financed by the French munitions makers, and the only reason they declare against war is that they are fanatic supporters of fascism. This curious reversal of rôles between the forces of the left and the right is likely to be repeated frequently, especially where the left forces are as powerful as they are in France.

A particularly revealing illustration of

French fascist sympathies was afforded by a manifesto issued by 64 French intellectuals. These 64 signers included many of the most eminent names of French literature and scholarship. The manifesto condemned every action against Italy, denounced the League of Nations for its "false juristic universalism," defended imperialism as a blessing to backward nations because it brought civilization and Christianity

To the Cleveland Congress

Greetings, Delegates to the Third Congress: We are meeting at a most critical but opportune time. *Critical* because the drive toward war increases in momentum and becomes more open, and because the encroachments of growing fascism are more evident and threatening. *Opportune* because we in this great representative assembly are meeting to push forward the movement that will stop the war and keep this country from going fascist. The nation-wide sentiment against war must be crystallized, consolidated and directed against the factors and forces leading to another campaign of mass murder. The apprehension and resentment against the increasing denial of civil and democratic rights, both by the state and by conscious and unconscious fascist groups, must be utilized to strengthen our organization and inspire the activities that will save this land from the black night of fascism.

We must act now! Unless the gag bills in the next session of Congress are defeated, the very existence of trade unions, farm and liberal organizations, may be endangered. Unless war preparations and the war-breeding forces behind them are stopped, millions of American people will be in uniform, in jails or concentration camps, dead or injured, before the passing of another year, or two years at the most.

Let us seize this opportunity before it is too late! Our organizations, our families, great masses of people who will suffer under war and fascism, look to this Congress for help and guidance. *We must organize and we must act now.*

—American League Against
War and Fascism

to them, and glorified Italy as the heir to ancient Rome. During the World War there was a famous manifesto of German savants defending Germany, and other manifestoes by other intellectuals defending their own country. But the spectacle of French *clerics* stepping into the breach and upholding and glorifying Italian imperialism is something of a novelty. Is it possible that there is a Fascist manifesto urging: Fascists of all countries unite?

3. Napoleon and Mussolini

Of course, all French intellectuals are not fascists. An excellent demonstration of this was recently given by a French writer who

produced the "Second Memoirs of St. Helena." In these Mussolini is exiled by the British to a lonely island; his keeper is Lloyd George. In solitude the "ex-emperor" reflects on his sad mistake in opposing the British. His great "predecessor" Napoleon has learned that it is bad business to rouse the British and he mourned his error during years of seclusion. The piece goes on to parallel Napoleon and Mussolini in their sad eclipse. It is a precious bit of satire that deserves a wider audience.

4. Behind the Scenes

Interesting sidelights are also shed on sanctions by several incidents in France and Switzerland. In France there was quite a bit of opposition to applying sanctions to Mussolini. One of the dissenters was Citroen. *L'Humanité* has now revealed that Citroen shipped 600 trucks to Italy, and that he hoped to do much more business. The Citroen firm has recently been taken over by the Michelin Tire Company which is financed by Lazard Freres. Michelin is also manufacturing gas masks, and was at one time associated with Colonel de la Rocque, leader of the fascist *Croix de Feu*.

In Switzerland the munitions makers have been busy also. The press has noted that Swiss railroads are working overtime shipping war materials into Italy. The alleged reason for non-interference with this traffic by the Swiss government is an interesting one. A munitions maker, Hermann Obrecht, was recently appointed to the Swiss Federal Council, and all of this hesitation on the part of Switzerland is ascribed to his influence and to the Swiss bankers.

Anyhow, it's a great war, and civilization will be spread in Africa and there will be profits for various pockets. In short, it's exactly what one might expect from Fascism.

Iowa artists resolved last week not to paint recruiting posters for Uncle Sam if he engages in a war of aggression. One hundred and fifty of them, meeting in their native State, declared that they would not "paint any poster or draw any cartoon with the specific intent to incite or inspire the youth of America to bear arms in aggressive warfare."—*New York Times*

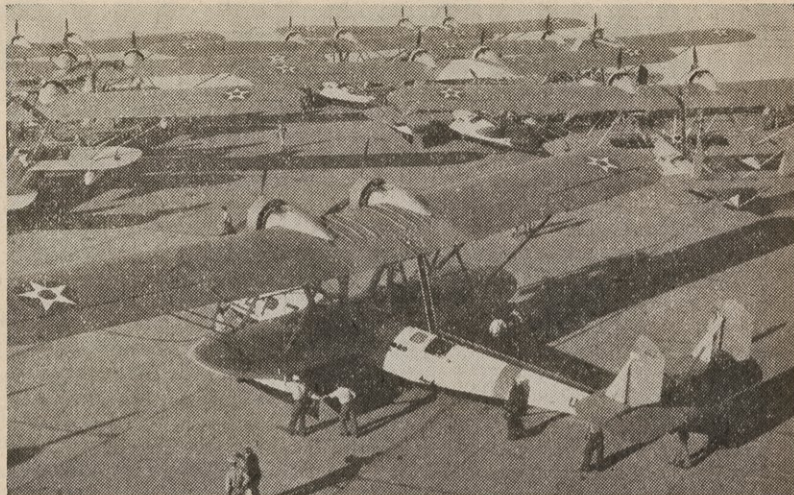


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War and War preparations! (LEFT) Deputies armed with tear gas guns and wearing steel helmets ready to attack striking workers at the Ohio Insulator Co. plant at Barberton. (RIGHT) 42 Navy sea planes poised for their flight to French Frigate Shoals

BULLETS FOR BREAD

By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

Author of "The Gay Reformer," "Seeds of Revolt"

ON JULY 29, 1934, Nelson Macy, President of the Navy League, enthusiastically declared that "for the first time in twelve years the Navy League, in paying this tribute to President Roosevelt, has the satisfaction of congratulating the American people upon the attainment of an adequate and reasonably assured program of naval construction. The forceful leadership of the President, with the cooperation of Congress, has accomplished all that could have been accomplished to redeem the neglect of naval construction since the Washington Treaty of 1922."

The Chief of Staff of the Army began his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, with the following statement: "For the first time since 1922 the Army enters a new fiscal year with a reasonable prospect of developing itself into a defense establishment commensurate in size and efficiency to the country's minimum needs. Obstacles which for thirteen years have impeded, if not inhibited, progress toward this goal, have only recently been either swept aside by Congress or materially reduced in importance. The present year definitely marks the beginning of a long-deferred resumption of military preparation on a scale demanded by the most casual regard for the nation's safety and security."

The War Machine

In carefully guarded words such as these the militarists and navalists are acclaiming the costliest and most extensive preparedness program ever launched in the history of the United States. They are at pains to say that these preparations are only sufficient to meet the "minimum defense needs" of the country, for to the militarist mind there is no point at which armaments or war preparations can ever be considered wholly adequate or satisfactory. Yet the jubilant enthusiasm of the navalists and militarists over the present preparedness program is but thinly disguised in the two statements quoted above.

Nor could it be otherwise, for the Roosevelt

administration has, indeed, laid the basis for one of the biggest war machines this or any other country has known in time of comparative peace. To be sure, the President began in 1933, for the sake of temporarily satisfying a campaign pledge, by trimming the regular Army and Navy budgets. He took a total of \$100,000,000 from both. But then he promptly turned to the Public Works fund and from this handed the Navy Department approximately \$290,000,000 and the War Department about \$100,000,000. (The Engineer Corps of the Army was also given \$353,000,000 of Public Works money for rivers and harbor projects and similar improvements usually included in the War Department budget.) Small wonder that the Hearst press and the Navy League were jubilant. And this was only the beginning.

Since both the Army and Navy were more or less taken by surprise by this munificence and were not prepared to go out and spend this extra money at once, actual expenditures

for the fiscal year 1933-34 totaled only \$540,358,440. But in the year which ended last June 30, they really got to work. Naval expenditures, which had amounted to only \$297,029,000 in 1933-34, were stepped up to \$492,200,000 in 1934-35, while Army expenditures increased from \$243,329,000 to \$328,939,000 in the same period. The combined total was \$821,152,856, the largest sum spent on war preparation since 1921, when both departments were still meeting bills due from the World War and the Navy Department was still building ships under the 1916 construction program.

For the current fiscal year further increases have been voted or allotted out of funds appropriated for unemployment relief. The general Navy budget, for example, is higher by \$134,170,899, while the Navy is also getting \$118,326,000 from the relief funds, so that its total current appropriation comes to \$576,131,000. The Army has fared equally well. Its regular appropriation amounts to \$341,348,000 and thus far it has also been given something like \$120,000,000 out of emergency funds, making its total appropriation about \$460,000,000, or about the same amount it received in 1921. The amount being spent this year on both of the fighting services comes to no less than \$1,036,000,000.

Where Your Dollar Goes

This is approximately one-third of the revenues anticipated for the same period, which means that out of every three dollars collected by the Federal tax-gatherers one will go, not to pay for due normal activities of the Government, not to help the jobless, nor to tide the country over the economic crisis, but to build a gigantic war machine for use in some future war. Nor is this all. The Government is still doling out huge sums to pay for the last war in the form of interest charges on the public debt, veterans' compensation, hospitalization and so forth. For example, veterans' pensions and benefits in the current budget come to \$740,000,-

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Barnard College students in a meeting against war on the university campus

A MILITANT WOMAN SPEAKS

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

Author of "The Suffragette Movement," "The Home Front," "Save the Mothers," etc., etc.

