

FIGHT

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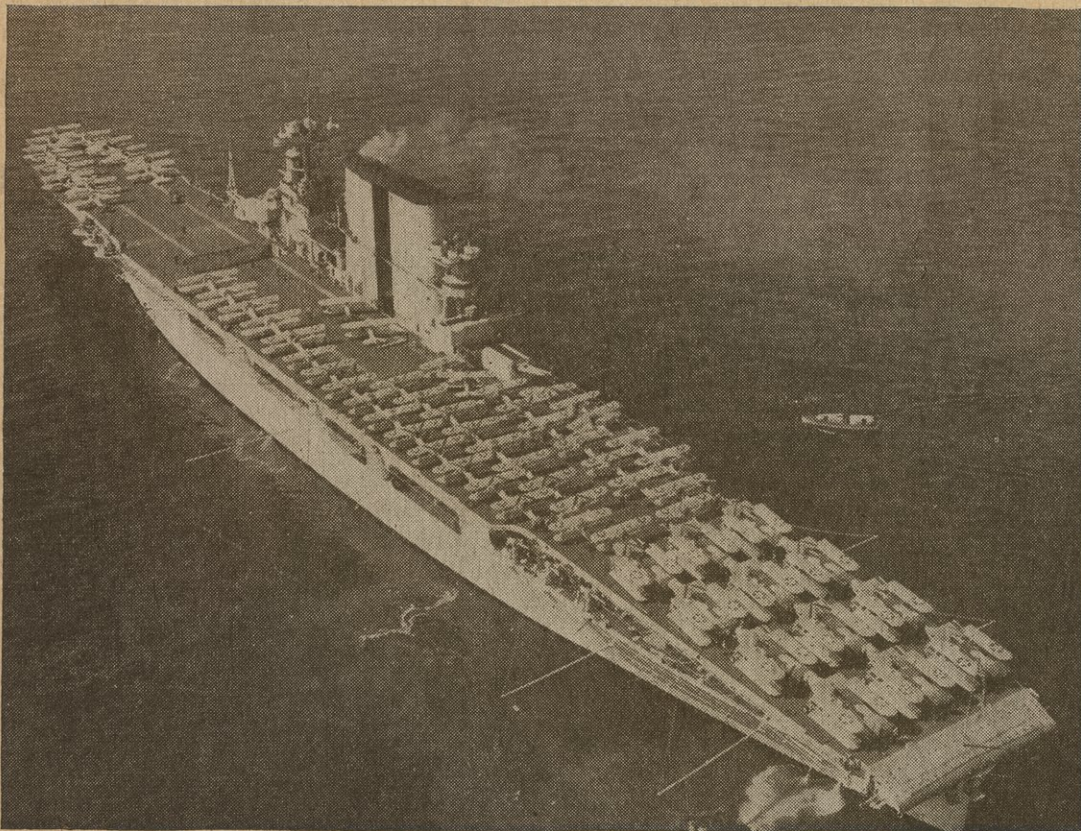
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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

- 1917 - 1934 -



U. S. Aircraft Carrier ready for another Imperialist World War

WAR DECLARED! shrieked the headlines on April 6, 1917. Kill the dirty Boches! screamed editors, politicians, bankers, and business men, working themselves up to the ferocious hatred that only those who stay home and make money out of War can feel. Stop the Great Blond Beast, the Hun baby-killers, avenge the rape of Belgium, remember Edith Cavell, remember the Lusitania! Make the world safe for Democracy, said a President who had been re-elected five months before "because he kept us out of War."

Young men, coked to the eyes with newspaper propaganda for War, ate up the stuff they read.

Farmers and workers held back.

Debs said No; Haywood said No; Ruthenberg said No. Militant unionists said No. They said it was Morgan's War, Wall Street's War, the capitalists' War. They said Fight against War and establish a workers' and farmers' government.

Capitalism was desperate. On April 6, 1917, England had only two weeks' food supply. French regiments were on the edge of mutiny. Russian sailors, soldiers, and workers had decided six weeks earlier that the Tsar and the capitalist imperialism he represented were their real enemies, not workers in other countries. Wilson had to work fast and get rough to make the world safe for capitalism for a few years longer.

Wilson turned on the heat of propaganda, the terror. Get the pro-Germans, get the Reds, beat them, frame them, jail them, lynch them, kill the dirty traitors! An army officer named Hugh S. Johnson wrote the Conscription Act to draft four million of the nation's youngest and strongest men for the service of the capitalists who had bet on the Allies to win.

