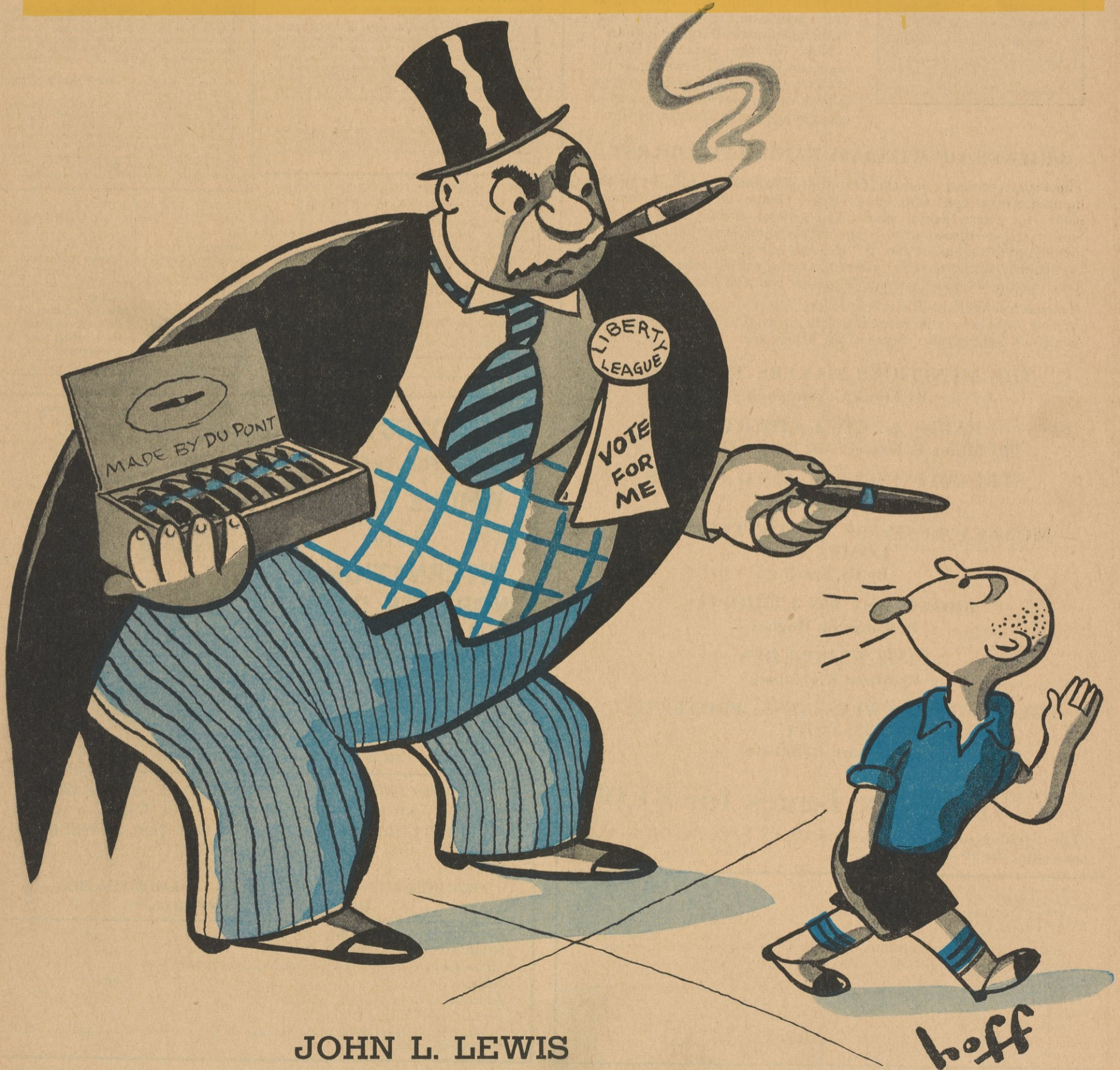


July  
1936

# The Fight

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

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JOHN L. LEWIS

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# The AMERICAN SPECTATOR

CHARLES ANGOFF, *Editor*

## The American SPECTATOR

CHARLES ANGOFF, *Editor*

THE NEW YORK POST: LIBERALISM ON THE BARGAIN COUNTER  
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 HARK, HARK, THE HACK!  
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June, 1936

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR, in the past few months, has made journalistic history with its brilliant analysis of the Fascist tendencies in "March of Time," its exposé of the phoney progressivism of Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard Papers, its blast against the oatmealy and irrelevant ideas of "Alvin Johnson: Rugged Vacuum", leader of the New School for Social Research, and, only last month, its truly sensational article on the New York Post: "Liberalism on the Bargain Counter".

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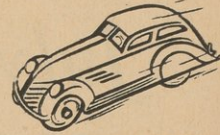
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## With the Readers



THE making of a cover is a headache. If any of our friends envy us the job, they are welcome to it, but we don't guarantee a long and happy life (remember you can't always get a Hoff).

IN the commercial field the editor starts worrying about the cover anywhere from three to six months in advance. We are lucky if we have three weeks. (No, not Elinor Glyn.) What shall we cover in our cover? Somebody wants Hearst, somebody else wants a worker or a farmer or the Fourth of July or . . . a bride.

IN our editorial office the customer is always right, therefore we portrayed the Liberty League and the election campaign. And Hoff was our choice to do the job.

THIS man Hoff is a cockeyed wonder. Within less than three years he has become one of America's outstanding humorous artists. And more than that, he is an editor's dream—utopia realized. He is fertile with ideas, imaginative and alive to the world we live in, and serious (yes, serious) and always on time, never missing a deadline. The Order of Peace and Liberty to you, Hoff!

EDITORS always enjoy letters from editors. And this one came from Oswald Garrison Villard: "I want to congratulate you upon the excellent appearance of *THE FIGHT* which I understand you get out almost singlehanded. It is a remarkable achievement, is original in its use of color, has most valuable material and is altogether creditable to the cause. If you go on at this rate, I shall expect that within a short time *THE FIGHT* will be one of the most important publications in the United States."

AS far back as we can remember, Art Young has been militantly fighting and fighting the war makers and Fascists. His pen and brush carry the mightiest wallop of them all, and when Art tells us that "THE FIGHT is on the map, it is going places where it is looked at and read," we are happy.

MAYBE that's the trouble, we are going places where we are looked at and read. A letter from Mr. John Wells, Colorado Springs, Colo., tells us that "your articles in the June number were excellent (and I mean excellent) but your drawings are below par, and the cover with the red lips was not what I would exactly call hot. Good luck to the best magazine in America."

AND from Chicago, Miss Jessie Reed writes that "the satirical drawings by Adolf Dehn in the June issue of *THE FIGHT*, the drawings by M. Pass, Groppe, Ad Reinhardt, in fact the whole make-up and visual appeal of the magazine, make it the easiest magazine to read that I know of, and I am a librarian. The cover is good—it has real popular appeal—although I prefer drawings. Keep it up and poke more fun at the war makers and liberty haters."

THE editor is a very humble man (afraid of his own shadow) and loves life. We appeal to our readers: what shall we do after reading the last two letters?

MEANWHILE we are going out for a coca-cola.

FIGHT, July 1936



Marching in an anti-war parade, Newark, N. J.

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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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## The Contributors



JOHN L. LEWIS has headed the largest and most powerful trade union in America, The United Mine Workers, since 1920. Born in Lucas, Iowa, he has devoted the major portion of his life to the labor movement: Legislative Agent, Un. Mine W. of A.; Field Representative, A. F. of L.; Vice-President, U. Mine W. of A.; Member Commission for Investigation for Relief of War Veterans; Member Advisory Committee, Limitation of Arms Conference, etc., etc.

H. J. GLINTENKAMP, author of *A Wanderer in Woodcuts*, has illustrated *Machine Made Man*, *Saints in Chaos*, *The Great White Gods* and contributed to many publications including *The Forum*, *London Mercury*, etc. He has works on permanent exhibition in many museums in the U. S. A. and in London.

A. F. WHITNEY, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, hails from Cedar Falls, Iowa. He began work at the age of 16 as a brakeman and has served in many offices in his union in the past four decades.

RUSSELL T. LIMBACH is art editor of the *New Masses*.

MORRIS KAMMAN, journalist and editor, has for years been active in the anti-war movement. He was a conscientious objector during the World War and served two years in the military prison at Leavenworth.

SCOTT JOHNSTON, who makes his debut in this issue of *THE FIGHT* comes out of Iowa and has contributed to *The Forum*, *Fortune* and the *Ringmaster*.

JONATHAN EDDY, formerly on the *New York Times*, is now International Executive Secretary of the American Newspaper Guild.

HUGO GELLERT, whose book, *Comrade Gulliver*, should be read by all of our readers, is now hard at work on a new book to be called *Aesop's Fables of Today*.

MICHAEL PELL is a young poet who has lived and worked in China.

AGNES SMEDLEY, who writes the introduction to Mike Pell's poems, is the author of *Daughter of Earth*, *Chinese Destinies*, etc., and lives in Shanghai.

ANONYMOUS is a well known German who occasionally ventures back into the Rhineland. (How Hitler would like to lay his hands on him!) Returning from Germany last December he wrote his book which is now being published by Gollancz in London and serialized by *Reynold's*.

"THE best true caricature in the United States after 1910 is the work of a Mexican, Miguel Covarrubias," says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. His cartoon appearing in this issue is from the collection of anti-war and anti-Fascist art sponsored by the American Artists Congress. The exhibit will be shown in Detroit, Cleveland, Boston, Oberlin, O., Chicago, Minneapolis, Philadelphia and other cities.

THE cover is by Hoff, whose work is well known throughout America to the readers of *Esquire*, *New Yorker*, *College Humor* and many other publications.



## **NATIONAL DEFENSE by John Franklin**

The problem of national defense is very much to the fore at the moment, with the largest peace-time war budget in the history of the United States just passed by the Senate and House. This study is completely documented. 5 cents

## **YOUTH DEMANDS PEACE by James Lerner**

The revolt of the potential victims of future wars on campuses, city streets and in factories is described by the Youth Secretary of the American League. 5 cents

## **WOMEN, WAR, AND FASCISM by Dorothy McConnell**

What part do women play in the campaign for war and Fascism? What is their role in fighting these twin evils? The secretary of the Women's Section of the American League presents the women's case. 5 cents

## **WHY FASCISM LEADS TO WAR by John Strachey**

Is war inevitable under Fascism? Is there any relation between the two? John Strachey, the British publicist and lecturer, answers both in the affirmative. This is one of the best sellers on the American League list. 5 cents

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## **AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM**

112 EAST 19TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY



# The Fight

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

July, 1936

## I Make Shells

*Are we preparing for an offensive war?  
Or are we merely maintaining defensive forces? A munitions worker gives inside information on naval armaments*

By George Roberts

ILLUSTRATED BY H. J. GLINTENKAMP

I AM A munitions worker. I spend eight hours out of every working day helping to make shells and cannon ordered by the United States Navy. For almost a year, I have been employed in a New Jersey steel mill, whose chief concern today is the filling of those orders. There are six or seven hundred of us, working in three shifts, night and day, getting those shells ready to be shipped to the arsenals where they are painted, greased and boxed, and getting the cannon ready to be sent away to be rifled. We who make these death-dealers are fully three-quarters of all the men employed in the mill.

There was a time when this place where I work was just a high grade mill, turning out steel for tools, razor blades, and other needs of civic existence that called for the finest quality of steel. But that was a good many years ago—before 1915, to be exact. Then a large order for shells from Great Britain changed all that. Our country was "neutral," to be sure, but business is business.

### "Keeping Us Out of War"

Two large ordnance buildings were added to the plant. These buildings, by the way, in this country where an insufficiency of school buildings was then and still is a vexing problem, cost a couple of million apiece.

It wasn't long after that, of course,

that the United States began ordering shells, too. They had been using a very neat slogan about keeping us out of war, for presidential campaigning; and since the public didn't know the politicians had their tongues in their cheeks as they said it, it put the campaign for President Wilson over with a bang. And then suddenly it developed that we were called upon to make the world safe for democracy; and it seemed that those in power must have suspected it all along, because this mill where I work now, and no doubt a lot of other steel mills, had been filling U. S. orders for shells for some time.

Once they got fairly started, and out in the open, the United States Government made an arrangement with the mill to pay for all the machines employed in munitions manufacture, with the agreement that it might remove or leave them, as it chose. But by the time the armistice came, they had been used so much that they were too worn out to be worth moving.

There followed a number of years when the shops stood idle. Then in 1926, they were used to repair locomotives. That was because a strike, known in labor annals as the "shopcrafts strike," was in progress, with machinists, boilermakers, etc., in the railroad shops all out. In other words, these steel mill shops acted as strikebreakers,

(Continued on page 26)

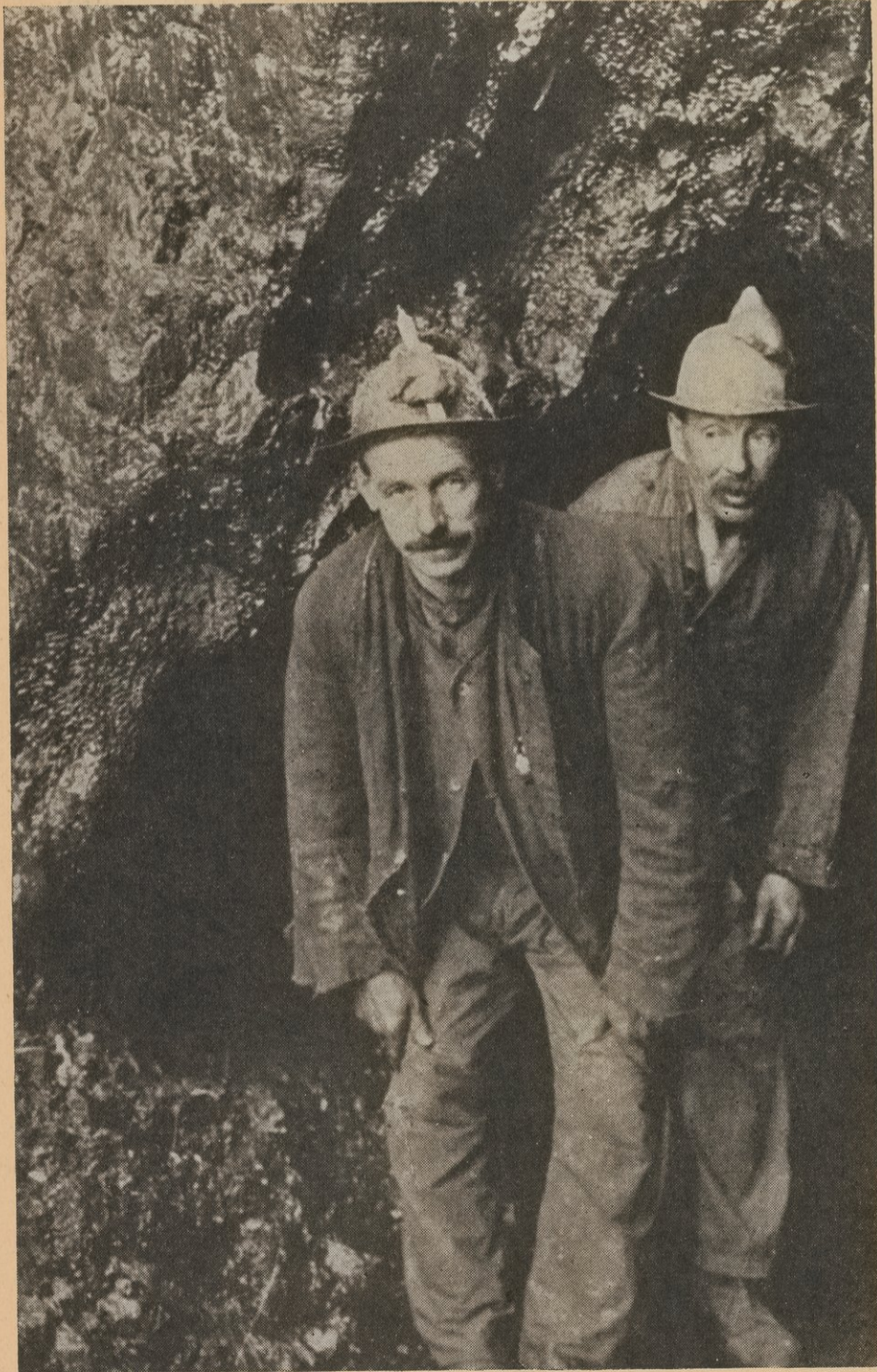




# Labor's Hope

*A timely article by the president of the United Mine Workers. Mr. Lewis discusses civil liberties . . . America's economic destiny . . . the plan of industrial unionism and its part in stemming the tide of war and Fascism*

By John L. Lewis



Pennsylvania coal miners

THE HOPE of labor, the opportunity for its betterment, lies largely in its right to an open forum, a forum where it can present from every viewpoint its problems and their proposed solutions. Those who oppose these aspirations, dreading the controversy and oppressed by the facts, from time to time resort to what are piously called sedition bills. From the beginning of our republic we have had ample laws against treason and conspiracies to overthrow the government. But these sedition bills are intended to go further and cast a terrifying cloak over institutions that may well be changed under our form of government. In 1920 a bill was drafted by the then Attorney-General Palmer outlawing the resort to moral force, and left in question the right to propose even an amendment to the Constitution. It was demolished by the ridicule and argument of organized labor and all those who espoused the cause of liberal thought in America.

## *Shock Troops Against Fascism*

Two such bills were introduced in the present Congress. In the January convention of the United Mine Workers of America we had this to say of these measures: "Organized labor forces are the shock troops in the struggle against Fascist elements that seek to subvert our cherished form of government." We are proud of our record in this respect. The United Mine Workers of America protests the passing of laws designed to terrorize free speech and a free press under pretense of suppressing sedition. The criminal laws now in force cover conspiracy between two or more persons to overthrow the government or commit an offense against it. In bills like Senate Resolution 2253, ostensibly to protect the armed forces of the nation from disaffection, and in House Resolution 6427, there is a link with the predatory or sedition laws that stifle speech, breed spies, establish the terrorism incident to uncertainty and increase the resources of those who regard strikes and industrial revolt in themselves as a form of treason.

## *Our Economic Destiny*

It may seem strange to some, who perhaps have not closely followed the trend of the labor movement and its manifold activities, to find that the house of labor is engaged in battle and contention on what appears to be a formula for the organization of the unorganized. And yet the implications of that formula run very deep, and in truth enter into the consciousness and the ultimate economic destiny of every American. Because upon that formula depend the issues of whether the workers in America are going to be content to remain substantially in their present status, with a small, compact federation of labor, representing perhaps ten per-

cent of the workers of this country engaged in industry, or whether the workers of America are going to have something to say in the future as to their economic destiny and the destinies of this republic of ours.

I represent that group in the American labor movement who have come to believe, and have come to that conclusion by reason of their bitter experience, that the time has come here in America for the workers of this country to exercise their inherent right to organize and become articulate and have something to say concerning the policies that economic America will follow.

The record is that the American Federation of Labor in the lifetime of the ordinary individual, pledged as it is to the principle of organization by crafts rather than by industry, has failed to bring to the great mass of the workers of this country an opportunity to become organized through offering them a modern formula designed to cope with modern conditions, has failed to give to those workers the protection to which they are entitled by their contract, to establish collective bargaining and improve their economic lot. The record is that the American Federation of Labor, with all of its efforts and with all of the very great service that that organization has rendered to special crafts and to special types of working men and women, has been unable to effectuate organization in certain of our modern mass production industries.

Whereas there are approximately ten percent of the workers in industry organized, the record is that there are ninety percent yet unorganized and subject to continuous exploitation by every hostile and adverse interest that selfishly seeks to exploit them.

## *Keeping Pace*

There are some of us who now propose, in the face of this record, that the American Federation of Labor modernize its policy and keep pace with the world of affairs. In industry, in science and in the arts and letters progress is being made; progress is being made in every field except in the field of jurisdiction covered by the American Federation of Labor organized on its craft basis. We propose to organize the bigger, modern industries which heretofore have not responded to organization, and where collective bargaining does not exist, by offering those workers an industrial type of organization, as against the craft form of organization, because, first, we feel that experience has demonstrated the incapacity of the craft form of organization to deal with the great modern employers in mass production industry; and because, second, we believe there are outstanding types of success in industrial forms of organization in modern mass production industries.

Again, we believe that the great mass  
(Continued on page 25)



# Old New Orleans

*Skyscrapers and eighteenth century France . . . the Mississippi riverfront stirs to action . . . Negro and white . . . palms, patios, cathedrals and terror*

By Lee Coller

ILLUSTRATED BY LOUIS LOZOWICK



NEW ORLEANS is a city of startling contrasts. At once cosmopolitan and provincial, it is the largest city below the Mason-Dixon Line in the United States. Built in the shape of a swinging crescent around a bend of the Mississippi River one hundred miles from the river's mouth, its streets, cobbled in many places with the ballast of sailing ships of one hundred years ago, lead you through the old and the new worlds—through canyons of twentieth century skyscrapers, through a colonial village of eighteenth century France, past low spread-out houses with their distinctly Southern architecture so markedly influenced by the French, past wretched jerry-built hovels of poor Negroes and whites, through sections that reek with the accumulated stench of standing garbage and open sewer canals, to bayous right in the city that once were beds of rivers, to the fourteen-mile Mississippi River frontage of some of the most modern shipping and harbor facilities in the world.

