

April
1936

The Fight

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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



GEORGE SELDES • ART YOUNG • MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

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AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM
112 EAST 19th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

With the Readers



WELL, here is the first number of our new magazine. If we were working on a war maker's magazine there would be a party and another party. There would be hand shaking and drinks (not lemonade) and a promise of golden heaven on earth just as soon as war breaks out. Working on an anti-war magazine is something else again. But we won't go into that.

WHAT we really want to tell our readers is that this column will in the future be devoted to comments on the contents of the magazine by the readers themselves. But today we are going to tell you how a magazine is made and something about the people who have helped make this magazine.

WHEN big fellows start a magazine of this size—and the "big" magazines are not much bigger than ours (remember their advertising pages)—they spend seven or eight months and sometimes more in preparing their first number. They spend thousands of dollars on dummies, which are sample issues. They experiment with printed pages, with make-up, with engraving, with paper, with color, with half tones and line cuts, with photos and drawings, with articles, etc.,

BUT here, we repeat, it's something else again. This is a cooperative venture in a profit-makers' world.

IT would have been physically impossible for the Editor to execute this job single handed. Here the Editor wishes to express his thanks and the thanks of the American League to quite a few people who have worked literally day and night to make FIGHT a reality.

FIRST, thanks to a former magazine editor (let us call him Larry) who now has a night job with a news agency. He would arrive at our door about three or four in the morning, get us out of bed and check on the progress of our work. His assistance and advice were a great contribution. When we complained about the heck of an hour he called on us, he told us that sleep was an illusion, a habit and the invention of the devil.

THANKS to Crockett Johnson, who in his quiet and persistent way worked night in, night out. This magazine was his in the evenings after working in the daytime on other publications. Who said the profit makers' press has no role in life?... Thanks to Robert Josephy, who counseled, criticized and encouraged... Thanks to Hugo Gellert, who for years has urged color... Thanks to William Gropper, who for years has urged the visual appeal... Thanks to M. Pass, who worked with us on the old and the new FIGHT... Thanks to T. for proof reading and editorial advice... Thanks to the Radio, Movie, Wall Street and Book Editors... Thanks to S., who, forgetting his own magazine, came in twice from Philadelphia to work on ours... Thanks to the many writers and artists who gave liberally of their time and energies.

AND last, but not least, thanks to the staff of the American League for their patience with the Editor during these hectic days and nights of planning FIGHT. We hope all this work has brought forth a publication which will become a real and effective instrument in the hands of all people who are struggling for a world without war and without Fascism.

FIGHT, April 1936



Secretary of Labor Perkins inspects a gun factory

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JOSEPH PASS, Editor

The Fight Against War and Fascism, published monthly by the National Executive Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y. Chairman, Harry F. Ward. Vice-Chairmen, Robert Morss Lovett, Mrs. Victor L. Berger, Earl Browder, Max S. Hayes, Jacob Mirsky. Treasurer, William P. Mangold. Secretarial Staff: Executive, Paul Reid; Administration, Clara Bodian; Organization, Waldo McNutt; Youth, James Lerner; Women, Dorothy McConnell; Trade Union, John Masso; Religious, Rev. Herman F. Reissig. Single Copies, 10 cents. Yearly subscriptions, \$1.00. Six-month subscription, 55 cents. Canada and Foreign, \$1.50 a year. Entered as Second-Class matter, February 20, 1935, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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With the Writers



GEORGE SELDES, one of America's outstanding journalists, has done distinguished work as foreign correspondent for leading American newspapers and news agencies. He has been, for his frankness, expelled from Italy and his most recent book, "Sawdust Caesar"—he means Mussolini—should be in your library.

WILLIAM GROPPER, who illustrated Mr. Seldes' article, has also caused international "unpleasantness." His recent *Vanity Fair* cartoon on Japanese imperialism was the subject for "diplomatic" notes and "official" protests. A prolific and widely known artist, Mr. Gropper has since 1917 done work for almost every New York newspaper and many magazines, has illustrated several books, including two or three of his own.

JEAN LYON is a feature and fashion writer for a metropolitan newspaper. She was born in China and has traveled extensively in South America and Europe.

REID ROBINSON is President of Butte Miners' Union No. 1. In a frank letter to us he says: "You will excuse my mistakes in spelling or grammar because when one puts in eight hours a day 3,200 feet below the earth's surface he is not always on his toes in a literary way." Mr. Robinson's article, grammar or no grammar, suggests that plenty of writers might gain from subterranean association.

HARRY STERNBERG is an illustrator and instructor in a New York art school.

ART YOUNG needs little comment. Dean of American cartoonists, his youthful outlook, artistic energy and consistent opposition to war and autocracy make him the envy of younger colleagues and a bane to war makers. The latter tried to jail him during the World War. They were unsuccessful and Mr. Young, we are told, fell asleep at his trial.

RICHARD WATTS, JR., motion picture critic of the *New York Herald Tribune*, is one of the few movie appraisers with a point of view on social problems.

MORRIS MAKEN, author of the *National Guard* article, writes both from personal experience with the *National Guard* and from careful outside investigation of it.

PETER JONAS writes the article "Exiles" under a pseudonym because, he says, the subject of his interview has a wife and children still living—he hopes—in Germany. To publicize the name either of interviewer or interviewee might bring Nazi wrath on innocent heads.

MAURITZ A. HALLGREN was once associate editor of *The Nation* and is now on the editorial staff of the *Baltimore Sun*. He is author of "The Gay Reformer" and "Seeds of Revolt."

JAMES LERNER is Secretary of the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism.

KENNETH FEARING'S poetry is well known and has been collected in two volumes: "Angel Arms" and "Poems."

HUGO GELLERT, as you can tell a mile off, drew the cover. And Mr. Gellert, as you certainly know, is a versatile illustrator, mural painter and author.

The Fight

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

April, 1936

First Casualty

This is the nineteenth anniversary of the U. S. Entrance into the World War. Do you remember what the newspapers told us about the War? Here a leading American foreign correspondent tells how both the Central Powers and the Allies ran their propaganda campaigns

By George Seldes

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM GROPPER

IN WAR truth is always the first casualty. This is a very old saying but not necessarily true. Truth, first to die on the battlefield, is the victim of war before war breaks out—is already mortally wounded before the armies begin to move. In time of peace, nations prepare for war. In the old days, this meant military preparation, but today, taking the lesson of the Great War, the war makers concentrate on the mental and moral preparation of the people.

In 1914, the battle for public opinion, notably America's, began simultaneously with the march of the mobilized armies. Both sides established a censorship, both resorted to propaganda and eventually to floods of falsehood, a great part of which is still believed to this very day. It was the exterior position of the Allies which made possible their great propaganda victory against the surrounded Central Powers. In vain did the German wireless attempt to conquer the air; it was already full of French and British propaganda of so damning a nature that the Nauen-

Sayville stations could not counteract it.

The press campaign against Germany, which relentlessly covered every day of the War, made the following series of major charges against that country:

1. The sole guilt of starting the War.
2. The violation of treaties; the invasion of Belgium.
3. Frightfulness: (a) Submarine warfare; (b) Gas warfare; (c) Bombing undefended cities; (d) Murder of hostages.
4. Using dead soldiers for grease: the *Kadaververwertungsanstalt*.
5. Atrocities: (a) The Belgian babies; (b) The rape of the nuns; (c) The crucified Canadian soldier; (d) Killing wounded soldiers; (e) Murder of U-boat victim survivors.

Many of these charges are analyzed by Arthur Ponsonby in his sensational little book, *Falsehood in Wartime*, and in all the cases he mentions, he gives the proof, learned many years later, that Germany was not guilty of the atrocities charged to her. He points out that one British publication, *John Bull*, had a pageline *To Hell With*





Servia, a day or two before the propaganda for British sympathy for little Servia appeared, and that it was exclusively propaganda which aroused America. But in 1924 the full story of the Serbian government's implication in the assassinations at Sarajevo was told. "The whole [Serbian] cabinet knew of the plot some time before it took place," writes Ponsonby; ". . . Dimitrijevitich of the Serbian Intelligence staff was the prime author of the murder. . . . But when it came to the framing of the Peace Treaties of Versailles, there was a conspiracy of silence on the whole subject. This terrible instance of deception should be classed as a Serbian lie, but its acceptance was so widespread that half Europe became guilty of complicity in it. . . . Had the truth been known, however, in July 1914, the opinion of the British people with regard to the Austrian ultimatum would have been very different from what it was."

A Race for Time

The world knows that Britain came into the War, made it a world war, largely because of the passions aroused by the invasion of Belgium, but it does not know that many years later Viscount Grey admitted that England had been pledged to support the War long before the German invasion began. The invasion came as a godsend to the government and the press, Ponsonby believes, and shows that *The Times*, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George made sentimental statements about poor little outraged Belgium, but "neither of these statements by successive prime ministers is true," and he proves that amply; moreover, General Percin of France admitted in 1925 that the invasion of Belgium by France had been an integral part of the French general staff war plan made several years before 1914. It was merely a matter of who got to the frontier first.

The Treaty of Versailles, however, is based on a statement that Germany was solely responsible for the War and Germany was forced to sign this contract against her will and her conscience. The "statesmen" who framed this document apparently never heard of economic and social forces, great nationalistic policies, the armaments race between the nations, the struggle for sea power and commercial exploitation, and other great underlying causes of all wars and particularly this War. They base their case on pure technicalities, on hours and dates of ultimatums, mobilizations, on assassination, a statement by another statesman, but even in this policy they have in time been proven wrong. It was Lord Fisher who said after the Armistice that "This nation was fooled into the War." Fooled by propaganda, by the press. But it was the man who led America into the War who gave the whole bloody commercial business away in September 5, 1919, in his speech in St. Louis, when he uttered the confession that might perhaps be added to the inscription on the tombs of all the unknown soldiers in all countries, as a warning to the world. "Is there any man or woman—let us say, is there any child—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry?" said President Wilson. "This was an industrial and commercial war."

The Great Horror Story

It was an American who was indirectly responsible for the biggest horror story of the War, the *Kadaververwertungsanstalt* story. The *London Times* ran a daily column of news items translated from the German press, such translations being the only source civilians could have of learning anything of the German viewpoint as all enemy papers were prohibited. These items were naturally not intended to help Ger-

many. The translator was a well-known American journalist, Frederick William Wile, and it was in his column on April 16, 1917, that the famous German war correspondent and friend of the Kaiser, Karl Rosner, was quoted in a description of the war zone as saying, "We are passing the great Corpse Exploitation Establishment (*Kadaververwertungsanstalt*) of this army group."

In England, where I watched the papers daily, no great scandal resulted from this item, but there were numerous letters to the *Times*, one reporting that German soldiers' bodies, naked, wired in bundles, were arriving in Coblenz to be boiled down into fat, another suggesting that the propaganda power of this story would be tremendous throughout the East where men worshipped ancestors, and many letters which pointed out that the German word for a human body was *Leiche*, not *Kadaver*, which is applied to animals and would in this case mean "horses."

I remember the grim humor of the little verse which I clipped from an American paper and sent to the *London Daily News*:

A soldier was digging a well shaft.
When he slipped on the end of a fell shaft.
Old Hindenburg said,
'Tis better he's dead,
Kadaververwertungsgesellschaft.

The story was not taken seriously in England, but thanks to Lord Northcliffe, it was sent reverberating throughout the world.

The activities of the French in war time propagation of falsehood and half-truths is well described by an editor who prefers to remain anonymous, in his book *Behind the Scenes of French Journalism*. He says, "We did not wait for Lord Northcliffe's procedure. On the spur of the moment we appreciated the great importance of rousing public opinion for our more or less just cause.

As early as three days after the outbreak of the War, Viviani promulgated a law which on the same day was passed by the Chamber and the Senate, and which provided as the first installment of a powerful propaganda the trifling amount of twenty-five million francs in gold for the establishment of *La Maison de la Presse*, a gigantic building, 3 Rue Francois. . . . The two hundred rooms contain the workshops, offices, parlours, and reception-rooms, where those war-mad heroes are domiciled whose courage grows with the degree of distance from the trenches. From the basement up to the fifth story covered with a glass roof, all is the embodiment of concentrated propaganda. In the basement stood the machinery necessary for printing and reproduction, under the glass roof operated the photo-chemographic department. Its principal work consisted in making photographs and cuts of wooden figures with cut-off hands, torn-out tongues, gouged-out eyes, crushed skulls and brains laid bare. The pictures thus made were sent out as unassailable evidence of German atrocities to all parts of the globe, where they did not fail to produce the desired effect. In the same rooms fictitious photographs were made of bombarded French and Belgian churches, violated graves and monuments and scenes of ruin and desolation. The staging and painting of these scenes were done by the best scene-painters of the Paris Grand Opera."

American Correspondents

Against the Niagaras of propaganda, however, the statement of June 28, 1915, by the American State Department that not one of the thousands of Belgian refugees who had arrived in England had been subjected to atrocities, made no impression, nor did the following report from five noted American war correspondents: "To let the



truth be known, we unanimously declare the stories of German cruelties, from what we have been able to observe, were untrue. After having been with the German army for two weeks and having accompanied the troops for over one hundred miles, we are not able to report one single case of undeserved punishment or measure of retribution.

. . . We found numerous rumors after investigation to be without foundation. . . . Refugees who told about cruelties and brutalities could bring absolutely no proof. . . . For the truth of the above we pledge our word of honor as journalists. (Signed) Robert Lewis, *Associated Press*; Irvin S. Cobb, *Saturday Evening Post* and *Philadelphia Public Ledger*; Harry Hansen, *Chicago Daily News*; James O'Donnell Bennett, *Chicago Tribune*; John T. McCutcheon, *Chicago Tribune*."

Atrocities on Both Sides

But when the War was over, when the doughboys on the Rhine began writing home their first letters of disillusion, when they began to express their admiration for German *fräuleins*, and when the general disillusion became international during the peace treaty negotiations, America began to realize how she had been duped and betrayed by War propaganda.

The reaction was so great that many men who wanted to rid their minds of every shred of propaganda, went to the extreme of believing that none of the horrors of the War had been true, that no atrocities were committed, and everything they had been told was false.

This is not the case. There were indeed atrocities committed on both sides. Crime is a great part of that vast atrocity which is war. Today we can straighten out the record. The reader may remember that in 1918, Lloyd George promised his constituents that he would hang the Kaiser, and the Allies prepared to try hundreds

of leading "war criminals." A trial of a few sergeants and lieutenants was actually held by the Supreme Court of Germany in Leipzig. Inasmuch as I covered these trials I know from German evidence that there were horrible atrocities committed. I will summarize only a few.

Case Histories

Major General Karl Stenger, commander 18th Baden infantry brigade . . . accused of murdering prisoners; Major Benno Crusius, co-defendant. Evidence: August 26, 1914, Captain Crusius and Major Mueller, inspecting battlefield, the latter kicked a Frenchman, who groaned. "Shoot him" ordered the major, which was done. He came on wounded, fraternizing. Mueller cried "Don't you know General Stenger's orders to kill all prisoners?" He ordered the killing, which was done "in accordance with orders from General Stenger," testified Crusius. Francis Xavier Schwerer, now a government official, testified, "I myself saw Major Crusius himself kill a wounded Frenchman on the field near the road." Verdict: Stenger not guilty; Crusius, two years.

Second Officer Thapman, of the British hospital ship *Llandovery Castle*, testified the German U-86, off coast of Ireland, June 1918, sank his ship and that Lieutenants Boldt and Dithmars, realizing their mistake, ordered their men to kill all the survivors with gunfire. The sailors refused. The German officers threatened with their revolvers to kill them. Most of the British crew and staff and several American physicians were murdered. Lieutenant Johann Boldt testified the order to "sink without trace" came from Captain Patzig "who should be exonerated because he had sunk the American transport *Cincinnati*." "I am proud I served under Captain Patzig; if every U-boat commander had

been as good as Patzig, the war would have ended differently." Sailors testified Patzig did not know one lifeboat escaped. Patzig swore his men to secrecy after the massacre. Admiral von Trotha, chief of the naval staff, defended Boldt and Dithmars, who, after being sentenced to four years' imprisonment, escaped and were not pursued. This ended the War criminals' trials. Patzig, who ordered the atrocious murder, was never tried. He and the murderers, Boldt and Dithmars, belonged to the reactionary secret military organizations which were affiliated with the Hitler movement and later incorporated into the Hitler S. A. and S. S. groups.

After the War is Over

But, we may ask ourselves whether the disillusion after the World War and its important lesson to us about the uses of propaganda and falsehood in pushing us into irrevocable decisions, into mass murder, have taught us anything; we may ask whether we shall be able to keep our eyes open and our minds free when the next flood of propaganda and falsehood is released by a foreign nation—or even our own, for that matter. A few events since 1918 seem to answer these questions.

In 1920, American public opinion was completely won by French and Polish propaganda and falsehood in the war against Russia.

In 1925, the Spaniards fighting in Riff, were defeated by Abd-el-Krim; they called on France for help and in May, 1925, the French found it expedient to send troops to fight for mineral wealth and grain fields. The *Quai D'Orsay* as usual issued false statements to the *Havas* Agency, the newspapers and the correspondents of all the papers in Paris. Three points, ranging from propaganda to diplomatic lies, were emphasized: that it was Abd-el-Krim who had attacked the French,

that this war, like all wars, was defensive, and that the financial backers of the Riff were those international villains, the Bolsheviki.

Here we have the old 1914 game being played without variation. Thanks to a few American war correspondents, the French and Spanish press campaign did not succeed completely, but it did show that on a larger scale, when real censorship is established, it would be possible to deceive the whole world again.

