

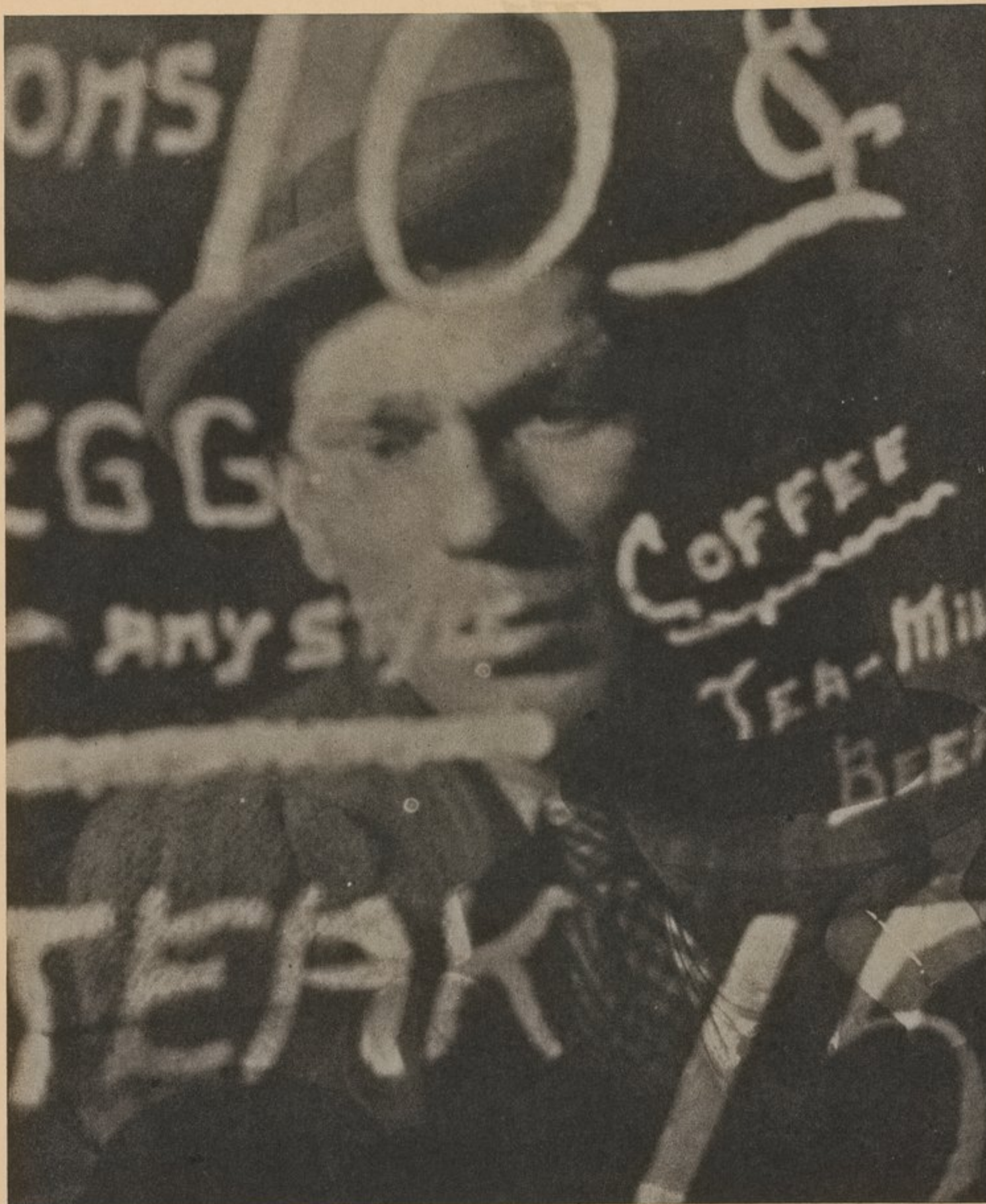
*August
1936*

The **Fight**

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

*10 Cents
a Copy*

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT • ART YOUNG • H. C. ENGELBRECHT



Hunger and War

Millions of people are on the outside [looking in.

Hunger and bitterness grow—and the hungry make up the sinews of war and the bloodstream of Fascism.

Lighted windows spell food to the needy—not to speak of friendly faces and life's barest comforts.

A billion—can you grasp the meaning of a billion dol-

lars?—has been appropriated for war, while relief funds have been slashed and individual states are experimenting with human guinea pigs to discover how much hunger human beings can stand.

Demonstrate your hatred of War and Fascism (which breeds war) on August 1st to 15th, Anti-War Days.

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

With the Readers



WE beg to report to our readers that this hot column is being written on the hottest day of the year, and furthermore we believe that the war makers are responsible for this weather. It is useless to argue with us on this point (we are naturally stubborn) and if any poor mortal is inclined to challenge, we can produce John L. Spivak. (This is a threat.) And that's that!

IN spite of the war makers' weather, friends, things don't look so good for the Fascists. Things never look good for the Fascists when working class democracy asserts itself. And it has.

WE were catching a nap the other night when a voice came over the radio: "I salute the hosts of labor. My voice tonight will be the voice of millions of men and women employed in America's industries, heretofore unorganized, economically exploited and inarticulate." It was the voice of John L. Lewis. We rubbed our sleepy eyes. As the speech continued we realized that this was not the voice of a single man. Here millions were speaking. Labor's shoulders were at the wheel.

"AN economic dictatorship has thus become firmly established in America which at the present time is focusing its efforts upon retaining the old system of finance capitalism . . . and thus preventing the attainment of political and industrial democracy by the people."

AND then we remembered what Lincoln once said: "the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign . . . until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic is destroyed."

HARD boiled figures and some hard thinking came over the air that night, and a warning and a challenge: "Let him who will, be he economic tyrant or sordid mercenary, pit his strength against this mighty upsurge of human sentiment now being crystallized in the hearts of thirty millions of workers who clamor for the establishment of industrial democracy."

THEN we knew that America was still a non-Fascist country. And then we knew that there was still hope left in the world. And for the first time in many years, we turned the pages of a green covered book. It was the voice of Walt Whitman:

IN the name of These States, and in your and my name, the Past,

And in the name of These States, and in your name and my name, the Present Time.

WE like to think that the July issue of our magazine contributed a little to this struggle for democracy now going on in America. A letter came from Mr. Charles Kirk, Toledo, Ohio, saying: "I am 73 years old. I remember the past and I am not out of the present fight by a long shot. When I read your article on the Pullman strike, it brought back to me that old fight, for I was one of the strikers. I also remembered, as I read John L. Lewis' article, that Debs was the pioneer in the industrial union struggle of over thirty years ago." And from Mrs. Jessie O'Connor, Pittsburgh, came this postcard: "Your trade union issue of THE FIGHT is magnificent. . . . Hats off to a super, super achievement."

EVEN the hot weather (brought on by the war makers, we say again), cannot dim our enthusiasm.



Young men and women selling *The Fight* in New York City

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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.

The Contributors



H. C. ENGELBRECHT, whose article opens this issue, is the author of *One Hell of a Business*, co-author of *Merchants of Death* and a recognized authority on the business of munitions and war.

WILLIAM GROPPER, who illustrates Mr. Engelbrecht's article, found, we are told, that turning out 25 to 30 cartoons a week, covers for magazines, paintings, book illustrations is not enough work to keep him busy. So he is now doing a mural.

H. W. L. DANA, who met Barbusse many years ago, writes the article on the great Frenchman who died one year ago this month. Mr. Dana, author of *Social Forces in World Literature*, has taught Comparative Literature at Harvard, Columbia and the University of Paris.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, who writes the article on Chicago, knows that city very well. He has been professor of English at the University of Chicago for many years. Mr. Lovett is the author of many books, including *Richard Gresham*, *A Winged Victory*, *Edith Wharton: A Criticism*, *Preface to Fiction*, etc., etc.

GAETANO SALVEMINI, lecturer on the History of Italian Civilization, at Harvard, was deprived of his Italian citizenship with total confiscation of property by Mussolini, for his opposition to the Fascist regime. Salvemini was professor of Modern History at the University of Messina for many years and a member of the Italian Chamber. He is the author of many books, including *Under the Axe of Fascism* and *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*.

ART YOUNG is now busy on two books which we are awaiting impatiently. We are told that they are coming out this fall, and we are taking along a little box, some sandwiches and a bottle of beer, and will get in the waiting line at the first book store around the corner.

MARGARET FORSYTH will head the American League delegation to the Geneva Congress for Peace. Miss Forsyth is Associate of Religious Education, Teacher's College, Columbia University, and is on the National Board of the Y. W. C. A.

HOWARD HAYES, a writer of fiction, is now at work on a play. He has contributed to the *New Republic*, *American Spectator* and to the old *Dial*.

ROBERT FORSYTHE, author of *Redder than the Rose*—what can one say of Robert Forsythe? There is only one Robert Forsythe in America.

WALTER WILSON, whose *Letters from Soldiers* (second installment) appears in this issue, received these letters in the following way. Mr. Wilson, while writing a book on soldiers, wrote hundreds of letters to various newspapers and magazines requesting soldiers and veterans to tell him of their experiences. They did. The letters came by the bushel. And now some of them are appearing in this magazine.

MARION GREENWOOD, whose murals are reproduced in this issue, painted them for the Mexican government in Mexico City. Some governments obviously don't mind beautiful anti-war and anti-imperialist murals.



P A R I S



M O S C O W



M A D R I D



L O N D O N

Good Luck!

WE OFFER a bit of advice to those entered in THE FIGHT's subscription contest. As September 15th, the closing date, draws near, there are probably many of you who are confident of winning. And without a doubt, there are many more who think they are too far behind to catch up. Well, we're not so sure. A big drive in the home stretch very often brings a "dark horse" to victory.

Remember, an opportunity to win a free trip abroad, a chance to visit Paris, Moscow, Madrid or London, is nothing to sneeze at. If you haven't spent much time on the contest until now, you still have almost two months to work hard, see more people, sell more subscriptions. If you have devoted much effort to this contest, don't slacken your pace. Look for the name of the winner in the October issue of THE FIGHT. Good luck!

RULES OF THE SUBSCRIPTION CONTEST

1. Anyone is eligible to enter this contest except employees in the National Office of FIGHT, or in the National Office of the American League Against War and Fascism, or their families.

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.

4. All subscriptions will be counted as follows: One year subscription (\$1), one point; six-month subscription (55 cents), one-half

point. *No discounts of any kind will be given on subscriptions in this contest.* In case of ties duplicate prizes will be awarded.

5. All communications regarding the contest should be addressed: FIGHT Contest Department, 112 E. 19th St., Room 702, New York, N. Y.

6. Awards will be announced within six days after the closing day of the contest within the pages of FIGHT.

7. PRIZE: A round-trip ticket from New York City to either London, Paris, Moscow, or Madrid, winner's choice, and a ten-day stopover in one of these cities. The winner may go immediately after the closing date of the contest, or at any time within twelve months of that date.

The Fight

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

August, 1936



The Maw of Mars

The story of the Brass Hats and how they wangled out of Congress a billion dollars of our hard earned cash

By H. C. Engelbrecht

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM GROPPER

WHEN Major General Amos Fries testified before a House Committee in favor of the Tydings-McCormack "Incitement to Disaffection" bill, he declared that this bill was needed in order to "prevent people from criticizing the size of appropriations for the Army and Navy."

That is rather convincing testimony from a high military official, that army and navy bills cannot stand searching analysis. Why else the attempt to suppress discussion? No doubt, the general is right. But the only way to prevent widespread criticism of the present billion dollar military and naval appropriations is by prison sentences and fines. It would seem as though the brass hats had something to hide and are trying to bully their way through—

in typical military fashion.

They did wangle out of a flag-waving Congress, with Fascist speed and dispatch, the most colossal sums ever voted for war preparations in peace times. Everything is to be increased: the personnel of the army, the navy, and the marines; the air corps; the R.O.T.C. which militarizes our education; machine guns, tanks, motorized equipment, submarines and destroyers; fortifications, and air and naval bases; and the National Guard. All questions as to whom they were getting ready to fight were ignored.

But even this enormous expenditure is only the beginning. Lucia Ames Mead calls attention to the fact that if you spend one dollar a minute, it would take more than 1,900 years to arrive at



a billion dollars. The army and navy are spending this billion all in one year; that is, \$2,740,000 a day, \$114,000 an hour, \$1,900 a minute. But this is probably nothing in comparison to what is ahead. You see, the armed forces now have a plan; sometimes a four-year plan, and then again a ten-year plan. If, for example, \$75,000,000 is to be spent on fortifications in the Pacific, only \$7,500,000 will be appropriated this year with the understanding that similar amounts will be forthcoming for ten years. This simple device, so effectively used for all "pork-barrel" outlays for harbors, rivers, canals, etc., has now been adopted by the military.

It is worth the effort to get a bit of perspective on this new high in war appropriations. It took fifty years (1858-1908) for military expenditures to treble; in five more years (1908-1913) they doubled. In 1930 the war budget was again double that of 1913, and the 1937 expenditures will be double those of 1934. There is much ado in the country about balancing the budget, a cry aimed at the moneys spent to keep people from starving. Yet John T. Flynn estimated recently that 60 cents out of every tax dollar still goes for past and future wars. Did the budget balancers ever protest these war outlays?

Relief Funds for the Navy

Major General Fries has other reasons for wanting to suppress all criticism. The submarine and airplane have revolutionized warfare on the sea, yet the navy goes right on planning for a war that would look something like the Spanish-American conflict. About \$183,000,000 are included in the present budget for new construction, and \$336,000,000 were taken from relief funds, mostly for new warships. Yet Senator Frazier declared recently:

It has been stated by men high in army and navy circles . . . that these great dreadnaughts would be absolutely useless in the event of another war. A very noted general made the statement two or three years ago before one of the committees of Congress that, in the

event of another war, the battleships of the U.S. Navy should be run just as far up the Mississippi River as they would go, because one well-directed bomb would sink one of these \$50,000,000 battleships to the bottom of the ocean.

Besides, there are now the new 60 miles-an-hour two-man torpedo boats with which Mussolini threatened the British navy, which would seriously hamper the movement of navies. Finally, there are in certain countries the "do-and-die squadrons," pledged to ram their bomb-laden planes bang into a cruiser or a battleship, destroying the vessel and themselves in the process.

Useless Armaments

Walter Millis' excellent little study on *The Future of Sea Power in the Pacific* has shown that the time is ripe for a "wholly new theory of naval armaments." Professor Beard has challenged the whole concept of "national interest" which is used in naval propaganda, and has shown that a small navy is more than adequate to protect our shores. In other words, the question is pertinent: Are navies obsolete? Have airplanes and submarines and small torpedo boats made bigger ships useless and a waste, particularly for a country that seeks no more than defense of its homeland?

In the World War, after one or two half-hearted attempts at sea battle, the navies hid themselves away or acted as convoys for troopships. Major General Fuller has repeatedly emphasized the vulnerability of battleships from new war weapons. And even that confirmed navalist, Franklin D. Roosevelt, once signed a report as Assistant Secretary of the Navy which pointed out the impossibility of long-range action by battleships in modern warfare. So, after spending hundreds of millions every year on the navy, it may yet turn out to be a useless toy.

A similar case is the army's \$384,700,000 for military purposes. Mechanization is the order of the day. About 600 tanks are to be added to the present number, together with 18,000 other

motorized war machines. There will be great increases in airplanes and in the personnel of the regular army, the reserves, the National Guard, and West Point. Yet the army dare not face the question: Against whom? Canada recently reduced its army by 45,000 men. That was sense, because the problems involved for a European or Asiatic power to wage war on this continent are insuperable. From the point of view, then, of keeping an invader from these shores, no increases are needed in the army.

But apparently the War Department has more ambitious plans. It has been reported time and again that preparations are in the making to take several million American soldiers into other parts of the world. That is why there is discussion about 221,000 tons of auxiliary vessels for the navy which would include transports, repair ships, fuel ships, and the like—all needed to carry a huge army over seas. Will the War Department stand up and declare publicly that it is getting ready for a war on foreign soil, thousands of miles away from our borders? Why else these enormous war preparations?

Big Business' Army?

And then take a look at the National Guard. Already there has been much talk about the "Reds" and about militant labor. Is the army preparing to shoot down striking workers in defense of Big Business? In 1934 the National Guard numbered about 185,000 men; recently this figure was raised to 200,000. Its budget has been raised by an additional \$10,000,000, chiefly for new equipment and field service. About 925 additional armories have been erected in the large industrial centers with \$65,000,000 of relief funds. Officially these armories are listed as "federal buildings."

It is an undeniable fact that the chief function of the National Guard has become that of strike-breaking, and its use in strikes is constantly on the increase: jumping from 23 strikes in 1934, to 75 in 1935. The War De-

partment calls this service "quelling domestic disturbances," and its notorious Manual, now withdrawn from public circulation (though its instructions were apparently not revoked), deals with the "mob" and the "lawless element" (that is, the striking workers) as though they were a foreign invading army.

Just what the National Guard proposes to do to "mobs" is clear from instructions issued a few years back, in Illinois, and secretly circulated there. Here are some of the gems from that document:

Under no circumstances will blank ammunition be issued to the National Guard.

Never fire over the heads of rioters. The aim should be low. If anyone is to be hurt, it should be the rioters.

Temporizing with a mob is usually an exhibition of poor judgment.

Never try to bluff a mob. Never threaten to do things you do not intend to do.

Officers and men should not fear reprisal in case one or more people are killed. The laws of most states . . . provide that if it is not proven that the killing was through mere malice, wantonness or cruelty, a soldier is not punishable for such an act, even though he uses bad judgment.

