

# FIGHT

VOL. 2 No. 8

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## AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



The Nazi Octopus Reaches Out  
Drawing by Mildred Rackley

FATHER COUGHLIN SHOWS HIS FACE

TAKING THE PROFITS OUT OF WAR

WRITERS AGAINST FASCISM

COAL BLACK GALLUP

An Economy of Scarcity

Is Fascism Coming?

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A Marine Goes Red

REVOLT IN THE PHILIPPINES

### HOW MUSSOLINI "SAVED" ITALY—By GEORGE SELDES

## IS FASCISM COMING IN THE U.S.A? ARE WE ON THE VERGE OF WAR?

C. Hartley Grafton and Scott Nearing answer these questions. Next month we shall print statements from other prominent Americans, giving their position on contemporary social trends.

I AM COMPLETELY opposed to all alien and sedition legislation, being firmly convinced that, whatever its open and avowed intent, its secret purpose is to impoverish not only Communists but also all radicals, liberals and other progressive dissidents of whatever tint. Such legislation can only bring in its train that best of evils gathered together under the rubric, Fascism.

Fascism unquestionably represents reaction and it, in its essence, a desperate effort to choke all the forces making progress. As it becomes more and more obvious that the economic forces making progress are harrying under the old institutions of control, those benefiting by these institutions make a desperate effort to retain their favored position. In doing so they not only make an assault upon the rising social class which is prepared to sustain and extend the forces of progress but also upon anything and everything, ideological and material, which also threatens their power. It is, therefore, not only the revolutionaries who have reason to fear and oppose Fascism, but the intellectual-writers, scientists, artists, etc.—as well indeed, any person or group interested in progress in any way whatever. As yet I see more uncomprehending Fascism in the United States than open and avowed Fascism. In my opinion the fundamental elements of the Fascist outlook flow with extraordinary logic from the capitalistic outlook, and judge the constituent elements of the American mind are, to a very great extent, capitalistic. It naturally follows that Fascism is, to the unreflected, simply a natural extension of traditional ways of thinking and acting. I quite agree that men like Long, Coughlin and Johnson have Fascist characteristics, but I doubt that they are true Fascists in their present state. They are harbingers but not the genuine article.

I expect War in the near future, and I am appalled to note that most of the opposition to it is emotional and scattered-brained. It is my pessimistic opinion that nine-tenths of the existing anti-War sentiment would disappear like morning dew before the blasts of pro-War propaganda when that propaganda has the open and avowed support of the government. Moreover anyone acquainted with the story of our relations to the last great War cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that we are, in official circles, no better prepared to resist the blunders of the War makers and in many respects worse off. There is no general understanding of the significance of trade arrangements, there is the same low quality of personnel as characteristic. In addition we have a navalist and a militarist, and a much more self-conscious military and naval crowd in the government today than in 1914-17 when it will be recalled, the military propaganda came from outside, from General Leonard Wood and Theodore Roosevelt. I am convinced that the United States will sooner or later be drawn into any War, whether in Europe or the East, and I venture the opinion that the road to the next War can be fairly well predicted from a study of the road to the last War. The probable similarities being more important than the probable differences. An outstanding difference, however, will be that we shall spend a shorter time on the way.

Democratic institutions, established during the period of capitalist expansion, are abandoned during a period of decline. The editing bills are a part of this program. Proprietor and privileged groups take the time to shoulder the chief burdens of the decline upon the workers.

Fascism is the organized retreat of the oppressed and privileged from higher to lower economic levels. Open Fascism does not ordinarily begin until an aggressive effort is made to set up the self-defeating state. The U. S. A. is moving toward this stage of capitalist decline, but has not yet reached it. All signs point to Wars: capitalist countries versus the U.S.S.R.; Germany versus France and her allies; the United States versus Japan. Britain seems to be pulling the strings in all of these potential War situations. Her ruling class must destroy its principal enemies, one at a time. It looks as though they wanted to begin on the U.S.S.R. but might have to start on Germany, despite their preference for the attack on the U.S.S.R. Of course the U.S.A. will be drawn into the next War: first to accumulate more but debts in exchange for munitions, and then to defend her interests in these debts and in other imperialist ventures.

A united front against War and Fascism is presently important.

C. Hartley Grafton.

Scott Nearing.

## ATTENTION: MR. HEARST

"We have forgotten the very principle of our origin, if we have forgotten how to select, how to raise, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices, if it be necessary to readjust matters."  
Woodrow Wilson.

If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other, it is the principle of free thought—free thought for those who agree with us, but freedom for the thought we hate.

Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The cry has been that when war is declared, all opposition should therefore be hushed. A sentiment more unworthy of a free country could hardly be propounded. If the doctrine is admitted rulers have only to declare war and they are screened at once from scrutiny.

In war, then, as in peace, assert the freedom of speech and of the press. Cling to this as the bulwark of all your rights and privileges.

William Ellery Channing.

It would be curious to be doing violence to history to imply that the principle of freedom of press and speech was universally accepted among the founders of this Republic. Every school-child knows the history of the Sedition Act of 1798. Enghaged by the criticisms of the Jeffersonians bent on ousting them from power, the Federalists hurried through Congress a law drawn in broad and loose language which in effect penalized everyone who passed severe strictures upon the Government of the United States. In fact, this measure gave to Federalist judges, prosecu-

tor, and executive officials the authority to arrest, fine, and imprison any of their political foes who were especially objectionable to them, and in practice it was applied. And all know the verdict of history on this act of partisan fury and intolerance. The party that passed it was buried in oblivion, and for more than a century in peace and war, no such sweeping violation of political liberty was placed upon the statute books of the United States.

Lamar T. Beman.

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## HOW MUSSOLINI "SAVED" ITALY

By GEORGE SELDES

Noted journalist exposes the concealment of vast deficits, an excerpt from "CAESAR: The Untold Story of Mussolini," to be published by Harper.

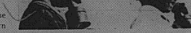
IN JANUARY of 1922 an Italian journalist went to a "peace" conference at Cannes. He handed a cashier of a bank several hundred lire notes. The cashier shoved back just half that many francs.