Muzzling the Truth

But more tragic still is the realization that once war is declared, falsehood is a weapon of patriotism, an instrument as necessary as a bomb or poison gas. This fact officially came to the notice of the United States War Policies Commission. At its sessions in 1931, the editor of the *New York World*, Herbert Bayard Swope, uttered what is apparently the final word on the subject. His statement can be found in the U. S. Government report of the War Policies Commission hearings: "Just as other constitutional provisions are ignored in time of war, so, too, must there be an abridgement of free speech, free press, free assembly, and even free thought."

Throughout the world today, the press, notably in reactionary dictatorships, is being poisoned with the propaganda of war. If anyone thinks there is no Munitions Makers' Press in the United States, similar to the kept press of the *Comite des Forges* in France, let him examine the editorials in the reactionary newspapers in praise of the Du Ponts and Morgans, following the premature end of the Nye-Vandenburg armaments scandal investigation, and he will be convinced that the war-makers are playing the same game here as in so-called militaristic countries.

Truth is already a casualty of the next world war.

"Glamorous Spy"

The true story of women spies. Love. Glamour. Patriotism . . . Or is it all a Hollywood myth?

By Jean Lyon

ILLUSTRATED BY M. PASS

WOMEN spies are supposed to be glamorous and they are supposed to be noble. They are supposed to charm men by the hundreds, and to die nobly before firing squads uttering sentiments about patriotism or nonchalantly drawing on long white kid gloves.

Glamour? Nobility? Let's see.

There was the glamorous Jeanne Claessens, for one. She was lovely. There seems to be no doubt about that. She was brave and intelligent. But spying got her—and she took to drugs. She was Flemish, spying for the Allies during the World War. Getting information from German soldiers and officers in the vicinity of her home was her job. She did it well. She didn't vamp. She simply made men trust her. She delivered her information at great risk to herself. But she broke under it. After she had become a drug addict, one of her colleagues—another woman spy—learned of the girl's habit, and decided that the Allied spy secrets were no longer safe with the beautiful Jeanne. So this colleague, described as a woman with an "implacable will," took Jeanne out on a little trip. And Jeanne never came back.

Two glamorous women spies they were—one of them a drug addict, and the other probably a murderer.

THEN there was the glamorous "Fräulein Doktor." Her glamour was due mostly to the mystery which surrounded her. She was variously described as a woman who was so beautiful that she could "fetch a man down like a punch from a boxing glove with a horseshoe in it," and as a homely middle-aged woman with the disposition of a tiger. At any rate she was supposed to have been the head of the German intelligence service in Belgium—a master mind among spies. She used fear, rather than sex, as her weapon. She is said to have shot one or two of her own agents when she thought they had played false.

But despite her high position and her master mind, the report is that she is ending her days as an inmate of an insane asylum.

Another woman spy with a good strong streak of glamour about her was

Elizabeth Wertheim. She made a specialty of naval officers in Glasgow. She was handsome, worldly, brazen . . . and she was spying for Germany. She pretended to be a widow. A very merry one. She entertained her admirers lavishly in the best hotels. She gave them diversion, and made them feel that war had its romantic side. Between sweet nothings, she gathered information about Britain's naval affairs.

In London she had an open affair with a transient gentleman who posed as an American. Together they went all over town. Together they took long motor trips. Together they visited Portsmouth and Gosport, which were both military bases. Her London lover was finally caught, and his invisible ink reports to Germany were intercepted. But with the same worldliness that she had used in spying, she denied her spying activities. She claimed she had just been out for a good time.

Her colleague finally gave her away, and she was condemned to penal servitude for life. She died a few years ago in Broadmoor prison . . . forgotten, and old.

Several of the glamour-spies were caught in their own nets. They fell in love with their victims, which wasn't on the blue print back in the main office.

"Mademoiselle Blanche" and Olga Bruder were two of these. Mlle. Blanche worked for the French. She was by profession a dancer. She was charming and popular. In 1916 she

was sent into Belgium to do her spy work among the German soldiers. And there she fell in love with a German officer.

For his sake she turned traitor. And then both her lover and her country rejected her. Both had used her for their own ends, and were through with her. She fled, according to rumor, into Scandinavia. What happened to her is still a mystery—though they did find a woman, answering to her description, strangled in a small hotel in Copenhagen.

Olga Bruder worked for Germany. She was handsome, clever, ardent. She was sent to Russia to get the plans of a fort. But she, too, fell in love with one of the enemy. Word was sent back to Germany that she had committed suicide in a border town. Her lover claimed that she had been poisoned.

These are your glamorous woman spies.

THERE were high-minded women spies, whose glamour was founded on feminine purity. Marthe McKenna, a Belgian spy known as "Laura," was one of these. According to the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, who later congratulated her in the name of the King of England, she was a woman who "fulfilled in every respect the conditions which make the terrible profession of spy dignified and honorable . . .

she worked in the German hospitals rendering the merciful and tender services of a nurse to those upon whom, in another capacity, she sought to bring death and ruin . . ."

"Laura" tells herself, in an autobiographical book, of the time she reported to the British air bombing squad that an open air church service was to be held by a German regiment at a certain time on a certain Sunday morning. She says, "This was war, and one had to be hard hearted." She described the raid, the terrible slaughter that resulted, the fact that several of the men she had known in the hospital were lost, and then she ends the narrative with this sentence: "It made me think of a day when I had watched police dispersing industrial strikers. They must have had a good laugh, those airmen." Dignified and honorable, Mr. Churchill called her.

Even very young girls—children—were drawn into the glamorous spy net. There was the little Belgian girl, Marie, fourteen years old, who risked

He was romantic anyhow, and especially about Polish Mary. He sincerely thought her the purest and finest of women





her life for the British Secret Service while Britain talked of saving the Belgian children. Marie took boxes of candy and baskets of fruit from a spy on the Dutch side of the charged wire. In each was a message, which she was expected to deliver to another spy on the Belgian side of the wire. Because she was so young, Old Fritz, the German guard at the wire, shared her candy, and never suspected her.

Marie was eventually caught and sentenced to death. But because of her youth, the Germans commuted her sentence to imprisonment during the war. (Which wasn't, of course, Britain's fault.)

BUT here is a topnotcher in glamour. Maria Sorrel, German spy on the Russian front, was a prima donna. Her story reads like a dime novel... The Girl Who Lured Men On, or, Virtue is Rewarding.

Her friends called her Polish Mary. She could use virtue to gain her own ends, which were not always so virtuous. She was beautiful, blond, bewitching. And absolutely unscrupulous.

She was assigned to Warsaw, which was not more than three hours away from the trenches, and where Russian Czarist officers often went on leave. Warsaw was full of gay women, and of spies. Practically everyone there was under suspicion, except Polish Mary herself, the super spy. But Mary's name became the very synonym for innocence.

This was how she did it. She had decided to be different. To do that in Warsaw, she thought a girl should stand for temperance, home, and mother. She posed as a young widow with a harmless hobby for making the boys go straight. She loved to get them on the "morning after." With a cheery, straight-from-the-hearthside sort of smile, and a Pollyanna philosophy, she attracted dozens of young Czarist officers on leave. She was supposed to have set at least thirty of them on the straight and narrow path. She entertained them all quite extravagantly, but insisted on remaining "just a sister" to them, and she spent hours talking to them of temperance and the homely virtues.

"You are very dear to me," she would tell each one of them. "I shall want to know what you are doing *every minute*." And when they went back to the trenches they wrote her long letters telling her of the movement of troops.

AMONG her anti-vodka converts was an unhappy lad to whom the War seemed particularly horrible. He was by nature a dreamer and a poet. His name was Alexis. Alexis was not only a convert, but an adorer. He was romantic anyhow, and especially about Polish Mary. He sincerely thought her the purest and finest of women. He

could pour out his soul to her . . . tell her of the army and how he hated it. She would comfort him. So he loved her.

Alexis was in Warsaw on leave, being saved and comforted by Mary, when she decided to try her hand at bigger things. She wanted more important information than she was getting from her young officers. She wanted a real scoop to send back to her paymasters.

So, while Alexis was trying to forget the War, Mary was plotting. There was an older woman in her hotel, known to her as "the Countess." Mary was quite sure that the Countess was also a German spy. She had not been officially told of this, for it was not wise for spies, even on the same side, to know too much about each other. The Countess, however, entertained generals and important government officials, who, Mary decided, must have much more important information than did her Alexis. So she stole a key to the Countess's room. She was a clever little thief. Rumor has it that she had been an expert diamond thief before the War.

With her key, and the knowledge that liquor had been flowing in the Countess's apartments, one night very late Mary slipped into her colleague's room. She found, as she had hoped to find, a roomful of unconscious generals and what-have-yous. She went through their pockets and in one she found a new field cipher which was to be used by the Czar's army. Quickly she copied it, and triumphantly she slipped out of the room.

To be sure, the Countess would have gotten the cipher for Germany if Mary hadn't. But Mary wanted to win the praise.

This was her big chance. But it was important to get the cipher into Germany by a faster route than the ordinary messenger she used. This was where the morose young Alexis came in. He had, only the evening before, pledged her his eternal devotion. She knew she could do with him what she wanted.

She called him to her, gave him one of her dazzling smiles, and let him kiss her hands. Alexis was at her feet.

"Alexis," she said. "I am in trouble. I have no one to turn to but you. Will you help me, Alexis?"

Of course he would, with all his heart.

So Mary told him that her young brother had just been arrested in Austria, accused of being a Russian spy because she lived in Warsaw. He was to be shot, she said, unless someone intervened. She said that she had powerful friends in Germany. There was one, an important leader, whose sweetheart she had once been. (This she confessed with a great show of remorse.)

(Continued on page 24)

Town With a History

Butte, Montana—"Bloody Butte" they call it out west. Here the President of the miners union tells of the struggle of the workers for better conditions against dynamite and disaster, fires, frame-ups, and gun fights

By Reid Robinson

ILLUSTRATED BY
HARRY STERNBERG

FASCISM may, as a term, still seem to many American workers a somewhat incomprehensible European importation; but the fact of Fascist terror has been experienced by these same workers whenever they have made any sort of militant struggle for better conditions. They have felt in their flesh the sharp fangs of modern industrial exploitation.

The little Rocky Mountain town of Butte, Mont.—"Bloody Butte" came to be its designation in the press—has had a long and bitter history of capitalist terror; and at the same time it has written a memorable chapter in the story of the struggles of American labor to better the conditions of the masses. Butte is a center of the copper mining industry. It was one of the first towns in the West to build up a strong labor organization, and from it spread a wave of organizational activ-

ity throughout the mining camps of the entire West. The Western Federation of Miners was strong and militant. It was not handicapped at the time with the parasitic, overpaid top officials whose concern for their own positions makes them impotent in the struggle for better working conditions. The Federation gained many concessions from the mining companies. In fact, it became such a thorn in the flesh to the operators that they decided to break the Union.

The tactics employed were the usual ones—the use of company spies to bore from within; the use of provocations and of actual violence with the ensuing inevitable frame-up. At last, in the summer of 1914, the Miners' Union Hall was blown to bits, and the operators had the nerve to charge that the miners had dynamited their own building. It was conclusively proved, how-



ever, that the dynamite was taken from a well-guarded company property to which the miners had no access except under company orders.

For a few years the Union was smashed and the miners were unorganized. But it is scarcely possible that men who make their living by gouging into the bowels of the earth and who gamble with their very lives every time they leave the earth's surface could trust the safeguarding of their, at best, extremely dangerous way of life to the tender mercies of those whose first concern is profits. On June 8, 1917, one of the biggest fires in the history of mining broke out. Nearly two hundred miners were either burned to death or suffocated with gas fumes. Criminal negligence on the part of the operators was the reason for so many deaths; for it was discovered that the exits to other mines, which would have permitted the miners to escape, were sealed. Furthermore, some of the dead were burned beyond all recognition, and to the families of these men no compensation was paid, although

their names were on the company books. The answer to this outrage was the building of a Union 6,000 strong.

But this Union had no affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and, when a strike developed, they received no support from the International Unions. The Locals, it is true, were willing to give this support, but they were prevented by their International. Fascist terror, although it would not then have been called by that name, was rampant. The companies owned and controlled all the local government officials. Workers were beaten, framed. Their wives were assaulted. Men were thrown into prison on any or no pretext. And, for this was war time, the workers were accused of being in league with Germany, with being traitors.

A Hero of Labor

The only organization which came to our rescue was the Industrial Workers of the World. They gave us one of their best, a hero of labor, Frank





completely tied up. Although the strike took place in three cities simultaneously, most of the activity centered around Butte. But this time the strike was tame compared to former ones. For one thing the men were on relief and could hold out as long as the Company. There were no demonstrations except a huge parade of all organized labor in the County, which threw quite a scare into the operators. For the rest a few cars were overturned; a few sheds burned. There were no casualties, no bloodshed. Had it not been for the backdoor entrance into the strike of some of the Eastern Craft Officials, who negotiated an agreement for all of the crafts which left the miners high and dry, the latter would have won their major demands. As it was, their gains were not overwhelming. They did, however, succeed in establishing the principle of the closed shop.

We Have Learned!

Through their struggle the Butte miners have at last learned or are learning that our fate is one with that of the toiling masses all over the world, that we have a common struggle for the same ends and the same role to play in fighting the encroachments of Fascist dictatorship and labor terror in the last desperate efforts of dying capitalism to maintain itself. We have learned, too, that the same interests that would grind the price of their costly mistakes out of the wages of workers are ready to plunge the whole world once more into a war for profits, as they did in 1914. They are ready to send these same workers and their children to kill and be killed in the unspeakable carnage of modern war. And we have learned, as well, how that threatened war can be stopped. It can be stopped in the mine, in the factory, on the farm.

The now solidly organized copper miners are in the forefront of the struggle to fight war and Fascism right here in the United States. They are not afraid of the red scare. They are not afraid of the Liberty League. They are urging other Unions to join the American League Against War and Fascism. They will not permit their sons, or yours, to give their young lives for Wall Street.



Little. Every man, woman, child, who went through that strike, will tell you the inspiration that this man, Frank Little, gave to the Union. It is a matter of history. And the price he paid for his devotion is a matter of history, too. On the morning of August 1, 1917, his mutilated corpse was found hanging from a railroad trestle. Pinned to his underclothes was a note, "Others take notice! First and last warning! 3-7-77." Underneath the figures were the initials L-D-C-S-S-W. Others received the same warning, together with orders to leave Butte. Not one of them left.

The thugs, six paid gunmen, who put this courageous little man to death, because he believed that even workers had the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, took very few chances when they entered his room and pulled him from his bed, for he had broken his leg and was walking on crutches. They dragged him along so that his kneecaps were torn from his legs to the place where they hanged him. To this day no effort has been

made to apprehend them. And this occurred at a time when the United States was fighting overseas to maintain, so we were told, a superior civilization, when stories of German "barbarism" were filling the papers.

Frank Little's body was carried on the shoulders of the miners to the last resting place, followed by a vast concourse of mourners. The strike was carried on for five months, until actual starvation forced the miners back on the job.

Anaconda Road

In the spring of 1920 a strike was called against long hours, low wages, and the blacklist system. Again terror. Peaceful and legal picketing in front of the mines was met with the clubs of policemen and gangsters. At last the miners decided that they would make a mass demonstration in front of one mine. About five hundred men, all unarmed, marched up the now famous Anaconda Road. When they reached the place where they were going to picket, they were met by carloads of

gunmen. With them were the County Sheriff, O'Rourke, and several city detectives. The Sheriff told them they would have to get off company property. This they did and stood in the road. A company gunman, Roy Alley, stepped forward and spoke to the Sheriff. Then he turned to his henchmen with the order to "get the . . . miners." Shots were fired. The men, unarmed, turned and ran. The gunmen kept shooting. Two men were killed, five were seriously wounded.

Once more the miners were without organization until, at the inception of N.R.A., the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, an offspring of the old Militant Western Federation, organized them into a Union which now has 6,000 members in good standing. Disappointed and disillusioned by the Copper Code, the Union went on strike in May, 1934. All of the affiliated crafts Unions went on strike at the same time, as did, also, the Anaconda Smeltermen, and later the Great Falls Mill and Smeltermen were called out, so that operations were



The Last Act

By Art Young

Movies

Hollywood

EVEN if it had the best intentions in the world, it would be almost impossible for Hollywood to turn out a motion picture that was genuinely anti-war. In the very nature of the cinema as a dramatic form, it requires vast application and grim determination to keep the screen's natural romanticism from getting in the way. Marching troops, grenades bursting in the air, martial music, the hum of the airplane, the machine gun blazing away—all of them have a curious manner of making for glamour and excitement in the films, when handsomely reproduced by Hollywood's skillful technicians of camera and microphone. It is the terrible tendency of the motion picture to make everything pretty. Add music, skillful lighting and soft photography to even a reasonably grim photoplay and war becomes surprisingly attractive. The screen supplies the romance of distance that turns horror and bestiality and mass murder into a poetic subject.

It even happens in the news reels. There is no particular reason to believe that when Laurence Stallings set out to collect and edit the screen compilation known as "The First World War" he intended it as anything more than an anti-war tract. Certainly plenty of scenes of terror and death and suffering went into the work, but there was also a musical score and marching troops. In the end the screen chronicle became a stirring tribute to the military spirit, whereas many of the same pictures, used as stills, went into the Stallings book of photographs, also called "The First World War," which was far from conducive to the war spirit.

