

FIGHT

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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

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THE WORLD DRIFTS TO WAR

The whole machinery of war is being oiled up for use on a moment's notice. Guns, gases, shells, warships and Fascist plans for lining up workers to kill each other are being rushed to completion.

Perhaps you don't believe it? If so, here are a few straws in the wind that should convince anyone that war is near and can be prevented only by the quick, determined counter-attack of you who would have to fight and die:

American Secretary of the Navy Swanson—The American Navy must be second to none, "to support American interests, especially the development of American foreign commerce and the merchant marine." The \$238,000,000 program for building 32 new fighting ships would, he said, "alleviate unemployment," and "co-operate with American commercial and economic activities so as to enhance their merit and value in time of national emergency."

(President Roosevelt, who fought the last war from a swivel chair in the Navy Department, said the same thing in a jingo speech at Los Angeles shortly before he became President.)

Japanese War Minister Araki—The fateful year is 1935. (In 1935 the London Naval Agreement ends. Japan wants naval equality. England and the United States oppose it.)

Mussolini (in a hundred speeches)—The test will come in 1936 or shortly afterward.

Hitler—We demand a just peace. We must fight for what we want.

English Sea Lord Beatty—England must enlarge its Navy without delay.

Walter Duranty, in the *New York Times*, Oct. 26, 1933—"It seems most probable that Japan will not risk any action before spring, for Russia's old ally, 'General Winter,' will insure that no trenches will be dug in the iron soil of Siberia until the end of March, and Japanese armies would be decimated by the subzero cold. But next spring and early summer will be anxious months for Soviet statesmen when the Japanese war party considers the fateful question of whether to risk a desperate stroke or abandon forever its dream of Asiatic dominion."

The Japanese Navy, answering Swanson's challenge, demanded a naval budget of \$156,000,000 and replied to the maneuvers of the American combined fleets in the Pacific with a counter demonstration against the Philippines.



In late October, the Japanese Navy and Army conducted maneuvers directed against the coast of Siberia and particularly concerned with the landing of troops and forces upon the Asiatic mainland.

Tzarist Russians have been colonized along

the Russian border of Manchuria. Military highways and railroads and the port of Leishin, a rival to Vladivostok, have been rushed to completion.



The American War Department has asked the Public Works Administration for \$13,000,000 for the immediate purchase of munitions, in addition to \$135,000,000 for Army housing,

air corps stations, etc., and \$50,000,000 for the mechanization of the Army, particularly machine gun units. (More than half of these amounts have already been granted and the rest probably will be.)



Armament machinery stored for fifteen years in Holland has been returned to German factories. The Swedish branch of the Krupp arms trust is working three eight-hour shifts, turning out war materials for shipment across the Baltic to Germany. Eight Dutch munitions factories are filling German orders for armament machinery for the secret manufacture in Germany of shells, cannon accessories, tanks, a new type of double-barrelled machine gun, a monster anti-aircraft gun with five rotating barrels firing 1,000 shots a minute. (The United States army has devised a plane, armor plated on the under side, which can fly at 200 miles per hour fifty feet above the ground while firing downward more than 15,000 shots

a minute from 37 machine guns.)

English imports of Canadian nickel, used in the manufacture of armament steels, have increased 400 per cent in the past year and Dutch imports of the same metal 600 per cent. The British imports, according to the *New York Times*, are thought to have been destined for reshipment to "continental armament manufacturers." The *Times* report said the Dutch imports of nickel were thought to be for German arms factories.



There is secret activity at the Bridgeport plant of the Remington Arms Company, "but no night work yet." Winchester Arms busi-

(Continued on page seven)



THE TWO FRONTS

By HENRI BARBUSSE

I am fundamentally a man of letters, a worker who follows the writer's craft. This craft obliges me, as a matter of simple professional honesty, to see not only the picturesque surfaces of things, but also the deeper aspects of events, the inner wheels of the machinery which guides human affairs; and it is because of this professional honesty that I have become a revolutionary.

Before the war, I was an intellectual like so many others, something of an anarchist (for there is a dormant anarchist in every intellectual), and generally ignorant like most authors and intellectuals. All too often the intellectuals of our confused time, save for a few imposing exceptions, have distinguished themselves by their ignorance! The Dreyfus affair, which created such a furore during my youth, began to move me and to shake me out of my individualistic inertia. I expressed myself on this subject particularly in my book *L'Enfer*, in a manner sufficiently bold for that period. But at that time I had no general point of view on the inferno of contemporary society.

The war educated me. The battle-fields, which no work of art can or will ever be able to depict in their desolation and long-drawn terror, taught me not only the horror but also the significance of imperialist war.

The Capitalist Way Out

What then in the face of the serious situation in which the world finds itself today are the solutions which capitalism offers us? What are the guarantees offered by the ruling classes for the improvement of the present situation? The answers given us by the governments to these questions prove to us that there will be no improvement in the situation, but on the contrary, a worsening of the crisis, a sharpening of exploitation and the danger of a new world war. The "democratic" as well as the fascist governments speak of the strengthening of authority, of the need of a strong State, of "order," and of class collaboration. The system which consists of paralyzing the resistance of the workers against exploitation is called "the Corporate State." We must not be fooled by this seasoned democracy and the somewhat "anti-capitalistic" nature of their programs.

What hopes, what assurances does the bourgeoisie now ruling five-sixths of the world offer us against the eventuality of war?

On the Road to Fascism

Aside from the frightful international situation, the capitalist governments, spurred on and maddened by the economic crisis for which they are responsible, are more and more openly preparing their transition to fascism. And this is the great drama of our time, which is now unfolding behind the scenes. The mask of democracy is being discarded. Fascism, in spite of all of its pretenses, cannot in reality

solve the capitalist crisis, is not even able to lessen economic difficulties. In what sense *could* it do this? The capitalists have no illusions on this score, but they know only too well that the automatic advance of capitalistic industrial concentration no longer permits them to play the democratic game without danger to their existence.

Fascism holds out to them the advantage of being able to exploit more thoroughly the masses of workers, of being better able to prepare for war. In this sense, fascism is but the final stage of capitalist organization. Fascism is not a state-form voluntarily wished for by each capitalist, but it is the form of State towards which imperialisms inevitably tend in their present phase.

Fascism is not an Italian or German phenomenon, but a universal capitalist phenomenon. England's liberal tradition, the democratic tradition of France and Switzerland are neither permanent nor invincible obstacles. We see that in these countries the idea of fascism is also making sensational progress. Does this mean that the fatalists are right in saying that all resistance is useless and that we shall never be able to defeat fascism? This is wrong. As wrong as to say that certain capitalist democracies will never become fascist. It is wrong, because if the masses were organized, they would not only be able to smash the advance of fascism, but they would be able to free themselves of all capitalist oppression.

War Against War and Fascism

One of the basic conditions of the anti-fascist and anti-war movements is the existence of an international organization comprising the most important and determined sections of the working masses and peasants,

the best sections of the middle classes and all intellectuals who are neither corrupted nor misled. A great universal movement, a movement of action!

At Amsterdam as in Paris, at the European Anti-Fascist Congress in June, we proclaimed that we are organized beyond parties, and I emphatically repeat it here in the name of our millions of adherents. This signifies that we accept—that we call upon—as fellow travelers, as comrades and brothers in the struggle, all those who, without distinction as to political opinion, without national or racial distinction, are determined to lead this struggle against war and fascism.

The Two Fronts

Let us therefore distinguish clearly between the two fronts that oppose each other today. That of the imperialists, full of war menaces, with the other, that of all the workers of the world and of the Soviet Union, struggling against War and Fascism. Your place, the place of the American labor movement, of the intellectuals, pacifists and writers, is in our front. No compromise between the two.

I do not come to propose some vast utopian and visionary project. My voice is an echo of that of a multitude. Those who send me to America to call you to rally to them, are a great living force, determined and disciplined—disciplined according to the great and eternal principles of logic, animated by the ideal of social justice and of intellectual progress. In these serious times in which we live, when the fate of mankind itself is at stake, all depends not only upon the good will, but upon the clear-sightedness and the conscience of each and all!



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Secretary of the Navy, Claude Swanson, leaving White House after conferring with Roosevelt on Cuba.

CUBA

By MARTIN KAYE

Two months ago President Roosevelt dispatched 30 American warships to the island of Cuba. This array of naval forces should have stripped whatever fanciful illusions persist in the popular mind regarding the fundamental attitude of the United States Government toward the "Pearl of the Antilles." It was the precipitation of an undeclared war against the people of Cuba.

The armada of Washington still encircles the island. With deadly significance the mailed fist of Roosevelt is held in mid-air, ready to strike.

The Masses Resist

During this period the island has witnessed and still witnesses as immense stirring of the people. Workers have seized American sugar mills which refused to grant their demands for better conditions of employment, impoverished farmer have seized land, industry has been paralyzed. The Negroes, formerly used to break strikes, have struck along with the rest. Shopkeepers have refused to open their shops, soldiers have refused to fire on the people. This profound agitation, widespread as it has been, has resulted in the death of only one American.

In this situation, it is important to realize the position of President Grau San Martin. In the country-wide broadcast accorded him, he declared that "American property is endangered, so is ours." Since the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people are pauperized, the meaning of this assertion is clearly a call for a united front of the imperialists with the Cuban property owning class. He also appealed for patience.

The Terror

With reference to his labor policy, in a recent written statement, he referred to it as "fundamentally based on giving the working masses of Cuba their just dues." Curiously enough, this policy in action has signified a continual attempt to terminate strikes by means of armed forces directly under the command of Grau San Martin. During the past few weeks he has thrown into jail more than 100 labor leaders. From the very start of his career, he launched a program of terrorism. On September 29th, his soldiers in Havana fired into a huge crowd, gathered to inter the ashes of Julio Antonio Mella, militant labor leader who was murdered in 1929, killing seven and wounding scores. Workers' headquarters were demolished. In the interior he has followed similar tactics. The "Caribbean Army" composed mainly of student elements organized in what has been generally recognized as fascist bands to augment the national army, Grau San Martin calls a "substitute for your own National Guard. It keeps our youth busy, aiding to maintain order--and giving a healthful outlet to youthful activities and vigor."

The external debt question, which is one of the primary causes of the present Cuban situation, must also be examined. The disclosures of the Senate investigation of the Chase National Bank offer irrefutable proof of Wall Street control of the island and show that the Chase National Bank, while making loans to Machado, was fully aware that he was diverting part of these funds to his personal use. Grau San Martin has honored these debts saddled on Cuba under corrupt Machado.