The busy commercial life of the city seems an undertone to the slow flow of human activity. Once ranked as the second port of the United States, New Orleans is now essentially a commercial city, although it still depends to a large extent on its shipping.

Life is slow moving in New Orleans. Yes, workers must punch time clocks and are bound to conveyor belts; but as you walk through the narrow streets of the French Quarter where French family tradition is still as strong as ever, where little has changed, from the old red brick buildings with their French ironwork galleries and steep-roofed attics, to the low adobe houses, the cathedrals and churches, passing, in your ramble, nuns in the deep royal-blue aproned costumes of medieval France, Spanish mission convents with their huge spreading banana trees and rich red blooming oleanders, their full green castor oil trees and tall standard-like palms, the brilliance of the sunshine under high wide cloudless blue skies gives you a drowsy feeling, a feeling of infinite

leisure. After you have gone through the French market with the buxom farmer women in their broad-brimmed straw hats, you will come to an old coffee stand at the end of the market where, for nearly a century, people have gathered at the small tables every afternoon at four to sip thick drip coffee and to talk.

People take pride in telling you how old things are, how long their families have been in New Orleans, how pure is their French descent. A very large number of people do not speak English, only French.

## Negro Labor

Although New Orleans can hardly be compared with most of the other cities of the South in general character because of its large French population, it has one outstanding thing in common with the rest of the Southern cities, its treatment of the Negro people. For them it has only the same prejudiced contempt as the others. They must ride in separate parts of street cars and buses, and may not even eat in the same restaurants as whites. Yet, with all the hard and fast jimcrow rules, Negroes in New Orleans live on the same streets as whites in many sections of the city, something that they are not permitted to do in most Northern communities.

Negroes constitute a third of the city's population, over one hundred thousand citizens of the United States who are prevented from executing their constitutional right to vote (registrars simply refuse to register them) and who have practically no standing before the law. Negro life is cheap in the South, and in New Orleans as elsewhere. Oppressed and unorganized, the Negroes are a tremendous reservoir of cheap labor.

Labor, black and white, is cheap, even the pitifully small number organized in trade unions. With only 5,000 workers members of trade unions out of a population of 500,000, the New Orleans Association of Commerce has had little fear in advertising New Orleans for its "cheap and docile

(Continued on page 29)







World profit seekers who desire to exploit world markets bring on and

## Lies and Allies

*An army and navy to support the profit seekers? The president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen calls "for a patriotism which will save this great republic from perishing on the rocks of militarism and imperialism"*

By A. F. Whitney

ILLUSTRATED BY RUSSELL T. LIMBACH

THE PROBLEM of war is difficult because it is a subject which appeals to human emotion, rather than to human intellect and reason. To discuss the subject of war intelligently, it should be analyzed dispassionately and in the cold light of reason. There are interests and individuals in this world who believe that war is necessary. Mussolini describes war in the following words:

War is to man what maternity is to a woman. From a philosophical and doctrinal viewpoint, I do not believe in perpetual peace. Only a bloody effort can reveal the great qualities of peoples and the qualities of the human soul.

There are other men in this world who think differently. Major General Smedley D. Butler has asserted that in his service with the United States Marine Corps he was only a high-class muscle man for Big Business, Wall Street and the Bankers:

... Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City boys to collect revenue in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central Amer-

ican republics for the benefit of Wall Street ... In China in 1927 I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested. During those years, I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket. I was rewarded with honors, medals, promotion. Looking back on it, I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three city districts. We Marines operated on three continents.

### Manufactured War Hatred

Contrary to the belief of war lords, that war is noble and brings out the finer qualities of people, there is no racket known to man that is so demoralizing and destructive of all that is fine in human life. War is made up essentially of lies and allies. Without hatred war would be impossible. Consequently, the war lords, by insidious, lying propaganda, create hatred of the people upon whom they would declare war. We recall the World War stories of German soldiers cutting off the hands of a Belgian nurse. An American publisher, doubting this story, offered thousands of dollars for a picture of the atrocity, and through the war propaganda machine he was

denounced as a pro-German. We heard stories of German soldiers picking up children by their heels and dashing out their brains against stone walls. I have talked with German citizens who resided in Germany during the War, and they tell me that they were told the same stories about American soldiers.

War could not be carried on without this vicious, lying propaganda. How can anything which depends upon such lies be justified either as reasonable or moral?

Those who took active part in the World War know all too well the cruelties and ghastliness of war. Bad as the World War was, science has now developed more terrifying instruments of cruelty and destruction. Gases are now in existence which make the capillaries of the lungs pervious to the blood. The result is that the lungs fill up and the victim drowns in his own blood. British soldiers call it "dry land drowning." There is a penetrating gas which causes sneezing and choking. The victim, forced to remove his mask in order to breathe,

exposes himself to another, more deadly gas. In order to make the devilish process of war more complete, our scientists, who have done so much to eradicate diseases of the human body, are forced in time of war to turn their talents to the spreading of deadly disease germs.

I am amused by the antics of our peace specialists at peace conferences. They discuss the great subject of parity with solemnity. It seems that their goal is not to eliminate war, but rather to equalize the contending sides so as to assure a good fight. But no one ever proposes to limit the number of men to be offered as sacrifices!

### Peace, Parity and Profits

I believe one of the most effective peace proposals would be to give the people the sole right to declare war. If only those who had to endure the extreme sacrifices of war had the authority to declare it, there would be far less disposition to resort to war as an instrument of national policy.

When we apply reason to the philosophy of world peace ambassadors,





perpetuate wars. War is made up essentially of lies and allies

serious doubt as to their sincerity arises. Consider the principles advocated in connection with Italy's war on Ethiopia. Fascist Italy can be compared to a robust man fighting a child, the man being fully armed and the boy having no gun. The man charges a third and supposedly "neutral" party with declaring an overt act of war against him by refusing to sell him ammunition, since the man has need for it; but the boy, having no guns, has no need for ammunition. This was the position taken by Italy. A similar logic was used with respect to sanctions. The Italian dictator said in effect, "If you withhold from me the means without which I cannot carry on war, that is an act of war against Italy, and I shall carry on war against you." Italy could not carry on a war without our oil; yet helpless as she would be without it, she threatens to come over here and spank us if we do not provide it. Prominent representatives of nations who listen to such palpable trash deserve to have their sincerity questioned.

#### Free Trade in Munitions

Walter Lippmann declares that if we do not give our munitions factories free rein to produce instruments of destruction for other nations, then other nations will build their own munitions factories; and we will lose the trade and have the threat of other nations becoming self-sustaining in the matter of conducting wars. Such a philosophy has about the same degree of logic as for me to say to one who is about to commit a murder, "Here is a fully loaded gun. I might as well give it to you, because if I do not, some other racketeer will."

Senator Nye exposed the Lippmann logic well when he said: "We are in the position of arming the world so we

will have the capacity to produce for ourselves when they decide to use our products against us."

General Butler has many times pointed out that this nation is not confining its war preparations merely to those of defense. We now have the largest peace-time war budget in our history. If we were interested in defense only, one third of our present expenditure would be adequate. General Butler asserts that our ideal never has been one of defense only. He cites Training Regulations No. 10-15, which contain the official "Doctrine of War" for the United States. Section II, paragraph 2, reads:

Decision to go to war having been made, operations will be carried into hostile territory . . . the primary objective will be the destruction of (the enemy's) armed forces, and this demands that the strategical and tactical offensive be taken and maintained until a decision is reached.

Section V, paragraph 6, reads:

. . . the object to be attained by (military) training is to enable the Army to wage offensive warfare. While training must cover certain phases of defensive doctrine and police doctrine, the Army must definitely understand that these are only means to a definite end—offensive warfare—and every individual in the military service must be imbued with the spirit of the offensive.

The people are essentially opposed to offensive warfare. Therefore, the militarists devise ways of fooling the people in order to obtain offensive warfare appropriations. One device that works very well in this country is the annual launching of the Japanese war scare about the time the war appropriation bills come before Congress.

#### Fight for World Markets

In considering the subject of war, we must never overlook the fact that wars are essentially economic in origin and motive.

The American people are aware of the cablegram, received by President Wilson from Mr. Page, our Ambassador at London, which reads in part:

If we should go to war with Germany, all the money would be kept in our country, trade would be continued and enlarged until the war ends, and after the war Europe would continue to buy food and would buy from us also an enormous supply of things to re-equip her peace industries. . .

Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and panic averted. . .

World profit seekers who desire to exploit world markets bring on and perpetuate wars. The Brookings Institute informs us that in 1929 there was ten billion dollars of surplus capital which could find no profitable investment in American enterprise. When such surpluses pile up, the profit seekers seek outlets abroad and bring on economic conflicts which result in military conflicts. It is important to realize that the World War made approximately 23,000 millionaires in this country; that the United States Steel Corporation made profits during 1915-1919 equal in amount to the entire pay of the two million American soldiers during their stay in France.

#### Patriotism and Profits

As Congressman Thomas R. Amlie says in *The Forgotten Man's Handbook*, the French, in the last war, could have destroyed the German supplies of coal and iron, and the Germans could have destroyed the French supplies of coal and iron in six months, had they desired to. This, of course, would have ended the war, but it also would have destroyed the opportunity to make profits out of the war. Hence, the various nations had among their official leaders, men who bargained and connived with the enemy to prolong

the war. Their quality of patriotism was comparable to Pierre du Pont's, when he said, with reference to stockholders' interests: "We cannot assent to allowing our patriotism to interfere with our duties as trustees."

The *American Guardian* answered the question how America got into the World War thus:

CHAPTER I.—Before Morgan had loaned a dollar to either the Central Powers or the Allies: the United States then had neutrality even in spirit.

CHAPTER II.—After Morgan had loaned a billion dollars to the Allies, we had benevolent neutrality.

CHAPTER III.—After Morgan had loaned five billion dollars to the Allies we had armed neutrality.

CHAPTER IV.—After Morgan had loaned ten billion dollars to the Allies and couldn't sleep any more, America entered the war.

In February, 1915, the Hon. Clyde H. Tavenner, Congressman from Illinois, addressed the Congress on the "World Wide War Trust." He said:

I will go further and venture the assertion that not 30 members of Congress know the identity of the select ring of patriots for profit into whose pockets the millions of the masses are pouring, which gentlemen have water-tight monopoly in this country on the traffic of war trading, and who have drawn down every penny of \$50,000,000 in excessive and extortionate profits from the Government by direct virtue of their influential friends in the Army, the Navy, and in Congress.

#### Press Backs Militarists

Congressman Tavenner revealed how the munitions ring of all nations constituted a world wide racket. He urged a government monopoly of munitions manufacturing. He pleaded against militarism, but his voice was weak, for it was not bolstered with the power of a sympathetic press. Such men as Congressman Tavenner, Sen-

(Continued on page 30)



# Labor Cracks Down

*Was the American blacksmith, Elihu Burritt, impractical when he issued the call to workers throughout the world to use their economic weapon—the strike—against war?*

By Morris Kamman

ILLUSTRATED BY BARBARA ALEXANDER

IN THE 1840's, an American blacksmith, self-educated, sent forth from his home in New Britain, Connecticut, a series of "Olive Leaves," in which he urged workers throughout the world to use their economic weapon, the strike, against war.

Of this blacksmith, Elihu Burritt, the *Dictionary of American Biography* says that from his father, a farmer, "he . . . derived . . . an enthusiasm for impractical ventures."

Burritt's pioneering strike-call may impress the American Council of Learned Societies, sponsors of the *Dictionary*, as an "impractical venture"; history, however, speaks in another voice. In two world-shaking struggles, organized labor pitted its economic strength against governments that planned or did make war to further oppression, and in each, labor was victorious. One of these victories was recorded in Burritt's own life-time,—during the Civil War.

At the outset of the Civil War, it was realized here and in onlooking Europe that the South might win if it could export its cotton and import commodities it lacked, especially war supplies. The North threw an effective blockade around the Slave State ports. Cotton exports, amounting normally to \$200,000,000, shrivelled to one-fiftieth in 1862. Imports suffered likewise.

## Cotton and Radicals

The blockade struck European textile mills with a "cotton-famine." The Tory London *Times* cried out, "A manufacture which supports a fifth part of our whole population is coming gradually to a stand." It and the rest of the English press, reflecting the sentiments of the aristocracy and upper middle class whose investments in cotton mills suffered, defended the Slave States and attacked the North. The Bible was quoted in defense of slavery. A prominent daily paper compared Abraham Lincoln to a Nero.

Cotton, however, was not the sole issue that rallied the upper classes behind the Slave States. "The United States had long been obnoxious to European ruling classes for the encour-

agement that its success afforded to European radicals," it is stated in *The Growth of the American Republic*, one of whose authors is Samuel Eliot Morison, Professor of History at Harvard University. The aristocrats' desire to see the United States broken up could be fulfilled by supplying the Slave States with munitions they needed badly. This, in turn, could be done only by crushing the blockade that was strangling the slave owners.

Early in 1862, Lord Cowley, British Ambassador at Paris, informed Lord Russell, England's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, that Napoleon III would gladly obtain cotton by any means. This hint reached willing ears.

England's Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, waited until the Northern armies suffered sharp defeats at Richmond, and at the Second Bull Run, August 29-30, 1862, then wrote to Russell that "England and France" should "address the contending parties and recommend an arrangement on the basis of separation." Russell replied from Gotha on September 17th, ". . . I agree with you . . . we ought ourselves to recognize the Southern States as an independent State. . . ."

Having already dispatched 8,000 fresh English troops to Canada, and instructions for the eventuality of war to the Vice-Admiral commanding the British fleet in American waters, the aristocracy attempted to arouse popular feeling for intervention against the North.

## Progress in Danger

Gladstone, third ranking Cabinet member, told workers at Manchester that the "deplorable struggle" of the North against the South was the cause of their misery. "We have no faith in the propagation of free institutions at the point of the sword," he said piously, but did not remember to add that he favored aid for the South so it could perpetuate chattel slavery at the point of the sword. At a mass meeting in New Castle, he boasted, ". . . Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making . . . a navy; and they have made . . . a nation." He

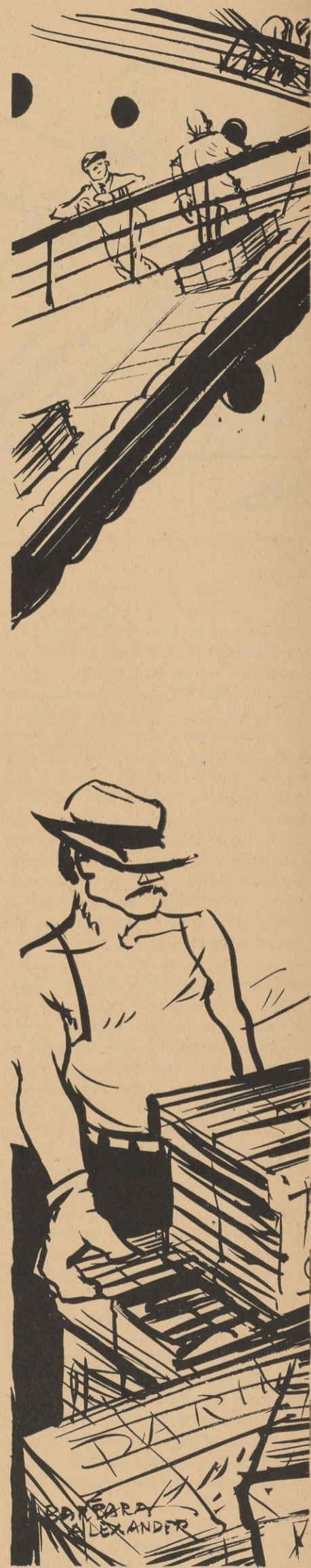
forgot to inform his audience that the navy which the South was "making" was being constructed, with the connivance of the government, in English shipyards.

The anti-North mass meetings did have some effect. Nearly half a million persons, men, women and children, faced starvation in the Lancashire cotton mills area because the mills had shut down. The governing class did its utmost to swing the hungry workers against the Union, and here and there working class opinion began wavering.

Warned of the danger threatening the Union through European intervention, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, to convince the European masses that the North was against slavery. The effect was tremendous. "The Emancipation Proclamation . . . brought about . . . an upheaval of working class opinion in favor of the Union . . . Karl Marx organized a gathering of 3,000 representatives of the London Trades Unions at St. James's Hall . . . and passed a resolution, 'that the success of free institutions in America was a political question of deep significance in England and that they would not tolerate any interference unfavorable to the North.'"—*Oxford History of the United States*.

## The Tide Turns

Mass meetings in behalf of the North were held throughout England. Thomas Evans, an English worker, organized one of 6,000 workers in Manchester. Pro-Union meetings were held at Leeds, Bath, Edinburgh, Paisley, Carlisle, Birmingham, Liverpool and in other cities. The middle class, excepting its upper crust, also held meetings in support of organized labor's demand that England refrain from warring against the North. "Their attitude (English workingmen) was so determined that, even though they had no votes, their aristocratic government did not venture to take offensive action against America . . ." Willis Mason West sums it up in *The American People*. The threat by England's organized labor to use its economic







FIGHT, July 1936

weapon cracked the plot of the interventionists, for with the British government backing down the other European governments lost their nerve. Additional warships and iron-clad rams intended for the South were detained in the British shipyards, and chattel slavery in the United States marched to defeat.

The action by England's organized labor set a powerful example. In Europe, until the very day of the World War, labor presented a conscious threat to the war plotters. During the Franco-Prussian War, in 1870, tens of thousands of German workers held meetings to express their solidarity with the French workers. When Bismarck dared not directly attack the Paris Commune, the first workers' government, he had in mind the pro-Commune sentiment among the German toilers. A strike wave in Russia in 1905, which started "a revolutionary movement among the common people of Russia . . . obliged the Tsar to end the (Russo-Japanese) War."—H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History*.

#### *In Recent Years*

But it was in relatively recent years that the example set by the English workers was taken up by international labor on an even broader scale, and with even more far-reaching effect, than during the Civil War.

The struggles of the Russian people against the reactionary White Armies are still fresh in our minds. It will be remembered that various governments sent troops against the Soviets, and supplied the White generals with battleships, tanks and ammunition. But organized labor had learned bitterly during the World War. It had been fooled by "idealistic" slogans, by promises of eternal peace and security into substituting national patriotism for international solidarity. And it had paid doubly for this error: to the war makers swollen profits; to itself, leaner rations, epidemics, unemployment, lower wages, and millions dead.

This time, in 1919-20, organized labor quickly gathered its lifelines of international solidarity and sprang into economic action against the war makers.

American workers wrote a glorious page in this struggle. In Seattle, Washington, longshoremen refused to load 42 carloads of rifles on the steamer *Delight* for shipment to Admiral Kolchak who was warring against the Russian people.

Said the *Seattle Union Record*, official publication of the Seattle A. F. of L.: "In that action . . . of Seattle workers who refused to handle arms to shoot down their fellow workers in another land, and whose refusal has stimulated like action amongst toilers along the waterfronts of the whole world, we have one of the most profound illustrations of the power of economic action and of economic

solidarity." The strike of these heroic longshoremen stirred American labor into further action. Approximately twenty Central Labor bodies in all parts of the country, including the powerful Chicago Federation of Labor, endorsed a plan for a National Labor Congress to devise means to frustrate aid to the interventionists.

Throughout Europe organized labor bestirred itself. "Bodies of strikers (in Brest, France) have been parading the streets shouting praises of the Russian Soviets. . . . Among the strikers were 4,000 arsenal workers."—*New York World*, Oct. 13, 1919. Also from the *World*: "The steamer *Persia*, bound from Genoa to Vladivostok with a cargo of 30,000 rifles, 10,000,000 cartridges, 20 batteries of mountain guns and two heavy guns for the troops operating against the Bolsheviks, has arrived in Fiume (Italy). The crew mutinied on the Mediterranean and forced the captain to take the steamer into Fiume."

Within a few weeks after the British Triple Alliance—railroad, transport and mine workers—recommended a strike ballot against English intervention, the British government announced that all its troops would be withdrawn from Russia.

On August 16th, 1920, the Belgian government forbade shipments of ammunition which arrived at Antwerp and were destined for use by General Wrangel's forces against the Soviets. "This action, it is believed," stated the *New York Times* of the same date, "was due to the announcement of Belgian workmen that they would refuse to handle the shipments."

#### *A World Movement*

At the height of the Polish offensive against the Russian people, Italian railroad workers struck at Milan and Cremona against transportation of munitions for Polish forces. Railroad workers at Danzig opposed passage of war materials for Polish use. German workers at Ratibor, Silesia, stopped and sidetracked a French troop train on its way to the aid of Poland. The International Transport Workers Federation organized a successful boycott of war materials destined for use against the Russian workers and peasants.

Now in 1936, the hobnails of Fascism having trod into the soil of Ethiopia the blood of men, women and children, we see again, as during the World War, the folly of placing confidence in the imperialist governments which, while preaching peace, allow the earth to be drenched with the blood of the people. Yet, not all of labor stood by, trusting lying diplomats and their governments to stop the bleeding and dismemberment of the Ethiopian people. Again organized labor resorted to a series of economic actions against the

(Continued on page 30)





*The duPonts' Pride and Joy*

By Scott Johnston



**T**HE THUNDER of Niagara Falls was dwarfed to the whisper of a bad conscience by the flood of noise generated at the Republican National Convention, and dinned into the ears of the radio audience.