All of this, however, certainly is not to say that Hollywood really wants to be on the side of the anti-war campaigners but cannot, because the medi-

um will not allow it. After all, such Russian films as "The End of St. Petersburg" and "Peasants," as well as the American "All Quiet on the Western Front" were far from militaristic in their viewpoint and appeal. I merely set down the reminder that it is simpler to make militarist films, because it is so characteristic of the films that they should want to follow the easiest way. The "movies," it should be remembered, never lead. They always follow, as soon as they think they have discovered which way the profits lie. If they thought for a moment that there was an overwhelming audience demand for real anti-war pictures, they would be striving with fine determination to provide them.

It happens, however, that the trend is in the other direction. The pictures that show war as being something pretty romantic and exciting are, the magnates believe, what the public wants, and so that is what they get. Besides, as I have said, they are so much easier to make. Of course, there are other reasons. Take the case of a picture dealing with life at West Point or Annapolis. Such pictures, as well as many more films of varying types, cannot be made without the cooperation of the war and the navy departments. Naturally the officials of these departments see to it carefully that works made with their assistance are proper vehicles for promoting enlistment.

Then, too, there is the cinema idea of patriotism. To the producers it is hardly credible that patriotism should be connected with anything but the celebration of the war spirit. In some fascinating way jingoism and patriotism have become hopelessly intermingled in their minds until there are figures in the film industry who are firmly convinced that it is "unpatriotic" to produce in "It Can't Happen Here" a photoplay attacking Fascism in America. In addition, they



A dramatic scene from "Things To Come," H. G. Wells's motion-picture story of the next war

live under the sort of California fear psychosis which makes even the few of them who would really like to do such an anti-war story as "Paths of Glory" afraid to do so. Thus the driving motives of money, fear, the easiest way and the desire to be popular combine to bring forth a succession of films in which the bombs burst in air pretty handsomely.

—RICHARD WATTS JR.

The writer of this article is one of the very few important motion-picture critics in America with a social point of view. We invite comments from our readers on Mr. Watts's article.

—EDITOR

The Newsreel

"ONE picture is worth a thousand words. . . ."

The phrase is an axiom of every newspaper office, and it applies particularly to the newsreel, which should, if it hasn't already, become more important than the newspapers in giving the American public its lasting impression of the men and events that are making history today. The possibilities of this medium are vast and unlimited. In New York City 60,000 persons a week go to theatres in which newsreels alone are featured. A new newsreel theatre has recently opened in Newark and the next few years will undoubtedly see further expansion of the newsreel theatre idea.

At the present they have become so popular as supplementary entertainment that few theatre managers dare consider an evening's program without the newsreel.

It is vital that this powerful, opinion-forming medium be accurate and un-

biased in its treatment of problems which involve labor and that they be prevented from conditioning the American mind in such a way as to make it receptive to war and fascism.

But what is happening?

We quote from Roy Chartier, writing in the last anniversary issue of *Variety*. He said:

"For years the standard newsreels were guided by many 'don'ts' for various reasons, but mostly through fear of censorship. The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., over which Will H. Hays presides, has always been conscious of dangers, real or imagined, which lay within the power of the newsreel. Many editors were afraid to duplicate in film what newspapers put into print or pictures, but within the past year or so this restraint has distinctly lessened. The "March of Time" reel has definitely acted as an influence in this direction.

"Such clips as the showing of Dillinger's body, and as close to a Southern lynching as cameras could get, helped break the ice. Pathe's clip on Communism is a strong case which might be cited. Its editors went down the line taking pot shots at Communism and also at Russia. Strikes and other riots, in which actual fighting was not cut from the negative, was blamed quite bluntly on Reds. The Hearst reel also went to bat when it started its exposé of Russia. And there was picketing of theatres showing the Hearst reel including the Embassy, N. Y., all-news house. Picketing by socialistic elements also figured in connection with one issue of "Time." The picketing, however, never caused any serious trouble. . . ."

(Continued on page 26)

Fight Recommends:

Modern Times—Charlie Chaplin's brilliant social satire.

The Ghost Goes West—About a Scotsman who shames his family by making love instead of going to war and who must become a ghost to regain his lost honor.

The Story of Louis Pasteur—A definite advance in biographical films.

Fight Fights:

Riff Raff—Picketed throughout the United States by the American League Against War and Fascism and labor unions.

And Awaits:

Things to Come—The new H. G. Wells picture which promises to depict the horrors of future wars.

WINS, New York City radio outlet for William Randolph Hearst, and key station for the network he dreams of building, is having its troubles, and plenty of them because of the boycott which labor unions, liberal groups and organizations opposed to war and fascism have clamped down on all of Hearst's activities these last few months. The Federal Communications Commission is renewing its license on a month-to-month basis; advertisers just don't seem interested in buying time and listeners tune out in droves.

At the present time WINS is depending for most of its advertising revenues on the makers of Tums and Carter's Little Liver Pills. The only half-way important programs of which it can boast when trying to sell time are *Ray Perkins' Amateur Hour*, which recently was thrown off the Columbia chain because it is sponsored by Feenamint, a laxative, and *The World Clothing Exchange*, which is in receivership. The Feenamint program is only temporary, but to obtain it WINS practically donated the time. It's having its worries with the clothing outfit, also, since the latter insists on presenting Yiddish singers despite the fact that Hearst officially frowns on all foreign-language programs.

Although it claims a million listeners, the station staff holds a celebration if a program offering premiums gets a response of 400 letters a month. In fact a series of broadcasts devoted to the sale of Cadillac used cars recently was cancelled after three weeks on the air because the sponsors received only one query, and that was written from New Jersey on a penny postcard.

In an effort to make its programs look impressive WINS is resorting to various ruses. *New Car News* is donated each week to a different automobile dealer on the theory that the vanity aroused by hearing their names mentioned over the air will eventually tempt one of them to buy time. New York's cops are not forgotten. Each week a group of patrolmen is given time in which to dramatize stories about how it broke up demonstrations, arrested pickets and saved cats stranded on top of telephone poles. For a while musical transcriptions carrying plugs for Mrs. Harriman's campaign to legalize lotteries were presented, but these were eliminated when Hearst's attorneys decided that they might further strain relations with the F.C.C. For them was substituted a program entitled *The WINS Birthday Cake* written by the WINS office-boy.

As a bait for advertisers the station

Radio



Bernarr Macfadden was booed, razzed, and hissed when he rose to address the Baltimore Ad Club's annual banquet. Station WCBM was forced to cut out its microphone (see item)

offers reduced rates for lineage in the *New York Journal* and *New York American*. It also will provide prominent Hearst writers as commentators or guest speakers at "reasonable" rates. Gilbert Seldes is quoted at \$50.00 for a fifteen minute period, while Burris Jenkins, sports cartoonist on the *Journal*, comes higher at \$100.00 a crack. Rose Pelwick, movie critic, is classed with Gilbert Seldes (not to be confused with George Seldes, author of *Sawdust Caesar* and contributor to *FIGHT*) at \$50.00.

Because it is rapidly losing its audience and also because of the type of its sponsors, WINS is mortally afraid of the Federal Communications Commission. While most of New York's other stations are given licenses permitting them to operate six months before renewal, WINS has had to renew its plea every month since the first of the year, while its request for more power and more time on the air has been frowned upon. All persons who believe with Historian Charles Beard that no decent American will touch Hearst with a ten foot pole should write to Anning S. Prall, head of the F.C.C. in Washington, and protest against the poor quality of programs and the peculiar nature of the sponsors provided by WINS. Only a little pressure is needed to push this station into the ash can, where it belongs along with the Feenamint which Mr. Prall doesn't think should be advertised over the air.

In comparison to the use made of

WINS, consider another little New York station, WEVD. The latter has made extensive use of its facilities in apprising the 105,000 members of the Dressmakers' Union, as well as the general public, of developments in negotiations for a new working agreement with manufacturers. At a strike meeting called in Madison Square Garden recently and attended by 22,000 persons, WEVD was the only station to pick up the proceedings. WEVD has also donated a lot of its time to presenting the case of the Newspaper Guild, the Theatre Union, the Sunnyside Home Owners' strike and to permitting liberal and even radical speakers to air their views. More power to it, yes, and full time on the air, instead of its present restricted broadcasting hours.

Columbia is reported to be dickering with Walt Disney for radio rights to his *Silly Symphonies*. This is a grand idea and should do much to atone for the system's reactionary *March of Time* and *Cavalcade of America* programs.

Still speaking of Columbia, the system now broadcasts all of its network programs to the rest of the world via short wave stations W2XE, New York, and W3XAU in Philadelphia. Government sources are reported to be not very enthusiastic about the quality of programs being picked up abroad and are thinking of building a short wave station of their own.

The next Presidential campaign is

going to concentrate on the radio in a big way. For the past several weeks the National Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company have had a number of United States Senators and State Governors discussing with its engineers and announcers the best ways of making radio talks which will hypnotize audiences into voting for them. Many of the candidates-to-be are having records made of their speeches. These are played back in the studio while experts criticize their technique—and on occasion their English.

Bernarr Macfadden was booed, razzed and hissed when he rose to address the Baltimore Ad Club's annual banquet not long ago. The reactionary owner of *Liberty* also had to duck a barrage of chicken à la king with plates attached. Station WCBM, which had planned to broadcast the banquet, was forced to cut out its microphones. With the exception of Hearst's *American*, Baltimore newspapers played up the riot for all it was worth. The *American* carried Bernarr's undelivered speech in toto. The Hearst press had semi-officially sponsored Macfadden's appearance and given it a big build-up. The physical culture racketeer has not repaid the courtesy in kind. His *True Story Magazine* program entitled *Goodwill Court* will go on the air from station WMCA rather than Hearst's WINS.

We'd like to take a crack at the reactionary tendencies of Columbia's *March of Time*, but space does not permit in this issue. Those who would like to find out just why these programs get in their hair should read Hy Kravif's article on the subject in the March issue of *The American Spectator*. It is worthy of note that Remington-Rand, the off-and-on sponsor of *The March*, also backs the reactionary comments of Edwin C. Hill over NBC three times each week. Remington Rand, you know, has a number of fingers in the armaments racket pie.

Mayor Wilson of Philadelphia is still fuming as the result of his tiff with Alan Scott, commentator for station WCAU. Wilson, in one of his recent *Fireside Chats*, over WIP, Philadelphia, appealed for WPA workers to give up their usual Saturday off and report for duty shoveling snow. Later the same evening Scott remarked during his WCAU program that this was just a trick to keep other unemployed persons from getting the jobs. The mayor went wild. Scott was forced to apologize after His Honor threatened to arrest him and have the station's license revoked.—GEORGE SCOTT.



A Long Sad Story

(With a Happy Ending)

By Kenneth Fearing

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM SIEGEL



1

Brother, can you spare—don't run!
I know you haven't got a dime,
Because I took your last one—but
I'd like a moment of time—

2

To unfold a tale of horror,
Shame, ingratitude, and grief—
I, who only count by millions
Have been called a common thief!



3

Common, yes! Or rather—no
I mean, who raised the mighty cry
To save the world in '17—
But me and another guy?

4

All that's civilized, we saved,
And we'll do the same again
For a billion dollars, pounds and francs,
And the last Chinese yen.



5

"We co-operate's" our watchword,
Our job is the trigger—we pull it—
Now your glorious share, buddy,
Is to stop the little bullet.

6

And if you find yourself squashed flat
Down at the bottom of a hole,
Remember, the man who sold the shell
Was a really lovable soul.



7

A real man and brave, who heeded the call
Any country gave—a gent
Who sold to friend and foe and never
Took less than a thousand per cent.

8

But I'll admit there's a silver lining
Before I go my humble way—
We're making more and bigger arms,
And war's expected any day.

Call Out the Militia!

*Who backs the National Guard
... what attracts young men
to this branch of the service
... what methods are used in
recruiting ... where and how
the National Guard functions*

By Morris Maken

YOUNG MEN, 18 years or over, interested in athletic and military activities; all facilities as a best club; free to members; two weeks in summer camp at no expense; payment for attendance; write for details.

THIS generous advertisement was printed in a metropolitan newspaper whose sport news and comic strips give it a strong appeal to youngsters. It appeared innocently enough among the want ads scanned daily by thousands of young men, unemployed, dead broke and starved for social and athletic outlets.

"It must be with a rifle and a bayonet, cold steel," Brigadier General Seth E. Howard, commanding officer of the California National Guard, testified before the House subcommittee on military appropriations in the hearing on the War Department bill. "Troops to be effective," he continued, "must be armed with rifles, because a pistol is no arm to place in the hands of troops with these groups of disturbers we are confronted with in the country today. Neither are clubs."

He then recounted details of California's recent labor troubles.

This dispatch from Washington was printed in the same newspaper, but a little too far from the want ads for the "young men" to perceive the connection. The contrast between the two items is a bald exposure of Fascism's method—and incontrovertible evidence of Fascism's aim. The advertisement led to the enlistment of at least several new members of the 185,000 wearing the National Guard uniform today. The statement revealed the reason why the authorized strength of the guard for next year has been increased to about 210,000.

As labor grows more militant, Big Business girds more ruthlessly than ever to hold the workers in check. The Fascistic preparations for war against enemies "foreign and domestic" have culminated in a military budget for 1937 of \$1,036,000,000, the most costly and extensive program ever

undertaken in our history. Of that tremendous sum, \$38,000,000 is allotted to enlarge the training of the National Guard and improve its equipment. This is \$10,000,000, or 35 per cent, more than was allotted two years ago.

With Rifle and Bayonet

During those two years significant events have occurred—the San Francisco general strike, Terre Haute "labor holiday," serious industrial struggles in Toledo, Omaha, Minneapolis, Tacoma and elsewhere, as well as the textile strike throughout the East. Beyond question these events explain the die-hard determination of America's industrial barons that their workers are not to have a more decent recompense for what their energies create.

"It must be with a rifle and a bayonet!" And with machine guns and armored tanks and poison gases. And with martial law and larger troop patrols and more highly specialized riot squads, trained in the fine art of splitting crowds apart and driving them off the picket lines, so that scabs might enjoy "protection of the right to work."

A whole bag of tricks is prepared, including the passage of a bill providing use of \$80,000,000 of emergency relief funds—the now famous "stage money"—for the construction of new armories. The strike waves of 1877 and 1919 were followed by a militia program that flung a chain of armories at strategic points over the industrial states. Today there is the definite prospect of the longest and strongest picket lines of workers, farmers, and unemployed the nation has ever seen. One hundred and fifty new armories had been blueprinted previous to the bill, but the extra money makes possible three or four times that number.



The purpose behind the measure is candidly admitted by more frank business interests. As the Santa Rosa Chamber of Commerce puts it, "Armories are a resource of incalculable value in event of a national, state, or local catastrophe, such as a riot."

The Chief Target

A riot, of course, is a strike—any strike. The War Department itself has given that definition. In a report not intended for public scrutiny, the National Guard Bureau at Washington shows that in the one year, July 1, 1934, to June 30, 1935, when 30,000 troops saw action, about 25,000 were sent against workers. Industrial strikes in nineteen states were the chief target of these attacks, but other victims included strikers on a relief project in Florida and unemployment demonstrators in Arizona and Kansas. The remaining 5,000 guardsmen assisted in such non-riotous activities as the Kentucky Derby, an American Legion convention, a gubernatorial inauguration or two, and the funeral of John Dillinger, the bandit. In other words, five out of every six of the guardsmen called

out last year were used in behalf of business interests against people who either work for a living or want to.

For a task so brutal it would seem difficult to get voluntary enlistments. The obvious thing, therefore, is to conceal what Major General Smedley D. Butler calls "the galling spectacle of American working men, wearing the uniform of the National Guard and directed by the employer class, shooting down other American working men" on strike. Accordingly, recruiting methods have become a model of Fascist hoodwinking—and they must be. For guardsmen are not professional soldiers. They are civilians who drill only two or three hours one evening a week, and spend the rest of their time as they can. Only one night a week are they wearers of the uniform. Seven days and the other six nights they are members of the working class. As National Guardsmen, they have permitted themselves to become amateur mercenaries!

Why They Join

They are members of the working class. If they were not, they would not—the vast majority of them—be

Where, and in What Industries the National Guard Was Called Out on Strike Duty in the Last 14 Months

1. Hosiery, Georgia. 2. Miners, Kentucky. 3. World War veterans on FERA project, Florida. 4. Textile, Georgia. 5. Meat packers, South Dakota. 6. Miners, Pennsylvania. 7. Lead miners, Oklahoma. 8. Unemployed, Kansas. 9. Street-car workers, Nebraska. 10. Engines, Illinois. 11. Cotton mills, Georgia. 12. Lead and zinc miners, Kansas. 13 and 14. Lumber, California

and Washington. 15. Textile, South Dakota. 16. General strike, Indiana. 17. Lumber, Oregon. 18. Farmers, Nebraska. 19. Textile, South Carolina. 20. Miners, Kentucky. 21. Miners, Kentucky. 22. Fuel and iron, Alabama. 23. Wood products, Minnesota. 24. Shirt workers, Indiana. 25. Distillers, general strike, Illinois. (Most of this data obtained from the Congressional Record.)

which includes many of the large metropolitan stores, recommends that as a matter of employment policy. All of the public utilities corporations in New York, and probably all such inter-related firms throughout the country, permit their male employees military time without deduction of pay. Among these companies are the Brooklyn Edison and Consolidated Gas; others are the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the National City Bank, the Manufacturers Trust Company, the Metropolitan Life, the Sun Insurance and the American Rope and Twine Company, largest of its kind in the world.

