

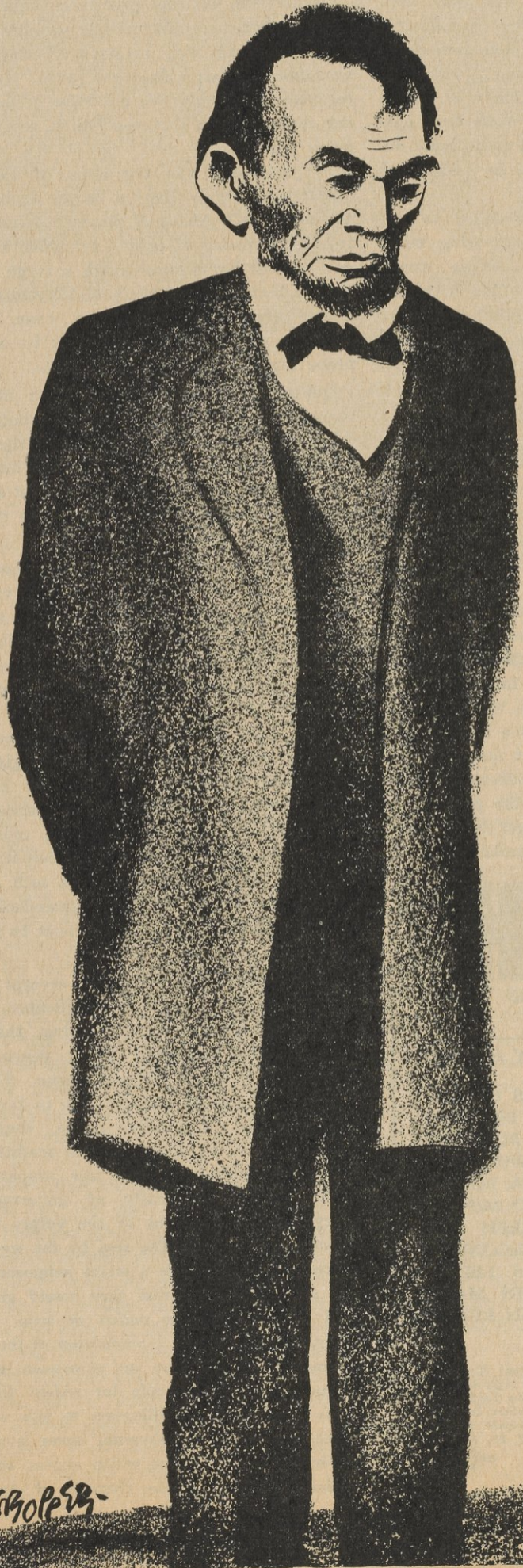
FIGHT

VOL. 3 ▼ No. 4

FEBRUARY
1936

5¢

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



Ethiopia

By Harry F. Ward

"I Want a King"

By Grace Lumpkin



CHURCH PEACE POLL

By **ALFRED SCHMALZ**

Associate Director, The Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches

THE PEACE PLEBISCITE, conducted by *The Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches*, is the largest recorded vote in the United States on certain issues of war and peace. About 200,000 people from 2,504 churches across the land cast their votes on some of the most controversial issues of the day. The Plebiscite thus represents a fair cross-section of opinion and conviction in America, and gives the facts on which future education for peace should be based.

The ballot was in two parts. The first section invited an expression of conviction "as a Christian" in regard to personal participation in war. The second section gave the voter an opportunity to declare what particular policies and programs he would support in the interest of world peace.

Chief interest quite naturally centered in the first part of the ballot. What convictions do church people have about Christianity and war? How extensive is their moral judgment upon mass murder? To what extent do they support the pacifism of the clergy? Since 1918 there has been a mighty revulsion against war. Hundreds of books have been written, and read. Moving pictures and plays have portrayed the horror and futility of armed conflict. Sermon after sermon has examined the nature and character of modern warfare. The Plebiscite afforded an opportunity to discover what was actually the net result of our people's experience and thinking.

The Result

It developed that only 6 percent of the voters were willing to give their support to "any war" declared by the United States government. A smaller group, 4 percent, expressed their readiness to support a League of Nations war against an internationally declared aggressor. The largest group, 42 percent, took the middle, rather non-committal, position, saying that they would support only that war which had been declared after every agency for peaceful settlement of a dispute had been exhausted. The next largest group, 33 percent, said they would fight only in defense of United States territory against actual invasion. And 15 percent took the absolute pacifist position, declaring that they would support "no war."

The ballot was not a pledge but simply an expression of conviction. Therefore this vote should not be accepted as a promise, but as a clear indication of what people will want to do in the event of war. But it is significant to note that about 48 percent (33 plus 15) of the voters will not fight another foreign war. Since a war in Europe or, more likely, in Asia is the kind of war the United States may next participate in, a considerable body of our church people will probably refuse to give future war their support.

An analysis of the pacifist vote leads to some interesting discoveries. The women are

more pacifist than the men. The young men are more pacifist than the older men. In this connection, it was rather disconcerting to note that the least pacifism, and conversely the most militarism, was expressed by men over 36 (of draft age in 1917!), who also were most ardently in favor of larger armaments. As for the vote by occupations, the professional group (which included clergymen) was most pacifist, the farmers following closely in second place. Industrial and clerical workers were only slightly less pacifist. Far behind them came the "business-finance" group, the least pacifist of them all.

A second section had been added to the ballot with the purpose of discovering what governmental policies church people would support in the fight for peace. This is important to know, both from the point of view of discovering what peace policies have the support of public opinion, and of learning where the emphasis needs still to be laid in peace education.

On Collective Action

The first group of three questions in this section concerned the matter of collective action for peace versus isolation through strict neutrality. Membership in the League of Nations was rejected by 56 percent of the voters. Consultation with other nations in support of the Kellogg Pact was supported by a vote of 88 percent. National isolation through strict neutrality was favored by 60 percent of the people. That the voters understood the relation these questions bear to one another is indicated by the fact that the percentage of those rejecting collective action (sanctions) is about equal to the percentage of those favoring isolation (strict neutrality). The large vote in favor of consultation shows

that the people realize that peace has to be established by international cooperation.

The fourth question on a more equal distribution of the world's resources and markets, received a favorable vote of 84 percent. This question was not precise enough. It did not, for instance, instruct the unwary person that the tariff was involved. Perhaps this explains the large favorable vote. However, the vote is probably also indicative of the growing comprehension that war has its root in economic conflict.

Preparedness was the issue of the fifth question: Do you favor a larger army, navy and air force? About 57 percent of the voters rejected a policy of larger armaments. It is not, as will be at once noted, a large majority. In New England the vote for and against larger armaments was about even. Thus, there is still great confusion as to whether preparation for war leads to war.

Question number six raised the issue of compulsory military training in schools and colleges. Here the vote was more clear and decisive. About 64 percent favored its abolition. Church people do not believe that students should be compelled to take military training. The ROTC as now set up must go.

The last question concerned the munitions industry. From the overwhelming vote in favor of governmental control it is evident that the Nye Committee has well done its work of public education. Church people favor drastic governmental control of the production of armaments.

What, now, has the Plebiscite proved? I have already pointed out that it gives us the factual material on which to base a peace education program. For instance, it is clear that we must press for a more decisive position on personal participation in war, and that on certain questions such as collective action versus isolation, preparedness, and the economic causes of war, there must be greater clarification.

Let me, however, point out several other results of more general significance. The Plebiscite indicates, for one thing, that the churches are concerned about peace, and know it is to be a religious issue. This is proved by the large participation in the vote. Secondly, the Plebiscite shows that the churches stand by their historic tradition of spiritual independence, and are prepared to think and act critically of governmental policy. Only 6 percent of the voters would support "any war." The rest, by the way they marked the ballot, made a moral judgment upon war, saying in effect that they would give no blind allegiance to the nation or state. And, finally, the Plebiscite is a vindication of the right of free speech, as also an expression of the tolerance of church people for widely differing points of view. The willingness to talk without malice about such controversial issues is a lasting achievement and one which augurs well for freedom of speech in the churches of America.



VOL. 3 FEBRUARY NO. 4
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War—What For?

Senator Nye (LEFT) questioning J. P. Morgan in the Munitions Committee probe on the millions of dollars he and his associates made out of the World War

"I WANT A KING"

By GRACE LUMPKIN

Author of "A Sign for Cain," "To Make My Bread"

THE OFFICES of the *American Review* had just been moved when I went to visit Mr. Seward Collins, the Editor. In the new office all the partitions had not yet been put up.

A young man with a blond pompadour and a blond moustache, who seemed perpetually resentful about something, met me at the door and led me down the long room to the rear part where Mr. Collins sat at a desk. There was the desk, a chair in which Mr. Collins sat and another chair. The rest of the long place stretched beyond the desk; and along three sides of the wall, from ceiling to floor, there were book shelves.

Mr. Collins asked me politely to sit down, and I did so.

Mr. Collins: You must excuse us for being rather torn up. We have just moved. All my books have not come. There will be thousands of books on these shelves that you see.

I murmured something to the effect that the condition of the office made no difference, and after I had said this there was a moment of silence, the kind of silence which comes at a prayer meeting when no one can think of anything else he wishes to say to God. Then Mr. Collins spoke again.

Mr. Collins: (Courteously) What was it you wished to see me about?

Q. Because I am a Southern writer, I have been asked to make a talk on the Southern agrarian movement, and hearing that you are connected with it I came up to see you. You are with the group that publishes the *Southern Review*, are you not?

Mr. Collins: Yes, we work together.

Q. You have the same aims?

Mr. Collins: Yes . . . well, economic aims. We differ on some things. On religion, for instance. I am not religious, and I am under the impression that Allen Tate is not, either. I believe, however, that men need religion. They will always have some sort of religion. Many of our people are religious. They are of all faiths.

Q. But you have the same economic aims?

Mr. Collins: Yes.