"It was a humiliation," the Italian exclaimed, "a blow to the self-respect of a victorious nation; it indicated our progress toward bankruptcy. I'll leave the thought that this situation must be cured by the vital strength of Fascism."

The journalist was none other than Benito Mussolini. The patriotic emotion engendered by this humiliating experience resulted later in the gold stabilization of the lire, in the promulgation of the Fascist Corporate or Totalitarian State, "the greatest achievement of Fascism."

in the national budget although it figures in the treasury accounts. This sum alone would practically consume the whole income from taxation for that year. A favorite trick employed by Mussolini is to falsify the state budget by transferring state expenses to the municipal budgets. American financiers have not spotted this method of "balancing the budget." The Fascist financial jugglers still get away with it.

Under Voyn, who had the advice of Andrew Mellon, 1,211,000,000 lire were cancelled from the cash items of the treasury accounts published by Mussolini.



Italian children in gymnasium.

But facts found in official reports of the Italian Fascist State show that the "progress toward bankruptcy" has continued. The lire had gone down to 220:1 to the dollar in the second half of 1925; thereafter it rose in value, and just before Mussolini marched on Rome, the lire was 20:1 to the dollar. Then under Fascism it dropped until in August, 1926, it reached 30:55 under the miracle-working Duce. Economics had defeated patriotism.

Rapaciously Mussolini proclaimed in 1927 that the lire was back on a gold basis on a "sound ratio," despite the opinion of American and European economists that stabilization at 19 lire to the dollar was insane. This brought about a deficit of 2,500,000,000; conservative British economists place the loss at 3,500,000,000 lire. It was certainly one of the most expensive gestures in financial history.

In another budget a British journalist found one item of extraordinary, officially announced, of 14,000,000,000 lire, has not one lire debited.

On June 30, 1929, the Ministry of Finance issued the following amazing statement: "The value in Italian lire of the total bonds floated abroad, is 7,720,000,000." But, if official reports are analyzed, the fact appears that in June, 1929, the Italian debts contracted abroad were 11,500,000,000 lire and not 7,720,000,000. "It would think," says the French economist Valois, "that the official statement had been compiled by an adversary of Fascism, seeking to discredit it completely."



Italy in uniform in uniform. All teachers must wear the Fascist uniform and incite "patriotism" in the pupils, who wear black shirts and white collars.

## Mussolini Hames Wall Street Crash for Fascism's Failures

Then came one of those master-strokes of Machiavellianism for which great statesmen and bankers should pay tribute to Mussolini. On December 10, 1929 he delivered himself thus:

"The situation in Italy was satisfactory until the Fall of 1929 when the American market crash exploded like a bomb. . . . We remained

established because we had been given to understand that America was the country of endless prosperity. . . . Everyone was rich there. . . . Everyone gambled on the stock exchange and stocks rose incessantly. . . . Suddenly the beautiful scene collapsed, and we had a series of black days. . . . From that day we also were pushed into the high seas, and navigation has become extremely difficult." Howard Brooker commented: "Mussolini has calmed growing Italians with the information that Wall Street is responsible for their lower salaries; their unemployment, their low returns on farm products. About the only reason not attributed to Wall Street were the earthquakes of last July."

But, despite intricate and ambiguous official statistics which made it impossible to arrive at a correct estimate of the situation in Fascist Italy, a hundred instances can be found proving that three or four years before the American crisis began the Italian crisis was in full sway. Cash reserves of the treasury grew rapidly smaller and the public debt increased.

#### Fascist Figure Falce

How can one trust Fascist figures when they are so contradictory? The *Reconquista Generali* Commission gives the annual deficits from July 1, 1928 to June 30, 1932 as 25,756,000,000; 507,000,000; 238,000,000 and 2,800,000,000; a total deficit of 5,571,000,000 lire. But the *Bilancio Mensile di Statistica* (August, 1934) claims for the same years, 555,000,000 surplus; 179,000,000 surplus; 504,000,000 deficit; and 2,867,000,000 deficit; total, 3,646,000,000 deficit.

American tourists have reported Mussolini's boast that Italian trains run on time, magnificent automobile roads have been built, markets drained, vast public improvements made. And yet the national debt has gone up only four or five billions. How account for this miracle? The Fascist government has hidden its debts by postponing them ten to fifty

years! In the Fascist Senate finance committee reports, there are vanishingly listed as follows: March 30, 1924, 5,646,000,000 lire; December 31, 1926, 6,520,000,000 lire; March 31, 1927, 7,513,000,000 lire; February 28, 1929, 74,215,000,000 lire.

These figures, taken from official sources by Professor Salvemini, explain the "co-existence" in Italian finance of an allegedly balanced budget with an elaborate system of public works. . . . The Fascist dictatorship has dodged the difficulties of the moment by creating a mountain of hidden debts. It has kept the future to take care of itself—*spina nel dorso!*"

Although the magazine *Fortune* in its Italian number July, 1934, gave 172 pages of glowing words and pretty pictures to glorify Mussolini, it nullifies all claims by admitting that "The long established poverty of the Italian masses has been emphasized everywhere. . . . The average wage of Italian agricultural and industrial workers has fallen perhaps 25 percent in the last five years. . . . The masses are struck at every turn by the indirect tax policy of the State. . . . Unemployment has been slowly increasing. . . . The standard of living of Italian labor has been estimated at the lowest of any country in Europe. . . . In schools, everything glorifying Fascism is propped up where driving. Behind this facade Fascism is a failure."

General taxation has just about doubled under Fascism: 20,000,000,000 lire annually as compared with 12,000,000,000 before Mussolini "saved Italy." Among the many reasons is the enormous increase in the budget of the War department. Mussolini believes War is inevitable, and is preparing for it with all possible haste.

#### Fascism Drives Living Standards Down

The maintenance of the dictatorship requires an espionage system costing more than a billion lire annually. Another two billion are spent on the army. . . .