Not only has the investigation exposed once more the manipulation of Machado, but also the part played by the American State Department, through Guggenheim, in maintaining the tyrant puppet in power. This role has since been taken over by Sumner Welles who, before leaving for Cuba, consulted with executives of the Chase Bank in New York and was assured of further assistance by Havana executives of the same banking firm.

Wall Street Interests

Because of American investments of more than \$1,500,000,000 in Cuba—about 80 per cent of the sugar industry is in American hands—the mass struggle has inevitably assumed an anti-imperialist character; the mere existence of an economic contest between Cuban workers and American property owners instantly involves the very fabric of imperialism, and brings to the surface important political issues within Cuba itself. It is with this entire movement headed in the direction of a decisive struggle against Yankee imperialism that Grau San Martin is wrestling. Obligations to Wall Street and the Platt Amendment are respected with the same scrupulousness that was displayed by Cespedes and Machado.

The Seventh Pan-American Congress, scheduled for next month at Montevideo, Uruguay, is of vital importance to American imperialism. If Roosevelt expects to be successful in his contest with British imperialism for the trade of South America, he must avoid if possible an invasion of Cuba. Armed occupa-

How Workers Stop War

(From the Seattle Union Record, an A. F. of L. daily newspaper)

Sept. 8th, 1919: "Two car loads of rifles from Remington's are in Seattle and sixteen more are reported to be rolling toward the city. . . Are these munitions being sent here for exportation to Kolchak or to prepare in the event of a "Bolshevik revolution" in Seattle? . . ."

* * * *

Sept. 18th, 1919: "Cases believed to contain ammunition, rifles and machine guns, consigned to Russia, are sitting unmoved on Pier 5, the Frank Waterhouse and Company dock, as a result of car gangs of twelve men walking off the job following the demands to know what the cases contained . . ."

"According to the men they reported to work Thursday morning as usual, and began loading the cases when the question was asked as to their contents. After further questioning a customs officer was called and opened some of the cases, one of the workers declared, displaying their contents. The men immediately got together and refused to continue the loading . . ."

"The cargo came to Seattle from eastern points and was to have been sent overseas on the S. S. *Marho Maru*, a Japanese freighter now loading at pier 5 . . ."

"Longshoremen on the waterfront have been warned to keep a careful watch for rifles concealed in innocent packages . . ."

* * * *

Longshoremen Warn Coast of Munitions

Sept. 19th, 1919: "Telegrams are being sent today from local longshoremen's union headquarters to all longshoremen's unions on the Pacific coast, notifying them of the refusal of the workers here to handle the 65,000 rifles intended for Admiral Kolchak in his war upon the Russian republic.

"Six months ago, the stevedores and dock workers notified President Wilson that the longshoremen here would not load arms against the Soviet Republic of Russia, spending \$183 for the dispatch in order to make their position clear. The president replied that 'due consideration' would be given to the communication. . ."

"Metal workers pledged support of longshoremen for their action."

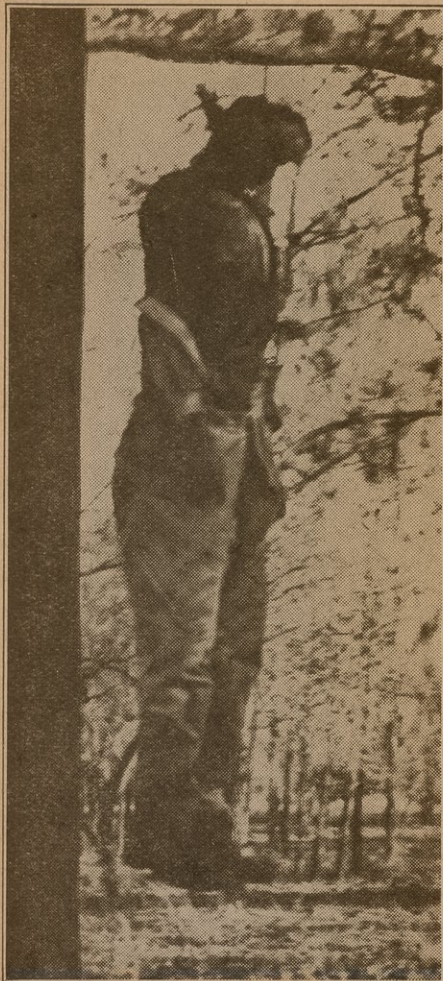
tion would stimulate the growing resentment of the Cuban and South American masses against Yankee imperialism.

The inability of Grau San Martin to cope with the liberation struggle of the Cuban people, however, will create the immediate possibility of an invasion by marines. Cuba, commanding the Panama Canal, is a strategic military point for the United States. American guns now stand ready to fulfil the purpose of the Platt Amendment, Pan-Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine.

NEGROES SPEAK of WAR

By **LANGSTON HUGHES**

Noted Negro Poet and Novelist



LYNCHED NEGRO

"strung up so that his agony would be slow, then his body was riddled with bullets."

When the time comes for the next war, I'm asking you, remember the last war. I'm asking you, what you fought for, and what you would be fighting for again? I'm asking you, how many of the lies you were told, do you still believe? Does any Negro believe, for instance, that the world was actually saved for Democracy? Does any Negro believe, any more, in closing ranks with the war makers? Maybe a few Negro soldiers believed Dr. Moton when he came over to France talking about, "Be nice and fight for the nice white folks. Be meek and shoot some Germans." But do any Negroes believe him now, with lynched black workers hanging on trees all around Tuskegee? I'm asking you?

And after the Chicago riots and the Washington riots and the East St. Louis riots, and more recently the Bonus March, is it some foreign army needs to be fought?

And listen, I'm asking you, with all the war ships and marines and officers and Secretary of the Navy going to Cuba, can't they send even one sergeant after Sheriff Shambelin in Alabama?

And with all the money they got to buy bombing planes, why in the hell can't they pay the teachers for my kids to go to school?

And even if I was studying about fighting (which I ain't) why couldn't I do a little killing in the navy without wrassling with pots and pans, or join the marines (the lily white marines) and see the world, or go in the air force where you never admitted Negroes yet? I'd like to be above the battle too. Or do you think you gonna use me for stevedoring again?

And speaking of France, our once beloved ally, where Negroes can still eat in the restaurants in spite of Woodrow Wilson—don't let that fool you. Somebody ought to put the French black Africans wise to the fact that they *ought* to treat them well in Paris when they are drilling them by the hundreds of thousands to stop bullets with their breasts and bombs with their heads and fill the front line trenches for dear old France (that only a handful of them have ever seen) in the next war. Or have they got a French Dr. Moton to lie to black Africans, too, I'm asking you?

And when the next war comes, I want to know whose war and why. For instance, if it's the Japanese you're speaking of—there's plenty of perils for me right here at home that needs attending to: what about them labor unions that won't admit Negroes? And what about all them factories where I can't work, even if there was work? And what about the schools I can't go to, and the states I can't vote in, and the juries I can't sit on? And what about all them sheriffs that can never find out who did the lynching? And what about something to eat without putting on a uniform and going out and killing folks I never saw to get it? And what about some work? And what about them "separate colored" codes in the NRA? And what about a voice in whose running this country and why—before I even think about crossing the water and fighting again?

Who said I want to go to war? If I do, it ain't the same war the President wants to go to. No, sir. I been hanging on a rope in Alabama too long.

THE BASIS OF THE UNITED FRONT

By **JOHN STRACHEY**

Treasurer of the British Anti-War Council, and Author of "The Coming Struggle for Power" and "The Menace of Fascism"

The American League Against War and Fascism is beyond doubt destined to play a great part in the struggle of the American people to prevent their rulers from hurling them into the abyss of a new war.

There are two main principles which will enable the anti-war movement in America, and for that matter, throughout the world, to rise to the gigantic, simple task, which it has set itself. That task is to make it impossible for any capitalist government in the world to wage war. For its accomplishment two things are necessary. On the one hand, the anti-war movement must mobilize the very widest possible support from the masses of the people of the world. It must absolutely refuse to recognize any differences of political opinions, however important for other tasks, amongst all those who are willing to take such action

as will make it impossible for the capitalists and the governments which they control to declare war. This must be the single all important test of whether any person is acceptable to us. Will he or she help us to arouse popular indignation at the war preparations which are everywhere going on around us? Will he or she support, and not merely support with verbal assent, but by practical steady work, the 10 points of the program of the American League Against War and Fascism? Let a man's political, religious or social opinions be what they like—if he will help us to carry out this program, he must be welcomed to our movement.

Organize the Masses

There is, however, a second and equally important principle of guidance for the work of the anti-war movement. We strive to be a movement of the broadest kind with the simplest of aims. But we must never let this consideration blunt the edge of our attack of those who wage and prepare for war, nor dim

our realization of the deathly seriousness of our task. There must never be any risk of our becoming merely another "peace society," amiably hoping that war between the capitalist empires will not recur, and at intervals fettering these governments, either severally in their respective capitols, or collectively, in Geneva, to keep the peace. To do that is as practical as to recommend a vegetarian diet to sharks.

We must never forget that the whole basis of our movement is an appeal, not to the governments but to the peoples. Moreover, it is an appeal to the peoples of the world not to put their trust either in Princes or in Presidents but so to organize themselves that they can neither be tricked nor bludgeoned into fighting their master's battles.

Mass Resistance

There is no need to emphasize the seriousness of this appeal. We are deliberately asking the peoples of the world, and those who would be so placed in time of war, to refuse to

fight for their masters, or to enable by their work the fighting of others. We take this grave step utterly convinced that the widest organization for this purpose can alone save human civilization from destruction in war. We believe, and have already proved, that countless millions of simple, earnest and sincere men and women throughout the wide world will answer the call to mass resistance against war and war preparations.

Fascism Is War

To that appeal against international war, we add our call to resist the encroachments of Fascism which is in essence but the organization of the present ruling class for civil war against the mass of the population, in order to break their resistance to being led back to the shambles of international war.

Greetings From British Movement

As treasurer of the British Anti-War movement, I convey the greeting of every British fighter against war to our new American comrades in the struggle. We have been infinitely heartened and encouraged by the organization of the American League and by the wide and deep support which it has already enrolled. I shall return to Britain with reports of the serious, widespread and clear sighted struggle against War and Fascism which is being organized in America.