Q. I see in an article by a Mr. Plenty of England, an article on "The Centrality of Money and Machinery" which is in the *American Review*, that Mr. Plenty believes that guilds will solve all economic problems, and bring rest and beauty out of chaos.

Mr. Collins: Yes, we advocate the establishment of guilds. We wish to go back to medieval times.

Q. In every way?

Mr. Collins: Yes, we wish to establish guilds as they had them in medieval times.

Q. To do this you would be obliged to destroy the factories, would you not?

Mr. Collins (eagerly): Yes . . . yes, certainly. We would have only individual craftsmen working. We would also distribute the land . . . give each person his own piece of land.

Q. A sort of "forty acres and a mule" arrangement?

Mr. Collins: Yes.

Q. Do you know what happened after the Civil War, when Stevens, Sumner and Wade tried to give each family of freed slaves forty acres and a mule?

Mr. Collins: No. I know very little about American history.

Q. When Stevens, Sumner and Wade tried to take land from the old landowners and distribute forty acres and a mule to the ex-slaves, the landowners rose up, formed Ku Klux Klans, Red Shirt organizations, as in South Carolina, and drove the Northerners out. Do you expect the factory owners and land owners now to give up any easier?

Mr. Collins: No, oh no! We expect to have a sort of revolution.

Q. For whom will this revolution be?

Mr. Collins: What do you mean?

Q. I mean: Who will benefit by it?

Mr. Collins: We want to make everyone happy. We want to give each person, each head of a family, a plot of ground so that he will be free to live his own individual life. We believe in individuals, in their development . . .

Q. Have you a plan by which you intend to do away with the factories, etc., and establish the guilds?

Mr. Collins: No, we have not yet made any definite plans. Some of us are continually getting together and working on plans, but nothing has yet been decided.

Q. And what does this group plan to do about education?

Mr. Collins: We are against John Dewey's progressive education. We do not believe in general education. Only those who are fit should be educated. The others should remain ignorant. Education doesn't make people happy. It is unimportant.

Q. Yet I must remind you that just now, when you spoke of all the books you are to have on these shelves, your face showed that you were proud and very happy to be able to read them. Why should that be if, as you say, education is not important?

Mr. Collins: I mean education for the masses of people. For individuals, yes, it is important—for some individuals.

Q. I see. You wish to make everyone happy. I understand. Can you tell me what attitude your group has about war?

Mr. Collins: We think there will always be wars. Men have a fighting instinct. You can't change human nature.

Q. You don't think wars have economic causes, the struggle for markets and colonies, for example?

Mr. Collins: No. The causes are individual. Man is a fighting animal.

Q. Some of the things you have said make me think that you are a fascist. Are you?

Mr. Collins: Yes, I am a fascist. I admire Hitler and Mussolini very much. They

(Continued on page fourteen)

3 YEARS OF HITLER

IT IS NOW three full years since Hitler and his Nazi party have come into power. Hitler promised the German people peace and plenty. Hitler promised the German people decentralization of large capital, and heaven on earth for the common man. Hitler promised anything and everything to achieve control of the state for the group of German industrialists he represents.

After three years in power we can now take stock. Recently the Reich Bureau of Statistics issued a report covering over one thousand joint-stock companies. This is an official German report. What do we find? Profits have gone up in spite of the depression, and these profits come directly from the wages of workers. In other words, wages have gone down and dividends up. In the first two years of the Hitler régime (the figures for 1935 are not yet available) 2,559,000,000 more marks were taken from workers' wages than in 1932.

It is important to note that in this official report the concerns showing the largest profits are the ones directly involved in Hitler's

war program. (Chemical, automobile, electrical, etc.) And some of these enterprises were and are the ones directly financing the Nazi party. They helped Hitler to power. And Hitler is helping to keep them in power.

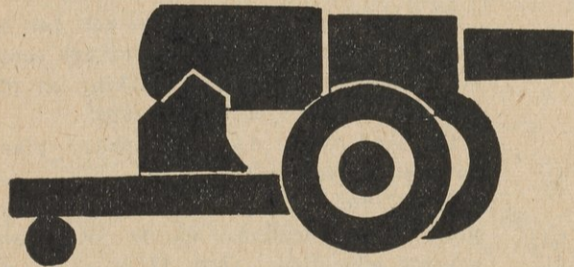
In the chart below we give the figures of a few of those concerns listed by the Reich Bureau of Statistics.

Is this Peace? Is this Plenty?

Maybe it is peace—temporary peace—for large corporations from the demands of trade unions for a decent standard of living. Maybe it is plenty—for large corporations.

But for the majority of the German people, Fascism means not only the loss of all democratic rights, the loss of free speech, free press and the right of assembly but a greatly reduced standard of living and a militarized nation.

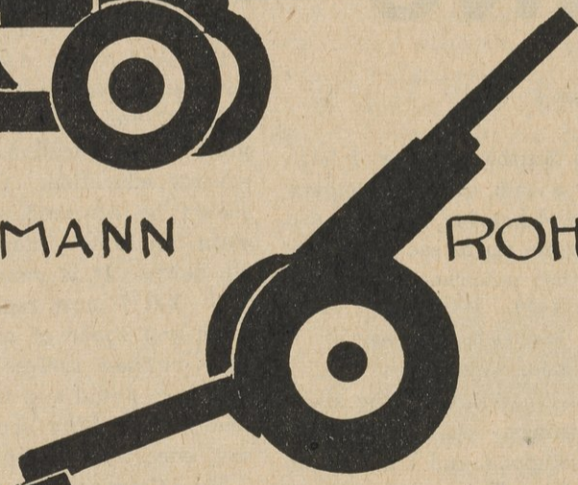
And to the rest of the world Fascism has given the ever-threatening danger of war.



MANNESMANN

KRUPP A.G. ESSEN

lost	1933	3,069,000
made	1934	6,551,000



ROHRENWERKE	1933	made 880,000
	1934	made 3,505,000



DAIMLER BENZ

	1933	made 2,470,000
	1934	made 4,120,000

Hitler capital took from people's wages alone in first two years 2,559,000,000 marks.





The covers of the "pulp" tell the story! The most widely read magazines in the country are filled with stories of war, red scares and strike breaking

'PULPIES' SAVE U. S. A.

By HARRY BIRDOFF

"Queues form for everything in modern Moscow, even for lavatories."

The written word can be a force for good as well as for evil. Which class of magazines reaches the largest group of people in the U. S. A.? There is only one answer: The "pulp." Have you ever read them? What do they publish? Of recent years their pages have been filled with war, war and war. The writer of this article has written for the "pulpies" under a fairly well-known pseudonym, and he tells us here something about the contents of these blood-and-thunder publications.—EDITOR

WHEN ERASTUS FLAVEL BEADLE came down from Otsego County, New York, in 1860 and invented the dime novel, he realized that a certain authenticity had to appear in his small, paper-bound pamphlets. Beadle made long journeys through the West, and tried to catch from authentic sources what he called, "the flavor of American life."

In 1922, Dr. Frank O'Brien made a gift to the New York Public Library. Fourteen hundred "Beadles" and other rival publications were placed on public view; and it became obvious that the early writers had given something which is priceless. The dime novels left us a better picture of the West than did most of the formal histories of the period.

There remains a distinction, however, between the accounts of the Western frontier writers and those of the hearsay chroniclers who remained in the East. *Deadwood Dick* was created by a mild-looking man, Edward L. Wheeler, who called everyone "pard," and in all his life was never farther west than Jersey City. The imitations marked the decadent period of the dime novels.

The "Red" Bugaboo

This year a great many stories about Russia have appeared in the pulpies. Chief of these have been a series of featured novels by Max Brand in the *Detective Fiction Weekly*: *The Case of the Strange Villa* (Jan. 5th); *The Case of the Little Father of Death* (Jan. 12th); *The Case of the Man in the Shroud* (Feb. 9th); *Treason Against a King* (April 13th); *The Gilded Box* (April 27th);

Wings Over Moscow (May 11th); *The Downfall* (May 25th), etc. They all form a pulp saga under the title: *Spy!*

The hero is one Anthony Hamilton, who is a playboy at Monte Carlo. He is in the espionage service of the United States. He knows his *hors d'oeuvres* and how to mix a Martini with a dash of Curacao to take out the taste of the gin and the glass. The author describes his hero, "More than ever he looked, from behind, like a student, and from in front like an athlete." Hamilton is fond of doggerel; the pages are strewn with what seems to be Max Brand's earlier attempts at poetry, before his great success in the pulpies.

The saga runs in this vein:

"So many people of today feel the same thing," said de Graulchier. "They have possessions, taste, means to employ their minds, and yet they insist on adding an extra pungency. They must touch knives and handle fire. They play with the ideas of Karl Marx, make a mystery of him, and so teach the man in the street to look up as though towards a great philosopher. But that is dangerous. For the man in the street wants no ideas except those which he can use like a club to knock down others."

Hamilton becomes involved in a counter-revolution to restore an heir of the Romanoffs to the throne of Russia. A delicate-looking man, "with the bleeding sickness," is induced to act the part of the Czar's son, who is supposed to have survived, miraculously, from the cellar at Ekaterinsburg. Poland, Yugoslavia, Estonia, Rumania and the rest lend their aid. In Russia, Hamilton is arrested as a spy by the O.G.P.U. The guards consider him a harmless but amusing half-wit. One of them singles him out, each day, and knocks him down with a blow of his fist: "Take that to pay for your songs!"

The author gives graphic descriptions of landmarks, of the streets of Russia, and the stores where long queues of people wait in the cold.