The writer of this article has for more than three decades been in the forefront of the political and social struggle in Great Britain. Miss Pankhurst was Secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union; Secretary of the East London Federation of Suffragettes; founder, organizer and secretary of the Infant and Maternity Clinics and the Montessori School Nursery; Secretary, Workers' Socialist Federation; Secretary, League of Rights for Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives; Secretary, London Council for Adult Suffrage, etc., etc. In this article Miss Pankhurst projects certain definite political opinions. These opinions are the author's. FIGHT invites discussion.—EDITOR

FASCISM today is the great war menace, for Fascism seizes power by civil war, maintains itself by armed dictatorship, and both by reason of its theories and the necessities of its existence, prepares for war across the frontiers. Italian Fascism, now in its thirteenth year, has repeatedly shown how true this is. Its tentatives against Corfu and Adalia, and its many threats of war in other directions were checked because the governments of the great powers were not then prepared to tolerate the attacks which Fascism impatiently desired to make.

Italy's war against Abyssinia would never have commenced had the British and French Governments plainly declared they would not agree to it. In a few years the truth of the disgraceful doings behind the scenes, which have led to this outrage, will become known. Today it is of world importance that all those desiring Peace in the world should unite to put an end to this aggression. The League of Nations is an imperfect instrument because the nations are represented by Governments which leave vastly much to be desired. Yet, imperfect as it is, we must use it with all the energy we possess against the Fascist reaction.

This is the first time the League has attempted to protect a weak people against the Government of one of the great powers. Hitherto all the virtues of the League have either remained on paper, or have been practically manifested only in very minor directions.

It is a curious fact that some Socialists are loudly denouncing the first action of the League of Nations in defense of peace and liberty against Dictatorship and War. But for the fact that the League has tardily, and with difficulty, been induced to apply economic sanctions against the Fascist Government of Italy, these objectors would have been complaining that the League had not done this, and would now be shouting for proletarian action against the war. They would have demanded that factory workers should not make munitions for Italy, that railwaymen should not transport them, that dockers should refuse to load, and seamen refuse to carry anything at all which might be used to assist Fascism in its aggressive war. Again and again these protesters have raised that cry in causes less

manifestly the cause of Liberty than this. But they are so wedded to the habit of being against the Government that the fact that the British Government is taking a hand in sanctions has bred in them a strange sympathy for Italian Fascism, and caused them to turn a blind eye to the agonies of its victim.

Aggression and Progress

Why do I say action against Italian Fascist aggression in Africa is manifestly the cause of liberty? In the first place, it is an aggression by a Western power against the only remaining native government of Africa. We all admit that, to a certain extent, the Romans in ancient days were a civilizing influence in the territories they conquered. Settling in these territories, they introduced arts, crafts and industries of Rome unknown to the conquered peoples. Thus, they carried knowledge to the populations they dominated. That much which was fine and vital was stultified by their oppression, there can be no doubt, though conventional histories, based on the Romans' accounts of the case, take no need of this. Today, when knowledge of modern science and modern method can be, and is being, extended to primitive territories without the huge disadvantages of alien conquest and oppression, there is no reason to tolerate the disadvantages of conquest as a means of obtaining knowledge. Moreover, conquest of the black races by the white carries with it a deeper disadvantage than the conquest of other Europeans by the Roman warriors of old. The color bar thrusts the darker race down into a pit of oppression from which few are able to raise their heads. Stultification, not progress, results from such modern conquests.

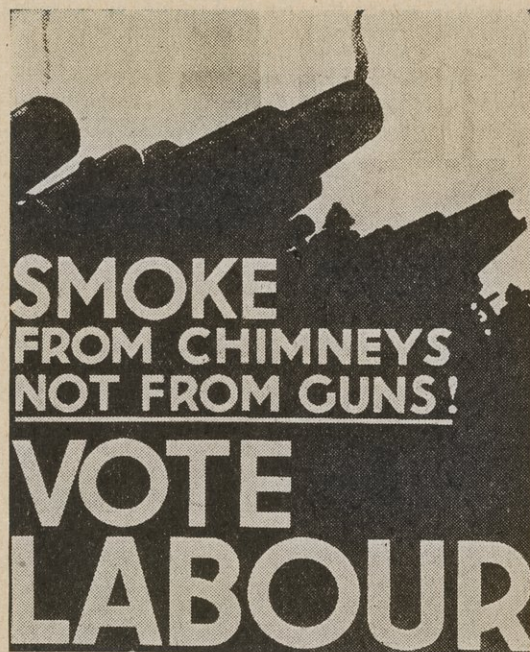
Blow at Democracy

This is the African aspect of the Fascist aggression. The European aspect claims at

least equal attention, and its menace is twofold. On the one hand there is the undoubted fact that if this aggression by the Fascist Government succeeds, the attempt to maintain world peace by collective agreement of all countries will be utterly smashed for a long time to come. The conquest by Italy would undoubtedly encourage other Governments, impatiently desirous of extending their dominions, to attempt it by warlike means. Moreover—and for Socialists this is perhaps the most important point of all—we have in the world today the Fascist menace which stands against democracy—democracy in the broad sense of the common people and their rights whether these be expressed through a Parliament, a Soviet, or anything else. We Socialists (and here I use the term in the large sense which will cover all believers in the common ownership of the world's wealth), we Socialists believe that we are evolving towards Socialism, and that through it humanity will find salvation and a better life than we can now conceive.

Against this Socialism, the dream of many generations, is arrayed Fascism, the main purpose of which is to substitute dictatorship for democracy, dictatorship by the forces which own the world's wealth as their private preserve, permitting the

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(ABOVE) A Labor Party poster in the recent elections in England. (BELOW) Mourning her dead in London on Armistice Day



THE IRON HEEL

FOR MORE than 150 years the American people have lived and struggled to build a nation where peace, freedom and plenty could flourish in abundance. The heritage of America has not been preserved with ease. No one handed to us on a silver platter a free press, free speech and the right to organize. The traditional democracy of this continent was preserved because the common people stood guard over their hard won rights. Those rights are the very essence of our bones and blood.

Then there comes a time in the life of the nation when certain dominant propertied interests attempt to drain that very essence which is the life blood of the people. Such a crisis took place in 1798 when the Federalists passed the Alien and Sedition Acts. The historian Charles A. Beard tells us that the "sedition act was vigorously applied and aroused a tempest. Several editors of Republican papers soon found themselves in jail or broken by heavy fines; bystanders at political meetings who made contemptuous remarks about Adams or his policies were hurried off to court, lectured by Federalist judges, and convicted of sedition. . . . Jefferson proposed something akin to defiance . . ." *The laws were finally shelved.*

For more than 150 years the American people have vigilantly guarded their liberties. There were times when our democratic rights were challenged. False issues were projected. Demagogic appeals were made. Even the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence were utilized for the purpose of defeating the very spirit of that Constitution and of the Declaration of Independence. But in the end the people through their own efforts preserved the free press, free speech and the right to organize.

Now again we are in the midst of a crisis. Vested interests are trying to suppress whatever liberties are ours. Looking toward foreign shores, they see countries like Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. There the people have lost their freedom, their trade unions are outlawed, the iron heel is on the pulpit, and the workers, farmers and liberal parties have been suppressed. The propertied interests of Germany and Italy can now do pretty much as they please, and our Chambers of Commerce and our Hearsts envy them. They too would like to exploit people with ease. They too would like to clamp down on the 120 million Americans who have plowed the fields and built the factories and mined the coal and taught our children how to read and write—the ordinary run of man and woman you meet on a city street or a country road.

At this session of Congress these special interests will attempt to gain their ends by passing two bills—the Kramer Bill and the Tydings-McCormack Bill—both of which aim to suppress whatever liberties are ours.

But the 120 million people stand in their way. The 120 million people can and will be on their guard. They will meet in their homes, in their halls, in their shops, in their granges and at the country store, and their power will carry their will to Washington, so that these bills shall not become law. The 120 million will unite to preserve their rights as a free people that the upward climb of a nation may not be halted.



To destroy political opposition the Federalists passed in 1798 two drastic measures—the Alien and Sedition Acts



Thomas Jefferson proposed "something akin to defiance." The people fought these laws and they were finally shelved

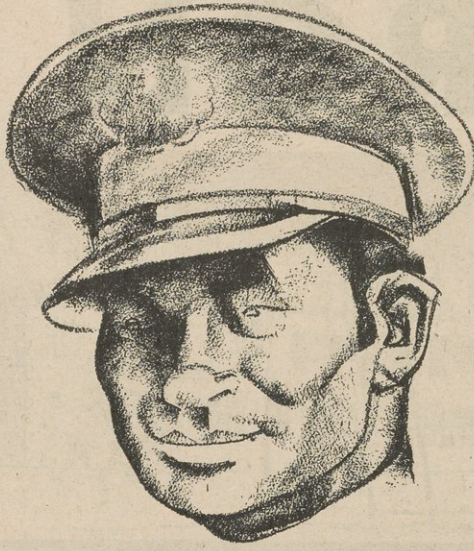


For 150 years the American People have stood guard over their rights and liberties



Now the Chamber of Commerce and Hearst are backing new gag laws—the Kramer Sedition Bill and the Tydings-McCormack Bill

Drawing by M. Pass



Three of a kind! "In the last analysis, not only Batista, but Caffery and Welles in their Cuban manipulations are merely petty puppets of a half dozen large American corporations."—Carleton Beals. (LEFT) U. S. Ambassador Jefferson Caffery. (CENTER) Colonel Batista, military dictator. (RIGHT) Under-Secretary Sumner Welles

BAYONETS IN CUBA

By CARLETON BEALS

Author of "Banana Gold," "Crime in Cuba," "Black River," etc., etc.

WITH THE full blessing of Ambassador Caffery and Dr. Dodds, President of Princeton, Cuba is preparing to hold within a few weeks, machine-gun elections. This will be a farce. It will be a criminal and bloody joke.

Every party that in any way represents large sectors of the mass of the Cuban people has been outlawed. The medieval fortress prisons, beside which Leavenworth is the Ritz Plaza, are crowded with thousands of political prisoners, who have been abused and tortured. Opponents to the present tyranny of Colonel Batista have been murdered in the streets. Thousands are in exile. There is no freedom of the press; no right of public assemblage. To belong to a labor union is punishable by worse penalties. Starvation still stalks the island. An election under the circumstances is merely a process of making a whole people eat their own garbage by swallowing any one of several candidates representing political elements that the Cuban people have tried to throw into the discard by every available means of protest.