According to reports published in Moscow, Nazi agents of Hitler are organizing and financing Fascist movements in the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia and Finland for the purpose of establishing war bases against Russia.

* * * *

Fascists are attempting to start a reign of terror in Argentina. Radical leaders have warned the government that if the attacks continue, reprisals are inevitable. (*N. Y. Times*, Oct. 30.)

THE MURDER MAKERS

By FENNER BROCKWAY

Chairman of the British Independent Labor Party and Author of "The Bloody Traffic"

War is capitalism in its stupidest and most brutal form. *Capitalism is always stupid.* What could be more stupid than the wholesale destruction of food when thousands are hungry? *Capitalism is always brutal.* What could be more brutal than the constant denial of the comforts, and even the necessities, of life to those who do the hard work of the world? But War concentrates and dramatizes this stupidity and brutality. It is the high-spot of capitalism.

This truth a large number of people are now realizing. What is not yet so completely understood is this: that, during the periods of so-called peace, powerful international capitalist interests are encouraging war, are trafficking in the instruments of war, and are deliberately inciting national antagonisms so that they may make profits.

This is the most cynical of all aspects of capitalism. The armament makers always pretend to be patriots. They will always be found on the councils of Navy Leagues and other patriotic organizations. They are among the first to denounce the "Radicals" and the "Reds" for being unpatriotic. But all the time they are engaged in a great international conspiracy with the armament makers of other countries. They are always prepared to arm enemy countries. They are out to plunder all peoples for the sake of profit.

The Big Five

The five great armament trusts are Vickers-Armstrong of Britain, Schneider-Creusot of France, Skoda of Czecho-Slovakia, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation of America, the Mitsui of Japan. Before the World War the armament firms were openly allied with an international trust. Now the connections are more hidden, but there are definite links, through joint companies and subsidiaries, between the British, French, Czecho-Slovakian, and Jap-

anese firms. The American link is through Curtiss Wright, the makers of aircraft for the U.S. army and navy. This firm, which makes engines for the American bombing airplanes, has arrangements with the Skoda and Mitsui armament combines so that its engines are available for the bombing airplanes of Europe and Japan.

The Poison Gas International

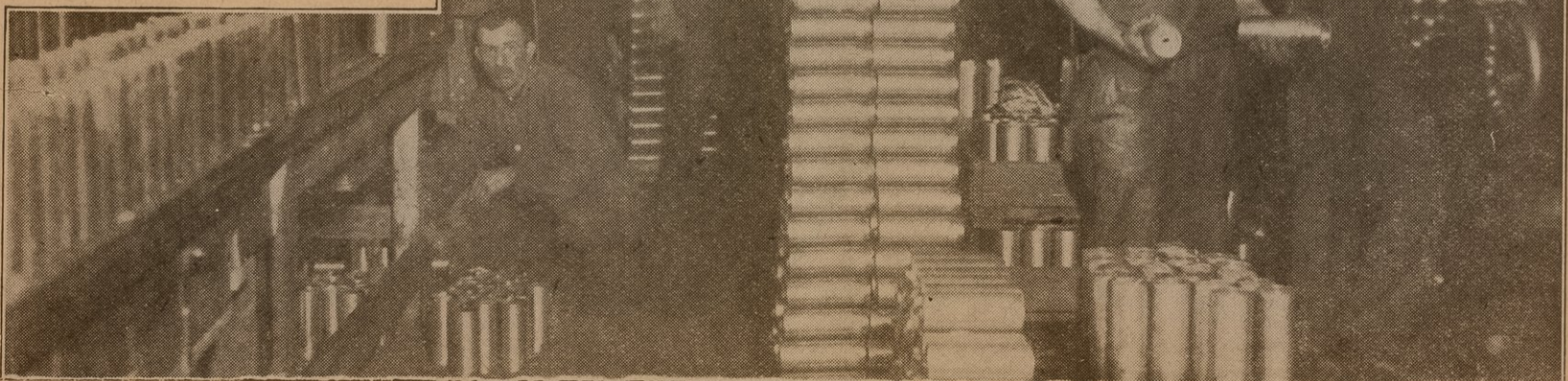
But in the next World War chemicals will be even more important than armaments. There is the same international capitalist conspiracy in this sphere. There are three great combines—the Imperial Chemical Industries of Britain, the I. G. Farbenindustrie of Germany, and Du Pont de Nemours of America. These are linked in a Poison Gas International. The I. C. I. of Britain is associated with companies in Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the Malay States, China and Japan. It has links with both the I. G. F. of Germany and Du Pont de Nemours of U.S.A. The I. G. F. of Germany is associated with companies in Spain, France, Italy, Austria, Holland and Sweden. It has links with the I. C. I. of Britain and the Crasseli Dye-stuffs of America. Du Pont de Nemours is closely associated with the British I. C. I. and is part owner with them of the Canadian I. C. I. This international combine is prepared to decimate the human race by poison gas in the next war.

Refuse to Fight for Your Masters

The armament makers of the world are prepared to stoop to anything to further their profits. I could give instances from one country after another where they have lied and bribed and cheated to arouse national enmities and to get orders out of the rivalries which they create. They are international gangsters.

It's up to the workers of all countries to refuse to be their tools. As soon as war threatens, they should refuse to do their dirty, murderous work.

A Munition Plant on Canal Street,
the Heart of New York City



A WAR NURSE TELLS HER STORY

By NAN LEE

During the early months of 1917, just prior to the declaration of war, every daily paper carried headlines of the atrocities committed by the supposedly barbaric Huns. Our four-minute speakers were regaling us with talks of Prussianism; we were told of the maiming of children, the amputation of women's breasts, of the horrors practiced by the awful Germans.

War was being discussed on all sides. Every sick person in the hospital was reading war, talking war, thinking war. At the Nurses' Home, at the Nurses' Table—wherever a group of young graduates congregated—the paramount question was, "If there's war will you enlist?" American girls were hearing of the splendid work being done by the Allied nurses. A trip to Europe seemed as far away almost as a trip to Mars. Everybody felt instinctively that war was 24 hours closer. And it was.

"I Sign for Foreign Service"

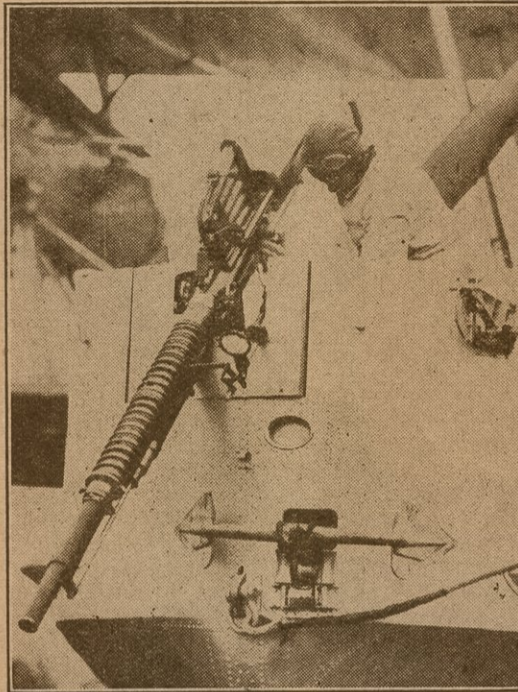
Members of my family had been in every American war. Souvenirs in my home attested to my great grandfather's ability as a marksman in the Revolution in 1776; his youngest brother fought in 1812; my grandfather was a captain in the Civil War; my father in 1898 served in Cuba. Naturally with that background I felt it my duty to do my bit. So happily, patriotically, I signed up for Foreign Service.

The Cost of War

France had been in the war for three years when we arrived. One of the first things I noticed about the English and French women with whom I worked was the tired saddened expression of their eyes. I was in the accident ward of one of America's hospitals. I talked with many of the English nurses, ambulance drivers, canteen workers, the V. A. D.s—and I learned from them the horror of war back in England. I saw it reflected in the pinched faces of the underfed children of France—in the stooping old women and old men.

I began to understand the French language sufficiently well to know what was being said to me much better than they understood what I tried to say to them—and it was not long before the awfulness of war started germs of thought in me. I saw insanity creep into faces; I saw pain depart and utter foolishness creep over faces of fellows I nursed; I watched young men who came over brilliant, intelligent boys, breaking into snivelling idiots—their bodies torn to bits—their mentality as completely wrecked as their bodies. I saw them sent home, victims of bullets, gas, shell-shock, encephalitis. I saw girls who trained with me crack under the strain—girls who graduated as honor students—now in insane asylums.

Before I came back to America, I went



New Airplane Quick Firing Gun capable of firing 100 Shells a Minute

through Germany, England, Ireland and Scotland. I talked with thousands and saw the awful price of war on every hand. Reams have been written of the cost of war—of the cost of the buildings destroyed—of priceless art objects lost by battles—by fires, but there is nothing by which we can measure or reckon the broken bodies, the broken minds, the broken hopes—the shattering of homes, families, peoples.

The Living Victims Come Home

After the war my work has been almost entirely amongst veterans, in hospitals and ex-servicemen's organizations. I have been in practically all the veterans' hospitals and know personally hundreds of patients. What has happened to our war time soldiers?

Thousands of boys returned from war. They started homes of their own and in many cases the young wife worked also. Some bought little homes in the suburbs. Babies began to arrive. In many of the homes veteran fathers living with the son or daughter, or a widowed veteran mother was receiving a pension, which added to the family income and made the load easier all around. Then came the depression. The little home not having been paid for, the husband out of work, it was necessary to draw on the little bank account, which soon was exhausted; so moving began, always to cheaper and cheaper quarters. The children's clothes have been remade so many times, they are nearly threadbare; the Red Cross on September 22nd ceased giving out food boxes—and that food was the backbone of many family meals since the veteran had his compensation either cut off entirely or drastically reduced. The compensation to the widowed

mother or veteran father has been cut to a mere pittance and the old people feel themselves in the way and in many cases believe if they were out of the way, it would mean one less mouth to feed.

Purple Heart Men

For the single veteran many charitable institutions will do nothing at all. As a consequence, thousands of young men are sleeping tonight in lice infested, dirty flop houses, in hallways and on park benches and in municipal lodgings. They are hungry, they are discouraged and destitute. They cannot obtain hospitalization because their poor physical condition brought on by starvation cannot be called "service connected." They need warm clothing, they need a clean bed. Many of them sleeping along the docks, in city lodgings, are *Purple Heart Men*. They wear on the lapel of their coats the narrow bar attesting to their meritorious conduct under fire and in action. They too know what war means.