The racket on the floor of the Cleveland Auditorium was in itself enough to disturb the slumbers of a Supreme Court justice. Multiply that by 26,000,000, the number of radio sets owned and sometimes operated by the American public, and you may get a faint idea of the hurricane of decibels (sound units) loosed upon the unoffending ether by one of the loudest political gatherings in the nation's history.

So protracted and nerve-wrecking did the disturbance become that a large number of stations refused to carry the full program because they discovered that they would lose their audience if they did so.

The deafening barrage was in large measure due to the activities of the broadcasting companies themselves. Fifty-two microphones were installed in the auditorium by CBS, NBC and MBS, so that not a single whisper might be lost. These were connected by 7½ miles of wire—enough to mend the political fences of every Congressman east of the Mississippi. Approximately 50 other microphones were located in hotel lobbies, committee rooms and special studios scattered about the town.

As if this were not enough, Columbia invented a diabolic contrivance called a "Convention Meter." This gadget, which was hailed as a scientific achievement designed to promote perfect broadcasting, was in reality merely a publicity stunt arranged to get the CBS name mentioned by newspapermen more frequently than in the past. It looked like a huge thermometer with an illuminated tube and was so arranged that the greater the noise in the hall, the higher rose the column of "mercury" in the thermometer.

Imagine the reaction of well-lit delegates when they discovered that the lights within the "Convention Meter" responded to the volume of their shouting during the first demonstration. This was a record really worth shouting at! The result you have already heard.

The "Convention Meter" was only one of a number of new acts created to enliven America's greatest circus. NBC developed a microwave transmitter in the shape of a huge beer mug which an announcer lugged around hotel lobbies and committee rooms, and shoved under the noses of

# Radio

party leaders suspected of having opinions on the problems of the day. The usual result was that the politicians burst into the strains of "The Little Brown Jug" and had to be cut off the air.

CBS went its rival one better by springing two more surprises—the Photomicrophone and the American Beauty Microphone. The former was a microwave transmitter, complete with batteries and aerial concealed in a large camera. The vanity of our brilliant statesmen was flattered when they were able to broadcast while having their pictures taken. The latter was a mike concealed in a bunch of American Beauty roses and borne about the hotel lobbies by one of the prettiest girls in Cleveland. The theory was that such an apparatus might lure bashful politicians into saying a word or two. Strange as it may seem, the ruse was highly successful and for the first time the broadcasters actually got their statesman.

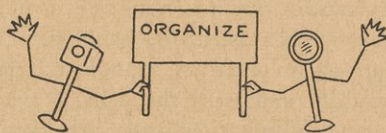
By and large, a good time was had by all. The roof of the auditorium stood the strain, the city's bartenders rubbed their hands gleefully at the increased demand for throat lubricants caused by the "Convention Meter," several first class commentators got in a few words edgewise through the microphones, and under cover of the excitement the Liberty Leaguers and their ilk went quietly about their business of seeing that the problems of war, Fascism, hunger and unemployment were overlooked as in the past.



## Air Notes

**D**UE to the uncalled-for discharge of 150 NBC employees last month, publicity writers and other office workers for the major networks are taking the first steps toward organizing

a union similar to and, if possible, affiliated with the Newspaper Guild. At present the only strong union in the radio industry is that of the engineers, which has done fine work in obtaining better working conditions and higher pay for its members. Recently this organization—the American Radio Tele-



graphists Association—obtained a considerable wage increase for eleven technicians at KFAC-KFVD, Los Angeles. Here's hoping that the publicists will go and do likewise.

WGR, Buffalo, recently brought forward a brilliant idea on how to end war, during an hour-and-a-quarter dramatic presentation entitled "Ultimatum." The climax of the play came when the womenfolk stole their husband's pants and threw them in the river!

Add the following Hearst stations to your boycott list: WINS, New York; WCAE, Pittsburgh; WBAL, Baltimore; WISN, Milwaukee; KYA, San Francisco; KEHE, Los Angeles; KTSA, San Antonio and KNOW, Austin, Texas. Hearst also is trying to get control of KOMA, Oklahoma City; WACO, Waco, and KTAT, Ft. Worth, Texas; and WMAL, Washington, D. C. WMEX, Boston, has effected an arrangement with Hearst's Boston *Evening American* which permits the station to present daily broadcasts of five of the paper's features.

Samuel Insull is doing well with his Affiliated Broadcasting Company, too. This network, which boosts the stock of the utility companies, recently added WROK, Rockford, Ill., as its twentieth station.

And Remington-Rand, recent sponsor of Columbia's *March of Time*, and backer of *Five Star Final* on the Hearst

New York network and Edwin C. Hill's reactionary commentaries on NBC, is planning a thirty minute show entitled *Junior Crime Prevention Club of America*. Can't you guess what this will turn out to be under the expert guidance of these munitions makers?

A survey just completed by the Bureau of the Census of the United States Department of Commerce shows that the 36 radio stations located in New England pay their employees the munificent average of \$36 per week. This includes technicians, office workers, talent, etc.

WPRO in Providence, R. I., made the only official announcement of a demonstration whooping it up for Mussolini, on the occasion of the capture of the Ethiopian capital.

Il Duce has ordered all staff members of the Italian Broadcasting Company to get married at once. He said nothing about raising their pay if they did so.

WOV, New York foreign language transmitter, is in danger of losing its license because of two allegedly indecent Italian songs which it broadcast recently.

The Army and Navy asked for the lion's share of all available radio channels between 30,000 and 110,000 kilocycles at the Federal Communications Commission's technical hearings, which began in Washington on June 15th. It is on these newly-opened bands that television, facsimile and "apex" experiments are now going on. The mili-



tarists said this had to stop because they needed almost all of those super-short wave-lengths for "national defense."

Hurrah for the freedom of the air! W9XBY, high fidelity station in Kansas City, was forced to cancel a program by a racehorse handicapper. Gangsters who control the city's tracks said the handicapper was picking too many winners.

EAJ7, Union Radio station in Madrid, Spain, was heavily fined several weeks ago for devoting too much time to advertising matter. Chalk up another victory for the People's Front.

—GEORGE SCOTT.





# Movies

THE TERM "social commentary" has all too frequently been misused in connection with motion pictures, so the reader is entitled to raise a skeptical eyebrow if he sees it used in description of a Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer picture. After producing *Riff Raff* and abandoning *It Can't Happen Here*, one would hardly expect a distinctive, critical film to emerge from the M-G-M lot, but that is exactly what has happened.

*Fury* is the title of this cinematic marvel. Its theme is lynching. It quotes facts and figures as to numbers of lynchings and compares them to the number of attempts to punish those responsible. It depicts the blind fury of mob violence, the emotions of an innocent man whom the mob is seeking. It shows how political factors influence the sending or withholding of the National Guard, the remorse of members of the mob after the lynch fever has run its course and they are brought to the bar of justice, and it even goes out of its way to show a strike-breaker as an ugly mischief-making character.

We know it's pretty hard to believe all this. It sounds a bit as if the reviewer had fabricated it out of some wishful-hoping dream, but it is true. It is also true that the picture pulls its punches in a vital spot and has a thin sugar-coating of romance, but these factors do not dissolve the bitterly honest taste of the most realistic and exciting portrayal of a national disgrace that has ever been seen on the screen. It's a picture you must see.

One structural weakness was vitally necessary to the film. After the mob storms the jail in a vain attempt to

reach one Joe Wilson (Spencer Tracy) who has been arrested by mistake as a kidnapper, they set fire to the structure, and one man tosses dynamite into the blazing coffin. By the wonderful Hollywood imagination which bends all to fit its plot, the explosion loosens the door of the prisoner's cell and he secretly escapes down a rain-pipe to plot his revenge against his persecutors.

A group involved are brought to trial for murder and with the help of their perjuring fellow townsmen are about to establish air-tight alibis when the district attorney, played masterfully by Walter Abel, introduces newsreels into evidence. This sequence, contrasting the defendants as they looked when possessed by the mob spirit and their pitiful fear of retribution, packs a wallop never before attained in a court room drama or in few others for that matter.

The verdict is finally read. Some of the defendants are guilty, some are not. The others are hysterically demanding to know their fate when the *corpus delicti* walks in, and the picture goes out the window as he explains to the judge his motives for revenge, the reason for his changing his mind (the girl, Sylvia Sidney) and the effect his experience has had on his views toward his country and his countrymen. This summation is woefully weak; someone must have drawn a pencil through those lines of Tracy's before the last take of the final scene.

But this corner is willing to overlook the enumerated deficiencies. The fact remains that something which Hollywood thought couldn't be done, has been done. We call upon our readers to support this picture, in the hope that

it will lead to a new era of socially valid and intelligent films of equal moral integrity.

## Newsreels

TRADE UNIONS all over the country could profit from the example established by the Federated Trades Council, the central labor body of Reading. In this Pennsylvania community the Loew's Colonial Theater had shown the Hearst Metrotone News for more than ten years, since the establishment of the theater in the city.

After several fruitless protests the reel was finally withdrawn when the Council informed the theater management that if it was continued, picketing would begin within forty-eight hours. A neighborhood theater, to which the reel was transferred, dropped it when similar action was threatened. The Hearst newsreel is not shown in the city any more.

Again we point out that this instance, heartening as it is, remains an example of isolated action. To really be permanently effective, trade unions must launch a drive that will be national in scope. Plans are already under way for such a campaign. We had hoped to bring our readers fuller information in this issue, but further announcements must await certain developments scheduled for the near future.

Two newsreel clips of recent weeks must be mentioned here. One was the appeal of Otto Richter against his deportation to Nazi Germany and what he has good cause to believe, is certain death. The other was a shot of King Edward reviewing one of his crack regiments. The commentator noted that England's new monarch was doing all he could to encourage recruiting but that "British youth is not rushing to enlist, perhaps under the influence of the Oxford oath."

Also of interest in newsreel circles recently, was the flurry created by William Randolph Hearst when he accused the newsreel companies of furthering Russian propaganda by not showing any subjects derogatory to the Soviet country. Mr. Hearst was particularly irked by shots of a nursery and a girl controlling 216 looms. He felt that the newsreel commentators were traitors because they did not describe the children as chattel property of the state and the girl as a victim of the speed-up system.



Sylvia Sidney and Spencer Tracy

*The Motion Picture Daily*, told Willie a thing or two, and in no uncertain terms:

Since Hearst, arch loudspeaker of Americanism, presumably runs his newspapers of, for and by America, it seems more than passing strange that he should overlook adjustments in the socio-economic system which require slight attention on home ground. We can suggest a few. In fact, we will. He might check into the sharecroppers' situation in the South. He might find a thing or two close to New York that has an odor about it: conditions in the Pennsylvania and other coal fields; what's happened in West Virginia now that high-speed mining machinery has been introduced; the Ghetto only a couple of miles from the hotels he owns in the mid-town area; something of the working conditions for young girls in the mill towns. . . .

As long as he hits at newsreels on an arrangement which has been formally denied on all sides, his outraged sense of justice about matters abroad might induce some comment on the status quo in Germany under Hitler where men of God are being imprisoned, where an ancient race is being slowly and inhumanly starved out of existence, where Nazi doctrine as it pertains to the law now dictates that students must learn how to handle rifles and throw hand grenades as a corollary to their university training in torts and briefs. . . . Or to Italy where the freedom of the press has been stifled, where Il Duce violates his treaties and conquers a peaceful Ethiopia. . . .

## Short

A partial victory for the cause of better pictures has been won with the announcement from Washington, just as we go to press, that the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee has approved the Neely bill which would prohibit block booking and blind selling of motion pictures.

Under the present system of film distribution, a theater operator has little if any choice in the selection of the pictures he presents, and the studios grind them out by the hundreds to fill their high-pressure contracts. The result is sheer dross, known to the trade as program pictures.

If the Neely bill can survive the opposition of the powerful Hollywood lobby in the capital, we may see the film industry concentrating on quality rather than quantity.

—ROBERT SHAW



Storming the jail in the new anti-lynching picture, *Fury*



# Paid with By-lines

*Glory won't buy the baby shoes. The executive secretary of the Newspaper Guild tells of the fight by newspapermen for decent pay*

By Jonathan Eddy

IN ITS third annual convention, just concluded, the American Newspaper Guild came of age as a trade union by voting to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. Let us hope this is merely symptomatic of something broader—the awakening of white-collar workers in general to the necessity of organization and to the practicability of achieving it. I think the history of the Guild itself indicates such a hope to be well founded.

Many times in the past few decades have American newspapermen attempted to organize into unions. Some of the cities where such attempts had been made, long prior to the inception of the Guild, are New York, Boston, San Francisco, Chicago, Albany, Milwaukee, Bridgeport, Newark, Montreal—the list is endless. I have visited dozens of cities on Guild business in the past two years, and in at least half of them I have been taken aside by some old timer and told the same sad story. It goes something like this:

"Back in 19— conditions were so bad in the city room of the — that the fellows got together and started talking turkey. Experienced men could not make enough to support their families and, if they complained, often they were replaced by youngsters who would work for next to nothing. The publisher fired whomever and whenever he liked, and blamed the compositors and the pressmen, whose unions, he said, made it impossible for him to deal decently with us. This struck us as a stall. They were united and strong and got their demands, whereas, we were weak, being without a union. Well, we organized a union. It lasted about two weeks. The publisher fired some, flattered others, passed out a few raises, and soon we were right back where we started, except we were too discouraged to try again."

## *Wages and Dividends*

About two years after the start of the depression, that is about 1931, the men and women in the city rooms of America found themselves "taking it in the neck" as never before. Although throughout the depression the newspaper industry has continued to be a stupendous gold mine for the proprie-

tors, the publishers were not satisfied. They looked around, as any employer may, for places to cut costs, thereby to increase profits.

The top executives did not want to cut their own fat incomes, so that was "out." The great printing craft unions stood as a bulwark for the compositors, pressmen, photo engravers, stereotypers, electrotypers, mailers. The clerical forces in the business and circulation offices were already working at subsistence levels. But there remained the "creative individualists" in the news departments. Here salaries varied somewhat. Moreover, here by virtue of a publisher-promulgated myth now badly battered and bashed, it had long been established that workers took part of their remuneration in by-lines and glory. The answer was obvious. As if with one accord, and throughout the land, publishers began taking money out of the pockets of reporters, rewrite men, desk men, and slipping it into their own. A tough way to phrase the familiar phenomenon of wage cuts versus dividends? Yes, but it was tough on the newspapermen who suddenly had to give up their instalment furniture, their

second-hand Fords, their chicken dinners on Sunday, in order still to be able to buy the baby shoes.

## *Mr. Hearst in the Lead*

East and West, North and South, came the economic attack on editorial department workers. The newspapermen grumbled or grinned. They had little choice. They were unorganized and therefore defenseless. The outstanding newspapers in the country joined in the onslaught. Leading them all was William Randolph Hearst. Where other owners contented themselves with five, ten or twenty percent of their reporters' salaries, Mr. Hearst swallowed that and hungered for more. I know of no Hearst city room where the total of cuts comes to less than 27 percent, and at this very minute there are Guild pickets pacing the sidewalk before Mr. Hearst's *Wisconsin News* plant in Milwaukee who know what it feels like to give the best of your life to an employer only to be rewarded with a 50 percent wage cut. (I fancy there are plenty of middle class wage earners other than newspapermen familiar with the same unpleasant feel-

ing and anxious to fight against it.)

It was with this background of wage cuts, lengthened hours, insecurity, that newspapermen considered the gaudy promises of NRA. Whether the Roosevelt administration was sincere in its design to "drive the money changers out of the temple" and to succor "the forgotten man," or whether it was merely seeking a means of disorganizing rising popular determination to improve conditions, here was the chance for newspapermen to get together. NRA promised to protect us in the right of association and collective bargaining. A few of us were skeptical, but most of us wanted to give it a try.

## *Founding the Guild*

A group of newspapermen in Cleveland was the first to throw off the anti-union bugaboo, so cherished and fostered in American city rooms for many decades, and organize. They called themselves the Cleveland Editorial Association. One night the officers of the Cleveland Editorial Association (now Local 1 of the American Newspaper Guild) gathered at a certain subterranean joint known as Walter Murray's. They drank and talked of what had been accomplished and what must now be done. Maybe it was Garland Ashcraft who said "This can't be just a Cleveland proposition; this has got to be a national proposition or bust."

Who was the man to head up a national organization of newspapermen? Preferably the outstanding journalist in the country, preferably one loved and respected by his own kind. The Clevelanders did not wait upon formalities. A few minutes later Heywood Brown in his New York home received telegraphic notification of his nomination.

The American Newspaper Guild was formally organized, adopted a con-

*(Continued on page 24)*



*Newspapermen hard at work, covering a big trial*





“MR. PULLMAN,” wrote Ambrose Bierce toward the end of the nineteenth century, “is a gentleman—in the American sense—he bathes and has never been in jail.”

At that time such an ambiguous description of one of America’s most notable captains of industry would probably have earned the disapproval of the most vocal people in the country, for George M. Pullman was known not only as an inventor, a philanthropist, and a millionaire, but also as an enlightened capitalist who had devised a new system of organizing relations between capital and labor. Pullman was generally accredited with the invention of the railway car which bears his name, and the great man himself admitted that the general idea was his. Only its execution was left to his staff of competent (and anonymous) mechanics, for Pullman himself had little, if any, knowledge of engineering. He also gave away sums of money to various charities, and if these donations inevitably earned for Mr. Pullman and his corporation a certain amount of favorable publicity, one was bound as a man of the world to take the smooth with the rough. That he was a millionaire was true without any qualification whatever.

#### *Pullman’s “Model” Town*

As for the Pullman system of dealing with labor, it was similar to the Ford, or the English chocolate and tobacco paternalism of today. In 1880 Pullman founded in Illinois the “model” town bearing his name, and by the year 1894 it was occupied by 5,000 workers who, together with their families, storekeepers, etc., made up a total population of 12,000. The inhabitants lived in company houses, shopped in company stores, walked in a company park, had their children more or less educated in a company school, and worshipped in company churches. “Seventy-five families,” wrote a contemporary, an enthusiastic lady, “lean toward the Baptist Church; 250 incline in the direction of the Green Stone Presbyterian Church . . .”, and so great was Mr. Pullman’s concern for the religious welfare of his workers that, altogether, spiritual support was provided for ten denominations.

Any casual visitor to Pullman was

*Here is the story of the  
when the first major inju*

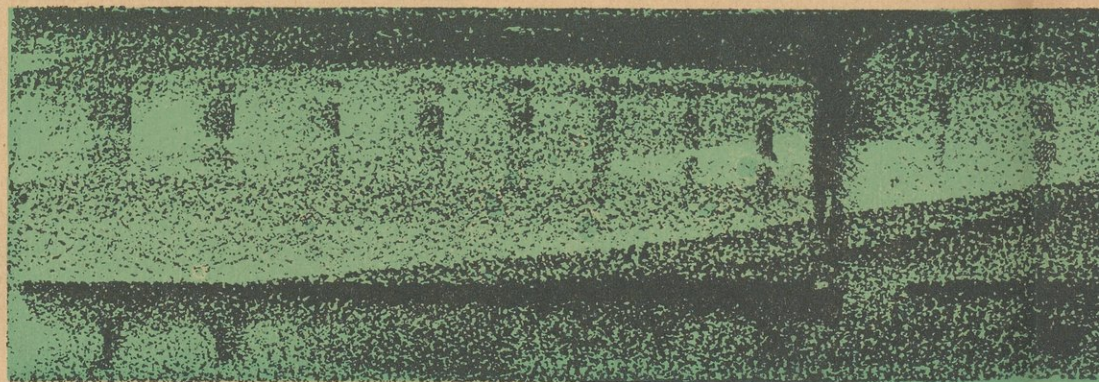
## 42 Years

By Leslie I

ILLUSTRATED BY H

invited to admire these various manifestations of “the helpful combination of Capital and Labor,” and a pamphlet (prepared by company writers) drew careful, if somewhat immodest, attention to the beauties of each amenity. But, in the words of an eloquent speaker at the opening of the Pullman theatre (for there was even a theatre!), the system was based on the belief that “it all pays and will pay.”

The method by which “it” was made to pay, although real enough, was not quite so apparent. In the first place, Mr. Pullman realized that intoxicating liquors were bad for workers, and so Pullman was a dry town. Even in the company hotel workers could obtain no strong drinks, and company officials themselves were compelled to drink their champagne in the privacy of the hotel bedrooms. Worse than drink, however, was universal comfort, and so in parts of the town not seen by visitors Mr. Pullman confined large numbers of workers in tenements where five families proved that they could live with one tap for running water and one toilet; and an even larger number of workers lived in the so-called “brickyards” or wooden shanties, which cost all of \$100 each to build, and rented for a mere \$96 per year. But worst of all for the workers was unionization, and so Mr. Pullman, who was a jealous master, forbade unionization. Said a contemporary writer, “the corporation expects you to enjoy it and hold your tongue.” But although these minor matters were not generally known, the eloquent speaker already referred to was prophetic when he remarked, “It will be strange if the serpent does not hiss





of the Pullman strike  
major injunction was issued

## Years Ago

slie Reade

BY HUGO GELLERT

even under the rose leaves of this Eden."