The Lyrical Diplomat

Where does Caffery enter in this bloody joke? He is the bosom friend of Colonel Batista. When Caffery speaks of Batista his face glows with admiration and he waxes lyrical, not the usual thing with a diplomat as cold and calculating as is Caffery. He assures the Cuban public at intervals that he is sure their government is going to give them an election. He tells them and the world how prosperous they are. He brings pressure to bear on newspaper men to print only the official version of everything. Under-Secretary Sumner Welles has publicly denounced journalists who have sought to tell the truth. In my own case Caffery and Welles brought direct pressure to bear over their own signatures on the

newspaper and news agency publishing and handling my despatches on the general strike of last March.

Where does Dr. Dodds enter? Dr. Dodds of Princeton is the election expert for the State Department. He rushes down to storm centers, such as Nicaragua and Cuba, and writes honest election laws for dishonest governments, founded on bayonets—not on democracy. Dr. McBain of Columbia did this for the iniquitous Machado régime. It added nothing to his prestige, quite the contrary. After the fire of criticism he received on that previous occasion, he had the good sense to decline a recent invitation by the Caffery-Batista tyranny. Dr. Dodds was rushed into the breach. Certainly his recent aeroplane flight to Cuba to assist in perpetrating a vast electoral fraud on the Cuban people will not add to his prestige or to the prestige of the great institution he represents. If he needed the fee he received for his services, then the Board of Trustees of Princeton University should be respectfully petitioned to raise his salary, so that he will not have to drag his high academic standing in such mire.

A Fixed Election

Even DeCespedes, head of the short-lived puppet government set up by the Welles mediation in 1933 and now candidate of the improvised Centrist Party, has denounced the Dodds intervention. Despite Dodds' efforts, Menocal, candidate of the Democratic (Conservative) Party has withdrawn from the dishonest electoral fight. This leaves in the field the typical old-line politician, candidate of various rump groups, Miguel Mariano Gomez and Batista's intimate and tool De la Cruz, candidate of the Liberal Party. Thus the elections will be concerned with a few narrow and vicious cliques and a few candidates of no moral integrity who are

completely beyond the pale of popularity and who would have not the slightest chance in a free plebiscite.

In a free election there is little doubt that ex-President Grau San Martín, head of the Authentic Party, whose government was overthrown by the machinations of Welles and Caffery, would receive an overwhelming majority. He is in exile in Miami. Prominent leaders of the party have been murdered in the streets of Havana; hundreds are in prison and others, such as Dr. Carlos Hevia, have had to flee from the island for their lives. The Democratic Party, headed by ex-President Menocal, probably the best organized group, with the most efficient machine and with great sympathy in the army itself, is unable to participate. The National Agrarian Party is outlawed. The Communist Party is outlawed. Young Cuba is outlawed. Every free political expression of the Cuban people has been trampled under foot.

We like to concern ourselves about political oppression in Fascist Italy or in Nazi Germany; we like to grow concerned over Ethiopia; but our newspapers are silent and we ignore the monstrous crime that has been committed in Cuba, which, with the brief interlude of the Grau San Martín Government, has been under frightful military rule for ten years. Though our Government during that time fought no pitched battles for the possession of the island, this represents as unjust and cruel a rape of a nation as Italy is perpetrating in Ethiopia or Japan in China.

Who Owns Cuba?

We did not have to fight any pitched battles because we already owned the island. Sixty percent of the surface of the island is owned or controlled by American corporations, that is to say, most of the arable land of the island;

most of the banks, public utilities, industries are in American hands. Cuba has been converted into a great sugar factory and warehouse for the United States. Practically all food-stuffs have to be imported into that wealthy and fertile little island because of a one-crop economy and the monopolization of all fertile lands in the absentee foreign hands.

As a result Cuba has suffered an economic depression more far-reaching, more devastating than the United States. It has suffered that depression for ten years. So long as Cuba is ruled purely by a sugar economy, which means that only fifty percent of the workers of Cuba can find employment for only two months a year, starvation will stalk the island, and the only political expression can be the bayonet rule by ignorant and adventurous tyrants such as Machado and Batista. However, they will always be able to buy American professors to help them out.

Such a condition of affairs on the island will mean continuous unrest, disorder, revolution and instability. Not all the glowing trade statistics in which Caffery specializes, and which, when analyzed, merely mean that Cuba is being nailed more surely to the cross of a monopolized sugar industry, can cover up the fundamental injustice, brutality and immorality.

Every Sunday Ambassador Caffery goes to mass protected by machine-gun cars provided by Dictator Batista. Not even this armored holiness will bring Cuba prosperity and justice. Nor will it atone for the numerous honorable and prominent citizens murdered by those same machine-guns.

Not since the notorious American Minister to Mexico, Henry Lane Wilson, who represented the Guggenheim interests, helped overthrow Madero and thereby spilled a river of blood across Mexican history, has American diplomacy descended to such sordid back-stage intrigues to defraud a people as it has in the machinations of Welles and Caffery in Cuba under the Roosevelt New Deal.

Economic Vassalage

Colonel Batista, who betrayed the Grau San Martín government, is the tool of their machinations. And his bayonets rule Cuba. And no election will be able to cover up the real character of the arbitrary tyranny which governs the island, denies the people all liberty, and blocks all efforts to restore the wealth of the country to its own people.

And in the last analysis, not only Batista, but Caffery and Welles, in their Cuban manipulations, are merely petty puppets of half a dozen large American corporations which have brought the free and sovereign Republic of Cuba to disaster in a system of economic vassalage, the results of which are as dark and appalling as any colonial enterprise by any Old World European power.

OIL—NOT FOR LAMPS

By ROBERT CRANE

IT IS NOW two months since Mussolini's war machine has been lumbering its brutal way through defenseless Ethiopia in the face of peace pleas, threats and sanctions. Oil has played a major rôle in the ugly business, and developments are of life-and-death importance to the American people.

Without sufficient oil, Italy's planes, tanks, shipping and transport would be hopelessly crippled if not entirely incapacitated. Around the question of oil has revolved for weeks an acrimonious dispute that threatens at any day to precipitate us into another war. Mussolini has openly rattled his sword, using the threat of a general war if his oil is cut off—a thinly veiled warning to America since the United States is one of his principal sources of supply.

And however "sincere" may be our neutrality policy, its dual nature whereby our producers are being restrained from shipping to Italy while they get a free hand with Japan, is bound to cause trouble sooner or later. Behind this diplomatic smokescreen our producers are turning out more oil this year than ever in the history of the industry, and a large share of it is flowing to Italy, although our biggest producers would have you believe otherwise.

The Rockefeller Interests

World production of oil for 1935 is estimated at around 1,669,000,000 barrels, the increase over 1934 ranging from 7.8 per cent for the United States down to 1.1 per cent for Rumania. Significantly, Iraq's production this year is at that country's peak, some 25,000 barrels, and the potential output is many thou-

sands of barrels higher. Iraq is only a short distance from the present scene of war operations, and two American oil companies have major interests there. The Standard Oil Company of California produces in the Bahrein Islands field in the Persian Gulf, and has a contract to sell 15,000 to 20,000 barrels daily to Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Royal-Dutch-Shell and Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., all also in that area, "for disposition through the regular channels." Standard Oil of California has concessions of upwards of 100,000 acres in Bahrein; it is one of the four largest producers in the United States, owning or controlling some 434,000 acres of oil lands here. It also holds in fee or under contract some 1,059,000 acres in Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico and the above-mentioned Bahrein Islands. It produces close to 38,000,000 barrels of oil a year. Last year its net profit was above \$18,000,000.

The other big U.S. producer with an interest in Iraq is Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, the biggest oil combine in the United States, and second in the world only to the Royal-Dutch-Shell interests. Only a week ago (in early December) the New Jersey company proclaimed to the world rather piously that it has refused any business from the present war, explaining that while "it has duties to its stockholders, its first duty is to the nation." It shipped to its Italian subsidiary a little less oil than last year, it contended, something under the 4,800,000 barrels sent over in 1934.

Jersey Standard has producing, refining and marketing facilities throughout the world, including

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Drawing by Mackey

WAITING AT THE DOOR

Oil, Munitions, Steel, scheming as Congress opens

RED CLAY - A Story of W

DIG. I am digging in the red clay. Heavy, thick, when it comes out it sticks in great hunks like flesh. A drop of colorless fluid drips from the bottom of the basket when Wang hoists it up. A clammy smell hangs over the pit.

I dig not alone. All the men of my village are here. All that are left—perhaps twenty.

Last year we worked our fields. We were scattered over the land near our village that spring, as we and our ancestors had been for ages, opening the earth to receive the seed we would sow.

We twenty dig together. We do not open the earth for seed. We do not sing. We hear the iron cut the clay, the sodden thump as a lump falls in a basket, the heavy breathing of each other. We dare not pause to wipe the sweat away.

It is another spring. The geese flew north three weeks past. Rabbits sun themselves in the fields. We do not disturb them this year.

For three days we have dug here. Even when I stand up in the hole the edge is so high I cannot reach it with the iron tip of my clod-breaker. When I have filled his two carrying baskets, Wang hoists the clay out of the pit. They make him dump it at the edge. It is the same with the other carriers. They do not take it far. The pile of loose clay is very high. The pit is broad and long and deep. It is nearly done.

When we who are left began, they brought us to the top of the hill. In the middle of our burial ground they marked out the length and breadth of the place where we dig. My father's grave was outside the mark. He died before he saw this. His bones will rest. Some of these twenty men whom I know so well have dug up their fathers and brothers and sons, and have seen the men of dwarf bow legs break open the coffins and leave the quiet ones for dogs and crows and magpies.