Publicizing Poison

The *Detective Fiction Weekly* offers yearly subscriptions for the twelve letters from readers which, in the opinion of its *Crime Jury*, stand out above the rest. Tell what there was about it which made it stick in your mind, is the motto of that department. One prize-winning letter had this to say about Max Brand's *Spy!* series: "From beginning to end it held me spellbound. I can see the old monastery which was once the holiest of all in the Russias." Another reader wins with this letter: "A certain S.H.C. from New York expressed his dislike for the short novel, *Spy!* Now, S.H.C., I will tell you why *Spy!* is the best group of short novels any detective magazine published, and why the one entitled *The Downfall* is the best you have ever read. In the first place, his plot is crack proof. Everything Anthony Hamilton accomplishes is plausible. . . . In *The Downfall* you could see those people suffering, almost feel them—gasp at the terribleness of it all. . . . The style is A-1, the plot critic-proof, atmosphere, action and reasoning perfect. . . . It is convincing above all things! And, too, it is educational. It is amusing. *The Downfall* in the series of *Spy!* will stick in my mind and I believe in no less than 85 per cent of the minds of readers of *Detective Fiction Weekly*, more than any story it published. If it stays in your mind above the others, it is the best story you have ever read. Remember that, S.H.C. from New York."

On June 22 a new series began in the *Detective Fiction Weekly*, which its *Crime Jury* announced in a prominent box as: "The most absorbing and thunderous story of the year!" The work was a collaboration that threw the collective wits of Judson P. Phillips and Thomas M. Johnson into a sixpart *Red War*. *Is This Drama of Secret Agents in a New World War a Terrible Prophecy of*



Senate Committee meets on neutrality legislation. (LEFT) Hiram Johnson. (CENTER) William E. Borah. (RIGHT) Key Pittman

What Is to Be? ran the subtitle.

The serial had a plot of diplomatic intrigue that soon left the reader reeling. The co-author, Judson P. Phillips, brought a keen sense of dramatic situation into the collaboration. He comes from a theatrical family; his mother was at one time Richard Mansfield's leading lady, his father was an opera singer, his wife has a Broadway production to her credit—and he himself has a craving to do something for the theatre. *Red War* gave him that opportunity. The story centered around the diabolical Viktor Gaszlo, the Red Dictator, who persuaded Japan to attack America. He plotted and counterplotted: Japan, Germany, Poland, are deceived by his trickery. He worked at cross-purposes to achieve his ends. The fate of America and the world hung in the balance!

Only one man could succeed in saving America—Hugh Bayne, the most famous of Hollywood's movie actors, and secretly, a spy for the Intelligence Service at Washington. He saves America!

This is expressive of the story:

"I wonder if you got the full significance of what you heard," he said slowly. "This fellow Craven—T. J. Craven—is a bird we've had our eyes on for quite a while. He's apparently a rich newspaper proprietor, but our Department of Justice men suspect him of actually being the big shot of the Communist Party in the United States. They say that his private fortune is in reality funds supplied by the Third International in Moscow; that he has been put in a key position, waiting for the day of World Revolution."

Exceptions to the Case

In the April 27 issue of *Argosy Magazine*, a seven-part serial began to describe the great European conflict of 1936. Theodore Roscoe's story dealt with a newspaper correspondent who did diligent work in disclosing certain arms scandals, graft, and the interlocking directorates between various European and American armament firms, and showed how many of the munition kings controlled newspapers and inspired the reading public to warlike opinion. *War Declared!* is

a remarkable anticipation of what lies in store for the year 1936.

Roscoe headed his story with:

*Fe-fo-fi-fum,
I smell the blood of a war to come.
Legions alive will soon be dead.
I'll grind their bones to make my bread.
—Mother Goose, 1936.
Song of the Armament Maker.*

What marred the reality was that the action took place in Transylvania, Teutony and Helvania.

The *pulpies* do better when they describe conditions at home. This is shown in a novel like *The Strike-Breaker*, by Fred MacIsaac, which began in the August 17 issue of *Detective Fiction Weekly*, and ran for five weeks.

In *The Strike-Breaker*, Peter Dobson runs a private army of professional strike-breakers. He gets a quarter-million dollar fee to engineer an undercover deal. A competitor to the Peterson Diesel Engine Works wishes to smash Peterson and prevent him from filling an order. Dobson tricks Peterson's workers into joining a fake union. He calls a strike, then persuades Peterson to hire him to break it. He imports a private army of strike-breakers, occupying the plant long enough to serve the purposes of those who hired him. In the industrial war that follows, the fake union becomes the scapegoat of set-off explosions and assassinations.

This phase has been practically ignored by writers of the contemporary scene. The story by Fred MacIsaac is borne out by a one publication, *I Break Strikes* (Robt. M. McBride and Co.) that appeared many months after. The author, Edward Levinson, cites names, places and dates. He describes just such a strike-breaking organization, the Bergoff Agency which has admittedly done work from coast to coast for the largest steel, traction, utility and manufacturing corporations in the country. In a short period Bergoff and his two associates made \$10,000,000. There is no government supervision over the 104 recognized strike-breaking agencies. These private agencies supply *ad lib.* spies, strike-breakers, tear gas bombs and Thompson machine guns.

ACTION!

The American League Against War and Fascism invites all organizations and persons who desire to defeat these two allied enemies of mankind—War and Fascism—to unite in carrying out the following program:

1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions in time of peace or war, and in time of war the transport of all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes; and to enlist the professional classes in educational propaganda against war and for participation with workers and farmers in anti-war actions.

2. To expose at every point the extensive preparations for war being carried on by the government of the United States (a) under the guise of "national defense" and (b) by diversion to war preparations funds for relief projects and public works; to demand that relief funds be spent only in constructive work or for adequate relief, and that the huge additional budgets now being spent in preparation for war be transferred to the extension of health and education.

3. To resist the increasing militarization of youth in schools, CCC and CMTCC camps and the use of their dependence upon relief to get them into the armed forces.

4. To demand total and universal disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union to the League of Nations, and to support all measures that move clearly toward that goal.

5. To demand that neutrality legislation effectively cover all war supplies, loans and credits, and permit no discretion to the President; more particularly, to promote and support refusal of workers to handle all materials of war; to organize and support public condemnation of those who seek profit from the sale of war materials and war loans; to organize mass support for every effort, national or international, which in our judgment as occasion arises, is directed toward postponing, restricting, or shortening war.

6. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in Latin America, the Far East and throughout the world; to give the support of our protests and demands to all peoples who are resisting exploitation, aggression and suppression by imperialist powers; to those in all lands who struggle against the war measures and fascist policies of their own governments, and to all who suffer under the fascist state.

7. To demonstrate constantly the relationship between war and fascism; to expose and counteract fascist propaganda, both foreign and native; to prevent the formation of fascist forces in this country.

8. To oppose all developments leading to Fascism, particularly the increasingly widespread use of armed forces and vigilante terrorism against workers, unemployed, farmers, Negroes and other racial minorities, who are exercising their constitutional rights to protest against unbearable conditions and to organize for their own advancement.

9. To resist the attempts of our American fascists to destroy by legislation, executive order, judicial decree, or lawless action, our guaranteed civil rights of free speech, free press, free assembly, the right to organize, picket and demonstrate; and further to resist all forms of discrimination against foreign-born based on their political or labor activities.

10. To oppose all legislation or orders denying citizens in the armed forces their constitutional right to receive printed matter or personal appeals in behalf of this or any other program designed to secure peace, freedom and justice; and to defend their right to join organizations on the same basis as other citizens.



The upward climb of the human race!
1777. Independence—a free nation

THERE IS a legend about a man from Ethiopia.

One day, long ago, he was near the end of the Journey from his country to Jerusalem.

Almost at the city gate he met a squad of Roman soldiers taking three men to be crucified on the top of the hill called the Skull.

Each was carrying the heavy wooden cross to which he was soon to be nailed.

As they reached him one of the men stumbled under the weight of his load and then fell in the dust of the road.

Neither the metal shod feet of the soldiers nor the butts of their spears could make him rise.

So the officers ordered the bystander with the black face to lift the cross to his broad shoulders and carry it to the place of execution.

Thus the man from Ethiopia came to talk with the carpenter from Nazareth, sentenced to death under the charge of stirring up the people, made by those who got a share of the profits of the money changers whom he had driven from the temple.

Thus the words of this rebel got carried to the black race.

So the legend.

Out of it comes this much of truth, at least.

Then, ever since, and now, the black people are bearers of burdens for the white. Sharing the injustice and oppression! Carrying the heavy load!

Robbed of their land and driven into forced labor.

Torn from their homes and carried over the seas.

Sometimes by men who read the bible while those who had died in the chains and the filth of the hold were being thrown overboard.

Once in a ship called *Jesus*.

Sold on the block like cattle.

Then went a man named John Brown to die with a rope around his neck for lifting the hammer that some day was to break the chains of the slaves.

Then came he with uncouth gait and sad

face, who with slow and unwilling steps became the Emancipator.

So the black people—bearers of burden, wearers of chains—became a symbol of Freedom.

Then the white workers, bowed low with bitter, unceasing toil, lifted up their heads and said:

*Chattel slavery is abolished!
We will end wage slavery!*

But they didn't. Not yet!

Slowly the lot of black and white workers grew worse. And neither of them understood.

Then the black men put on uniforms and went overseas again, in a white man's war, to save democracy.

And most of those who came home couldn't sit in the same seat, nor live in the same



1860. John Brown and Ralph Waldo Emerson greeting the Negro in the fight for freedom

street, nor vote, nor serve on the jury, with those whose democracy they had tried to save.

They were kept out of most of the unions; so they became "scabs."

Some of them learned from the white man how to exploit the weaker ones of their own race.

Others learned from the white man how to minister to the vices of corrupted and dying cities.

But some spoke to us of great things in the language of all races and of all time.

Others went to the chain gang and the cell, were beaten and shot and thrown into the swamps, for leading the unemployed in the cities, and the sharecroppers on the soil, black and white together.

So from these black people, with bright words on their lips and deep silence over their hearts, carefree in life and careless of death, we have learned that none of us is free until all of us are free.

Once again they bear our burdens—over there in Ethiopia.

ETHIOPIA

By HARRY F. WARD

If they hold back the invader long enough, the back of Fascism is broken.