In the spring of 1894 the "serpent" duly hissed, and in the familiar form of reducing wages by 30-40%, and laying off one-third of the Pullman workers. Times were bad, and Mr. Pullman realized that sacrifices were necessary. Rents, store prices, and salaries of officials were not reduced. The success of Mr. Pullman's policy is proved by the fact that whereas for the year ending July 31, 1893, wages had cost the company \$7,223,719 and \$2,520,000 had been distributed in dividends, for the following year only \$4,471,701 had gone in wages while dividends had increased to \$2,880,000.

### The Aesthetic Features

The Pullman workers saw the situation in a different light. Sometimes for two weeks' work their pay envelopes, after deductions for rent, etc., contained anything from \$1 to 4 cents, and, as a Senate committee afterwards said, "The aesthetic features [the theatre, etc.] are admired by visitors, but have little money value to employees, especially when they lack bread."

Accordingly, a workers' grievance committee came before Thomas H. Wickes, a Pullman vice-president, and asked for a restoration of the wage cuts. Mr. Wickes, in refusing the demand, assured the committee that the factory was losing money, was staying open merely for the philanthropic purpose of keeping men at work, and that it was impossible to reduce rents because the Pullman Company as an employer of labor was an entirely separate entity from the Pullman Company as a land-

lord. So the committee retired; but they were promised that none of its members would lose his job.

Later the Pullman Company hardened its heart, and three members of the committee were dismissed.

On Friday May 11, 1894, therefore, the 5,000 victims of Mr. Pullman's philanthropy struck work. The company at once replied by shutting down the works indefinitely, suspending the workers' credit in the company stores, demanding the payment of \$70,000 in back rent, and then waited for hunger to restore the workers to the station chosen for them by Mr. Pullman's God. By the end of May many of the workers' families were in fact starving.

### Debs Attempts Arbitration

At this stage Eugene V. Debs comes into the story. In 1892 Debs had been Grand Secretary-Treasurer of the Locomotive Firemen, and in that year there was a strike of railway switchmen at Buffalo. Debs tried to persuade his union to strike in sympathy, and having failed in his purpose, resigned his position. In 1893 the American Railway Union was born. A year later, the A. R. U., which was an industrial union, numbered 150,000 members, drawn from many ranks of railway workers. Debs believed that "the interests of each of America's 850,000 railway workers were the interests of all," and that by applying this principle it would be impossible for employers to play off one craft of workers against another.

On June 12, 1894, the A. R. U., under the presidency of Debs, was holding a convention in Chicago. Before this body appeared the Rev. William Cardwardine, a Pullman preacher, but sympathetic to the strikers. He told of the conditions at Pullman, and asked for help. "In the name of God and humanity," said the preacher, "act quickly!" The convention voted \$2,000 for relief.

Debs then tried to arbitrate the dispute with the Pullman Company. Wickes sent a message telling Debs "to go to hell," and sent a similar answer to a delegation from the Civic Federation of Chicago, of which Jane Addams was a member, who also suggested arbitration.

The A. R. U. thereupon issued an

ultimatum giving the Pullman Company four days to begin negotiations with their employees, and this time the company did not even reply. On June 26th Debs was authorized by the convention to order a boycott of all Pullman cars on Western railways. Debs then issued an appeal "To the Railway Employes of America," which read in part:

Reduction had been made from time to time until the employes earned barely sufficient wages to live, not enough to prevent them from sinking deeper and deeper into Pullman debt, thereby mortgaging their bodies and souls, as well as their children's, to that heartless corporation.

In two days all railway operations between Chicago and San Francisco were paralyzed, and so great were the difficulties of the General Managers' Association, which now took charge of the Pullman and railway interests, that it tried in defiance of the immigration laws to import scabs from Canada.

### Company Violence and Troops

Debs and the other strike leaders had given strict orders against violence, and the strike until now had been completely orderly. The Senate investigation later acquitted the strikers of the charge of violence, and their temper is shown by the fact that at Pullman the strikers had set a guard to protect company property. The companies, however, realized that violence would be useful to set the authorities and public opinion against the strikers. They, therefore, sought to provoke disturbances. Railway officials handled trains, and gangs were hired to attack and damage them—compensation, of course, could later be claimed from the state for "strike losses." Moreover, U. S. mail cars were placed at the end of trains made up of Pullmans, so that when the Pullmans were detached by the strikers the companies could complain that the mails were being obstructed.

John Altgeld, who had pardoned three of the Haymarket prisoners, was still Governor of Illinois, and was regarded by the Chicago capitalists as "unreliable." They, therefore, appealed directly to President Cleveland, to send Federal troops to Chicago to guard their property. On the morning of July 4th Debs saw in the street outside his hotel marching lines of soldiers in the

blue uniforms of the United States Army. Altgeld at once protested vigorously against this unwarranted invasion of the state, but Cleveland, as might have been expected, tried to shield his ample bulk under the elastic folds of the Constitution.

Troops then began moving trains, and when crowds of strikers and sympathizers protested, the soldiers opened fire. In street fighting on July 6th two persons were killed, and twenty to thirty more on the following day. The daily press was furious, not, however, with the soldiers, but with Altgeld.

### The Octopus Power

Not even the United States troops could break the strike, and so Attorney-General Olney bethought himself of the unprecedented step of obtaining an injunction against Debs, other union leaders, and members of the A. R. U., to prevent their "interfering with" the mails, interstate commerce, and the business of twenty-three named railways. So broad were the terms of the injunction that under it even picketing was made a crime.

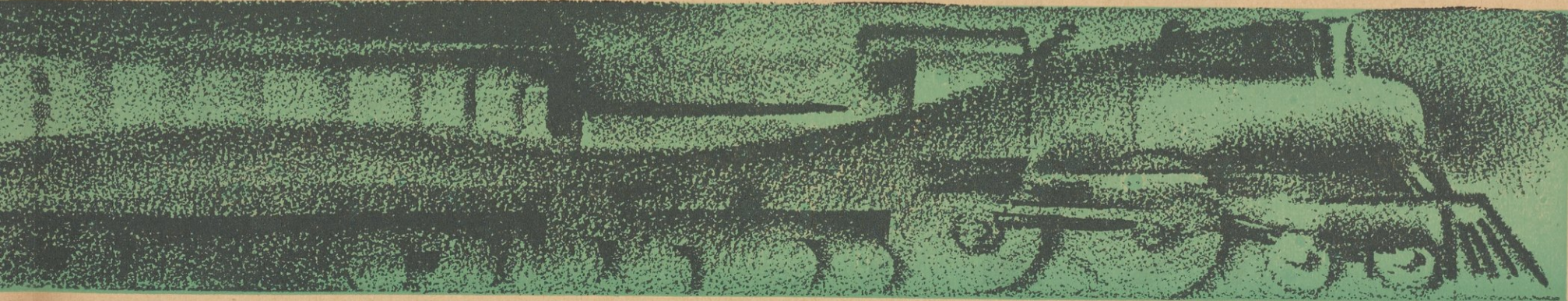
Moreover, on July 10th Debs and other leaders were indicted for "conspiracy" (!) and arrested. To obtain their release bail of \$10,000 each had to be provided.

Eugene Debs, however, was not a man to be intimidated even by the octopus power of a Federal court, and on July 12th, in defiance of the injunction, he appealed to the trade unions for an immediate general strike. The appeal did not materialize into action.

Having thus failed in his attempt to promote a general strike, on July 13th Debs offered to call off the strike if the men were re-employed without bias. The General Managers' Association refused even to negotiate. On the same day Debs was arrested and charged with contempt of court for urging the general strike in breach of the injunction.

More and more indictments were then issued against the strike leaders, and in face of the combined power of the courts and the troops the strikers began returning to work. In nearly every case the companies required that the men should resign from the A. R. U., and undertake not to join any other

(Continued on page 29)





# Books

## Mister Hitler

HITLER, by Konrad Heiden; translated by Winfred Ray; 390 pages; Alfred A. Knopf; \$3.00.

HITLER, by Rudolph Olden; translated by Walter Ettinghausen; 374 pages; Covici-Friede; \$3.00.

WHEN a modern capitalist nation bred for war loses the fight it has prepared for decades to win, the ensuing chaos is so deforming that any leadership becomes possible, even that of a Hitler. It promises the way out.

Just what this way is and the terrible consequences that lie ahead, these two books show us as they unroll full length pictures of *Der Fuehrer*.

Both have a permanent importance. Fascinating, terrible and bitter, they throw full light onto a national stage shrouded hitherto in the soft glow of propaganda. The glare reveals all the sordid trappings of make-believe, the flimsy political guy ropes and paste-board scenery, against which the tawdry drama of chicanery, duplicity, treachery and murder is being played.

The authors, both German journalists now in exile, have devoted years of painstaking work to their interpretations of Hitler's life. By their revelations, they have blacked in with firm, bold strokes, the vast unknown domain between newspaper dispatches on one side and *Mein Kampf* on the other.

Hitler's early life explains the Hitler as the world knows him. His origin, in an Austrian frontier village, lonely boyhood, vague yearnings to be a great artist, his battle with a father who wanted him to do well at school, death of his father, coddling by his mother, four years of hand-to-mouth living in a Vienna hostel after his mother died, the war years with Hitler currying favor with his superiors over his comrades, all fill in the picture.

Hitler's own life story, *Mein Kampf*, blurs these shortcomings. He could not reconcile himself to the steadfast duties of a normal life. He must strut and posture, be the big "I Am." When failure marked him, he sulked, developed a persecution complex and his wounded vanity found outlet in strident yellings at his comrades to shout down their opposing political beliefs.

This oratorical ability fixed one thought in his mind. If one yelled loudly enough, anything, no matter how great

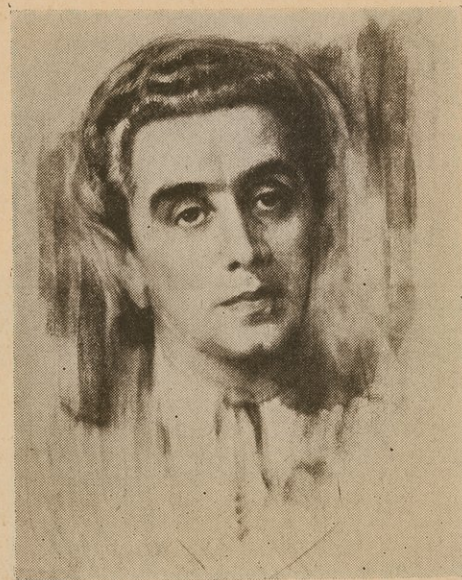
the lie, could be hammered home. The career of demagogic agitator matches his curious physical qualities of periods of indolence succeeded by almost ferocious activity. His peculiar ebb and flow personality has long been marked by his comrades.

Heiden's political analysis is masterly and able. He is especially discerning in his estimate of Hitler as the master of the Hearst type of propaganda, with Goebbels as his tool. Hitler is shown as the strategist now on one side, now on the other, playing his own party members against each other. Most significant of all is the statement that at no time was Hitler not allied with the Reichswehr.

Olden devotes more space to Hitler's boyhood, develops more bitterness in the portrayal of the man, and believes Hitler was the tool of the industrialists and bankers.

Both writers show Hitler's deep distaste for the masses although he courted them to serve his ends. Olden devotes much space to Hitler's appeal to the youth and both writers show that the habits of indolence, so marked in youth, still are strongly characteristic.

Heiden explains Hitler's rise thus: "This crushed nation (Germany) sees the Fuehrer rise up from humble material . . . In healthier times a Hitler would perhaps become the founder of a sect, a hypnotist, or an alchemist; only the ruin of all made him ruler over all. If this ruin persists, this rulership will be swallowed up and dispersed within it; if the nation is restored to health,



Ernst Toller, German exile, whose *Seven Plays* is published by Liveright

it will peel off like a scab from a wound. In no case will it last."

Olden sums up by contrasting quotations. In May 1935, Hitler told the Reichstag: "National Socialist Germany desires peace from its inner *Weltanschaulich* convictions."

Olden contrasts this with: "One cannot train an army and bring it to a proper state of efficiency if preparation for battle is not its *raison d'être*. There is no such thing as an army to preserve peace but only for the victorious conduct of war." Hitler wrote this five years ago.

Anyone so naive as to think Hitler wants peace has but to read these terrifying volumes. They will rudely awaken him to the reality of world peril.

—CHARLES HART

## The Founding Fathers

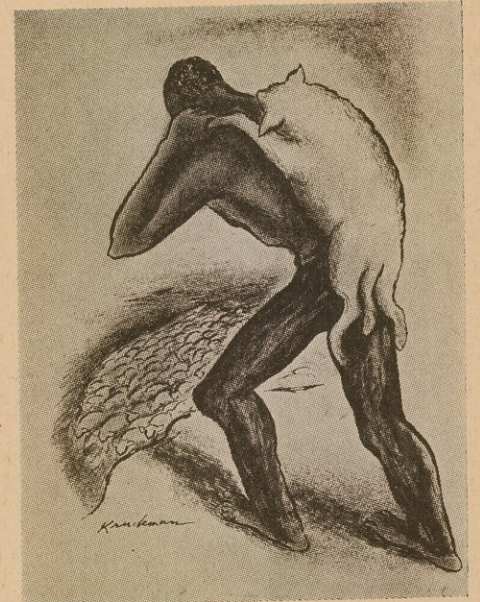
FIFTY-FIVE MEN, by Fred Rodell; 277 pages; The Telegraph Press; \$2.50.

FIFTY-FIVE men from twelve of the States along the Atlantic seaboard gathered together in Philadelphia in late May of 1787. Some of these men were prominent, a few were famous, but nearly all were well to do. Those that were not themselves bankers, merchants, manufacturers, speculators in bonds, and plantation owners represented the interests of this class. They had one common goal—to curb the power of the States they represented. They had a common object of hatred—paper money. They were haunted by one spectre—democracy. They sat through the summer, and when they finally dispersed they had hammered out the Constitution of the United States of America.

Professor Rodell's history of the Constitutional Convention is taken almost verbatim from the notebooks of James Madison, which were virtually the secret minutes of its sessions. It is a little shocking to learn that such reactionary groups as the American Liberty League, though themselves misnamed, are perfectly correct in proceeding on the assumption that the Constitution was originally designed for the protection of the rich against the majority of the people.

Fortunately, the author adds a chapter to the story in which he shows that every change in the Constitution since that summer of 1787 has made for greater democracy. In the first place

the people of the United States would not accept it at all without its first ten amendments—the Bill of Rights, which guarantees our civil liberties. And so it has been ever since with every one of the eleven other amendments, except the eighteenth, the prohibition amendment. Each change has circumvented some plan of the founders to keep the people from having too much say in



De Los' Sheep; from *Hol' Up Yo' Head* by Herb Kruckman, published by Pitel

their government. Only the Supreme Court remains what it was intended to be—a bulwark against democracy. And the history of the United States should make the moral obvious: evidently we need another amendment.

*Fifty-Five Men* should be given to every American schoolboy along with his history textbook.

—DANIEL BROUSE

## The High Command

THE GENERAL, by C. S. Forester; 305 pages; Little, Brown & Co.; \$2.50.

SOON after the war to end war had been won and the world had been made safe for democracy, in 1919 to be exact, A. P. Herbert wrote what was then an unconventional novel about the war called *The Secret Battle*. It was probably not a success, and it is now forgotten, but from that literary ancestor sprang the great family of war novels in English. All the well-known members of this family—like Barbusse's even earlier masterpiece *Under Fire* and the various German novels—depicted the ex-



periences of the men in the ranks and the junior officers.

In *The General* Mr. Forester has tried to do something else. In an always interesting and unsentimental novel he has exposed the type of mind in the higher command which was largely responsible for the patriotic adventures of millions of private soldiers. *The General* is the story of Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Curzon of the British Army, but when one remembers the history of the Great War, it might as well be the biography of any general in any army. First brought to public notice by a piece of good luck during the Boer War, Curzon's career is followed until he loses a leg in the last German "push," and he retires to the respectable comfort of a bath chair in an English seaside town.

The story is strongly reminiscent of Liddell Hart's realistic treatment of the staff "mind" in his various writings, and of Lloyd George's account of Passchendaele. Brave and brainless was Curzon, and in the latter quality at least he was typical of his class. Having failed in the method of direct attack at Neuve Chapelle, the generals tried it again on a larger scale at Loos, and then on a still larger scale on the Somme, and finally in the hideous climax at Passchendaele. "Men without imagination were necessary to execute a military policy devoid of imagination, devised by a man without imagination." And from each slaughter Curzon reaped a new "honour," because "a convention had grown up under which the prowess of a division was measured by the number of its men who were killed."

As a background to the military activity is a vivid account of the snobbery and intrigues of the society women and other patriots of the "home front," which have been described elsewhere with disarming candor by such participants as Sir Henry Wilson and Colonel Repington.

*The General* has the touch of authenticity throughout, and it will provide little comfort to those who are at present engaged in preparing fresh triumphs for the Curzons of 1936. If for that reason alone, it deserves to be widely read.

—LESLIE READE

#### Machines Make War

THE COMING WORLD WAR, by T. H. Wintringham, with an introduction by John Strachey; 255 pages and a map; Thomas Seltzer; \$2.50.

WHEN the victory of the Monitor over the Merrimac ordained that thenceforward naval supremacy would lie in mechanization, the basis was laid for the revolt of the crew of the Potemkin, of the sailors of Cattaro and Kronstadt, of a dozen British warships between 1914 and 1918, and of the blue-jackets at

Kiel who struck down the imperial eagle. In Mr. Wintringham's opinion, this is not merely a tradition of the sea; rather it is of the older and broader tradition of the industrial workers, of the machine-tenders—for the crews of modern warships are exactly that.

But armies, too, are mechanized now. Today, the author says:

Machines do the fighting and determine what kind of war it shall be: men are their servants and their targets. . . . This book is an attempt to suggest the way in which the rapid development of modern machinery—and of technique as a whole, including chemistry—will affect the second world war that is generally recognized to be close at hand. It is also an attempt to suggest the way in which the men who make and handle these machines can and will end war.

From this point of departure, the author proceeds to examine modern war-making technique, making some arresting revelations as to the status of aircraft construction in Britain and Germany. He subjects the propaganda of war preparation to a searching analysis, in the course of which he remarks that one of the most reliable tricks of the war-makers is to guide the anti-war sentiment of the people into channels which teach "pacifism" and the "brotherhood of man," but lead directly into the next propaganda stage of a "holy crusade," of a "war to end war."

In Mr. Wintringham's view, the cause of war today is capitalism in a state of crisis. The economic stringency which drives capitalist states to make war, he thinks, also produces the social force which can end war, namely, the radicalization of the people. And since the instruments of war are made and operated today by machine-tenders (the most revolutionary because of the nature of their labor) peace will come by a decision of these machine-tenders to use their machines in their own interest: the abolishing of the capitalist state to secure peace.

This is a Marxist work, but bears no resemblance to the popular conception of Marxist propaganda. Crammed with pertinent but little-known facts, it seems, rather, the work of a shrewd live-wire general-staff officer whose job has made him anti-capitalist and pro-working class. One of the most fascinating parts of the book is the appendix, which sketches out the probable progress of the campaign in a war between Japan and the Soviet Union in Siberia—which the author thinks may well be the kindling-point of the "coming world war."

—ALEXANDER TAYLOR

#### Brief Reviews

VIVE LE ROY, by Ford Madox Ford; 342 pages; J. B. Lippincott Co.; \$2.50.

THE man who is famous for having written a series of highly considered war novels, and for having been the collaborator of Joseph Conrad for ten years, here condescends to produce a mystery story. Unfortunately, the condescension is obvious from the cloud of high-class badinage that floats over the story. It is laid in France of the near future, when the Royalists have suppressed the Republic, crushed the Communists, and set up a utopian monarchy full of love for the common people. The young king happens to be assassinated, but his idealistic advisors force a young American doctor with Communist sympathies who looks like him to take His Majesty's place. The book contains a long-lost son, a fat detective who knows all and sees all, and some crackpot political thinking.

WOMAN ALIVE, by Susan Ertz; illustrated by Bip Pares; 219 pages; D. Appleton-Century Co.; \$2.00.

In the year 1985 there is an Eight-Hours War, which results in a disease

that kills all the women in the world. All but one young woman, who because of a scientific experiment is immune to all diseases. The world, which had resigned itself to total extinction, discovers her and insists on making a queen, a goddess, of her over her own protests. Finally she consents to save the world by starting a new race, but only on condition that the women shall hereafter rule and that there shall never again be any war. The author is evidently convinced that war is the result of a male hormone and that peace is cheaply bought by getting rid of the men. Otherwise the reader will undoubtedly be pleased to know that politically the world fifty years hence is pretty much what it is now—except for cleaner streets and faster air transport—as if Mussolini had taken charge and actually succeeded in fooling people for half a century.

RAW MATERIALS, POPULATION PRESSURE AND WAR, by Sir Norman Angell; *World Affairs Books No. 14*; 46 pages; *World Peace Foundation*; 35 cents.