This list of big-money backers of the National Guard could be lengthened indefinitely. But the greatest reservoir of sponsored recruiting is in the civil service everywhere. Federal, state and municipal employees find encouragement right in the regulations passed by the legislative bodies. It is a safeguard jealously protected. When a Governor of Massachusetts some years ago vetoed a bill granting military leave to the Springfield city employees, both houses promptly repassed it over his head to the enthusiastic applause of the press. In fact, an official manual on the National Guard, prepared by Colonel Henry A. Bellows and issued by authority of the Secretary of War, advises all employers not to stop the pay of their employees absent on military duty.

"Never Fire Over the Heads"

Add to pleasure, then, the bait of steady work. And it is little indeed that the young man's benefactors ask in return—nothing more than the patriotic duty of putting on his uniform from time to time, shouldering his gun, and remembering his instructions—instructions like those in the Illinois National Guard's "Emergency Plans for Domestic Disturbances":

Blank cartridges should never be fired at a mob; if ball ammunition is expected from the first, moral effect is gained. . . . Never fire over the head of rioters; the aim should be low. . . . A low-power cartridge is preferable for the usual riot duty. Riot shotguns with buck-shot ammunition are effective at close ranges.

Mercy is abolished also when gas bombs are tossed. Practically every

strike or demonstration in recent years has involved the use of tear gas. Even though a learned article in the trade organ, *Chemical Industries*, contends that the "use of chemicals is the most humane and most efficient method yet devised for the suppression of internal civil disorders," the fact remains that the new ingredients of the gas make it one of the most brutal and injurious weapons.

Witness the fact that in self-protection against this humane agent the National Guard has four times as many gas masks as the regular army. That point was brought out in the Nye Committee munitions investigation, which also revealed the amazing candor of Major General George E. Leach, chief of the National Guard Bureau at Washington, in giving a blanket endorsement to E. C. Goss, president of the Lake Erie Chemical Company. "Goss and his products are the best insurance against social disorder I know of," wrote the general on War Department stationery.

No Democracy

The same E. C. Goss is a lieutenant-colonel in the Reserve Army Corps. No better illustration could be needed of the close tie-up between industry and the arrogant Fascists who direct the uniformed forces of the United States. An aspect agreed upon by all strike observers is the grim hostility they display toward strikers. It is probably quite natural. Officers in the guard, as in the regular army, are likely to come from the middle or even upper classes. Not only that; officers of militia are appointed or promoted in fairly strict accordance with their economic status. Furthermore, the expense of maintaining the social obligations of a commissioned rank debar any man without the proper income of the opportunity to lead. Democratic relations between the officers and men is as remote as friendliness between citizenry and soldiers. Until recently this definition was carried in Army Training Manual No. 2000-25, also used by the National Guard:

Democracy: A government of the masses. Authority derived through mass meetings or any other form of "direct expression." Results (Continued on page 26)

CHART BY JOSEPH KAPLAN

drawn to a military organization by various attractions thoroughly unmilitary, but too expensive for underprivileged young men. And it is exactly those attractions that the officers of the National Guard play up. Show the average American youth an elaborate gymnasium, a large swimming pool, modern bowling alleys and billiard tables. Show him these and a comfortable lounge room furnished with radio and piano where he can bring his girl to dance. Describe the vigorous, open-air life at camp for fifteen days each summer, the only vacation off the streets he is likely to get. Tell him all of these facilities are his for just a couple of hours of uniformed drill a week. The temptation is so irresistible, the fulfillment of his social and athletic needs seems so complete, that it is entirely natural for him to sign up. And for three years he becomes subjected to the beck and call of officers who are themselves business men and anxious to advance in the favor of the bigger business men who control the community.

Once signed up, the new recruit really has the use of the facilities promised. What is more—for the decep-

tion continues cleverly—he is chosen for one of the regimental teams and trains diligently. He comes to the armory every spare night—days also if he has no job. Unconsciously he exposes himself to exactly that conditioning, physical and psychological, which prepares him for strike-breaking duty. A strong recruiting drive is always made in the summer just before the regiment leaves for camp. Vacation in the country with pay at a dollar a day is the dramatized luxury. If the prospect of two weeks relief from the oppressive heat of summer fails to attract recruits, the fifteen dollars will. Regiments always arrive at camp recruited to full strength.

Employers Back National Guard

Behind these gently reasonable inducements to enlist lies a compulsion which conceals the most flagrant Fascist tendency of all. It is not generally known that a great number of employers push their workers toward the National Guard by granting them military leave in addition to whatever annual leave they may get. The Merchants' Association of New York,

Books

Tut, Tut! Mr. Lawrence

NINE HONEST MEN, by David Lawrence; 164 pages; D. Appleton Century Company; \$1.50.

DAVID LAWRENCE, the Washington correspondent of the Associated Press, an intelligent opponent of Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal, has written a brochure in defense of the United States Supreme Court. His thesis, briefly stated, is that the judges of that high tribunal are incorruptible, and honest in the task allotted to them by the Constitution—namely, the conservation of the form of our government, a change in the structure of which, Mr. Lawrence points out, is not to be obtained through Congressional enactment or administrative usurpation, but by amendment to the Constitution and by popular mandate. Since, he infers, the Supreme Court is charged with the duty of conservator, it is an evasion of politicians to expect that the Court will sanction innovations which run counter to the methods provided in the Constitution. In the recent N.R.A. and A.A.A. decisions, the Court, suggests Mr. Lawrence, has scotched Administration attempts to extend its power, and has at the same time saved the country from Fascism and made socialistic experiments nugatory. Labor has fared well at the hands of the Supreme Court, Mr. Lawrence contends. If, as in the Child Labor decisions, the Court was bound to declare the law unconstitutional, it was because the act, as framed, ran counter to the theory of States' rights.

The book is an able brief for the thesis. If we leave entirely out of consideration the historic evolution of the Supreme Court, the background of economic trends, the fact that the venerable justices are merely men (for a' that), that by tradition they have been constituted to suspect progressive legislation and thus are honest guardians of the status quo, we are in full agreement with the author's contention. But when the author tries to justify their vindication of the crazy-quilt holding companies, and excuse their methods of lobbying against the passage of the so-called death sentence act in Congress, the impression immediately arises that Mr. Lawrence, in his enthusiasm for the Supreme Court, has over-reached himself. Much in the

same manner we wonder whether the Supreme Court itself would concur in the too sanguine endorsement:

To the everlasting credit and praise of the nine noble men who rendered the unanimous opinion it should be written in indelible letters on the tablets of history that they met the issue courageously and fearlessly. They will ever be remembered as the nine honest men who withstood intimidation and threats of legislative reprisal, the men who saw their duty in the finest tradition of Anglo-Saxon justice and pronounced their verdict with a responsibility only to their consciences and their God.

One can almost hear the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Cardozo say: "Tut, tut! Mr. Lawrence."

The chief fault we find with Mr. Lawrence is in his political conclusions. As an opponent of what he deems to be "socialistic" measures and "Fascist" trends, he advocates the creation of a conservative party to be known as the Constitutional Party. This new Party would draw from the two dominant parties enough adherents to prevail and under a strong leader would restore the country to "Americanism." Precisely in that direction lies the danger. American Fascism, if it comes, will fly a deceptive anti-Fascist banner. It will go to the country under the slogans: "Back to the Constitution," "Down with Socialism and Fascism," "For Democracy and against Dictatorship." Fascism, Mr. Lawrence should note, could rule through an oligarchy, council, or triumvirate. This immoderate respect for the Supreme Court has the seeds of an *Uebermensch* cult, and the Constitution the potentiality of becoming a fetish. War or an economic breakdown would find the ready-made shibboleths convenient. Mr. Lawrence and his Constitutional Party, as avowed and proclaimed enemies of Fascism, would soon find themselves in the vanguard of Fascist reaction.

—CHARLES RECHT

If Satire Could Kill

ROLL ON, NEXT WAR, by John Gibbons, illustrations by Edgar Norheld; 186 pages; E. P. Dutton and Company; \$1.75.

SINCE I know that war can never be halted until there is an overhauling of political systems which foster the rivalries of imperialism, I am not prepared to acclaim

a satire against war. In fact I don't believe that satire ever killed anything and I'm sure that ridicule hasn't. Under the guise of instructing his son on how to prepare for the next war so that he will suffer least from it (short of death), Gibbons has written a bitter though resigned, attack on war. Be a private in the ranks, he advises, and do just as little and steal just as much as you can get away with. If you have any qualms about it, simply remember that the General Staff is lying and cheating and breaking all promises to the army every day of the war. It is inefficient, cruel, and stupid. When the General places an observer in his own front-line trenches to report the effect when his own artillery bombs his own men, regard it as a humorous incident which has perhaps killed a few thousand of your friends and maybe yourself, but is in essence quite comic. If you should happen to write a letter home saying that you didn't know what you were fighting for, don't take it too seriously when the censor cuts it out.

Gibbons writes: "I have no catechistical feeling of any sort about My Duty to My Army." Men who signed for the British Home Service and were promised that they would never have to leave British soil, were transferred to Foreign Service by the mere issuance of an Army Order. While his company marched for days practically barefooted, shoes by the millions lay on French quays. It was a perfectly understandable thing: An officer had made a slight error. Gibbons writes again: "If I chose to take the risk of lying to my sergeant for the sake of dodging a duty or stealing myself an extra tin of inferior meat, I did so without the smallest compunction. For the Army itself would freely lie away the lives of thousands and thousands of its own men. The bulk of the American soldiers who got killed died through a lie; their own great people dare not tell them the truth: That they were months short of War training and that they would be practically certain to get killed."

If satire could do it, this book would help end war. Under the device of being enthusiastic about war, Gibbons has written a slashing attack on it. At bottom it is actually a hilarious account of the stupidity of statesmen who make wars and generals who fight them. That is, if you can think of any-

thing hilarious about the death of millions of men. Gibbons doesn't find it hilarious, but he does what he can against it in his own way. It's an effective way, if you think words can do anything against imperialistic greed.

—ROBERT FORSYTHE

A Good Book for Children

BETTY BOOP in "MISS GULLIVER'S TRAVELS," by Wallace West (illustrated); 282 pages; Whitman Publishing Company, Racine, Wis.; 10 cents.

THE chances are that no one in search of good books for children has thought of looking in the Woolworth 5 and 10 stores. And yet they are selling one of the finest of little books by the hundreds of thousands of copies over their counters.

Betty Boop is that same wide-eyed little girl who sings the boop-a-doop songs in Max Fleischman's Talkatoon in the movies. In the ten cent version, which has an illustration on every page, she takes an airplane and her dog Bimbo and sets out for Lilliputia, a country made famous by Gulliver, who, it develops, is an ancestor of Betty. But when she arrives she finds it a very different country from the Lilliputia of her ancestor's day. Of course the people are still as small as your thumb but they have very big troubles. They have just passed through a great war in which their land has been laid waste and they now have a dictator—no other than our old movie friend KoKo the clown. The country is torn with the feeling between the Book Lovers and the Book Scorners. The Book Lovers want to build up schools



Burning the books

and colleges instead of rebuilding the army and the navy. The Book Scorers, who support KoKo the clown, insist that to have a great country there must be a great navy and a great army. Furthermore they are worried because the Book Lovers grow bigger as they read books. So all the Book Lovers have been thrown into jail and all books are ordered to be burned. Poor Betty Boop! She has a book in her airplane—Gulliver's Travels. It is discovered and she goes to jail. But she breaks down the jail, frees the Book Lovers, they, by their superior wisdom and stature, capture the country and Betty Boop flies away after she has seen that KoKo has returned to his old trade of clowning.

This is a poor brief account of the adventures that meet Betty Boop and the dog Bimbo. The story is full of the situations that children love and is told with the reasonableness that is the test of all effective story writing with a social point of view. It is a sad note on our times that a children's book which throws itself on the side of freedom and peace should cause such a gasp of pleased astonishment. However, children being as they are, will not gasp but accept the adventures of Betty Boop and the outcome of those adventures as natural and inevitable.

—DOROTHY MCCONNELL

Fascism Comes to England

IN THE SECOND YEAR, by Storm Jameson; The MacMillan Company; \$2.50.

IT IS inevitable that this novel about a Fascist dictatorship in England should be compared with Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here*. Mr. Lewis's story of Fascism in the United States extends over a longer period than Miss Jameson's, as Mr. Lewis describes the preliminaries and the course of the regime, and closes his books with the end of the dictatorship in sight. *In the Second Year*, on the other hand, covers only about three months in the history of a hypothetical "National State" England, but what it loses in space as compared with *It Can't Happen Here*, it more than gains in intensity and plausibility. Nor, since Miss Jameson is politically better educated than Mr. Lewis, does she indulge in comic opera pictures of "Reds."

The story itself, which is told very quietly in the first person by Andy Hillier, cousin of the National State dictator, is based on the Roehm-Schleicher conspiracy which was the excuse for Hitler's "blood purge" of June 30, 1934. Miss Jameson has followed history very closely, but beside the main plot she depicts some lurid and characteristic aspects of a Fascist state in being. There are the inevitable storm troops, concentration



Storm Jameson

camp, racial persecution, and in the background the financier, who pulls the strings. All these matters have been skillfully transmuted into English terms, and help greatly to make the whole picture as convincing as it is sinister. There are, for instance, no special laws against Jews, but for sweet economy's sake it is necessary to reduce the number of civil servants, and it just happens that the officials who are dismissed are all Jews. Likewise, promises made to the workers are not brutally repudiated, but their fulfillment is merely postponed. There is not enough money to pull down the slums—as was promised—until England is made "secure." "Security first, and idealism afterwards." And, over all, is the imminence of war.

Most of these things, of course, have appeared before in one or other of the many novels about Fascism, but nowhere, so far as I am aware, is there so strong a feeling of international decay, which is the inevitable consequence of Fascism, as in Miss Jameson's book. The author herself seems to have been so depressed by this aspect of the subject that her emphasis seems to lie on the apparent hopelessness of the future. At the end of the book the narrator goes to visit Lewis, who asks what Norwegians think of England:

"Oh, they think we are finished," I said. "So we should be if all Englishmen were like you," he answered. . . . "Stay, and face it."

Apart from any question of so-called propaganda this book is well worth reading as a gripping and fascinating story. All the characters ring true to life despite the general resemblance of many of them to the most notorious of the Nazi heroes, and Miss Jameson's feeling for nature pervades the book. She can turn a neat phrase, and it is not necessary to know England to appreciate her irony. *The Times*, for example, heads its description of the "purge": "Changes in the Administration of the Volunteers."

The defeat of Fascism, however, will not be secured by retiring to Norway, as does Andy Hillier, but rather by remembering the words of another character in the book:

"One has to struggle not to fall a victim to it." He chuckled. "Men like you and me can only ask ourselves every day, in the words of a forgotten genius, *Am I being offensive enough?*"

—LESLIE READE

The New Book Section

DURING the eighteenth century Dean Swift commemorated the chief literary controversy of that age by writing *The Battle of the Books*. It was a fantastic description of the war between the Ancient and the Modern writers in which Homer is shown lambasting Grub Street while Virgil is being ambushed by the Irish satirist's English contemporaries. Truth to tell, the Tory Dean was not an impartial historian of this great conflict; he sided with Yesterday against Today.

Nowadays in the world of books a similar controversy rages, as it does in every field of human thought. This time Today is arrayed against Tomorrow. Which shall it be, a future of peace or a continuation of the present militarism, the growth of democratic freedom or the strangulation of all intellectual life in the inhuman molds of Fascism? In the realm of literature this life-versus-death struggle grows daily more intense.

FIGHT has no desire to be the impartial historian of this great conflict; it unblushingly stands for peace and freedom, against war and Fascism. But it does aspire to be historian as well as participant in this modern battle of the books. Hence this new Book section which undertakes to present a monthly selection of the surprisingly great number of current books that are of interest to fighters against war and Fascism. These books, whether of fiction or of politics, of history or of sociology, if they deal

with our problems, will be reviewed, whenever possible, by experts in their fields. Furthermore all readers are invited to send to this department any news they may glean from this particular battlefield.

Robert Forsythe, author of *Redder than the Rose* and noted humorist, strikes a strange note on the opposite page by his slur on the value of satire. Is Mr. Forsythe growing disillusioned? As to serious-minded us, we must disagree that ridicule cannot kill, and our logic goes thus: Conceded that propaganda by the written word is of prime importance (see the Tydings-McCormack Incitement to Disaffection Bill). Satire may be effective written propaganda (see *Redder than the Rose*). Therefore, satire can at least paralyze, if not kill (Q.E.D.).

Dorothy McConnell is the author of many books for children as well as of the pamphlet *Women, War, and Fascism*. She is Secretary of the American League Against War and Fascism. . . . Leslie Reade is an English playwright and barrister whose play *The Shattered Lamp* was produced on Broadway. He has contributed to *The New Republic*. . . . Another contributor to liberal magazines who is also a very prominent lawyer is Charles Recht, author of *American Deportation and Exclusion Laws* and of several novels, best known of which is *Rue with a Difference*. . . . Two or three reviews and many book notes were omitted from these pages, and we were under the impression that we had miles of space.