That is why the lords and rulers of this earth are now afraid. Afraid that this may be the beginning of the end of oppression, afraid that the black people may now become the reality of freedom, not merely an historic symbol.

Those hands are lifted. Those voices are sounding. Why this silence?

We owe the black people something. Until we pay it we are not free. It is time to carry our own load and part of theirs.

Where do we stand?

Our oil, our trucks, our cotton are now helping the invader of the last free country of the black people.

After slavery, after freedom that was only on paper—this!

Why, then, silence? Why does not the land ring with indignation? Are we all slaves of trade and profit?

Let millions of voices—black and white together—raise the cry:

*No oil, no supplies of any kind, no loans,
no credits for mass murder in Ethiopia!*

Let us stand shoulder to shoulder with the workers at the docks and on the ships in refusing to load and carry war supplies for mass murder in Ethiopia.

Let our voices be raised in protest until it strikes the Capitol and the White House and compels action, until, swelling in volume across the seas, it reaches London and Paris and stops this traffic in death.

Then the war will stop. Then the power of Fascism will break. Then the day of peace for all races will dawn.

Freedom for Ethiopia means another step toward freedom for the black race everywhere, toward the freedom of all races, to build together a new world where none shall be oppressed.



Drawings by William Siegel
1936. The struggle continues as the American people face new gag laws now before Congress

THE THIRD CONGRESS

CLEVELAND'S RECEPTION of the *Third U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism* differed greatly from our previous experiences. The Cleveland Federation of Labor was officially represented by five delegates and brought words of greeting through Max S. Hayes, veteran labor leader. Not only did the City Council endorse the Congress, but the Mayor was present at the opening mass meeting to bring words of greeting. The press gave us liberal space and sympathetic attention. Arrow placards on lamp posts and cards in the street cars announced the Congress and pointed the way to the Public Auditorium.

The movement against war and fascism in the United States is growing in scope, in numbers, in seriousness of purpose, and in understanding of the means necessary to achieve its goals. The character and proceedings of the *Third U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism* demonstrated this fact. Organized labor and farm people, school teachers and youth, professional workers and women testified to the broad character and deep devotion of the forces opposed to war and fascism by their active work and significant decisions in this Congress. From the opening moments of the commission meetings on Friday to the closing minutes of the secretaries' meeting on Monday it was evident that the Third Congress meant business, and that every delegate was ready to take an active part in shaping the program and developing the tactics necessary to stop war and fascism.

It was evident, too, from the very outset, that the *American League Against War and Fascism* had gained the attention both of friends and sympathizers and of opponents and enemies. The endorsements of labor and of civic bodies, the presence of official observers from political groups and the interest of the press and public figures marked the broad impress of the Congress. Attacks by officials of the *American Legion* and the presence of the snoopng Hearst press revealed that the League had become a force to be considered by the proponents of war and fascism.

THE serious mood of the Congress and the broad make-up of the delegations characterized the sessions of the three commissions that met on Friday at the Hotel Hollenden. The Women's commission, ably led by Margaret Forsythe, considered the signature campaign for total disarmament, anti-war work among farm women, the increasing discrimination used against women, and several other vital problems. A National Women's Committee was elected to carry on the program adopted by this commission. The Youth Commission, with Waldo McNutt and James Lerner as leaders, gave its attention to the problems of militarism in education and youth under fascism. The Commission on Organizational Structure and Tactics, with Charles Webber in the chair, concentrated on finance and membership, extensions and affiliations, campaigns and united front problems. "Our burning concern in this commis-

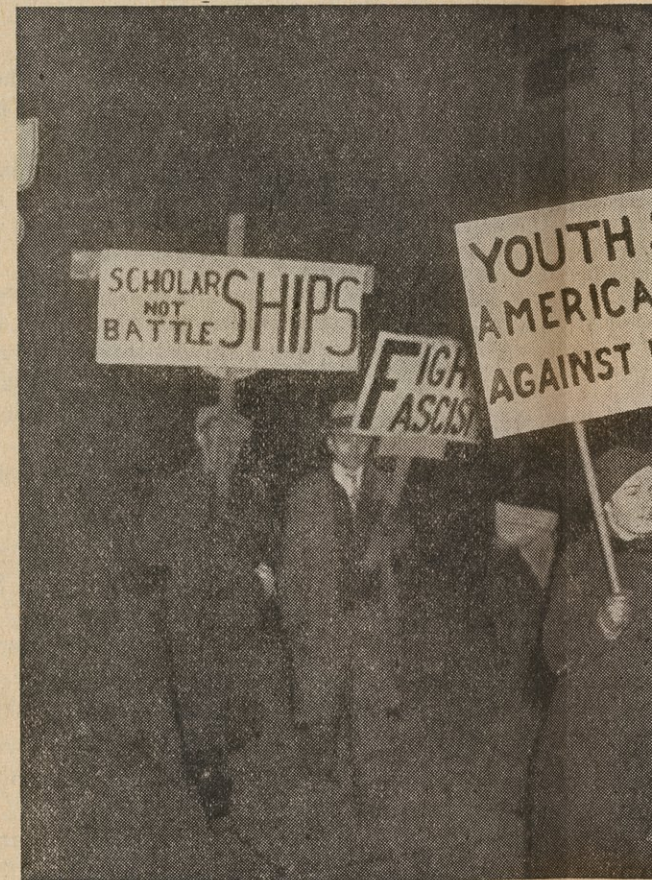
sion," read the opening report, "and throughout the whole Congress is to strengthen the League as the most effective organization opposing the onrush of war and the inroads of fascism in the United States."

MASS meeting. Friday night. The arena of the Public Auditorium. From the opening words of greeting by Mayor Harold Burton of Cleveland to the closing words of the last speaker, General Smedley Butler, the common purpose and intense interest of the 10,000 people assembled was constantly affirmed. Scorning the criticism of the local American Legion, Mayor Burton defended the right of free speech and free assembly by welcoming the Congress on behalf of the City of Cleveland. Max S. Hayes, speaking for the A. F. of L. of Cleveland, warned the huge crowd of the growing fascist acts of orderly government, and maintained that even if the Devil himself had founded the League he was with it through thick and thin in its purpose to stop war and fascism.

Among other speakers were Caroline Hart, Youth Speaker; Langston Hughes, Negro author and playwright; Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner of Cleveland; Frank Palmer, editor of the *People's Press*, Bishop Edgar Blake of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Wyndham Mortimer of the Auto Workers' Union; State Senator C. W. Fine of North Dakota, and General Smedley Butler—all reiterated the need for the widest possible common action against the evils of war and fascism. Bishop Blake, in his quiet scholarly way, aligned the church morally and actively with all those forces that are working for peace and freedom. General Butler in his typical style denounced war as a racket, and swore that the League was on the right track in opposing war. Dr. Ward, as Chairman of the meeting, clearly stated the purposes and program of the League just before he introduced General Butler for the part of the program that went on the air.

The first general session of the Congress on Saturday morning began with a very dramatic moment as the Chairman, Dr. Ward, asked the delegates to stand in memory of those who would have been present but were restrained in jails. Greetings from Councilman Joseph Artl of Cleveland brought words of appreciation from the Chairman for the valuable help that Mr. Artl had given in preparing for the Congress. The delegates cheered as Mrs. Victor L. Berger, widow of one of America's pioneer socialists, spoke.

THE report of Dr. Harry F. Ward, the National Chairman, was received with both applause and sober reflection. "We meet today in a world which is mobilized for war as never before in the history of man, a world in which war has begun. . . . Our task here is first to see that the United States is kept out of war, next to use our exceptional position, because of our immunity from invasion, because of our freedom from entangling alliances, not for purposes of selfish isolation, but in order to stop the war-makers, and the



Three and a quarter million people organized to fight Fascism. 2,070 delegates who recently assembled in Cleveland. (LOWER) Picket line in front of the

invaders of other people's territory in other parts of the world. . . . It is clear that the fascist forces in the United States are crystallizing and consolidating. . . . Fascism in this country is the destruction of democracy by violence, the substitution of the rule of force for the attempt of the people to govern

GRESS — By PAUL REID



Chicago Film and Photo League



organized to fight war and fascism. (TOP) Part of the assembled in Cleveland in the Congress against War and in front of the Italian consulate in Cleveland

101, and from 835 members to 4,500. Significant advances in the printing and distribution of publications and in organizational developments were also noted. The chief weaknesses cited were financial and the need for more organizers in the field. The report concluded: "We have come far as an organization and as a force in the American scene in the past fifteen months. But during 1936 we must cover more ground and become a still stronger organization if we are to achieve the goals which the *American League Against War and Fascism* set for itself two years and three months ago."

Nine commissions met on Saturday afternoon to consider the campaign against war and fascism as it related to specific fields and interests. The Trade Union and Labor Commission, with Clarence Irwin as Chairman, was the largest and represented the most vital interest of the Congress. Between five and six hundred delegates were occupied over four hours in the deliberations of this commission. Delegates from coast to coast and from all the major industrial fields took part. The War and Fascism commission under the leadership of Roger Baldwin was next largest in numbers and interest. Here the new ten-point program of the League was hammered out and prepared for presentation to the Congress. James Waterman Wise was in charge of the Commission on National and Racial Minorities; Rev. Herman Reissig led the Religious Commission; Kay Harris presided over the Farm Commission; Harold Hickerson was Chairman of the Veterans' Commission; LeRoy Bowman of Educational Commission, Sarah Story and Gene Oliver of the Children's Commission, and Joseph Pass of the FIGHT and Literature Commission.

The Cultural program on Saturday night was prefaced by a very impressive Barbusse Memorial service in which Dr. Ward, Earl Browder and Roger Baldwin were the speakers. The founder of the World Committee of the League Against War and Fascism was memorialized in words, in thoughts and in music. General Fang Chen-Wu of China and Jean Perron of Canada added their words of appreciation for the historic work of this great leader. The cultural program of drama and music was not only impressive of itself but added variety and new form to the Congress program.