Veteran's Home Life

And the wife of a veteran knows what war means. As her little brood grew, she pointed so proudly to the picture of her husband in uniform, when they were married. I see dozens of these pictures in the homes I visit. She used to show them their Daddy's war medals—she valued highly his Honorable Discharge. She took great care of his certificate, his papers.

Now she has seen the figure on his pension check dwindle and dwindle. In many cases the check has been eliminated entirely. She knows what it means to ask for a food box—to wait in a long line for an issue of children's clothing—for a blanket. She knows the heart ache of moving from one tenement to one always cheaper—with less and less conveniences. She has learned the true meaning of the sign of three golden balls over a pawn shop door. She has learned to darn until darning is no longer possible to hold things together. She knows what it means to skimp for a few pennies to buy a newspaper for the "Help Wanted" column, of waiting hours in children's clinics.

The carefree bride of 1917-18-19 and the happy young husband of those days—are the tired weary couple of today. Most of these couples now have children averaging from 15 downward, just the time when they require the most nourishment; just the time when future education must be determined. Thousands of children of veterans are handicapped educationally by the workings of the Roosevelt economy cut, because of the reduction of pensions, compensations and allowances.

Now I know what war is. imperialist war with its suffering, manhood waste, heartache, hunger. And now I know too the aftermath of war and its price.

Germany and the War Peril

By J. B. MATTHEWS

Executive Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Chairman, American League Against War and Fascism

The triumph of the bloody regime of fascism in Germany has measurably increased the prospects of an early European war, despite Hitler's protestations of peace and despite Germany's relatively unarmed state.

Fascism represents a panic-stricken capitalism. If the reader recognizes the roots of modern war in the institutions of capitalism generally, there can be no question concerning the increased war dangers in a capitalism that has been compelled to resort to excesses of brutality in order to maintain itself. It has thereby created a state of mind that inclines toward war as a last resort to save its dying prestige.

More than once in history, a government has used the device of a foreign war in order to unify sentiment behind it at home. Modern Germany was more and more divided along the lines of class struggle in the political and economic structure of its internal life. Fascism is an attempt at forcible unification to wipe out class lines. This unification in Germany today is precarious and at any moment the fascist regime may feel that its only hope of commanding general support is through the method of engaging a foreign foe. In this respect fascism may be called bellicose nationalism.

Fascism Prepares War

Another outstanding feature of fascism is its regimented hysteria. The Nazis are now making a desperate effort to set all Germany goose-stepping once more. The cheap ritual of its storm troopers heightens the dull imaginations that glorify the military. The madness that goes with the waging of war has been deliberately inculcated in large sections of the German population.

The suppression of all dissenting elements, radical, labor, liberal and pacifist, means that open criticism of war policies is silenced. Such criticism may play an important part in curb-

ing a reckless regime. But fascist Germany has deprived itself of such free criticism and thereby chosen to create for itself the illusion of general support for any and all measure which the government may adopt.

The Nazis have withdrawn from all international conferences and bodies. One does not need to believe that the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations and the World Court were effective agencies of peace, in order to come to the conclusion that the breakdown of international conference hastens the approach of war.

One of the basic principles of the Nazi program has been the demand for equality in arms. Under the guise of this principle it is easy to prepare for a war of revenge. Many have foreseen the inevitability of such a war of revenge ever since the humiliating defeat of the German army and the Treaty of Versailles. The Nazi regime has rallied to itself the support of all such sentiment in post-war Germany.

War On The Soviet Union

Hitler's proudest boast is that he has saved Germany from Bolshevism. From that boast it has been an easy and short step for him to consider the Nazis as the defenders of all Europe against Bolshevism. While there are plenty of outstanding questions that divide the capitalist countries of Europe today, there is the ever present threat of some eventual combination of European powers to make war against the Soviet Union. Hitler longs eagerly to play the role of the leader in such a combination.

Here then are eight substantial reasons for recognizing the increased war danger in a Nazi Germany: (1) a decadent and panic-stricken capitalism; (2) bellicose nationalism unifying a large measure of internal support; (3) regimented hysteria glorifying the traditions of war; (4) the suppression of anti-war criticism; (5) the breakdown of international conference; (6) the preparation of a war of revenge; (7) economic self-sufficiency in an exaggerated form; (8) the fomenting of hostility toward the Soviet Union.

(Continued from page one)

ness has picked up. Last August the plant of the Allied Chemical Company at Hopewell, Va., engaged in the production of nitrate for high explosives, was modernized with a \$5,000,000 extension built by Stone and Webster.

In France, while the line of forts was being further strengthened against Germany, the armament firm of Schneider Creusot was charged with having sold 300 tanks to Hitler through a Dutch middleman.

newspaper chain, says Japan will not respect the United States unless the American navy is strengthened. As long as it is under the limit, he says, Japan will think Americans are contemptible.

A United Press dispatch from Vienna, Oct. 19, reported plans for a world congress of Fascists. The congress would set up a Fourth International dedicated to fighting Communist, Socialist, liberal and democratic tendencies throughout the world. Mussolini was named as godfather.



—By William Gropper

Roy Howard, head of the Scripps-Howard

STOP MUNITION

From a play called "Peace on Earth" to be produced shortly by the Theatre Union.

The dock runs parallel to the footlights. A barge is tied up alongside of it. . . . The prow end is visible at the right. A little left of center is a wide gangplank. Cases marked "Soap" are piled up. A crew of about a dozen German seamen are passing cases up the gangplank and loading them on the barge.

Flynn, a company officer, is supervising operations from the dock. Krauss, the mate, is on the barge. Ryan stands looking on.

SCENE V

Flynn—What's that?

Ryan—It's them all right.

Flynn—Goddamit! Awright, beat it, Ryan. Put in a call for the militia.

Ryan—Keep your pants on, Flynn. The marines are coming.

(Ryan runs off. Meanwhile the Seamen

have stopped work and are talking among themselves)

Flynn—Well, what the hell's the matter now?

Krauss—Was schimpft Ihr da? Arbeitet und schwitzt nicht. [Quit your stalling. Come on, step on it.]

Kemmerich—Aber wir wollen Streikern keine Schweinereien machen. [We don't want any trouble with strikers.]

Krauss—Aber da ist doch kein Stunk mit den Streikern. Die Polizei wird schon mit ihnen fertig werden! [You won't have any trouble. The police will take care of 'em.]

Other Sailors—Nur keine Schweinerei. . . . Wir sind keine Streikbrecher. . . . Dis soldaten sind doch nicht zum Zuschauen da. . . . [No monkey business. We are not scabs. Why did they bring the militia here?]

Krauss—Aber da wird doch nichts. . . . [There is not going to be any trouble.]

Flynn—Wait a minute, wait a minute . . . what are they crabbin' about? What's eatin' 'em? What's it all about?

Max—Ve signed our articles ve should be seamen—not ve should be loaders und scabs und to fight mit strikers.

Flynn—You signed your articles to obey orders and keep your mouth shut—and that's what you're gonna do.

Max—Ve signed our articles ve should be seamen. Ve don't vant trouble.

Flynn—You agreed to load, didn't yuh?

Max—Yah, ve moost keep our chobs, so ve load. . . . Aber ve don't vant trouble.

Flynn—Well, goddamit, I'm tellin' yuh there ain't gonna be any trouble. What the hell have yuh got to be afraid of? You'll be protected. We've got the police and militia coming. Now

cut your yammerin' and get back to work. . . .

Krauss—Warum habt Ihr Angst? Die Polizei kommt schon! Oder wollt Ihr eure Arbeit verlieren. . . . [What are you afraid of? The police are coming. You want to lose your jobs? . . .]

(The men mutter among themselves and resume work)

Guard's Voice—Hey, Flynn. . . .

(Flynn walks to the right. The Guard comes in)

Guard's Voice—What the hell are we gonna do? We can't stop that mob.

Flynn—Let 'em come. All we gotta do is sit tight and stall. Ryan'll be back with some men in a few minutes. The militia's on the way.

As the strikers approach, the chant of "Stop munition shipments" is heard clearly. The men have stopped work. They all stand tense and waiting)

Flynn—Tell 'em to keep working . . . pay no attention to 'em, and nothing'll happen.

Krauss—Weiter arbeiten and kummert euch den Teufel um den Streik.

(Still shouting, "Stop munition shipments" the strikers come on and spread over the dock)

Striker—Don't scab! Strike!

(Others repeat it)

Other Strikers—Show your solidarity with the strikers! Down with imperialist war! Don't scab, strike!

(Throughout the scene Krauss has been urging the men to keep going)

Flynn—You'd better clear out of here if you know what's good for you.

Strikers—Try an' make us! Tell it to the Marines!

Flynn—Who's in charge of this outfit? You, Miller?

Miller—What do you want?

Flynn—I want to know what you want. What do you fellas think you're after anyway?

Miller—What do you think we're after?

Flynn—Goddam if I know! Listen, you wise-crackers, you'd better clear outa here, or I'll have the militia clean yuh out.

Miller—We're staying here till you stop loading munitions.

Striker—Stop munition shipments! Stop munition shipments!