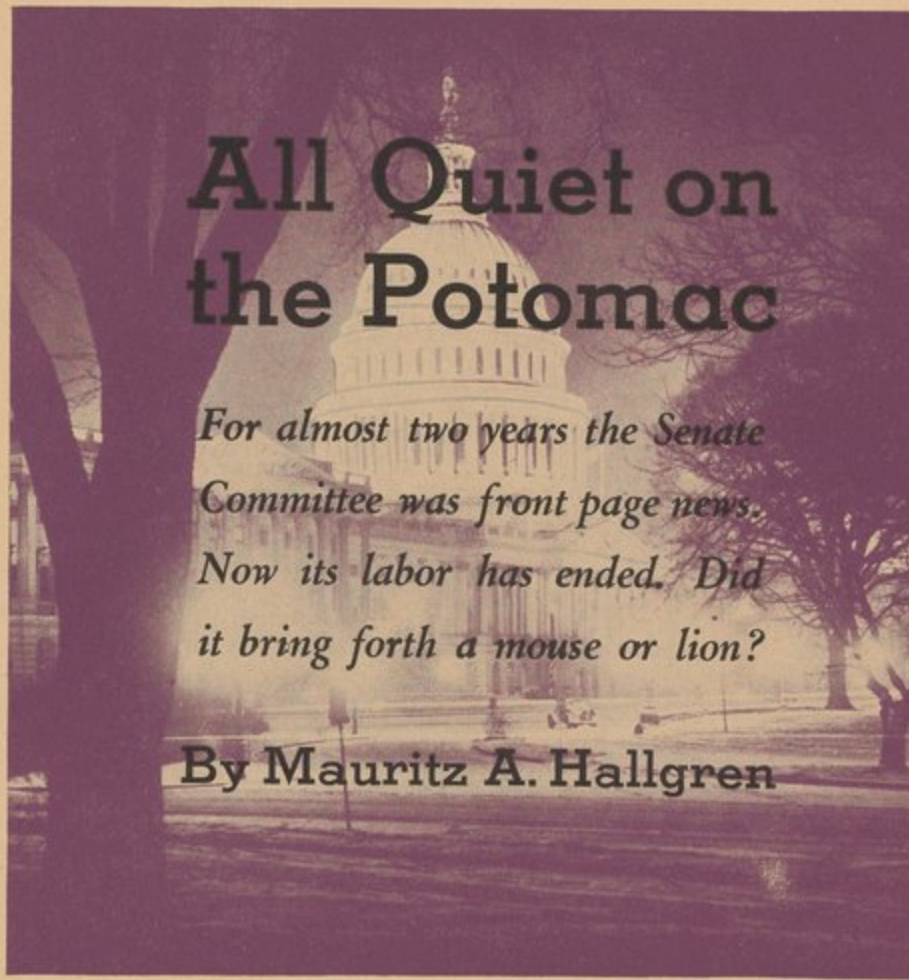
E. P. Dutton & Co. has sent us a large handsome illustrated folder entitled "A Challenge to War." It advertises several books on the Dutton list that are anti-war by appropriate quotations from such works. Among the books thus listed is Henri Barbusse's *Under Fire*, acknowledged by many of the world's leading critics to be still one of the best of the war books.



"Who says it can't happen here?"



Senator Nye questioned



Mr. Morgan answered

THE WORK of the Senate Munitions Committee has been completed. What has been accomplished? We have learned a good deal, it is true, but has anything been done of a concrete nature to prevent the various factors unearthed and discussed by the Nye Committee from plunging the country into another war? Unfortunately, the answer must be in the negative, for even while the munitions inquiry was drawing to a close we were given fresh evidence that the war makers are still in power.

It may be well to recall that an investigation into the munitions and war traffic had been urged for at least two years before the Nye Committee was actually brought into being. A small group of peace workers and a few newspapermen had sought again and again to interest Washington, and particularly the Senate, in such an inquiry. But not the slightest support or encouragement was forthcoming. The subject was too dangerous. It involved too many important interests.

Political Lives at Stake

While the executive branch of the Government naturally could not be expected to support any such inquiry, it was hoped that at least one of the several progressive Senators could be found with courage enough to tackle the war industries and finance capitalists on this subject. But for a long time this remained a forlorn hope. One Senator who had been counted upon and who had gained a reputation as

something of a radical because of his valiant defense of unpopular causes frankly replied that "it would mean my political life" to sponsor the proposed investigation. Others, less frank, offered different excuses.

Eventually, Senator Nye, of North Dakota, was induced to present a resolution calling for an investigation. Once the proposal was made public it was found to have such wide popular support that the Nye resolution was assured of relatively easy passage. Few Senators dared openly to take the position of defending the munitions makers and war profiteers or to appear to be willing to keep their activities concealed. But it is important to bear in mind that until the issue was forced into broad daylight by Senator Nye practically the whole Senate was quite willing to keep the spotlight off the war traffic.

The Committee's Achievements

That the Nye Committee has had eminent success in exposing many of the ramifications of this traffic cannot be doubted. It has laid bare the sales methods and propaganda of the war industry, the bribery and corruption almost universally practiced in this connection, the huge profits that have fallen to the munitions makers. It has shown that upon several occasions our own Government has actually encouraged and assisted the munitions interests in finding markets abroad. It has revealed that the War Department has gone so far as to make its own

secrets available to private manufacturers to help them with their sales. (The War Department has explained that this has been necessary in order to keep the domestic munitions industry in a condition to meet a war emergency in this country).

This is not to suggest that the committee has not met with opposition. Its opposition has been considerable and continuous. But public opinion prevailed throughout the investigation—except when matters of vital concern to the war makers developed. For example, when bribery in connection with munitions sales to South American Governments was exposed, the Governments involved complained loudly and bitterly. They suggested to American correspondents stationed in their capitals that the Nye Committee's revelations would greatly injure United States trade with their countries. The State Department took their complaints to heart and sought to curb the investigation. But to no avail. Again, when it appeared that the inquiry might involve some of the higher figures in the Democratic party, a number of Democratic Senators rose up to demand that "private correspondence" be kept from the committee's scrutiny—which, of course, would have had the effect of killing the investigation. But the investigation went on just the same.

"Industrial Mobilization"

There came a day, however, when the committee wanted to look into the War Department's "industrial mobil-

ization plan" and on that day the investigation was brought to a standstill. It was not resumed until the committee had come to an agreement with the department regarding matters that might safely be made public and other matters that would have to be kept secret. In short, while the war industry had long been thoroughly acquainted with all the details of this plan and while the War Department had even made other secrets available to the gun and powder makers, the people of the United States, who would fight the war for which the department was planning its industrial mobilization, could not be trusted with any of the important details of that plan.

There came another day when the committee seemed to be on the point of obtaining damaging testimony from representatives of the House of Morgan. Then the opposition did not attack directly, but chose rather to discredit the committee and its works by an oblique assault. Chairman Nye had at about that time brought out the indisputable fact that Woodrow Wilson had not told the truth in testifying before a Congressional committee that he had known nothing about the secret treaties of the Allies until he arrived at the Paris Peace Conference. This was a signal for a blistering attack on Nye and his committee by Senators Glass, Connally and others. They were almost violent in asserting that Senator Nye had sought to slander Wilson by bringing "infamous" and "unsup-

(Continued on page 29)

WORLDWIDE preparations for war, on an unprecedented scale, have received a most appreciative response from Wall Street. Speculators, anxious to share in the expanding profits of companies subsidized by governments through their war machines, have eagerly climbed aboard the war stocks.

A favorite choice of such gamblers on future destruction has been the International Nickel Co., the largest manufacturer of one of the primary war materials. This company's net profits of \$25,800,000 in 1935 were the biggest in its history—37% larger than in 1934 and 16% above its previous high record in 1929. Wall Street, however, is betting on a still richer profit harvest for Nickel, for the price of this stock has more than doubled within the past year, rising from \$22 to above \$50 a share. London, at the center of the European war situation, has been especially optimistic on the outlook for International Nickel. On the London exchange, this stock has been one of the outstanding issues, and almost daily has been raised above the price at which it closed on Wall Street a few hours before.

Anaconda, the copper trust, has found similar favor with the war-minded fraternity on the Street. With the net profits of this organization increasing almost sixfold in a year, from \$1,926,000 in 1934 to \$11,181,000 in 1935, the market value of Anaconda shares has risen from \$8 to \$36 per share.

An over-enthusiastic sales agent recently blurted out the true reason for Anaconda's prosperity. On his recent return from Europe, Edward Mosehauer, vice-president of the Anaconda Sales Co., told ship-news reporters that "the general optimism in copper circles abroad" is based largely on "rearmament and the general mechanization of armies." He pointed with special pleasure to the example of Germany, which,



he said, "is ahead of the rest of Europe and has carried the mechanization of its army to a very marked degree which has resulted in an increased copper demand."

Stock market speculators also have cashed in handsomely on the Roosevelt administration's enormous purchases of military aircraft. Douglas Aircraft's rise from \$17 to \$75 a share during the past year reflects the fact that government business has boosted profits of that company from \$38,000 to \$1,262,000. Still larger profits are looked for in 1936, as the government has placed more than \$11,000,000 worth of war-plane orders with Douglas since early



fall. Douglas's total business in 1935 was only \$7,300,000! United Aircraft, another large manufacturer, has had similar popularity in Wall Street. This company's unfilled business at the end of 1935 was \$15,800,000, largely made up of government orders, as against \$7,500,000 the year before. In consequence, United Aircraft stock has risen from under \$10 a share to above \$30 a share.

How Big Is Business?

THE Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, second largest oil company in the world, and the General Motors Corporation, the largest automobile manufacturer, have become concerned by the growing public recognition of the concentration of the nation's productive wealth in the hands of a few reactionary groups. The Ethyl Gasoline Corporation, jointly owned by these two goliaths, recently distributed a blast which contends that the existence of nearly 2,000,000 active industrial and commercial concerns in the United States is a proof of a "wide distribution of ownership and earnings," and pronounces views to the contrary as "the irresponsible preachings of the uninformed."

Inadvertently, the Ethyl corporation advances data in support of its claims that, correctly read, proves exactly the opposite. Of the 388,564 concerns which reported their balance sheets for 1933 to the income-tax bureau, a mere 594 (less than two-tenths of 1% of the total number) owned more than half of the total assets of \$268,206,000,000; 5% of the corporations reporting owned 86% of the total assets.

Who Runs Big Business?

POOOR'S Register of Directors of United States and Canada reveals that the majority of the 80,000 business and financial leaders listed actually answer to a handful of men at the top.

Item: Henry L. Doherty, president of the Cities Service Co., champion of the utilities and friend of President Roosevelt, sits on the boards of 95 corporations and is president of 87.

Item: Charles Hayden, of Hayden, Stone & Co., investment brokers, is a director of 58 corporations engaged in widely diversified fields.

Item: Ex-President Herbert Hoover and his ex-opponent Alfred E. Smith are neighbors on the board of the New York Life Insurance Co., which influences innumerable corporations through its investments.

Item: On the board of the Rockefeller-controlled Chase National Bank sit Vincent Astor, Roosevelt's yacht provider, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and a



trio of big-time insurance men: Frederick H. Ecker, president of Metropolitan Life; Franklin d'Olier, vice-president of Prudential; and Thomas I. Parkinson, president of Equitable Life and of the reactionary New York State Chamber of Commerce.

Liberty League

IN A recent plea to "all liberty-loving citizens" to join the American Liberty League in order to "root out the vicious radical element that threatens the destruction of our government," John J. Raskob described his career as one of "hard work and saving, in acquiring a competence for old age and the care of dependents."

Around this modest self-portrait place this frame: Raskob's enormous salaries, bonuses of \$78,000,000 which he and his colleagues took from General Motors when he was chairman of its finance committee, and his tremendous stock market profits.

Raskob's transparent demagoguery lends special point to the question: Who owns the American Liberty League?

The answer is, No. 1, the du Ponts of munitions and chemicals fame. The E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. (controlled, along with various Delaware newspapers and real estate properties, by the Christiana Securities Co., the private holding company of the du Pont family), earned in 1935 net profits of \$62,085,410, against \$46,701,465 in 1934. The company's earnings from its own manufacturing operations—powder, chemicals, rayon, cellophane, plastics—were the largest in its history,

exceeding those of 1929 by 18%. The market value of du Pont stock is now \$1,600,000,000 as against \$1,075,000,000 at the start of 1935.

The answer is, No. 2, General Motors, dominated by the du Ponts through a 23% stock interest. Controlling more than 40% of the automobile industry, General Motors is the richest industrial enterprise in the world. The corporation made net profits of \$167,000,000 last year, an increase of 76% over 1934. General Motors stock now sells for \$2,666,000,000 in the market; at the start of 1935 it sold for \$1,462,000,000.

The answer is, No. 3, Montgomery Ward & Co. (through Sewell Avery, its president), which took profits of \$12,155,000 last year as against \$9,161,000 in 1934 and rose in market value from \$136,000,000 to \$180,000,000.

The answer is, No. 4, the United States Gypsum Co., also through Sewell Avery, which made \$3,491,000 last year as against \$2,155,000 in 1934, with a rise in market value from \$62,000,000 to \$133,900,000. Speculative building, preferred by this company to investment in honest, low-cost housing, accounts for its jump in profits.

The answer is, No. 5, the Packard Motor Car Co., through Alvan Macauley, president, which made \$3,000,000 in 1935 as compared with a loss of \$7,290,000 in 1934 and rose in value to \$180,000,000 from \$76,875,000.

The answer is, No. 6, the Corn Products Refining Co., through George M. Moffett, its president. Though its profits were \$8,285,000 in 1935 as against \$9,702,000, the market value of its stock was \$182,200,000 as against \$162,000,000.

Can the reactionary, semi-Fascist propaganda of the sponsors of the American Liberty League be a protest against deprivation? Do its sponsors suffer under the New Deal from a reduced ration of the fruits of monopoly? The statistics above reveal scant basis for such protest. What the du Ponts, Averys, Macauleys, etc., really want is



not the return of "liberties," for they never lost them. What they want is still greater scope for their dynastic rule and 100% subservience from the government instead of the 90% subservience of the New Deal.

The increase of their profits by \$101,800,000 to \$256,000,000 and the market value rise by \$2,115,000,000 to \$4,942,000,000 does not satisfy the six companies listed above. Not content with the cake, they are now demanding the crumbs.

OF COURSE," he said, "please I must ask you—please—after what I tell you, my name must not go in print. I must go back, you know—I have a family there."

He spoke English with a remarkable facility for some one who had been in this country only a few weeks—a school-bred English, a little involved, and a little complicated, which I shall not attempt to reproduce here. If you had seen him on the street you would have said: "There goes a typical German." The shaved head, the high stiff collar, the preciseness and formality of movement—it was all there; only in his speech and in the way he stood and sat, there was a difference. He spoke gingerly with a certain hesitation, his shaven head laid a little to one side as in wonder at something he could not understand, and his tone full of the gentle apology of those from whom all certainty has been taken away; he stood bowed in a manner which caused the garments that had obviously been made for a man used to standing straight, to hang upon him impersonally as though he were a clothes rack, not a man.

"I was a *Frontsoldat*," he said. "I spent four years at the front. I was a volunteer in the War. That is why until 1935 I was an optimist. *Stellung*



Exile

Tens of thousands of Germans are exiles from their native land since Hitler and his party have taken charge of things—a long line of "voluntary" wanderers—small business men, trade unionists, writers, Democrats, Socialists, Communists, Protestants, Jews, Catholics. Here one of them—a German Jew—is interviewed

By Peter Jonas

ILLUSTRATED BY PHIL WOLFE

halten dis zum Letzten, we used to say. 'Hold out to the end!' It always had seemed to me—until 1935—that the Jews and the Liberals who ran away from Germany were cowards. I thought it couldn't last. I thought people were bound to find their reason again. I thought it was our duty—as German Jews—to remain to see this thing through for the sake of the German ideal which had been ours and which we believed must come back to us as a thing we could share. I had hoped to the last." He looked around. "There is nobody listening?" he asked anxiously. "You see—it is not that I cannot stand being away for a few months from my wife and children. That is not pleasant, but it does not matter. But I cannot afford difficulties now. I must get my wife and children out of Germany before the Olympics are over."

"The Olympics—what have they got to do with it?"

"The Olympics," he said, "they are our last chance. For the moment the visible pressure has been relaxed. The signs have been taken down, those signs that were everywhere: 'No Jews Wanted Here.' 'The Jews are the Cause of all our Trouble.' 'Who Buys from Jews is a Traitor to Blood and Earth.' 'Who Buys from Jews Deserves to Drown in the Jewish Mud Puddle.' And a hundred similar ones.

"These signs were everywhere. Now suddenly with the beginning of the Winter Olympics they are gone; wiped off, vanished. But after the Olympics, things will become worse. Every young Nazi carries a dagger at his belt. Among the S. A. groups they are called 'Daggers of Honor.'

"Your newspapers have exaggerated the importance of the Jewish issue to German National Socialism. The Jewish issue is in no way a main issue of the Hitler movement. It is a propa-

ganda issue that is pulled in whenever the government fails in something which has to be obscured. The Jews are a convenient scapegoat—nothing more. Every movement of that type must find a scapegoat. That is the only way to keep the 'masses satisfied.' But the real objective of Hitler's attack was any Liberal, any democratically or freely thinking man or woman, any trade unionist. There is no free thought in Germany, no free movement. A Jeffersonian Democrat would be just as suspect there as a Jew.

"You must understand that government in Germany governs from two points, the Central Government in Berlin, and the National Socialist Party. This is a very convenient system. It is used to absolve the government of responsibility for things like Jew baiting. I can best tell you by giving you an example of what happened in the spring of 1935.