Betrayed, bunked, and bull-dozed, the American workers and farmers were whipped into line. Debs went to jail. Haywood went to jail. Ruthenberg went to jail. Thousands of others

were terrorized and imprisoned. Two million Americans went to France (only to be shot at again a few years later when they asked for a bonus which was promised them). The Allies won and wrote a treaty to enslave Germany for 65 years. By armies, lies, and boycotts they tried to overthrow the Russian Soviet Government, established by the soldiers, sailors, workers, and farmers.

But now—Allied capitalism has failed; German capitalism has failed. Capitalism is bankrupt.

Today, April 6, 1934, world capitalism is facing collapse. Breadlines, closed factories, strikes, demonstrations. Again War—imperialist War against other nations, internal War against workers and farmers—Fascism.

The purpose is the same—profits.

Again we have politicians talking peace and rushing to spend billions for warships, planes, munitions. Again we have National Defense Weeks. Again we have industrial terror and a suspension of the fake rights of free speech, organization, and action. Again patrioteers cry: "Get the Reds, get the unpatriotic union organizers, the anti-War agitators." Again we have the lie that anyone who is against the President is against the best interests of the American masses and should be treated as a traitor. Again the propaganda is spread that War is good for business and therefore good for workers. It's 1914-17 all over again, BUT—

We know some things now we didn't know on April 6, 1917. We have lived through 17 more years of capitalist betrayals and double dealing and exploitation. We have seen 165 million workers and farmers in the Soviet Union establish a government of their own. We know that War means death and misery for millions of us and billions of dollars for the few. We know that our "enemies," whom we are told to hate and kill, are workers and farmers like ourselves and are faced by the same exploiters that we are faced with.

We remember April 6, 1917, and today in April, 1934, we know that fighting against War is fighting for a workers' peace in a workers' world.

Organize! Demonstrate! Protest!

Peace - Military Style

By HAROLD WARD

Contributing Editor, "Living Age"

On the fourteenth of December there was held, in Pittsburgh, Pa., the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Army Ordnance Association of the United States. This Association, with national headquarters in Washington, is an "organization of American citizens pledged to industrial preparedness for War as our nation's strongest guarantee of peace." Eleven Regional Posts strategically placed throughout the country assist in furthering the Association's "principal objective," which is thus set forth:

"An active membership of American citizens, on whom the duty of design and production of munitions will fall in War, who will have an accurate and authentic knowledge of the complex requirements of ordnance. 'Peace insurance' in this form is the foremost aim of the Army Ordnance Association."

To make perfectly clear the nature of this "insurance" the Constitution recommends its members:

"To keep available the highly specialized knowledge necessary for arming the manhood of the nation by stimulating interest in the design and production of ordnance material;

"To promote mutual understanding and to effect co-operation with American scientists, inventors, engineers, and manufacturers in civil life and the regular and reserve officers of the Ordnance Department."

In its official journal, *Army Ordnance* (a handsome, well-illustrated affair obtainable only by mail at 75 cents the copy), for January-February 1934, are the following articles, all of which were originally addresses delivered before the Pittsburgh meeting:

Unity of Command: Industrial Preparedness and the Present Economic Situation, by the Hon. Harry H. Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War.

The Ordnance Partnership: A Tribute to Those who Foster Industrial Preparedness, by Major General Samuel Hof, Chief of Ordnance, U. S. Army.

The New Demands on Weapons: Ordnance Progress toward Speed and Flexibility, by Colonel C. M. Wesson, Ordnance Dept., U. S. Army.

More Munition Makers

Space limitations prevent further discussion of the exceedingly frank treatment of military affairs contained in these, and several other articles, in this one issue. What is of significance—especially in view of the difficulties experienced by FIGHT in assembling informa-

tion on armament manufacturers in this country—is the *partial* list of companies and manufacturers officially represented at this meeting in the heart of the Pittsburgh District. I will give this list in full: it may assist in expanding the list of munition makers given in the February issue of FIGHT:

A. M. Byers Company
Carnegie Steel Company
Columbia Steel & Shafting Company
Continental Roll & Steel Foundry
Copperweld Steel Corporation
Dravo Contracting Co.
S. R. Dresser Manufacturing Company
Edgewater Steel Company
Federal Laboratories, Inc.
Follansbee Bros. Company
Fort Pitt Malleable Iron Company
General Electric Company
Hercules Powder Company
Jessop Steel Company
Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation
Kress Box Company
Martin-Parry Corporation
McConway & Torley Company
McDowell Manufacturing Company
National Tube Company
Pittsburgh Equitable Meter Company
Pittsburgh Steel Company
Pittsburgh Tube Company
Sheet Metal Specialty Company
Sperry Gyroscope Company
Standard Sanitary Mfg. Company
Thomas Spacing Company
Venango Mfg. Company
Westinghouse Air Brake Company
Westinghouse Electric & Mfg. Company

How does the above list, and the list given in FIGHT, square with the statement made by the Army Ordnance Association that "other than a few manufacturing arsenals—six in all—there is no peace-time industry for the production of ordnance"? And how does it square with either of the following statements made before representatives of the above and other firms:

Mr. Woodring: "We have reasonably accurate knowledge of the capacity of our industries to meet [armament] requirements, and we have allocated to over fifteen thou-

sand industrial facilities a definite task in the contemplated production program." (Emphasis mine.)

Major General Hof, Chief of Ordnance: "Apportionments of items to be procured have been made to this district. Many tentative schedules of production have been accepted by plants for such items as forgings for guns and ammunition, cartridge cases, loading and assembly of complete rounds of ammunition and for production of machine tools. *Your factory plans for production are progressing most satisfactorily.*" (Emphasis mine.)

Preparing Imperialist War

It won't be long now! "Preparedness" is again in full swing: all this country needs now is an "enemy," another Woodrow Wilson, another George Creel—and a completely bulldozed army of American workers, professional men, "intellectuals," etc. The first three are just around the corner, arm in arm with the "prosperity" that has smiled upon the death merchants since time began; the fourth—as bitter experience has shown—can be made ready in less than six months, for service in any part of the world to the greater glory of Massacre, Money, and Munitions. Make no mistake about it: behind the respectably patriotic "national defense" slogan favored by the Army Ordnance Association and its affiliates, official or other, stand ready the massed batteries of War Propaganda. They did their job well during the last conflict; they will be incomparably better designed and operated to succeed in the next, unless—

Unless there faces them, in the United States and throughout the world, a Macedonian phalanx of opposition, solidly united in the Fight Against War and Fascism.


AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y.

Secretary: DONALD HENDERSON Editor: JOSEPH PASS
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(LEFT) Line up of Workers in Berlin buying Potato Peelings. (RIGHT) A Nazi Army Officer in Berlin instructing School Children in the use of Gas Masks

LIFE UNDER FASCISM

ALTONA.—Reviving memories of wartime, German scientists have been enrolled in a propaganda campaign urging the use of cheaper substitutes in food: margarine instead of butter, the food value of potato skins, etc. The organization, which puts out this propaganda in working class neighborhoods, is called "The Institute of Modern Dietetics."

BERLIN.—On the proposal of the great trusts of the electric industry, Siemens, General Electric (AEG), and Bergmann, the minister of state for economy has given orders that until further notice no new undertakings are to be established or old ones extended, or closed down plants re-opened, for the manufacture of strong current cables or isolated conduits. The state ministry of economy has also prohibited, for two years, the building of new or the extension of old zinc rolling mills. These measures enable the existing trusts to maintain their monopolist position, and therewith their high prices and special profits.

BERLIN.—Compulsory labor service will be required of all high school boys and girls before being admitted to German universities, according to the recently adopted constitution. All male university students must also enter Nazi storm troop detachments for one year.

ROME, Italy.—President Clavenzani of the Fascist Federation of the Manufacturers Syndicates reported that from "1927 to 1933, workers' wages have been reduced from 30% to 45%, while the cost of living went down 15%; the productivity of labor has increased 27%." The Clavenzani report further states that "while in 1927 only 766 factories were working under the (Bedaux) system of efficiency, the year 1932 witnessed 1332 plants working under this system." The Bedaux system is practically universal now.

BERLIN.—The psalms of David have made a "Germanized" appearance under the title, "Divine Songs for Germans." The text of Psalm LXXXVII ("The Lord loveth the gates of Zion," etc.), for instance, now reads: "The

Lord loveth the heights of Germany more than all the places of the foreigner."