#### BEFORE—

Mussolini's troops leaving Italy for Africa. *Forgetting Kuhn cables to the New York Times: "Drought, malaria and influenza have inflicted serious losses upon Italian troops fighting men, who died from Italy with an sick and exhausted only in few months."*

AND AFTER—

goes to the Fascist militia and the OVRA, secret political police. Fascist Italy spends ten times as much for policing as does France. . . . The public work program, similar to that of the N.R.A., drains billions from the treasury. Millions of lire are yearly spent on propaganda, which includes subsidizing Fascist Italian newspapers in the United States.

Thriftlessness out of Fascist rule accentuates the doubling of taxation. The border falls most heavily on the necessities of life; there is a tax of three cents a kilogram on bread, 20 cents on sugar, 6 cents on salt. *Real wages and living standards of the Italian workers are declining, and Mussolini has repeatedly warned the Italian people that continued sacrifice is necessary for the greater glory of Italy and of Fascism.*

In pre-Fascist days, between 1918 and 1922, Italian labor had won for itself better living conditions. These gains were wiped out by Fascist rule. Labor disputes have continued, but are settled in court or by the syndicates which are a part of the Corporate State. The right of labor freely to organize has been abolished; workers were robbed of their most potent weapon when striking was made a criminal offense. . . . In 1928 William Doherty reported that the Italian peasants were in a state of serfdom. Since then conditions for the whole country have grown worse—and now industrial workers also are serfs. Slavery is inherent in Fascism.

#### LIVING STANDARDS IN GERMANY AND ITALY

Wages have gone down an average of 45 percent; prices of consumers' goods generally have risen at average of 30 percent. The standard of living of the German people has been reduced by half and unemployment, not counting forced labor, has been stabilized at seven million men and women. But note this fact: there is an increase of 80 percent in the profits of the 25 greatest corporations. And in Italy under Mussolini the living standard of the Italian worker and peasant is lower than anything we have up to now known in civilized Europe. It is these harrowing internal conditions that account for the subtle rattling of these countries. Their fascist tyrants cannot solve the bread and butter problems of their people, so they divert their attention by frightening them about the warlike intentions of their neighbors. *Draschler's Tribune, April 18, 1935.*

## "Verboten" Truth Gets Through from Germany

A German member of the American League Against War and Fascism sends us this letter received through underground channels from her sister in Berlin.

HAVE received your request through P. (an American tourist—Ed.) and will try to give you the information you ask about conditions in our Fascist country. The Nazis claim to have increased employment by 3,000,000, but official statistics show that the total wages paid to all workers remain about the same. Figures also prove that consumption of wheat, rice and barley has decreased by nearly 4,000,000 tons, and consumption of meat declined too. It is evident to us all that dissatisfaction is growing, and it is being shown more openly than before.

Everyone is required to make sacrifices for rearmament. In nearly every factory some sort of War material is being made, and the workers have to pledge themselves to secrecy. Talking about it is considered as high treason, and the penalty is death. But we know that chemicals for poison gas, for instance, are labeled something else. From the factory in which I work there have been heavy shipments of War materials to Japan. You can be assured that the activity of the party and of all anti-Nazi forces increases, despite the continual terror. Up to last year the sentence given Marxists for anti-Hitler

Widespread poverty shows itself again in the schools. A year ago shoes were provided for poor children, but not any more. I now see children going to school in the snow with allopers of their feet, and others stay at home barefoot. Many stay inside classrooms during recess in order to keep warm while the more fortunate play outdoors.

The winter relief organization used by the Nazis to compel people to make "voluntary contributions," has done almost nothing to relieve suffering this past winter. All the cash collected went to the Saar. The poor get less and less relief. Complaints are met with cynical indifference or with violence. The unemployed get only barely enough potatoes, flour and sugar to keep them alive.

News has just come that our former Reichstag deputy, K., was finally, after endless tortures covering a period of two years, been taken to the insane asylum. He was one of the finest men I have ever known, a gentle, kindly person and an eloquent orator who, although an aristocrat himself, devoted his whole life to fighting for the workers. This news has affected us all deeply—it seems more tragic somehow than torture and death. That brilliant brain warped forever by Nazi barbarism!

We have also just heard from a reliable source that a concentration camp has already been established in the Saar. Now the Saar workers too will know what feeds the Nazis here, but they will join us in the united front against Hitler that is being waged throughout Germany and which gains in strength with every day.

*Langens, your sister.*

## Writers Against Fascism

By MALCOLM COWLEY  
Associate Editor of *The New Republic*

Revised version of a speech given at the opening dinner of the American Writers Congress.

THE WORLD in which we lived before the War was dominated by the idea of automatic progress. We learned it in school, we read about it in the newspapers, till our whole minds were colored by it. Year by year, so we believed, there were more people in our school district, our city, our state, our nation. Year by year there was more food for them to eat, there were more clothes for them to wear, there were more machines, new labor-saving inventions. Year by year our civilization was spreading, automatically, and was carrying with it more schools, books, newspapers, wealth, freedom and security. Today that picture of the world has vanished. Living standards are falling instead of rising, schools are being closed, political liberties are vanishing completely. And in all the western world the idea of automatic progress is being replaced by the equally simple and silly idea of automatic decay.

I remember that when I was a small boy writers were fond of presenting their pictures of the world as it would be in the year 2000. Always the pictures were compounded of property, leisure, science, peace and kindly people in flowing white robes strolling under palm trees in the streets of Utopia. The writers of the past five years have again begun drawing pictures of the year 2000, but this time they are using a different set of colors—black for reaction, crimson for blood, yellow for plague, and brown for the skins in which savages will dress themselves when the world has been reduced to universal darkness.

#### The Threat of Decay

An English novelist named John Collier has written a book about his own country as it will be in a hundred years. It will be portrayed, he says, by little tribes clustering for protection around an Old Man and fighting each other with weapons salvaged from the ruins of factories. It will be considerably less civilized, he implies, than were the British Isles in the year 2000 B. C. And there is, moreover, a degree of ambiguity in what he says. Automatic decay is a silly notion, but man-made decay is entirely possible. Unless we fight certain powerful tendencies that now exist, unless we prevent them from being carried to their logical conclusion, it is likely that our whole civilization will be destroyed, leaving those few of us who survive back where our forefathers were at the dawn of the Middle Ages.