Springtime in Germany

"It is usual in Germany for the stores and shops to have seasonal sales in the spring. '*Saeson Ausverkaufe*,' we call them. In the spring of '35 a great many Jewish businesses still functioned. In spite of contrary propaganda many Gentiles bought what they needed where they could buy it best and cheapest, regardless of the owner's racial origin. But in the spring of '35 certain powerful business interests must have got together and decided to get rid of this unwelcome competition. They did not make the mistake of appealing to the government. They went to the Party. As a result, a few days before these sales were to begin, all sorts of signs with filthy and derogatory legends appeared on all the Jewish shop windows. The Jewish business men complained to the police. The police regretted and the signs disappeared. But

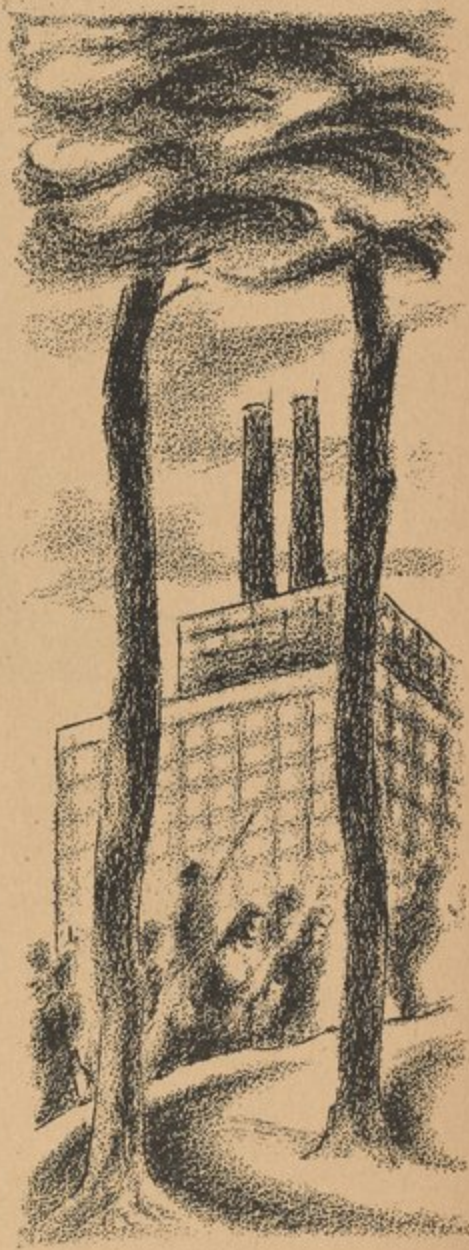
the next day groups of children walked through the cities—all over Germany, mind you—and these children bore placards on sticks, placards with the same words that had been on the stickers. In front of each Jewish concern, one of these children took its post and remained standing there on watch. Again the Jewish business men telephoned the police.

"'Is there a crowd before your store?' the police asked.

"'No, no crowd. Just a child.' (A child it was essential not to touch, not even to chide, if one did not want to spend the next few years in a concentration camp.)

"'There is nothing we can do,' the police said. 'If there should be a crowd or a riot, please call us.'

"By the next day the children began to attract crowds. The Jewish business men again phoned the police. The police came and obligingly told the children that they must not stand before the entrance of the shops, but could take their posts beside them. Also they saw to it that the crowds of rowdies and S. A. men did no physical damage to the stores. But they did not prevent them from shouting threats at any one daring enough to enter a Jewish shop; nor of taking photographs of all those



entering, of enlarging these photographs and of posting them the next day at the street corners. . . .

"The result? The Jewish shops did no business during the spring sales of 1935.

A Nazi Apology

"Faced with this economic extinction, the leaders of the Jews went timorously to see Mr. Schacht, the Finance Minister, who is not a member of the Nazi party, and laid their case before him. Mr. Schacht pretended to be outraged. He immediately phoned the Ministry of the Interior. The Ministry of the Interior was surprised, outraged, concerned. It promised immediate intervention. It practically apologized.

"When the intervention came it was in the form of laws which forbade any German in government employ or in any way connected with government employ, to purchase anything at Jewish stores. The reason given for this law was illustrative of the way in which the Nazi party and the government worked hand in hand. *Der Volkswille*. The will and urge of 'the people'—according to the official philosophy—is sacred. It can do no wrong. It had been *der Volkswille* which had in-

sisted that 'Aryans' must not purchase at Semitic concerns. Therefore the only way to prevent the 'will of the people' from expressing itself violently was to legalize its purpose. . . . The astonishing thing," he smiled wearily, "the astonishing thing was the perfect coordination of this 'will of the people.' It was surprising, to say the least, that it should express itself throughout Germany not one day apart, or two days apart, but exactly on the same day—on the day of the opening of the seasonal sales. It makes one wonder to what extent the 'will of the people' was in this case organized by the National Socialist Party. And when one sees that kind of thing happen again and again, one wonders no longer."

The Wandering Man

It may seem sensational to report that by this time his voice, though still low, was at the breaking point, that he sat slouched forward in the beaten pose of a bird that has given up trying to break down a cage it cannot understand; and that, actually, his eyes had become red rimmed and damp. But I am reporting, not under-writing or over-writing, and I have rarely seen a more pitiful spectacle than this upper middle class German Jew who had

found out that he had no right to the name German.

"And you," I asked him, "what has happened to you in your profession?"

"I have no profession any more," he said. "Legally speaking I can still practice law. But I can no longer find a client."

"And your record as a volunteer front soldier—doesn't that help you at all?"

"No. Not at all. That is why I am here. Luckily I have some friends who are helping me in this country. I am here to find out what I can do. I will take any job. It is hard for a man of fifty to begin a new life. I'm too old to take the bar examinations here and then to try to build a practice in a country that is already overloaded with lawyers. I'm not in good health. I'm not ill, but due to war wounds, I'm not as strong as I might be. There is no future for me in a farming country like Palestine. France and England will not give us work permits, and Italy—who wants to go from one Fascist country to another Fascist country? There are so many things besides the racial angle, which one cannot bear any more. Besides—wherever you go in Europe you smell the coming war."

"You would not go to war again?"

He looked at me, smiled, and didn't even bother to answer.

The Right to Live

"In America," he said, "there is still a chance in America. Perhaps here Fascism and war might still be avoided. It is bad here, perhaps, but there is not the same hopelessness as in Europe. I will do anything, anything that will make me a bare living. I've been studying English day and night. I'm not afraid of putting my hands to work. I must find a way to get my wife and children out before the children are old enough to go to school. We suffer. But it is beyond explanation what our children suffer when they go to school. We are trying to build Jewish schools, but that can be done only in communities large enough to support them. And even those communities are so hard put for money to take care of the most urgent needs, that it is a question how long we shall be able to keep up those schools even in the cities. We have learned to demand so little. All we want is subsistence and the right to be considered as human as the next one. It's such a relief to be here and to walk on the street and to feel that you don't have to be afraid to breathe.

"You don't know of a job, do you?"



Letters

I Could Get Others to Join

PLEASE enter me as a member of the League. I always buy FIGHT each month but I have been unable, so far, to get a dollar together to send for a year's subscription. When I can spare the dollar I shall send it in to you, until then just count me as one more in your League. If things ever become organized here and there is some pep back of it, I truthfully believe I could get others to join.—MRS. H. W. CHAMBERLYNNE, Englewood, Colorado.

Is There a Draft Law?

AS SECRETARY of a current events discussion group within the local American League I've been asked to inquire about the Federal law which we under-



stand mandates a draft of men automatically with the declaration of war by this country.

Whatever information you may have about this law would be very welcome to our group; or suggestions as to where the law could be looked up.—R. H. POST, Northampton, Massachusetts.

There is no such Federal law in force at the present time. However, there are bills already prepared which will be rushed through Congress immediately after war is declared.

From Mississippi

...NONE of the white people will have anything to do with me. That's one reason it's hard for me to get valuable information when most needed. We have all sorts of organizations like the KKK and the Vigilantes for nice patriotic people and, of course, it's a good citizen's duty to step in and help them. Pressure and intimidation, through an extensive spy system, is carried on, from the Federal Post Office to the local grammar school. Who the leaders of the Vigilantes are I don't know. I do know that bank presidents and the like always address them at their meetings. The President of the Rotarians is the most outspoken Fascist we have. He hates the "niggers" and reds so bad he almost spits in your face when he gets up to talk about them, and to be sure he manages to do that often. He has taken it upon himself to watch me very closely and I must give him credit for not sleeping on the

job. Among the white people I am referred to as the "white nigger." The Negroes used to get me to defend them in minor troubles before the Justice of the Peace. Now the Justice of the Peace will say to a Negro when I am standing by, "Say, black boy, if you want to go free you better get a white man to defend you." Negroes will get notes stuck in their hands or under their doors reading, "Nigger, if you love your a— better watch your step!" A Negro servant will some day hear from the woman she works for that if she and her friends are ever caught at a meeting with me the Vigilantes have orders to kill all of us. Vigilante meetings need not be secret since mobbings and lynchings are planned on the street corners, in the court house, or in any public place. Here in this part of the South violence is the expression of the so-called higher culture conducted by patriotic, loyal citizens for the preservation of law and order. Lots more could be said but I hope this will do.—J. L.,, Mississippi.

The Coming Election

AM ENCLOSING a rather interesting article, which together with some remarks made by the Earl of Listowel at a private meeting when he was here recently, gave me the idea that our League could at this time, begin a questionnaire campaign—Peace Ballot

—which would bring thousands of people into peace activities. The campaign could, perhaps, in some way seriously affect the coming elections; at any rate, we could get definite statements from men and women running for office, and then watch how they vote on the annual war appropriations. I feel that up to the November elections we could build up such a strong sentiment for peace as would give the Washington politicians chills during the hottest of summer days.—EMILY BORTNICK, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

From Tom Mooney

I HAVE yours of the 19th instant, wherein you say that your organization will be glad to cooperate to the fullest extent with our Committee. . . . Thanking you kindly for this offer to be of



assistance to us, I am, with warmest personal regards and firm fraternal, militant, trade-union greetings.—TOM MOONEY, 31921, County Jail No. 1, San Francisco, California.

"Glamorous Spy"

(Continued from page 9)

Then she blushed, and told Alexis that she really loved him.

"Would you," she asked Alexis, "carry this note I have written into Germany for me? It will save my brother's life, I am sure." She explained that it would probably be necessary for Alexis to desert the Czar's army to do this. But, she said, by deserting, he was himself getting out of this futile and senseless slaughter. His life would be

spared—for her. And after the War, think how happy they would be.

Alexis was elated. He had found a way out of the War. Mary loved him. He started off that very afternoon with the letter in his pocket.

He was caught at the border, and the cipher was found on him. Mary learned of the disaster, and was off, like a shadow. She never heard of Alexis again.

MARY now decided to go after generals. She changed her tactics, pushed on to the northern front, and started in all over again. From being soldiers' inspiration, she now turned into a general's passion.

She insisted on an interview with the commander of the troops on the northern front, General Rennenkampf. And she got it. She persuaded him that he should hire her as a Czarist spy against Germany. He also thought her beautiful, and it wasn't long before he had hung a gold locket with his own picture in it around her neck, and was writing her love notes telling her he couldn't live without her.

She pretended to spy for him—but for some strange reason she remained loyal to Germany. From Rennenkampf she learned the secrets of the Czar's army. These she would carry across the border into Germany—usually slipping through unnoticed in a Russian soldier's uniform. When she came back she brought very shrewdly disguised reports, calculated to lead Rennenkampf astray.

But it was during this glamorous exploit that she met her hangman. Crossing the lines one dawn, in her soldier's uniform, she was found hiding in a ditch by a group of Russian scouts. Her cap had been knocked off, and her blond hair had fallen about her shoulders. Her hair was her one vanity. She had not been able to cut it off. Now it gave her away, and she was arrested as a spy. She was hanged at dawn the next morning.

She died, brazenly claiming that she was not a German spy, and waving her locket with Rennenkampf's picture in it. But for once her captors refused to be captivated. An hour later, so the story goes, when the Germans marched in to take the town, they found Maria Sorrel's beautiful body hanging from the scaffold.

GLAMOUR? If she had been a Jeanne Claessens, she would have taken to drugs before the hangman's noose had caught her. If she had been a Fräulein Doktor, she would have lost her mind. But she was Maria Sorrel—so she died waving in the air the picture of a duped lover.

Glamour? It sounds more like a merry-go-round of exploitation. The governments exploit the women. The women exploited men. And glamour is used as a starter.

Glamour is just as much of a myth in spying as it is in Hollywood.



A picket line around "Riff Raff" organized by the New York Trade Union Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism

I HAVE BEEN asked to write an article to be entitled "Two Strikes and a Third." Since April is the traditional opening month of the baseball season, our national pastime, the title is in order. But what was wanted is an article on the student strike and the one on April 22 happens to be the third. This strike has also begun to assume the features of a tradition among youth. Months ago we began getting letters asking: When is the student strike this year? Coming back to baseball, after the third strike the batter is out. The only out we may expect this season is that of the trouble maker at the New York City College, "Prexy" Robinson, better known as "the umbrella kid" after the weapons he used in attacking peace demonstrating students a couple of years back. The report of the special investigating committee of alumni recently called him a foul ball.

By this time I hope you've gathered that I was supposed to write a feature story, light in style, and if possible, heavy in content. But when I finished the first paragraphs and turned to the recently released figures on military preparedness and similar matters it became practically impossible to maintain the air of levity. In fact, reading the *Congressional Record* one is tempted to rush out into the streets and shout "Fight against war and fascism."

The First and Second Strikes

The first strike, on April 13, 1934, won the support of 25,000 students mainly in New York Colleges. Although organization was very weak many principals in high schools in the same city became sergeants-at-arms, closing doors and refusing to let students escape into the open and march for peace. Here and there police made their first contacts with higher learning by being called upon to drive the alien agitators off the campus and back to where they came from—the classroom.

The following year, 184,000 students answered the call of half a dozen national organizations. Included were the National Council of Methodist Youth, Student League for Industrial Democracy, American Youth Congress, National Student League, Inter-Seminary Movement (Mid-Atlantic Division) and American League Against War and Fascism. Both the Student Christian Movement and the National Student Federation cooperated. The *New York Times* decreed the news fit to print in column 1, page 1. Schools which had never had any militant student group, which were organizationally completely disconnected from the National Strike Committee, joined in the peace demonstration on the anniversary of America's entrance into the World War. Newspaper editorials comforted the war-makers by telling them that these were but school boy antics just

Two Strikes and a Third

Things are happening on the campus. Our young men and women are preparing for the "Big Day"—April 22nd—the national anti-war strike

By James Lerner

like the tearing up of goal posts after a football game. A month or so ago Secretary of War Dern told the Reserve Officers Association the very same thing. "But I am not disturbed by the utterances of a handful of boys who think they would put peace above safety, righteousness, justice and honor. No normal man would elect such a cowardly course, and as soon as our country is in danger, and the lives and liberties of our people are threatened, these same young Americans will echo the toast of Stephen Decatur: 'Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right. But our country, right or wrong!'"

But that's whistling to keep up courage. How else can we explain the front page news, the ravings of the prejudiced press and the bitter terrorist acts against student strikers?

Curtailling Student Activities

In 1934 the school authorities as a rule confined their counter-activity to the closing of doors and the locking of windows. The second strike found them attacking with greater boldness. In some places they inspired vigilante attacks on students and invited speakers. At Michigan State a minister was thrown into the lake for attempting to speak to the students. At Crane Technical High School, Chicago, a student was called into the office of the Assistant Principal and there turned over to a group of boys to be tortured to give names of strike leaders and similar information. Fascism was invading the campus to make students ripe for war.

But it didn't work. On Armistice Day at least 300,000 students joined

in the Peace Mobilization while President Roosevelt received a representative delegation.

Just as the austere press turns facetious on such workers' holidays as May 1st so have they attempted to turn the student strike into a lark. Simply boys and girls finding an excuse to cut classes. Ridiculing an opponent sometimes destroys his fire. But there's little chance of this happening with the student peace activity. This year, more than ever before, there's something to go out and fight about.

A year ago, The *New York Times*, reporting the speech of Major Gen. Nolan, Commander of the Second Corps Area, said he "blamed the agitation of nation wide organizations ever since the World War for keeping the standard of national defense on land and sea far below the mark contemplated in the National Defense Act. He expressed gratification, however, that the present Congress had enacted more constructive military legislation than any other for many years past." But that was a year ago.

This year new records will be established by our military budget makers. The new budget calls for the taking of 1,000 R.O.T.C. students from the colleges each year and subjecting them to a year's training in the regular army. Last year money was provided to revive the National Rifle Matches and that not to train duck hunters. This year we have the McSwain Bill to establish an "Air Reserve Training Corps" for youth between the ages of 17 and 24 with a high school education.

Last year a billion dollars was sunk into the army and navy. Where is it

all going to end? If Senator Pittman's belligerent remarks mean anything it will soon end in war with Japan. If the exemption of Latin American countries from the provisions of the Neutrality Act should they be engaged in war with non-American countries means anything it means war by American imperialism for control of Latin American trade. Remember the Bolivia-Paraguay War of not so long ago and the secret backers—Standard Oil and the British Royal Dutch Shell.

The peace movement this year has had its eyes on neutrality legislation. A large section of it put its faith in the administration and was, crudely speaking, tricked. At the same time it has missed the fight on such things as R.O.T.C., air reserves, and the increased military budget. This is what the student strike is fighting about. Last July Senator Nye and Representative Kvale introduced a bill to prohibit compulsory military training in schools and colleges. The bill still lies in committee and will continue its peaceful existence unless it is forced into the light. This bill is a major demand of all the student and youth movements.

It is too early to know how the increased military budget will affect the social services. But the President has already declared for economy, for a breathing spell. This is election year and one slogan already piercing our ears is "balance the budget". From administration military demands we are sure that the balancing will come from other sources. The scale will be shifted by dropping of relief workers. The orders are out for less cash relief, dropping of the housing program and even less attention to the crisis in education. As yet there has been no indication as to whether the meagre National Youth Administration will be permitted to continue its gasping existence. Twenty four hundred schools closed their doors last year due to lack of funds. Forty thousand teachers were dropped as "surplus" although the student attendance still is on the upgrade.