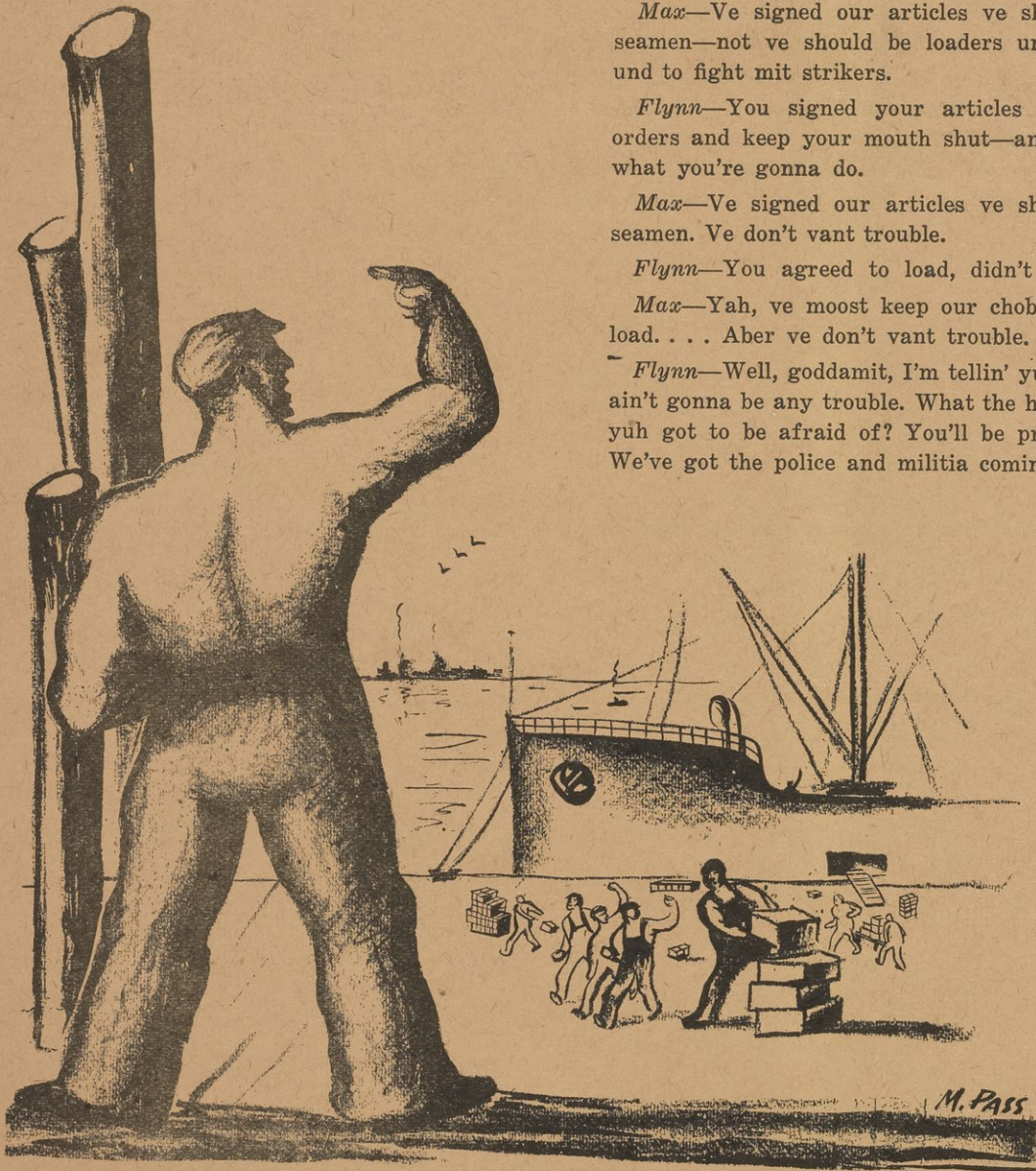
Flynn—Whatda yuh mean, munitions? We're not loading munitions! We're loading soap.

Strikers—Oh yeah!

Flynn—Yes, soap. If you bohunks d'learn a little English, you might know what the hell you were talking about. Soap. . . . S-O-A-P soap—read it.

Miller—We can read. That gag doesn't go with us, Flynn. That's raw gun cotton you're loading, and we know it!

Max—(to Miller) Was? You say ve are not loading soap?



By M. Pass

"Stop their munition! Don't load 'em—don't ship 'em!"

SHIPMENTS

By
GEORGE SKLAR
and
ALBERT MALTZ

Miller—That's right. You're loading guncotton, explosives. Versteh?

Kemmerich—Explosive? Was? Schiessbaumwolle?

(The sailors talk excitedly among themselves)

Flynn—Don't listen to him. He don't know what the hell he's talking about. You know what you're loading.

Strikers—There's no soap in those boxes! See for yourselves!

Sailors—(to Max) Was reden die da? Was ist los? [What do they say?]

(Max talks to them excitedly in German)

Flynn (to Krauss)—Goddamit, Krauss, get it through their thick skulls that it's soap we're loading and nothing but soap!

Strikers—Nix, soap, comrade, explosif . . . nix soap, comrade, explosif, explosif, verstay? You tell 'em, Dutch. Don't load, comrades. Strike!

Miller—Anybody know any German?

A Striker—How about Yiddish? They're about the same, ain't they?

(Laughter—cries of "sure," "naw")

McCracken—Wait a minute. Pete, you know German.

Owens—Well — —

Mac—C'mon, Pete.

(He shoves him forward. The strikers cheer. There is a cry of "atta boy, professor.")

Owens—What do you want me to say?

Miller—Tell 'em what the strike's about and have 'em open a box and see for themselves.

Owens—Matrossen! Diese Arbeiter sind gegen den Krieg und darum streiken sie. Die wollen dass Ihr als deutsche Arbeiter ihnen helft. Wir muessen verhindern dass Munition geladen wird. Das ist keine Seife. Das da ist Munition. Macht die Kisten auf and schaut nach was Ihr drin findet. [Sailors! These workers are striking because they are against war. You must help them. We must stop munition's shipments. Break open the boxes and see what you find!]

(The sailors talk excitedly)

Strikers—That's tellin 'em, professor! What did yuh say to 'em, professor?

(Flynn, Krauss and the Guard go into a huddle)

Kemmerich—Macht die Kisten auf! *(Picking up a crow bar)*

Guard—Hey you, lay off that. Wanna get pulled in? No tamperin' with private property.

Strikers—Leave 'im alone! To hell with private property!

(The Guard, Flynn and Krauss are pushed back and stand powerless. Kemmerich bends over the case)

Strikers—Hey, better go easy. . . . We've got to watch out for sparks.

(The box is opened. There is a silence)

Kemmerich—*(Holding up a bar of guncot-*

ton) Die verdammte Schwein. . . .

Charlie—Boy, ain't dat sumpin. . . .

Strikers—Just what yuh need to keep that schoolgirl complexion! Boy, better not drop any matches on that soap!

(Flynn whispers to the Guard. The Guard goes off)

Kemmerich—*(Picking up the case)* Lass mal sehen wie diese Seife schwimmt. [Let's see if this soap floats.]

(He walks over to the edge of the dock and throws it in the water. There is a cheer from the strikers)

Kemmerich—*(Holding his hand out to Miller)* Ich bin mit euch, Genossen. [I'm with you, Comrades.]

(There is more yelling from the strikers. They crowd around and shake his hand)

Kemmerich—*(Turning to the sailors and gesturing to them to come over)* Kulis, streikt mit uns. . . . [Strike with us.]

Other Strikers—Streikt mit uns, streikt mit uns, streikt mit uns. . . .

(The sailors stand indecisive. Max makes a movement toward the strikers. Flynn intercepts him)

Flynn—If you men quit on me, I'll have you blacklisted in every goddam port from here to Shanghai. You'll never get another job on a ship as long as you live. Stick by me and I'll make it worth your while. . . . I'll give you just about one minute to get back to work.

(The sailors talk among themselves. They are uncertain)

Strikers—Boo! Boo! Boo! . . . Sssssssss. . . . Down with the bosses! Streikt mit uns, streikt mit uns. . . . No more war. . . . Stop munition shipments. . . . Streikt mit uns, streikt mit uns. . . .

(They all join in)

Streikt mit uns, streikt mit uns, streikt mit uns!!!

(Rose suddenly jumps up on a case)

Rose—Comrades, we call upon you—Strike! Strike against war! You're workers like us! Strike with us! Fight with us. Fight against the bosses. Fight against their wars! Comrades, you've got to fight. If you don't fight with us, you'll fight for them. The bosses want war because they make money from war. To hell with the bosses. Let them fight their wars.

(There is a tremendous cheer from the strikers. Rose keeps talking. She is heard again)

That's what they always do—club us, strike us, beat us, kill us. They killed my brother. They shot him down in cold blood and killed him! Why? Why did they do it? Was he a criminal? Was he a murderer? No! He was fighting with the workers—fighting for the right to live. The bosses don't care if we live or die. Go to the trenches . . . kill and be

illed . . . spill your blood. It's been spilled long enough. We say the blood of the workers is precious. We say we want to keep that blood. We say we want to live!

(She pauses for a moment. There is a dead silence)

Strike, comrades! Strike with us. Down with war! Stop their munitions. Don't make 'em—don't load 'em—don't ship 'em. Throw 'em in the water!

(The cry of "Throw 'em in the water" is taken up by the strikers and mingled with cheers. There is a spontaneous surge toward the gangplank by strikers and sailors. Krauss leaps on to the barge and confronts the mob with a gun. The strikers stop)

Krauss—I will be forced to shoot anyone who tries to come on board.

(There is a moment's pause. Then Rose starts slowly up the gangplank)

Rose—Go ahead. . . .

Krauss—I will shoot, Fraeulein. . . .

(There is a second's silence. A sailor behind Krauss grabs his arm. Another joins in. They overpower him; with a yell the strikers rush up the gangplank and begin throwing the cases overboard)

Mac—Goddamit, Pete. . . . Talk about your Boston Tea Party!

(Somebody starts singing "Solidarity Forever." The others take it up. A police siren is heard faintly. One striker stops. The rest stop. The song trails off. Ryan runs on with six deputies who carry shotguns)

Ryan—Put those cases down and stay where you are. That's the militia you hear, so you'd better not try any monkey business.

Mac—Don't let him scare you, fellas.

Ryan—Shut up, MacCracken. . . . C'mon, put those cases down.

Mac—We don't take orders from stool-pigeons, Ryan.

(Mac stoops over to pick up a case)

Owens—Mac!

(MacCracken takes hold of the case. Ryan shoots. Mac falls. There is a dead silence. Owens suddenly takes a step forward and bends over MacCracken. The stage remains frozen into a silence broken only by the increasing scream of the sirens)

The lights dim out



The War in the Far East. Japanese War Tanks Moving Along the Road to Kiangwan

Conscientious Objection In The Next War

By **ROGER BALDWIN**

Executive Director, Civil Liberties Union

As a conscientious objector who served a prison term in the last war, I am opposed to the propaganda for personal conscientious objection as a means of combating war. It is wholly ineffective because it appeals to individual consciences on such varied grounds. No cohesive movement can be built out of it.

The conscientious objectors in the last war were split into numerous groups, basing their conscientious scruples on conflicting doctrines of opposition to war. Most of them were religious objectors taking literally some of the words of Scripture or the teachings of Jesus. Some were humanitarian idealists opposed to killing on principle. Only a handful were identified with a living movement of the working-class or intellectually sympathizing with it.