THE Sunday morning session of the Congress was packed full of interesting reports, and several rather dramatic events occurred. Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, gave a preliminary report on the number and kinds of delegates registered. Margaret Forsythe, reporting from the Women's Commission, not only presented a resumé of the work done at the Congress, but also indicated the growing scope of the activities of women against war and fascism throughout the country. The high point of the Youth Commission report—given by James Lerner, Youth Secretary—was the announcement of a Declaration of Youth adopted by this commission. Reports of the

Farm, Religious, Educational, Children's, and Organization Commissions followed, revealing a vast amount of solid work and concrete plans for action in these specific fields in the year ahead.

One more Commission report came before the noonday adjournment, and that was on the ten-point program (see page 6) considered by the War and Fascism commission. Roger Baldwin presented these points and they were adopted in order, with a minority report on but one point. The issue involved was a rather simple one—whether the Soviet Union should be referred to in the statement of our stand on total disarmament. The assembled delegates voted by a decisive majority to include the words, and thus rejected the minority position.

The International session which began the afternoon program centered on the world-wide character of the movement against war and fascism. Dr. Mendez of Mexico invited the Congress to send delegates to an All-American Congress in Mexico City next June. A message from the oppressed people of Cuba was delivered by Leonardo Fernandez Sanchez, now a political exile in this country after serving valiantly in the Cuban League.

Canada was represented by A. A. McLeod, the General Secretary of the Canadian League.

General Fang Chen-Wu presented a warm message of greeting from the oppressed people of China, with Dr. Hansu Chan acting as interpreter. Then Miss Haru Matsui spoke for the Japanese people who are opposed to war and fascism. At this point a statement prepared by a number of Christian Japanese in this country was read, giving expression to their opposition to the imperialist and fascist acts of the ruling group in Japan. Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld spoke on behalf of the German anti-fascists and revealed the latest developments of the brutal fascist régime in Germany. Another colorful moment full of dramatic meaning occurred when Dr. Ward introduced a Negro and an Italian, representing Ethiopia and Italy, and these two fellow-fighters against the ravages of war and the oppressions of fascism shook hands and greeted each other warmly.

Paul Porter, official observer for the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, welcomed the resolution introduced by Robert Morss Lovett, which opened the way for the closer co-operation between the S. P., the League and additional trade unions towards the broadening of the movement against war and fascism.

The remaining commission reports—Trade Union, National and Racial Minorities, and Literature and FIGHT—were the next items of business. Clarence Irwin reporting for the Trade Union Commission maintained—with spirited applause—that the position of organized labor was basic in the struggle against war and fascism. James Waterman Wise and Manning Johnson gave the report for the Minorities Commission, and revealed that many minority groups were taking an active part in our common drive against the evils before us. Joseph Pass in the concluding re-

themselves, and this, for the sake of preserving profits, property income and the profit system; that is the essence of American fascism."

According to the report of the Executive Secretary, Paul Reid, the League grew in the last 15 months from 44 city committees to

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port presented the plans for an enlarged magazine with many new features, and for additional pamphlets and leaflets.

At this point the general session adjourned into regional and language groups for the consideration of special problems of organization and tactics.

THE complete credentials report, given at the beginning of the Sunday night session, presented conclusive evidence of the broad constituency of the Third Congress. A total of 2,070 delegates representing 3,299,624 people attended the Congress. Distinct advances were made in the number of people represented per delegate—542 at the Second Congress, 1594 at the Third. A. F. of L. trade unions and central bodies increased from 121 to 149, while religious organizations represented rose from 25 to 39. There were also nearly twice as many fraternal organizations represented by delegates.

The Congress responded with cheers when Joseph Pass, the editor of FIGHT, reported that pledges from the various regional meetings indicated a circulation of over 60,000 for the new magazine within three months of its appearance.

The report of the Resolutions Committee, given by Eleanor Brannan, received close attention as some 35 to 40 resolutions were presented and adopted by the assembled delegates. The scope of these resolutions and the concrete activities they demanded spoke decisively for the determined mood of the Congress.

Mrs. Annie Gray for the Nominating Committee presented a list of 128 members for the new National Executive Committee. These nominations were unanimously affirmed by the delegates as name after name was read, representing important groups and interests in many sections of the country.

As this great Congress came to its closing minutes, a graphic picture of the composition of the Congress was effectively dramatized by delegates bearing placards, giving the number of delegates and number of people represented in each of the respective vocational and social fields. As they formed a closed circle signifying the united front, the Congress joined in singing "Solidarity," and "The People's Song." The meeting adjourned with the themes re-echoing—"Forward, forward, one united throng," and "Solidarity forever!"

The Chairman Reports

Dr. Harry F. Ward, who is at present making a survey of conditions throughout the country, will report on the concrete application of the program and resolutions adopted at the Third U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism held recently in Cleveland. The report will be made at historic Cooper Union in New York City, Wednesday evening, February 19th.

All members of the New York Committee of the American League, trade unionists, professionals and members of organizations affiliated with the League are making preparations for the meeting, and urge all organizations not to plan any other meetings for that evening. For further information, address City Office, American League Against War and Fascism, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

ON THE LABOR HORIZON

By ROBERT W. DUNN

Director, Labor Research Association

COMPANY UNIONS have been having pretty rough sledding this winter. The personnel managers, industrial relations counsellors, and fancy-salaried company lawyers who had been promoting and propping up these lickspittle organizations are beginning to look a little gloomy.

First came the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and made a scholarly survey of the extent and powers of the company unions. In fact they went so far as to call them *company unions*, an unusual procedure for a supposedly impartial government agency. "Employee representation plans" and "works councils" had been the accepted way of referring to these schemes by the companies. They hated to see the government adopt a name that, up to a few years ago, only the labor movement used.

The government agency found, moreover, that 64 percent of the company unions which it studied had been established since 1933 or after the passage of the *National Industrial Recovery Act*. In other words, they had flourished under the Roosevelt régime. (See *Labor Fact Book II*, page 122.)

How It Works

It also found that of the 593 establishments



Paul Reid, Executive Secretary of the American League Against War and Fascism, who made the official report of anti-war and anti-fascist activities at the Third U. S. Congress in Cleveland

which dealt in whole or in part with their workers through company unions, only 13 per cent, covering only 10 per cent of the workers in the 593 plants, had written agreements of any kind. And only ten company unions possessed at the same time such common trade union attributes as dues, regular membership meetings, written agreements, contacts with other workers' organizations, and the right to demand arbitration of differences whereby the company relinquished its absolute veto power. The total number of workers in these ten establishments was only 6,515, or only 1.2 per cent of all workers in all the establishments with company unions.

On top of this government report showing the uselessness of company unions to workers, came other sad and bitter blows for the bosses. Worse than having the Department of Labor find them out was the unspeakable ingratitude of the workers themselves, who began to twist and squirm uneasily in their welfare chains. They began to ask: What are these pretty plans with all their long-winded constitutions and rigamarole of appeals and elections actually *getting us*? Do they butter any parsnips, let alone any bread? Or are they a blind run-around, something on the order of the N.R.A. labor board machinery—something that is just chock full of bright promises but which never delivers anything in the pay envelope?

These initial stirrings of labor are best illustrated from recent events in the steel industry. Here was an industry which proclaimed that it was at least 85 per cent covered by "employee representation" plans. It boasted of the high percentage of workers that "participated" in elections under these plans. It drew up long lists of alleged grievances which it claimed had been "settled" through this wonderful agency of discussion, mediation and "collective bargaining." The *Iron and Steel Institute* filled its official organ with pictures of the boys in the steel mills stepping up to the boxes to drop their neat ballot for "employee representatives." Everything was lovely until—such events as the following took place.

The Pot Is Boiling

Representatives of 23,000 workers in the twelve plants of the *American Sheet and Tin Plate Co.*, a subsidiary of *U. S. Steel Corp.* itself, called a national convention in New Castle, Pa., at the end of September. They even refused admittance to the convention to the Vice-President of U. S. Steel in charge of Industrial Relations, Arthur Young himself, salaried at \$75,000 a year to keep labor quiet. (It was Young who told a Senate Committee that the "Works Council plan is a supplement to the Golden Rule as given to us by the Carpenter of Nazareth.") This convention, furthermore, drew up demands, mind you, for increases in wages, two weeks' vacation with pay, increases in pension payments, readjustment of seniority rules, and important changes in the company union constitution. The demands were not the company's idea of the Golden Rule. They were of course refused. But this pot is still boiling.