NOWAWES.—One of the four men taken out of prison by the storm troopers on January 31, and then shot "while attempting to escape," was Erich Steinfurt, veteran leader of the Berlin militant railwaymen's union.

ROME, Italy.—Giorgio Amendola, well-known anti-Fascist and member of the illegal Communist Party, was severely wounded by a band of Fascists and interned on the Island of Ponza, one of the deportation camps established by Mussolini for anti-Fascist agitators.

BERLIN.—In the *Shoemakers' Journal* appears a notice to the effect that one large establishment is discontinuing its line of extra durable soles. This sacrifice of business, announce the manufacturers, is for the common good of German shoemakers and is in line with the new German spirit.

HAMBURG.—At the beginning of this year it was estimated that 174,000 persons had passed into concentration camps, 119,682 wounded, and 3,000 murdered by storm troopers.

BERLIN.—The official figures of unemployment show an increase of 343,000 for the month of December. This gives extra significance to the new "Law for the Defense of National Labor" promulgated soon afterwards. It abolishes all labor unions and creates a feudal relationship between employer and employees, in which the former is legally recognized as the "leader" and the latter constitute his "following." Strikes become an offense against the National State.

HAMBURG.—The number of female students at the medical school here has been limited to 75 per year. "A woman physician is a double-sexed creature repugnant to the natural, healthy instincts of the people," says the *Medical Journal* in reporting the new law.

BERLIN.—The former total of 2,703 German journals has been reduced to 1,128, by October, 1933. The number of copies printed

—one billion in 1932—has sunk to less than a third.

SONDRIO, Lombardy, Italy.—A leaflet distributed here via the underground route read: "Since the advent of Fascism the condition of workers and peasants of the Valtelline Valley have become disastrous. Taxes have increased tenfold. The prices of livestock and agricultural products have tumbled to unheard-of levels. A system of barter is the only possible way of exchanging goods. The peasants risk their lives daily by smuggling in order to earn a few liras."

BRUNSWICK.—This city reports one of the most modern gas warfare schools in the world. Some 150 students have been sent here from all parts of Germany. All sports, including tennis, horseback riding, gymnastics, shooting, etc., are carried on while wearing gas masks.

MUNICH.—City authorities announced today that 26,000 young workers have been found work as "land helpers" (unpaid agricultural laborers) and that 3,000 of these workers refused to be sent on these terms to the rural districts, forfeiting thereby their unemployment benefit.

CASSEL.—The local Nazi newspaper, *Hessische Volkswacht*, announces that it will print the names of any "Aryan" girls found in the company of Jewish men.

FOSSATI, Italy.—More than half of the force at the cotton mill here was dismissed and replaced with young girls who are working for 3 to 4 liras a day (21 to 28 cents). Two weeks later some of the older workers were re-hired at half the wage they formerly received.

BERLIN.—The German Air Defense League is now one of the very biggest organizations in Germany. There is one of its officials in every German house, usually in the person of the janitor. The head of this organization is Goering himself.

CHURCHES AND FASCISM

By HARRY F. WARD

Author of "In Place of Profit," "The Labor Movement," etc., etc.

The writer of this article is a Professor of Ethics at the Union Theological Seminary

In the membership of the churches in this country there are millions of the kind of people who easily became Fascists in Italy and Germany. It is also true, as recent events in Germany clearly show, that the churches are capable of offering a tough resistance to certain aspects of Fascism. The problem then in this country is how to develop this resistance before Fascism gets power, and to develop it in terms of their duty to the masses, not their self-interest.

Opium and Antidote

In all the Protestant denominations, predominantly among those whose religion is basically emotional and illiterate, there are numbers of people who are the easily molded raw material of the repressive type of Fascism. They live narrow, starved lives, with no knowledge of economics or politics, no interest in science, no contacts with literature or art. Their religion supplies them with an opiate that takes them into a dream world. They are the natural followers of a powerful demagogue who can deceive them with vague promises and revolutionary phrases. When their economic security is gone or threatened, their undisciplined emotions can quickly be turned into hate of the Jew, the Communist, the Negro. The only preventive serum that will make them immune to these poisonous germs is a propaganda, in emotional terms, that enables them to locate their real enemy. The people who come to know that the capitalist system is the source of their economic troubles are not easily led off to chase and beat scape-goats.