The argument of the author, who is a member of the World Committee Against War and Fascism, is that a crowded population at home and the need for colonies with raw materials are not very good excuses for war. He points out that the United States, as self-sufficient as any country and by no means crowded, still has not solved the problems of depression and mass unemployment; that when Germany had colonies she still went to war; that the population of England, for all its colonies, is twice as dense as that of Italy, which is demanding room for expansion; that before the war there were more Germans earning their living in Paris than in all the German colonies combined; that after forty years of imperialism in Korea and Formosa, Japan has exported to these colonies less than one year's increase of Japanese population; that in Lybia, which Italy conquered after a costly war, there were only 90 Italian families in 1934 while in New York there were hundreds of thousands of Italian families.

To expose the hollowness of the claims of war-making Fascist countries, their demands for boundary revisions and more room, these arguments serve very well. Unfortunately, Sir Norman thinks they also disprove that wars are economic in their origin. This he arrives at by forgetting that a nation's interests are not the same thing as the interests of the small group of financiers who virtually own that nation. True, a nation's problems are not necessarily solved by wars of conquest—quite the contrary, very often—but a few leading capitalists of that nation are invariably put at some advantage over some other group of capitalists, just as they are advantaged by financing the war itself.

—D. B.



In the wake of invasion. From *Two Worlds* by Lester Cohen, a forthcoming book to be published by Covici-Friede



# Wall Street

**T**HE financial banditti who serve the interests of predatory capital in the nation's leading industries have recently been redoubling their labor smashing and Fascist building activities, spurred on by fear of the forthcoming strong trade union organizational drives in two of the basic open shop industries—steel and autos.

At the recent session of the Iron and Steel Institute, "labor relations" were the words which spluttered most frequently from the mouths of the steel barons in their private conversations in the salons of the Waldorf-Astoria. On the surface, all was conciliatory toward



labor. "A keystone of our modern industrial system must be not only high wages but the highest possible wages," proclaimed E. T. Weir, president of Weirton Steel. The past few years have demonstrated that Mr. Weir's actual labor policy, when confined to deeds and not to words for public consumption, is based on armed thugs, machine guns and tear gas. The workers in his feudal town of Weirton, W. Va., can testify to this.

But the fear of a strong union has driven Mr. Weir and his fellow steel magnates to vary this technique slightly in the direction of placating their workers, even while continuing to store up supplies of weapons, ammunition and gas for strike warfare. As a result, the steel publicity machine has been emitting a barrage of propaganda concerning "vacations with pay" for steel workers; this is a smokescreen advanced in a forlorn hope of blinding the steel workers to the sweeping, concrete economic and social gains which would be within their power if strong unions existed behind the barbed wire enclosures of the steel mills.

In recent testimony before a Senate committee in Washington, W. A. Irvin, president of U. S. Steel, declared: "During all my 41 years with the Steel corporation, we have sought to serve the public, conform to law, pay the highest going wage in the industry and finally make profits for the 232,000 owners of our stock." In contrast to the modest position accorded to profits in this statement of policy, the actual

history of U. S. Steel has been one of complete subservience to profits, with consumers gouged by monopolistic prices and with labor compelled to work for the lowest wage which terrorism and feudal political control can command.

For example, in the first three months of 1936, U. S. Steel's operating profits increased \$5,236,000, or 42% over the comparable period of 1935, whereas its shipments of steel increased only 22%, its employees only 4.8% and its payroll only 15%. This sliding scale, in reverse, is the reason why Mr. Irvin gets paid \$101,000 a year, according to the latest figures. His boss, Myron C. Taylor, takes \$161,000. In contrast, the 198,269 U. S. Steel workers each received an average wage of \$349 for their first three months' labor this year, or at an annual rate of \$1,396 if their jobs continue. Many, of course, receive much less than even this pitiful average rate.

## The Law and U. S. Steel

**M**R. IRVIN'S curtsy to law observance, in testifying before the Senate, raises the question of what law represents to a steel baron. The customary practice is to make sure that legislators pass only those laws which are tasteful to the steel interests and their allies. If necessary, U. S. Steel can make its own law, as it did when it packed its plants with guns and munitions to fight a threatened strike in 1934. On those rare occasions when laws are passed which are vitally distasteful, then U. S. Steel joins with other reactionaries to flout the law. An example of the latter is the notorious lawyers committee of the American Liberty League which last fall gratuitously proclaimed the Wagner Labor Relations Act unconstitutional. At the head of this committee is Raoul E. Desvernine, counsel for U. S. Steel and the New York Stock Exchange. And behind the committee are piled the money bags of the du Ponts, Morgans, et al.

Charlie Schwab, chairman of Bethlehem Steel, neatly summarized the social ideas of his confreres upon his re-



turn from Germany a few weeks ago. Things "looked fine" in Germany, Charlie declared, with senile enthusiasm. "I find the industrialists in Germany are with Hitler. People think he is going to bring order out of chaos." Concentration camps, persecution, terrorism and misery are O.K. with Schwab as long as "the industrialists are with Hitler."

## Motor Moguls Put Money on the Line

**T**HE motor moguls also have been having their share of labor qualms. Ever since the Chevrolet strike in Toledo a year ago, which paralyzed one-fourth of the automobile output for five weeks, auto manufacturers have been frantically bolstering their defenses against an even more decisive strike. Much of this has taken the form of spreading production among as many separate points as possible, hoping thereby to divide and weaken the labor forces. This policy has been carried out hypocritically in the name of "decentralization to spread purchasing power." Since the recent demonstration of strength by the rubber workers in Akron, the auto magnates have been bringing similar pressure on the tire manufacturers to acquire new plants in non-union territory.

Now that a strong drive to unionize the auto plants is in the offing, the motor monarchs are putting more and more money on the line for espionage and for other efforts to smash the unions. In 1935, General Motors, the biggest auto manufacturer and biggest profit maker in the world, paid \$167,586 to Pinkerton National Detectives,



for "plant protection." This represented a sizeable raise in the ante from the \$101,614 paid to Pinkerton for the same purpose in 1934. Another payment of \$21,175 by General Motors for "protection" in 1935 is on record. These payments represent only a part of the corporation's anti-union war budget.

In paying out these sums to fight unionization, General Motors officials are not only "protecting" the corporation's enormous profits, which amounted

to \$167,226,510 in 1935 and will reach higher levels this year, but they are also "protecting" some of the handsomest official salaries in the world. In 1935, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president, grabbed \$374,505, against \$201,744 in 1934, while William S. Knudsen, executive vice-president, took \$374,475 last year against \$211,129 in 1934. The 211,712 General Motors employes, on the other hand, received an average wage of but \$1,526 in 1935, an increase of only \$149 over 1934.

## Typewriters and Labor

**J**AMES H. RAND, JR., leading light in the reactionary Committee for the Nation and colleague of Father Coughlin, has been the star performer recently in an unsurpassed exhibition of labor baiting and strike hysteria. Confronted by a united strike in each of the scattered main plants of Remington Rand, Inc., Rand has pulled out of his hat every known trick of strike breaking. He locked out his workers at Syracuse, N. Y., Norwood, Ohio, and Middletown, Conn., hoping to break the morale of the strikers by threats of a permanent shutdown, and to incite violence by complaints to civil authorities of "insufficient police protection" for the importation of strike breakers. He has attempted to entice strikers back into the plants by



promises of concessions in return for the repudiation of the union. He has raised the red scare and had pickets arrested for distributing "communistic" literature. He has threatened to transfer the company's operations to Canada.

The "crimes" which incited Rand's violent outburst were demands for a wage increase, for reinstatement of discharged union leaders and for decent assurances of security of employment as against Rand's continual threats of lockouts. In the year ended March 31, 1936, Remington Rand's net profits were \$3,010,288, the second largest in its history and 72% larger than in the preceding year.

The Remington typewriter is Exhibit No. 1 for a consumers' boycott until this wild man is brought to terms.



### Saw Cha Road

ON THIS and all other backstreets  
of the settlement the French  
concession

Chapei and Chinese city  
in this Asiatic metropolis  
the medieval apprenticeship system for  
boys

from five years of age upwards  
working in ironsmiths shops, printing  
shops

silversmiths paint shops carpenter shops  
hammering red-hot irons  
carrying bricks cement up scaffolds  
blowing glass faces sooty tired hard  
bodies stulted disproportioned

apprenticeship is for five years  
wages is stomachful of rice  
lodgings on the floor of the shop  
besides tradework the boys must  
wash dishes sweep shop attend table  
kowtow to master and absorb his bad  
moods

in form of curses kickings and beatings

here and there among these slaveshops  
firetraps helldens

from behind a lathe a forge a dipping  
tank

boys' eyes dart out onto the streets  
the marching fighting freedom beckon-  
ing streets

the boys' eyes dart out flashing fire  
flashing life fight fury

### Central Arcade

**T**HOS. COOK & SON  
window placards:  
See China

"See Hangchow, the city beautiful  
with its ancient temples and pagodas  
its priests and buddhas  
its enchanting caves and lakes."

See the sprawling filthy masses  
on a sweltering night in the  
Wayside factory district  
asleep on the curbstones  
in the alleyways.

Thousands and thousands of them  
men women and children like dogs  
heads resting in the filth of the  
streets.

"See Wusih, with its peachblossom  
parks  
and lovely islanded lakes.

See the flour-king's gorgeous villa."  
See the bamboo-sticks descending  
on the  
bare heads of the ricksha coolies  
as they clamor at the Wusih rail-  
way station  
for someone to pull,  
their prayer for daily rice.

"See Peking, the historic capitol  
with its imperial palaces  
art museums stored with treasures."  
See the blind, the beggars, the  
cripples,

# Shanghai

By Michael Pell

Introduction by Agnes Smedley

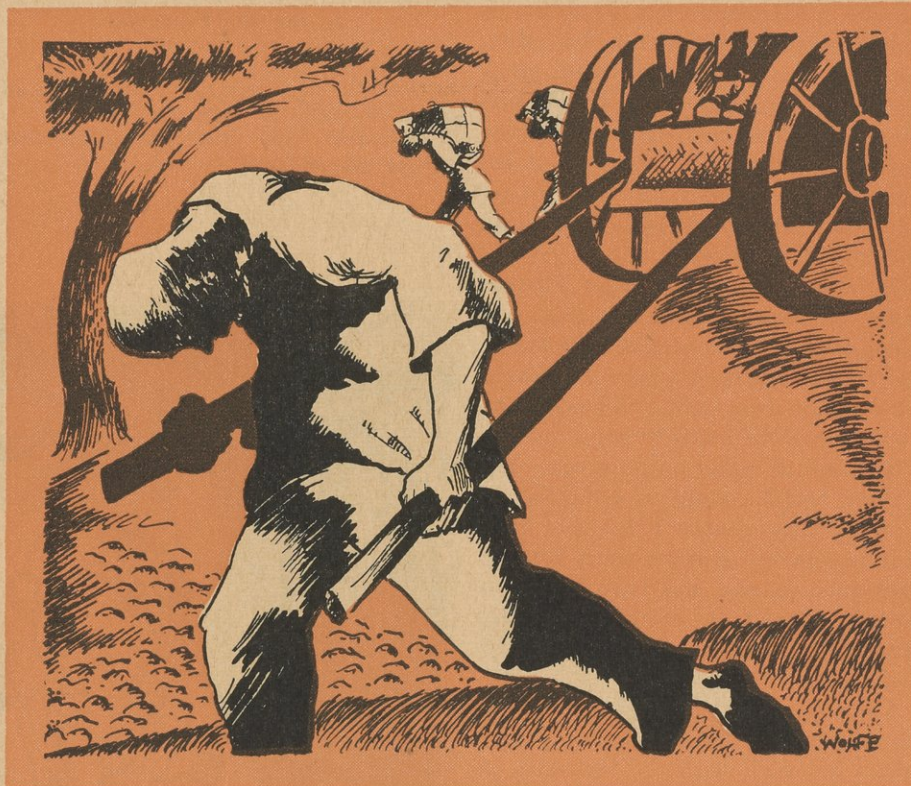
ILLUSTRATED BY PHIL WOLFE

**M**OST Americans have a nebu-  
lous, sentimental attitude  
about China. Others have  
the impression that Chinese are mysteri-  
ous and dangerous creatures. Let Pell's  
verse contribute to their knowledge of  
what China really is; and after read-  
ing it, let them go further in their  
studies. For his verse is very real,  
very true.

Every line challenges thought. As I  
read, I kept thinking: "Oh yes, and he  
could have added this, and this and  
that." For example, I recalled the re-  
mark some British police officers in the

in the same dark, unhealthy room where  
he worked, and his boss had fed him  
and the other lads on "dog rice."  
When the boss, a round-bellied Chinese,  
was asked about the boy's death, he held  
his sides with mirth and said: "Silly  
boy! He was just sitting on the bench  
and fell over dead!" He could see no  
reason for such senseless conduct. But  
the foreigners, so-called bearers of  
civilization, generally remark of such  
cases: "Oh, well, one yellow bastard  
less," and take another drink of whis-  
key and soda.

It is such things as these, which strike



International Settlement of Shanghai  
made to a man I know as they passed  
a school for Chinese girls: "All these  
schools are nothing but whore fac-  
tories." Or I thought of a new Japa-  
nese factory under construction in  
Shanghai. When the Japanese owner  
was told he ought to build lavatories  
for his Chinese workers he exclaimed  
in surprise: "What! For the natives!"  
Or I thought of a little Chinese boy  
apprentice twelve years of age who one  
day laid his head down on his bench  
and just quietly died. He had worked  
fourteen hours a day for months—ever  
since he entered the shop. He had slept

at the roots of human existence, which  
deny the Chinese people elementary  
rights to a human life, that show the  
reality of life in Shanghai and in most  
other cities and villages of China today.  
Mike Pell came to China and im-  
mediately saw this, felt it in the depths  
of his heart, and expressed it in his  
verse. [Whatever may be the weak-  
nesses of his verse, still its strength is  
a true and real strength.] We who  
know Shanghai and China, at least to  
some extent, know that he has shown  
the reality behind the face of this merci-  
less city.

SHANGHAI, CHINA.

who roam the streets and whine  
and whimper.  
"See the exquisite ladies ride by in  
heavily-curtained man-borne sedan  
chairs."

See the drysucked breasts of  
ragged mothers  
covered with filth and the hungry  
paws of their babes  
begging outside the rich men's  
walls.

"See the Great Wall!  
that most stupendous achievement  
costing the lives of a million laborers."

See also the great invisible walls  
of China,  
the walls of race against race, na-  
tion against nation,  
and class against class.  
See the cracks and crumbling in  
these walls,  
and you see China of today.

### Peking Road

"**H**ALLO Karl!"  
calls the load  
Wang the ricksha coolie  
pulls across Peking Road.

To Wang's ears  
"Hallo" might mean  
stop-go-faster-turn-here  
or anything else so he  
slows down turns his head  
just like any draught animal does.

A vicious poke in the buttocks  
with the metal end of a walking stick  
and a screamed "Keep going there"  
is the snarling correction.

Mr. Emil Neufelder  
military adviser to Chinese Government  
member of Shanghai Rowing Club  
member of Deutscher Garten Klub  
member of German Dramatic Circle  
member of Nazionalsozialistischer deut-  
scher arbeiter partei, Shang-  
hai Ortsgruppe

At the club bar his pink cheeks glowed  
as he related  
"it is funny how little you can give  
a ricksha coolie and make him like it.  
From the Metropol Theatre he pulled  
me  
down Peking Road along Soochow  
Creek to here  
and you know what I gave him? Fif-  
teen coppers!

"You know how to do it?  
When you get out of the ricksha,  
always count out exactly 15 coppers  
give it to him and walk straight away  
without paying any attention if he  
yells."

Thus Mr. Emil Neufelder  
220 lbs. of rosy Nazi flesh  
son of a Berlin schoolmaster  
now doing nicely in the Far East.





# In Hitler Land



*What do the sixty-five million German people really think? What is the position of skilled labor? How is the underground struggle against Hitler conducted?*

By Anonymous

ILLUSTRATED BY HERB KRUCKMAN

The writer of this unusual document is a German of well-known political connection who was obliged to leave the country in 1933. Toward the end of 1935 he returned to Germany for a short time in order to inform himself of the present situation. The book which the author wrote after his return from Germany is now being published in London. FIGHT is privileged to present these selections to its readers and will publish more of this important document in later issues.—EDITOR

## Street Life

I WANTED to find out for myself what changes could be observed in the streets since I was last in Germany. I wanted to acclimatize myself to the new conditions, to the countless different uniforms and the Nazi salute. To this end I went first to those large towns where I knew nobody, and walked about the business and industrial quarters. For hours I strolled through the streets, picking up what I could of the conversation of passers-by. I went into restaurants and cinemas. Irresistibly I was reminded of my first visit to Russia in 1930, which I began by spending whole days wandering about the streets of Moscow in order to gather my own impressions. What struck me there were the dirty and dilapidated houses, the long queues outside the food stores and the poor quality of the clothes. Later I went to the factories and newly built areas, into the overcrowded technical schools and clubs. The contrast between the real life of the people and the superficial life in the streets impressed me deeply. The streets were full of members of the dispossessed classes left over from the NEP period and of peasants recently come to town; but the workers, absorbed in the life of factory and club, were not to be seen so much by the casual visitor.

In Germany, in 1935, it is equally true that you cannot judge the real life of the people from observation in the streets. The old orderliness and

neatness are still there. The people are relatively well-dressed; they would rather starve than be seen in a dirty collar—and there are fewer beggars than there used to be. Since it is forbidden to address anybody in the streets—because, officially, there is no need or hunger in Germany—one is only rarely and surreptitiously accosted. In theory, everyone can apply to the *Winterhilfe* for relief; in practice, the *Winterhilfe* gives only occasional payment in kind and nothing at all to “enemies of the State” and “undesirable elements”—i.e., Jews, unemployed of long standing and suspected persons.

As a well dressed stranger I never heard criticisms around me, either in restaurants or in the streets. The butter and fat and egg queues have reappeared as a common daily sight, and housewives stood in line for hours to get a quarter of a pound of butter or three eggs. Yet I never heard a word of complaint as I passed these queues. I was told later that housewives grumble more bitterly than anybody else and have begun to ask why there is no butter, and to remark that it is more urgently needed than guns.

I saw no happy or laughing faces in the street. For the most part, people looked harassed, with the exception of the very young men who behaved as though they owned the street and wore their uniforms with a certain swagger. On November 3rd, 1935, the official collecting day for the *Winterhilfe*, I watched gangs of these boisterous youths soliciting contributions at the street corners. Trumpets blew and the boys sang uproariously. The refrain of their marching songs was:

Tra-li, Tra-la,  
Siegreich wollen wir Moskau schlagen. . .

(Victoriously we shall conquer Moscow—a variation of the old German soldiers' song of 1870: “Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen.”) They

rattled their collection boxes and shouted gaily: “Give something for the Winter Relief Fund!”

The real Germany of 1935-36 is not to be found in the streets by a stranger among strangers.

## In the Big Factories

Berlin anecdote:

Goebbels, after inspecting a factory, has an interview with the Manager.

Goebbels: “Are there still Communists among your workers?”

Manager: “Oh, yes.”

Goebbels: “How many would you say?”

Manager: “I should say about forty per cent of the workers.”

Goebbels: “And Social-Democrats?”

Manager: “About thirty per cent.”

Goebbels: “And the rest?”

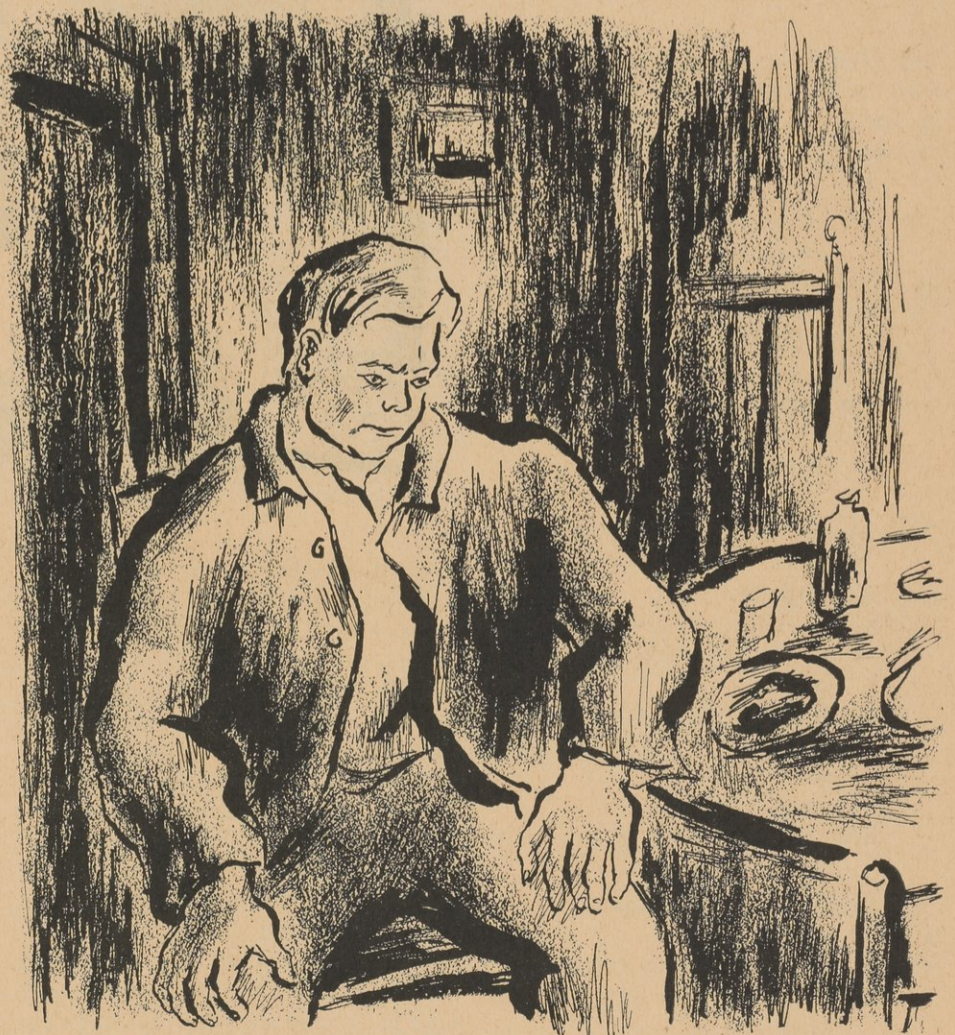
Manager: “Oh, they're indifferent—not interested in politics.”