DIG. When the dwarfs first came and told us that they would buy our land we laughed at them. We would not sell for cash and coppers what has given us rice and millet and kao-liang since the beginning of time! From this hill our quiet ones have watched us on the land they once made fruitful, knowing that in a little while we would join them, to watch our sons go on, first seeding, then watering, then watching the green things of the earth grow toward the sun till new seeds formed and were ready for the harvest. The bow legs offered us money for life and for the peace of those quiet ones on the hill who could do nothing. We laughed.

Then they posted a sign on the temple wall in our village. The fortune teller, Sung, read it to us. These dwarfs from the eastern islands would take our fields and make a place for their flying things to come down. We could go inside the temple and get money for our land, the three miles of it that lay along the river bottom. We took our clod-breakers and went to our fields, all the men together.

There were more than a hundred strong young men that day, leaving homes full of women and children. On our land we found these men. They told us to go, told us we could no longer till our earth and make it bear fruit. They pointed their guns and threatened, clumsy little gnomes.

They shot some of us, yes, but we caught them. Our clod-breakers were red that night. We went back to the temple and caught the ones left in the village. One tried to hide behind our Buddha.

We sprinkled earth on the floor that night. In a few days we swept it out and washed the last stains away. The crows and dogs fed well down by the river.

DIG, for they came back. They came with quick guns, many of them, and they shot everyone they saw. They climbed out of their gas carts and went in the houses and dragged out those within. They used knives, and left us lying before the doors of our houses. Little piles lay all along the streets. They kept twenty of us, the strongest. We twenty have dug long without eating. Our clod-breakers make a sucking sound as we pull at the sticky clay. I stoop to put the clay into Wang's basket as he waits. A bit of it flies up on my neck. It is cold, a musty smell chokes my throat. Wang takes away the load.

My hands are shaking so I can hardly grasp the handle of my tool. I can see nothing but a black mist, and whispers echo between these clay walls, whispers that come from beyond, from the dark layers of earth around us, into which our digging has brought the light of day. The sound is vast and tiny, like the sigh of wind in dry grass.

Wang returns. "Dig, you madman. They will let us go when we have finished."

He laughs as I fill his basket. He is a fool. We will never leave this place. The sun is warm, my blood is hot, and I want . . . But what does it matter? There is no way.

He rubs damp clay on my back, and roars with laughter. He tosses a piece in my face, a piece that brings a chill breath of decay shuddering in my lungs. My clod-breaker swings and crashes through his skull. He drops. I stand. Surely they will kill me now. He was my friend in the days that are gone. He helped me tamp down the clay wall of my house, and brought the first present to my new born son. Now he lies quivering at my feet.

A shout from above. "Lug him up!" Dully I see that those squat devils are grinning.

I take him on my back and walk up the treadway and lay him gently on the ground.

"Hai, but you would make one of us!" says the short one. "Go back and carry. You need dig no more, only clear the hole."

He shoves me back down the treadway. His hand is warm but his grin is not human. I pick up Wang's baskets and help carry out the heavy clay. They stop the other diggers. We gather up our tools and pile them on the loose clay beside the pit.



Drawing by Phil Wolfe

"The leader of the short men shouts. They lower the pit I see the knives on their guns flashing

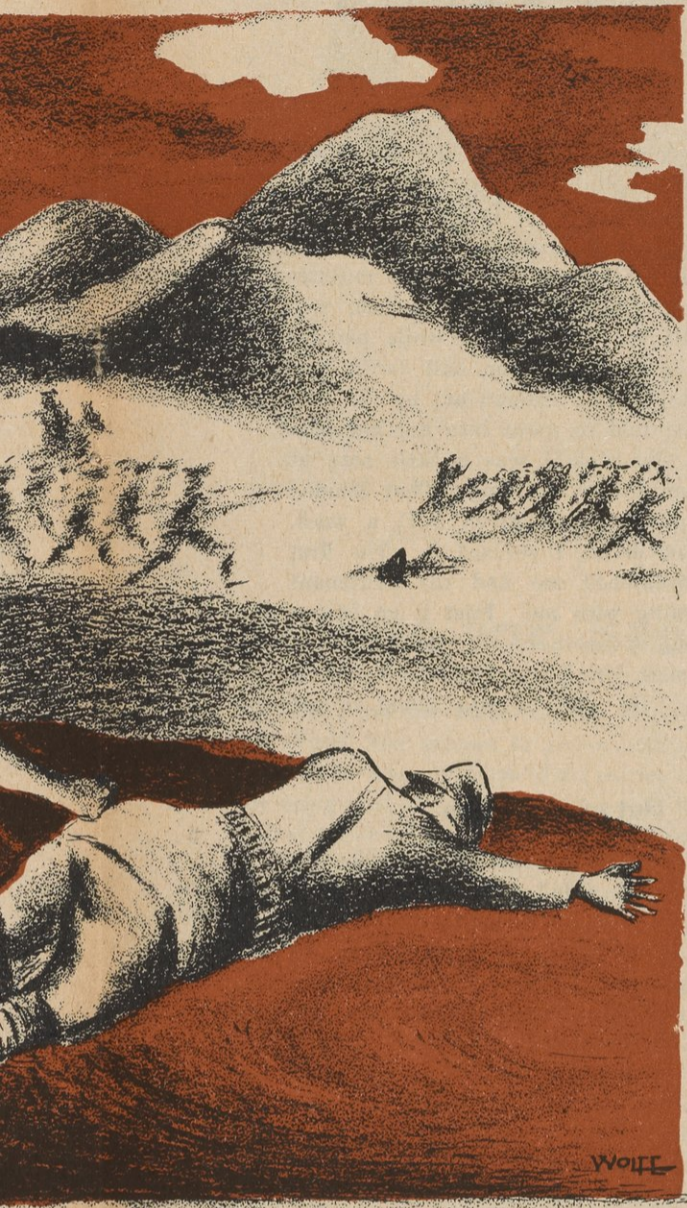
FAR away are blue hills. On clear days one may see the Great Wall winding over them. Today there is a haze, and I can see only jagged spurs and cliffs, and the notch through which the geese will fly.

The dust rises on the path between our village and the hole. The sun blazes in our eyes, for it is low in the west. Our men squat at the hilltop, waiting. One of the island men moves among us, giving us cigarettes. Together we watch the shadows creep out from the base of the hill toward our village.

Across the valley lies Feng K'ou, the village not disturbed by the bow legs. Men and women cluster motionless on their hill, and children play at their feet, stopping sometimes to look across. The light wanes. Tomorrow those men can go to their fields. The dwarfs have not yet taken their land.

A fire starts in our village. One of the squat men runs out of one house and into another. Smoke rises, the red glare brightens and the shadows come down. We say nothing. But I hear the sharp breathing of my cousin, harsh in the evening quiet.

of War on China—By PHIL BOWEN



outs. They lower their guns and run forward. Across their guns flashing down on the sprawled figures."

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The small men are all around us now. They kick us up. Our muscles are stiff and we move more slowly over to the pit. The dwarfs have moved to one side. Suddenly one shouts. A crack of gunfire, and all our men on that side of the pit drop. They slide down while rifles click. I drop, though no bullet struck me. My hand is frozen on my clod-breaker. Beside me my fellows stand dazed. Another crash of guns, and they fall. A few are sprawled on the edge of the hole.

The leader of the short men shouts. They lower their guns and run forward. Across the pit I see the knives on their guns flashing down on the sprawled figures. They push the dead down the slope and pick up our tools to send the clay after them.

One comes to my side of the pit. He has a sword in his hand. Slowly he moves along, prodding the limp bundles in his way, kicking them down the slope. He comes to me. I am on my face. He cannot see my eyes, but I see his feet stop by my right hand, and the heels rise as he lifts his sword. I grasp his ankle and jump forward, my shoulder jarring his knee. His sword cuts my back, but he

slides down the slope. I get up, take my clod-breaker in both hands, and leap down on him.

One cannot stand down there. He sits, waving his sword and yelling. His eyes roll white. My tool crashes between his eyes and I stumble beside him.

Clay tumbles on my head as they shove it into the pit. Dark night closes down. A whisper rises to a sigh like wind in the pines, and eddies up to draw me into the red clay.

Fiercely I scramble and claw out of the hole, empty-handed. On the other side one of them calls. He stoops to get his gun. I reach the top and fall just as he fires. Heat sears my back, but the slug went wide. Many of them scramble around the pit, but do not see me as I slip into the shadows and run down the hill.

At the bottom I trip and fall in the ditch. A voice sounds low in my ear.

"It is I, Sung, the fortune teller. What has happened?"

"Look. It is done."

ALL the village burns. Roofs gape, wheels lie broken in the road. The threshing floor is red, straw burns bright as the night wind fans across the valley. Our temple walls have fallen. Buddha still is high, but flames lick over his blackened form. One arm is broken off.

We crouch, silent. The earth and the sky stream blood. No green things will grow under my hand again, no children smile in my doorway.

"Go, Sung. Tell our people."

"And you?" he asks, watching me climb the hill toward the pit in the red clay.

A MILITANT

(Continued from page four)

great mass of people only a sustenance as a recompense for their service to the wealth-owning classes. Every gain by Fascism is a loss to Democracy. We have seen Fascism spread to Italy, Germany and Austria, and to some of the smaller countries. We know it menaces France, that its agents are active here in England, in America, and throughout the world. We know that if today there is conflict between the Fascist States of Germany, Italy and Austria, tomorrow they will gladly unite against the rest of the world in support of Fascism and against Democracy.

Paramount Necessity

In the presence of the horror, of the awful martyrdom, which Fascism entails to the active workers for Socialism, I must honestly say that I hear and read with strong indignation the futile, unnecessary and most injurious protests of those who say "we have Fascism in Britain under the National Government!"