The President and his assistants have made it pretty clear whose breathing is to have the spell.

We are indebted to Rep. Burdick of North Dakota for the remark that "a modern battleship costs between forty and fifty million dollars. The same money invested in wheat at one dollar per bushel would supply 12,000,000 people with bread for a year." And that almost covers all of America's unemployed.

"National Defense"

Of course the strongest argument thrown at students is that of how about "national defense." It's the argument that bears the label "Made in Germany," "Made in Japan," "Made in England." In fact, it's a product indi-

(Continued on next page)

Movies

(Continued from page 13)

But it did make motion picture exhibitors stop to think, and may have been responsible for a temporary lull in the avalanche of objectionable, anti-labor clips offered. The newsreel companies did not cease hostilities altogether, however. Only recently the Universal reel was guilty of two offenses in one issue. "Pekin Strike Fails," was the caption which introduced one subject. Another shot showed a meeting of garment workers in New York. A union leader with a noticeable Jewish accent was speaking. The accompanying comment by the sugary-voiced Graham McNamee, the *World-Telegram's* talking reporter, was "It looks a little red from where we sit."

We appeal to the readers of this magazine to encourage fair newsreels with the same vigor that we would oppose the all too frequent libels which have been shown in the guise of newsreels. Don't hesitate to write or speak to your theatre manager who is probably showman enough to realize that the good-will of his patrons is his bread and butter. Only in this way can we have news in newsreels and not, to borrow a phrase from Lew Lehr, "microphony" news.

Two Strikes

(Continued from page 25)

genous to every imperialist country. But in the light of America's imperialist record as admitted by President Roosevelt to the student delegation which saw him last November 11, the attempted fleet maneuvers in Japanese waters last Spring, Pittman's ravings and the Nye investigation of America's role in the World War, our own country doesn't get the stamp of 99 and 44/100 per cent pure. Our government has just earned the Mussolini Cross of Honor for its worthy activity in his behalf. When they talk about honor, liberty, righteousness, Mussolini's remarks that "as Italians [read Fascists] we cannot fail to receive with satisfaction this political direction on the part of the United States" in discussing the failure to place effective embargoes on war materials cannot be ignored. We're back to where we were in 1916.

With the world tense as it is who knows how long it will be before 1917 comes again. A year ago the student strike preceded the outbreak of war. This year we have one going on and another about to break in Japan's threatened and long expected attack in the Far East. Again the aggressor is clear. Again America has kept the aggressor in scrap iron and other necessities of war. The student strike is not leveled at faculties, many of which support the action, or at school admini-

strations. It is aimed at the diplomacy which makes our country part of the international armory for imperialism. It is our hope that the students will recognize that their dramatic April 22 peace activity should be tied with labor activity against shipments of oil and other materials of war to Japan and Italy. Student demonstrations at Japanese consulates are in order too.

And to Secretary of War Dern, our heartfelt sympathies. May he meet on April 22 with the head of the American Legion, the twelve duPonts, Al Smith and read to them the yellow press editorial scheduled to appear that day on "our country, right or wrong."

As for us, we'll fight to make it right.

The Militia

(Continued from page 17)

in mobocracy. Attitude towards property is communistic—negating property rights. Attitude towards law is that the will of the people shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice and impulse, without restraint or regard for consequences. Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy.

Has the War Department really changed its mind about that statement—or merely deleted it?

In such an attitude lies the menace to any organization that falls subservient to the army. Until the militia became federalized and assigned to War

Department control under the name of National Guard, it was a civilian organization with a certain independence of spirit. Then the regular army took it over and began providing it with instructors, supplies, equipment, and indoctrinating it with a professional military philosophy that holds civil authority in contempt. The militia ceased to be even a semi-democratic body with the traditional right to elect its own officers and decide on its own activities. Prior to federalization the troops were used on strike-breaking also. But there were many cases of extreme reluctance for such duty as well as instances of complete sympathy with the strikers.

In Philadelphia, in 1910, the guardsmen retreated to their armory as the street-car conductors attacked. Also the Denver street-car strikers defeated the National Guard in 1920, while in 1923 the guard was withdrawn from the West Virginia coal fields. Coming closer to date, the Milwaukee truck drivers in 1934 forced the Wisconsin National Guard commander to confess the inadequacy of his troops.

Labor's Defense

As a whole the National Guard has drenched American labor with blood, brutality and tragic setbacks. But the workers have begun perfecting their own answer to uniformed force. Union councils in several cities recently have warded off the National Guard by a

threat that if troops were sent against a strike in progress, they would call a general walkout. Pekin, Illinois, and Akron, Ohio, are successful examples of what is probably the best potential defense of labor's right to collective bargaining. Another union measure is to prevent a member from belonging to the guard. This is a delicate step inasmuch as many states make it a criminal offense to dissuade a man from joining the militia. Nevertheless the Brewers' Union in New York did it.

Raymond Moley, former Brain Trustee who is still close to President Roosevelt, says the National Guard is "at its best a dangerous, clumsy and incompetent instrument for strike work, and its personnel lacks the qualities, skill and restraint necessary for dealing with men on strike." Not this New Dealer nor any other can be accused of undue friendship to labor. Perhaps an explanation can be found in a report last month by the Houston, Texas, Chamber of Commerce, expressing acute dissatisfaction with the guard because "the average age of guardsmen is from 18 to 24, 'too young for the performance of police duties'; interruption to employment is hardship on them; use of guard in aid of civil powers highly prejudicial to enlistment; use of troops in civil disturbances is resented by citizens and taxpayers." The chamber proposes full-time vigilante squads as a more efficient substitute for the National Guard.

On all fronts the struggle is intensifying.

Big Business must feel perturbed indeed when the thoroughly conservative, thoroughly American State of Vermont shows a special bitterness to a native institution like the guard. The granite workers of Barre, in 1933, had their picket line smashed by the militia battalion summoned from Burlington. Under martial law, these troops made summary arrests, beat strikers and on-lookers indiscriminately, jostled women freely, invaded homes, molested small business men and spoiled their goods.

Public reaction was prompt and pointed.

And note these significant events: 1, the Barre American Legion publicly protested the acts of the militia; 2, in the Frisco general strike an entire guard company threw down its weapons.

But reaction drives full speed ahead. The record-breaking billion-dollar-plus budget for both militia and regular army, the vicious Tydings-McCormack legislation to prevent disaffection among the uniformed forces through propaganda, the steady growth of the guard's authorized strength, the vast increase of armories, the introduction of new military methods of murder—all the evidence points to a ruthless and redoubled attack upon labor. Are the workers of America and their allies prepared for the battle?

GENERAL D'SORDER

By Mackey



"I looked for your son all day, sir, and finally found him in an anti-war demonstration"

Building the League

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid



PHOENIX, ARIZONA—A meeting of the League in this city was held in a public court room. It was attended, among others, by five Legionnaires who debated with the speaker in the forum period, but were unsuccessful in their attempt to raise a red scare. Plans are being made for a mass meeting in the near future.

CALIFORNIA—*Bakersfield* held a League meeting in the local Labor Temple recently, with Bert Leech, California organizer, as the main



speaker. The petitions against the gag bills have been circulated very effectively among the Epics and trade unions. The local Labor Council has voted to send official observers to the League meetings. . . *San Joaquin Valley* was toured by the Rev. Donald M. Chase and Bert Leech in the interests of spreading the League. Coincident with their trip a vigilante group, known as the Associated Farmers of Stanislaus County, was organized. At Stevinson, the speakers were barred from holding a meeting in the Hilmar Legion Hall, but carried on their program in the Pentecostal Hall. Several school buildings in the neighborhood were closed to League meetings, especially around Turlock. A local Townsend leader threatened to resign when his organiza-



Clara Bodian, Administration Secretary, American League Against War and Fascism

tion cancelled a meeting which it had scheduled with Rev. Chase as speaker. Several local ministers came out in support of the League's fight for free speech. Leech reported: "I think our trip did something to dispel the red scare and gave us some forces with whom we can work if any vigilante threat arises in this area." A similar tour by Leech earlier in February through the *San José* district resulted in the establishment of League Branches and a tri-county council. *Menlo Park* has been active in getting letters on war and Fascism into the local press. *Los Angeles* conducted a postcard campaign protesting the use of the Gilmore Stadium for an Olympic benefit carnival. Rain caused a postponement of this money-raising event for the Berlin Olympics, but the League continued its campaign. The repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism law is another objective of League forces in this city.

PEORIA, ILL.—A report meeting on the Third Congress was held in this city on February 9th, with Mrs. Earl Davidson of the Champaign-Urbana League as chief speaker. Young people



predominated at this meeting, coming from the churches and missions of the city. These youth are subjected to military propaganda in the public schools and are seeking a way to overcome this influence.

CHICAGO—On February 22nd, the United Latvian Organizations of Chicago held a mass meeting dedicated to Latvian-American youth. Speakers included Jack Mednis and Fred Lilien, delegates to the Third Congress, and Kathryn McKenna of the Chicago Central Council of the League. Resolutions were adopted protesting the gag bills before Congress and the suppression of the freedom of the press. The Northside Neighborhood Council of the League held a very successful meeting on February 17th, to protest the gag bills, with 500 people present in spite of sub-zero weather. Maynard Krueger, Socialist, and State Senator Monroe were the main speakers. On February 24th the League participated in another mass meeting at which Gen-

eral Smedley Butler and Maurice Sugar of Detroit spoke. A fight for civil rights is being launched by the League in opposition to repressive ordinances and tactics of the local police and politicians. Another local campaign is being developed against the use of relief stations to recruit "unemployed young men" into the United States Army. The Chicago Association of Commerce has recommended that relief stations be so utilized. The League is protesting both to local relief authorities and to the FERA.

DAVENPORT, IOWA—A mass meeting with General Butler as speaker has been arranged by the League here for March 23rd. A hall blockade did not prevent our active Leaguers here from securing a room in the Black Hawk Hotel for the meeting. Negotiations are under way for a local radio station to broadcast the address by the General.

MINNESOTA—Waldo McNutt, our national organization secretary, has been working in this area recently, despite the zero weather. He spoke at *Virginia* with Mrs. Charles Lundquist on February 19th, with 100 people at the meeting and the temperature 25 degrees below zero. Further stops were made at *Chisholm* and *Hibbing* on the range and meetings were held with local officials and farm-labor groups. A radio broadcast was arranged at *Hibbing*.

NORTH DAKOTA—*Hamlin* and *Bismarck* were the next points visited by McNutt. At *Valley City* meetings were held with Townsend clubs, college groups and townspeople. At *Fargo* he spoke before the students of the agricultural college.

NEW YORK—*Binghamton* held a Congress report meeting on February 27th, and is actively engaged in rebuilding the Branch of the League here. . . *Buffalo* is organizing the League work on a firm basis and planning for an open meeting to extend the organization further in this city. . . Dr. Harry F. Ward spoke at *Ithaca* recently. The group of people here who have been interested in the League are now busy building a Branch made up of townspeople and Cornell students. . . *Centerport, Long Island*, held an organization meeting on February 18th in spite of bitter cold weather. A number of new members were signed up and officers for the Branch were

elected. The Rev. John Franzen is the chairman and the Rev. Edgar Jackson the secretary. . . *Syracuse* has developed an active Branch and is planning a mass meeting to further the League in this city. The Central Labor Body has decided to send a delegate to the League meetings. . . *Croton-on-Hudson* Branch discussed the onrush of war and the rising tide of Fascism at a Congress report meeting on February 28th. . . *Westchester County* is making progress in developing new Branches and extending existing ones under the direction of a full-time organizer, David Bogdanoff. Resolutions against the showing of *Riff Raff* have been adopted in sev-



eral trade unions, and picket lines were maintained in front of theatres in New Rochelle and Mt. Vernon. A new Branch has been organized at *Riverdale*. . . *New York City* held a very good trade union meeting at the historic Cooper Union on February 19th. Harry Lapham of the Electrical Workers Union and Dr. Harry F. Ward were the chief speakers. Other features included a radio skit against war produced by the Cultural Committee, and speeches by other trade union leaders and representatives of the Negro people. During the past month the Trade Union Committee has secured the affiliation of eight additional unions. They have also carried on effective protests against the showing of *Riff Raff*. Trade union delegations to the managers of the theatres, picket lines, and newspaper publicity were the means utilized. Over 80 people were arrested in the course of the picket demonstrations in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx. Some of the picketers were released immediately, but others were held on disorderly conduct charges with bail running from \$5 to \$100. Through the Trade Union Committee the New York League is also supporting the Building Service Strike in response to the call of Thomas Young, vice-president of Local 32-B. The Young Peoples League of the United Synagogues assembled here in national convention on February

22nd, endorsed the League and called on its locals to affiliate with League Branches in the various cities where they were located. This convention represented 150,000 young people. The New York City League responded to the recent Fascist military coup in Japan by a delegation to the Japanese consulate and demonstration against the increased war threat on February 29th. Because of increased activity and organization the New York City office has been moved to larger quarters at 45 East 17th St.

OHIO—Dr. Harry F. Ward spoke at a special labor meeting of the *Cincinnati* League on February 29th. He also gave a brief address over Station WCPO just before this meeting. Willis Marrer, President of Local 131 of the United Automobile Workers of America, was chairman of the meeting. . . . *Cleveland* held a City Conference on February 2nd and mapped out its work for the year. Among the new officers elected were Max S. Hayes, honorary chairman; Earl McHugh, Freda Siegworth, Dr. A. J. Culler, I. L. Smith, Trent Longo, and W. O. Walker, vice-chairmen. Prof. Paul Rogers was re-elected chairman, and Ruth Bennett, executive secretary, while Alice Allen was chosen as youth secretary. Chairmen were also chosen for Trade Union, Women's and Religious committees. An extensive fight is being carried on against gag legislation, with special attention being directed at Ohio Congressmen. The Cleveland Central Council is now issuing a monthly *News Bulletin* for its Branches and members. . . . Steps are being taken at *Huron* toward the establishment of a Branch of the League. . . . *Toledo* held a number of report meetings after the Congress, and gave particular attention to getting reports before all trade unions that sent delegates to Cleveland. One meeting, sponsored by a local Polish organization affiliated to the League, drew 500 people, among them representatives of several Catholic youth groups. At a recent meeting of the Central Council, Edward Lamb



Waldo McNutt, Organization Secretary, American League Against War and Fascism

was re-elected chairman and Francis Murphy secretary, with Webb Tuttle chosen as literature agent and Frances Nowaczaska head of the women's committee. The Council went on record in opposition to the growth of anti-labor vigilante groups and the increased use of the militia in labor disputes. The League was prompt in protesting a judge's rule in the Mather Spring strike that arrested pickets were not entitled to a jury trial. Copies of the Congress proceedings are being circulated among the various trade unions.

PORT ANGELES, WASH.—Here in the far Northwest another new Branch of the League is being organized. Literature and FIGHT are



being distributed and members gained for the work of the League in this community.

NEW ENGLAND—The Regional Committee sent three League people on the delegation that went to *Rutland, Vermont*, to investigate the strike of the marble workers there. (Mrs. Bertha J. Foss represented the National Office of the League on this delegation.) *Boston* has secured the affiliation of the Scandinavian Workers' Club and the I.W.O. The various Branches are alternating their business meetings with cultural evenings. *Springfield, Massachusetts*, conducted an extremely successful symposium on March 2nd with over 400 people in attendance. Spokesmen represented labor, the clergy, the Negro and the press. The dangers of war and Fascism were treated by these men and definite steps to combat these evils presented. Those who took part included Rev. Roland T. Heacock, Negro minister; Rev. David Nelson Beach, Paul F. Craig of the Springfield Union, David Angus of the United Labor Party, Prof. Oliver W. Larkin of Smith College, Rabbi Isaac Klein, and Rev. Owen Whitman Eames. The Springfield Branch has also protested a concert and ball for the benefit of the Italian Red Cross, held on local city property. The Fascist salute and the Italian Fascist anthem were used at this affair, and a collection taken. When Station WMAS banned the Earl Browder broadcast on March 5th, the Springfield Branch also contested this action as a violation of free speech.

NORFOLK, VA.—The group engaged in forming a Branch of the League in this city held its first organizational meeting on February 17th, and followed this up with a regular Branch meeting on March 2nd. Already considerable literature has been sold and a number of applications for membership have been received.



By James Lerner

Youth Notes

ONE of the most dangerous bits of legislation pending in Congress is the McSwain Bill (H. R. 10662) to establish an "Air Reserve Training Corps" for young people between the ages of 17-24. We have issued postcards addressed to the House Military Affairs Committee. These may be gotten at the rate of 300 for one dollar. Resolutions and these cards addressed to the Committee in Washington during the next few weeks will aid in smashing the bill before it gets too far.

Incidentally, McSwain has secured the backing of 300 officials of aviation



schools, companies, and militarists. The Air Reserves would open a rich source of profit for them since private schools are to be used.

Cleveland, at last report, had built its third Youth Branch. Alice Allen, youth secretary, informs us that this will be followed by a Negro Branch. During the Congress, delegates joined local groups in picketing the showing of *Red Salute*, the movie which attacked the student peace movement. It hasn't been seen since in the city despite threats on the part of the distributing agency that it would be shown regardless of demonstrations. The *Red Salute* committee has been forced into inactivity. But we're not hanging out the crepe on this account.

Red Salute was also driven out of numerous college towns. Reports are that the company which produced it has been using a lot of red ink in its ledger. And let that be a lesson to you!