Illusion and Reality

The proposal of Albert Einstein to enlist conscientious objectors in all countries in declared refusal now to take part in the next war is a futile tactic. Prof. Einstein's contention that if 2 per cent of the men of military age in all countries would make this declaration, governments would find them an obstacle to making war, seems to me plain illusion. Even if the number were jacked up to five or ten per cent, government would find a way of beating that opposition. But the real basis of the illusion is that any such appeal can successfully be made to individual consciences, or that even if successful such varied elements can be welded into a force. Such a tactic is the refuge of middle-class pacifists who shy off attacking war through class forces. The sooner they learn that the only powerful leverage against war lies in the working-classes of the world, the sooner they will get into the camp where their professions should take them.

Every middle-class intellectual who faces the tactics of effective war resistance must come to realize that war can be fought only by fighting its causes. The causes of war obviously lie in the conflicts of capitalist greed for markets and territory. Only those who fight capitalism and imperialism are capable of fighting war.

A working-class mass movement may thus take a position of "conscientious objection" to participating in war, as did the British labor movement ten years ago when Councils of Action were formed almost overnight to oppose any aid to a war on Russia. "Not a penny, not a man for a war against the Soviet Union" was the slogan, and it stopped at once England's plan to support France and Poland. Mass refusal to load ammunition, to manufacture it or to transport it are effective weapons. But only the working-class can use them. Fear of revolutionary action of the working-class has restrained many a government in the past and is restraining them today. It is the most effective of all arguments with statesmen.

Mass Resistance

After a declaration of war, mass resistance by a working-class through the means of a general strike may be a powerful brake, though never yet tried out on a large scale. It may be noted, though, that the Kapp Putsch in Germany was upset by the general strike of Berlin workers. Machado was forced out of Cuba by the general strike of the Cuban workers. Armies themselves may be "conscientious objectors" to continuing a war. Many have. The Russian peasants and workers in the trenches refused longer to carry on the war, and as Lenin said "voted for peace with their legs," running home. The German armies crumbled apart in the trenches in a refusal to continue war. But in each case behind the refusal to fight was a revolutionary movement behind the lines.

For militant tactics against war in the United States, we of the Anti-War Congress must not count upon conscientious objection based upon individual consciences as any force whatever. We must count only upon organized workers, farmers and their sympathizers among intellectuals, to refuse service to the war machine, to block a declaration of war by a general strike, to impede a war by the same tactics, after it has been declared and, failing that, the moment the opportunity comes, to refuse to go on with the war. Historically examined, such mass refusals have always been the prelude to ousting the war government and ushering in revolutionary change. No adequate power can be built to end war save as all its opponents

identify themselves with the struggle of those classes which alone can abolish the system of conflicting greeds on which war thrives.

Note: This article by Mr. Baldwin while not expressing the official position of the American League Against War and Fascism is an important contribution from one who has been actively engaged in the anti-war movement. The Editors invite discussion.

GUNS AND CASTOR OIL

"Three cheers for Italy's war, noble and beautiful above all, with its five thousand dead who are our surest wealth. And three cheers also for war in general!"

—Mussolini in "Popolo d'Italia."



"The Mediterranean woman is the type of the courtesan. The Negress and Mongolian woman is the type of a female beast of burden."—From "Das Wissen der Natur," "scientific" magazine, Berlin.



"It was, and is, the Jew who brought Negroes to the Rhine . . . with deliberate intent to destroy the white race he hates . . ."

—Hitler, in "My Struggle."



"Sovetia is to be recognized for the sole purpose of saving the lives of Jewish murderers of Gentiles in Russia. . . ."

"There is a thorough realization in Russia at present as between Jew and non-Jew, that as soon as any trouble starts, every Jew will be killed. The Jews have been murdering Christians by the millions, since the Revolution. . . . The day of reckoning is very near."—From "Liberation," weekly organ of the Silver Shirts of America.



"Mothers must exhaust themselves in order to give life to children. Fathers must fight on the battlefield in order to secure the future for their sons."—From a speech by the German Vice-Chancellor, von Papen.

Uncle Sam Wants You!

By PAUL SIFTON

Hey, there, Big Boy, Uncle Sam wants you for "the next war." He wants you to take \$30 a month (less payments for bonds and thrift stamps and so on) for doing this:

Saying yes sir to bright boys in officers' pink pants;

Packing 60 pounds of clothes, shoes, hardware and food on your back through mud, ice, dust and heat;

Digging trenches in the ground like a half-witted wood-chuck while your family back home scratches around for food and fuel;

Shooting holes in men like yourself across a line;

Getting wounded yourself, in the leg, or arm or chest or guts;

Getting gassed so that your skin curls up like bacon on a fire and you cough up your lungs;

Dying all at once or by inches or maybe living to stand in breadlines after it's over.

How's that? "Like hell!" you say? Then speak up, say it now! Say it loud! Back it up with action before "the leading citizens" can get the war started, before they begin slapping you around with bayonets.

You do the leading; set the Fat Boys back on their bottoms and keep them there; keep them blocking; keep them ducking; don't let them tie you up with their bull about Patriotism.

Ask them how close to the front they got in the last war—in any war; ask them how much money they made while you, or your brother or father, were fighting to make the world safe for Mellon and Insull and Krueger and Krupp.

Tell them you know that they know they're sunk unless they can start a war to make their \$200,000,000,000 in debts look better than a train-load of waste paper; tell them they and their fancy pieces of paper and the whole capitalist shell game can sink and be damned.



Tell them that we've got another war on, closer home, a war to establish a workers' peace, a workers' government.

(They know this anyway, but they hate to be told.)

If you want to make it snappy, just tell them that workers have been played for saps long enough. Tell them to go to hell! Then

make it stick!

How? Read the rest of this magazine and you'll find out. The paper isn't flossy, but remember, the best paper goes into a deck of cards and the joker has the fanciest printing of the lot. Keep your copy circulating until it's worn out. Send for more. Talk up the anti-war program; organize the men and women you know; report war preparations promptly; fight now for something you want and there'll be more chance that you won't be asked later to fight for something you don't want.

Remember, all the bankers, politicians, generals and admirals in the world can't fight a war until they've kidded, lied and terrorized the workers into dying for them. What do you want, a workers' peace or a bosses' war? It's up to you. You've got to move fast to stop it. Already they've kidded lots of you into thinking that another war with Japan, or maybe Germany—"would be a good thing for Prosperity." Whose prosperity? Not yours. How prosperous are the 10,000,000 corpses of the last war? How prosperous are the workers who, though they were getting high wages during the war, are pounding the streets today? How prosperous are the farmers who were two-timed by high land values, high taxes, high prices for what they had to buy and low prices for what they have to sell.

Don't be a mug. Make up your mind what you want and then go after it. The Fat Boys won't thank you, but you can look yourself, your wife and your children in the face. And the chances are that you'll live a damn sight longer and better.

ARMISTICE DAY

By HAROLD HICKERSON

On the 11th hour of the 11th month in 1918, the World War ended—the war that was fought ostensibly to usher in Democracy for all peoples of the world. A prolonged shout ran up and down the front line trenches. It was taken up by the tens of thousands of uniformed men in the rear awaiting the next order to advance. Millions of uniformed men—tired, worn and shattered by four and a half years in the muck and mire of the trenches "infested with vermin, rats, shells and gas relaxed and joined in the wild celebration." A thousand telegraphic instruments sent the shout around the world. In a score of capitals, in a thousand cities, the war-torn masses let loose in a delirium of joy... "the war is over—peace has come."

The Robber Treaty

The Versailles Peace Treaty was signed—the League of Nations was formed. The Treaty served only to give an appearance of legality to the contradictions between, not only the Entente and the Alliance, now

smashed, but between the capitalist countries in the Entente itself. The League became the instrument of bargaining for advantages, always at the expense of the masses of the central powers, as well as at the expense of the masses of the "victorious" countries.

The much-heralded self-determination for colonial peoples and minorities proved a dud. Now that "victory" had been achieved, they found they were to be exploited more than ever. Only in one country were the masses liberated, were minorities given their freedom. Returning soldiers and sailors in Russia, the year before the Armistice, had joined with the working class and the peasants to sweep from power, not only the Tsarist government, but also those who dared to betray the revolution and give the power back to the imperialists.

The Dead and Wounded

November 11th, 1933, is the 16th Armistice Day. There will be celebrations in every country that participated in the World War. Wreaths will be laid on the graves of unknown

soldiers, though they are *not* unknown, for we know who they are. They are the sons of farmers, miners, steel workers, school teachers, clerks and small home-owners. The unknown soldiers buried in public squares are the delegates of the 3,825,000 dead toilers of Germany, Hungary, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria; of the 5,882,600 dead toilers of the allied powers who paid with their lives because of the ambition and greed of the ruling class of "our" side. These were the less fortunate ones, for the dead of the central powers left behind 7,023,000 wounded buddies and the Allied war dead left behind 12,186,000 wounded buddies to carry the marks of the war upon their bodies and on their brains. There were 74,000,000 toilers divided and hurled at each other between 1914 and 1918. Twelve percent were killed and twenty-five percent were wounded.

Not only will wreaths be placed on the graves of the unknown soldiers, but in a dozen capitals and in 10,000 cities and towns, eulogies for the war dead will be accompanied by military parades, bands and patriotic exhortations for support of the war preparations for a new

(Continued on page fifteen)

A CALL TO ACTION!!

MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM of the AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Adopted at U. S. Congress Against War
New York City, Sept. 29 to Oct. 1, 1933

Appeal to the Working Men and Women
of America:

To All Victims of War:

The black cloud of imperialist war hangs over the world. The peoples must arouse themselves and take immediate action against the wars now going on in the Far East and Latin America, against intervention in Cuba, against the increasing preparations for war, and against the growing danger of a new world war.