Most people who try to follow what is happening in the world today are agreed that the culture built up in Europe and America during the last thousand years is showing symptoms of decline and disintegration. This is true no matter what we may be our definition of culture—whether we regard it as the whole sum of the work, wealth and happiness of mankind,

or whether we restrict the term narrowly to books, art, music, science and our ability to appreciate them. In either case culture is threatened, but in both cases there is considerable difference of opinion as to the exact nature of the forces that are attacking it.

Some critics believe that the capitalists themselves are the principal enemies of capitalist culture. Others, on the contrary, say that the real threat lies in the masses, the dark and unlettered masses, who have begun to meddle in matters that ought to be left to their cultural and economic superiors. Still other critics think that the Bolsheviks are to blame—the Bolsheviks are striding into the libraries with bomb and torch, the Bolsheviks are tearing from the shelves the collected works of Tolstoy, Shakespeare and Edith Cavell, the Bolsheviks are stamping on culture, they are annihilating it.

#### Fascist versus Soviet Culture

I cannot help questioning this great argument which has been raging in at least three continents. Why is it such a difficult task to determine just which class in our present society are threatening culture and which classes are trying to keep it alive? In two great European countries the capitalists have established a dictatorship so absolute that they can—theoretically—do anything they please. In a still greater country they have established a dictatorship so absolute that they can do a fairly simple matter to decide how culture flourishes under the two systems.

During the years from 1908 till 1932 Germany enjoyed a literary renaissance. There were more good books—and more bad books, too—being written in Germany than in any other part of the western world. At the end of January, 1933, the renaissance ended overnight. Adolf Hitler proved himself to be a literary critic of astounding discrimination. He divided the good authors from the bad authors, the good books from the bad, and sent nearly all the good authors into exile—not merely those who were good politically, but those who were good artistically, the poets with a gift for picturesque images, the essayists with a clear style, the novelists who knew something about the world and could tell an interesting story. The bad authors, the muzzy, sentimental authors, were allowed to stay in Germany as cultural ornaments of the Third Reich. If you read any intelligent German books today, you can be pretty sure they were written in France, Switzerland, Austria or Czechoslovakia. Almost the only good book that has reached us from Germany since Hitler is Paterfield, by Karl Billinger, an underground Communist organizer. It was smuggled out of the country in manuscript, chapter by chapter.

The point about Italy is the complete deadness of Italian culture under Fascism. Mussolini doesn't hate writers and artists, like Hitler; he doesn't conduct an open warfare against them, but neither does his system permit them to come into contact with any fresh sources of life among the Italian people. In the new generation, in the ranks of the "bold, confident Fascist youth," there have appeared no writers of force or distinction. The old writers go on in the old way, becoming each year a little drier and shriller, like crickets surviving after a frost. In Italy since 1925 no novels have been written, no poems sung, no pictures painted that deserve a place in the history of literature or art.

The point about the Soviet Union is simply that more books are printed there, in bigger editions, and are read more eagerly than anywhere else in the world. In our country, if a young poet is lucky enough to get published at all, he receives a first edition of five or six hundred copies. In the Soviet Union five thousand copies are a minimum, even for a poet. Here if a novel sells fifty thousand copies it is likely to lead the best-seller lists. The most successful American novels of the last three decades ended by selling about a million copies apiece, in the course of years. But in the Soviet Union one novel was recently published in a first edition of five million. There are more copies of books by many American writers—in France and Britain among others—in the Moscow public libraries than there are in the New York public libraries. As for the classics, I have heard that even Shakespeare is now more widely read in Russia than in England.

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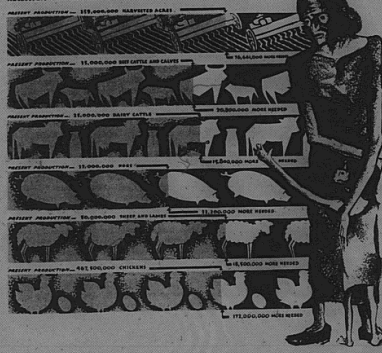
#### American Writers—on Which Side?

The idea of progress survives and grows stronger in the Soviet Union at a moment when it is disappearing from the rest of the world. It is the normal thing to expect better things each year, a higher standard of living, a higher literary standard, a wider diffusion of taste and knowledge. But, unlike the Americans of the year 1909, the Russians do not believe that progress is automatic. They know that it can be achieved only when people unite and work hard for it, under a system no longer ruled by chance and the hazards of the stock market.

And what about our own country? American literature today is roughly in the position that German literature held in 1928. In spite of the publishing crisis we are now at the beginning, I hope, of a fertile period when new writers of talent will be appearing every year. The best of the older writers are being recognized and translated all over the world. At the same time, we are threatened by a disaster like that which has already overwhelmed our colleagues in Italy and Germany—and, less immediately, by a world War that might overwhelm American and European civilization.

If our culture survives it will be only by virtue of a fight in which the writers and the artists will take part like everybody else. They shouldn't have any trouble in choosing sides, with all the evidence at hand. Today it is the capitalists who are destroying the so-called capitalist culture. The only way to defend it is to take it out of their hands and to spread the best of it as widely as possible among those who have shown themselves best qualified to keep it alive—that is, among the broad masses of the people.

#### RUSSIA FOOD PRODUCTION—AND INCREASED PRODUCTION NECESSARY TO PROVIDE LIFELINE FEED FOR U.S. POPULATION.



—From Facts For Farmers.

# COAL BLACK GALLUP

By PHILIP STEVENSON

ON THE FOURTH of April in Gallup, New Mexico, there was supposed to be a public hearing of a case against a working-class leader named Norvaro. A group of sympathizers, coal miners with their wives and children, gathered together outside the office of Justice of the Peace Bickel, protesting their extension by knocking on the door and windows. When the door was opened they made no attempt to enter by force. The sheriff and his deputies in charge of the prisoner began from the crowd that the public hearing had been postponed until the sixth, and began sneaking their prisoner out the back door. The crowd at the window saw the maneuver, their suspicions and fears for Norvaro's safety increased.