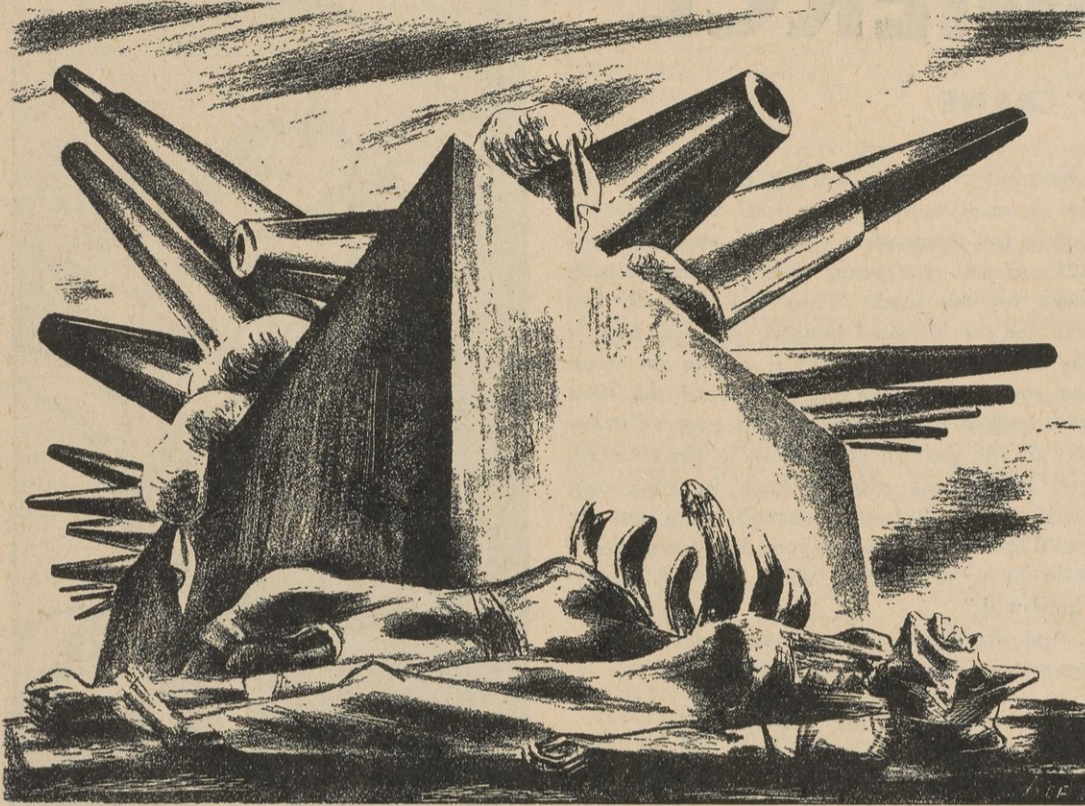
Then along came the workers of the newly-consolidated *Carnegie-Illinois Steel Co.*—an

(Continued on page fourteen)

A CONGRESSMAN ON WAR

By FRED H. HILDEBRANDT

Member, House of Representatives, First District of South Dakota



Drawing by Anton Refregier

The Sacrifice to Profit

THE MENACE of militarism—always present in all its cruel and ugly aspects—rears its hideous head in our midst once more as the European-African situation becomes more tense.

Americans who believe that true patriotism consists in policies assuring food, shelter, clothing, medical care and reasonable comforts to the living instead of plunging them into wars that will destroy or cripple them, have an important duty to perform.

We who are members of the Congress of the United States have more responsibility than has the average citizen, since the national lawmaking body has sole power to declare war. It is our duty to face the militarist menace fearlessly and unhesitatingly, to resist the intrigues and propaganda designed to draw the nation into future conflicts, and to use our official power to the utmost in behalf of peace and freedom for the people.

Danger Ahead

While the Roosevelt administration has taken a decisive stand of neutrality in the Italo-Ethiopian war, we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by a false optimism. It is altogether too easy to assume that we are safely isolated, and that there is no danger of being swept into the present strife. As a matter of fact, few people in the early stages of the World War ever dreamed that the United States would be involved in it. It was not the popular will, of course, that caused our participation. All of us today know that it was only when

American bankers' loans to the Allies were jeopardized by repeated German successes that the United States declared war against the Central Powers. All of us remember, also, the widespread, cunning and treacherous campaign of lies, half-lies, distortions of facts and subtle insinuations that was utilized to inflame the public mind and whip us into a fury. This campaign, artfully conducted by able propagandists, distracted the attention of the majority of our people away from the mercenary interests that were the real causes of our entry into the war, and made our participation appear to be a holy crusade "to save the world for democracy." In 1936, looking back over the years of disheartening disillusionment that have followed the Armistice, we can realize thoroughly what shameful hypocrisy was the famous slogan employed in 1917 and 1918, and what a fearful crime was our entrance into the conflict.

The Cost

Prof. Bogart of the University of Illinois estimates the direct cost of the World War as \$186,000,000,000. He places the indirect costs in human life, destroyed property and other results at \$151,000,000,000, making a total of \$337,000,000,000. The costs to the United States were about \$23,000,000,000, to say nothing of \$22,000,000,000 of war debts—principal and interest—which the Allied countries have not paid back and never will pay back.

These facts and figures are now almost ancient history. There is hardly a sane man or woman who does not admit without hesita-

tion that war is horrible, wasteful, sordid and utterly indefensible. But we admitted all that two decades ago, and still we permitted ourselves to be hypnotized by phrases and tales emanating from munitions makers, from money lenders and their agents. Everybody knows what followed.

No Retreat

The same thing will happen again if there is not the most vigilant determination to prevent it. The *American League Against War and Fascism* and similar groups are doing splendid work in mobilizing public sentiment. This must be kept up unceasingly.

The majority of Congress does not want war. Probably nine-tenths of the people do not want it. Yet there must be constant resistance to the sophistry, pressure, wire-pulling, bribery (direct and indirect), and threats (also direct and indirect) that will be exerted to drag this country into the scrap between Italy and Ethiopia. There must be continual alertness to prevent trade relations that will cause us to become involved sooner or later. The closest possible ban should be imposed on shipping supplies of any kind that may even remotely aid one belligerent or another.

Let every foe of war and Fascism in the United States take as his or her motto the immortal words of William Lloyd Garrison:

I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not extenuate—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard!

ADDIS ABABA—The *Nordisk Press* special correspondent reports the following details on the expulsion of two Italian spies from Abyssinia: "Niederseitz appeared in Addis Ababa in July as the representative of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and had with him a car fitted with a wireless transmitter. The government of Ethiopia permitted this wireless arrangement under the impression that it was used for sending out news. Niederseitz had a man with him named Farrago. It was finally discovered that these men were in the pay of the Italian government and were transmitting reports to Mussolini. It was also discovered that Farrago, although a French citizen, was a White Guardist émigré. The spies were expelled from Ethiopia. In the course of an interview which I had today with government officials I remarked upon the extreme mildness with which these spies had been treated, and was told: "We don't want to dirty our hands."

BERLIN—Time and again the German worker is reminded that he has no right to his own opinion under the Nazi régime. A few days ago the Labor Court in Berlin upheld the dismissal of a working man and stated that he had no right to employment because he failed to give the Hitler salute. A similar decision was rendered by the labor court of Wuppertal-Barmen which declared: "A member of a trade group who obstinately refuses to join the German (Nazi) Labor Front . . . has no right to complain about the loss of his job."—*Labor Chest News Service*.

The CHAMBER of COMMERCE

By ROBERT CRANE

WITH THE FULL blessing of its masters, the big business leaders of the country, *The United States Chamber of Commerce*, reaching into every work and cranny of the nation, is preparing for the biggest and most important battle in its history. Its arch propagandist and president, Harper Sibley, is already scolding the call. "Every hurricane," he says, "blows itself out in due course, and the life preserver which is so necessary when the ship is sinking becomes a heavy burden when man is back on dry ground." This statement reflects the sentiment of the top men in business today regarding the floundering of the Roosevelt government to get us back to recovery. The "burden" obviously consists of the taxes necessary to keep recovery going. And since there is no other source for the "emergency funds" because city working people, farmers and middle-class people already have been bled white, the big boys now are fearful that their turn has come.

A Racket

The U.S. Chamber is a racket of the first water, superbly organized and, despite its pious preachments, utterly ruthless in its methods. It publishes a comprehensive list of magazines, pamphlets, and other periodicals on all subjects touching on business, the most important being *Nation's Business*. Its member Chambers have sprouted throughout the land in nearly every city in the country, and it itself belongs to the International Chamber. Dues from member Chambers range from \$10 a year up to \$700, based on membership dues of the affiliated bodies. Sectionalism is rampant among the lesser organizations, but little attention is paid to that by the parent body, apparently on the theory that as long as dues pile in there needn't be any worry about whether the little business man is getting his money's worth. Let him do the fighting, would seem to be the sentiment. Boston gets harbor improvements and in turn a chance for more trade, and New York immediately fights to prevent it, while Norfolk and other seaports join in for their share.

A Wall Street Outfit

The workings of the individual chambers, "concerted action" as it is called, differ not at all from those of our most prized rackets. A bright college-trained representative of the Chamber calls around to your store and explains that the Chamber is working on a project of some sort which would help the town importantly in a business way. Now, all he wants from you is your cooperation and a contribution to help the thing along. Of course, if you don't contribute, you get a black eye among the business men of the

community, so you usually chip in. If you are a small business man with a turnover of only a few thousands a year, you contribute only \$25 or \$50, but many such offerings usually make up the fund. Then you sit back and wait for the increased business; and you find, if the Chamber political lobby is able to get across the project, that the big fellows of the town have hogged all the receipts. This goes on every day of the year in some place in the country, and it happens often enough in your own community. But you daren't drop out or you'll be boycotted, so you dig down every once in a while—and write off the loss to "good-will."

And that's the same pressure that is used on businessmen in the illegal rackets, too.

A Hitler Set-up?

In the meantime, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce moves on as best it can toward the larger goal—a government by big business, or in other words, big business men being what they are, a fascist overlordship. It never did bother much about the local Chambers, except to make sure that local chiefs were loyal to the parent. And it never even thought of the consumer, the most important factor in its scheme, the man with the dollar, the worker with the wage envelope, the small business man, as needing any representation in the set-up. This is evidenced by its advocacy of the Tydings-McCormack Bill and the Kramer Bill, two gag bills which, if passed by Congress, will tighten the iron ring around the common man.

But conditions change rapidly these days, and already it is becoming apparent that some attention will be forced to the consumer as soon as more pressing business, like the election, is out of the way. Big business men don't like consumer organization getting into buyers unions and the like. They don't relish high price strikes and other evidences that the man with the dollar would like something to say. And so perhaps they'll begin to worry about heading him off soon.

A NAZI POEM

The following poem is taught to the children in the schools of East Prussia and Western Germany:

The Pope sits in Rome on a silken throne,
His priests are all over us here.
What has the son of a German mother
To do with the Pope and his priests?
Time goes by but the priest remains
To steal the people's soul,
And whether he's Roman or Lutheran,
He embodies the faith of the Jew.
We need no intermediaries to get into
Heaven.
The sun and the stars shine for us,
And Blood and the Sword and the Wheel
of the Sun
Are always fighting on our side.



Drawing by George Schreiber

Not So Easy!