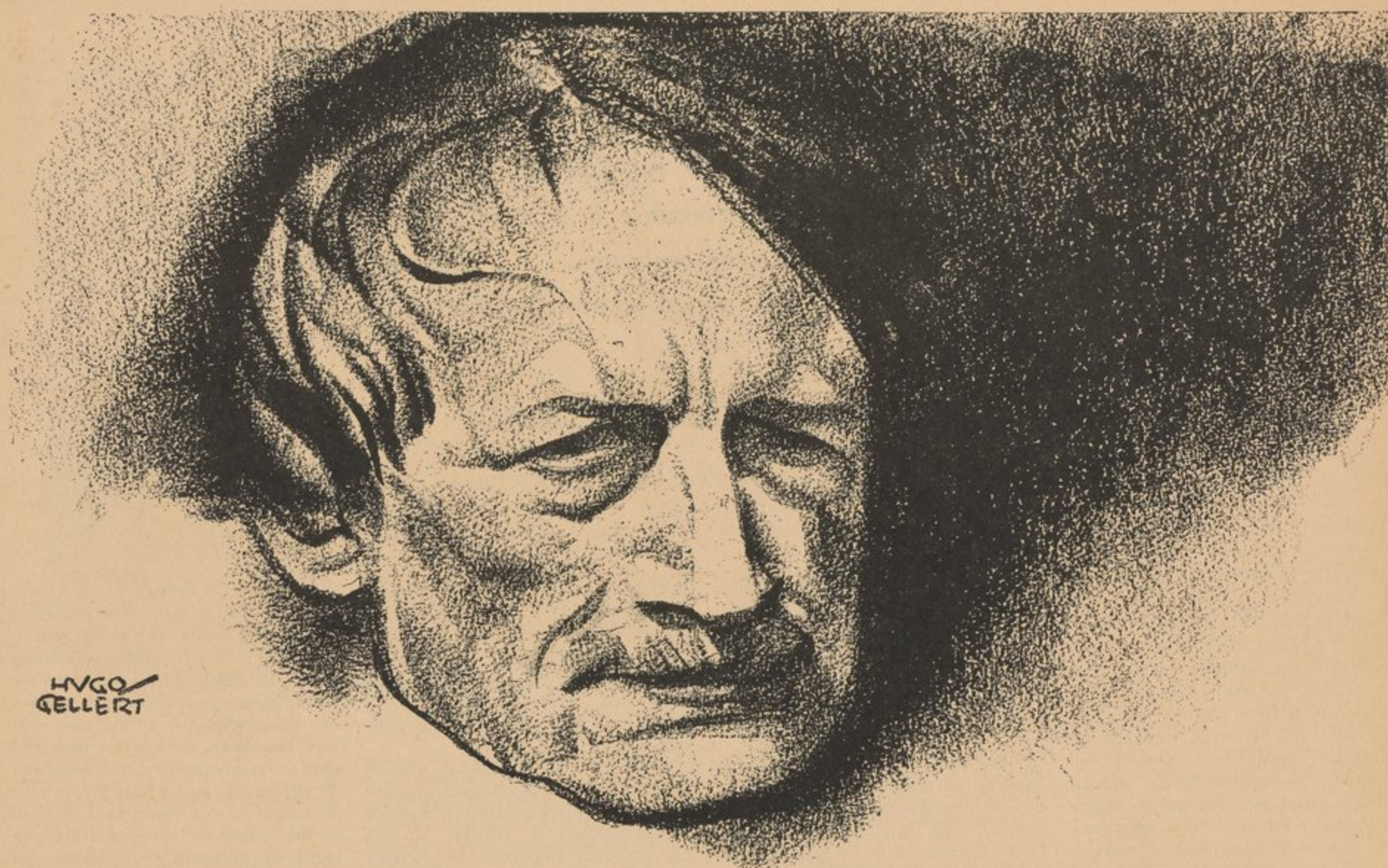
And now \$28,000,000 is provided for what is virtually a private army of Big Business in its war to keep its privileges and to "keep the workers in their place."

The Race is On

Another great slice of the new appropriations goes for fortifications, particularly on the Pacific coast, in Hawaii, Panama, and various Pacific islands. The limitations placed on Pacific fortifications and naval bases in the Washington Conference of 1921-22 will expire on December 31st of this year, since the recent London naval treaty did not renew them. This will open the way for further fortifications in the Philippines and for new naval bases on Guam, the Aleutian Islands or Samoa, and possible submarine bases and naval air stations at Wake, Midway, or other small islands of the Pacific.

Nor should the work of General
(Continued on page 25)





I Knew Barbusse

I FIRST met Henri Barbusse at the end of the World War. I visited him in his little house in the country at Aumont, near Senlis, close to the very spot where two or three years earlier the invading German armies had come closest to Paris. As Barbusse sat there in the little garden talking on and on about the terrific experiences he had been through in the War, I could see in his worn face, thin as that of a greyhound, and in his deep-sunken eyes full of sympathy with the sufferings of mankind, how the agony of the War had sapped his heroic strength. I found myself saying of him what those in the market place in Italy said long ago of Dante: "Behold the man who has been through Hell!"

In the midst of the World War, in the midst of the rattle of machine guns, the bursting of bombs, the thunder of the cannonade, we had heard the cry of Barbusse. His voice came not like that of Romain Rolland from *Above the Battle* but from *Under Fire*. *Le Feu*

A great novelist and poet who was a soldier and then became an international anti-war hero. He died a year ago this month. Here is his story by a man who knew him

By H. W. L. Dana

ILLUSTRATED BY HUGO GELLERT

(*Fire*) was the title of the book which he launched as a scorching protest against war, and it burnt like fire in the hearts of those of us who read it. In spite of all attempts to suppress this terribly realistic "story of a squad" under fire, it spread like wild-fire through France and throughout the warring world. Barbusse had left the life of literary leisure to throw in his lot with

the common soldiers in the mud and blood of the trenches, had been invalidated three times and had three times returned to the trenches, had been cited for bravery under fire and had refused promotion to an officer's rank, preferring to remain in the trenches with the "poilus."

Now that the World War was at last over and I had a chance to talk

with Barbusse at length, I found his inexhaustible energies bent on the task of bringing together his comrades-in-arms—the "ancients combattants"—into a national organization, and uniting them with the ex-service men of other countries into a still greater international organization to carry on a new and far more important war—the war against war.

There Shall Be Light

As a part of this campaign he showed me the novel he was writing: *Clarté (Light)*. This was to be like the third part of a great trilogy: not a *Divine Comedy*, but a "Human Tragedy." His earlier pessimistic novel, *Inferno* corresponded even in the title with Dante's *Inferno*. In his war novel *Under Fire*, Barbusse passed as it were through the fires of Purgatory. And now in *Clarté*, he seemed to be emerging from the darkness of war into the vision of a new social order, a sort of Paradise.

(Continued on page 29)

The Windy City

Do you know the city with a reputation? Everything that happens in Chicago is great because it is news. And do you know of its empty and deserted buildings . . . the breakdown of the school system . . . the tie-up between politics and crime?

By Robert Morss Lovett

ILLUSTRATED BY BILL JAMES

CHICAGO is the concrete expression of the concept, megapolitan. With its eighty square miles of territory, three and a half million population, immense concentration of industry, and the richest hinterland in the world, from which it draws raw materials and to which it distributes consumers' goods, food, clothing and culture, it occupies a unique position among American cities, and its significance for good and evil is enormous. Its history of one hundred years is typical in intensified form of that of the United States. An incredible outburst of pioneering energy, the acute recognition of opportunities and the ruthless exploitation of them, ambition personal and civic—these can be seen at work here more clearly than anywhere else in the country. The strata deposited by successive generations are obvious in cross section, and the contribution of each generation is defined by personalities: Ogden, Bross, Medill, Wentworth; Field, Palmer, McCor-

mick, Gage, Harrison, Armour, Crane; Yerkes, Dawes, Insull, Thompson, Kelly. If the latest stratum suggests a softening of texture, and more rapid erosion, in this again Chicago is typical of America.

A City With a Reputation

From the beginning Chicago has lived on advertisement. The advance notices have always suggested the impossible, and their making good has been announced with a megaphone. In this inland seaport, with the lake in front leading through lakes and rivers to the waterways of the world, and the prairie behind stretching to the Rocky Mountains and the headwaters of the Missouri, everything is vast by promise and exaggerated in fulfillment. Chicago has had the most significant political convention, the greatest fire, the greatest fair, the greatest stock yards, the greatest orchestra, the greatest university, the greatest crime and the greatest newspaper in the world.

Everything that happens in Chicago is great because it is news, because the city is like a sounding board sending its reverberations everywhere. The best account of Chicago, by Messrs. Lewis and Smith, is properly called *Chicago: The History of its Reputation*.

Forty years ago the English journalist, W. T. Stead, put himself dramatically in the place of Jesus and wrote *If Christ Came to Chicago*. He was not pleased. The city had recently given the perfect example of American civilization in the illegal murder by judicial procedure of the anarchists, and Judge Gary, who had mediated the operation, was the idol of his fellow citizens. The regeneration proclaimed by Christ's deputy, ironically enough, was to be promoted by the Roman Catholic Church and the Civic Federation. If a lesser prophet, say Oswald Spengler, were to return to earth and come to Chicago, would he see in the city today a prime example of that megapolitan civilization which foreshadows the decline of the West? As Chicago has led the incredible advance of American development will it lead the retreat?

Skyscraper to Mud Flat

Perhaps the first thing which would challenge the attention of the visitant would be the empty spaces in the center of the city, known as the Loop, where buildings have been torn down and parks for automobiles opened. Ten percent of this choice area has been so converted, and the saturation point for this use of vacant land has been reached. Its employment for the stringing of lines and drying of clothes is precluded by the notorious atmosphere of the city. It is a tragic fate for this city which invented the skyscraper to come down to the original level of the mud flat. A further visit to the urban districts outside the Loop would reveal blocks of empty buildings along such

thoroughfares as Cottage Grove Avenue and Halsted Street. The wrecking department boasts of having demolished over seven hundred buildings during the past year, as occasional unsightly heaps of rubbish bear witness, but the progress of deterioration outruns the efforts of even the most efficient civic enterprise. Scattered about on once prosperous streets are derelict apartment houses, which have reverted to the county for taxes, and are tenanted by squatters. Suggestions that these homes be turned over to committees organized by tenants, which would be responsible for heat, light, water and the upkeep of the buildings, are met by official inertia; and the "Relief" is paying rent for its clients and occasionally letting them down to eviction. The housing situation in general is abominable. An editorial in a Chicago paper recently noted that the city was dying at the center though flourishing in its branches, the prosperous suburbs spreading north and west. All this would gratify Herr Spengler's ghost.

Education in Decay

The same ghost would take account of the cultural life of the city, two universities of first rank and a number of smaller denominational colleges, an art institute with really extraordinary treasures, a first-class orchestra, two great museums, the Field for natural science, the Rosenwald for industry and technology, the Newberry and the Crerar libraries, forty social settlements, a superb system of public parks and bathing beaches, six daily newspapers, and a comprehensive public school system. But the ghost would find no literary magazine and almost no theatre, except such as is subsidized by the W.P.A. To the same federal aid the younger progressive artists owe their livelihood. Some four years ago the city ceased to pay its school teachers regularly; only when arrears



Evictions in the once prosperous city

amounted to almost a year's salary was the R.F.C. induced to take a mortgage of \$22,500,000 on the Loop property in the hands of the Board of Education. Meanwhile the excellent junior colleges had been suspended, the teaching load inordinately increased, while hundreds of teachers trained at public expense remained unemployed, and some of the high schools were warned that they



The principal of a Chicago school conducting a third degree examination

might be removed from lists of those accredited for granting admission to college. The sabotage of the public school system, a feature of the political corruption of the city to be noted later, is the worst symptom of decay in the present situation in Chicago. That a proud city whose motto is "I will", should owe the continued operation of its schools to the sacrifices of its teachers and a grant of federal aid would have been unthinkable a decade ago. The school board is headed by James McCahey, who significantly enough is a coal merchant. Under this board the janitors, called engineers, are political appointees, paid higher salaries than the principals. A few weeks ago a thoroughly mediocre superintendent of schools was elected who had demonstrated his subservience by filling vacancies with political favorites appointed as substitutes, to the exclusion of qualified holders of certificates. Last year a committee of citizens attended an open meeting of the board to oppose the extension of the R. O. T. C. to eleven high schools. They heard the plan defended in illiterate speeches by the members of the board on the ground that if so much of the pupil's time was occupied by army officers the expense of teaching could be correspondingly reduced. The incipient Fascism of the city is reflected in the schools in organizations of a military or police nature. Last year the principal of a high school turned over a number of his pupils who had been distributing

leaflets on the strike against war, to the tender mercies of their fellow students of the flying squad, who conducted a third degree examination to force them to reveal the names of their accomplices.

Schools and Delinquency

The breaking down of the public school system in a city of three and a half million, two thirds of whom are foreign or of foreign parentage, is, of course, a symptom of decline of sinister import. Its effect is visible in the increase of juvenile crime. Like everything else in Chicago the criminal activities of the city have been promoted on a grand scale to challenge the attention of the world. The recent history of crime in Chicago begins with the recruiting of gunmen by the newspapers, the *Tribune* and Hearst's *Examiner*, in their circulation war. Later, prohibition supplied an economic basis for crime without precedent. When the rival gangs had shot each other pretty much to death the institution, so well advertised by the newspapers, was taken over by the youth of the city, thrown on its own resources by the depression and prevailing unemployment. The same phenomenon occurred elsewhere, but in Chicago it was exaggerated by the extent to which organized crime had come to be practiced in the city. It was of all times the most ill-chosen to weaken the public school.

Racketeers

Crime is essentially no different in Chicago from what it is elsewhere, but some of its manifestations are peculiarly local. In the days of prohibition, bootleggers obtained possession of some of the outlying municipalities of Cook County so as to secure protection at their base of operations. Such a suburb as Melrose Park is known as a gangster town, where industrial corporations and illicit business together enjoy protection by the mercenaries of crime, both official and unofficial. Three years ago a projected meeting of workers to demand civil rights was shot up by these thugs with their allies of the American Legion. Crime has penetrated the labor unions, in some of which, such as the teamsters' union and the janitors' union, the officials keep control by the employment of slugs and killers. In the exercise of this type of "unionism" the old guard has the support of the present State's Attorney and his police.

The Press, Politics and Crime

The tie-up of crime with the newspapers is natural, since next to war it furnishes the most salable news. A young reporter, Jake Lingle, was equally valuable to the *Tribune* because of his close association with Al Capone and with the Commissioner of Police. When he was shot, his participation in the profits of crime was

discovered, and the paper found it advisable to have someone punished. A young man, a fugitive from justice in St. Louis, named Brothers, was discovered, arrested, held incommunicado for days and, it is said, tortured, finally booked and brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. The assistant to the State's Attorney who did this job for the *Tribune*, Wayland Brooks, will be rewarded with the governorship of Illinois if the Republicans carry the state this fall.

The connection of politics with crime is a usual phenomenon, but in Chicago it persists with a certain frontery. A former state's attorney, Robert E. Crowe, was a friend of the Gennas, a notorious family of killers. Similarly former U. S. Senator Deneen was an intimate of Joe Esposito, an old time vice lord. But politics in Chicago is itself a racket. A bill has recently passed the Illinois legislature, against the violent opposition of the Cook County delegations, for permanent registration which it is estimated will remove 250,000 spurious names from the voting lists of the city. But this measure will not prevent the enthusiastic partisans in control of the polling places from making up the tally sheets as they please. At the last primary County Judge Jarecki and State's Attorney Courtney urged citizens, especially young members of the Bar Association, to act as watchers at the polls, but when they arrived at their stations they found that their credentials, issued by the judge, were invalid. The presence of gunmen at elections is customary to quell any protest from outraged citizens.

Corrupt and Complacent

The head and front of the offending

in Chicago is to be found in the Mayor's office. Some years ago Edward J. Kelly was engineer for the board of the sanitary district, a body so shameless in its debauchery on public money as to be called the "whoopie board." A determined effort was made to bring these rascals to justice, and several were indicted, among them Kelly. The indictment was voided, and, on a second trial, Kelly's name was omitted, it is generally believed because of the interposition of the *Tribune*. Kelly was elected Mayor by the City Council to succeed Cermak. Shortly after, the *Herald Examiner* published photostatic facsimiles of contracts, entered into by Kelly with Pat Nash, head of the state Democratic organization, showing exorbitant charges for work for the district, and of contracts in connection with parking space for the Century of Progress Exposition. Kelly made no reply. Yet in the next election Kelly was re-elected by the largest majority ever given in Chicago. The truth is that the city is corrupt and complacent. The sabotage of the schools, which aroused the fury of the teachers, endeared Kelly to the bankers. His condoning of third degree methods in the stations and of violence on the streets by the police is taken as a guarantee of law and order.

Snapping Out of It

Will Chicago snap out of it? There are several movements on foot which look hopefully toward the future. One of these is the aroused interest in the schools, and the promotion of a citizens' Save Our Schools Committee. Recently Mayor Kelly was forced by public pressure to reappoint the only member of the Board of Education of whom the city is not ashamed. Another move-

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The Tribune and Hearst's Examiner in their circulation war



The Fascist war council, with Mussolini at center table, decides the fate of invaded Ethiopia

Skidding Caesar

Here a distinguished educator presents an Italian exile's view of the Ethiopian war . . . Mussolini . . . League of Nations . . . Hitler and Great Britain . . . people's actions against war

By Gaetano Salvemini

IT IS CLEAR that the skidding Caesar of Italy was compelled by the situation at home, to undertake the African war. His peace-time repertory was about exhausted and Italy's credits were being cut off because her willingness and even her capacity to pay was questioned. Her business men had accumulated great surplus value from the labor of the wage-earners and farmers of Italy, but these profits had to be profitably re-invested. It was therefore decided that the best speculation was to use this wealth in a bid to obtain a new deal for Italy, i.e. colonial empire and financial and military independence. The growing instability of the world situation seemed opportune for this bold move, inspired by an internal crisis that was of both a material and a psycholog-

ical character. It was believed that England would hesitate to take energetic action lest war with Italy should set off colonial unrest, and cause trouble at home as well. Italy also relied on French neutrality, because of the policy of the bogus national government in supporting Hitler's repudiation of the Versailles treaty and rapid rearmament program. This reactionary policy has seemed perfectly sound to many British liberals and pacifists, who feel that France has been too uncompromising in her attitude towards Germany and that it is time to forget the past—and the record of the present administration of that unhappy country. France and England, who had been hostile till the ambitions of imperial Germany brought them together, became increasingly mistrustful of each

other after their joint victory in 1918. French military and naval power on the continent became a potential danger to British investments and trade. The "national" government therefore helped Hitler, not only in the hope of using him for an attack on Russia, but also in order to weaken French hegemony on the continent. The French Fascists gave encouragement to Mussolini and were expected to counteract the efforts of the anti-Fascists. The French chauvinists wished to come to an understanding with Germany and Italy and howled that the Franco-Soviet pact should inspire nobody with confidence—apparently because of the "betrayal" of 1917 when the Soviets repudiated the Czarist secret treaties with the Allies—and propagated the idea that Italy was France's friend,

that both countries were interested in opposing Nazi ambitions in the valley of the Danube, and that Italy must not be antagonized or she would ally herself with Hitler. Moreover, Mussolini also figured that international events would cause the relaxation or repeal of any measures that might be adopted against Italy.

The Prey

Ethiopia was selected as a prey because it was the only country within Italy's effective reach, which was not already wholly owned or controlled by another power. It was therefore possible to invade that territory without becoming involved with other States at the outset. The Fascist leaders had great expectations of finding fabulous riches there, and Italian consulates had long

been established in out-of-the-way places in Ethiopia, where no possible commercial advantage was to be gained. These were centers of espionage, and there military men mapped the locality in preparation for *Der Tag*. There were also strategic reasons for the desire to annex Ethiopia. The country was evidently meant to serve as a base for further Italian penetration in Africa. Large numbers of natives could be conscripted there to help Italy win her place in the sun, while air raids on British possessions could be made from both Lybia and Ethiopia. The Egyptian people are so restless under the British yoke that an Italian "army of liberation" might be welcomed, and the revolt of Egypt would give great encouragement to the anti-imperialist movement from India to Ireland. Although Italy remains a second-rate power, the technical improvements which have been effected in airplanes and submarines have put her in a position to contest British supremacy throughout the Mediterranean. Malta is now of little use to Britain, and Italian submarines and airships might be able to close the channel between Sicily and Africa. Italy could then dominate the Eastern Mediterranean—as long as her supplies of oil and munitions lasted. From the Dodecanese Islands, Cyprus could be bombed, and this is the most important British base, commanding the port of Alexandria, the entrance to the Suez Canal, and the pipe line at Haifa which carries oil across the desert from Iraq. By a mixture of force, bluff and intrigues, the rulers of Italy hoped to muddle through.