Heartily as I oppose the so-termed "National Government," I know that to pretend we have Fascism here under it is to belittle the heroic struggle of those who are still bravely fighting the Fascist oppression abroad. Here we have the free right of propaganda, an occasional fine or imprisonment, under thoroughly endurable conditions, or some slight punishment, which should be a stimulus, not a deterrent, to people who care for their cause. If we do not achieve more than we do for Socialism, in our relatively free conditions here, we Socialists are to blame; it is because we are too regardful of our own comfort and prosperity to put into the work of Socialism the effort and sacrifice freely given by the much more slender ranks of pioneers who went before us.

The moral of this is that we should be up and doing, and put our whole effort, not into belittling the paramount necessity of economic sanctions against Italy, but to secure that they be clamped on firm and hard, in the hope of causing a débacle of Italian armies in Africa, and precipitating a revolution which will overthrow Fascism in Italy itself.

Popular Liberties

We should be demanding, too, that similar sanctions should be imposed to restore popular liberties for men and still more urgently for women, who are suffering most, and to prevent the oppression of the Jews and other minorities in Germany and other Fascist States. I am whole-heartedly for the boycott by individual effort, but let us also demand that it be officially imposed.

The *Canadian League Against War and Fascism* held its Second National Congress at Toronto on December 6, 7 and 8, with 500 delegates and official observers present, representing close to 500,000 people. Many trade union, youth and women's organizations were represented. The presence of *Co-operative Commonwealth Federation* clubs (C. C. F.) was of particular interest as that political body corresponds roughly to the powerful British Labor Party and polled more than 300,000 votes in the recent Federal election. The Congress showed a great improvement in the work during the recent year and a real broadening of its base. The speakers included the Rev. T. C. Douglas, C.C.F. Member of Parliament; Dr. Harry F. Ward; Professor Lorne T. Morgan, University of Toronto; Major Fred Fish; Professor Felic Walter, Trinity College; Tim Buck, General Secretary of the *Communist Party of Canada*; Rev. Ben Spence, Chairman, Regional Council of the C.C.F.; Dr. Berta Hamilton, prominent Toronto pacifist; Mrs. Anna Sissons, Chairman of the *Toronto Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*; Mayor James Simpson of Toronto; Don Stewart, Chairman of the *Fort William Independent Labor Party* and prominent in trade union circles; Roger Baldwin and Eleanor Brannon, representing the World Committee; A. A. MacLeod, former Editor of *The World Tomorrow* and others.

I WAS IN A CCC CAMP

By FRANK GRAVES

A young boy out of a CCC camp came into the FIGHT office the other day. He wanted to know if he could tell his story to the readers of this magazine. He sat down at a table and wrote the following.—EDITOR

CCC CAMPS are run entirely by their Company Commanders. They are the ones that can make life pleasant for the boys in the camps, or hell for them. Usually the captains that are well-to-do and are in the camps for "recreation" don't treat their boys bad. They give them good food and allow them the best type of recreation possible. Then there are captains who want to retire, and try to chisel out of the company funds and mess funds. These are the captains who should be watched. For they give the boys rotten food, a truck perhaps once a week, and by giving the boys some details keep them busy so that they won't complain. If a few boys ask for trucks and better food they send these boys home either with Administrative Discharges or Dishonorable Discharges (both of these are hindrances for the future). However, it happened that 33 boys of Italian descent beat up a captain of this type, and this occurred in Co. 230, SP3, Uriah, Alabama. These boys first went on a food strike but worked while on this strike. They didn't gain anything. Then they remained quiet and one January day, when the colonel of the 4th Corps Area in which the camp lay came around, they surprised him. He asked the boys if they liked the camp. These 33 boys gave the captain a workout. They accused the captain of robbing the mess fund, company fund, and gas and oil fund. They raised such a stink about it that the colonel asked the captain to resign. The captain did so but first he sent home 30 of the boys.

Beans, Beans, Beans

In Company 277 at Camp Ord A2, Salinas, California, this occurred: The company fund was \$1,900 and some cents to the good and the following month was 17 cents in the

hole. Something was phoney. The captain and first lieutenant quit. A new captain came in. With him came new rules. The boys were required to stand retreat in the morning at 6:15. This was done with two ranks but four units. He ordered the boys to address him respectfully. Any boy that tells him the camp faults is sent home "Administratively." He says he "doesn't like grumblers."

The boys in the CCC Camps have an idea that beans, potatoes, and more starchy and greasy foods that are cheap are not the only things they should have to eat. Company 230 of Uriah, Ala., had for a month seven varieties of beans just for complaining to the colonel about bad food.

Far from Home

Most of the companies of the 4th and 9th Corps areas are bad. It seems ridiculous to send 2nd Corps Area boys (New York and vicinity) out to these other districts, yet it's being done. These boys, a lot of them, are thrown out, others get letters and telegrams about jobs or someone being sick at home and leave. The others go home when their time is up. Some join up again. Most do not. Something is radically wrong when 100 or 120 boys or even 75 boys from one company go home.

In the Camp

Now my own particular experiences: Oct. 3, 1934, I joined the CCC. My family being on relief, I was forced to go. I was taken to Camp Dix and from there shipped to Company 230 in Alabama. I stood it for 6 months taking in all the varieties of beans. Went back home in March and was sent back in July. After a couple of days in Louisiana I was sent to Salinas, California. After a month and a half here I was sent to Monterey. I was put into the camp kitchen for a day. At the end of a day I was asked if I'd take the dishwasher job as permanent. I refused and was given it for the rest of the week. I became ill doing this type of work

and was put into quarters (camp hospital). While in the hospital the boys of my barracks were told they made too much noise. They were ordered not to sing. A few days later I and the rest of the boys were five minutes late to work formation. The barrack was ordered split up. That night while playing ping pong in the recreation hall (with broken racquets) I was ordered out by the first sergeant and told to move into another barracks. By this time I was a little sore at the treatment I was receiving. That Sunday to my surprise, I was given K.P. a week. This was too much, I refused it. The first sergeant threatened me and the lieutenant started arguing with me. I let it go in one ear, then out of another. He told me I was fresh. I asked him how. He said by being impertinent. He said he was going to get rid of me.

Out of the Camp

I asked for a truck to see the Colonel. He answered that he didn't give a damn who I saw even if it was the General, and ordered me to my barrack. I got to Monterey, 19 miles away, to see the Colonel. I got there that night and the Colonel promised me that I wouldn't be discharged. The next day I was at the investigation. After it was over we (my brother was with me) were told that we'd be given another chance. We went back to the camp and were given a trial. The Captain told us that he was sending us home by the 5:45 train. I told him I wanted a truck to see the colonel who had told me to see him if I thought the investigation wasn't satisfactory. This was denied me and I was warned that if I tried walking again, I'd be put on the train at the point of a gun and the end of a club at the base of my skull. This statement got me on the train.

Another boy who had walked to the Colonel wanted to go home. He cursed the Captain inside out. But due to the fact that he is dull, he wasn't sent home. We protected him in the investigation as much as we could.



Military training in high schools! (LEFT) Girls' Rifle Corps at Roosevelt High School, Los Angeles. (RIGHT) Jailed for holding an open air anti-war meeting in the same city. (LEFT TO RIGHT) Nancy Bedford Jones, Ann Charloff and Sylvia Porter





These three young Negroes are typical of the new volunteers in the Ethiopian Army

Bullets for Bread

(Continued from page three)

000, while interest charges directly attributable to the World War amount to almost \$500,000,000. Thus, more than two-thirds of the current revenues are being used to pay for wars past and future.

But the war preparations of the Roosevelt administration do not stop there. While it is undeniably significant that thirty-three ships are at the moment being added to the Navy and some fifty thousand men to the personnel of the fighting forces, no less important are the psychological and other developments being fostered by the administration.

Roosevelt's Record

A "defense psychology" is being deliberately built up which President Roosevelt is himself fostering. As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he played a leading part in the launching of the 1916 naval construction program. After the war he remained the navalist, advocating both a big fleet and a huge naval reserve. In a speech before the *American Legion* at Rochester, N. Y., on October 11, 1919, he called for universal training for both the Army and the Navy. In another speech before the Legion at Saratoga Springs on September 5, 1930, he declared that "we should all work against war, but if it should come we should be better prepared than we were before. . . . I am not militaristic by any means. I do not believe in a large standing army, as you know, nor in a large navy, but I am 100 per cent for having this country ready for an emergency." Such, of course, is the language of every militarist.

Upon entering the White House the President showed at once that he meant to have the country get ready for an emergency, that is, for war. His appointment of Senator Claude Swanson as Secretary of the Navy was significant. Swanson was even more popular with the admirals than his predecessor had been. He had attended the Geneva Disarmament Conference the year before and had come away with the unshakable conviction that the other maritime powers were actively preparing for war and that, therefore, it behooved the United States to do likewise.

President Roosevelt has shown his true attitude by vigorously supporting the elaborate construction program for which the admirals had long been agitating. Because of his great personal following, his active stand on this question has naturally made a deep impression on many people. His advocacy of an "adequate" merchant marine to serve as a naval auxiliary has likewise tended to arouse the nationalist and "defensist" passions of many people.

In more subtle ways, too, is the road being cleared for this next war of which the admirals and generals dream. There are, for example, such legislative proposals as those embodied in the Tydings-McCormack Bill "to make better provision for the government of the military and naval forces of the United States by the suppression of attempts to incite the members thereof to disobedience." Under such legislation the Army and Navy would virtually control public opinion in this country in time of war or threatened war. More than that, the War Department has worked out in careful detail an elaborate plan for an absolute dictatorship to be imposed upon the country with the coming of war. The plan is contained in a series of eight bills to be introduced in Congress on the day war is declared.

At the moment there is a widespread peace sentiment in the country. It is politically expedient for the Administration to cater to this sentiment, and this the President is doing in the Italo-Ethiopian situation (at very little cost). By his present attitude he seems to be promising to "keep us out of war." But this has a familiar ring. In 1916 there was also an American President who promised to "keep us out of war."