Goebbels: “Do you mean to tell me there are no National-Socialists in this factory?”

Manager: “Oh, no! They're all National-Socialists here.”

This anecdote which was current when I was in Berlin, reflects very

*The wives feel the*





neatly the general tone. It is significant that the story spread like wildfire through the factories and was gleefully received by the workers, while National-Socialists employed in the factories themselves smiled at it.

Political criticism generally takes the form of jokes. According to the official press, Goebbels had made the statement that: "It is not our task to make butter, but to make history." The next day factory workers were asking each other: "What's on your bread?" to which the reply was "History."

On one occasion Hitler addressed a broadcast speech to the men engaged in building the new motor-road near Frankfurt-am-Main. It was extremely cold and the men were obliged to stop their work and stand about to listen. They warmed themselves up by clapping loudly and vigorously for several minutes at every passage of the speech which was particularly meaningless and empty. The S.S. camp police were wild with rage, but were at a loss to deal with this display of enthusiasm. Another story relates to the Labor Exchange of Neukoelln in Berlin where the official in charge called out an unemployed man for a job.

Somebody shouted out cheerfully: "Another million less unemployed!" The Gestapo man who was called in was quite unable to trace the culprit—no one was prepared to give him away, but all Berlin laughed.

The general discontent is admittedly

very great among factory workers, but it is not easy for them to take effective action. Their old organizations have been destroyed and the Fascist State apparatus can easily crush the individual out of existence. As one old Social-Democrat said: "As long as the Nazis can go around with guns and knives there's nothing much we can do except keep quiet."

Nevertheless, the demand for qualified technical workers is so great that suspected Communists and men dismissed from concentration camps are frequently taken on in big factories. Skilled workers, indeed, have no difficulty in finding jobs, particularly in metal and armament industries, and former trade unionists are therefore able to demand higher wages and to walk out of jobs if their demands are not satisfied. In point of fact, however, they are more often than not successful in pushing their claims.

Two important points about the position of factory workers are to be noted: in the first place, although it is not easy to achieve organized action in the factories, economic concessions are made far more readily than formerly in order to prevent a spread of dangerous discontent; and secondly, these small concessions to skilled workers do not, as formerly, reconcile them to the regime. On the contrary, having discovered a weak spot in Fascist oppression, the workers are made more conscious of their own power. Whereas, in the old

days, economic concessions satisfied the good trade unionist and turned him into a tractable citizen willing to uphold the *status quo*, the workers now realize that they preserve their concessions only by assailing the system itself.

There are many workers in Germany who would acknowledge quite freely the fact that the regime has diminished unemployment. They may earn less than in the old days, but they are sure of that little. In such cases it is their wives who feel the pinch and become rebellious under the extreme hardships of the reduced standard of life, and this is naturally not without its effects on the men themselves.

Let me quote from the conversation I had with an experienced Communist worker employed now in a Westphalian armament factory. I asked him:

"What's the general tone in the factory?"

"It's O.K.," he said, "everyone grumbles and is dissatisfied, even the Nazis."

"And what about the Labor Trustees?"

"Well, they either say nothing, or else grumble the same as we do. The workers aren't in the least afraid any more of expressing themselves quite openly in their presence."

"But isn't it known there that you used to be a Communist? Isn't it very risky for you to talk?"

"No. I just grumble with the rest. If I didn't, it would seem very odd. Sometimes I'm asked: 'Weren't you a red once?' and I just answer: 'They're forbidden, aren't they?' As a matter of fact, what I like best is talking to the old type of National-Socialists, and asking them questions. But they don't much like talking and always wriggle out of discussions."

### Illegal Work

It is, of course, one of the most important principles of illegal work to watch detail. The slightest false step may arouse suspicion and illegal workers have brought to a fine art the practice of behaving like their fellows, whether among the bourgeoisie or the workers.

As a general rule only two or three anti-Fascists meet at a time. Such meetings were at one time held in cafes and restaurants, but it did not prove very satisfactory. The strain was too great. If one stayed talking longer than other people, and particularly if conversation was carried on in an earnest and discreet manner, one was a marked man. There might be a spy at the next table. The waiter not infrequently turned out to be an agent of the Gestapo, and, in any case, it was his profession to observe the clients and to turn his practiced eye upon all newcomers and unaccustomed mannerisms. On the other hand, it was extremely unsafe to become an habitué and to be seen in the same place with the same person frequently.

In spite of this, I did on one or two occasions meet X at a cafe. We preferred places where there was a dance band and where the tables stood fairly far apart. Even then, we dared not stay for very long, and if anyone brushed past our table too closely, we immediately, and without a flicker of change in our expressions, changed the conversation and spoke of something else. This produced a very grotesque effect, as when the waiter came towards us and my friend remarked:

"... the war preparations—and he said she'd better look out or he'd tell her husband—"

At one point, X interrupted me with a criticism.

"You're looking much too serious," he said. "You've got to smile sometimes."

So, with a laughing, joyful face I asked him about the latest Gestapo methods and our friends who had disappeared.

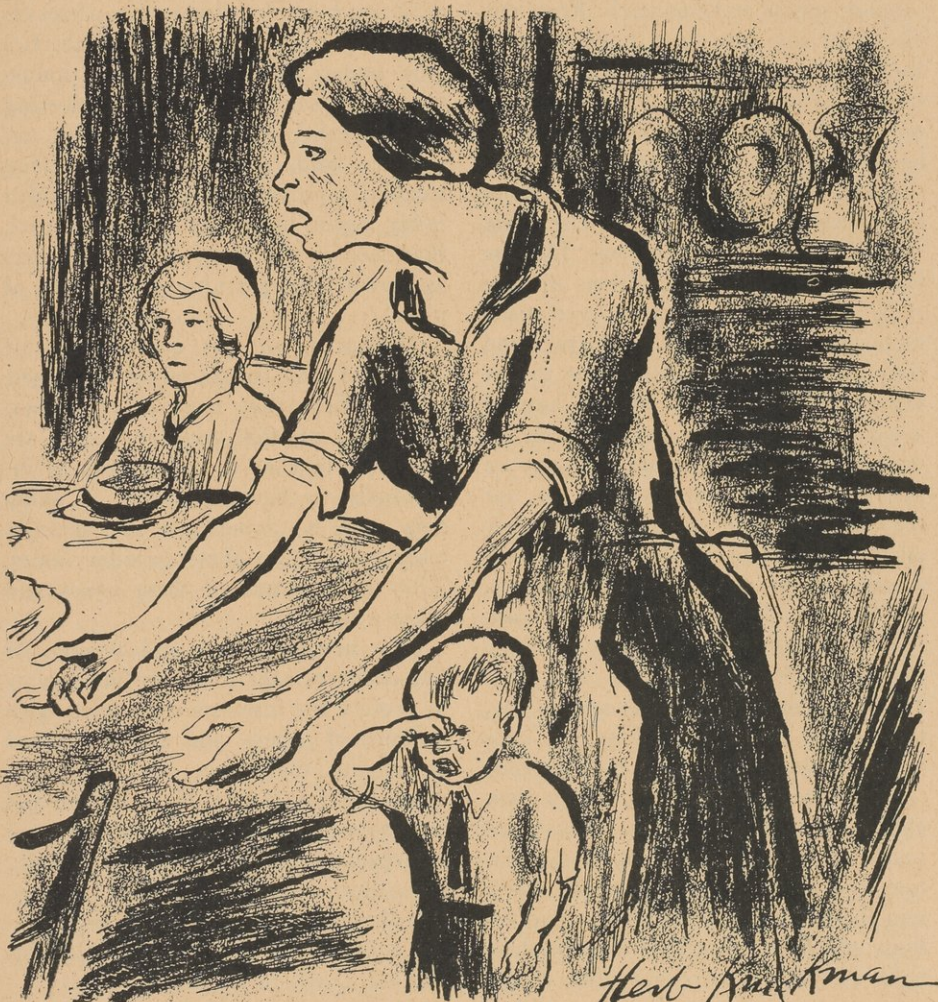
At the next table they were very jolly. They drank wine and laughed, and we laughed too and raised our voices to complete a story which had no beginning:

"Of course, Frieda was tight, or she wouldn't have done it," said X, and we rocked with laughter to harmonize with our surroundings.

I had a very important conversation with a comrade while we made an excursion to one of the popular resorts outside the town and enjoyed the beauty of the German forest. After such a long absence it was essential that we should come to a common understanding of the changes and developments in the political situation. Without that—which was the purpose of my visit—it would be difficult and almost impossible for us to pursue the same line during another period of separation. On our way back from the country, the passengers in the tram looked very glum; we, on the other hand, slightly off our guard, were extremely animated and, being the only people who presented a lively appearance, excited a considerable amount of suspicious attention until we became aware of the cause.

The best place to talk is in the streets in the evening. There are, of course, meetings in rooms and private houses, but they are rare and only possible for very intimate friends. In the workshops and factories very little can be said of a definitely political nature and the street has, therefore, become the most obvious meeting-place. The technique of arranging such meetings is so highly developed that nobody is likely to discover them. For example, one man will go into a public 'phone box. He telephones, and at the same time opens the directory at a certain page, and draws a line under a few letters. Two days later another man goes into that box, looks at the page and learns the new rendezvous.

pinch and become rebellious

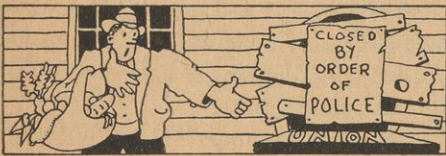




# Letters

## California Justice

THE agricultural workers in this county have been on strike for some weeks. The average wage paid them was 22½¢ per hour, and the average earnings per week less than \$10. The strikers have been brutally assaulted by the local police and deputy sheriffs, their leaders beaten and jailed, and their legal rights disregarded. This afternoon I went to the union headquarters, taking clothing, food, and shoes which we collected. I found the headquarters had been raided by the sheriff's "red squad" and six children and three women gassed. . . A sympathizer, Lawrence Gilson, while delivering food to the strikers over a



month ago was arrested, charged with possession of a deadly weapon, and held in jail until last Friday, when he was released on \$1,500 bail. His "deadly weapon" consisted of a piece of rubber tire which had fallen off his baby's carriage.

This little history of the strike in our county is a fairly good indication of the Fascist tendencies in California. . . The welfare agencies, through their employment departments, are forcing relief clients to scab under threat of being cut off relief.—CLARENCE E. STEERÉ, *Venice, Calif.*

## In Haiti

NEWS has reached us that Joseph Jolibois, the great Haitian patriot, died suddenly on May 13th in a Haitian prison without previous illness. He had been imprisoned with six other outstanding Haitian patriots in August, 1934, on the charge of having distributed a copy of an article hostile to President Stenio Vincent. . . Four of the eight prisoners were released last year, while Jolibois and the others were held.

Fearful for the lives of the three men still in prison, we have written to the Minister of Haiti, in Washington, asking for an investigation. We should appreciate if you would kindly reprint this letter in your column.—FRANCINE B. BRADLEY, *New York, N. Y.*

## Jewish Farmers

ONE all too frequently hears remarks from Fascist minded people to the effect

that there are no Jewish farmers, because Jews are not inclined to useful and productive work. I wonder if such people know that Jewish farmers are making excellent progress both in numbers and conditions. Although in 1900 there were only 216 Jewish farm families in this country, there are now more than 100,000. . . The total acreage cultivated by Jews exceeds 1,500,000 acres. . .—FRED HAMMAN, *Pekin, Ill.*

## Paid with By-lines

(Continued from page 15)

stitution, and elected officers at a meeting in the sumptuous National Press Club in Washington, D. C., on December 15th, 1933. More than a score of cities were represented, and as many more sent proxies. From then on men and women in all parts of the country have labored at the arduous task, the job that is never ended, that of building the union. With 6,000 members and 60 Guilds, including most of the eligible persons on most of the country's big city dailies, we feel we have now laid a sound foundation.

## Learning Through Experience

Our experience, the lessons we have learned, are fundamentally the same as those of other unions—that our strength will always depend upon ourselves rather than on any governmental agency, that the strike is the fundamental weapon of trade unionism, that unity within our own ranks and with other labor groups is the essence of strength.

These are the lessons that are learned when our fundamental rights are challenged, when attempts to stall collective bargaining throw us into a struggle for organizational existence. These things we learned in the Burgess and Jennings cases, in our dealings with NRA, the Newspaper Industrial Board, with President Roosevelt when he went back on what we had understood to be promises of protection. But it is mainly in strikes that we learn our lessons.

At the beginning of the Newark *Ledger* strike in the fall of 1934, not all of our members were by any means convinced that alignment with the labor movement was essential if we were to be a strong organization and win the strike. The course of the strike, however, convinced most of us that such was the case, and in the 1935 con-

vention the delegates from Newark were the most insistent in arguing that we should join the American Federation of Labor.

While most of the delegates at that convention were favorable to the A. F. of L., it was felt safer to put the question to a membership referendum and to require a two-thirds vote for approval. The referendum failed to carry us in by a very narrow margin. In the convention that has just taken place in New York the pro-affiliation vote was nearly seventeen to one with only two Guilds opposed.

The heaviness of the vote may have been influenced by our experience in our most important strike, which began February 17th against the Hearst paper in Milwaukee. We feel that our defeat or victory there will be of paramount importance to the labor movement in general, that in his dealings with the Guild Hearst has displayed to date what amounts to a phobia against organization for collective bargaining by his editorial employes.

## The Hearst Strike

Newspapermen and women are no more eager to risk the livelihoods of themselves and families, or to picket in weather 16 degrees below zero as we did there, than any other class of workers. The fact that we have done so should indicate that any group of white collar workers is able to put up as stiff a fight as their brothers in overalls or dungarees—newspapermen, of all groups, being accounted as individualistic and solicitous for their own comforts.

In this strike we have received much support, moral and financial. President Green of the American Federation of Labor and President Lewis of the United Mine Workers, who are at odds with each other on other issues, have been in agreement at least in calling for support of this strike. The labor movement in Milwaukee and elsewhere throughout the country has likewise been liberal in its declarations of support. Many sections of it have made financial contributions. Liberal and civic groups have likewise come to our support. In so far as Hearst himself is concerned we are on record as an organization in opposition to many of the things he has come to stand for, but the Guild, as such, is fighting him only on straight trade union issues in Milwaukee—hours, wages, and job security.

His agents have employed every conceivable dodge in their efforts to break the strike, but despite the fact that Hearst has unlimited power and money, the Guild line has held solid. Like other Guild strikes, this one depends upon the power of boycott, rather than ability to stop production. Heavy inroads have been made upon circulation and advertising. We shall surely win the strike when the great organizations which have declared it to be their fight as well as ours not only so de-

clare, but organize regular and reliable financial support and boycott activity of their own. Victory means conclusive establishment of the right of professional workers to organize, which will be a lift not only to the white-collar classes, but to the present backbone of the labor movement, which will profit tremendously in turn through having gained important allies.

Conventions of a new trade union are apt to be made up of those who themselves, personally, have taken risks and made sacrifices in order that their organization might be born. On the other hand, the leading bodies of unions long and firmly established sometimes lack this intimate immediate contact with the primary struggle for sheer existence. Some of their leaders smugly accept the traditions drawn from the conditions of many years ago, from as far back perhaps as the time of Sam Gompers, as applicable to the troubled world of today.

But the unions that have been formed during recent years like to consider themselves progressive because they are free from such tradition and must face the world as they find it. Like the American Newspaper Guild, many other white-collar labor groups now forming will take this "progressive" outlook. For we do consider ourselves progressive. We believe that the wage earner today must not only organize, but must integrate his organization with the broader problems confronting society as a whole.

Possibly at our earlier conventions, when we adopted resolutions condemnatory of war propaganda, urging independent political action by those who must work to live, crying for preservation of our precious American liberties now under attack, pointing to industrial unionism as the means of meeting the powerful employers of today on an even field, we were merely giving a casual approval to things that sounded fairly logical but fairly inconsequential, that then struck many of our members as downright gratuitous and out of place.

If that is so, the convention just concluded has convinced at least one Guild officer that most of the newspapermen of this country today see very clearly that their interests as individuals, as newspapermen, as union men, and as Americans are actually inseparable from these broader issues. They have examined these issues and taken a stand.

The newspapermen and women of this country want a farmer-labor party to protect the interests they share with millions of others, and are committed to playing their part in creating it. They are for industrial unionism and hope to see it become the accepted form of organization. They see the pressing importance of protecting their liberties, of making a real fight through organization against war and Fascist onslaught.

That is where we stand.



## Labor's Hope

(Continued from page 6)

of workers employed in the unorganized industries are ready for organization, are demanding organization, and are willing to hazard their welfare and well-being in joining their fellow workers in undertaking to establish collective bargaining in the empire of the automobile, of steel and cement, and electrical manufacturing and allied modern industries.

### Organized to Attain Liberty

A number of major unions in the American Federation of Labor have joined together and have set up what is called a Committee for Industrial Organization to encourage the American Federation of Labor to change its policy, to carry on educational work among the unorganized, and to try if possible in this year of 1936 to have the American labor movement, organized as it is, undertake to chart a new course and to travel a new road that indicates more reasonable success in the attainment of the declared objectives of modern liberty. Is there anything wrong about such a program? Is it treason to ask that the financial interests which control the steel industry cease their opposition to the right of their employees to join a labor union, and to ask those same financial moguls in that industry to yield to those employees their inherent and modern right of enjoying collective bargaining?

We ask the same thing in the automobile industry, in the electrical manufacturing industry, in the chemical, coke and allied industries, in the lumber industry, the aluminum industry, the cement industry, the glass industry, and what-not. We only ask that this policy be followed in those distinct industries where craft organization has not established itself and where it has been unable to serve the workers. We are not seeking to revamp the entire structure of the American labor movement. We are not seeking to disorganize a union in the printing trades, in the railroad industry, in the metal or building trades, where those unions have demonstrated their capacity to serve and function and render satisfaction to their own members. We are only asking that the American labor movement give this service and create this opportunity and extend its moral and economic strength in the interest of those thirty millions of our fellow citizens who are denied the right to organize and denied the privilege of collective bargaining.

Those of you who have analyzed this question do not need me to tell you the implications of such a policy. If a great union is organized in the steel, automobile and rubber industries, you can imagine for yourself the increased strength and increased prestige which will come to American labor through the adherence of such a great number



COVARRUBIAS

Hitler: "Some day I'll catch up with you."

of workmen. If the spokesmen for American labor, who now plead their case in the halls of Congress and upon the public platforms, were able to speak for some ten, or fifteen or twenty million American workers, rather than the paltry three and a half million for whom they can now speak, their strength, their influence, their prestige, and the accomplishments of American labor would be increased at a progressive rate.

If you are interested in the prevention of war and in opposing Fascism, encourage the formation of industrial unions in our modern industries. An expanded American labor movement will always stand against such policy and it can resist the approach of war or the overwhelming force of Fascism just to that degree in which it may be organized, and just to that degree in which its strength may be crystallized and its force made apparent. If you are interested in organizing the professional workers of this country, espouse the cause of industrial unionism, because an enlarged and enhanced labor movement in this country will have such influence that the very backwash of that influence will further the well-being of innumerable exploited groups in the professional classes and clerical classes of workers in America. An enlarged and expanded labor movement will have

additional energy and strength to do some of the things here in America, for the common people of our country, which are now needed so sadly.

Something happened in this country of ours; a change came upon our people, and our nation and our people suffered greatly since the halcyon days of 1927-1929. The labor movement is not responsible for that change because the labor movement was not responsible for the policies of the federal government, or the policies of business or finance here in America. But the labor movement and its members and the working people of this country have suffered largely because of the ineffectiveness of our economic policies and the ineffectiveness of the business administration of our affairs.

### A Voice for Labor

I maintain that the exploited and those who have suffered inconvenience and losses, trials and tribulations, as the common people of this country have suffered in the past seven years, are entitled to have something more to say in the future about the policies of modern America than they have had in the past. And I say that an enlarged and more powerful labor movement in this country will make it possible for them to become articulate and contribute to

a larger degree to the activities of the economic and political life of this country.