War Psychology

Since Ethiopia is no economic unit, and racial, linguistic and religious differences are pronounced there, Il Duce would have found it far cheaper and quicker to purchase the support of influential feudal chiefs or religious leaders before the war began. Communications and trade never developed sufficiently to create a community of interest between all sections of the country. The power of the central government was very limited because of this lack of economic cohesion, and bribery on a big scale was possible. This was not done, because Mussolini and his backers evidently believed that they had more to gain by fighting than by inducing native chiefs to appeal for Italian intervention. Under the influence of war psychology, it was hoped that the Italian people would repose more confidence in their leaders and would become capable of making the still greater sacrifices exacted by Fascism.

A Fatal Move

The British government became alarmed at the vast scale of Italy's war preparations, which indicated a desire to obtain something more than a slice

of Ethiopia. Moreover, the Tory administration wanted to exploit the enormous pro-League sentiment, revealed by the June Peace Plebiscite, in order to be returned to office at the impending elections. This conservative so-called "national" government posed as the upholder of International Law, and demanded that the League condemn Italy as the aggressor. The Soviet Union at once seconded the motion, and the Laval government found it necessary to acquiesce in this expression of disapproval which was backed by minor penalties on the offender. Britain then considered it necessary to mobilize her fleet in the Mediterranean. This was done without consulting the League, and so was the secret military agreement concluded in December, between Britain, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Jugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. This regional pact amounted to repudiation of collective action—for the principle of collective security demands that no member of the League of Nations, expecting mutual assistance, may involve others in crisis, without prior consultation with the other 50 odd States represented at Geneva. If anything created a danger of world conflict, it was not the threat of oil

sanctions or of closing the Suez Canal, but the isolated action of the British government, to which His Majesty's Socialists pledged unreserved support—on the theory that the policy of the "national" government, on this issue, was in the public interest and designed to undermine Fascism and support the cause of democracy and legality at home and abroad.

Vigilance and the League

The Socialist League and the Independent Labor Party saw the danger of following blindly at the tail of the reactionary "Ramsay-MacBaldwin" government. Unfortunately, however, they failed to appreciate the fact that the League of Nations can no longer serve the interests of any combination of imperialists. England and France are no longer supreme in Europe. The Soviet Union has become a Great Power, and a member of the League, while Germany and Japan have abandoned that body because it was obstructive to the realization of their imperialistic ambitions. Most of the smaller nations are interested in imposing checks on the appetites of their more industrialized and powerful neighbors, so that the League has be-

come a potential agency for the maintenance of peace and for the open discussion of grievances—not with a view to the redistribution of colonies or mandates among imperialists, but for the extension of democratic liberties and the undermining of artificial barriers to international trade and good will.

It is only necessary that the public should display ceaseless vigilance over those in the seats of Moses, in order to assure the proper functioning of the League.

Sanctions and the Popular Front

When it appeared that oil sanctions might possibly be imposed after all, Hitler occupied the Rhineland, and it was at once proclaimed that the Italo-Ethiopian "dispute" was of very minor importance and that Italy must not be antagonized further, as she was needed to maintain the peace of Europe, endangered by the Nazis. All reactionaries fear that a strong League of Nations would be a threat to them, and Hitler's move was prompted not only by the necessity of enhancing his prestige at home, but by the hope of preventing the application of effective sanctions to Italy—an event which would be an alarming precedent for others—and of weakening the chances of the Popular Front in the impending elections. The militarization of the Rhineland—after all the propaganda predicting assorted calamities if the Left Wing took power—might make the French people vote for the seemingly more patriotic Fascist coalition, which was sure to urge unity of all Frenchmen against the German menace. The Nazis understood that a "National Union" government in France would be much more friendly than one of anti-Fascists—and they knew that the British authorities, who had led their people to believe that France had sabotaged the League, would veto sanctions against them for violating the Locarno Pact.

Mussolini's Game

In the meantime, the Fascist forces were able to continue their bombing of Red Cross units and of unfortified and undefended towns and make use of the poison gas and flamethrowers which the Suez Canal Co. had allowed to reach Ethiopia. The invaders had long been making little progress, but the approach of the rainy season, especially, made energetic action imperative. An army of 400,000 men, immobilized for months and harassed by snipers and sickness, might mutiny—while the roads might not stand up under the heavy tropical rainfall and the terrific pounding of thousands of supply trucks. Ruthless methods of warfare were therefore resorted to in order to provoke the natives to give battle. The Ethiopians twice engaged in pitched battle, and this, together with dissensions fostered by jealousy and bribery,

(Continued on page 24)



Buddhist priests with gas masks, in Tokyo, pray for peace

THE PURVEYORS of America's multitudinous laxatives who were chased off the big networks some months ago because of the disapproval of their tactics voiced by the Federal Communications Commission, unofficial government censors, have shifted over to the comparatively uncensored small stations. There they rake in the shekels as of old and incidentally help to ruin American health and happiness by encouraging listeners to do violence to their intestinal tracts.

Each major city has one or more medical quacks boosting the cathartics of their sponsors while apparently giving unbiased "health advice." Chief among those in the New York area are Victor H. Lindlahr and John X. Loughran, neither of whom can boast of being a licensed physician. Let's take a look at them since they are typical of hundreds of others who infest the country's airwaves.

Lindlahr, who is heard over WMCA and other small stations, preaches a philosophy of life which requires the constant use of a laxative known as Serutan and sells a reducing diet on the side. He attacks psyllium seed in cathartics although not long ago he plugged Edrolax over NBC, and the latter's questionable virtue was due to psyllium.

A bitter rival of Lindlahr is the "fighting chiropractor" John X. Loughran of station WOR, who sells another psyllium seed laxative known as Hoodlax which is manufactured by the publisher of *Modern Living Magazine*. Lindlahr and Loughran once worked together but now they take cracks at each other. Both of them used to attack authentic doctors, but circumstances forced them to soft pedal this side of their program.

Loughran and Lindlahr pore through such magazines as *Popular Science*, reading about the newest unconfirmed medical experiments and later building talks about them. They chatter glibly about "vitamin deficiency," "glandular unbalance," and the miracles achieved by the use of fruit juice and Christian Science. They have no scruples about giving advice on any subject from Bright's Disease to arthritis and advocating the cure of these ailments by uniform (and highly unscientific) diets which, of course, in-

Radio

clude large doses of their favorite cathartics.

The laxative people no longer depend entirely on "medical advisors" for their sales, however. Feenamint resorts to imitating Major Bowes with its *National Amateur Night* which is interlarded with indelicate and threatening announcements intended to sell its gummy product. Eased off Columbia, Feenamint went to the Mutual network which lamely defended itself for taking the business by saying that it was only accepting the program "during the summer months."

And here's what *Variety* recently had to say about the advertising on the Fleischmann yeast program still heard on NBC:

Fleischmann yeast commercials continue to skirt the border of bad taste. That "unsolicited" (and unsigned) letter of endorsement which Rudy Vallee mentioned and Graham McNamee read Thursday (21) is a case in point. References to the system "working better" and the general tone of the spiel is pretty close to the objectionable.

Not all of the self-styled medical experts work for the laxative people, of course. Dr. Shirley W. Wynne, "the man who will endorse almost anything," is now plugging a cheap candy on WEA. And Alfred W. McCann is boosting Best Foods on WOR. This is not the original McCann who used to crusade against the evils of white bread until he was "induced" to change his mind. When McCann, Sr., died some time ago, Best Foods yanked his dimpled son out of college to fill his father's shoes despite his complete lack of training.

Air Notes

"WHITEWASH Major Bowes" is the rallying cry of press agents at the Columbia Broadcasting System these days. The good major, whose genteel form of racketeering was discussed in these columns several months ago, is bringing his Amateurs from NBC to CBS in September, and his new sponsors are anxious that his

somewhat sullied reputation as a public benefactor be thoroughly dry-cleaned before that time.

The armchair officer has been attacked from all sides these last few months because of the way he underpays and overworks his helpless talent. Magazines and newspapers have been after him hot and heavy, but the climax came when a Red Cross radio benefit performance for which Bowes was acting as master of ceremonies, had to be called off because no first class entertainer would appear on the same program with him.

So don't be surprised if Eddie starts handing out tenspots instead of fives to his "children" and boosts the former starvation wages of members of his road units. In fact he may start endowing rest homes for Ancient Amateurs or even donating silver gongs to churches. Remember that the Ivy Lee-T. J. Ross Advertising Agency which handles the account first thought up the idea of taking the curse off John D. Rockefeller by having him hand out shiny new dimes. . . All right. . . All right!

Sic transit gloria! Columbia is planning to install its famous Demonstrometer, or Convention Meter, as it was first called, in one of its theatre studios to induce audiences to applaud louder. The Demonstrometer was really the only new idea developed by either the Republican or Democratic convention. Delegates and alternates screamed themselves voiceless in an effort to make its column of light shoot up a point higher.

The Demonstrometer, with its pseudo-scientific mumbo-jumbo, typified in large measure the emptiness of the two political gatherings. At Cleveland, while people like Frank Phillips, president of the Phillips Petroleum Co., and Charles Walgreen, red-baiting drugstore chain owner, sat on their private yachts as they plotted the Republican platform and praised God for Hitler and William Randolph Hearst,

the Demonstrometer back in the auditorium beckoned like a will o' the wisp to perspiring delegates who shouted without knowing for whom they were shouting. And in Philadelphia the jobholders and job-seekers strained their lungs to exceed the Republican "decibel record" while Jim Farley ran the show single-handed.

The radio audience was not fooled, however. A survey made by the Co-operative Analysis of Broadcasting showed that only 22 percent of America's 26,000,000 set owners tuned in on the convention although 57 percent of them heard the Schmeling-Louis fight.

It's still too early at this writing to determine the result of the R.C.A. strike in Camden. But it is certain that despite police brutality, mass arrests and double-dealing by the management, members of the United Electrical and Radio Workers Union have made a gallant fight. R.C.A. is intimately connected with NBC, which, you will recall, fired 150 of its employees without cause a month or so ago.

The Canadian Mounties are getting their men again. This time the noble red jackets are blackjacking migratory workers who recently were forbidden to travel from province to province in search of jobs. After having been badly beaten up by the Mounties in Regina, Sask., recently, the workers pooled their resources and bought five minutes' time on CKCK during which a spokesman protested to radio listeners against the government's Fascist policy. CHWC refused to sell the unemployed workers any time in which to present their case.

—GEORGE SCOTT





A Great Hero

"The fourth and last rule: no one shall mention death in Hearst's presence."—From "Hearst, Lord of San Simeon"

By Art Young

Movies

SEEKERS of grim truth and social import in the movies would have found little reward for their efforts during recent weeks. Since *Fury*, of which you have already heard, there have been only one or two films worthy of serious attention, but none of these came up to the majestic power of that anti-lynching tract. Seekers of entertainment and light diversion, on the other hand, had much with which to rejoice, for the weeks brought forth Clark Gable and Shirley Temple, Kay Francis and W. C. Fields, and of these, the name of Fields led all the rest.

It was in a talkie version of his old musical comedy, *Poppy*, that the Magnificent One made his appearance. And once again he convulsed his spectators with his battles on a croquet field, with a boiled shirt, and with cigar box violoncello. There never has been anybody his equal in a fight to the finish with a violoncello. Rochelle Hudson had the old Madge Kennedy role, and Lynne Overman did things with the character of a small town lawyer. The rest of the cast doesn't matter. What does matter is W. C. Fields, and he matters a great deal.

There was one timid venture into social science in *Parole*, the first of a long series of pictures destined for penologists and amateur sociologists. It had a vigorous theme behind it, but its development was weak and ineffectual, with the result that it tended to become a "preachment" instead of a vital drama. Its solution for the problems of the parole system, incidentally, was

the establishment of a new parole board. Even Hollywood has done better than that before.

The dimpled, bemustached Clark Gable made his appearance with Jeanette MacDonald in *San Francisco*, a rousing, briskly paced melodrama of the old Barbary Coast. The picture runs for about two hours, and for the first ninety minutes may be classed as good, even above average stuff. Then, suddenly, the earthquake strikes the city of San Francisco, the screen dissolves into a rumbling, roaring picture of devastation and horror, and *San Francisco* becomes really epic. Spectacular, yes. But such spectacle as has been seldom achieved in the movies before. For this we may credit W. S. Van Dyke, that same director who made the memorable *The Thin Man*.

Shirley Temple, characterized by the *New York Times* as "the mighty moppet," came to the Radio City Music Hall in *The Poor Little Rich Girl*, a dainty little whimsy about radio broadcasting, tap dancing, and singing cute songs. It gives Mistress Temple ample opportunity to display her amazing gifts, and for this, I suppose, we may be thankful. Otherwise there's not very much to it.

Other recent films you may run across would include *The White Angel*, with Kay Francis playing the role of Florence Nightingale. Obviously designed as a sequel to *The Story of Louis Pasteur*, the picture lacks its predecessor's incisive scripting and brilliant acting, but has its moments in

occasional tableaux of allegedly historic significance. And you might also run across Jean Hersholt in *Sins of Man*, a wallowing tear jerker of the father-and-son school exemplified by Emil Jannings years and years ago.

For the rest, there's not very much to be said. *The Last Outlaw* was a genial, self-mocking Western, *Secret Agent* was a spy story directed by the otherwise brilliant Alfred Hitchcock, and exhibiting Peter Lorre as half villain and half comedian, *Dancing Pirate* brought the color cycle one step further along the way, and there was one Soviet importation, *Seven Brave Men*, which might have been something at one time, but which just turned out to be another melodrama of virility in the Far North and not up to the usual high standard of Soviet pictures.

By the way, don't miss *The Revolt of the Zombies*. It's the lousiest picture of the year.

Shorts

LABOR organizations should write to Warners and Paramount in an attempt to dissuade them from producing *Pinkerton*, the life story of Allan Pinkerton, head of the detective agency which was one of the most notorious strike-breaking and labor-spying bands in the country, forerunner of the modern Bergoff.

Mussolini has always recognized the power of the films as a propaganda medium. During the Ethiopian conflict, innumerable Italian film theaters sprang up throughout the country, undoubtedly subsidized to some extent by the Fascist government. Now Mussolini is going to establish an Italian Hollywood near Rome, with Walter Wanger, one of the most efficient film producers in America, in charge. One of the film subjects mentioned is a picture based on the life of Christopher Columbus, with Frederic March in the lead. It remains to be seen whether American labor will be passive in its reaction toward Mussolini's films, which will undoubtedly be subtle Italian propaganda. One thing which could be done would be to boycott Wanger's American made films if he persists in this deal, and to shun the pictures of American stars who go on the Mussolini payroll.

Schmeling-Louis fight pictures were barred from all Warner Theaters, according to *Variety*, which reported that the ban was because of a direct order from Harry M. Warner. *Variety* said:

FIGHT RECOMMENDS:

Fury—A bitter commentary on lynching and the most socially advanced picture to come out of Hollywood.

Poppy—W. C. Fields at his best.

Early to Bed—A delightful farce with Mary Boland and Charles Ruggles.

San Francisco—Silly in spots but grand singing by Jeanette MacDonald and spectacular earthquake shots.

Also worth seeing if you can find them are *The Ex-Mrs. Bradford*, *Bullets or Ballots*, *Desire*, *The Great Ziegfeld*, and *The Last Outlaw*.

Just so and not so:

Hearts Divided, *Dancing Pirate*, *Secret Agent*, *Private Number*, *Trouble for Two*, *The King Steps Out*, *Sins of Man*.

"Film execs attitude on the Nazi situation given as the prime reason for not wanting to book the pix." Perhaps someone can suggest to Mr. Warner a few more practical ways of expressing his anti-Nazi sympathies.

While this department does not join in the wide-spread adulation of foreign films, we look forward with expectancy to the forthcoming Ethiopian picture filmed by Soviet newsreel cameramen. It is understood that the picture shows air bombardments and gas attacks against black civilians, and other examples of the Fascist terror which recently ran amuck over the African countryside.

Newsreel

THE American Public should be getting a clear view of Japanese and German threats to peace through the medium of recent newsreels. Pathe, in a clip entitled *Austria and Europe*, diagrammed Germany's desire for eastward expansion with arrows pointing right into Soviet territory, and a March of Time clip also treated the possible effects of a Hapsburg restoration. Japan's invasion of China, also in the direction of the U.S.S.R., was the subject of another illustrated lecture by Pathe on the dangers to world peace.

Industrially, it warmed one's heart to hear Graham McNamee's voice as he described the arrest of a group of Ohio strike-breakers, and hear him voice the sheriff's opinion that the strike-breakers began a battle with workers by firing on them. It was only a few months ago that Graham was describing a union convention by saying, "It looks pretty red from where we sit."

All the newsreels this corner could catch were fair in their treatment of the end of the French strike, showing the rejoicing of the workers in an honest manner.

—ROBERT SHAW



W. C. Fields and Rochelle Hudson in "Poppy"

A World Congress for Peace

The people of six continents are meeting in Geneva to make international plans for the preservation of peace

By Margaret Forsyth

ILLUSTRATED BY PHIL WOLFE

IT MUST be evident to anyone even slightly aware of world events that the task of maintaining peace has never been more difficult than it is in the world of today. With the occupation of the Rhine territory by Nazi troops, with the present movement in Germany toward expanding her territory to include Danzig and perhaps, later, Austria and Czechoslovakia, with the ruthless seizing of Ethiopia by Italy, with our own billion dollar war budget, the entire world is apprehensive, shaken and turning more and more toward aggressive militarism. Meanwhile, the Orient watches the moves of Japan nervously. The task of keeping even the degree of peace we have now seems, at moments, hopeless and difficult beyond attempt.

However, the situation is too desperate to succumb to the difficulty. Moreover, there are distinct trends in the world today which can be used to offset this difficulty. For instance, there is a growing sentiment for peace among the peoples of the world that can be used to make peace measures effective, provided there is a plan of action into which such sentiment can be drafted. One of the dramatic examples of this peace sentiment is the 11,000,000 ballots cast for peace in England alone. In addition to the peace sentiment, there is another trend that is full of hope. That is—that the advocates of peace are coming rapidly to the position that national peace cannot be finally maintained unless war is driven out of the entire world.

The Geneva Congress

With these distinct advantages to work with, the first step toward the establishment of a warless world has been to call an International Congress for Peace in Geneva, Switzerland, on September 4-6 of this year. The Congress, called under the leadership of Lord Cecil, of England, is for the purpose of rallying all the peace forces around a definite plan of action for peace. World opinion for peace, to be of any practical use, must move in a planned direction. This direction is indicated by a European writer who, in commenting on the Congress, says:

"The struggle to maintain peace will only be successful if the blows dealt by the friends of peace are directed against the instigators of war in the international arena—Germany, Japan, Italy, and against the forces inside each country which are helping them directly or indirectly."