"England is now steering European politics. Policy is honestly to try to postpone general European war for couple of years or more. That's why there will be compromise offers to Italy, now and near future. England is much interested in Nazi Germany; hopes to use Germany to push eastward against Russia, to cause downfall of Soviet régime. Hopes Hitler will smash Soviet, and then be smashed himself by the rising internal tide of popular hostility, plus the growing army, secretly anti-Hitler."—From *The Kiplinger Washington Letter*.

GUNS AND CASTOR OIL

"Italy internally, both economically and politically, is in a predicament. Mussolini is *not* trusted by the masses, although this fact is censored out of your press dispatches. British policy is to apply economic pressure with one hand, to offer face-saving compromise with other hand. The compromise involves Italian retention of the now-invaded portions of Ethiopia. Britain is genuinely anxious to *postpone* the collapse of Mussolini for a few years."—*The Kiplinger Washington Letter*.



A FASCIST MARCH ON WASHINGTON. "Among the first and most pressing issues, Youth takes its stand against the pending plans of organized veterans to grab an unearned bonus. If the organized veterans could marshal a few thousand bonus marchers, Youth can organize ten times that number of anti-bonus marchers. It not only can but will if our politicians can not or will not see the light."—Karl Payne of the *National Economy League*.



A STORY FROM HITLER-LAND. "A lion escaped from a circus in Germany. It was captured and killed by one man. The newspapers loudly praised his heroism. Then the hero was discovered to be a Jew. Goebbels promptly issued instructions that the story should be headlined: 'Jew Murders Dumb Animal.'"



NEWS ITEM. "Detroit (U.S.)—A mother lost custody of her two children yesterday because she read Communistic pamphlets to them along with their Mother Goose tales and nursery rhymes."



"Whether U.S. can stay out of European war or world war is open question. Many sophisticated observers doubt it. That's why the biggest single issue in the next session of Congress will be neutrality. Current neutrality measures are described by officials as just 'practice.'" — *The Kiplinger Washington Letter*.



"The British Labour Movement,' said George Lansbury at the Trade Union Congress, 'believes in the brotherhood of man, whether black, white or yellow.' So whatever may have been the origins of the 'Movement' or of Mr. Lansbury, both are now in the grip of the Ghetto."—*The Fascist: Organ of Racial Fascism*.



SEDITION LAWS

By SAMUEL PAUL PUNER

The writer of this article is the Legislative Counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union.

*The country will swarm with informers, spies, delators, and all the odious reptile tribe that breed in the sunshine of despotic power ***. The hours of the most unsuspected confidence, the intimacies of friendship, or the recesses of domestic retirement afford no security. . . .*

THE TIME was not 1936 nor was the bill the Kramer Sedition Bill. It was 1798. The notorious *Alien and Sedition Acts* of that year were being debated on the floor of the House. The fifth Congress was in heated session. John Adams, then President, maintained that these bills were necessary to suppress the activities of the French Revolutionaries in the United States. The orator was Edward Livingston.

The anti-federalists unfortunately could not marshal sufficient strength, and the bills became law, prescribing fines and imprisonment for persons who combined to oppose any measure of the government, to impede the operation of any law, or to intimidate any officer of the United States in the discharge of his duty; it penalized everyone who uttered or published false, scandalous and malicious sentiments tending to bring the government of the United States or its officers into disrepute or to excite the hatred of the people.

Livingston's predictions were not unjustified. The Sedition Act inaugurated a campaign of snooping and spying against anti-Federalists. Even Hamilton, the leader of the Federalist party, was dismayed at the new law. In vain did he warn his colleagues: "Let us not establish a tyranny. Energy is a very different thing from violence." The most trivial statements were contorted into seditious utterances. Collendar, a friend of Jefferson, was convicted for saying "Mr. Adams has only completed the scene of ignominy which Mr. Washington began." A reign of terror was established.

A Wave of Protest

Retribution was swift. Jefferson and Madison procured the passage of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. A rupture of the Union seemed imminent by the threat of nullification. The hue and cry of the opposition resulted in a sweeping wave of protest which drove out the Federalists in the following elections and dealt the party its death blow. Jefferson was elected President, and the Sedition Act expired by its terms in 1801. Years later Congress repaid the fines imposed upon some of its prominent victims.

Once Again

When Congress convenes in January we are confronted with a similar situation when the Kramer Bill and the Tydings-McCormack Bill again propose to deprive American people of their "inalienable rights."

Should the Kramer bill pass would it be safe

to say "Mr. Roosevelt has only completed the scene of ignominy which Mr. Hoover began"? What would happen to the labor movement when they urge the payment of union wages on W. P. A. projects?

It is the realization of the hideous mistake of such legislation that has kept it from our statute books since the date of its unlamented expiration on March 1st, 1801. Since then America has been torn by bloody Civil War, by horrible economic depressions and by ventures into imperialism universally condemned. But never has it been deemed necessary to bolster the fabric of the government by curtailing criticism



How a Fascist dictator tries to gain popularity for his régime. The above photograph taken in Germany by W. W. Wells, American theological student, shows the hammer and sickle (Communist emblem) placed side by side with the swastika (Fascist emblem). Mr. Wells writes: "I had some even better ones (photos) which fell into the hands of the powers that unfortunately be . . . but unhappily our deed had been discovered and we were met by agents of the Kriminal Polizei who took us off to the station."

or gagging its citizens. Rather, it has followed the traditional principles of Jefferson, Lincoln and the

late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, that it is for the people ultimately to determine what their form of government should be and that no expression of opinion should be suppressed.

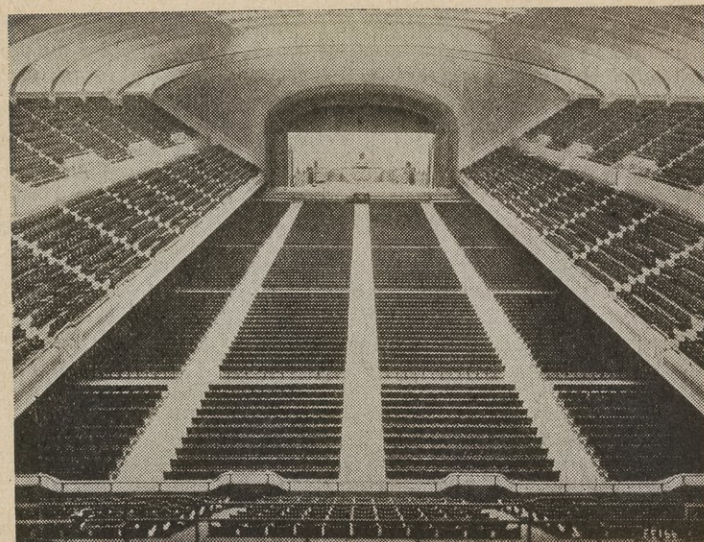
The Tydings-McCormack Disaffection Bill is also not without its precedent of perverted prosecutions. The basis of this bill is the notorious "Espionage Act" of 1917, a statute operative only during times of war which, in the same wording as the Tydings-McCormack Bill, punishes incitement to disaffection. The first year after its enactment saw some eleven hundred arrests throughout the United States. Penalties ranging to twenty years' imprisonment were meted out for statements of opinion. Rose Pastor Stokes was given ten years for saying "I am for the people and the government is for the profiteers."

D. T. Blodgett received twenty years for circulating a pamphlet urging Iowa voters not to reelect Congressmen who voted for conscription. The pamphlet consisted principally of a reprint of the argument against the Draft Act made on the floor of the House by a Georgia Congressman. It was held a crime in Minnesota to discourage women from knitting by the remark "no soldier ever sees these socks."

The most celebrated case of all was that of Eugene V. Debs who was convicted for "inciting to disaffection" in a speech he made in Canton, Ohio, to a convention of Socialists in support of their economic views, instancing the war as the supreme curse of capitalism. In a few sentences he approved the conduct of persons convicted of like offenses saying for example, that if Mrs. Stokes was guilty so was he. His language was not designed for soldiers, nor did he urge his hearers to resist the draft, objectionable as he considered it. Undoubtedly he admitted at his trial he had obstructed the war—"I abhor war. I would oppose the war if I stood alone. When I think of a cold, glittering steel bayonet being plunged in the white, quivering flesh of a human being, I recoil with horror." His sentence of ten years in the penitentiary was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. It was not until the Harding Administration that he was pardoned.

This is the manner of the enforcement of such laws. In not one case of persecution under the Espionage Act was it proven that an actual and direct attempt at incitement to disaffection did occur. Intent was read into statements and speeches, but
(Continued on page fourteen)

The Hall in the Public Auditorium in Cleveland, Ohio, where the opening meeting of the Third U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism takes place



The "Liberty League"

"O H, LIBERTY, what Leagues are committed in Thy Name!"

Some such comment might fittingly be made after an inquiry into that interesting body organized by a group of kindly millionaires for the benefit of the masses, and named with disarming facetiousness, *The American Liberty League*. The League, which was incorporated in the District of Columbia in August, 1934, now has about fifty thousand contributing members, some hundreds of thousands of non-contributing members, and boasts branches in nineteen states. Broadly speaking, its avowed purpose is to preserve the integrity of the Constitution.

The origin of the League came to light, oddly enough, in a correspondence disclosed at Senator Nye's inquiry into the munitions trade. The letters there read, according to Senator Nye, "bore all the earmarks of having been the birthplace and birth time of the Liberty League." In March, 1934, it seems that Mr. R. R. M. Carpenter, a professional Southern gentleman and retired Vice-president of the duPont Company, was disturbed by the condition of the country generally, and particularly by the refusal of five Negroes on his "place in South Carolina" to accept work from him, saying they could get "easy jobs" with the Government. Mr. Carpenter was very naturally shocked. He thereupon wrote to his friend John J. Raskob, who four days afterwards answered "Dear Ruly" as follows: "There should be some very definite organization that would come out openly with some plan for educating the people to the value of encouraging people to work; encouraging people to get rich, etc. . . . You are in a position to talk directly with a group that controls a larger share of industry through common stock holdings than any other group in the United States."