I want these people to have the *right* to organize, and then I think they *will* organize. I don't think much education is needed to convince the average man, who works with his hands in one of our great industries, that he can benefit himself and improve the opportunities for himself and his family by becoming a part of a greater labor movement and contributing his strength to the collective enterprise of labor here in our own land.

There are those who dissent. There are those who are comfortable and like not to change their opinions or their habits. They are content to go on ignoring the needs and requirements of millions. I am not.

### Progress in Cooperation

This is no new view on my part, nor on the part of the organization that I represent. As an officer of the United Mine Workers of America I have ever had these views because my organization has been dedicated and pledged to this principle since its inception as a labor organization. It happens that this is the first time in a great many years that the United Mine Workers of America has been sufficiently free from restraint upon its own organization and from economic punishment of its members, to devote any time, any energy, or any money to spreading the gospel of an enlarged labor movement through the rank and file of the workers of our country. For years and years back, the financial interests of this country, hated by the workers in the steel industry and others, have continued to oppose and oppress the membership of our union to such a point that only in recent years have we become sufficiently safe upon our own ground and sufficiently possessed of energy to try to make a contribution to the well-being of our friends and neighbors in other industries.

And be it known that we are confident that, even with the position of strength which our union occupies today, it is but a temporary position of strength and that our superiority in the coal industry isn't assured unless we in turn can help assure the conditions and position of the workers in the steel industry, the rubber industry and the other great modern industries.

You may call it selfishness if you will, call it selfish concern for a personal and special interest, but whatever it may be and whatever may be the motive—and the search for the motive is the most elusive thing in the world, someone has said—let me say to all who have an interest in our country, who have an interest in maintaining the rights and the privileges of the common people of our republic: "Aid and encourage the labor movement of this country to take advantage of the opportunity which now presents itself, to achieve progress toward its own destiny."



## I Make Shells

(Continued from page 5)

or "scabs," in the company's interest.

It was about a year later that they started making shells again; shells for target practice and the like. Then in 1928 came a government order for 8-inch shells; in 1930-1, orders for 5-inch shells; and from 1932 on, orders of such increasing size and frequency that by now they are almost more than the company can handle, and we work, as I said before, in three steady shifts that keep going night and day.

The shells we make are for the Navy only, and our munitions shops are under the control and constant supervision of Navy officials. Their inspectors are on the job all the time, to be sure that nothing is slipped through that isn't entirely up to standard. And "standard" is a pretty exacting matter; only the best quality of steel is admissible, the same as is used in the finest tools. This steel is kneaded in huge masses; the process is like a baker kneading dough. Only dough is intended to preserve life, whereas this steel doesn't get by unless it is quite certain to be unfailingly destructive. It must be made hard enough to pierce armor. All steel is rigorously tested for such hardness before it is used, and rejected if it doesn't pass the test. It is rumored that the government uses a special armor, made by a formula obtained from Germany, for testing shells.

### Long-Range Preparedness

The number of orders now on hand for a navy whose purpose is purely defense, if we are to believe what we are told, is, to say the least, startling. An order for Model A 6-inch shells that started at 8,000 was soon raised to 14,000, and then speedily to 17,000, where it now stands.

We are also filling an order for 2,900 Model B 6-inch shells, and for 25,000 Model A 5-inch shells. We are making 24,000 5-inch anti-aircraft shells; and there is an order on hand, filling of which has not yet started, for 25,000 star shells, 5-inch. These are for lighting up the sky, each being fitted with a parachute and a flare.

Not the least significant of our orders, from the point of view of war preparation, is that which calls for more than 2,000 14-inch shells (the order is expected to reach an ultimate total of 6,000); and a shop that has been out of use since the War is being specially equipped to take care of it. It must be remembered, in considering some of these figures, that the largest battleship has 12 guns, so that only 12 shots can be fired at a time.

But the largest order of all is for 79,000 8-inch shells; and when you consider that it takes a month to make a thousand, you can't have very much doubt about the long-range intentions of those placing the order.

These 8-inch shells, during the last

war, sold for \$846 apiece, though what price destruction in taxpayers' money now, I do not know. But whatever it is, it represents an enormous profit to the manufacturer. The Model A 6-inch shells I mentioned are sold to the Government for more than \$200 each, and cost less than \$15 to make; and the Model A 5-inch, cost about \$6.50 to make, while the Government, that is, the taxpayers, pays \$22.50 for each. War is an excellent business—for some of the people concerned with it.

We are also making 14 periscopes for submarines, each to cost \$40,000, and a miscellaneous assortment of other war equipment, such as: 150 5-inch cannon (an increase of 25 over last year's order), long and short range; anti-aircraft guns of the rapid-fire type, discharging one-pound shells; and torpedo caps for submarines or destroyers.

The munitions workers have a general idea of whither it is all pointing; and though they are not friendly to the idea of war—"more of those goddam shells," they say—on the other hand, they are not actively against it. They are deplorably apathetic about this important issue, concentrating whatever resentment they have upon the fact that they are unfairly dealt with in the matter of wages. They are aware of the big profits that the company is making, and see, in contrast, the smallness of their wages, even though, in comparison with those of the non-ordnance workers in the mill, they might be considered "good." Here is the schedule for munitions workers:

	Hour	Day
Highly skilled labor.....	63¢	\$5.04
Semi-skilled labor.....	54½¢	4.36
Unskilled labor.....	40½¢	3.24

The work is supposed to be done in a five-day week; but sometimes there is a sixth day, even at times Sunday. For such overtime, however, there are no overtime rates.

Sometimes there is work which calls for special effort and for this a bonus is given. The good old-fashioned method of punishing enemies and rewarding friends obtains here; it is the "favorites" who get the opportunities to make the few extra dollars.

The company discriminates against union men. Several men already employed who tried to form a local of the regular union within its walls were discharged. Another group of men tried to form an independent union; these were not discharged, but were given jobs so difficult that they quit of their own accord. One union, and one only, is tolerated: the company union.

Other than union affiliation, however, there are no bars to employment. They take on men with all sorts of disabilities: old men, one-eyed men, men minus a finger or two, young men without experience. The company figures, quite logically, that these people won't kick against the low wages.

### Preparing a Naval War

As I said before, the machinery was so worn out after the War that the Government gave up its right under agreement to take it; and around 1930, the company sold it for junk. But be-

fore the purchasers removed it, orders for munitions started coming in so thick and fast that the company bought it back. But though it is being used, it really is junk, and the company, finding it inadequate, is now buying new machines. They have installed three automatic turning lathes that cost \$15,000 each, and two threading machines that cost \$10,000 each. In addition, there is a reaming machine that can ream 200 shells per day.

One would have to be blind not to see in all this the preparation for a naval war. All of these shells are the type used in attack. And anyone in sympathy with the world struggle for peace must be dismayed at this inside view of what is going on. Before I came to this job I worked in a shipyard, and I saw there, too, how everything is planned with a view to ready conversion for war purposes when needed.

### Anti-War Education Needed

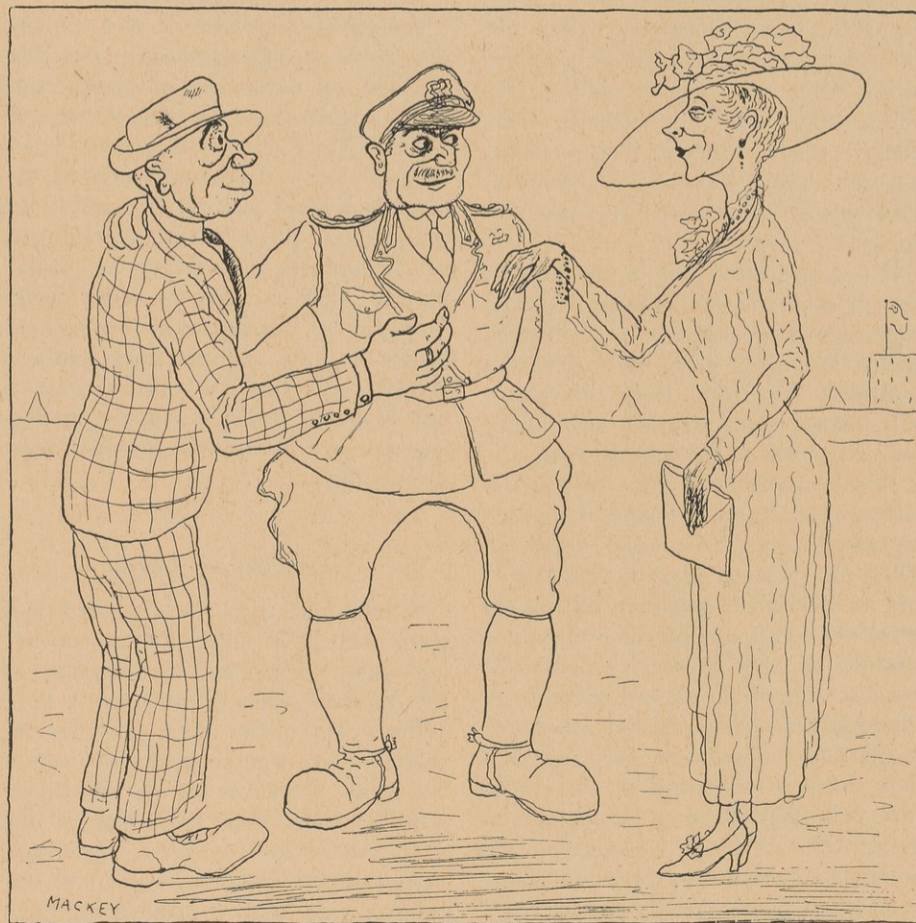
I think that as many people as possible should be made aware of all that is being prepared for them. I think they ought to be warned not to be taken in by the next batch of slogans dished out to them, and not to let the war makers put over the idea that it is some sudden and unforeseen crisis like the sinking of a Lusitania that causes entrance into war. I think they ought to know that preparations for war, far beyond the needs for defense, are going on heavily in times of peace.

But this is not enough. There is work to be done—intensive work—among the steel mill workers themselves. If they are dissatisfied with their wages, they must be educated to know that only strong collective action, such as is possible only through a non-company union, is their one hope of betterment. The labor unions must get busy in the munitions shops, must organize the workers and force recognition from the companies.

There is other educational work to be done among the munitions workers, work that delivers a special challenge to organizations like the American League Against War and Fascism. The men must be made to understand what are the real causes of war, how war favors only the interests of their employers and all other munitions manufacturers, how cheaply life is held in comparison with financial interests. They must be made to see what is their place, as men and as workers, in the war situation that is threatening us. It is up to the American League Against War and Fascism to see that these things are made clear to them. Nowhere is it more important for the League to send its organizers than among these men in whose hands lies so much power to aid or cripple war. And it is only through an unvarnished knowledge of what war is really about that they can be expected rightly to make their choice.

## GENERAL D'SORDER

By Mackey



"Miss Fish, meet Spike, when my boys won't scab he lends a hand."



# Building the League

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid



CALIFORNIA—Our state organizer, Bert Leech, reported from *San Francisco* on June 1st: "We received the outline of Trade Union work and it should be of great help. Our influence among the Unions is good—every Central Labor Council in this area has endorsed the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalist Law with one exception, and even this Council has elected delegates and is cooperating in our various conferences. Further, our work has been satisfactory among the Maritime and Garment workers. We have good support on the waterfront and have been able to be of service to the workers there on the war shipments and hot cargo issues. In the I. L. G. W. U. I have conducted a class on current events at the invitation of the Union and they now have elected an American League Committee to cooperate with us and build the work officially within the Union." The longshoremen went on record against the handling of war cargo. The League has urged the Maritime Federation to take a similar stand and has pledged its support. The *Los Angeles* League issued a special leaflet for Memorial Day, quoting Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, and urging the end of wars. A special campaign has been launched to get people to see the current anti-war play, *Bury the Dead*, being produced by the Contemporary Theater. *Santa Barbara* recently organized a conference against war and Fascism. Among the organizations sup-

porting this meeting were the Painters Union, Agricultural Workers Union, Public Works and Unemployed Union, Vegetable and Shed Workers Union, the Y. W. C. A., and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The Conference voted an investigation of the building of armories in Santa Barbara, and decided to secure a column in the local Trade Union paper for discussion of the American League program and issues. The California state committee has arranged League meetings at which Senator Gerald P. Nye will speak, at Oakland, July 3rd; San Francisco, July 8th; Santa Barbara, July 9th; Los Angeles, July 10th. Senator Nye will speak at Conta Costa, July 7th, under the auspices of the Central Labor Council.

SPRINGFIELD—Immediate action was the response of the League in this Massachusetts City to a proposed parade by the Italian World War Veterans Association to commemorate the entrance of Italy into the World War and to celebrate Mussolini's conquest



of Ethiopia. A protest was lodged with the Mayor and a statement issued to the three local papers. A number of community organizations responded to the League's appeal to send letters of protest to the city administration. A substantial delegation called on the Mayor and requested a hearing. When this was arranged, a much larger delegation representative of churches and synagogues, Negroes, fraternal and professional groups voiced disapproval of the "victory" parade. As a result the purpose of the parade was restricted simply to the observation of the anniversary of Italy's entrance into the World War.

TERRE HAUTE—This Indiana city, the frequent scene of bitter labor strife, has recently seen a revival of vicious anti-labor activities. Shortly after the League had held a symposium on the theme, "It Shall Not Happen Here," in the labor auditorium with the secretary-treasurer of the Central Labor Union as chairman, city officers ran two

representatives of the Retail Clerks' Union out of town. The local League immediately protested this arbitrary and illegal action to the Mayor and Chief of Police, and sent a letter to Senator Robert LaFollette urging that his sub-committee investigate the gross violation of civil rights in Terre Haute. The League also pledged its support and cooperation to the Central Labor Union in the fight for civil rights. The Terre Haute Chamber of Commerce has been running a series of paid ads in the newspapers in an attempt to discourage union organization. The National Office of the League has entered strong protest to the city officials against the kidnapping and beating of the two labor organizers.

CINCINNATI—Over 800 people attended the mass meeting arranged by the League for General Smedley Butler on May 22nd. The General also gave an interview over the radio while he was in the city. During May, League speakers addressed seven trade union locals, and received good responses.

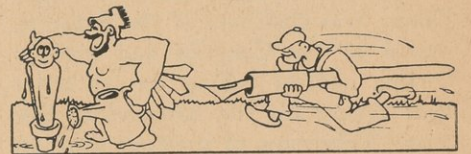
THE FIGHT was very welcome literature at these meetings.

ST. LOUIS—A trade union leader has been secured to address the local Branch of the League, and League literature is being sent to several of the unions. Members of the League recently presented a resolution to a meeting on the relief situation. The resolution pointed out Fascist trends and dangers in the treatment of the unemployed and protested the intimidation exerted by the police, the discharge of workers from WPA jobs for exercising their rights to organize, the discharge of members of the A. F. of L. union on the census project, and the activities of the police in telling the unemployed to resign from the American Workers Union.

NEW JERSEY—The Memorial Day meeting of the *Newark* League was addressed by Roger Baldwin of the National Bureau of the League. Pressure on the Public Safety Director of Irvington by the League resulted in restrictions on a meeting of the Germany American League to raise money for the Berlin Olympics. The swastika and storm troop uniforms were not in evidence when this group met in one

of the local parks. The Youth Section of the *Newark* League marched in the United Youth Day Parade, May 30th, and supported this demonstration of the American Youth Congress. *Atlantic City*—the 63rd annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was well covered by the American League. Five thousand special leaflets in the form of an appeal were issued by the National Office. Phil and Frances Dodge of the New Jersey State Committee of the League had charge of an American League booth at the conference. Anti-war certificates, THE FIGHT, and other literature were sold at the booth. Over 1000 people stopped, many of them leaving their names and addresses for further information about the work of the League. Under the leadership of members of the two Social Work Branches (New York City) of the League, a special breakfast with over 200 people in attendance was arranged. Miss Bertha Reynolds, director of the Smith Summer School of Social Research, was the speaker on this occasion. Excellent publicity and a number of memberships resulted from the good work carried on at this convention.

NEW YORK—"Women and War" provided the subject for an excellent symposium organized by the *Albany* League. Speakers included a trade unionist, a nurse, a student, a mother, a club woman and a secretary. The occasion was further utilized for launching the Peoples Mandate to Govern-



ments. When Italian organizations in *Buffalo* arranged a mass meeting to celebrate the "victory" of Mussolini over Ethiopia, our League Branch determined to picket this meeting and protest the affair. The civil rights of those who took part in the demonstration were infringed when several of the League people were arrested. The cases are being defended by the American Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense. The League is arranging a number of educational meetings during the summer months on such subjects as "Trade Unions and



Bert Leech, California organizer, American League Against War and Fascism



Peace," "Veterans and the Next War," and "Women in Modern Warfare."

PONTIAC, MICHIGAN—Here in the heart of the territory infested by the Black Legion, the American League



has secured the affiliation of the Central Labor Union. This followed soon after the affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers, Local No. 417. A trade union committee has been set up in order to extend anti-war and anti-Fascist work among the unions. Investigations indicate that the Black Legion membership extends into police forces and to city government officers in this section of Michigan. The Michigan Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights is carrying on intensive work of exposure and protest against the Fascist implications of this movement.

The National Office of the League has urged all local Branches to demand a thorough investigation and prompt suppression of the terroristic activities of the Black Legion. A federal investigation has also been demanded. *Ironwood* held a large meeting with General Smedley Butler as main speaker on May 20th. Judge Carter of Eagle River, Wisconsin, also spoke for the League on this important occasion.

SEATTLE—The Second Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism met in this city on May 30-31, with the American League taking an active part in the organization and conduct of the Congress. Nick Hughes of the Seattle Metal Trades Council delivered the keynote address as 240 delegates representing 126,000 people assembled. The Congress was almost three times the size of the first one, held in April, 1935. Reid Robinson, president of Butte Miners Local No. 1, of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, was chairman of the Saturday session of the Congress and made a stirring address calling for an active fight against the rosy promises of Fascism. Telegrams of greeting were received from Governor Olson of Minnesota, Dr. Harry F. Ward, and others. The Canadian League sent a fraternal delegate in the person of A. M. Stephens to bring greetings from the Canadian movement. The ten-point program of the American League and 29 resolutions detailing the peace and anti-Fascist campaign on the various fronts were adopted by the Congress. A permanent committee of 32 people was elected to carry on the work of the Congress.

PENNSYLVANIA—*Red Salute* did not show when the members of the

North Philadelphia Branch of the *Philadelphia* League organized an effective protest against this objectionable picture. Letters and phone calls, committee and delegations to the manager of the theater, and a picket line held in readiness were the steps used to stop this picture. The League is now carrying on a campaign to secure the repeal of the Philadelphia Criminal Registration ordinance because it brands strikers, picketers, demonstrators and others, unjustly convicted of defending their constitutional rights, as criminals.

NEW YORK CITY—The fight against anti-labor legislation has been the chief concern of the *Trade Union Committee* of the New York City League for some weeks. A conference on May 11th, attended by delegates from 55 unions, resulted in the organization of a Provisional Trade Union Committee on Anti-Labor Legislation. Heywood Broun was chosen as chairman of this committee and three vice-chairmen agreed to serve—Thomas Young of Building Service Employees, 32B; John Nelson, of Bricklayers No. 34; and Conrad Kaye of the Butchers' District Council. S. R. Solomonick and Louise Bransten of the League Trade Union Committee served as organizer and secretary respectively. A second Conference on May 14th brought delegates from 105 unions with a combined membership of 175,000. A speakers' service of labor lawyers has been organized to address local unions on the anti-labor legislation before Congress and in the state. Resolution forms were sent to unions on every bill opposed. The Senate Committee on Labor and Education as well as Senator LaFollette's sub-committee was consulted and the support of the Provisional Committee pledged to their work in opposing restrictions on labor. The activity is now on a permanent basis and an anti-Hearst campaign is being launched. "Don't read Hearst, read FIGHT" is



the slogan of the Trade Union Committee in this campaign. A larger committee including other than trade union organizations is now being developed for an even broader drive against Hearst and his anti-labor and red-baiting activities. Neighborhood meetings, pamphlets, stamps, buttons, petitions to advertisers and a big meeting on July 4th are the methods to be utilized in this drive. Two Branches of the Junior Section of the League marched in the United Youth Day parade on May 30th in New York City. In July the Junior Section is sponsoring a tournament in which junior organizations will compete in the production of effective plays and skits.



By  
James Lerner

# Youth Notes

ABOUT fifteen organizations have already agreed to send delegates to the World Youth Congress, Geneva, August 31 to September 7. Included are the Y.W.C.A., National Student Federation, American Jewish Congress (Youth Division), American Student Union and, of course, the Youth Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism. We have decided to send at least one delegate but any city committee which can raise the money is free to choose a youth delegate. This, in case you care to know, is a challenge to Chicago, Cleveland, Baltimore and other cities.

WE protested a newspaper story that all of the one million Boy Scouts were



to be finger-printed and filed in the Department of Justice in order to help solve "kidnappings, and loss of memory." Our protest showed that there were only 62 kidnappings in four years and amnesia was a rarity. The National Council of the Boy Scouts answered that the story was a mistake—no compulsory finger-printing, only suggestions to local groups that they may do so.