Thus there are two sides to the program of the Congress, unification for joint international action against the

in the United States, toward the fight against the Liberty League, the Black Legion, the Ku Klux Klan and the reactionary forces that, in attempting to curtail the civil and economic rights of the people, are endangering the fight against war.

The Trade Unions

The delegates to the International Congress for Peace include all the or-

Naturally, with this basic group working within the peace movement, the entire movement will be strengthened in that very place where it has been weakest.

With the trade unions sitting in the body of the Congress, it will be easy to stress the effectiveness of labor action in keeping help away from an aggressor, rather than relying solely, as has been the custom in the past, on the action of governments—although the latter must be used under mass pressure for all it is worth.

The first objective of the International Congress for Peace, that of unification of peace forces, is already being realized, in a national way, in the preparation for the Congress. A delegation of nearly a hundred people from some thirty organizations represents the United States. Many meetings have been called here in which many groups have come to discuss how unity can best be achieved to bring about the main objectives of the Congress. Thus, a closer cooperation of the peace forces of this country has come into being.

A Living Reality

The International Congress for Peace is a tremendous step forward, toward the creation of a powerful and educated peace movement in each country. Since peace leaders seem to agree that peace cannot be achieved if it is left in the realm of a vague peace sentiment, and that education for peace is only effected by the satisfactory experience in applying pressure to stop war tendencies as they appear, such a Congress calling for action should be, in itself, an education for peace movements. Moreover, the establishment of close links between the many movements should help to eliminate the sporadic, and often ineffectual, work done by separate organizations, and to further the uniting of all organizations working toward peace into one great movement. The American League Against War and Fascism welcomes the opportunity to help in the work of the International Congress for Peace, with the hope that the objective of the Congress—a warless world—will soon become a living reality.



instigators of war, and the national action of the peace groups against war moves within their own countries. The peace movement within each nation will, of necessity, be influenced by the concrete situations in that country. For example, at this moment in Great Britain, the main emphasis would be against giving support to the Hitler regime and aggression. In France, toward the break-up of the Fascist Leagues and the strengthening of the united front,

organizations which exist for the primary purpose of maintaining peace in the world, as well as organizations which, heretofore, have not been given serious consideration by most peace groups. I am speaking of the trade unions. Up to the present time, the trade unions have responded exceedingly well to the invitation to the Congress. Already, French, British, Spanish and Russian trade unions have indicated their intention of sending delegates to Geneva.

The Shay Brothers

What happened to two boys who went to war out of a small Mid-West town

By Howard Hayes

ILLUSTRATED BY M. PASS

WITH all this war talk that you hear nowadays, I can't think of a better time for me to try to get out of my system this story about the Shay brothers. This is what I know personally about a couple of brothers who went to war from our little town back in 1917. All we high school kids admired them, and I think that makes them important.

The Shay brothers, Mack and Louie, were only two or three years older than the rest of us who had to stay in school and couldn't get away for the War. School was pretty tough then with nothing but war talk and adventure. But we were too young, so all we could do was to hang around after school, and in the evening in the poolroom, and see Louie and Mack and admire them.

Mack, the older one, had been the best quarterback our school football team had had in years. He weighed only a hundred and thirty pounds but he was as tough as a rubber heel. He was so good the other quarterbacks that came after him were all put in the shade and developed inferiority complexes.

He was the damnedest, cleverest man in the backfield you ever saw. He could run and kick and pass and it seemed as if every ounce of muscle in his body was good for twice as much as anybody else's. He had punch and snap.

Well, if all the snap and punch in the family had gone into Mack, Louie was one of our favorites in another way. Compared to Mack, he was soft. He weighed thirty pounds more and was three inches taller. He never went in for football or anything like that, but he could sing. When he was a small kid he used to sing all the sentimental and funny songs at family parties. Everybody was always getting him to sing.

But at the time I am talking about he had outgrown all that and was singing and playing the tenor banjo in the back of the poolroom. He knew by heart the words of every popular song within a week after it came out. I remember how well he used to sing those wartime songs like "Dardanella," "Ja-

Da," and "Good-Bye Maw, Good-Bye Paw, Good-Bye Mule With That Old Hee-Haw." But I will come to that later.

Some people have queer ideas about these small town poolrooms. My mother had. But this one was really only a club where you could rest and eat without having to go home. A bunch of us used to go in and shoot pool for an hour or two after school if anybody had the money. It was the only fun of this kind we could have.

Louie was supposed to have a fine voice and people had been after him to sing in church. But Louie wasn't the church singing kind, though he wasn't bashful when it came to singing at the firemen's parties, or Odd Fellows' banquets.

Their mother was a big fat Irish woman with a very red face. She wore a house dress all the time and never went anywhere. Their father was a foreman in the car repair shops and was small and tough like Mack. He never said anything but he made everybody feel he thought his sons were all right, I mean the real stuff and nothing to be ashamed of.

WHEN we went into the World War in 1917 Mack had some kind of a job, I don't remember what. Even then there weren't many jobs in our town, you had to go twenty-five miles to the city to get anything good. Anyway, he quit and volunteered. He left for training camp right away and we didn't see him again till he came back on leave all tricked out in a uniform and ready to sail for France. He was already a corporal. Later they made him a non-com.

He was around for a few days, playing pool and talking a little, and then one morning he took a train and left without saying good-bye. Louie told us his mother cried because Mack hadn't said good-bye, but his old man just smiled. His old man never missed a game when Mack was playing.

About this time the Liberty Loan Drives, three-minute speeches, Red Cross stunts and the rest of that junk began to reach our town. The Methodist minister, the mayor, and a couple of other clucks got up on top of a kitchen table in front of the First National Bank and made speeches about duty and honor. A group of girls from

A bunch of us used to go in and shoot pool for an hour or two after school if anybody had the money. It was the only fun of this kind we could have



the Red Cross offered kisses if you would buy bonds or something, and the owner of the poolroom wanted Louie to get up and play his banjo. But he was too bashful, maybe because of the girls and churchy crowd.

They not only asked for money, but they pleaded with all the young men to enlist. And a lot of them did.

Everybody fell for the line they were handing out, especially we kids in school. I can tell you it was just about impossible to stay in school at that time. Along with the others, I thought of lying about my age and running off to join the aviation or at least the Navy. One fellow in our class did do it but they found out and sent him back. Anyway, he saw a lot of the country.

Well, pretty soon nearly all the young fellows in our town that were old enough and whose parents didn't hang on to them had joined up and gone off to camp. They were nearly all gone before Louie decided he ought to go too. Some of the people had a way of making it nasty for you if you just loafed and sang songs while this great big War for Democracy was go-

had changed a lot in the meantime. It wasn't fun any more. Mack's father let it out that Mack was now a non-com. I guess Louie never was anything but a plain infantryman.

Then we heard that Louie was wounded and was coming home. He'd been in a hospital and was now well enough to come home. All we could make out was that he must have been hurt badly enough to be no good for fighting, or they would have kept him there.

Somebody found out when he was arriving and we all went down to the train to give him a royal welcome. He was smiling, but he didn't look so good. He'd lost a lot of weight, and something was wrong with his left foot. Somebody volunteered a car to drive him home and we didn't see anything more of him for two or three days. Then he hobbled into the poolroom late one afternoon, still in uniform.

We gathered around, gawking at him, joking and asking questions. He sat back and kidded us, dodging most of the questions or making wise-cracks. Most of us kept our eyes off his foot but it was stuck out in front of him and we were as much gathered around it as around him. Then some older guy hollered, "Hey, Louie, did you get hurt anywhere else besides the foot?" "Yeah," he said, "I got it in the ribs and some gas, too. No fun."

Then he began telling us the latest jokes and pretty soon he sang us some verses of "Hinky Dinky Parley Voo" that we'd never heard before. I went home after a while but I heard later that he showed them his foot. There wasn't much left of it.

Well, it was a long time before we really found out about Louie's war experiences. He'd tell a little now and then, but he didn't shoot the works till one night at a dance. I was just lucky in being there when he finally loosened up. I guess he wouldn't have said anything then except that he couldn't dance so he sat in a room with some others off to one side and drank hard cider. Since I was a rather bashful dancer then I spent about half the evening with this bunch and that's how I happened to hear the story.

It was late and he was already slightly drunk when he began to tell it. You could see he'd been feeling lousy all night because he couldn't dance. The girls were all very sweet to him because he was a war hero but you could tell it was only pity, not love. All girls really hate cripples and don't want to touch them. You can't blame them, at that. Ask yourself what fellow wants a club-footed girl?

Well, it seems it all happened the first time he went over the top. His company got pushed into a sector where they were using gas. They were not only green, but were all wearing gas masks as well. He said nobody knew what it was all about. You just followed orders.

He was in the second wave. He climbed out of the trench and started going toward the German lines as he was supposed to. He could see ahead of him another wave of our own men. He said it was very hard to see anything because of the gas mask, and the smoke and gas clouds drifting over all the time. Shells were bursting all around but he kept his eye out on each side for his proper place in the line and kept trying to remember his officer's instructions.

He went ahead quite a way like this, now and then seeing men spinning around and falling, and knowing they'd been hit. Then there was a big explosion and something hit him and suddenly he couldn't see anything. He was knocked over backwards but he sat up right away and seemed to feel all right. But he couldn't see anything.

So he put his hands up to his gas mask and found that a lot of wet rags had fallen over his head. He reached around and started pulling them off and trying to clear the eye-pieces so he could see, when he found he couldn't breathe any more. He got wild and fumbled around and finally slipped the whole thing off. Then he saw that a lot of human flesh and rags had been blown all over him. This was what had knocked him down. He wiped the blood off the glass eye-pieces of the mask and pulled away the rag that had caught around the breathing part and stopped it up.

But before he could get the mask back on, it was already too late. He was coughing and choking and couldn't control himself.

He said that that was the way he got gassed. As for the other injuries, they happened while he was sitting there fooling with the mask. Suddenly, his foot was nearly taken off by a piece of shell. Then, a moment later, he got it in the ribs. He didn't remember what happened after that.

He'd told us all this very slowly, now and then stopping to take a drink and listen to the blare of the jazz coming in from the dance floor. When he was finished he just sat there, sort of propped up, looking straight ahead. I could see he was pretty drunk. Nobody had anything much to say. He sat there for a long time like that, now and then taking a gulp of hard cider. Finally, somebody asked him if he wanted to go home and he said yes. They practically carried him out.

Well, it killed the dance. The girls and mothers couldn't stand the sight of Louie being carried out that way. It was really terrible. With two or three others I went to the poolroom and had sandwiches and coffee. Everybody was thinking about the story that Louie had told but nobody wanted to say anything.

About three months later Louie died. He had never been right inside since coming home. He used to go to the

doctor all the time. Then one night about two o'clock he had spasms. His mother and father heard him and woke up, but he died before they could get the doctor. They buried him in the town cemetery with honors.

WELL, the story about Mack is entirely different. Mack didn't come home till long after the War. He had been wounded a couple of times and was a real hero too but nobody would ever have found it out from him. We didn't know till the weekly paper somehow got hold of it and published the whole story on the front page. After it came out Mack couldn't walk along the street without all sorts of people bothering him.

The story described how Mack had won his glory by his daring raids upon the enemy. It seems he had been absolutely fearless. The editor went on to link this up with Mack's wonderful record as the town's star quarterback. It was a good article, probably all true too, only nobody would leave Mack alone afterwards.

He used to run into the poolroom sometimes and hide. He felt safe with us fellows because we'd never bother him. He told us the Methodist minister, who also went to war, wanted him to tell his experiences in the brick church. But it seems Mack practically told him to go to hell. He never made any speeches.

Sometimes, when there were just a few of us around, he'd tell us about what a swell country France was and how he'd like to go back there. He showed us a few trinkets he'd picked up, and then one day some guns. He had a French and two German pistols and two U. S. Army .45 calibre automatics. You could see by the way he handled them that he was an expert with sidearms.

MACK finally left town again without saying good-bye to anybody. He couldn't seem to get a decent job anywhere around, and I guess he was all out of money. There was really nothing for him in our town anyway, all the good jobs being taken by the married men who were already there. He naturally couldn't think of taking a labor job, so he practically had to leave town.

Well, it was a long time before I saw Mack again. As soon as I

(Continued on page 24)



ing on over in Europe across the seas. Anyway, Louie was shipped off too. He came back for a visit just like Mack, and he'd already learned a lot of new songs in camp. I guess he'd been quite a hit there with his banjo. When he finally went off to France our favorite poolroom got pretty dull.

I DON'T remember how long it was before we heard from either Mack or Louie. Anyway, the War

Books

Francesco de Goya

GOYA: A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A MAN, by Manfred Schneider; 337 pages; Knight Publications; \$2.75.

IN THE artists' fight (by means of their art) against Fascism, war and reaction generally, no better precedent can be found in the cultural heritage than the magnificent Spanish artist Francesco de Goya. Goya's castigation of the horror of war and the hypocrisies of clericalism was so devastating and based on an understanding so keen as to be almost contemporary. Obviously he could not see the operation of social forces with the eyes of the twentieth century, but more than any other artist of his epoch he grasped the significance of the subterranean factors that were transforming society. He was profoundly affected by the Enlightenment and the Great French Revolution, and his entire style and approach reflected the destructive and constructive revolutionary energies. More so in certain respects than J. L. David who is generally considered the most characteristic artist of that revolution. And unlike David he never betrayed it.

Goya came from peasant stock and led a turbulent life which included numberless love affairs. More than once he was under the shadow of the scaffold but was saved by his preeminence as an artist. The court where he was employed as official painter presented a moral cesspool remarkable even for Spain. The fashion was set by king Charles IV and his wife Maria Luisa, by keeping the same paramour, a despicable upstart Manuel Godoy.

If portraits ever expressed the moral character of the subjects represented and the artist's opinion of them, Goya's portraits of the court did. His annihilating satire in paint revealed creatures devoid of intelligence and humanity approximating (in Gautier's remark) the animal world. It was in his graphic work, however, that Goya's spirit of rebellion was expressed most strikingly: chiefly in *Desastres de la Guerra* but also in *Caprichos* and *Proverbios*. Starvation, disease, brigandage, violence, executions and the ubiquitous sinister black-robed clerics blessing executioner and victim.

Schneider's book on Goya is best in the recital of the external facts of the

artist's life, particularly his amatory adventures, and in the description of the court with its stupid official rituals, feuds and gossip. The spiritual growth and struggles of the artist and their underlying social implications are imperfectly realized, mainly because the author stresses unduly the individual and personal in Goya's career. As a consequence the artist who had the insight and foresight (in *Caprichos*) to picture the Church burying Truth and the Worker resurrecting it, escapes the author altogether.

—LOUIS LOZOWICK

Through Alien Eyes

ALIEN AMERICANS: A STUDY OF RACE RELATIONS, by B. Schrieke; 208 pages; Scientific Book Club choice; Viking Press; \$2.50.

DR. SCHRIEKE, an Orientalist philologist and ethnologist, is a Hollander. He was given a subvention by the Rosenwald Foundation to make a study of racial minorities within the United States. He spent a year reading the literature on the subject and in traveling over the country. This book is the result of his findings.

There is nothing new in the book, but it is well written and very readable. The very cursory discussion of the problems of the Oriental, Mexican, and Indian groups is a good summary of the literature on the subject.

About one half of the book is devoted to a survey of the Negro's position in American society. Dr. Schrieke gives a very shrewd elucidation of the "Negro problem" from the liberal point of view. However, his analysis is very superficial and therefore misleading. He completely misunderstands the nature and meaning of Reconstruction. He fails to see that Negro-White relations must remain as they have been since Reconstruction because the labor system of the South demands a caste, semi-feudal status for the Negro. The industrial and financial leaders of the North cannot disturb the traditional race relations of the South because by so doing they would endanger their holdings and interests in that land of deep-seated, organized, and institutionalized barbarism.

In this facile essay the puny achievements of those organizations whose

work diverts and confuses, are warmly praised. The most reactionary measures, such as the Bankhead-Jones Bill, are advocated.

There is only a handful of good books on the Negro. It costs thousands of dollars to make a real study. People with the background, technique, and character to do such a job seldom can get the means. Hence studies by the Schrieke become the definitive works.

—EMMETT E. DORSEY

Blood into Rubber

COOLIE, by Madelon Lulofs; translated from the Dutch by G. J. Renier and Irene Clephane; 243 pages; Viking Press; \$2.00.

IN SPITE of the great reputation that the Hollanders have for being enlightened colonizers and lovers of freedom, their present treatment of the natives in some parts of the Dutch East Indies is not so very far ahead of what it was when the great Dutch author Multatuli wrote his classic of the nineteenth century, *Max Havelaar*. The abuses to which the Malays are subjected may be of a different kind but are none the less shocking.

novel in beauty and sympathy and her very balanced attitude makes it the more convincing.

To be a contract coolie on a Sumatran rubber plantation is to be a slave to the acquisitive propensities of the conquering Dutch. Where the author in a former volume showed the tragedy of get-rich-quick rubber madness at the time when the prices for *White Money* were skyrocketing, she has with even greater depth in this book depicted the underlying tragedy of the great masses who contributed to this insolent, devil-may-care wealth.

This book is more than a mere novel, it is a social document of great value, which may well stand next to Forster's *Passage to India* as an indictment of the wrongness of capitalistic colonial policies. In Amsterdam they clip the coupons, in Sumatra the Malays reap a harvest of anguish, expressed in terms of cruelty and abuse. Nobody who has an interest in the fate of subject people can remain indifferent to their plight after reading this moving, beautiful volume. This will tell you a lot more about the Dutch East Indies than the lurid tales about Bali and the paradisaical life of the Balinese under the so-called just, Dutch rule.

—A. V. A. VAN DUYM

A Factual Handbook

LABOR FACT BOOK III, prepared by Labor Research Association; 223 pages; International Publishers; \$1.00.

THE Labor Research Association has added another volume to its excellent reference series on labor and subjects of importance to the labor movement. We refer to *Labor Fact Book III*.

Facts which pertain for the most part to developments during the years 1934 and 1935 in trade, money and banking, profits, "New Deal" legislation, unemployment, wages, youth, strikes, union membership, etc. are contained in its 223 well indexed pages. Its survey covers professional people, farmers and farm workers, and includes chapters on the United Front, Soviet States, Civil Rights and Fascist Trends, War and War Preparations.

The last mentioned sections are of special interest to the readers of THE FIGHT.

In the chapter entitled Civil Rights



Sylvia Townsend Warner, whose *Summer Will Show* is published by Viking

Miss Lulofs has, in this simple story of a Javanese boy who leaves his native village in search of the bounties promised him by plantation recruiters, written the everlasting tale of the sufferings of a subject people. She has clad her

and Fascist Trends we have short factual reference studies on anti-labor bills, Fascist trends in schools, an excellent listing and analysis of reactionary organizations and personalities, such as: the American Liberty League, the Chamber of Commerce, the National Union for Social Justice, William Randolph Hearst, etc. In the section under Terror 1935 we learn that over 716 arrests were made in the United States for anti-war and anti-Fascist activity. A section entitled Killings of Workers also appears in this chapter. Four pages are given over to recording 88 victims of reaction during the last two years with a short accounting of the circumstances. Also included in this chapter is a listing of the use of troops against labor, farmers and the unemployed, and sections on deportation, anti-alien bills, political prisoners and defence.