The four officers found another group of protesting workers in the alley. What happened next is not yet clear, but shots rang out and Ignacia Velarde, New Mexican worker, was instantly killed. Sheriff Carmichael fell dead. Another worker, Salomon Esquivel, shot in the back, died eight days later. Two deputies and four more workers were wounded. Norvaro escaped. The defense claims that Carmichael was killed in the confusion of his own deputies. The prosecution claims that he was shot by the worker who was then killed by a deputy.

By noon a reign of terror had to match outside of Germany was in full swing against Gallup workers. Hundreds of vigilantes, some drunk and many of them young boys, were handed guns and told to "get the damn Reds"—especially those workers who had been prominent in strikes, in struggle for relief, and against evictions from houses they had built themselves on company land. Permittals like warrants for search or arrest were dispensed with. Workers' wives were ridden into the vicinity and threatened by armed drunks; workers' children were marched out of school and questioned at the polls of guns as to whether their parents were "Communists" or "attended meetings"; men were brutally beaten; their homes wrecked in raids; their unguaranteed stoves, the pitifully small treasures of unemployed organizations filched from them. In jail, sixteen women and four chil-

dren (one 2½ years old) were jammed into two small cells. The press raised the Red scare.

In 1933, in the face of armed terror by local, state, and federal forces, Gallup miners had won by strike a victory for unionization. In 1934 they had successfully resisted attempts to cut F.E.R.A. wages, and won battles for more relief. In 1935 their militant opposition had crushed a vicious criminal syndicalism bill backed by the mine bosses. Norvaro's hearing was on the charge of breaking into a house to replace the lockers of an evicted miner. The house was owned by State Senator Vogel convicted in 1934 of protecting the Gallup pivot-point racket. The Gallup workers were an example of militant determination, and thus the deadly enemies of the incredibly corrupt political racket.

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Robert Miner After the Kidnapping

These are Hitler frame-up methods. The Gallup case, unless exposed, may become one of the biggest frame-ups in history. The local press makes-overs the facts by striking that "radicals" are "blackening" the fair name of Gallup—as if such a thing were possible. The Fascist record of Gallup is as black as the coal from its mines. It can only be cleaned by mass defiance resulting in the unconditional release of the defendants.

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Marines landing at Shanghai "to protect American lives and property." It was property he indicated by the Standard Oil sign.



Pack train of American marines in Haiti, not water by American imperialism. Beyond the withdrawal of all American soldiers from foreign lands.

# A MARINE GOES RED

By JOSEPH SIGMUND

(This story was told to me by one who has been in the Marines. All incidents mentioned actually occurred.)

ENLISTED in the Marine Corps in 1924. Like many men in my outfit I was unable to get a job in civilian life. My father and mother were farmers just like their parents had been. Good old pioneer stock, heavily in debt. In the city once in a while I could get an odd job. Nothing permanent. And of course the amazing tales of adventure, heroism, sports, and education told by recruiting officers made a fellow feel like the best thing in the world must be the U. S. Marine Corps.

One morning, after missing out at a few employment exchanges, I ambled aimlessly around town, day dreaming about what I could do if I landed something steady. While taking a drink of water at a street fountain I felt a presence on my arm.

"What do you say, bub?" I looked up and saw a Recruiting Sergeant. He smiled and said, "Come over here and I'll tell you about a life that'll interest you."

A few happy days later I pulled into San Diego. The next three months were spent in quarantine and disillusionment. The food was mostly beans and bread and only me helping. Upon leaving quarantine we were put through some tough training. In the barracks arguments broke out as the men became discontented. Fights took place. Many men deserted. About one-fourth of the recruits became "good" marines.

Bringing Civilization to Nicaragua Eventually a bunch of us were assigned to the U.S.S. Pennsylvania. In 1925 we steamed across the Pacific on a "Wood Will" cruise. On later trips to China and Nicaragua we fulfilled our true purpose as killers and slayers. Of course, I don't look at it that way then and neither did my buddies.

Nicaragua hardened me for some of the things I was to experience in China. Never before had we heard such emotional and eloquent addresses on the humanization of the Marine Corps, and never before had we been given as gruesome a task to fulfill. Marine patrol did cause through the jungle mazes, killing natives at sight. They resisted heroically, fighting to protect their homes and families. Many marines were killed in these battles fought among prolific tropical mares, and a still greater number contracted fever and died. On their bodies lime was thrown and they retched in the stinky swamps. The marines burned villages and slew the vallant masters. More than once I thought of the Recruiting Officer who had told me of teaching school in Haiti. I wondered if we were to kill off half the population of Nicaragua and take the remainder in American clothes.

On our return to the States we were assigned to mail guard duty. A few months later, on February 2, 1927, came the call to mobilize marines in China. On April 17 we embarked on a large passenger liner, the "President Grant," chartered from the Dollar Steamship Company. Eighteen hundred men, twenty trucks, tanks, machine guns, field artillery, supplies for one year. Eighteen days passed and we arrived in Oniangpo, Philippine Islands.

In the islands we built roads, cutting through the jungle, asked every day if mighty blasts of warm rain tumbled down on it. Then the sun, like an idiot drawing water from a well and throwing it back, would spout it up in huge steam clouds. Tropical diseases took their toll in sick and dead marines, just as they had in Nicaragua.

Protecting American "Rights" in China A month later we sailed for Shanghai. We were told that "The worst may be expected." It was late at night when we tied up alongside the Standard Oil dock. I stood the

morning 4 to 8 in a night with the wharf. I spotted a sampan approaching, manned by a lone coolie. The boat rode slowly under the ship's stern. I motioned for the coolie to leave and poked at him with my bayonet. I couldn't reach him and he refused to go. My orders in such a case were "shoot to kill." I raised my rifle and aimed at him. He bared his chest and shouted apparent scorn at me. I would have killed him but I had been so sleepy when I turned out that I had forgotten my ammunition.

Later I learned that many coolies on alongside ships to salvage food refuse that pours out of the supper! Also I observed that baring their thin yellow chests characteristic of Chinese workers in the face of certain death or dubbing.

We were billeted in Shanghai for a month. Scarcely ever did twenty-four hours pass without our having been called for on an "emergency." Headquarters would be notified that a "riot" had broken out on a certain street. Though there might not be an American, for blocks around we were "protecting American lives and property."