Be on the lookout for local manifestations of this. It is part of a national drive to "mug" us all and safeguard the liberty of the Liberty League by establishing passport systems. (Some of us thought that went out of style with Czar Nicholas.)

SIXTY delegates of 33 organizations held a Peace Conference in Baltimore. Fine discussion, permanent organization and new blood for the local peace movement. . . . New Youth branch organized in *Irvington*, New Jersey. . . . Reorganization ahead in *New York City* with increased demands for more youth organizers to handle the growing number of branches. . . . If you haven't elected your delegates to the 3rd American Youth Congress yet (Cleveland, July 3, 4, 5), remember that this is to be the most important gathering of

young people this year. The Industrial and Business and Professional Groups of the Y. W. C. A. have recently affiliated with the Congress and will be at Cleveland.

IN Canada they had a very successful Youth Conference a couple of weeks ago. Peace was the central idea of the Congress and thirty delegates were chosen for the Geneva Congress. Even Fascists came to this Canadian affair because they feared that the youth would be swung to progressive leadership. Who do you think won? And we have it that the Fascist countries will be represented at Geneva.

A CONFERENCE of Negro students held at Howard University during the month passed a resolution endorsing the American League and urging cooperation with it. They also participated in a peace poll, answering questions on the ROTC, Oxford Pledge and similar matters. Representatives of 16 colleges participated in the poll which was circulated by our representative, Maurice Gates. Out of 26 who answered the questionnaire all voted in favor of the Oxford Pledge, seven with reservations, and 22 voted in favor of the Student Anti-War Strike.

MAKE it four youth branches for *Chicago*. Although we haven't heard a word from them for months, the grapevine telegraph tells of a city youth



organizer who is actually organizing. (May we hear from her?) The largest contingent in *Chicago's* May 30th parade, we understand, according to this vine story, was from the American League.

And *New York's* youth branches also had little to be ashamed of on May 30. It's division was among the leaders in number of participants and number of signs. The live *New York University Medical School* Branch and the two children's branches were interesting contrasts.



## Old New Orleans

(Continued from page 7)

labor," unorganized, easily exploited.

### No Trade Union Tradition

There were a few trade unions which had some claim to power and strength. One after the other in the last ten years they have been pretty well broken. Their membership today is small. It is hard to organize labor in New Orleans because there is so little tradition of organization of any kind. A vast mass of working humanity, hardly touched by industrial strife, lies dormant in its ignorance.

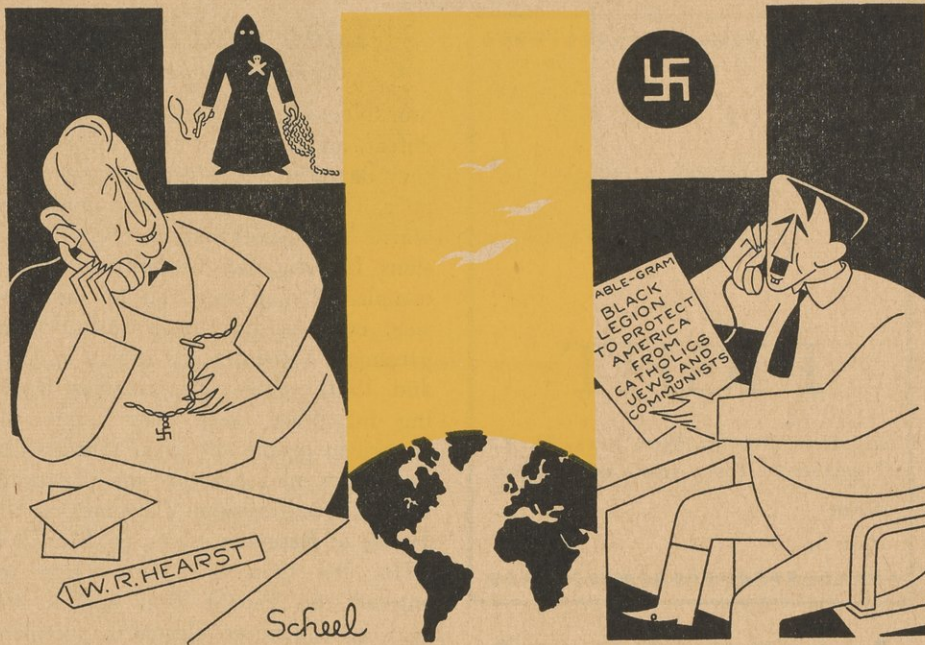
What does Fascism mean to the average worker in a garment sweatshop here? Something foreign, unknown, except for chance hearsay, Italian or German—"un-American." The worker is too tired at the end of the day, having slaved for ten hours, to do much thinking. He is only glad that he has his job, bent on keeping it, although his civil liberties are being taken away by laws now pending in Congress, his right to organize, strike and picket! He does not belong to a trade union, he never has. Perhaps he will join a trade union in an effort to better his working conditions? Perhaps,—"*mañana*" (he'll think about it tomorrow).

And war; war is something in Europe. Europe is very far away, farther away even than New York, Cleveland, San Francisco, where workers fight for their rights. They are all very far away.

### Labor Awake on Riverfront

Except for the riverfront! Here are the most powerful unions in the city. The International Longshoremen's Association locals have 3,000 of the 5,000 organized workers in New Orleans within their ranks. Here are militant, fighting men who, when they strike, establish twenty-four-hour picket lines, who live day and night in picket shacks to keep scabs off the docks, who unflinchingly face dock police and thugs' gunfire in their determined fight to win higher wages and better working conditions. Longshoremen talk to seamen, seamen from the West Coast where organization of maritime workers has achieved new heights, where there have been strikes against the shipment of munitions to warring Fascist Italy.

New Orleans longshoremen have loaded millions of barrels of oil, thousands of bales of cotton, for shipment to Italy and Eritrea. They are only beginning to understand the part they are playing. More and more, however, the waterfront workers are beginning to understand that they are not isolated from workers in other ports, in other cities, from workers everywhere. They read the *Voice of the Maritime Federation*, organ of the indomitable Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast. Their locals are members of



"O. K. Willie!"

the newly formed Maritime Federation of the Gulf Coast.

But they have much to learn. The longshoremen in New Orleans are still divided among themselves; Negroes in one local of the union, and whites in another. While they work together closely on major common issues, the division is there, and the employer makes good use of it, pitting Negro gangs against white and the other way about.

They, the maritime workers and the other organized crafts, are just a few, a terribly small few of the workers in the city. The unemployed have no organization of their own, and even the WPA workers are unorganized.

### Right to Assemble?

Here in New Orleans, where this welter of workers is moving, slowly, as yet without outward direction, divided among themselves, a police superintendent can issue a flat order prohibiting public protest meetings. Here is a flagrant illustration.

Young Willie Gray, a seventeen-year-old Negro high school student, was walking along a street in the downtown section of the city a few weeks ago, on his way home after having just bought a new pair of trousers. Suddenly two detectives cruising in a car that had no police insignia on it stopped at the curb and arrested him. He asked them to show him that they were police officers, mindful of the not unusual activity of white thugs in taking Negroes for a "ride." They refused to show him any identification, struck him, and bundled him into the car. When he came to, the car was on Canal Street, main thoroughfare of the city. Not knowing who the men were, the boy attempted to escape. The detectives shot him down like a dog.

A few scattered protest meetings that were called began to gain considerable publicity. White organizations joined the protest against this blatant example of unwarranted police brutality. This was too much for the police,

especially when the Louisiana Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children put a lawyer on the case. The next protest meeting that was called was openly and brazenly banned by the superintendent of police, who sent three patrol wagons and a number of machine guns to the place where the meeting was scheduled to be held.

### Huey's Successor

Slow as the movement undoubtedly is, and in spite of a terrific lassitude which envelopes this lazy city that is baked by a semi-tropical sun nine months of the year, the masses are seeking a way out, straining hard at the thongs of inertia, moving under the unquenchable impetus of necessity, of having to fight for a better life.

While New Orleans was the last part of Louisiana to fall into the arms of Huey Long, when it fell, it fell heavily. In death, Huey became a martyr. Forgotten was his dictatorial rule of the city and state, forgotten was his complete disregard of labor's interests and demands, forgotten was the fact that after years of continuous rule Huey did nothing to better the lot of the starving and half-illiterate masses. Remembered was the glowing claptrap of his fantastic promises. Huey offered them something. And he was able to put that something (no one knew specifically what it was, except that every man was to be a king) squarely before the masses. Huey is dead and buried, and the workers still seek a way out of their misery and poverty. Inarticulate, inexperienced, not knowing their own power in organization, they look to outstanding "leaders."

A breeding ground for incipient Fascist demagogues, New Orleans has already given birth to a new one, one who employs as much of Long's histrionics as he is capable of. Not nearly so shrewd as the Kingfish, he is already winning a following. In six weeks his newspaper, *The Weekly Crusader*, has doubled its circulation.

Maurice Gatlin's Huey Long Crusader organization gives fair warning that Huey was not the last of his kind. Like the deceased "Share the Wealth" clubs, it has no well defined program, yet calls itself, "The Voice of the Weak and the Oppressed." Its newspaper has already come out with thinly disguised praise of Hitler, and bitter attacks on what liberal progressive movements there are in the city.

### Big Job Faces League

In the midst of this ignorance and prejudice, in this city where the workers have not yet really begun to awaken to a realization of their own power, in the first city far below the Mason-Dixon Line, a city committee of the American League Against War and Fascism has recently been set up. A few Negro and white organizations have already affiliated with it. It has just begun to function. And it has much to do in New Orleans.

## 42 Years Ago

(Continued from page 17)

union. The sympathetic strike was called off on August 5th, but the Pullman strike continued until September 6th.

### Pullman Mercy

It might have been thought that after such a victory as the Pullman Company had won over its starving workers, it might at least have shown them some mercy. Governor Altgeld pointed out to Mr. Pullman that the State of Illinois had spent \$50,000 in protecting company property, and the company should in return forego back rent. Mr. Pullman, however, had returned to philanthropy, and so he had no time to waste on the courtesy of a reply.

As for Debs, he realized the immense importance to labor of forcing a decision on the indictments for conspiracy, and insisted on bringing the case to trial. Clarence Darrow defended him, saying, "It is an effort to punish the crime of thought." But the state was not enthusiastic about pressing the charge.

On the charge of contempt of court, Debs, Howard, Keliher, and Rogers were all convicted on December 12th in the U. S. Circuit Court. Debs was sentenced to six months in prison, and the others to three. The decision, although unprecedented, was upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court on May 27th, 1895, and Debs went off to prison. "... if it is expected," said he, "that six months or even six years in jail will purge me of contempt, the punishment will fail of its purpose."

Of the strike generally, said Debs, "in one sense [it] was not a failure. It will pass into history as a noble struggle for a righteous cause. . . ."

Forty-two years later that cause is not yet won, but the struggle will continue until the workers have gained their final victory over all the forces of reaction.



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## Lies and Allies

(Continued from page 9)

ator Norris, and others went down in defeat, and even into disrepute, because they dared to plead the cause of peace at a time when profiteers demanded war. The good that the Nye Munitions Investigation Committee has accomplished may soon fall by the way-side, even as did the words of Congressman Tavenner and others in 1915 and 1916, unless organizations working for peace, keep ever before the American people the great truth about war. Let me repeat for you the pleadings of Congressman Tavenner in the House of Representatives, on May 3rd, 1916, less than one year before we entered the World War and in the year in which we elected a president on the slogan that "He kept us out of war." Congressman Tavenner said:

Thoughtful citizens are beginning to throw off the lethargy which has held them. Everywhere throughout the length and breadth of the land strong men are beginning to lift their voices, calling to their patriotic countrymen to awaken.

. . . Answer the militarist's challenge to your patriotism by a patriotism that is greater than his. Instead of needlessly dying for your country, live for it.

### Workers Must Oppose War

Trade unionists and working men and women of America generally may assist in the fight against war, by realizing that that fight is now really in their hands, as Congressman Tavenner said in 1916. In carrying on this battle for peace, they must ever be aware of the war propaganda that is foisted upon them by those who profit from war.

In the words so well expressed by Congressman Tavenner, they must answer the militarists' challenge to their patriotism, by a patriotism that is greater than that of the militarists. They must live for their country, instead of needlessly dying for it. That they may save this great republic from perishing on the rock of militarism, the masses of the people should be guided by the great truth that "He loves his country best who strives to make it best." Our nation can be best only by making it peaceful, not militaristic and not imperialistic in the selfish and greedy struggle for world markets.

"Victory" is a romantic word but, unfortunately, it suggests conquest by exploitation and the defeat of an adversary. We, who love peace and constructive human endeavor, should strive to invest the world "victory" with the concept of achieving a richer and fuller life. Peace involves the principle of live and let live. If we would have perpetual world peace, the victory which should challenge us is the achievement of an existence which best suits civilized man in his yearning for progress and enables him to become,

not a tyrant over the lives of others, but master of his own life. War can never achieve such a victory.

## Labor Cracks Down

(Continued from page 11)

Fascist war makers. Nor could the daily press suppress all news of such actions.

### Economic Action Today

"Marine unions in Piraeus (Athens, Greece) have engaged in a labor boycott against vessels carrying arms to Italian East Africa. . . ."—*New York Times*, July 22, 1935. In the *Times* of Sept. 2nd, we read that Cape Town dockers refused to load frozen beef for shipment to Italian troops in Eritrea. In London, dockers would not load the Italian steamer *Boccaccio*. Dockers at Manchester and Cardiff boycotted Italian ships. Similar actions took place in other ports on the Continent; while in the United States, sailors of the tanker *Britta*, according to the *New York Times* of Oct. 20, 1935, refused to sail the ship from California because it carried gasoline for the Italian troops. In Seattle and in Portland, Oregon, longshoremen would not load the Italian steamer *Cellini*. As late as April, 1936, the *New York press* carried news that longshoremen in San Francisco struck against loading 15 tons of scrap iron on the Italian ship, *Fella*.

But in the main, we cannot say that economic action by organized labor in this struggle was as consistent or as broad as it should have been if it were to be effective.

Let the *New York Times*, a conservative newspaper, say what the strike in the hands of a united working class can achieve against Fascism, breeder of war: "A general strike, now that . . . unions (in France) have joined forces, would be a powerful weapon and would put up a serious opposition to any attempt by Fascists to seize the Government."—Frank C. Hanighen, *Sunday Magazine* Section, May 3, 1935.

### Labor Can Halt War

Impractical as the call by the American blacksmith, Burritt, to workers throughout the world to use the strike against the war makers, may appear to the American Council of Learned Societies, history records that this economic weapon is the very one that shattered the plot by European governments to war against the United States in its struggle against chattel slavery, and that smashed intervention by the World Powers against the Russian workers who fought wage slavery.

History records that organized labor, using its international solidarity against the manufacture and shipment of war supplies to war makers, can halt war.

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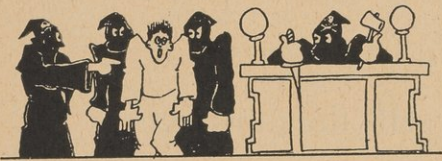
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# Oh Say, Can You See?

THE TRIAL of the Black Legion will be something of an acid test for us. If the two conventions, Democratic and Republican, were to take more than a feinting jab at it, if it became a campaign issue with parties outdoing one another, if—excuse us. We were babbling. If, however, the big financial powers who probably run it are able to keep themselves from coming to trial as criminals, if they can so curb justice as to leave those ignorant



and rather smelly persons who have taken on the dirty work of the Legion to take the rap alone, then by that sign we can know certainly that we have a Fascist infection in our midparts.

Townsend as an individual has always been a mystery to us. We have been inclined to give him the benefit of all doubts, on account of our sympathy for efforts to establish social security. If his connections with Coughlin and other Fascists develop into important realities, we shall look on him as the fallen hero of a great mass of idealists of whose friendship we are proud, whatever nonsense may come out of their leaders. Anyhow, he has done something that will leave its mark for good and all: it will not be possible, after Townsend, to smother the popular demand now developed for old age pensions. Not so long as the roads of democracy are not detoured by the shirt and hood boys, and the people are still permitted to express themselves. But it gives us a wry laugh, all this concern about just whether he and all his assistants are on the level, when you can hardly put your foot down without stepping on one of the 76 Fascist organizations in this country, all obviously *not* on the American level. (Are there 76 varieties now? We have sort of lost count lately. Maybe it's time to make another survey.)

Anti-Fascists trying to leave Germany by way of Kreuzlingen, entering Switzerland, have been arrested. There were five the last we heard.

Sweden, that middle way country you hear so much about, is the place of activity of German propaganda under Goebbels methods; promotion of

maps and journeys designed to advertise Fascism; financial support for Swedish Fascists; distribution of leaflets.

Thirty-five farm hands were jailed and hundreds were harassed and intimidated around Erle, Arkansas when they attempted to strike for better things.

We had a letter, (how we do love to get letters!), from *The Golden Age* offering us information about the number of children who have recently been whipped, sentenced or otherwise punished for resisting Fascist measures. That started something with us. We are now making a collection, and will present the results in a little article in about three months. Doubtless there are instances that have not come out in the press, or at least not in the papers we read. Contributions invited.

Lawrence Simpson, American seaman kidnapped by the Gestapo off an American boat, has been transferred from the concentration camp, where he has been nearly a year, to prison. That is a bad sign. Also his lawyer has been refused permission to participate in the trial.

The Miami Klan has announced it is "riding again." Advertisements ap-



pear boldly in local newspapers. Their first major job, already well started, is to intimidate the Negroes, some of whom have already been beaten and jailed. Then comes the round-up, when all able bodied Negroes are herded in to supply the owners of large farms with laborers who wouldn't know themselves from slaves.

The other day, in the course of our travels, we stood in McAlester, Oklahoma, where the poor can pay their sales tax in mills, and watched the freights go by. The first had two "bums" in sight, one live and one stiff. We lost count in the course of five hours. And the rod riders were hardly worse off than some of the fixed population we saw, especially going through Arkansas, where the little farmer is as poor as Job's turkey that had to lean up against the barn to gobble.

French workers have been playing a lively strike-and-win game and they sure were down to about their last marble when they started. Pretty thoroughly protected from Fascist interference, they are conducting successful, orderly campaigns for their rights.



(The owners of Renault's, France's biggest company, admitted that at no time in their career had they been so well protected against fire, theft and sabotage as they were while the plant was struck.)

For contrast: Over fifty textile workers on strike in Calcutta were wounded by police and 120 arrested. (Now isn't that the human mind for you! Looking all the way to Calcutta for that! Likewise New Yorkers, when they think of Negro oppression, think of Georgia (which they should) rather than their own Harlem. In fact the Harlem police reached a new low, so far as our memory goes (correct us if we're wrong), in the shooting of a seven-year old boy not long ago).

Proposed planks (by the American League Against War and Fascism) for the Republican and Democratic parties:

"Fascism, which means reactionary political dictatorship in the economic interests of special privilege and corporate wealth, constitutes an increasing menace to the American people. It threatens civil liberties, freedom of speech, press and assembly; it assails workers' rights to organize, strike, picket and bargain collectively for better wages and living conditions; it encourages vigilante lawlessness and terrorism against millions of farmers, workers, unemployed and professional groups; it restricts the economic opportunities of women and imperils their status of political equality; it incites racial and religious animosities, and discriminates against minorities, Negroes, and the foreign-born; it endangers national and world peace through swollen war budgets and attempted militarization of American youth.

"This Fascist menace must be destroyed. The Democratic Party (or Republican Party) therefore pledges itself to combat every reactionary assault

upon American political and economic liberties and to preserve and extend the democratic rights of a free people."

Ethiopians are not people to stop fighting just because somebody tells them the war is over. In spite of anything Mussolini does in the way of obtaining treaties and other pieces of paper, he will not be able to occupy Ethiopia for many years without fighting every day for every mile. Communications are slow there, and the people tight-gear'd to pride and action. . . . Did you ever hear of the man who captured the wildcat by himself, but needed help to turn it loose?

Selassie's appeal to tardy allies, containing the words, "If they never come, then I say prophetically and without bitterness, 'The West will perish,'" is heavy on our hearts. How little we did to defend those people who bore the first charge of the "next" world war!

In Texas, where for 13 years big business has had plans for cashing in on the Centennial celebration, relief is being cut further, notwithstanding a return of prosperity there for business. In Ellis County the men must line up in front of the relief station each morning. Planters come in, inspect the men as if they were mules, and take their pick. The men are required to go regardless of pay or working conditions. In Austin \$500 a month is appropriated to care for several thousand—but \$400 of it goes each month to pay the salaries of the case workers.

Some interesting statistics on lynching are given by the *New York World Telegram*.

There is one lynching in the nation every three days. (More, recently, we believe.)

Of the 6,010 persons lynched in the past fifty years, 20 percent have been white.

And during the same time, only 675



persons have been prosecuted as lynchers, a smaller number convicted.

As we go to press the Republican convention has closed, with Landon and Knox nominated. Amen!



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2. The contest opened March 30, 1936, and closes at 6 P.M. on September 15, 1936. All subscriptions must be in this office by that date.

3. All subscriptions sent in for the contest must be marked plainly FOR CONTEST, and must contain the name and address of subscriber as well as name and address of contestant.

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