The industrial group referred to was the duPonts, and in the list of initial contributors to the Liberty League there appear the names of the three liberty-loving brothers, Archibald, Irénée, and Lammont. Finance has indeed never bothered the League, and the latest financial statement shows that the body is solvent.

"Preserving" the Constitution

But to get mass support for Mr. Raskob's "definite organization" it was manifestly necessary to translate its objects, as somewhat blatantly described in his letter, into language which would have a popular appeal. The last of the proposed objectives of the organization was described by Mr. Raskob merely as "etc.," and in this contraction was found the solution to the problem. The Founding Fathers expanded the "etc." in the charter of the Liberty League to read as follows: "It shall be a non-partisan organization. The particular business and objects of the Society shall be to defend and uphold the Constitution of the United States and to gather and disseminate information that (1) will teach the necessity of respect for the rights of persons and prop-

By LAWRENCE RODD

erty as fundamental to every successful form of government and (2) will teach the duty of government to encourage and protect individual and group initiative and enterprise, to foster the right to work, earn, save and acquire property, and to preserve the ownership and lawful use of property when acquired." Offices were opened in Washington, and Mr. Jouett Shouse hired as President with a salary of about \$48,000 per annum (plus an expense account of about \$36,000).

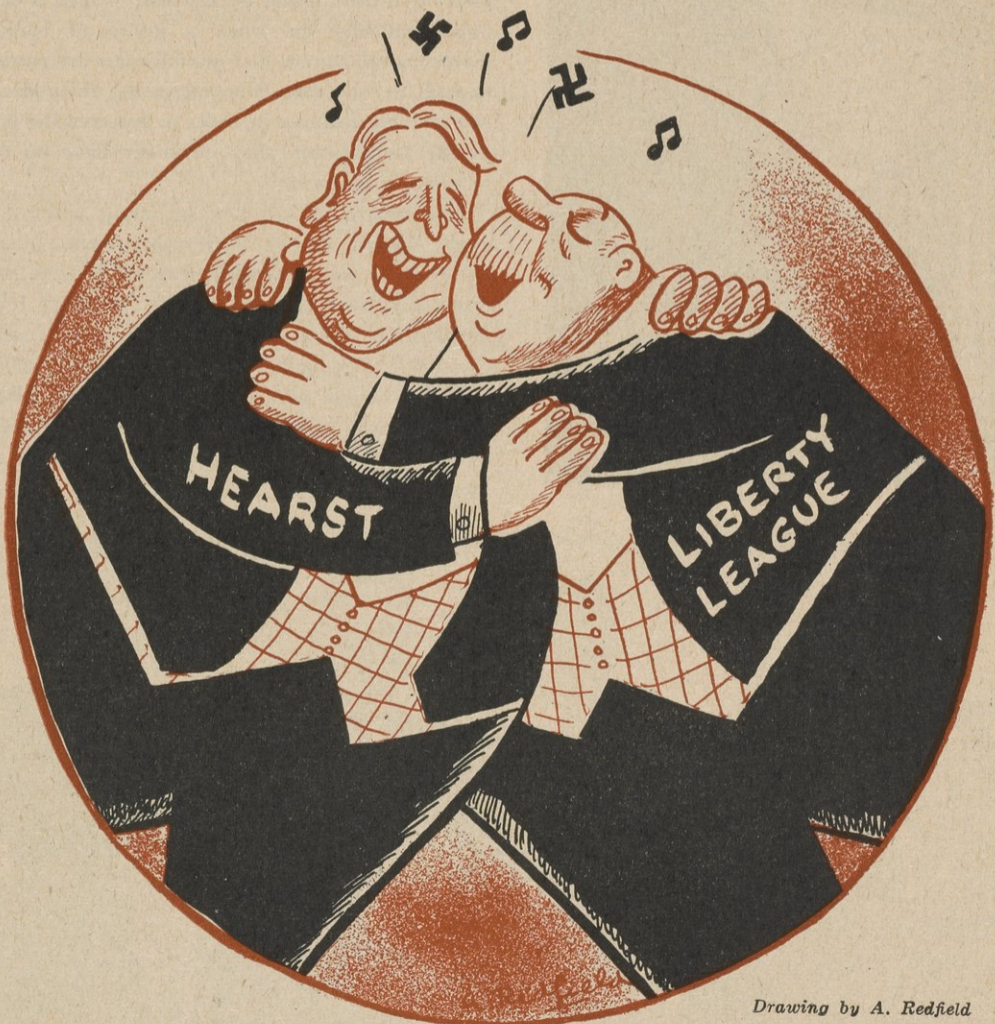
All Bankers and Profiteers

The lovers of freedom included besides the duPonts such persons as Sewell L. Avery, President and Chairman of Montgomery Ward; Grayson M. P. Murphy, a director of the Guaranty Trust Co. and of Bethlehem Steel; John W. Davis, Mr. Morgan's lawyer; Edward F. Hutton, until recently Chairman of General Foods; Alfred P. Sloan, jr., President of General Motors; and Alfred E. Smith, Mr. Hearst's candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

Whatever flight of fancy may have inspired the naming of the organization, nothing could have been more prosaic or persistent than the manner in which the League has devoted itself to uphold-

ing the constitutional rights and liberties of its millionaire members. Its opinions, as revealed in Mr. Raskob's letter, and camouflaged in its charter, have been set forth in eighty pamphlets, of which more than three million copies have been distributed. It is claimed that they "have been placed in the hands of thinking citizens," have been put into more than 7,000 libraries, and have formed the basis of Congressional debates. Information has been given to the newspapers, the radio has been extensively used to present "the League's message," the National Lawyers Committee has examined (i. e. condemned) New Deal Legislation, and the College Department has co-operated with interested student bodies in more than forty leading colleges, including Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Dartmouth, Wisconsin, and Northwestern.

Although the long list of the League's pamphlets contains no mention of, nor anything so brilliantly illuminating as, the Carpenter-Raskob letters, it is possible to deduce from a perusal of this literature the real purposes of the Liberty League. Revelatory and suggestive pamphlets include *Legislation—By Coercion or Constitution*, *Expanding Bureaucracy*, *The Imperilment of Democracy*, *The Blessings of Stability*, and *Fabian Socialism in the New Deal*. Another series deals with the thirty-hour



Drawing by A. Redfield

"'I'll be judge, I'll be jury,'
Said cunning old Fury;
'I'll try the whole cause,
And condemn you to death.'"

—Alice in Wonderland

week, the banking bill, the holding company bill, and the labor relations bill. In each case the League's writers conclude that the particular bill considered imperils a right (of the employers) guaranteed by the Constitution; and so far as the mild Wagner Labor Relations Bill is concerned, the League found that the bill "would give the A. F. of L. a monopoly in collective bargaining," "deal an unjust blow at highly successful company unions," "facilitate the movement for the closed shop," "place restraints upon employers," and above all, "deprive minority groups of the right to bargain for themselves."

Hitler's Echo

In short, the *American Liberty League* is, according to its pamphlet, *The Tenth Commandment*, "an inevitable response to the challenge by the Left wing," and "It is, therefore, definitely anti-radical." In the same work we are informed, "There is a greater sense of social responsibility in business today than ever before. . . . There is no group that believes in the exploitation of human beings," and, in words that echo Hitler himself, "American business today is tired of the politicians and the grafters."

The League aims to get at least four million members, and it boasts that it will organize every Congressional district and help the election of Democrats and Republicans who avow themselves in favor of "sound eco-



A dice game, with human lives as stakes. (LOWER) The American delegation to the London Naval Conference. (TOP) Admiral Osami Nagano, chief Japanese naval delegate to the parley

nomics." As a preliminary to the Presidential election it was recently said that the League's "real fight is just about to begin." Moreover, it is probable that the League will enjoy the support of the *National Manufacturers Association*, which includes many of the League's members, and which is animated by a similar adoration of the Constitution in so far as that document protects profits.

Long Hours, Low Wages

American workers should remember that "sound economics," according to the League, is synonymous with the open shop, company unions, long hours, and low wages.

When not busy with "sound economics" the League through its Lawyers Committee has been much exercised by the New Deal's hesitant questioning of the rights of defenceless capitalists to exploit the workers in the traditional "constitutional" manner. Accordingly, Mr. James M. Beck, a member of the Lawyers Committee, was recently challenged by the *New York Post* to state whether the League would offer legal aid also to such persons as Angelo Herndon and the York hod carriers, whose constitutional liberties have likewise been questioned—but less uncertainly. Mr. Beck, than whom no man alive has a more motherly anxiety for the chastity of the Constitution, and whose vocabulary of alarm invariably rings loud and long at a mere glance from the New Deal, for once maintained an icy restraint, and contented himself with referring the *New York Post's* challenge to Mr. Shouse, who, of course, referred it to someone else. It is still "under advisement," which is easily understandable, for when a group of bankers, motor manufacturers, and munitioneers are patriotic enough to take time from increasing their already considerable fortunes in order to preserve the letter of the Constitution they obviously have no time to preserve its spirit.

The record of the League being what it is, every liberty-loving millionaire, who piously believed he was following Patrick Henry, must have been hurt and amazed by Secretary Ickes' description of the organization as "fascist-minded." The millions with less than a million, however, might add that the American Liberty League is un-American in its concept, unscrupulous in its practices, and a danger to the liberty it purports to save.

OIL

(Continued from page seven)

ing locations so handy at present as South and East Africa. Then why should it ship any oil from this country? It might be explained that the company's foreign operators don't include their shipments in the United States figures, and it is even difficult to get official foreign government statistics on such things.