The chapter on War and War Preparations gives us facts on War Department appropriations, increases in the army, naval expenditures, the naval race as it affects the United States, subsidies to the merchant marine and expansion of the air forces. There is a summary of the Senate Munitions Investigation. There is also an enlightening listing of mass anti-war actions going back to 1917.

The book is not only valuable for reference but makes mighty interesting reading as well. We recommend it to all who are enlisted in the cause of peace. It contains a wealth of information much of which is entirely new.

—F. M. VAN WICKLEN, JR.

A Menace to Peace

BLOOD AND INK, by W. W. Chaplin; with a foreword by Floyd Gibbons; 205 pages; Telegraph Press; \$2.00.

WHEN in 1922, shortly after the terroristic march on Rome by his young military and middle class followers, Mussolini proceeded to militarize all young Italians, there was a good deal of authoritative snickering on the part of European and American military experts. The lethargic, temperamental, illiterate Italian—so ran the general consensus of opinion—never was and never would be a good soldier.

When in 1935, some thirteen years later, Mussolini launched offensives on Ethiopia, snickering broke out anew and more emphatically than before. Authorities such as Captain Liddell Hart refused to believe that the Italian soldier was worth the gun he handled—even when waging war against a primitive people unversed in the arts of modern armaments. That Fascist Italy's war on Ethiopia would fizzle out ignominiously was still further confirmed by the difficulties of warfare in a land with a strange and wild terrain. If Mussolini's brutal success in Ethi-

opia has proved anything, it is that, as this book abundantly shows, the Fascist battalions are far superior than has been generally believed—that indeed the Fascist forces must be reckoned with as a permanent and powerful menace to world peace.

Insofar as this book deals with the efficiency and strategy of the Fascist battalions it is of some service. Its value, however, ends there. The author, a Hearst reporter, glorifies Fascist Italy to an almost amazing degree.

—M. B. SCHNAPPER

A Traveler Hears Things

TWO WORLDS, by Lester Cohen; 412 pages; Covici-Friede; \$3.50.

“DO YOU like Chiang Kai-shek?” Lester Cohen asks a money changer in a Shanghai street.

“Likee! Likee!” the money changer says quickly and breathlessly. Then, fearful that more questions may follow, he adds, “Troubee talk.”

Mr. Cohen's *Two Worlds* has the usual sights and sounds you expect in a round-the-world travel book. (But this is not just another travel book.) The persistent whine of the Paris postcard vendor, the clang of eastern temple bells, the “ugh ugh” of the ricksha men are carefully recorded. But the recurrent theme, no matter in what part of the world, is the trouble talk.

In India, a merchant comes to sell rugs. As he unrolls his wares he says, “We are the northern, sair. We look across the Parmirs where life is free.”

“You mean Russia?” asks Mr. Cohen.

“Quiet, sair,” says the rug merchant.

And then as he rolls up his bundle of rugs he says, “Just for you to know . . . all over India, sair . . . there are men like me—” and disappears.

On the shores of the Dead Sea, Mr. Cohen sees the unbelievable sight of a Jew approaching an Arab. He steps closer to hear what can have brought them together.

“Listen, Ibrim,” says the Jew, “You make shoes and I make shoes—we got to get together. No more of the old foolishness, Ibrim. With us it's got to be employer for employer—” and Ibrim says yes.

In England, Cohen waits for his visé to Palestine and India. Day after day he goes to the office—it is not ready—there is talk.

“May I ask you, Mr. Cohen, if you went to Palestine and India, what would you expect to see?”

The verb was wrong. The visé official meant—“What do you expect to hear—and having heard it, what will you tell others?”

So it is not of one world that Mr. Cohen writes, but of two. And the two are found together, side by side, in the

same lands. It is the intent listening to the talk of these two worlds that lifts the book far above the common run of travel books and makes it a record of a changing day. It is a book which should not be missed by any one who wonders about the thoughts of men today in far places.

—DOROTHY MCCONNELL

Children and Peace

EDUCATING CHILDREN FOR PEACE, by Imogene M. McPherson; foreword by Nicholas Murray Butler; 190 pages; The Abingdon Press; \$2.00.

THE LAST months have witnessed increased interest in peace education for children, and Mrs. McPherson's book is a timely expression of this interest. It records an experiment



From *The Eastern Menace*, a brilliant pamphlet on Japanese imperialism, published by the Union of Democratic Control, London. For any information regarding this pamphlet write to THE FIGHT

conducted by the Daily Vacation Bible Schools of Greater New York during the summer of 1935. Twenty-seven thousand children, covering a wide range of racial and economic groups, participated.

The book consists of a description of the general plan, details of the projects worked out, sixty-six pages of the text of the dramatic festivals held in each borough, and a brief evaluation. Children's spontaneous reactions are recorded throughout. The activities include scrap-books, maps, peep-shows, puppets, dances and dramatics. The dramatics ranged from book-learned and teacher-written dialogues to live, creative drama. Pictures augment the text.

In discussing this book we must ask ourselves what we mean by peace education. Mrs. McPherson states the purpose of the experiment as that of

helping “the pupils to come to grips with some of the forces underlying the war system, with the threat to civilization which war carries and with the joys and adventures of cooperative endeavor.”

Scanning the book, one finds that the stupidity and wastefulness of war are handled quite fully. Much is made of the inter-relation of nations. The adventures of peace, rather than of war, have been wisely played up. One feels that the emotional conditioning of many of the children participating has been successfully done, though, as Mrs. McPherson points out, how permanent this conditioning will be depends on many factors.

Whether the intellectual conditioning was equally successful is not as certain. Wars are not fought because people lose their tempers and refuse to reason, as peace educators frequently appear to assume. Nor are munitions makers the sole instigators. One might well point out that children's educators should take into account the relationship of war and the whole capitalist system, including the development of imperialism. There is very little indication that this basic concept was handled. If and how it can be handled needs serious thought.

Non-church groups may be bothered by the strong religious emphasis that permeates the book. But teachers who know how to take suggestions rather than follow patterns will find here a wealth of stimulating material.

Mrs. McPherson is quite modest in her conclusion. “This has been only a beginning, an experiment in which there were countless errors, but at least an attempt.” We who work with children can only hope that there will be many more such attempts.

—AGNES SAILER

Veterans of Future Wars

PATRIOTISM PREPAID, by Lewis J. Gorin, Jr.; 107 pages; J. B. Lippincott Co.; \$1.00.

THERE sprang up a few months back a new American “craze.” Like the chain letter of a year ago, it swept the country. The Veterans of Future Wars was responsible for almost as much head-scratching as dandruff. What is it? A number of answers were and still are being given. Students at Columbia University and many other colleges showed on April 22nd, the Peace Strike Day, that it might be a new addition to youth's heroic struggle for peace. To others it was another voice added to the demand of young people, left without a horizon in recent years, for adequate relief from the curse of unemployment and inability to pay for schooling.

But whatever the thousands who joined up thought, it would have been

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Wall Street

EVENTS of recent weeks have honed a sharper edge to the outstanding contradiction of the politico-economic situation within the Wall Street hierarchy. One side of this contradiction is the growing speed with which the Wall Street—Big Business crowd is driving to consolidate the rule of reaction in this country. This drive is being carried out in the name of "freedom" and "liberty," seasoned with many tearful complaints that government is thwarting recovery.

The other side of the contradiction is the tremendous expansion that is occurring in the profits of big business. At a time when unemployment is continuing at staggering totals and when the purchasing power of the mass of the people remains at a seriously depressed level, the profits of finance capital are, without important exception, jumping in geometric proportions and



in many central sections are reaching the highest figures in history.

This contradiction exists, of course, only in the light of a true view of the social welfare of the nation. In the eyes of Wall Street, there is no contradiction. The increase in profits leads inevitably in the Street to greater pressure for the removal of all existing barriers to a still greater accumulation of profits. Consequently, Wall Street has been wailing at the supposed limitations on industrial earnings at the same time as it has been reaping enormous cash tribute from the rise in stock market values caused by the actual increase in industrial earnings.

At the heart of the current surge of industrial earnings and stock market profits are those same monopolistic du Pont-Morgan industries which are at the center of the present labor smashing drive, and which have joined forces with the Landon-Hearst coalition in an endeavor to perpetuate the oppressive sway of reactionary finance capital over the people of the country. The estimates, derived from inside information with which Wall Street has been gamb-

ling, indicate that the combined net profits of the six dominant corporations within this group were about \$320,000,000 in the first half of this year as compared with \$200,000,000 in the first half of last year, a gain of 60%.

This situation demonstrates that finance capital is squeezing an ever increasing share out of the productive wealth of the country. The increase of \$120,000,000, or 60%, in the half-year profits of this sample group must be compared with the realities for the working section of the population, with the negligible decrease in unemployment over the past year and with the fact that, on the basis of the most favorable estimates, the true purchasing power of industrial wage earners is no more than 8% greater than a year ago.

The individual corporations within this group, which is closely tied up with the American Liberty League and allied reactionary organizations, give a revealing insight as to the actual basis of the labor-baiting activities of such organs of finance capital. Included is the Morgan-directed U. S. Steel Corporation, the central force in the steel industry's campaign to smash the labor organization drive now under way in that field. Wall Street expects U. S. Steel's net profits for the first half of the year to amount to \$22,000,000 as compared with a net loss of \$2,900,000 in the same period of 1935. According to the latest figures available, the average earnings of U. S. Steel workers, on the other hand, have been running only 10% ahead of last year. Included also is General Motors, monopolizing close to half of the automobile industry and at the center of the Liberty League alignment. General Motors' net profits for the half-year are



expected in the Street to be about \$142,000,000, an increase of 70%. Its production has gained only 26% and its payroll has increased at a still smaller rate.

The duPont company, direct parent of the Liberty League and chief factor

in the chemical and war powder industry, is expected to have profits of \$38,000,000 as compared with \$22,450,000 last year. International Nickel, fattening on the vast world-wide expenditures for armaments, has had the largest profits in history for the half-year, amounting to \$16,500,000 against \$10,338,000 last year. Chrysler, third largest automobile company and linked with General Motors and Ford in the anti-labor drive in the automobile industry, also is expected to report record profits of about \$27,000,000 as against \$18,659,000 in the first half of last year. And, finally, Wall Street anticipates that the monopolistic American Telephone Co., friendly to the Morgan interests, will have net earnings of



\$75,000,000 for the half-year against \$68,000,000 a year ago.

Wall Street Shivers

DESPITE this formidable lineup of finance capital and reactionary politicians, Wall Street is susceptible to a severe case of the jitters when confronted with a positive threat to its entrenched position. In contrast to the mock concern expressed over many of the policies of the Roosevelt administration, a concern belied by rising profits and stock market prices, the Street has experienced genuine shivers, penetrating into the most sacred corner of its pocketbook, from the present union organization drive in the steel industry. Real stockbrokers' fear, translated into immediate selling and lower prices in the steel stocks, spread through the Street when it became apparent that this campaign has the overwhelming support of the rank and file in the steel industry and in the labor movement generally, and is prepared to drive through relentlessly to victory.

Protect the Bosses' Purse

THE top bosses in the basic anti-labor industries are fighting not only against a larger share for

workers in the fruits of their own labor, but even more to protect their private cut out of the exorbitant profits of big business. A few examples will suffice to show how large is the stake of individual bosses in the proceeds of labor exploitation. In the steel industry in 1935, Myron C. Taylor, chairman of U. S. Steel, received a salary of \$166,786 and W. A. Irvin, president, got \$124,513; Ernest T. Weir, the labor-baiting chairman of National Steel, got \$160,000 and George R. Fink, president, a like amount; Charles M. Schwab, chairman of Bethlehem Steel, drew down \$203,332 and Eugene C. Grace, president, \$180,000. In the automobile industry, Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors, and W. S. Knudsen, executive vice-president, each got \$374,505 and C. F. Kettering, a vice-president, got \$249,888. Walter S. Gifford, president of American Telephone, received \$206,250 and Cornelius F. Kelly, president of Anaconda Copper, \$168,138, and so on, ad nauseam.

Contrast these figures with the fact that the average weekly earnings of industrial workers, on the authority of finance capital's National Industrial Conference Board, are currently about \$23, or \$1,150 a year, assuming that the worker is lucky enough to get 50 weeks' work. The contrast, supported by clear evidence of the growing strength of the American people's movement, has made the bosses nervous about the future fate of their extortionate salaries and bonuses. So nervous, in fact, that the National Association of Manufacturers recently stepped valiantly into the breach with a proclamation, given handsome space in the commercial press, that publication of the salaries of executives of large corporations has created a "wholly false and misleading impression." What is "false and misleading" about the impression



the Association was unable to make clear, but it did raise an opposing battle cry, with a characteristic reactionary non-sequitur, for a reduction in taxes on big business.

By
Robert
Forsythe

WITHOUT a single shadow, without a solitary flicker of a doubt, Charley Schwab in those days of 1914-15 was a charmer. I used to pass him on the platform of the Lehigh Valley station seeing his week-end guests off on a Monday morning. He was a big, handsome, healthy-looking gentleman with a voice like William Jennings Bryan's and a battery of charm which could stun you at thirty paces. It was only later that he went in for sobbing and prophecy.

At that point in his career, the world belonged to him. When everybody else was sitting around worrying about the outbreak of war he had gone over and sold the British the first munitions contract. It was rumored at the time that he had hypnotized old Kitchener into it, but the truth probably is that even that famous dunderhead was glad enough to get anybody to make guns and shells for him. The result was that Bethlehem went insane. Bethlehem Steel stock went up from 30 to 600 and people were supposed to be either happy that they had it or sore that they had sold it before it hit the peak. As a matter of fact, I don't recall anybody who had stock but there were rumors about fortunes being made and we used to read the quotations on the New York market because of our pride in the name Bethlehem being so prominent.

Charley's Love

The basic labor rate at Bethlehem at that time was 13½ cents an hour. The day shift was 10 5/12 hours and the night shift was the rest, 13 and 7/12 hours, enough to kill any but the sturdiest. That is over twenty years ago and I have had no occasion since to think much about it, but the whole business was so impressed on me that I can give the daily wage as if I was making it this moment. It came to \$1.42 a day, and half the men got no more than that. There had been a violent strike in, I think, 1910, which had been broken up by the state constabulary. I remember that when we moved to Bethlehem in 1911, it was still foremost in people's minds and I had seen pictures of the mounted cops riding up on the sidewalks and clubbing the strikers. The troopers were

among the first to realize that women had equal rights with men, by clubbing them with impartial ferociousness. There had been at least one death among the strikers and perhaps more. The workers were bitter, but the strike had been broken so completely that from then onward there has been no union activity (except the company union) anywhere in the Bethlehem organization.

Bethlehem was a predominantly German community, with court sessions being held in two languages and street car employees unable to get jobs unless they could speak both English and Pennsylvania Dutch, but even before the United States got into the War there was no outward trouble at the plant. Schwab himself is of German descent but if there was sabotage anywhere at Bethlehem it never came to light, the natural feelings of the German-Americans on the relative merits of Germany and the Allied Powers never interfering with the making of munitions to slay the Germans.

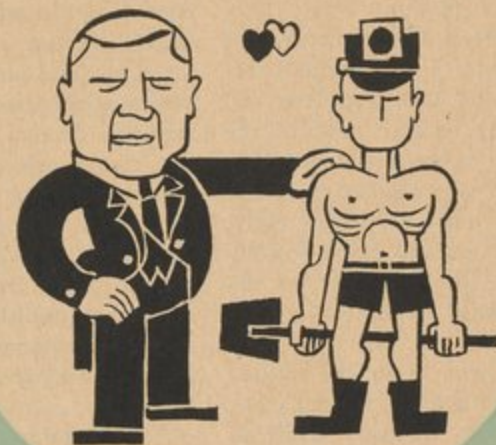
Things were excellent with Charley and his white-haired boy, Eugene Grace, who was even then president



Charley

Meet Mr. Charles Schwab, steel magnate, warship builder, friend of Zaharoff and Hitler. The pleasure is all yours, we are sure

ILLUSTRATED BY
AD REINHARDT



of the corporation and getting his appetite prepared for the million and a half dollar yearly bonuses which were to come to him later, when the stockholders were going without dividends and the workers were getting wage cuts at such a rate that they could scarcely keep up with the changes on the shop bulletin boards. It was a great time for the company. The number of workers increased until, at the height of the boom, there were 30,000 men working at the Bethlehem plant alone. The town was completely under control of

the company, as it is to this day, and one had the inestimable privilege of seeing an industrial organization controlling not only the working conditions of its men but setting the cultural tone of the community. Lehigh University is almost as much a part of Bethlehem Steel as the Open Hearth department. As a consequence it is perhaps the most reactionary college in America, with no freedom either in the faculty or in the student body. It is significant that the leadership in the Plattsburg Camps,

(Continued on page 26)

Letters from Soldiers

What do soldiers and ex-soldiers think about war? In this article, the second in a series of three, the writer quotes from hundreds of letters he has received from men in forty-eight states

By Walter Wilson

ILLUSTRATED BY JOSEPH KAPLAN

THE TWO letters quoted in the May issue of *THE FIGHT* picture the treatment of the common soldier from enlistment to arrival home, to find the flag-waving over and only a fruitless job-hunt before him. Some of the letters below picture the petty insults and discriminations between officers and men—rendered all the more galling because most of the soldiers believed at the outset that they were fighting to save democracy. Their disillusionment, however, began early, as the letters show, and many secretly came to admire the conscientious objectors, who were generally treated with opprobrium.

The Marine who wrote the following letter lives in Seattle, Washington:

"A private of my company, while on liberty in the neighboring town of Lormont [France], met an old chum from his home town. His chum was with another outfit and had the rank of lieutenant. . . The lieutenant invited the private to dinner. . . While they were eating, one of our 'looies' chanced to pass the restaurant, and observed the private eating with an officer. Next day the private was called before a summary court, and punished for accepting the invitation. . ."

"Private soldiers were not allowed to accompany girl friends on the streets of French cities, although the M.P.'s [military police] would gladly direct men to bordellos [houses of prostitution]. On the other hand, the officers could appear on the streets with women without molestation by the M.P.'s. Furthermore, the women connected with the A.E.F., nurses, Y.M.C.A. women and others, could be escorted around by officers, but enlisted men were not allowed to appear in public with them. . ."

A Carton of Cigarettes

"In the canteens, many luxuries were sold to officers, but not to enlisted men.

Officers, for example, could buy cigars, but enlisted men could not. Why sheer luxuries, having no relation whatsoever to the equipment of an officer, or to military efficiency, should be reserved for the officer caste only, always was a mystery to me.

"The punishments for military offenses were often of the most curious nature. A man in our company, who was caught asleep on post in war time, received ten days extra police duty. Another man, who stole a carton of cigarettes from a warehouse (a much less serious offense from a military point of view) was punished with three months in a prison camp, plus a fine of two-thirds of his pay for the same length of time.