We would rush angrily to the scene. We blamed the "damn Chink" for keeping us so busy and disturbing what free time we had. As a rule, when we arrived we would find a street jammed with people from wall to wall. On the walls anti-imperialist slogans had been inscribed.

Sikh, Italian, French, English, American, White Russian, and Chinese police, soldiers, marines, would plunge into the mass of workers and students. Clubs, bayonets, and sabres hacked a path. We struck indiscriminately at everyone that was Chinese and didn't wear a uniform.

In situations like this I saw hundreds of workers fit open their shirts and shout their hatred in the faces of all the murderous saunters. Blood would run, many would be arrested or beaten senseless, but the next day

we would be dashing manly through another mass of living dead.

Fighting Chinese "Bandits" We left Shanghai and sailed up the Coast to Taku Bar. We piled into lighters and these were pulled by tow boats up the Hai Ho River. The country was flat like a floor. We landed at Hanbu, a village of about fifteen hundred.

Two months of suffering were spent here. The coolies rains kept us drenched. Some of the officers stayed in the home of Himbo's Standard Oil Superintendent. The rest rented well-contructed and spacious houses. In contrast, we were at the mercy of the stormy weather. The poles of our tent sank in the water-logged dirt. The tents came flapping and whipping down on us. The officers amused themselves with the White Russian and bourgeois Chinese women. One day a notice appeared on the bulletin board announcing that in the future enlisted men would not be permitted to associate with the Russian women as some of them were Bolshevik spies.

Most of us became afflicted with dysentery or various fevers. Two large tents served as the hospital. Many marines breathed their last in those gloomy, cold tents, and were embalmed and thrown into boxes for shipment to the States.

When we left camp and departed on oil barges for Tientsin, a short distance up the river, it was at midnight. Coolies had to do nearly all of the work. Most of us were too weak to carry our rifles. I had lost forty pounds and now weighed only one hundred and twenty, and had a fever of one hundred and two.

In Tientsin we were quartered in an abandoned Prince's palace. There were five hundred of us. Regularly we were sent out on patrol

from the town to root out "bandits." Plenty of sickness resulted from these expeditions. We would be out for two or three weeks. The winds of the Gobi Desert would blow particles of decaying bodies against us. The dead Chinese were buried by erecting a mound over them. The secret they were the lower the mound. Consequently it did not take long for the brick breeze to uncover a decomposing Chinese.

The Chief of Police in Tientsin was an American, a former Boston detective. One day over five hundred workers were arrested at his order. Another time six were executed in front of the Y. M. C. A. Heads were hung on the International Bridge. Every few days they were replaced by fresh ones.

A wealthy Chinese merchant contracted to buy all the leavings on our plates. He hired coolies to recook and remold it. We were arranged to see that sloppy garbage turned into large round cakes, which were sold to the legholders.

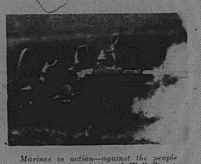
Through Tientsin runs Taku Road, the main stem. On either side are clean, colorful buildings, the face of the town. This is and we were ordered not to go below it. However, the order was ignored, and we found that the Tientsin where the masses lived was much different from Taku Road. During the winter nights rickshaw drivers sometimes freeze to death while huddled in their vehicles. Twelve-year-old girls, kidnapped from Korea and mate with fear, were legally raped in the houses of prostitution. Iressed in rags, living in dilapidated huts, infrequently sur of their food, the workers were treated inhumanly.

Gradually it dawned on me why the U. S. Marine Corps fights to protect investments of American financiers in foreign lands. But it was not until I returned home that a realiza-

tion came to me of all the implications involved in being a "good" marine. My folks on the farm were worse off than ever. The Wall Street crash came. An ex-marine found that there were no jobs to be had. So I became one of 15,000,000 jobless, unwanted men, an American "Red."

Like a semibarbarian who awakens to find that he has murdered someone, I came to and understood the oppression I had assisted in fighting upon the struggling poor in colonial lands.

A few weeks ago I was dogged, handcuffed, and beaten by vigilantes and police while leading several hundred unemployed workers in a demonstration. I was knocked unconscious twice, and between times thousands of bare, yellow chests bared before me. Chinese "coolies" holding defiance at the "foreign devil dogs." I felt a deep kinship with these yellow men. I knew for the first time the meaning of internationalism. That's why I am a revolutionary worker, determined never to fight again against colonial people but against American imperialism and in defense of my brothers and comrades in Nicaragua, Cuba, the Philippines and China.



Marines in action—against the people of one of the colonies of Wall Street.

# No-Profit Legislation Means Conscription

By WALTER WILSON  
Author of "Forced Labor in the United States"

NO HONEST opponent of War and Fascism—laborite, liberal, churchman or pacifist—can give support to a draft law in whatever dress it may masquerade. On no other issue than conscription can so much real, effective anti-War sentiment be mobilized among the masses of this country. The common people have no hankering to be cannon fodder, and will oppose efforts to impress them into Wars against their will. The issue is clearly understood by them. And none but the draft law can give so much aid and comfort to the War-mongers. Once the draft law is enacted the militarists will sit back and lick their chops; the last and most important cog in the War machine will then be in place, and the whole machine ready to hum.



A Good Soldier. Drawing by Dan Rios.

That is why they are trying to incorporate a conscription plan in all of the proposed laws before Congress to "take the profits out of War." Under the War Department's draft plan millions of workers and farmers would be conscripted against their will into the army,

and other millions would be sent into industries as forced laborers, denied the right to organize or to strike, and be paid wages no higher than those of the soldiers, possibly as little as \$1 a day.

Every preparation advocate in the country from William Randolph Hearst to Franklin Delano Roosevelt knows that the people of the United States are overwhelmingly opposed to a draft act. They know that to get such a law it is necessary to confuse the issue. It is an old trick of politicians to tie up an unpopular measure with a popular one, and by emphasizing the popular features and softening the despised features "push the whole through and make it law. The great majority of the people are emphatically against War and War profiteering; therefore the militarists use the strategy of combining the "War profits" angle of their proposed legislation, when in reality they are concerned with the conscription and forced labor aspects.