A Profitable Year

This colossus of the oil world produced only 57,131,000 barrels of crude in the United States in 1934 (48 per cent of domestic crude oil runs), while its foreign output totaled 122,205,000 barrels! Jointly with Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Jersey Standard owns the African Exploration and Development Corporation, which, it will be recalled, came pretty close to involving us in the African war when this company was given a 75-year lease in Ethiopia. Only the rumble of protest that swept this country at the time forced our administration to cause its cancellation. The oil officials pooh-poohed the idea of a lease, but pressure finally brought out the truth. And now this month Jersey Standard officials are denying that Italy has granted them a 30-year oil monopoly in exchange for security of supply from the old world oil sanctions!

American oil companies are winding up their most profitable year since 1930, and the outlook is that 1936 prospects are excellent for even more profits. Demand for oil is constantly rising, and has of course been tremendously boosted by war fears. France has decreed that she must keep in reserve a six months' supply as against a three months' supply as heretofore; England has given a concession to a British company to look for oil in the English countryside so that she may be less dependent on outside sources; and Italy has raised gasoline taxes and costs to discourage normal consumption. A gallon of gasoline in Italy costs from \$1.15 to \$1.20.

This oil is not for lamps. This oil is for Fascist Italy's war machine. And this oil is leading us directly on the way to war.

SEDITION

(Continued from page twelve)

never was a mutiny shown to have resulted from it. Criticism was stifled and the jails filled with innocents who dared make articulate their indignation at America's intervention in the World War.

Such laws with their history of abuse and universal condemnation have no place on our statute books. Our Constitution still provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." If the Kramer and the Tydings-McCormack Bills become laws we may all be jailed for showing how they serve to violate the intent and wording of the Constitution of these United States.



By **PAUL REID**
Executive Secretary

ABOUT six weeks ago the City Committee of Mount Vernon, N. Y. was refused the use of a public school building on the charge of being an "exclusive organization." More recently—December 9—the autocratic Board of Education of that city denied the use of the school to the Choral Society for the production of Handel's *Messiah* and the singing of Christmas carols. This aroused a storm of protest in the community in which the *League* took a vital part, maintaining that the "American tradition of freedom and liberty demands that public buildings be open for general use without discrimination on any basis." The Choral Society soon gained the right to use the school. Then the *League* again asked for the use of the building for its meeting. A formal application has been filed, and the issue is up to the Board, for the State Board refuses to rule on what is "sectarian."

Several district conferences have been held on the West Coast in preparation for the National Congress. Bert Leech, our West Coast organizer, has been busy organizing these meetings and getting delegates for Cleveland. *Los Angeles* held a successful Armistice Day meeting with over 700 in attendance. The *League* here has also organized a speakers' class, and is publishing a weekly news bulletin. On November 24th a broad district conference was held, with many groups participating. *San Francisco* held its conference on December 21. *Portland* succeeded in getting the Central Labor Council to endorse the boycott on German goods and on the Nazi Olympics. *League* people here are on the alert for munitions shipments, and are already planning a "reception" for the German cruiser *Emden*, when it stops at Portland late in January.

The newly organized branch of the *League* in Gloversville, N. Y., is carrying on an active program, in spite of the opposition of local legionnaires. On December 12, Professor Coleman Cheney of Skidmore College addressed a *League* meeting and drew a responsive audience. Local *League* members are taking an active part in the *Peace Council* of the city.

The New Jersey State Committee of the *League* is coordinating the work for the Congress and developing a state-wide program with the assistance of Jay Wright, the organizer. *Newark* recently conducted a Tag Day, protested the appearance of Admiral Yates Stirling at a local theater, and is now busy on the campaign against the national gag bills. A new membership branch of mothers has been formed, while a Youth branch is also developing. *Hackensack* held a mass meeting on December 12 with General Smedley Butler as the main speaker. Over 500 people gathered in the high school auditorium for this occasion. Paul Reid of the *National Office* was present and after speaking on the *League* program made an appeal for membership. *Perth Amboy* brought together a number of trade unionists on December 4 in a very successful meeting. Elmer Brown of the Typographical Union was the principal speaker. As a result of the meeting several members of local unions joined the *League* and became active in its support. *Paterson League* members protested the show-

BUILDING the LEAGUE

ing of "Red Salute" at a local theater, and distributed 5,000 circulars in opposition to this objectionable movie.

Forty delegates and eighteen observers, representing 43 organizations with a total membership of 3,519 people, attended the *San José, California* district conference on November 17. Eight cities were represented at this gathering. Outstanding speakers were Rev. Ray Studt, Ella Winter and Leo Gallagher. Delegates from 12 labor unions took part in the Labor Commission. Student organizations and church young people's groups were represented in the Youth Commission. A district executive committee was elected and plans laid for another conference on May 9-10, 1936.

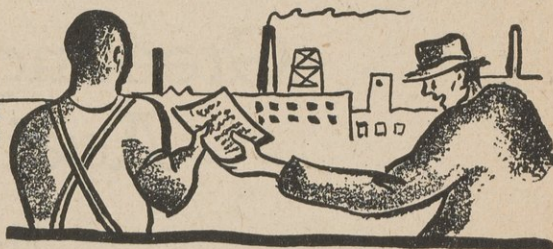
Chicago was host to the Cook County Conference Against War and Fascism. It was attended by 193 delegates representing 145 organizations with a total membership of 38,857. Delegates from 21 labor unions were especially interested in the Labor Commission. Six other commissions met at the conference. Roger Baldwin of the National Bureau spoke at the mass meeting on Friday night, December 6, while the prize play, "Private Hicks," was presented on Saturday night.

New York City had a series of very successful pre-conference Commission meetings. Much of the preliminary work was done before the district conference met on December 21. Of special interest was the Children's Commission, made up of the leaders of various children's groups. The Women's Commission drew a broad support, and the Trade Union Commission was attended by many A. F. of L. delegates. The district Conference began with a mass meeting on the night of December 20, with an impressive array of speakers, including Jacob Mirsky, president of Bricklayers' No. 37 of the A.F. of L., Rev. Horatio Hill, Negro leader in educational work, Girolamo Valenti, editor of *La Stampa Libera*, and Robert Minor of the Gallup Defense Committee. The Conference sessions took place on December 21 with a wide representation of delegates and a deep seriousness of purpose.

ACTION AGAINST WAR

The crew of the ship *Spero*, (docked in Hoboken, N. J.) walked out in protest against the shipment of a cargo of scrap iron to Mussolini for his war against the people of Ethiopia. The workers of Hoboken and the workers of Seattle, who took a similar action about six weeks ago, are paving the way for concrete stoppage of this war and all wars. The first plank in the AMERICAN LEAGUE'S program reads: "To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes. . . ."

Support These Workers in Their
Struggle Against War!



YOUTH SPARKS

ONE YEAR ago, after a long and somewhat heated discussion, the Inter-Seminary Movement of the Mid-Atlantic States voted to affiliate to the American *League*. This year, in a meeting held at Union Theological Seminary, the Movement by almost unanimous vote decided to remain affiliated and elected delegates to the Third U. S. Congress.

The Movement represents 35 seminaries in the East. Under the leadership of its Secretary, Robert Clemmons, a member of the National Youth Committee of the *League*, the group has participated during the year in much anti-war activity. There were 174 delegates at the conference.

The anti-fascist groups and believers in fair play in sports put up a splendid fight at the AAU convention. By barely one vote was the demand beaten for non-participation in Nazi Olympics, until definite proof of no discrimination could be shown. The vote was much closer than had been expected and indicated the strength of the mass movement which collected and presented over a million signatures for non-participation.

The movement to move the Olympics out of Nazi Germany proceeds with the campaign now taken directly to the athletes, colleges and people who ordinarily support the teams financially.

Already college campuses are being faced with collections so that the team may be sent across. It is our job to develop the boycott against the Hitler Olympics. If tryouts are held at your college, convince your athletic leaders not to lend themselves to Nazi support. Boycott tryouts, since the money raised will be used to send a team across. At the Congress in Cleveland further plans will be developed.

The religious commission met in an evening and afternoon session in New York, with 71 young people present, representing some 18 religious organizations in the metropolitan area. There were delegates from Protestant, Catholic and Y. M. C. A. groups. The resolution adopted read in part, "Regardless of our differences—political, philosophical, economic and religious—we must unite on every front against war for peace and against fascism for freedom."

Arthur Link, Junior member of the Farmer's Union, hailing from North Dakota, has been doing fine work amongst the youth. He circularized different groups throughout his state asking for suggestions on how to organize farm youth.

Petit Journal, the French magazine published by Doubleday, Doran and Co., for use in French classes in high schools and colleges, carried an article praising *Croix de Feu* (French Fascist organization) as a pacifist group working for peace. Organizations and individuals are protesting the use of this magazine in our public schools.—J. L.

Greetings to the Third Congress Against War and Fascism

From the International Workers Order

THE International Workers Order is a workers' organization recognizing the necessity for the struggle against war. The workers organize to meet the problem of their economic insecurity. They established for themselves sick benefits from \$4 to \$10 a week, life insurance from \$100 to \$2,000, tuberculosis benefits of \$20 a week for 30 weeks, and disability benefits up to \$300. These benefits are available to anyone who joins—the Order invites EVERYONE TO JOIN.

AT THE same time it recognizes that the economic insecurity which its members want to meet by means of mutual benefit is of such fundamental character and of such tremendous intensity that the voluntary efforts of mutual aid cannot by any means completely solve it. That is why the members of our Order are interested in the struggles of the workers for better wages, to secure a better standard of living, thereby preserving their health! That is why they are convinced of the necessity of the struggle against war, the most destructive force against the interests of the worker.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER WELCOMES THE EFFORTS OF THE FORCES AGAINST WAR TO UNITE UNDER THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM! IT PLEDGES ITS OWN ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP AS AN ACTIVE PART OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST WAR & FASCISM

For More Information Write to

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By DOROTHY McCONNELL

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