"The salute, of course, serves some purpose when men are on duty. When they are off duty, it serves no purpose whatever. There were many officers, however, who seemed to go about simply looking for salutes. They delighted to catch some soldier off duty, who for some reason or other (absent-mindedness, preoccupation, ignorance of the complicated etiquette) failed to salute, and then to bawl him out in offensive tones in public, and to cite him for summary court. . ."

The next letter is from a friend of the compiler. He came to New York City and worked as a longshoreman, and attended Columbia University in the evenings. He became a lawyer and is now a member of the Texas legislature. He writes:

"When General Pershing came through our camps and asked our commanding officers about the health of the men, they were reported in good health, so that we would be able to get back to America sooner. Some of these men were not in good health and actually had diseases. This, I think, was a general program in the A.E.F. [This has never been taken into consideration by the Veterans' Bureau in classifying



soldiers with service-contracted disabilities.—W.W.] After the armistice, entertainment was promoted to keep the men satisfied until they could be returned to America. The men did not mingle with the officers on terms of equality after the armistice. Let me mention that the officers were given privileges in attending Oxford, Cambridge, and the other universities. Enlisted men, irrespective of their qualifications, were discriminated against on this point. . ."

Why We Enlisted

The following extracts from letters by ex-soldiers tell why they entered the army during the World War. With one exception, every one of those quoted now realizes that the U.S.A. did not go into the war to save democracy or for any of the other idealistic reasons given at the time. A veteran from North Carolina writes that he still thinks "it was Germany's intention to come over to the United States and fight us if we had not gone over." This Texas ex-soldier was on firmer ground:

"A call went out for volunteers. Placards and posters, intended to engender a martial spirit, flared forth and everything possible to foster enmity against Germany was thrown and screamed at us from all sides. For some reason a volunteer army failed to materialize. Why? Because the ones who have to do the actual fighting wished to stay out of the war. Then the selective service act was proposed and passed by our Congress."

Another former soldier, who now teaches history in a university in New York State, writes:

"At that time I was completely in accord with the ideals that had been outlined by President Wilson. . . Accordingly, I honestly believed that the war was a 'war to end war.' As illustrating my conviction and attitude at that time, in accordance with past practice, I entered in my prayer book the following statement, 'Entered into the Army of the Lord and His United States.'"

Adventure, Propaganda, Conscription

A man from Martins Ferry, Ohio, who was a student when the war came, writes:

"In April 1917, I was a freshman at Ohio Wesleyan University. When war was declared we began at once to organize a unit of field artillery, but in response to pressure from Ohio National Guard officials, we agreed to become a field hospital corps in that division.

"Patriotism was undoubtedly a prime cause, but this was intermingled with a zest for adventure plus a desire that my sweetheart should not think me a coward. I was then nineteen. The formula by which these three elements were mixed I do not pretend to know."

A worker from a Western state writes:



FIGHT, August 1936

"I had nothing that resembled a clear-cut or understanding idea of democracy—just a hodgepodge of beliefs learned from school books and absorbed from political hacks and windjammers, who had personal ambitions, and axes to grind.

"I went to the war because I was forced into it, but with an inner feeling that the people were being tricked, and that there was something suspicious and sinister about the whole damned layout. But I had no philosophical, economic, or psychological basis and understanding upon which to reason and base a conclusion for my feelings and innermost suspicions."

The Conscientious Objector

Not all soldiers hated the conscientious objectors who refused to take part in the war. In fact, in all the personal stories told by the "C.O.'s" one finds instances of common soldiers in the army expressing admiration for them. Here is what one soldier wrote to his mother in 1918:

"I was thinking the other night of how silly it all is and what fools we are. It's the poor people, the working people, who have to go out and fight each other and, besides enduring physical suffering, we have to help pay for it financially. For it's the taxes we pay that furnish the money for war. Just think to what good use all this money spent in the last four years could be put. If it were equally divided among the needy, poverty would be unknown.

"No one cares a rap about the poor man, they don't even think of him. They are all too busy storing up their dollars like misers, but when a war comes along, they put a uniform on him and make him fight, whether he likes it or not. I wish some of those patriotic birds would help you along with a few dollars, so that you wouldn't have to go to work. I wish now that I had claimed exemption when they asked me; I, like a fool, said 'No' just because I was too much of a coward to be a conscientious objector. I was afraid of what others would think of me."

Newton D. Baker, Hugh S. Johnson, George Creel, Woodrow Wilson, and other demagogues serving the war makers, wanted to sugar-coat the bitter draft pill in order to reduce resistance to a minimum. So they talked of a "people's war," of a nation that "volunteered in mass." How did the soldiers regard the draft law and its administration? Here is what one wrote in his diary:

"We are conscripts. There is no question about that in my mind. During all the long hours of the railway journey to camp, I did not hear a single one of my companions express the least enthusiasm over being a soldier. We are not here voluntarily, even though the order of induction declares, 'Greetings: Having submitted yourself

to a local board composed of your neighbors. . . ' Each of us knows that if we had not 'submitted' ourselves, the whole force of a powerful state would have been put in operation to enforce submission. Why this unnecessary hypocrisy?"

A Texas veteran writes:

"Loopholes were placed in the act, marriage being one of them, and many of our young men crowded the marriage-license bureaus the country over. Another loophole, that of having dependents, claimed thousands of other single young men of draft age. Some had businesses which could not get along without them and were exempted. Others rushed to Washington to secure war-time jobs, had wealthy fathers or mothers, or joined the Y.M.C.A. forces,—and were exempted. . . . They are all respected citizens now and no taint was ever reflected upon them."

A soldier from Utah suspected favoritism in the administration of the draft:

"Now for the Smoot brethren. Harold Reed Smoot, eldest son of Professor Smooty Smoot, former U.S. Senator from Utah, and Harlow E. Smoot, second son . . . were both in the draft. Harold was called to go to Camp Lewis, Washington, in September 1917, with the contingent from this district with which I went. But he was given special training here [Salt Lake City] at Fort Douglas. As to Harlow, I don't know where he was stationed, but neither of them was sent overseas, not even outside the three-mile limit and both were given commissions. . . . It is my firm belief that many such cases occurred."

The composition of the draft boards, in the main, would seem to have been business men, professional people, and politicians. A veteran from Ohio writes:

"My recollection of the local board of Muskegon County [Ohio] is none too clear. I do, however, have a vivid picture of the chairman. This man I had known ever since I had been a young boy. He was very generally rated as being a cheap third-rate politician. He had always been, and still was in 1917, a heavy drinker. . . . This man was ill-fitted to assume the duties of chairman of the local board."

Favoritism

A Detroit veteran:

"In my estimation they were business men, those on the board. I didn't see any farmers, Negroes, or trade union officials. Yes, there were many cases of favoritism. Some said they were the only support of their families or supposed to be shipbuilding. Of course I don't know why Edsel Ford or Dempsey was exempted. Some who had the drag were privileged to go to officers' school and if they were exempted, after being in a training camp, there was always a secret in their leaving."

Skidding Caesar

(Continued from page 11)

permitted the Italians to reach Addis Ababa. It is far from being a complete victory, for the city is no center of production, trade and finance, and the warriors have not yet been cut off from all sources of supply for arms and ammunition. Italy is likely to have some difficulty in raising the foreign loans required for the development of her African Empire and for the pursuit of her imperialistic designs elsewhere. Mussolini's apparent purpose is to expand both in Africa and in the Near East. Italian Fascism has asserted a historical claim to Asia Minor, which used to form part of the Roman Empire. That is why the Turks want to fortify the Dardanelles. If Il Duce attacks Turkey, which is an ally of the Soviet Union, Greece, which is a protégé of Great Britain, will be invaded by the Italians and their Bulgarian allies, who want Macedonia. The British had feared that the collapse of the Italian offensive in Ethiopia would undermine white prestige in her colonies, as the oppressed colored masses were everywhere somewhat stirred by this war—but England's prestige has suffered none the less because Mussolini's bluff won over hers and this has contributed to the unrest in Palestine and Egypt.

Mussolini, playing for time to consolidate his conquests, says that he is now satisfied and will disturb no one if he is left alone—but antagonism remains between Italy and Britain over control of the Mediterranean. England can't endure to see Italy firmly established on her route to India and the markets of the Far East, and in a position to interfere with the great Lake Tana irrigation project, the plans for which the British authorities have been working on for years. It is said that the Italians could tap the waters of this lake, through the system of canals and tunnels, and irrigate the entire area between this lake, the Blue Nile and Eritrea.

Moreover, Britain will probably be very reluctant to give up the town of Gambela, which is located some 70 miles from the Sudan, and is the chief port of entry for supplies for Western Ethiopia. Relations between Italy and France are also likely to become strained as a result of the victory of the anti-Fascists, and also because the French-owned Djibouti-Addis Ababa railroad is faced with ruin, through the development of motor transport by the Italians. Besides, Djibouti, the only French naval base between the homeland and the Far East, is menaced by the establishment of a strong foreign power in close proximity.

Independent Action

The forces of darkness claim that economic and financial sanctions have been tried on an aggressor and found



Otto Richter, anti-Nazi refugee, and his American-born wife marching down Broadway in New York City. Richter faces death if deported to Germany

to be useless, so that henceforth, reliance must be placed exclusively on imperial power (or regional pacts). They do not wish the League to be discarded, but merely to be made powerless for good. Therefore, they call for the recognition of Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, as being an accomplished fact. There must be no compromise with militarism. To do so would be—in the words of the sentimentalists of the Great War period—to "break faith with those who lie in Flanders' fields," and would mean a continuation of the prevailing policies of muddle and drift, which play into the hands of those who are consciously aiming to bring on another international conflict. The League must be reorganized and strengthened, and every liberal-minded person must do his bit towards this end—which can only be realized by building a strong labor movement.

Since divergent interests are represented in the League of Nations, no government can be relied on, which is not dependent on organized labor for its support. The proper course therefore is independent action on the part of workingmen and their sympathizers, with the object of compelling the authorities to act, or reinforcing any appropriate measures taken from above, while limiting the scope of officials' activities, so as to guard against the

danger of diplomats plunging the nation into a private war or striking a bargain with the aggressor.

The Shay Brothers

(Continued from page 17)

got old enough I skipped out of town myself. All we fellows that had any punch in us, and whose parents didn't own a business or something, just naturally went to the city. I knocked around for a couple of years and then with the help of some tall lies, I landed as a cub reporter.

I worked the night police beat and it wasn't long before I knew the set-up of half the gangs and rum-runners in town. I was studying up on it so I could get to write feature stories about the big liquor rings. Then I saw Mack one night in a speakeasy.

He hadn't changed much, just a little heavier and tougher. I introduced myself and then I saw he didn't want his real name mentioned. When I told him what I was doing he warmed up a little and bought me a drink. I reminded him of how all we younger fellows had admired him as a quarter-back. Then I recalled what a great record he'd made in the War. He asked me if I'd been back home lately and how things were out there. I told him what I knew, which wasn't much.

He could see I was all right and he began to remember me better as we talked. When I switched over to talking about the different rum-running gangs he got really interested.

EVERY gangster has a soft spot in his heart for newspaper men, so it didn't take me long to find out what he was doing. He was a "protection man" for a big rum-running gang. He was the man who sits beside the truck driver on the front seat, a sawed-off shotgun on his knees, a .45 calibre automatic under his arm. The high-jackers only have to hear about him to leave the truck alone. He draws his pay for always being ready to shoot it out on the spot with anybody.

I saw him for a few months in different dives and then I lost track of him. Later on I got into other work and stopped visiting his former hangouts. In the years since then I have never seen anything about his arrest, death, or injury. His mother died a few years ago but I never learned whether he was at the funeral or not. Maybe he didn't know about it, or couldn't come.

The final payoff on all this came just the other day. I was touring around with a man I know and among other sights he wanted to show me was a new, model poorhouse. I objected, because I hate poorhouses. But this one was a fairly decent place.

In it I found old man Shay, father of Mack and Louie. The doctor, in pointing him out, told us that both this man's sons had been killed in the War. I went over and shook hands with him and told him I was from the same town he was. He asked me if I'd known his two boys and I said sure I had. After a little more talk, I asked him privately if Mack was dead, too. He looked at me with a certain fear and pride and said, please, for God's sake, don't talk about Mack.

Then he broke down and cried softly and I patted his shoulder and said that for all anybody knew Mack might really be dead by now. He got up and went to his little locker and fished out two small framed photographs—Mack and Louie in uniform. I held the pictures in my hands—they were a couple of fine, eager-looking young fellows then—and a lump came up in my throat as big as a general's memoirs.

WELL, as I said at the beginning, this is all I know about war. It's all I know, and I don't think anybody needs to know any more. Louie might be singing today, maybe over the radio, and Mack might have been a success if he hadn't gotten so well acquainted with those damned guns. And if we hadn't had the War, we mightn't've had prohibition and the depression, and if we hadn't had the depression . . . but what's the use? I guess I've made my point.

Letters

Our Mistake

OUR attention has been called to the article by Mr. Robert Shaw, which appeared in the June issue of THE FIGHT magazine.

In the above mentioned article, Mr. Shaw states, "In New York, the Fifty-Fifth Street Playhouse has decided not to show any more German films as the result of the protests of customers and the non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League."

While it is not our intention to underestimate the splendid work of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, nevertheless, in this particular case due credit should be given to the Joint Boycott Council, representing the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish Labor Committee, for the cessation of the showing of German films by the Fifty-Fifth Street Playhouse.

It was only after the Joint Boycott Council picketed the movie house in question, that the latter decided not to show any more films produced in Nazi Germany.

We hope you will correct the im-



pression created by Mr. Shaw's article by publishing our letter in the next issue of your magazine.—I. POSNANSKY, FOR THE JOINT BOYCOTT COUNCIL.

For a Good Cause

A GROUP from the Actors Repertory Company which produced Albert Bein's *Let Freedom Ring* and is now producing *Bury the Dead* in New York City, is planning to take *Let Freedom Ring* on a tour through the textile towns this summer. The tour is being arranged under the auspices of a committee headed by Francis Gorman, Mother Bloor, Will Geer and Albert Bein, and will produce this splendid play under the auspices of local trade unions for the low admission price of 25c. and 50c. to workers in Danbury, Lawrence, Passaic, Paterson, etc.

Unfortunately, the Let Freedom Ring Touring Company is very short of funds and is desperately in need of immediate assistance. The New Theatre League appeals to the readers of your magazine to send in contributions at once, to aid the Let Freedom Ring Company to bring Albert Bein's play to the masses of textile workers. Believing

that this cause is worthy of generous support, we urge your readers to act at once. Please make all checks payable to Mark Marvin, c/o New Theatre League, Box 300 Grand Central Annex, New York City.—MARK MARVIN, NATIONAL SECRETARY, NEW THEATRE LEAGUE.

Terre Haute Terror

I AM writing today to call attention to the gassing of the home of Dr. J. R. Shannon and several labor leaders, in-



cluding Max Schafer, Vice-President of the Central Labor Union. Also, the introduction of an anti-picketing ordinance in the city council last Friday, under orders of the Mayor. The bill was referred to a committee, and the militant attitude of organized labor in packing the council chamber was held responsible for delaying its passage.

The miners' unions have begun agitation for a mass meeting of protest against the terrorism existing here, and a resolution was passed by the C. L. U. last Monday night giving support to the movement. John L. Lewis will be invited to address the meeting. The League members are influencing these movements and will take an active part in the meeting.—SHUBERT SEBREE *Terre Haute, Ind.*

The Maw of Mars

(Continued from page 6)

Douglas MacArthur in the Philippines be overlooked. This former chief of staff, one of our leading Japan haters, is military adviser to the Commonwealth of the Philippines. One of his first acts was to introduce peace-time conscription which makes everybody from the age of ten upwards part of the military machine. The new Philippine constitution recognizes the right of the United States to use this new conscript army as though it were part of the armed forces of the United States. Which means that the United States has suddenly acquired an ever-increasing military force right at the front door of Japan.

That leads to a consideration of some of the international implications of the billion dollar bill. In view of

the childish stupidity of diplomacy in most countries, the response to our colossal spending could only be a tremendous increase in war budgets everywhere. "We are leading in the mad rush of unheard-of peace-time (war) appropriations," said Senator Frazier, and there can be no doubt that the armament race is on. In Britain, the re-armament expenditures are so great that necessary social services are threatened. In Poland, the Minister of Education warned that he would have to close schools in wholesale fashion if he had to surrender more money to the military. In this country, the slum removal program cannot be started, and \$50,000,000 for seed and feed loans to drought-stricken farmers could not be provided because the rapacious maw of Mars had to be fed.

Next to the arms race there is the increased friction with Japan. Let us be frank. Most of this new program is aimed at Japan, and Japan knows it and resents it. Reports indicate that a kind of nervous fear has taken possession of the Japanese and they are ready for any expenditures to defend themselves against "American imperialism." This status of the national mind has also placed the military in the saddle more firmly than ever in Japan.

Ignoring Facts

Finally, another matter is worth mentioning. The Nye Munitions Investigation has exposed the rackets which run through our armament programs. Army and navy cooperate with munitions-makers as with their best pals; shipbuilders know all about the allocation of PWA funds to the navy long before it is announced, and they divide the spoils between them by agreement; huge profits are made by these merchants of death out of government contracts. So deeply was the country stirred by these revelations that a poll of the Institute of Public Opinion showed 82 percent of the people in favor of government monopoly of munitions manufacture.

The new billion dollar war preparedness bill ignored all of these findings. Not a single curb was placed on these profiteers. The navy even had the nerve to insert this section in its bill:

No part of this appropriation shall be used for the construction of a factory for the manufacture of airplanes or for the construction or manufacture in a Government-owned factory or plant of airplane engines, other than experimental engines, or airplanes, other than airplanes for primary training purposes.

True, this section was stricken from the measure, but its mere insertion shows the power and influence of the airplane manufacturers and the utter contempt of the navy for public opinion.

The same disregard for ordinary deficiencies was shown by a provision intended to limit the profits on naval shipbuilding to 10 percent. Any such

provision is rendered futile by reason of the network of holding companies, and likewise cost juggling—unless the government insists on uniform book-keeping. But no mention was made of that anywhere. Instead, it was provided that the 10 percent profit limitation was to apply to annual accounting and not to the individual job. If, therefore, a shipbuilder showed only 5 percent profit on one job, he was entitled to 15 percent on the next. And the profit figures are all furnished by the shipbuilders.

Military Imperialism

The billion dollar war preparation bill is thus one of the most vicious pieces of legislation ever passed. Disregarding changes in modern warfare, it is in many ways pure waste. Planning to transport millions of American soldiers across seas for foreign war, it goes contrary to every declaration of American policy. By its Pacific bases and fortifications it has turned over our foreign policy in the Far East to the army and navy and brought war with Japan much closer. And in its unashamed cooperation with the munitions-makers, it strengthens the hands of this grafting, bribing, and war-mongering industry.

Worst of all, it is not a defense bill, but a threat of American military imperialism to the rest of the world.