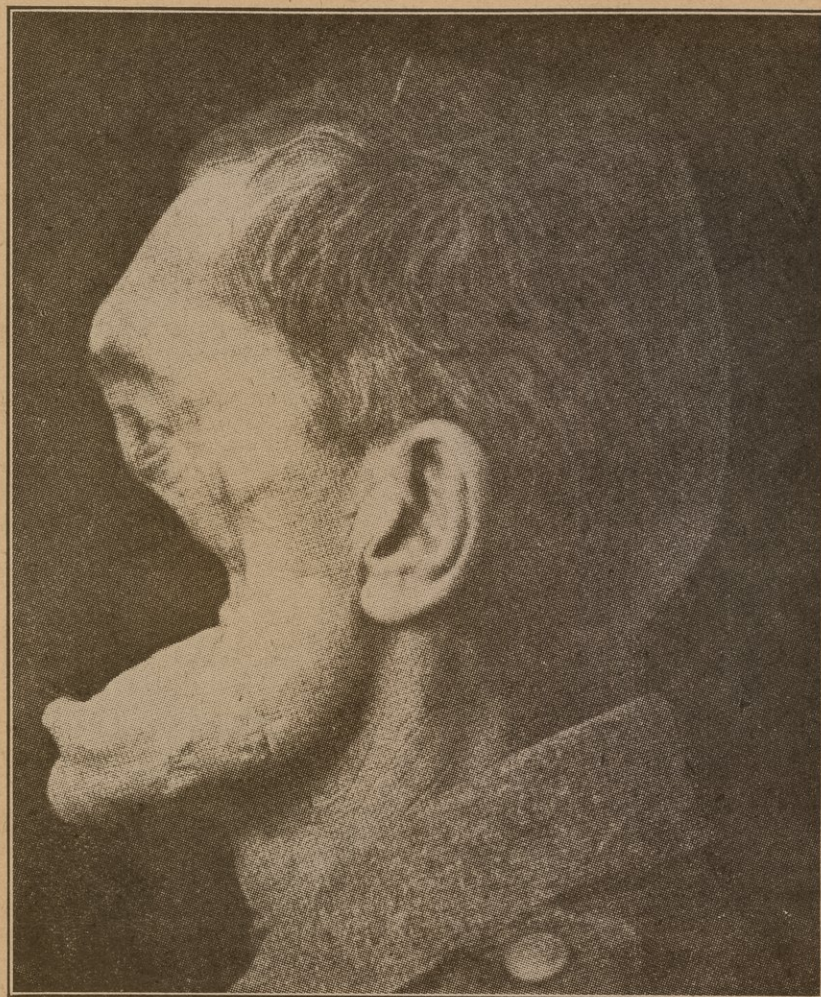
After ten years of futility, the World Disarmament Conference is meeting to perform once more the grim comedy of promise, to screen the action of the imperialist governments which are preparing, more intensively than ever before in history, for a new war. The Four Power Pact is already exposed as nothing but a new manoeuver for position in the coming war between the imperialist rivals, and an attempt to establish a united imperialist front against the Soviet Union. The rise of Fascism in Europe and especially in Germany, and the sharpened aggressive policy of Japanese militarism, have brought all the imperialist antagonisms to the breaking point and greatly increased the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The greatest naval race in history is now on among the United States, England and Japan. The British-American antagonism is being fought out in Latin-America already by open war—the so-called local wars being in reality struggles between these imperialist powers. The presence of thirty American warships in Cuban waters is itself an act of war against the Cuban revolution. The collapse of the World Economic Conference revealed only too clearly that the great powers are unable and unwilling to solve the basic international problems by peaceful means and that they will resort to a new imperialist war in an attempt to divert the attention of the masses from their misery and as the only capitalist way out of the crisis.

Fascism Breeds War

The rapid rise of Fascism is closely related to the increasing war danger. Fascism means forced labor, militarization, lower standards of living, and, the accentuation of national hatreds and chauvinist incitements as instruments for the "moral" preparation for war. It sets the people of one country against the people of another, and exploits the internal racial and national groups within each country in order to prevent them from uniting in joint action to solve their common problems.

If
The
Living
Dead
Could
Speak

A Victim
of
Imperialist War



The War System

The war danger arises inevitably out of the very nature of monopolistic capitalism—the ownership of the means of production by a small capitalist class and the complete domination of government by this class. The imminent war danger is only another expression of the fundamental crisis of the capitalist system, which continues its existence only at the cost of intensification of exploitation and oppression of the masses at home and in the colonies, and of struggle among the imperialist powers for a redivision of markets and sources of raw materials.

Only in the Soviet Union has this basic cause of war been removed. There are no classes or groups which can benefit from war or war preparations. Therefore the Soviet Union pursues a positive and vigorous peace policy and alone among the governments proposes total disarmament. Serious struggle against war involves rallying all forces around this peace policy and opposing all attempts to weaken or destroy the Soviet Union.

The United States Prepares for War

The government of the United States in spite of peaceful professions is more aggressively than ever following policies whose only logical result is war. The whole program of the Roosevelt administration is permeated by preparadness for war, expressed in the extraordinary military and naval budget, mobiliza-

tion of industry and manpower, naval concentration in the Pacific Ocean, intervention in Cuba, the continued maintenance of armed forces in China, the loans to Chiang Kai-shek, the initiation of currency and tariff wars—all of which give the lie to the peaceful declarations of the United States government.

Under the guise of public works, the NRA has diverted immense funds from the care of starving millions to the building of a vastly larger navy and to mechanization of the army. The widespread unemployment has been utilized to concentrate young men in so-called reforestation camps, which the War Department is using for trial military mobilizations. The military training of youth in the schools and colleges is being further developed. More and more, national holidays and especially prepared demonstrations are being used to glorify the armed forces and to stimulate the war spirit among the masses. Hundreds of factories are working overtime to produce munitions and basic war materials for shipment to the warring countries in South America and the Far East. A centralized war Industries Board of 1917, is being established. As in 1917, it is drawing the upper leadership of many trade unions into active collaboration in the war machine.

Smoke Screens for War

This Congress against War warns the masses against reliance upon the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pacts as effective instruments

of peace. The Congress declares that this illusion becomes particularly dangerous at the present moment, especially when it is put forth as in the recent Congress of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions as a method of combatting the war danger.

For Mass Resistance

We can effectively combat war only by arousing and organizing the masses within each country for active struggle against the war policies of their own imperialist governments, whether these governments are working individually or through the League of Nations.

The Congress declares that the basic force in the imperialist countries for struggle against the war danger is the working class, organizing around it in close alliance all of the exploited sections of the population, working farmers, intellectuals, the oppressed Negro people and all toiling masses and all organizations and groups which are generally opposed to war on any basis. The anti-war movement allies itself with the masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialist domination, and gives full support to their immediate and unconditional independence.

Program

The Congress pledges itself to do all in its power to effect a nation-wide agitation and organization against war preparations and war. To this end we join together in carrying out the following immediate objectives:—

1. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes.
2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding National Recovery.
3. To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed and the replacement of all such devices as the Civilian Conservation Camps, by a federal system of social insurance paid for by the government and employers.
4. To oppose the policies of American Imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America, especially now in Cuba, and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.
5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic manoeuvring or intervention by imperialist governments.
6. To oppose all developments leading to Fascism in this country and abroad,

and especially in Germany; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorizing and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to oppose the growing encroachments upon the civil liberties of these groups as a growing fascization of our so-called "democratic" government.

7. To win the armed forces to the support of this program.
8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to fascist and war propaganda.
9. To give effective international support to all workers and anti-war fighters against their own imperialist governments.
10. To form committees of action against war and fascism in every important

center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations.

By virtue of the mandate granted by the thousands of delegates from all sections of this country and groups of the population which bear the burden of imperialist war who, though they differ in political opinions, trade union affiliations, religious belief, and the methods of carrying on the struggle against war, are bound together by their desire for peace, and on the strength of its unshakable conviction that the struggle against imperialist war is useful only to the extent to which it effectively interferes with and check-mates imperialist war plans, this Congress calls upon the working class, the ruined and exploited farmers, the oppressed Negro people, the sections of the middle class bankrupted by the crisis, the groups of intellectuals of all occupations, men, women and youth, together, to organize their invincible force in disciplined battalions for the decisive struggle to defeat imperialist war.

IN A CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CAMP

By JOE SHIELDS

I spent six months in the Civilian Conservation Corps. Three of these months I was at Fort Slocum and the other three at a camp in the state of Washington.

During that period, I was given three physical examinations: the first, upon enrollment; the second, at Fort Slocum, and the third, upon being discharged. I was also required to fill out registration forms similar to application blanks for employment in banks or department stores, with the exception that in the former I had to say whether or not I had military experience and, if so, for how long, and in what field, and the rank I held.

War Department in Charge

Upon enrollment, I signed a statement which placed me under the care of U.S. Army officers. From that time on, until the day we received our discharge papers, we were under the authority of the War Department.

Fort Slocum is normally used as a base for training recruits of the regular army.

This training, as far as I know, usually lasts two weeks. When it is completed, the men are sent to their assigned destinations. At the time of our arrival, a number of army recruits had already been stationed. There were about 1,800 Civilian Conservation Corps men and about half that number of soldiers.

It was very difficult to tell one from another. Our duties, routine, and appearances were very much alike. We arose in the morning and retired at night and formed into line for meals in response to the same bugle calls. Our clothes were no different from that worn by the enlisted men. However, we were required to be in our "denims," work clothes, until 4:30 in the afternoon, at which time we dohned our O.D.'s. The soldiers, on the other hand, wore their O.D.'s most of the day and put on their "denims" only when placed on "prison detail."

Numbered and Tagged

We were divided into squads, sections, platoons, and companies. A squad consisted of eight men; a section of three squads, a platoon of four sections, and a company of



U. S. Army Officers Mobilizing Philadelphia Jobless for Conservation Camps

two platoons. The men in charge of these groups were called squad, section, platoon, or company foremen. The number of stripes carried on the sleeves of their coats or shirts denoted their rank. In addition to being divided, each man was numbered. In order to be identified more easily, a tag, containing name and number, had to be tied to each bed.

We were drilled almost every day; very often, at the same time with the army men. Although the latter left at the end of their two week period, our stay was prolonged for ten more weeks. The corporal praised us a few times. On the first day he told us that no group of army rookies under his care had executed the movements any better than we. On that day, he chose those with military experience and made them temporary corporals. The lieutenant, himself, drilled us one day. After putting us through some difficult manoeuvres, he beamed: "Men, I wish I could see you in regular uniforms."