The Tydings-McCormack Bill and the Kramer Bill, two gag bills, are now up before Congress. They are backed by the "Liberty" League, Chamber of Commerce and other employer organizations—they are opposed by trade unions, farmers' and professional groups who are snapping the steel scissors of a censorship trying to destroy constitutional rights

PURGING the SCHOOLS

By M. B. SCHNAPPER

WHEN, on June 14, 1935, the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill was approved, Washington's professional "patriots" heaved a sigh of real 100 per cent contentment. Rumor hath it that on the night of June 14 many a higher-up in the Daughters of the American Revolution didn't bother to look under her bed, and many a Legionnaire official didn't cross-examine the day's thoughts of his children. For had not the local viper in the bosom been finally eradicated? Had not the red menace been wiped out once and for all?

The source of this contentment was to be found in the following provision of the June 14th bill:

Hereafter no part of any appropriation for the public schools shall be available for the payment of the salary of any person teaching or advocating Communism.

Rough Sledding

But neither unconfined nor long-lived was the joy of those noble spirits which make Washington something more than the physical capital of the nation. But in the midst of their rejoicing Corporation Counsel E. Barrett Prettyman expressed the opinion that the facts of life could be told to unsuspecting Americans-in-the-making.

That made local professional "patriots" see red with a vengeance. Hysterically "patriotic" parents began attending school with their children, ready to pounce upon any teacher who would dare tell their children anything but a fairy tale.

Nor was there any peace in Washington when Superintendent of Schools Ballou announced that he would sign the loyalty affidavits required by Comptroller-General J. R. McCarl "without any mental reservations whatsoever." And when Mr. McCarl declared he would require all District of Columbia teachers to swear by the Constitution every time they came around to collect their pay checks, there was no hint of calm.

Indeed, matters came to an unequalled hysterical height when a committee of the Federation of Citizens' Associations, headed by Attorney George E. Sullivan and prompted by Hearst's *Washington Herald*, revealed that the following statements were to be found in textbooks read by District of Columbia school children:

For many years it has been obvious that the Eighteenth-century philosophy has been a complete failure on the economic side, and hitherto we have more or less confidently sought a new solution of industrial democracy within the frame-work of the old revolutionary mechanism. Today this confidence is much diminished; and it seems questionable indeed whether democracy in any form, industrial or political, does not involve a radical modification of the modern state rather than an extension of its already overgrown powers.—The United States, An Experiment in Democracy, Prof. Carl Becker, pp. 323-4.

Nothing about this story of degradation is clearer than that in any of these decades a fairly decent standard of living could have been had by the people of the expanding

West. That it was not and is not today can be traced primarily to the theory and practice of Government set up by our fathers.—"The Great Technology," Prof. Harold Rugg, p. 95, 1933 edition.

School administrators and teachers should lead actively in the formation of public opinion. (ibid, page 234)

Far from freeing youth from the mercenary standards set by the community climates of opinion, this philosophy of competition and success merely tends to strengthen the bonds around growing children. (ibid, p. 259)

History shows us, according to Marx, that in every age government and society are controlled by the class which possesses the chief source of wealth. In the Middle Ages the chief source of wealth was land; hence the feudal nobles, who possessed the land, had everything their own way and controlled society through a government of kings and nobles. But in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, with the coming of power-driven machines, the chief source of wealth came to be "capital," in the form of money, machines and industries. . . .

But just as the feudal nobles were shoved aside by the middle-class capitalists, so the middle-class capitalists will in the course of time be shoved aside by the mass of the people—the "proletariat."—Modern History, Prof. Carl Becker, p. 534, 1933 edition.

The Scum of the Nation

Big business, Generals, Hearst, war mongers, all jumped into the merry fray. Worthy of particular note is Major General Amos A. Fries, U. S. A., retired, who appointed himself head of a special committee to determine "academic freedom." Gen. Fries, be it said, is an old hand at conjuring up the Bolshevik menace; while head of the

Chemical Warfare Service of the War Department in 1923 he prepared the now famous "spider-web chart" which showed that such organizations as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the National League of Women Voters were controlled by Moscow.

During the past few months Hearst's Washington papers, *The Times* and *The Herald*, have been outshrieking each other in paroxysms of type about everything even vaguely pink. Few days have gone by when hysterical headlines such as these have not appeared in these sheets:

SCHOOL BOARD GETS RED EVIDENCE (8 columns, first page).

COMMUNISM TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS (6 columns, first page).

PUBLIC PAYING FUNDS FOR SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA (8 columns, second page).

The Battle Is Still On

The bubble burst when the District of Columbia Board of Education insisted that it could no longer spend its time examining every phrase in every book and periodical, and refused to believe that any of the publications purchased by it are Communist-sponsored. But at the same time the Board promised to continue to look into the matter, and Superintendent of Schools Ballou has appointed five committees of public school principals and other officials to scan for subversive propaganda the 300 magazines purchased through school funds. A congressional investigation in local schools is now being urged by the Federation of Citizens Associations.

Hearst only knows where it's all going to end!



Drawing by Selma Freeman

Back to the Home?

Hitler's war program calls for women as part of the training machine for destruction

A KING

(Continued from page three)

have done great things for their countries. I do not agree with everything they do, but . . .

Q. Do you agree with Hitler's persecution of the Jews?

Mr. Collins: It is not persecution. The Jews make trouble. It is necessary to segregate them.

Q. It seems to me it is Hitler who has made the trouble.

Mr. Collins: Oh, no. It's the Jews. They make dissension and trouble wherever they are.

Q. You said you wish to go back to medieval times. Yet for seven centuries, and especially for three centuries during medieval times, when the Moors and the Jews lived together in Spain on a basis of equal freedom, there was great intellectual development, not only in Spain, not only among the Jews, but all over Europe.

Mr. Collins: That is another question.

Q. And does your group have the same attitude toward Negroes as toward the Jews?

Mr. Collins (firmly): The same. They must be segregated.

Q. Would you give these segregated peoples any of that land you were speaking about?

Mr. Collins: Certainly. We want everyone to be happy.

Q. What about education? Would you allow them to be educated?

Mr. Collins: No.

Q. Does this mean that as an Anglo-Saxon—at least, I am supposing you are an Anglo-Saxon—you feel you are superior to these races?

Mr. Collins (modestly): No, not at all. I have nothing against them personally—in any way. It is only that our race is in the majority, and because we are in the majority we must rule.

Q. In South Carolina there is an island called Edisto Island. There are about three thousand people on it. Of these I know, though I have not the figures here, not more than three hundred are whites. According to your idea of the majority in a certain location ruling, wouldn't it be fair to let the guild or guilds you establish be controlled by Negroes who would segregate the whites?

Mr. Collins: Why, I haven't gone into that. I know very little about America.

Q. You have said you wish to go back to medieval times. You wish to do away with all progress?

Mr. Collins: Yes.

Q. And do you wish to have a king and nobles, counts, dukes, etc., in America?

Mr. Collins: Yes, exactly!

Q. You wish to live as people did then?

Mr. Collins: Yes, do away with the automobile and go back to the horse.

Q. You wish to do without conveniences?

Mr. Collins: Yes.

Q. Without bathtubs?

Mr. Collins: I never use a bathtub.

Q. You don't bathe?

Mr. Collins (dignified): I use a shower.

Q. Then you would want a shower?

Mr. Collins: I could rig up a shower.

This short interview can give only the superficial aspects of the movement which Mr. Collins and the Southern Agrarians represent. I felt after the interview like a person who watches a magician pulling white rabbits out of a top hat. One knows the magic is all bluff, but the rabbits are real. People laughed at Hitler's magic until the rabbits got out of the hat and multiplied and devoured a country and a people.

I think it is not necessary to say that I do not believe Fascism is already upon us. I do believe after reading a number of books like "God Without Thunder," "I Take My Stand," and copies of the *Southern Review* and *The American Review*, that in those who write for them (some of them very sensitive and fine writers) there is the beginning of a group that is preparing the philosophical and moral shirt-front for Fascism with its top hat from which the rabbits come.

LABOR

(Continued from page ten)

other extension of the U. S. Steel empire. Its company union representatives met in Gary late in October and set up an independent organization (with regular meetings, officers and dues) to defend their interests. A little later, employee representatives at the Duquesne, Pa., works of the same company, representing 4,000 workers, met with management representatives and demanded wage increases, revision of the plan constitution taking away from the company the right to hire and fire, the calling of a national conference of employee representatives from all the company's plants, and a series of minor demands. These demands are now being considered at the head office of the company where employee representatives will go to battle for them some more. At the Gary Works a little later a meeting of employee representatives showed a majority vote in favor of

an independent union, but a tie vote as to the advisability of going at present into the regular A.F. of L. union in steel—the *Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers*.

Then, over in Pennsylvania, at the plant of the hardboiled *Jones and Laughlin Steel Company*, thirty-five company representatives met and demanded a 15 per cent wage increase. They asked also for the resignation of a company union chairman because he had opposed the move for a wage increase.

In the Cleveland plant of the *Republic Steel Company* the representatives took up a collection to send an investigator to another plant of the company where they had heard higher rates were being paid on certain classes of work. And in another *Republic* plant in Cleveland a meeting of representatives voted for a national conference of representatives from all plants to take up a 15 per cent wage increase demand along with other demands connected with seniority, pensions and insurance. Similar moves were made in the *Republic* plant at Warren, Ohio.

Encouraging Signs

And the storm is apparently only beginning. The workers who were supposed to be all penned up, divided not only from the mass of workers in other companies but fenced off from workers in other plants of the same company, are showing every indication of jumping that fence, or pushing down the whole company union structure which has imprisoned them.