The McGowan bill which has just passed the

A Rebel Gallup Miner



# Revolt and Terror in the Philippines

By SAMUEL WEINMAN

THE Roosevelt-Murphy-Quezon Administration in the Philippines has suppressed another revolt, with sixty killed, hundreds wounded, 500 jailed. Fascist tactics are used to prevent the Filipinos from achieving their ambition for immediate independence and their Senate President Quezon has admitted that the basic cause of the clash was the "economic distress" of millions of "peasant" and workers. The tenant farmers, share-croppers and owners of small farms are suffering from intolerable burdens of rent, interest and taxation. Tens of thousands face the threat of eviction from their lands and homes, foreclosure and bankruptcy. It is against the big landlords, the loan-sharks, the tax collectors, and American imperialism that the Filipinos are fighting desperately.

In Laguna Province the Tausan Estates ordered the eviction of fifteen tenants on March 27 for failure to pay rent. Over 800 neighboring tenants gathered to prevent the eviction, and raised the demand that rent be reduced, that there be a moratorium on rents since 1933, and abolition of the 50 percent annual interest added to back rents. The Tausan landlords concentrated a great force of constabulary to carry out the evictions, to crush the peasants' resistance. One peasant was killed and several wounded. But the evictions were stopped.

Such events have taken place throughout the Philippines. In Tarlac Province the tenants were successful in stopping evictions. Large areas are in the hands of revolutionary peasant committees, where landlords and tax collectors dare not approach. Red flags fly over the fields in Tarlac as a harbinger of what is to come.

In the sugar plantations thousands of workers have gone on strike. Workers in the urban

islands are to suppress all future opposition—if possible. But the heroic struggle for freedom of the Filipinos will not be easily crushed. Those opposed to War and Fascism should extend their sympathy and their aid to the people of that colony of American Imperialism.

Ever since the beginning of the strike-wave the agents of American imperialism in the islands have been conducting a Hearst-like campaign against the right to organize and strike. "The gaillard fat" is openly advocated against all "reds and trouble-makers." The semi-Fascist regions of Murphy and Quezon is depriving the people of civil rights. The Communist Party has been driven underground. Steps have been taken toward outlawing trade unions, and all opposition groups like the Sakdalists. Meetings are prohibited for those opposed to Wall Street's policies.

Benigno Ramos, head of the Sakdal Party, has been in Japan since last September. He opposed the May 5 uprising because "the American government in the islands is so strong that revolt against it is virtual suicide." Other Sakdal leaders condemned the heroic struggles of the Filipinos and advocated "peaceful reform." It is charged that the Sakdal Party is a wave of Japanese imperialism, and there seems to be evidence to support this view. At least it is obvious that the revolt broke out despite the Sakdalists' chiefs.

The Roosevelt Administration has passed a bill forcing military advisers upon the Philippines. General Douglas MacArthur, chief of staff of the U. S. Army, is being groomed for the post of American High Commissioner to succeed Murphy. It is to be expected that the Administration will take further steps to establish a stronger military dictatorship over



Benigno Ramos, chief of the Sakdal Party, Philippine Islands.

**PRO-NAZI VOTE IN FACTORY COUNCILS DECLINES**

The pre-Nazi majority in German elections has grown smaller successively, as shown by official Nazi figures. In the recent factory council elections the decline was striking. In Berlin and Upper Silesia the anti-Nazi vote was especially heavy. The *Evening National Zeitung* admits. In many large Berlin factories the vote approving Hitler's candidates was only 50 to 60 per cent of the total. In the Ore Mountains and the Hinderburg District of Upper Silesia the Nazis got only 40 percent of the total cast. In the Ruhr, votes for Nazis fell as low as 15 percent in several mines and shops. Elections in a Fascist state are not free but very strictly controlled and hence such a decline in the pro-Nazi vote shows greatly increased opposition to Hitler.

This fact and the apathy of the German masses to Hitler's patriotic appeals on May Day is regarded as evidence of growing disillusionment. The *New York Times* describes the mood of the people on May Day as "cold as the weather"—and there was a blizzard.

**'NAZI EXECUTIONS CONTINUE**

During the past few weeks, a number of anti-Nazi leaders in Germany have been executed. The former Reichstag members Max Madelaine, Reichold, Jurgensen, Robert Stamm and Bomble were beheaded after torture. Other executions include the Communist functionaries George Handke, Ludwig Klineck and Helene Glazer; two young trade unionists, Selbe and Raspassch; the Social Democratic leader Wetz; and Fritz Hausmann, former secretary of the Miners Federation now outlawed. In Dresden an S. A. P. functionary, Lorenz, in Saxony, the Communist Schulz, and the Social Democrat Broede, were all martyred in jail-cell suicide by the Nazis.

The severity of punishment for "traitors" to Hitler is increasing and there is no abatement in the Nazi terror. Eight years of hard labor is not an uncommon sentence for those caught with anti-Nazi literature. Among those receiving such sentences recently are the trade unionist Behre, Behrend, Bolke, Sills and Barth. This information is not usually given in news cabled from Germany

but leaks through the strict censorship. The imprisonment of 500 German clergymen has been followed by warnings from Nazi leaders that "this is only a beginning." One thousand priests and pastors are now in Nazi jails.

The *Manchester Guardian* reports that a Nazi committee which is working on the revision of army laws has recommended the death penalty for pacifism.

For the past two years he has worked with Harry P. Ward and Reinhold Niebuhr at Union Seminary. He has aided in the struggle of the unemployed for more relief and for social insurance. As an active member of the New York City Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism he has led demonstrations of protest before the Spanish and German Consulates, and he spoke to a large protest meeting before the offices of J. P. Morgan and Company, War professors.

Paul Reid came to the conclusion that his life work is in neither the school nor the church, but in a mass organization, fighting militarily against the immediate danger of War and Fascism. He will devote himself to the tasks of the League—rousing the American people to the imminence of these twin menaces, and mobilizing the greatest possible number in a united front struggle to defeat the forces of reaction which would plunge us into slaughter under a Fascist dictatorship.