Military Trial

One day I went swimming. The weather was hot. I removed the upper part of my bathing suit. An officer spied me and ordered me to dress. He placed me in charge of a guard with orders to take me to the guard house at once. I thought it was a minor offense. Perhaps, I continued thinking, they might keep me for two hours. However, we were preparing to leave and I could not afford to lose any time. I told that to the guard. He said nothing at the time. When we reached our destination, he hinted for me to get away. I did. I did not realize how lucky I had been until the following day. Many men were put

in the brig for the same offense. They were to be detained and held there for three days pending investigation, losing one dollar for each day. During their stay, they marched out in squads together with army men under the care of an armed guard. The guard had powers to shoot at any man who tried to escape. At the end of this period, these C.C.C. men were tried by the same officers who try the military cases of army men. Most of the men tried and given dishonorable discharges. In the case of a man who had hit an officer, he was not only dishonorably discharged but was turned over to the civil authorities as well. I found out later that he had received a thirty dollar fine and been given thirty days in jail.

"Putting It Over the Pacifists"

At a current events class which was conducted for both C.C.C. and army men, a heated discussion arose around the question of militarism. It began in this way. After the regular order of business was disposed of, discussion was called for, and a fellow arose to ask the chairman for permission to read a newspaper article.

This article created a sensation. It was written by a colonel of the Reserve Corps. He boasted of how the Civil Conservation Corps would make a fine preferred list of 250,000. About Ben Adams whose names would lead all the rest. It was something, he stated, which, at last, the army was able to put over on the pacifists. By the time they wake up, 250,000 men would already have "made their own decisions in the matter."

"Military Training Is Good For You"

The sergeant who was in charge of this

class became very uneasy. He just didn't know what to say. And in spite of what he did say, one fellow after another bombarded him with queries.

"If these camps aren't military," demanded one, "why didn't they teach us how to use an axe? Every day for the past few months I've had to drill. Why don't they teach us about trees?" This fellow talked so sincerely that one could detect a sob in his voice. After saying what he did, he walked out.

Another fellow demanded that the sergeant explain about the guard house. The sergeant denied knowing anything about it, a fact which everyone already knew. Seeing that his denials were of no avail, he finally used a different line of argument. "Military training," he stammered out, "is good for you. It will make you better men."

BARBUSSE SAYS:

It was the War that educated me, not only about the horrors of war, but also of the significance of imperialist wars. It was the COMMON SOLDIERS with whom I mixed—those who do not understand the causes of war. It is our job to make them understand, and to lead in the struggle of the exploited against the exploiters, the oppressed against the oppressors.

I was glad to be a common soldier, and to study the causes of war. We must study the causes, for truth is revolutionary. We do not want hot-heads, but those who will see with clarity and act. We must all unite in a struggle against war and fascism, until the final conflict when the International Society shall be the Human Race. Our American League Against War and Fascism must be a sample of unity to the very end.

In Los Angeles, Secretary of the Navy Swanson is entertained at dinner by the biggest film company, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. William Randolph Hearst, the worst American imperialist, is toastmaster. The enlistment of the films in "war preparadness" is frankly admitted. Hollywood, like radio broadcasting, is being put on a war propaganda basis (e.g., current films glorifying, romanticizing war, also Army and Navy ballyhoo in news-reels).

* * * *

Australia, whose bonds are at a heavy discount, has increased its military budget for this year by 1,538,000 pounds—this for a nation of less than 7 million population. New Zealand has announced a similar increase. Compulsory military training is proposed in Australia. The British Tory government is now trying to decide how much it can increase its naval budget without causing a revolt of the strong anti-war forces in England.

* * * *

That President Roosevelt is thinking and acting in war terms is further indicated by Martin Sommers' charge in the *New Outlook*, July, 1933, that, when Herriot and MacDonald came to the White House last spring to talk War Debts, Roosevelt asked them what France and England would do in the event of an American-Japanese war.



Henri Barbusse (Left), Distinguished French Writer, Author of "Under Fire" and Tom Mann (Right), 77-Year Old British Militant Labor Leader Who Have Been Speaking Throughout the U.S.A. for the Anti-War Movement.



I WAS IN THE MARINES

By **GEORGE CANTIN**

I enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps in 1927. When they sent us to Nicaragua in 1928, they told us we were going there to protect the lives of Americans and of the natives from bandits. They told us in the army that Sandino looted people's homes and forced native children to join his army. They pepped us up with this talk.

I served in Nicaragua in 1928 and 1929. I was mostly in the hills and saw a lot of action. It wasn't long before some of us realized that we were lied to. The natives didn't hate Sandino who at that time was an enemy of imperialism. They looked upon him as their hero. When we first got into the hills we were almost fooled into thinking the natives didn't like him because they were so **sociable to us**. But we soon found out that they were that way to get information. Almost every time we sent out a patrol to fight the rebels they knew about it beforehand.

A lot of us got discontented. We started quarreling with our officers. That was because we got fed up with the rotten food they gave us, and we got damned tired of marching into the hills to fight for something that had nothing to do with us. The colonial troops that were with us couldn't be relied on. They favored the rebels. After

we served a year and Colonel Dunlap didn't keep his promise to have us relieved, some of the marines left the ranks and went to Managua, our headquarters, to complain. But they were only sent back to the hills.

Then the desertions started. Marines escaped over the border into Honduras. It was because the desertions increased that the U.S. government, I think, decided to withdraw these marines from Nicaragua.

Not only was the food punk, but the medical treatment we got was bad. As an example, Robert S. Hunfer bled to death after he got wounded in the throat during one of the engagements with the rebels. Any of us that got hit was lucky to come out alive. More than one that got wounded lay in the jungle uncared for.

A Court Martial . . . and He Was Shot to Death

I don't suppose the papers in America told how we treated the rebels we captured. We captured Jiron, one of the rebel generals. We didn't know who he was when we got him, but the officers found out who he was. They couldn't get information from him. Three officers held a court martial and then he was shot to death.

Another time we captured a rebel

soldier, a peasant. We kept him in jail two days. On the third day Sergeant Yecowitch took him for a "bath" to the river and shot him to death with a 45. There was no trial at all. The body was left on the river-bank. Next day the natives washed it and gave it burial.

I was always a bit class conscious, but after what I saw in Nicaragua I decided that as soon as I got out of the marines I'd get in touch with workers' organizations and help fight against the murder of foreign people because the rich class wanted it that way.

Some Marines, Too, Would Like to Join

I am all in favor of the American League Against War and Fascism. I am especially interested in its plans to expose American intervention in Cuba and in other Latin-American countries. By the papers you would think that the marines are all happy about fighting in foreign countries against "bandits," but I know better. We've got to work hard for a thing like the anti-war movement. I was especially interested when I read in the papers that National Guard members and an enlisted non-commissioned officer of the regular army were at the Congress.

Well, I know some marines who would like to have been at the Congress, too, if they could.

(Continued on page eleven)

Imperialist World War that has already broken out in China and South America.

The Imperialists at Work

Again zero hour approaches. The command to attack is dangerously near; there will be a mobilization of not 74,000,000, but 150,000,000. Cities will disappear, countrysides scorched with the rain of bombs and gas; whole populations will be swept into the cataclysm. Phosgene gas, prepared by scientists in the laboratories of the war makers will penetrate any gas mask. Once unleashed, there will be no defense against the fury of the onslaught, unless the workers, farmers, shopkeepers, students, the youth and the veterans—all honest and sincere people, regardless of their organizational or political affiliation, unite.

To you who are not ex-servicemen I want

to say that there is plenty of evidence that thousands of veterans will enter the struggle on the basis of the program formulated at the sessions of the recent U. S. Congress Against War. I appeal to you who know what it means to await the command to attack, who know what it means to lie for hours in a shell hole, waiting the next bursting shrapnel, who know what it means to be trapped in a metal prison on the high seas—to join with the workers and farmers in every locality of the United States for the purpose of organizing an effective united struggle against War. The masses undivided in militant unity have it within their power to snatch the guns from the hands of the war-makers and change the profit system that breed wars into a system that will bring world peace.

Organize Against War

We cannot do this with honeyed phrases,

nor can we do this with good intentions, no matter how sincere. It can only be done by facing the facts realistically, helping to point out the way to the youth who are used first, by joining forces with all elements who are sincerely and seriously opposed to War.

Only by such action can Armistice Day be made into a real Armistice—only on the basis of such united struggle can there be enduring and lasting peace.

Smash for all time the hypocritical blathering of diplomats, the secret conclaves of militarists and politicians, the greed of munition makers, the quest for profits, the exploitation of colonial peoples and minorities, the exploitation and bigotry of Fascism, the power of the bankers, whose lust for interest periodically plunges the working class of the world into a maelstrom of slaughter.

OVER 2,700 delegates from 35 states met in New York City for the purpose of combating War and Fascism. Men, women and youth from almost every stratum of our population came to this Congress: trade unions, farmers' associations, churches, peace societies, unemployed groups, fraternal orders, student bodies, ex-servicemen's organizations, youth leagues, political parties, educational groups, etc., etc.

FOR two days and three nights, this delegated and determined body of men and women of various shades of opinion and affiliation discussed a program of action. Out of their experiences in field, factory, mine, shop, office, school and army came a militant program to fight War and Fascism. Out of their experiences in the last World War, with its imperialist slaughter and betrayals, a weapon was forged.

THE American League Against War and Fascism was formed at this Anti-War Congress. A program was adopted (see page 12). The 2,700 delegates went back to their respective localities, back to their shops and factories and offices and fields and lumber camps and schools "though they differ in political opinions, trade union affiliations, religious beliefs . . . to organize their invincible force in disciplined battalions for the decisive struggle to defeat imperialist war."

EVEN the blind, deaf and dumb realize that the war danger is a reality and that Fascism, the last refuge of capitalism, is asserting itself everywhere. The working class, the ruined and exploited farmers, the Negro people, the middle class bankrupted by the economic crisis, the intellectuals and professionals have organized, in the words of Henri Barbusse, to "fight for their right to life and peace."

THE American League Against War and Fascism is publishing this monthly magazine as a weapon in the struggle against the ruling class and their efforts to involve the world in another slaughter match. We shall publish every month in this magazine informative articles, factual material, exposes, photographs, short stories, cartoons and international news items about War and Fascism. We shall publish material from munition factories, from the armed forces of the imperialist governments, from key industries and from the centers of finance capital.

FIGHT Against War and Fascism will be a force in the struggle against another world war, will be the leader against the war makers and their governments, **if you help**. The price of the magazine is 50 cents a year. This is a mass movement of the people, and we cannot afford page ads in the Saturday Evening Post. We depend upon **you** to secure subscriptions for the magazine. Will you help? Will you fight with us against War and Fascism? Will you fight for a workers' and farmers' peace? Send your subscriptions immediately to:

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