A recently organized Youth Branch in Chicago was refused permission to use the Eugene Field House, which is Park Board property. An energetic campaign of visting aldermen and circulating petitions broke the ban. Moral: They got the meeting house. Two other youth branches have been set up since the congress.

From Cleveland, also, come pleasant greetings in the form of a contribution from the Settlement Union (includes the most important settlement houses):

"The Executive Committee of the Union makes this contribution after considering the effectiveness of the various sessions [of the congress, J. L.] in pointing toward the solution to the problems brought about by the twin menace of war and Fascism."

The Farmers' Union has taken as its 1936 study topic, "Peace and Patriotism." Under this general subject problems of maintaining peace are taken up. The "Minute Men" organized from among the young people in the union go into student groups and other organizations to extend the campaign. Arthur Link, head of the Farmers' Union Juniors in North Dakota, is a member of our National Committee.

At the seminar on Communism and Fascism during the sessions of the convention of the Young People's League of the United Synagogues of America, a resolution recommending that units affiliate to the American League was passed. And New York tells us that units are already discussing that very thing.

The International Youth Conference for Peace, which we mentioned last month, was a well-attended affair. Among the organizations represented were: International Y.M.C.A., International University League for the Principles of the League of Nations, World League for International



Friendship Through the Churches, Socialist Student International, World League of Christian Student Associations, Young Catholics of Belgium and Austria, World Youth Committee for Peace, Freedom and Progress (with which we are affiliated), and numerous other groups.

Reports of the resolutions and plans adopted have not yet reached this country.

The newly organized Branch in Newark is holding an anti-Hearst meeting on the 26th of March. The speakers are Celeste Strack, national high school secretary of the American Student Union, and Maurice Gates, a member of our National Committee.

All Quiet

(Continued from page 20)

ported" charges against him and that this deed was doubly vicious since Wilson was "no longer here" to defend himself.

Glass and his associates were made to look foolish when evidence was brought out by Oswald Garrison Villard, Lewis Gannett, the *New Republic* and others that Wilson had actually and knowingly lied. But by then the real purpose of the attack had been achieved. Morgan and his partners were spared the ordeal of further embarrassing inquiry. Indeed, the Nye Committee was pretty generally discredited, especially in the eyes of Congress, and it was hardly more than a stroke of fortune that it was able to persuade the Senate to vote it a small additional fund to wind up its investigation. (It has been argued that Carter Glass was wholly sincere in his defense of Wilson, an argument that might have sounded plausible enough had not Glass performed a somewhat similar service for the House of Morgan during the banking investigation in 1933.)

War-Time Business

Luckily, the munitions inquiry had succeeded in bringing to light some of the more essential factors in the war-trade problem before it came to an end. While the committee had concerned itself with the munitions traffic in general, it had specialized in the war trade of the years 1914 to 1917, for it knew that if it were to uncover any information that would be of use in helping to keep the country out of another war, it would have to inquire into the bearing the war trade of 1914-17 had on the country's participation in the last war. And while in the course of its proceedings it revealed the exorbitant profits made by the war industries—profits that ranged from 30 per cent to more than 320 per cent on capital investment in the year 1917—the committee also knew that it could not get down to fundamentals unless it could trace the financial factors in this situation.

Here, too, the committee was largely successful. For instance, in connection with the Wilson Administration's all-important decision to permit the Allies to float public loans in this country (a decision that directly paved the way for American participation in the war) the committee produced evidence showing step by step just how this was achieved. At the start of the war the Administration, largely at the instigation of Secretary of State Bryan, had laid down the rule that while no restrictions would be put on the war trade itself, no credits or loans could be publicly raised in this country to finance that trade. Morgan and Company was informed on August 15, 1914, that "in the judgment of this Government, loans by American bankers to any foreign nation

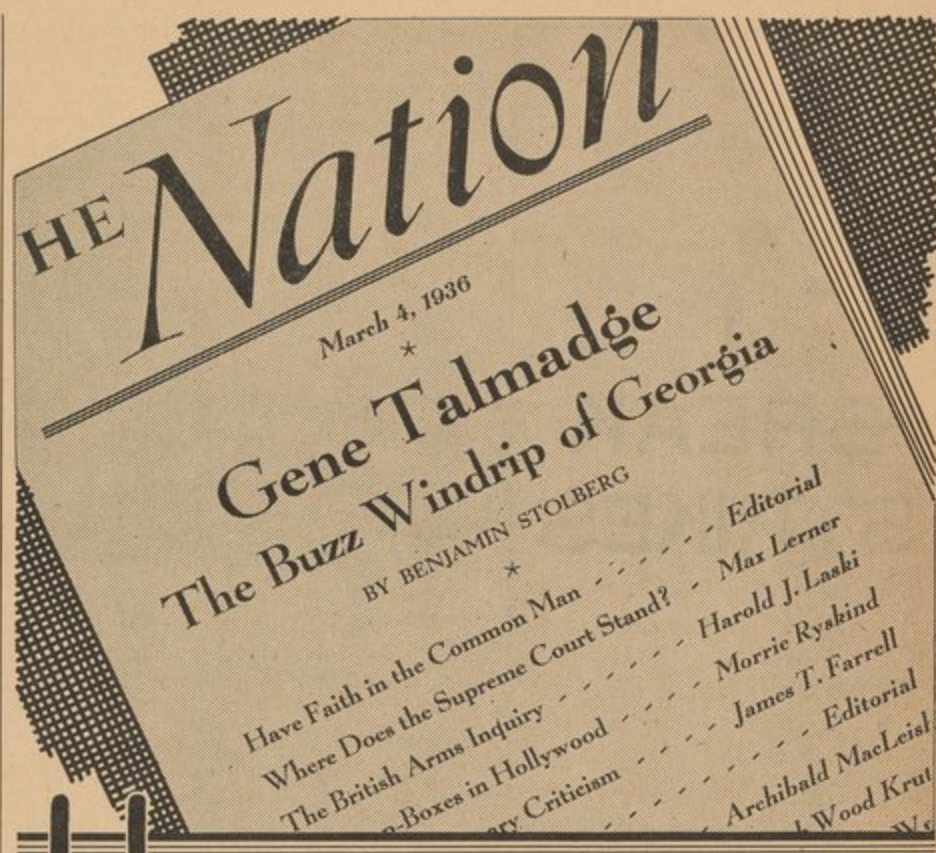
which is at war are inconsistent with the true spirit of neutrality."

But before another twelve months had rolled around the Allies found themselves in financial straits. Their existing credit in the United States had been exhausted and the private bankers deemed it unwise to extend any more credit to them on their own account. Hence the bankers began to "present the case" for public loans in Washington and found a sympathetic reception both in the State Department and the Treasury. James B. Forgan, president of the First National Bank of Chicago, took the matter up with Frederick A. Delano, vice-governor of the Federal Reserve Board, in a letter dated August 17, 1915. On August 21, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo sent Wilson a long and confidential memorandum in which he strongly argued the bankers' case. Two days later McAdoo sent a copy of the Forgan letter to Secretary of State Lansing (Bryan having meanwhile resigned when he saw that the bankers were winning) and urged Lansing to support the proposal for an Allied loan. Lansing replied on August 26 that he had already seen the letter and that, in any case, he already favored such a loan. In fact, the day before he had sent the Forgan letter to Wilson with the recommendation that permission for a loan be granted. On the 26th Wilson agreed, but added that he thought the decision should be "orally conveyed" to the bankers "and not put into writing."

Good Money After Bad

This was but one example, though an important one, of the teamwork between the bankers and the Government. Of course, the Nye Committee never asserted or sought to show that America's entry into the war was the product of a bankers' plot. It simply set out to discover what bearing the war trade and the bankers' relationship to that trade had upon Wilson's eventual decision to take the country into war. And in the vast amount of documentary and other evidence uncovered by the committee is to be found most of the essential elements of the picture. First was the decision to allow an unrestricted war trade. Then this trade had to be protected by public loans to the Allies. And finally this passive assistance had to be translated into active support to protect both the trade and the loans, including the private bankers' loans, which were repaid directly to Morgan and Company by the United States Treasury.

At no time did the bankers or anyone else sit down and solemnly and formally decide that the United States must go to war to safeguard the war trade and the war loans. The inexorable chain of events set into motion by the original decision—the acceptance of the premise that the war trade with the Allies was both morally and legally



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justifiable—carried the Government to its ultimate fatal decision. Whenever the Administration had to choose between the profitable war trade and the depression that would have followed any interruption to that trade, it inevitably chose the former. But the bankers, anxious to protect their own interests, were ever on hand, of course, to guide the Administration in shaping its decisions, a task made easy for the bankers by the sympathetic cooperation of such good friends as McAdoo and Lansing.

Loans and Neutrality

There can be no question that a large part of the American public has been educated, using that term in its best sense, by the revelations of the Nye Committee. Nor can there be any question that this education has had a great deal to do with the current popular demand for effective and automatic embargo legislation that might prevent a repetition of the disastrous course followed in 1914-17. Thus, though the Nye Committee was in no way charged with the task of dealing with neutrality legislation, its activities from the start were bound up with the neutrality problem. It is not too much to say that the public interest it aroused compelled the Roosevelt Administration to go much further than it had originally intended in offering a legislative program to deal with this problem.

But the fact that the public had been educated did not mean that war makers had been unsaddled. Far from it. At the beginning of the present session of Congress the Administration bill was introduced. Though this measure contained a number of glaring and dangerous defects, it went considerably further than President Roosevelt was prepared to go in the summer of 1935, as he had plainly intimated at that time in private conversations with various Senators. Those who favored mandatory and automatic legislation, including such men as Senators Nye and Clark and Representative Maverick, were critical of the Administration bill, but were ready to accept it as a step in the right direction and in the hope that they could strengthen it in the public debate that would follow when it reached the floor of the Senate and House.

Moreover, at that time it was abundantly clear that the Administration bill had a safe majority in both houses and that, indeed, a substantial minority would have been willing to accept the mandatory bill prepared by Messrs. Nye, Clark and Maverick. But during the next four weeks something happened. All but a handful of Senators turned against the Administration bill, while that measure also lost most of its support in the House. By the middle of February Congressional sentiment was all for dropping the neutrality and embargo program altogether. And this

turn of events was heartily welcomed by Secretary Hull.

What happened was that in the meantime the war-trade lobbyists had been busy. Texas oil men, New York shipping men, New England manufacturers and others had been circulating quietly through the Senate and House office buildings. The lobbyists played on the patriotic theme as well, contending that it was a sign of craven weakness for the United States to abandon its "right" to carry on foreign trade at any time.

This argument carried the day. It is not without significance that the very same argument was used both by the bankers and the politicians in 1914-17 in guiding the country along the road that led directly to war. In brief, despite an aroused public opinion, despite the efforts of the Nye Committee and despite good common sense, the war makers are still in power.

The Ground Has Been Prepared

Nothing demonstrates as well as these events the futility of relying solely upon popular education in dealing with the war evil. Something more than nebulous indignation and resentment is needed. To be sure, the education the country has received provides at least a starting point for an effective campaign against the factors that are heading us toward a new war. The activities of the Nye Committee have helped to prepare the ground for such an organized and positive campaign. But it must be recognized that that offers only a beginning. The victory of the war makers in Washington indicates all too plainly that the real fight is still ahead.

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Oh Say, Can You See?

WHAT liberties have American seamen?

When the crew of the S. S. California tried to strike they were threatened by District Attorney Hall of Los Angeles with the charge of mutiny, the punishment for which is so severe that it practically nullifies the right of seamen on all large ships to strike. Frances Perkins advised the crew to go back to work rather than take the dare.

Meanwhile, the last we heard of Lawrence Simpson, that American seaman who was arrested in June, 1935, by German Secret Police, was that a date for his trial will be set "soon." Only German counsel may be retained. He was forcibly taken off the S. S. Manhattan, beaten, and jailed, on the



charge that he had anti-Nazi literature in his locker room on board the ship. Most of the past nine months he has spent incommunicado, without benefit of any trial known to the outside world, in a concentration camp in Germany.

There are now more than 15,000 political prisoners in the jails of Brazil. Among them are trade-unionists, professors of the Rio de Janeiro University, well-known scientists and writers, who are tortured and mutilated beyond recognition.

We can boast of having no political prisoners because we classify them as common criminals. Such people as the six men and one woman of the now famous Sacramento case, who were tried about a year ago for criminal syndicalism and acquitted of the charge of committing any acts of violence, are still being held in prison evidently for their opinions, and for their attempted organization of agricultural workers.

The International Labor Defense reports that the San Francisco Industrial Association, which organized the vigilante terror against the 1934 San Francisco marine and general strike, is conducting an active campaign to keep the Sacramento criminal syndicalism prisoners in jail. The Association has been circulating rumors that letters are being sent to the California parole board threatening reprisals if the prisoners are not freed. The yellow press

blows these rumors up to screaming headlines.

New York City, where nobody Knows and nobody Cares, has just given a notable example of neighborliness. When the elevator men went on strike for a \$2 a week increase and



other benefits, the inhabitants of many apartment houses and office buildings turned out, joined the picket lines, walked, served "coffee and." Some of them organized sympathetic rent strikes, refusing to pay rent until the strike should be settled.

And, speaking of neighborliness, the people of Holland have been hospitable to refugees from Germany, but not so the Dutch police, who have cooperated with German secret agents in making arrests. Such collaboration led to one raid in which seventeen were taken and confined in Dutch prisons for extradition to Germany, where they will be "tried." One German spy, Eroll, collaborated with Dutch police in the arrest of thirty anti-Nazis.

Notwithstanding Article I of the Amendments to the Constitution, it has been necessary in recent weeks to establish through court action the right to distribute political leaflets on the streets of Seattle, Wash., and in Newark, N. J. A bill to tax leaflets and license distributors almost to the vanishing point had to be defeated by concerted efforts of labor organizations.

"If this [shoulder gas gun for firing tear gas at strikers] does not render society invulnerable, it renders it less vulnerable, and if, like the auto, it can be employed by the bad against the good, it is a great persuader and helps to put more teeth into the Ten Commandments."—From the catalogue of the United States Ordnance Engineers, tear gas manufacturers.

The same is true of dynamite. Three sticks of it, which, however, failed to explode, and a number of threatening notices were thrown into a tent colony of evicted sharecroppers near Parkin, Ark. The dynamite and literary efforts are being held as evidence at

Memphis to be used if and when the landlords are brought to trial.

Roosevelt has worked out a Five-Year plan for Honolulu, where our colonists make 13 cents an hour. The sum to be expended is \$49,000,000, not one cent of which goes for social relief, but all for military preparation.

Since we have learned of the repressive and illegal measures used against them, we estimate that the Spanish anti-Fascist front is even stronger than is shown by the statistics of the recent labor victory at the polls. Terror and fraud were applied; enormous quantities of newspapers pretending to be published by parties of the people, issued by non-existing organizations, and slandering the most popular workers' leaders, were distributed; a false rumor of a general strike, to be accompanied by violence, was circulated; a wealthy tobacco smuggler, Juan March, contributed eight million pesetas to the Fascist funds; and the government in power took sides and interfered in the campaign.

A censorship bill, supposed to ban indecent literature, but capable of suppressing literature on birth control, sex hygiene, and minority political beliefs is before the House of Representatives. Out of about fifty bills adversely affecting civil liberties, two, the Tydings-McCormack military disaffection and Kramer anti-sedition bills are the most dangerous. Roger Baldwin of the American Liberties Union writes: "We are advised that additional pressure is being put on the Rules Committee to



bring the Kramer and Tydings-McCormack gag bills to a vote. . . We urge all our friends to redouble their efforts to get to their representatives letters and telegrams expressing opposition to the bills."

The American Liberty League was able last year to "collect" \$389,000 for the defense of property rights; but the American Civil Liberties Union could collect only \$30,000 for the defense of human rights. Reason: property rights mean all rights to those who have the property, and who don't kick about the

waiter's check so long as he delivers the strawberries. Excuse us if we seem to explain the obvious, but we have to take time to contradict some newspapers which are saying that the above figures show the American people to be more interested in property than in humanity.

While thousands of thugs were shipped into New York during the elevator strike and 7,000 additional vigilante thugs were armed in San Francisco, the New York Legislature passed a bill making it even more difficult for the common citizen to get a pistol permit. Exclusively those sections of the population who are and will be used to repress the majority of average citizens are being rapidly armed.

We have expected it, but it gives a shock. Not that we yearn to wear a



pearl-handled pistol, never having learned to shoot one in our life, but this business of who has the weapons seems to be of great concern to our legislators and they are rapidly arming the thugs and criminals.

Secretary of War Dern considers it "highly improper to use Federal troops in labor disputes." He maintains that no Federal troops have thus been used since 1893, the date of the Pullman strike. History confronts the War Secretary with the fact that Federal troops were so used in 1895, 1903, 1919 and 1921. Today the National Guard is a Federal service, controlled by the War Department through the National Guard Bureau. The Federal Government provides the equipment, assigns officers, helps pay the Guardsmen, and requires them to take a dual oath to the state and Federal governments. The War Department Appropriations Bill, recently passed by the House, extends and expands the National Guard in personnel and equipment. Mr. Dern sees no immediate possibility of war involving the United States, but says, "This is the first administration that has been interested in building up our national defense since Wilson's." The National Guard will be used more and more to "defend" employers against unarmed strikers and farmers.

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Mexico, where he found such happiness, and of his distrust of both sides in the World War. The essay marked a turning point in John Reed's life. After writing it he went again to Russia and plunged into the revolutionary struggle there.

The essay was never published. It was recently found among Reed's papers. Its publication in an early issue of The New Republic will be a literary event of first importance.

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