Paul Reid will be ably assisted by Clara

# Paul Reid and Clara Bodian Join Our Forces

A Message and an Appeal from the National Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism

THE NATIONAL BUREAU of the American League Against War and Fascism announces the appointment of Paul Reid as Executive Secretary in addition Clara Bodian has taken over the duties of Administration Secretary. Ida Dalles, who has served the League in this capacity since its foundation, has resigned to do other work in the fight against War and Fascism. We wish to express our deep gratitude to Ida Dalles for the splendid work she has done and to wish her every success in her future endeavors.

I am sure all readers of FIGHT and all League members will welcome our new staff workers, and give them their heartiest support and cooperation. With these new additions to our staff we hope to maintain more constant and more effective contacts with our local organizations throughout the country. This we can do if you will do your part, both for FIGHT and for the League, by sending in frequent and complete reports of your activities. Our forces are still far too weak for the tremendous task confronting us in the rapidly culminating crisis. Every one of you must help to extend our influence by distributing our printed matter, by penetrating into unaffiliated organizations, and by building an effective national united front against the forces of War and Fascism.

Paul Reid, the new Executive Secretary, has taken an active interest in the labor movement ever since he went out on strike at the age of sixteen, as a worker in a wall paper mill. He has worked in automobile factories, at building and road construction, and for a railroad company. He is a Hoosier by birth, and attended De Pue University in Indiana where he actively opposed the R.O.T.C. After serving for two years as assistant pastor of the First Friends' Church in Indianapolis, he went to Union Theological Seminary in New York. He studied for a year at the London School of Economics under Professors R. H. Tawney and Harold Laski. He then visited the Soviet Union before returning to the United States.

For the past two years he has worked with Harry P. Ward and Reinhold Niebuhr at Union Seminary. He has aided in the struggle of the unemployed for more relief and for social insurance. As an active member of the New York City Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism he has led demonstrations of protest before the Spanish and German Consulates, and he spoke to a large protest meeting before the offices of J. P. Morgan and Company, War professors.

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Paul Reid will be ably assisted by Clara

Bodian, a veteran in the labor movement. For the past three years she has been Secretary of the United Council of Working Class Women. She worked in a factory for twelve years, and was an active A.P.O.U. trade unionist during this time, helping in the leadership of ten strikes. As a result she was blacklisted and could not get a job. She was given a scholarship by the Women's Trade Union League, and prepared for further work in the labor movement. For a year she worked in an A.P.O.U. office. She was sent as a delegate to the International Women's Congress Against War and Fascism held in Paris last year, and is a member of the World Committee. Since the Second Congress of the League in Chicago Clara Bodian has been a member of the National Bureau of the Women's Section of the League.

CLARA BODIAN — 1935  
Spanish Pavilion's House of Death  
Caption: 80-100



## American Youth Against Fascism and War

The Second American Youth Congress will convene in Detroit on July 4, 5, 6, and 7. In one year the Youth Congress has grown from coast to coast. Regional Congresses have been held in fourteen states and a score of cities. The Youth Congress has been active in campaigns for social insurance, in co-operation of the students' strike on April 12, in which 154,000 took part, and in opposing the military training of youth in schools and G.O.C. camps. It has fought for academic freedom, the defense of civil liberties, against the use of the National Guard to smash strikes, and against other Fascist trends, vitally affecting the youth of America. All youth organizations are urged to send delegates.

## Can You Really Answer—

1. Do Communists believe in "force and violence"?
2. What solution does Communism offer the middle class?
3. Does Communism mean strikes? revolution? women's rights? "Moscow gold"? democracy? "parliamentary peace"? wars? Socialist "religion" or atheism?

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## Delegation to Washington

A large delegation from the New York City Committee of the League visited the White House and Congress on April 29 to present a petition asking Congressmen to vote against pending gag legislation. The delegation included: Dorothea K. Frankel, noted constitutional lawyer; Professor Karl Hensel and Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University; the Rev. Carlson; Hall James; Waterman Wise; Pauline Rogers; and fifty-three representatives of trade unions, fraternal and professional organizations. They told members of Congress that the proposed legislation would violate the fundamental rights of the American people, and would constitute a decisive step in the direction of Fascism.

## Joy in Wall Street

By Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr.  
THIS is the war stock soaring high that brings all the joy to Wall Street. This is the gambler's wild of eye, who shares with his broker, brisk and spry. The profit in war stocks, soaring high. That brings all the joy to Wall Street. So this is the lot of what they buy: An orphaned infant's feeble cry. A widowed woman's sob and sigh. A field of graves where the dead may lie. As shambles where thousands daily die. A million shells that in battle fly. Gladiators' pluck in the gambler's eye. As he shares with his broker, brisk and spry. The profits in war stock, soaring high. That bring all the joy to Wall Street.

*\*Quoted and put in Congressional Record by the late Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr. For his opposition to the World War he was threatened with tar and feathers.*

A FIGHTER.

## On the Labor Front

By WILLIAM P. MANGOLD  
a regular feature of

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## Playwrights Attention!

The American League Against War and Fascism and the New Theatre League will shortly announce a contest for the best new anti-war or anti-Fascist plays. Cash prizes will be given and publication and production throughout the country is assured the winning plays. Rules and details will be sent upon request. Watch for announcements in Job time.

## LABOR UNDER HITLER

published by the Research Department of the Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe, 2 West 10th Street, New York.

This pamphlet gives extremely valuable facts and figures regarding the status of labor under a Fascist dictatorship. It paints a tragic picture of the oppression of workers in Germany, the depositions of their living standards, the abolition of trade unions, and of civil liberties. It is written from the viewpoint of a conservative trade unionist.

## Who Advocates Violence?

I have never seen a drive against "reds" in all my 15 years of fighting for civil liberties that was not actually a drive against organized labor. . . . The record shows that in 15 years not a single radical has been convicted for an act of violence, but scores have been imprisoned for refusal of opinion or membership in organizations which the courts hold advocate violence. The record also shows that those who defend the existing economic system are not only silent, but practice violence without fear of punishment.

Roger Baldwin.

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