The Windy City

(Continued from page 9)

ment is directed against judicial abuses. People in Chicago suffered as much as those elsewhere from the collapse of values in the depression, and perhaps more from exploitation through protective committees, receiverships, and reorganizations under the jurisdiction of the courts. Three federal judges have been named in the judiciary committee of the Senate as subject to investigation and possible impeachment. These matters should not be dropped. The Bar Association should be urged to bring disbarment proceedings against lawyers who have profited outrageously through receiverships with the connivance of judges. Recently the Bar Association took action against the political activity of local judges, naming four whose conduct has been notoriously offensive. No body of men can do as much at present for Chicago as the lawyers. Finally, there is labor, the rank and file members for the most part ready to strike to end corruption if they can be freed from terrorism. A reform in the administration of justice to break the alliance between government and racketeering will bring new life into the labor movement. An informal alliance between the decent elements to end crime, to do away with violence and corruption, to promote human welfare is the way of salvation for Chicago.

Charley

(Continued from page 21)

which were used to stir up the war spirit prior to America's entrance into the World War, came from President Drinker of Lehigh, working with General Wood. Out of that grew the S.M.T.C. and later the R.O.T.C., Lehigh naturally having two years of compulsory military training.

Charley's Band

When Schwab returns from Europe, now, hailing the virtues of Hitler, he knows something about it because he has always been a dictator in his own right. He even had the Joy of Work brigades in my time, although they were not called that. It wasn't possible for a machinist to belong to a union but Charley looked after his well-being like a father. There was a Bethlehem Steel Band, a Bethlehem Steel athletic field (with a paid baseball team and a paid soccer team), and Charley could be seen at the Bach Festival over at Lehigh (which he paid for and genuinely enjoyed) acting as host to the visitors, carrying chairs for the ladies and in general acting as the humble servant of the arts. After the United States got into the War, there was a Bethlehem Steel weekly, which pepped up the boys in the plants with competition and got them working their heads off to win the production record which entitled them to have the symbolic broom hung over their shop.

Charley's Smile

By this time the federal investigation which showed that Bethlehem Steel had palmed off armor plate full of cheese holes to the United States government had been forgotten, and Charley was at the head of the ship building operations of the government. He dashed from plant to plant with his smile and personality working full blast and his dulcet voice charming the riveters. At home he was pained to learn that although the men enjoyed the band they still thought it would be more sensible for them to have better wages, and get their music where they could find it. They even expressed a wish to run their lives in their own stupid ways, although they were grateful for the paternal attitude of Charley and the other executives. This was when tears first began to form in Charley's eyes. He could never stand the thought of being disliked, and when his men failed to appreciate him as the Great Father, and when investigating committees persisted in asking pointed questions about Bethlehem activities, Charley responded as only a hurt man could respond. He wept on the stand and quite unnerved the investigators, who had no thought that they were going to be expected to torture a fine man in this crude way. In practically every instance they corrected the error immediately by apolo-

gizing to Mr. Schwab and halting the investigation.

Charley is Hurt

In any event, Charley was wounded, the band was disbanded, the weekly pep-sheet was abandoned, the athletic field was presented as a gift to Lehigh and the athletes were given the stern choice of work or starvation. These happenings came almost simultaneously with Charley's master-stroke. As perhaps the most prominent Dollar-a-Year man during the War, he had been the idol of Washington and the recipient of as much newspaper space as any one man, short of the President himself, should be expected to endure. Labor conditions at Bethlehem were under the War Industries Board and part of Charley's resentment at the action of his men, who were not content with a winning ball team, came from the desire of his workers to have a raise in wages to meet the higher living costs of the war period. Just prior to the Armistice, the Board had issued a ruling in respect to Bethlehem, which gave the men increased wages and made the award retroactive to a point some six months back. When the war ended and Charley was released from the building of boats, his first act was to return to Bethlehem and repudiate the award of the government he had just been saving. Since there were no unions at Bethlehem to take up the fight and seemingly no honor in Washington to compel the government to keep its own word, the award was never carried out. When asked about this, Mr. Schwab became damp about the eyes and no one had the heart to press the point. It was felt that he had done enough for his country.

With the workers themselves during war times, it fared both well and ill, as I recall. Men were so scarce in 1915 that they were hired while No. 2 Ammunition Plant was being built, and spent their time sitting on the river bank playing cards while the structural workers threw up the plant in less than a month's time, a great achievement. Most work at the machines was piece work and it was possible to make good money, and also to suffer various ills which were far from pleasant. Several of the operations required a spray of oil to be played continuously on the cutting tool with the result that hundreds of workers suffered outbreaks of boils from ingredients in the oil. Work on the press forge (for which they used to hire the Lehigh football players in the summer) was so strenuous that literally dozens of men were carried off on stretchers to the dispensary every night. The worst factor, however, was that no matter what the men made in good times, they had no bargaining power to keep a single gain when the company decided to withdraw them. They had something there called the Welfare Association which was supposed to be a complete joining of minds between the company and the men, but anybody who has seen the trepidation with which the men's representatives (generally foremen) approached the head office to ask for a little soap in the wash room, will understand what company union conditions can be in the way of abjectness.

Charley the Prophet

Having the workers well cowed, Charley was at liberty to turn his smile on the rest of the world. Among his other deeds in the interest of love

of America was helping support Mr. Shearer when he labored to break up the Geneva Naval Disarmament Conference. The fact that Bethlehem is the largest builder of ships of course had nothing to do with Charley's patriotic interest in keeping the sea power of these here United States paramount. In fact, nothing would have been revealed of his modest action on behalf of his native land if he hadn't been sued by Mr. Shearer for back pay. The way the newspapers turned this about so that Shearer, who was certainly no lily, became a villain endeavoring to besmirch a group of ardent patriots, was something to behold. I have forgotten whether Mr. Schwab emitted the usual strangled sobs over this incident, but I rather doubt it because by the time he could have appeared, the committee had succeeded in making Shearer out to be such a monster that the people who sustained him with funds could only have been regarded as good Christians who had been misled by sin.

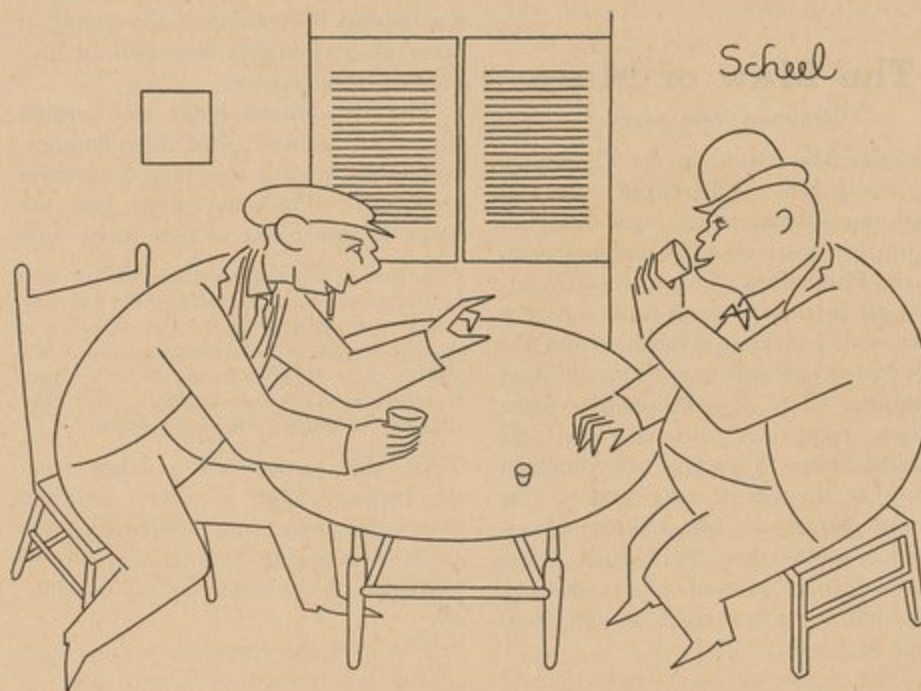
By this time, also, Charley had substituted prophecy for tears, giving each year an interview to the New York press on the healthy state of the world, and offering Arthur Brisbane his only strenuous competition on the subject of not selling America short. His birthday interview was supplemented by such words as fell from his happy lips whenever he either boarded or unboarded a boat for Bad Neuheim. Business was never better, conditions in America were never more favorable for the young man who was willing to work for success, all was well in the world. He kept his happy whistling through the graveyard going even in the early years of the depression, and only succumbed to slight despair in the year 1934 when he admitted for the first time that conditions had him worried. The world seemed full of trouble, he said sadly, and he didn't know how things were going to come out. It was known that he had taken heavy stock market losses, but it was only his mistake in getting mixed up in the deal for the Youngstown Steel Company which brought out the facts about the bonuses. It was found then that Schwab was getting an annual \$500,000 from the company, although no longer active in management, and that Eugene Grace had taken \$1,600,000 as a bonus in a depression year when the stockholders were getting nothing and the wages of his workers had been reduced to the starvation point.

I don't mention the word starvation lightly because I have seen many two weeks' salary checks at Bethlehem in recent years which would have seemed laughable if they were not so tragic. A friend of mine received for the two weeks prior to Christmas in 1933, the total of \$3.45. He is an expert tool maker who had made as much as \$400 a month in other times. Another friend of mine lost his home on which he had

(Continued on page 29)

THE SHIRT BUSINESS

By Scheel



"Yeah—I've ditched me old flannel; dere's more money in wearin' a black night shirt."

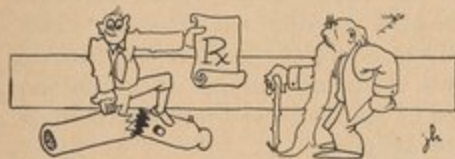
Building the League

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid



CLEVELAND—The Cleveland League celebrated its fine Peace Parade of Mothers' Day with a dinner. The affair was held at the Central Y. W. C. A., and was well attended. A cup was awarded to the organization with the best float in the parade. As a special feature of the dinner, prizes were awarded to the three winning contestants in the High School Essay Contest conducted by the League. The subject of the contest was, "How Can the United States Avoid War and Fascism." First prize went to Carl F.



Deither, second to Elsie Gabrielson, and third to Eli Seifter. Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Max S. Hayes and Chester K. Gillespie acted as judges. The League, in cooperation with the local section of the American Artists' Congress, is presenting a three-week display of over 200 cartoons, drawings and prints against war and Fascism. The Artists' Congress first presented this fine exhibition in New York City last April, and it is available for use in other cities. James Lerner, our Youth Secretary, attended the interdenominational Young People's Conference held at Lakeside, near Cleveland, as well as the Youth Congress in Cleveland. Our literature was distributed, and considerable support for the League was gained at both conferences.

CALIFORNIA—Senator Gerald P. Nye addressed a mass meeting at Los Angeles on July 10th under League auspices. A welcoming committee of 50 prominent people, with Dr. Floyd Seaman as chairman, greeted the Senator on his arrival. Since the General Butler mass meeting, 74 new members have been added to the League. A new Artists Branch has been organized also. The entire League was mobilized on June 27 and 28 to secure signatures for the campaign against the Criminal Syndicalism law. At the meeting for Senator Nye, held by the San Francisco League July 8th at the Dreamland auditorium, George P. Kidwell, Secretary of the Bakery Wagon Drivers served as chairman. The needle trade and

maritime unions gave strong support to this important meeting. Other speakers included Mr. Wolf of the Maritime Federation, Miss Whitney of the committee opposing the criminal syndicalism law, the Reverend Chase and Bert Leech, California organizer for the League. Miss Helen Pell, of the Democratic Club, acted as chairman of the reception committee. The San Francisco League also mobilized on June 27 and 28 for the campaign to repeal the criminal syndicalism law. The League is fighting the attempt to fingerprint citizens, being carried on in Berkeley. Representatives participated in a demonstration on June 29 at the German consulate, demanding the release of Lawrence Simpson, an American seaman held in a German concentration camp. Senator Nye also spoke for the Santa Barbara League on July 9th, and at Richmond on July 7th under the auspices of the Contra Costa Central Labor Council. The whole League on the West Coast is at work collecting data to be supplied to Senator La Follette's Committee to investigate violations of civil rights and collective bargaining. Information is being compiled on the attempts to smash waterfront unions, vigilante activities in the agricultural fields, intimidation of teachers and the implications of the fingerprinting drive.

CHICAGO—An investigating committee of the League revealed the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in Evanston among the Negroes, and was successful



Beatrice Falk, Secretary, Springfield, Mass., American League Against War and Fascism

in getting their findings into the Chicago Daily Times. This research committee is carrying on its activities by investigating violations of civil rights and collective bargaining. Their data will be turned over to the La Follette Committee of the Senate. The League carried on a campaign of protest against the flying of the swastika over Soldiers' Field at the German Day celebrations, and secured the support of a wide group in this enterprise. The Young Patriots, a Youth Branch of the Chicago League, held a symposium on June 26th on the subject, "War! What Can We As Youth Do To Prevent It?" Speakers from the Civic League, Tel Josef, the Epworth League and the Young Patriots took part.

PONTIAC, MICHIGAN—Developments of the Black Legion in this city and the surrounding county are ominous. Membership is reported to be 1,700. Several police officers, two city commissioners and one member of the fire and police trial board have been definitely named as members. League members have taken preliminary steps toward the organization of a broad People's Committee to see that the present investigation, already under way, does not turn out to be just a whitewash. Thorough investigation of the Black Legion by the federal government rests on definite proof of its existence in other states besides Michigan. The League is endeavoring to secure such information.

NEW YORK CITY—Thirty trade unions have organized anti-war and anti-Fascist councils composed of two or more members within the union. These councils bring before the union membership questions regarding action against war and Fascism. They also push the sale of THE FIGHT and present the issues and campaigns of the League. The full sanction of the unions' leadership is behind these councils. The Trade Union Committee of the League sends speakers to other unions to talk on specific questions of interest to the membership and involving issues of war and Fascism. Recently, Building Committees and several League Branches have been organized in the garment center. Forty-two unions are now affiliated with the League.

The chief activity in New York City

during the past month has been the organization of a People's Committee Against Hearst of the American League. Trade union leaders, newspaper men, authors, ministers and educators are serving on this Committee. A whole series of leaflets, posters and pamphlets is being published. The Trade Union Committee on Anti-Labor Legislation, initiated by the League, is giving its full cooperation, and has entered this campaign against Hearst as an advocate of anti-labor legislation. A total of 113 unions—all but 10 of them A.F. of L.—are taking part in the activities of the People's Committee. These organizations represent 198,000 workers in New York City. The unions have participated actively by sending in donations, by having speakers from the People's Committee address their meetings and by buying postcards, leaflets and pamphlets against Hearst, for use and dis-



tribution among their members. Some of the unions have assigned members to picket newsstands with signs reading—"Buy a Newspaper, not a Hearst Hate Paper," "Don't Buy Hearst's Journal, American, and Mirror."

On July 4th—Anti-Hearst Day—a number of meetings took place all over greater New York. Ashley P. Totten, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, spoke to an outdoor meeting of 5,000 people at Rockaway. Joseph Murphy, of the Bakers' Joint Board, addressed a large audience following an automobile parade in the Bronx. John "Scotty" Nelson, vice-president of Bricklayers No. 34, flew an airplane bearing an anti-Hearst banner over Coney Island, Brighton, Sea Gate and Rockaway. The Carpenters' and Joiners' local No. 1164 cooperated with the Sequoros Experimental Studio in building a huge float depicting Hearst and Hitler as Siamese twins plotting war. The float was taken along the shore line of Coney Island and Brighton Beach, accompanied by a loud speaker which broadcasted a recording of Senator Schwollenbach's speech against Hearst given in the U. S. Senate. Songs

and slogans were also given over the loud speaker, with organized crowds on the beach taking these up.

ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS—All over the country preparations are now being made for August 1st anti-war meetings. San Francisco is planning a special rally on the waterfront at noon on this day, with a mass meeting in the evening. New York City plans a huge parade on August 8th through Yorkville, the German section of the city. Chicago is organizing for a parade that will feature national groups in native garb. Provincetown, Massachusetts, after suppression by the city council last year, will have a real anti-war meeting on this date. Pittsburgh has already sent out a call for delegates to form an all-inclusive committee to plan for its demonstration. With the Fascist acceleration toward war, August 1, 1936, becomes an internationally important day to protest against the war makers and Fascist murder leaders.

WORLD PEACE CONGRESS—The National Bureau of the League has chosen Margaret Forsyth as chairman for the League delegation to the World Peace Congress, which will be held at Geneva, September 3-6, 1936. Other members chosen thus far include Dorothy Detzer, Mrs. Lucille Milner, Clarence Hathaway and A. A. Heller.

PENNSYLVANIA—An Italian-American celebration dinner at *Scranton* drew sharp criticism from the League, when Mussolini's conquest of



Ethiopia was lauded by an official representative of the Italian government and Black Shirt Fascists in uniform gave the Fascist salute. Citizens and an editorial in a local paper also protested this blatant affair. The *Philadelphia* League scored again this month. After stopping the showing of *Red Salute* last month in a neighborhood movie house, they pushed on and secured the removal of the Hearst Metro-tone Newsreel from another theater. They did it by passing out 5,000 handbills at the door as people left the theater, and also at a nearby theater which did not show the Hearst newsreel. Business fell off at the one place and increased at the other. The manager of the offending movie house asked for a conference with the League people and, as a result, agreed to show the Paramount instead of the Hearst newsreel. It can be done! Three new Branches have been organized by the *Philadelphia* League and membership

is growing from week to week. A lawn party at the home of Mrs. Thomas Potts drew almost 500 guests as the result of the good work of Jules Gordon and the arrangements committee. Pressure is being brought to bear upon the Philadelphia Electric Company for its persistence in advertising in a Nazi newspaper, the *Herold*. The League is also taking an active part in the work of the People's Committee Against the Black Legion, which represents various church, fraternal and social groups. Helen Doriot, our Philadelphia secretary, led a delegation which presented the League anti-Fascist plank to the



Resolutions Committee of the Democratic Convention. This action received comment in Philadelphia and New York papers. The League also participated in the picket line in front of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, along with the local of the American Federation of Teachers, protesting to Senator Robinson of Arkansas against the flogging of the Reverend Claude Williams and Willie Sue Blagden. The *Pittsburgh* League sent strong protests to the Mayor and to Secretary of State Hull against a meeting of Italian-Americans to celebrate the Fascist conquest of Ethiopia. The local Italian consulate was charged with "subversive activities." As a result of the investigations of a special research committee, the Pittsburgh League has made charges that a terrorist group called the White Crusaders, and similar to the Black Legion, is in operation in the coal fields of western Pennsylvania. These Crusaders are revealed to be anti-Negro and anti-labor, and to have as their main object the disruption and weakening of the strong and militant United Mine Workers of America in western Pennsylvania.



Jack Killian, Secretary, Davenport, Iowa, American League Against War and Fascism



By
James Lerner

Mouth Notes

WITH the beginning of the intensive drive in steel by the Committee for Industrial Organization, Pittsburgh is looming large in the talk these days. I suppose this accounts for our elation at learning that a new youth branch has just been formed in Pittsburgh.