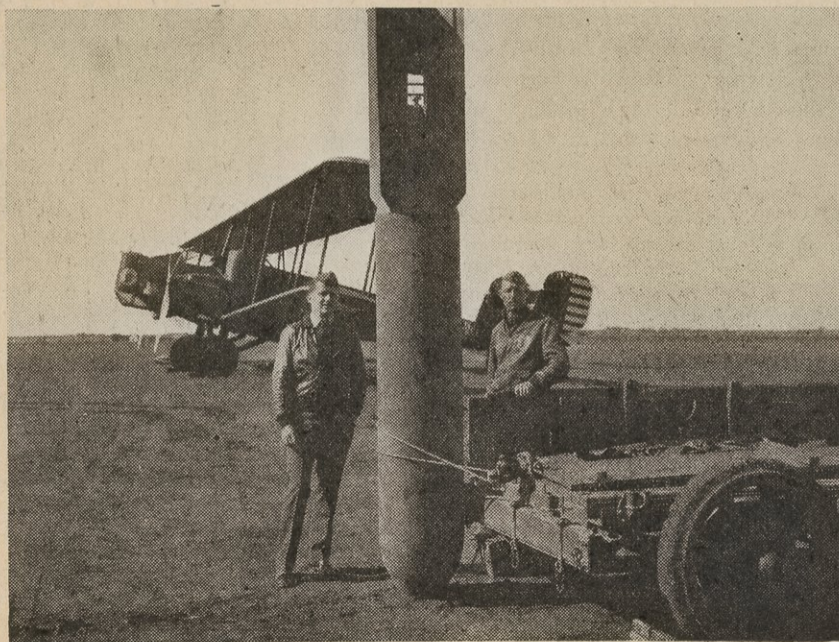
This, it need scarcely be said, is one of the most encouraging signs on the labor horizon today. Combined with the strong current for industrial unionism in the A.F. of L., it promises big things for the workers in steel as well as in other industries.

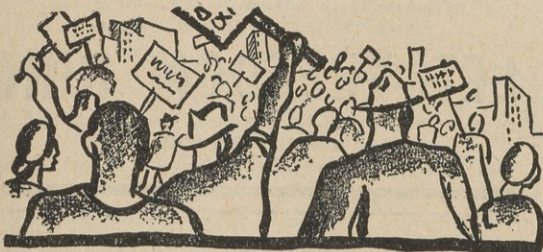
The National Office of the *American League Against War and Fascism* will give a dinner to Dr. Harry F. Ward and the incoming officers of the *League* on February 14th at the Aldine Club, New York City.

For further information write to Miss Ann Dubro, American League Against War and Fascism, 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y.

A billion dollars for new armaments

The motorization program provides for trucks which will be able to rush such bombs as pictured here





By PAUL REID
Executive Secretary

BUILDING the LEAGUE



YOUTH SPARKS

THE THIRD U.S. CONGRESS has overshadowed everything else in building the League during the last month. The preparation for this assembly, the actual conduct of the Congress, and the follow-up work that is already under way have all indicated significant gains and advances for the League. The broader base and the more inclusive representation of delegates at Cleveland gave additional proof of this fact.

The devotion of scores of secretaries and other League officers in developing the work of the League and extending its organizations week after week throughout the year was demonstrated in the Organization Commission on Friday and in the secretaries' meeting on Monday at the Congress. Their major concern was to organize the broadest possible common action against war and fascism, and their reports of their failures as well as their successes testified to the determination and progress made by our League members.

Delegates travelled long distances to take part in the Congress. All the way from Portland, Oregon, came Esther Layton, our secretary in that important northwestern city. Bert Leech, our West Coast organizer, brought eleven delegates from the state of California. Baltimore and Boston, New Orleans and Minneapolis sent their representatives to take part in the Cleveland meetings. Delegates were present from twenty-nine states and from four neighboring countries.

The city secretaries' meeting on Monday was a very stimulating session. Over sixty cities were represented. Bert Leech served as chairman with Helen Cole of Bergen County, N. J., as secretary. Problems of organization and extension received the major attention. So much interest and common concern were revealed in the discussions that the secretaries voted to hold a national or regional summer conference in order to deal with League problems more adequately.

The Congress revealed that the most significant area of League-building for the next year will be in the field of labor, organized and unorganized. The 288 trade union delegates representing 246 local and city bodies; and the sixty-five unemployed delegates from fifty-five organizations provide an excellent basis for work in this field. Other fields for League-building will be among the farm organizations, and among religious and professional groups. In the words of our League song, *Stop The War*, extending the movement against war and fascism means "Farmer, worker, and professional, joining hand in hand."

Hanover, N. H. The League Branch in this college town has been very active this fall. The most successful meeting was held on Armistice Day in the form of a symposium on the Ethiopian situation. Three members of the Dartmouth faculty and one student took part. As a result of the meeting a petition was circulated urging upon the President an embargo on oil, scrap iron and cotton in accordance with the letter sent to Mr. Roosevelt by Dr. Ward. Several members

of the faculty—including nearly all of the political science department—signed the petition, which was sent to New Hampshire members of Congress as well as to the President.

Mount Vernon, N. Y. This city committee continues to keep itself in the public eye by its activities. When news of a meeting of the Italian residents of Mount Vernon was announced, the League members got busy and found out that the purpose of this meeting was to raise money for the Italian Red Cross. A campaign of protest through leaflets and telephone calls to the Board of Education for permitting such a meeting in the public school building was immediately launched. The League had been repeatedly denied the use of the school. Over 9,000 leaflets were distributed—many of them in Italian—and telegrams of protest were sent to the State Board of Education and State Commissioner Graves. Members of the local board of education confessed that the collection taken at the Italian meeting was a breach of faith, and thereby revealed their gullibility in the whole matter. The League is continuing its fight for the right to use the public school for meetings against war and fascism.

Newark, N. J. The fight against the gag laws and military rule in the United States was launched in Newark at a public meeting attended by 2,000 people on January 8. General Smedley Butler, Rev. Herman F. Reissig and Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld were the speakers, with Abraham Isserman, state chairman of the League, presiding. The General was in good form, and denounced fascism as well as war as a racket. He described the draft law as "the national kidnap act." The meeting adopted two resolutions opposing the Tydings-McCormack and the Kramer Bills pending in Congress.

New League organizations have sprung into existence at many points in the country during the last few weeks. Inquiries as to how to form a branch of the League and what activities to pursue have flooded the National Office. Ridgewood, New Jersey, is one of the new organizations. The towns of Ridgewood and Glen Rock combined to form this branch and have already elected their officers. This now makes six branches in Bergen County!

New York City. The local conference held on December 21 in preparation for the Third Congress was the broadest and most successful in the history of the local League organization. Delegates to the number of 248 from 190 organizations represented 199,325 people. Of the trade unions represented, forty-eight were A.F. of L. groups and twenty-seven were independents, their combined representation being 129,000 members. Eighty-eight Adult Branches and Nine Youth Branches of the League sent delegates. A full program of commission sessions occupied most of the afternoon session, and the evening program was given over to reports and resolutions. The increased participation of trade unions was due largely to the earnest efforts of the New York City trade union organizer and secretary, Samuel Solomonick and Miss Louise Branston, respectively.

THE PROCLAMATION adopted by the Youth Commission at the Cleveland Congress specifies the following points as needing our special attention:

1. To abolish military training in the schools.
2. To stop shipment of goods and granting of credits to aggressor nations.
3. To oppose racial, religious and political discrimination in education, athletics, social life and employment.
4. To remove from the War Department the control of the four hundred thousand unemployed youth in the CCC Camps.
5. To insist upon academic freedom and democratic control of educational institutions.
6. To uphold the rights of young workers and young farmers to organize, to speak and to act in defense of their interests.

As the first step towards abolition of military training we are supporting the Nye-Kvale bill which calls for optional military training in colleges and universities. This should become a major issue on the campus in the next few months.

Other resolutions adopted by the Youth Commission are: Greetings to the Chinese students for their heroic stand against Japanese aggression; a demand for the freedom of Miss Caroline Hart of McKeesport, Pa., who faces an indefinite term in jail for participating in an anti-war demonstration; support of the Student Strike to be held next April; condemnation of the Nazi Olympics, and of the Loyalty Oath bills and laws. The majority of the delegates took the Oxford Oath as proof of their personal conviction to stand firmly against war.

Just before the Cleveland Congress opened, the Hearst press revealed to the world that the American League was a red organization out to capture the youth for revolution. It is interesting to go through the credentials of the Youth Commission and see the wide variety of delegates present. One card: Representing Y.M.C.A. and Member of Sons of American Revolution. Many others from Y.W.C.A.'s Industrial and Business and Professional Departments; settlement houses in Cleveland and New York; Christian Endeavor groups, Young Men's Hebrew Association, Farmers Union, Lutheran Churches and Bible classes.

Among the young people elected to the national executive committee of the American League are: Arthur Link, representing the Farmers Union, Juniors, of North Dakota with 2,000 members; H. Garrett, representing the International Longshoremen's Association of California; Robinson, leader of the Baltimore Peace Congress; Jos. Dietzel of the Auto Workers Union of Toledo, and Miss Juanita Jackson, President of the Baltimore Young People's Forum, a Negro organization. A number of other youth leaders of Y.M.H.A., Y.M.C.A., American Jewish Congress and settlement houses were elected to the National Youth Committee of the American League.

Two new youth branches have been formed in Chicago.—J. L.

FIGHT

BRINGS YOU A MESSAGE!

OUT of the great Third U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism recently held in Cleveland, Ohio, new problems, new ideas, new needs have emerged.

THE presence of new and vital forces at this Congress pointed to the broadening of the base of the League since the preceding Congress held in Chicago a little more than a year ago. The magazine FIGHT has played a leading role in the development of the American League in the struggle against war and fascism. Its strength is proved concretely by the fact that today FIGHT has a larger paid circulation than all the other anti-war magazines combined.

THE Cleveland Congress, acting upon the recommendation of the National Bureau of the League, decided that the time is here for growth and expansion; the magazine FIGHT should be enlarged, its format changed so it may be made more colorful and representative of the times we are living in.

Read the March Issue of FIGHT for Complete Details

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"Tremendously moving."—Atkinson, Times.

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