It seems that they have gotten off to an enthusiastic start. Marcus Singer, the chairman of the new group, says:

"Pittsburgh, as you doubtless know, with its enormous coal and steel industries, with its cultivated hatreds, despotisms and mass exploitation, offers extremely fertile fields for the malignant growth of the weeds of Fascism. Fascistic evidences are not few here. For this reason, the first stage of our activity was to assist the Pittsburgh Committee in carrying our League and



THE FIGHT into the industrial fields."

Let us hear more about this, Miss Horelick.

OUT in Chicago, for a long time there has been a real still silence about the youth activity of the League. We had already begun to suspect dire things. We are very glad to hear from *Chicago* and learn that things are really being done. We learn from a letter, which we have just received, that there are four youth branches organized in *Chicago*, and two in the process of formation. That's fine. So let's hear more from you, Miss Schnapper.

CONGRATULATIONS to the new Junior Group of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They have just held their first conference at Baltimore, Maryland. Miss Juanita Jackson, one of our National Committee members, has been working very hard on this, and its success is largely attributable to her efforts.

There is an urgent need for such a large and active group. As we pointed out in our letter to the conference:

"You meet today at a significant period in our history. We are beset on all sides with the forces of reaction, which are today raising to a new intensity the doctrine of 'Hate the Negro,' 'Hate the Jew,' 'Hate the foreigner.'"

"We stand ready to cooperate with you wherever and whenever we are called upon."

MEMBERS of the American League played an important and leading part in the session, of the recent Congress, devoted to War and Fascism. Max Hayes, editor of the *Cleveland Citizen*, was chairman, and the discussion was led by the National Youth Secretary of the League.

AS A challenge to the rest of the country, *New York* has pledged itself to raise one hundred (\$100) dollars for the expenses of our delegate to Geneva. What about *Chicago*, *Pittsburgh*, *Cleveland* and *Cincinnati*? Orchids to the first contribution that comes from any of these cities.

FROM a friend in Massachusetts, we have received a twenty-five (\$25) dollar contribution toward our drive for funds to send youth representatives from the League to the World Youth Congress at Geneva, August 31 to Sep-



tember 7. That makes a total of \$25, to date. We will need about three hundred (\$300) dollars.

Come on, let's see what our branches and other friends intend doing about this.

From two young ladies who spent the past year at school in Albany, we have received a very clever little booklet. These young ladies had a chance to observe the New York State Legislature when it passed the MacNaboes Bill, calling for an investigation of "radical" groups in the schools. Their booklet is entitled, "Helpful Hints for the Hearst Hounds."



August is the month when people throughout the country will march and demonstrate against war and Fascism

I Knew Barbusse

(Continued from page 7)

The revolutionary fervor with which the hero of *Clarté* throws himself into the social struggle seemed typical of Barbusse's own attitude. Taking the name of the novel as a slogan, "Clarté" groups were founded throughout France and a magazine called *Clarté*, with brilliant articles from intellectuals of all countries, was issued as the organ of the movement. I discussed with Barbusse the possibilities of extending this movement to America and watched the light come into his eye as he got a vision of a great world movement against war spreading around the world.

Several years later, in 1927, I visited Barbusse again. In the meanwhile he had written his masterpiece, *Les Enchaînements (Chains)*, a two-volume panorama of the evolution of struggling humanity, the greatness of which has not been sufficiently appreciated. In November of that year we were both together in Moscow for the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and I shall never forget the enthusiasm with which he watched the great demonstration on that occasion in the Red Square.

The Birth of a Movement

It was during that same winter in Moscow that I was present with Barbusse at the office of Lunacharski (Minister of Education) when plans were made for the forming of an international organization of writers, and I remember well the enthusiasm with which Barbusse took up that movement. I remember also his zeal at the meeting in Moscow during the following year, when he launched the project for a new international magazine: *Monde*.

A few years later, in 1932, came the World Congress Against War, called together by Henri Barbusse. I came with a delegation of Americans to the great meeting that summer at Amster-

dam—the greatest international meeting against war in the world's history. The congress was dominated by the tall, thin, vibrating figure of Barbusse, his eloquent voice trembling with emotion at this culmination of his years of struggle against war. After Amsterdam, came the tremendous meeting in Paris at which we both spoke, and the formation of an international bureau, in which I took part with Barbusse. I came to realize the force that he had become not merely in the world of literature, but also in the whole world movement against war and Fascism.

In October of that same year, I was with Barbusse again in the Soviet Union for the celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary of Maxim Gorky's literary career, for the opening of the Dnieprostroi Dam, and for the celebration of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. I shall never forget his glowing enthusiasm on all these occasions.

In America

The following year, 1933, Henri Barbusse came to America and I had at last an opportunity to receive a return visit from him in my own home. A great anti-war Congress took place in New York where the American League Against War and Fascism was founded and Barbusse spoke at two mass meetings. Barbusse asked me to deliver the English translation of his speeches and I traveled throughout the United States with him, acting as his interpreter and making introductory speeches in tribute to him. In Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Boston and various other cities, Barbusse was greeted by large enthusiastic audiences, and I was much impressed to find how universally he was known and loved. All the fatigue of the traveling and constant speaking Barbusse, though his health was far from strong, bore with heroic fortitude. Never once, even in the most trying circumstances, did he lose his temper or get angry. With all the strength and vehemence of his speeches against war and Fascism was

combined an extraordinary sweetness and beauty of character.

Two years ago, in the Autumn of 1934, I was with Barbusse once more in Moscow. His enthusiasm for the Soviet Union, far from diminishing, seemed to have increased year by year. He had just written his book on Stalin and was planning to edit a French edition of the letters of Lenin. When we said good-bye, we planned to meet again in Moscow, the following autumn, but as I watched the sunken eyes and felt the thin hand that bid me farewell, I had an uncomfortable foreboding that he might not live till I could see him again.

In Death

Last autumn, the very day before I came to Moscow, news reached me of the death of Henri Barbusse. As soon as I arrived I went to the old familiar corner room at the Hotel Savoy and found there Barbusse's secretary, and other devoted friends. They told me all the details of his final heroic struggle, and of their determination to carry on all the various movements to which he had been so devoted. They took me to the great hall in the Conservatory where his body was lying in state. There we stood in silence, looking at the noble head of Barbusse with his finely chiseled features, now stationary in death. The bier was masked with flowers sent in tribute by countless organizations and individuals. We watched the seemingly endless stream of men, women, and children marching by in silent homage. I noticed one young boy holding up a smaller child so that this child might see the great Barbusse, even if the older brother was prevented by his act from seeing, himself. Meanwhile, the orchestra in the gallery was playing funeral marches, and a guard of honor made up of the greatest writers of the Soviet Union took turns standing watch before the coffin. Finally came the day when the body of Barbusse was borne from the hall of the Conservatory to the railway station, to be taken by train under care of outstanding leaders of the anti-war move-

ments in various countries, to Paris where the French crowds were already impatiently waiting to pay the last tribute of France to this great French writer. But before the body had left Moscow, I realized that Barbusse belonged not to France alone. Here, in this great international city which Moscow has become, countless Russians and representatives of all the countries of the world—England, America, China, Japan—lined the streets on both sides, a solid mass; a final demonstration of the loyalty of the common people of all countries to the memory of Barbusse, and their determination to carry on to final victory the struggle he had so heroically waged until the very moment of death—the struggle against war and Fascism.

Charley

(Continued from page 26)

been paying for ten years. The greatest joke of all was N.R.A. The minimum wage set was \$17.50 a week and the few men who had been getting \$20 were promptly reduced to the minimum. In short, the workers themselves at Bethlehem paid for any increase in employment during the active course of the New Deal.

Charley's Idol

Having heard that things were booming up there lately, I asked a friend about it and he said: "Automobile orders." But I imagine there is a dollar or two coming from the government on war orders. After all, something over \$900,000,000 has been appropriated for the army and navy this year, and even if Charley's charm has dwindled it is hard to believe that while he still lives any government, Democratic or Republican, is going to overlook Bethlehem when it comes to organized murder. When he speaks of the prosperity of Hitler Germany he knows exactly how lovely such a prosperity can be for those who haven't forgotten how to make guns and shells. If the war orders were taken from German industry, it

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would be much like Bethlehem without its military departments. I almost forgot to mention that Charley has put in perhaps the only public word of commendation for Sir Basil Zaharoff. Charley said he was one of the gentlest, kindest old men he had ever known. His face began to pucker up as if the tears were about to flow and the press choked up and tiptoed out and put the news on the wire. The rumbling noise which followed has never been explained, but cynics have asserted that it might possibly be the simultaneous turning over of the ten million corpses who perished in the World War.

Books

(Continued from page 19)

illusionary to expect similar beliefs from Gorin's aristocrats. (Fortunately, Princeton is not all of the same breed.) Commander Gorin gives us his idea—a movement to ridicule the bonus and the veterans who forced it from the government. In between the pages of sarcastic humor there are blasts at those who refuse to permit economy to prevail in Washington. There is praise for that small group of bourbon veterans who started an anti-bonus movement and ran high-priced advertisements in the press, the American Veterans Association. Most assuredly there is room for economy in the government. But nowhere does the leader of the "new youth movement" direct that demand at the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the subsidies for shipping and railroad corporations, or the huge military budget. Whatever we may think of the policies of the Legion or the other veteran groups, the desire for the bonus rose out of the needs of millions. Come to think of it, the banker leadership expressed open opposition to cash payment only a year before it was finally granted through the pressure of such spontaneous efforts as the Bonus March.

Many people have asked: "What is the future of the Veterans of Future Wars?" In Commander Gorin's hands, with his present philosophy, it has little to look forward to. Yet just like the veterans of past wars he has no guarantee that his leadership will be accepted as gospel. There was a rank and file bonus march. We are certain that hosts of college youth will continue to add to the peace movement and the demand for immediate security, out of funds now devoted to battleship construction. "Commander" Gorin has bungled a glorious opportunity.

—JAMES LERNER

The Cry of a People

NEGRO SONGS OF PROTEST, by Lawrence Gellert; 47 pages; American Music League; \$1.00.

THIS small book contains the essence of the real American folk music for which we are indebted to the Negro people. The work of

many years' gathering and sifting is here presented by Lawrence Gellert in twenty-four songs.

Negro Songs of Protest is a refreshing change from the spirituals. They reveal the Negro in healthy rebellion against poverty, hunger and slavery; a totally different picture from the generally accepted one of dutiful Uncle Toms and adoring Mammys.

These songs express the weariness of back-breaking, sweltering hours in the cotton fields or in stifling, filthy jails. They call with the tragic, ominous monotony of beating drums to "come to the buryin'," or in lively rhythm cry ruefully that one can "Work all de Summer, work all de Fall, Gonna make Christmas in mah overall."

The melodies are striking, many having grown out of the rhythm of falling pickaxes or rock breaking hammers. Often they follow the simple geometric design of a bugle call, as in *The Rag-gady Man*.

The piano accompaniments by Elie Siegmeister are very fitting, providing as they do an unobtrusive pattern against which the melodies stand out in all their simple beauty.

For the musical and unmusical alike the book should be of real interest, for the verses in themselves are a contribution to American literature. The jacket and frontispiece of the book are designed by Hugo Gellert.

—LIVIA CINQUEGRANA

Book Notes

AMONG the sturdy crop of gag and censorship proposals in which the last Congress has been exceptionally rich, may we point out for your attention H.R. 8180—a bill to prohibit the mailing of any literature (book, magazine article, or postcard) giving information as to how or from whom or by what means a divorce may be secured in a foreign country?

Not that we mean to let you forget the Postmaster General's own pet, the Dobbins Post Office Censorship Bill, the purpose of which is to frighten publishers, in enlightened areas, from putting out modern books on morals or economics lest they be brought to trial for it in some hand-picked (by Mr. Farley) backward community.

THIS month's reviewers: EMMET E. DORSEY is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Howard University, Washington, D. C. Himself a Negro, he is a teacher on Negro problems and a student of the American Reconstruction period. LOUIS LOZOWICK, whose drawings and lithographs of the industrial scene are one of the high peaks of American art, has often ventured into the field of criticism. DOROTHY McCONNELL, author of a number of books and Secretary of the Women's Section of the American League, has herself traveled in some of the countries described in Lester Cohen's book. AGNES SAILER is Educational Director of the Pioneer Youth of America. M. B. SCHNAPPER has, until recently, been connected with the National Youth Administration in Washington, D. C. JAMES LERNER is Secretary of the Youth Section of the American League. A. V. A. VAN DUYN (needless to say, of Dutch descent) is well known in the publishing business as a manuscript reader and translator. F. M. VAN WICKLEN, JR. is a research worker and LIVIA CINQUEGRANA who reviews *Negro Songs of Protest* is a musician.

Oh Say, Can You See?

SINCE the Homestead strike of 1892, when the Carnegie Steel Corporation imported Pinkerton Detectives to fire on union men, the steel industry has ruthlessly and successfully employed its vast resources to keep its labor unorganized, and therefore defenseless.

When the American Iron and Steel Institute discovered that the Committee for Industrial Organization was going to make a systematic attempt to organize into one effective union the 500,000



men in an industry enjoying its most profitable year since 1930, wages went up 10%. Finding that the union forces refused to be bought off, the Institute inserted full page ads in 375 papers. Glancing quickly over the last part of the ad, we noticed something about how the industry was anxious to help its employees maintain collective bargaining "free from interference." This looked so good that we flipped back to page one, confident of finding a streamer like this:

STEEL INSTITUTE DECLARES TRUCE WITH UNION—WILL NOT INTERFERE.

Not finding the headline, we read the ad through carefully.

The Steel Institute has wrapped its open shop tactics, its threats to militant workers, in a fabric so shining and transparent, that we suspect the verbal cellophane was a gift from the Liberty League. Or is it the du Ponts who make cellophane? Anyway, it isn't hard to peel the gloss off this:

"The Steel Industry is recovering from six years of depression and huge losses, and the employees are now beginning to receive the benefits of increased operations. Any interruption of the forward movement will seriously injure the employees and their families. . . . The announced drive, with its accompanying agitation for industrial strife, threatens such interruption."

Will Japan play a divide and conquer role in China again? A war between the North and South, even with Japanese aggression as the issue, may well be a more pleasing prospect

to the Nipponese generals than a united China. In the meantime, General Chen Chia-tang of Canton continues to urge a united front against Japan, and Nanking appropriates \$375,000,000 for its war machine.

A Nobleman's Union, recently formed in New York, is going to prevent bogus counts from scabbing in the cigarette ads. It won't be earl against duke, and duke against baron now, but a united front of the purplest prince and the humblest baronet who ever lifted a caviar canape. To the first militant Highness plucked from a picket line and locked up, we offer a carton of cigarettes.

If no legislation is good legislation, the friends of peace and democracy have some cause for self-congratulation in the laws left unenacted by the 74th Congress. We're glad to know, for instance, that the three Dickstein deportation bills did not become laws. But—all three were passed by the House of Representatives. Hearst and his friends will not be idle until the next Congress. We might show them a thing or two by agitating for an early hearing of the Marcantonio Right of Asylum Bill,



and the O'Day bill to admit pacifists to citizenship, both of which are gasping for breath in pigeon-holes provided by the House Committee on Immigration.

Which brings us to Otto Richter, young German refugee from Nazi terror, at this writing still on his hunger strike at Ellis Island. For the crime of "Illegal Entry," for fleeing for his life without the formality of securing a passport, this young man may be bundled off to Hitler land at a moment's notice, leaving an American wife to ponder on his reception committee at the German pier.

Perhaps you thought that the indignation aroused by the brutal flogging of Willie Sue Blagden, Memphis social worker, and Reverend Williams, might goad Governor Futrell into an immediate investigation of the situation

of the Arkansas share-croppers, forced to work at the point of gun in "concentration camps," American style. Here's what the Governor said to the pickets who marched in the Philadelphia rain demanding that the Democratic platform take cognizance of the Arkansas atrocities:

"They don't need any platform plank to give them the right to organize and seek higher wages. The constitution and statutes give them that right."

In view of what's been happening down there, it looks suspiciously as if the Governor were calling the constitution a "scrap of paper."

The Democratic platform has been warmly commended in some quarters as an indication that President Roosevelt, far from retreating, is standing squarely on his record. His approval of the largest peace-time military appropriation in our history is one kind of record from which the platform's roomy neutrality plank gives little indication of retreat.

Instead of the usual "viewings with alarm" we'd like to try our hand at the gossip column manner like this:

1. What judge in what city said four people weren't eligible for citizenship because they were on relief?
2. What Senator "took a walk" from the Democratic convention session opened with prayers by a Negro minister? What did the Senator say about political equality for Negroes?
3. What do anti-Fascists think of this judge and this Senator?

Here are the answers:

1. Federal Judge Wayne G. Borah of New Orleans.
2. Senator Smith of South Carolina. He said, "political equality means social equality and social equality means intermarriage, and that means the mongrelizing of the American race."
3. They think that if Hitler can wire congratulations to Schmeling for winning a prizefight, he should send these two a bonus—or sue them for plagiarism.

The French Fascist bands, illegal now as armed orders, have made not



very carefully veiled threats against the life of Premier Leon Blum. Things have come to such a pass, say the Fascists, that they may have to seize power any day now. We rely on the people of France, winning their disciplined, organized strikes, to show whose government it is.

Glimpse of what the whole country will be like if the Liberty Leaguers ever get us: Two women and three men have been stricken off the relief rolls in Hammonton, New Jersey, because they refused to pick berries at fifty to seventy-five cents a day. Mayor Ruberton says they "can go hang."

Boston veterans who get the bonus also will be stricken from the relief rolls. They must read with some confusion the admonitions from the powers that be "to be thrifty and not squander their bonus."

Speaking of youth—we haven't as yet sent our resounding hurrahs to the 3,000 delegates at the American Youth



Congress. Success to these young people, who are by way of showing their elders something of the technique of Common Action! We wish we could have been with them at Cleveland, and if our desk hadn't been piled ominously high, even the six new gray hairs that got into the last count wouldn't have prevented us.

The People's Committee Against Hearst invited the National Civic Federation to a meeting. The Federation's chairman, Ralph Easley who's won accolades from Hearst for his red-baiting activities, says he hasn't always approved of Hearst but "Today he has more patriotism in his little finger than is to be found in the whole bunch of Reds in the American League Against War and Fascism." Mr. Easley sent regrets.

The Anti-Hearst movement will just have to worry along with the support of such groups as the thousand young people from the Christian Youth Conference of North America who almost unanimously voted for a boycott of the Hearst press, radio, and films.

The Mexican People



"Workers and Farmers Unite Against Imperialism!"

In the market place (Mercado Rodriguez) in Mexico City, on its immense wall space, there has recently been completed a set of fresco murals. For three years, eight artists, five from Mexico and three from the United States, working in unity, painted upon these walls a story of the Mexican



Peasants



Outcasts

people, a people suffering bitterly from exploitation, oppression and imperialism. The mural and details reproduced here are the work of Marion Greenwood. They depict the Mexican people at work, the forces of greed, hunger and imperialism, and the struggle of the Mexican people against these forces.