Unite with Workers and Farmers

In those sections of Protestantism whose type of religion is more intellectual and ethical than emotional there are multitudes of people who will easily be deceived by the fake remedies which Fascism offers to cure the breakdown of the capitalist system, either because of their economic self-interest or their social idealism. They belong to the small merchant, well-to-do farmer, professional and salaried

groups. They are being squeezed by big business at the top and are getting afraid of the rise of the workers from below. They, therefore, are easily misled by the false economic program of Fascism when it promises them to regulate both capital and labor. The only way to make these people immune to this deception is to provide them with an analysis of the American scene and of the capitalist control of Fascism in Europe which will convince them that no government can successfully regulate big business.

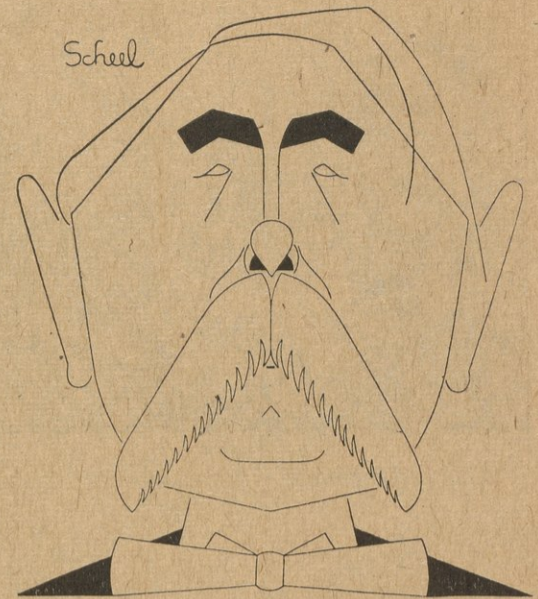
To make this analysis live, these people must be brought in touch with the struggles of the workers and poor farmers. This will prevent their social idealism from being blinded by the mirage of an impossible Utopia and lead them to discover the community of interest between themselves, threatened with insecurity, and those whose economic security has already been destroyed.

For a Classless Society

This means that those who would use what resources are available in the churches to fight the development of Fascism must be prepared to show the people in the churches that there is no way out under the profit system and that the only way they can get the better life that is within their reach is to take ownership and control out of the hands of the few, put it into the hands of the many, and develop a planned economy for the purpose of realizing the classless society. Then the emotions and ideals that will otherwise be misled by the Fascists will be directed to the defeat of the real enemy of the people—the capitalist system—and will be given a constructive outlet in the building of a new order.

To work at this task the American League Against War and Fascism needs to get members in all religious organizations. The minute that Fascist propaganda of hate against Negroes, Jews, and revolutionary workers appears in their community with the Christian label on it, these people should secure and publish resolutions from religious organizations denouncing it as an absolute contradiction of the gospel of brotherhood proclaimed by the churches. They should also seek to get discussion of the economic aspects of Fascism in gatherings of preachers and church young people. In the programs of the latter there is in many cases opportunity for introduction of this question.

The basic spade work of economic analysis to expose the falsity of Fascism and to lay bare the real causes of the present economic breakdown is indispensable to the success of mass propaganda.



Drawing by Scheel

Ralph Easley, who recently attacked the Students in the Hearst newspapers for their Anti-War activities.

EASLEY AND STUDENTS

By ADAM LAPIN

Editor of "The Student Review"

"April 6, anniversary of our entry into the World War has been selected as the occasion for a nation-wide, Communist-inspired student demonstration—ostensibly for peace and against war—but the real objective of which is abolition of the R.O.T.C. and opposition to all National defense measures." This is the opening paragraph of an article by Ralph Easley, syndicated throughout the country in the Sunday, March 11, editions of the Hearst newspapers.

Mr. Easley, chairman of the National Civic Federation, the man who in his own intuitive way was a Fascist before Mussolini and a Nazi before Hitler, is on the rampage again. This time he is after the students. In his series of articles, "as told to Earl Reeves," he reveals the clenched fist of Moscow threatening the American Colleges.

Spying in the Schools

His trained private operatives have discovered the existence of the National Student League. After pilfering the mails and stealing various private papers, his eagle-eye investigators have told him that students are beginning to fight the abuses of their educational system, that they are beginning to fight against War and Fascism in alliance with the working class.

Mr. Easley's conclusions are even more interesting than his methods. He proposes the suppression of all militant student activities and organizations. He proposes the creation of

(Continued on page ten)

THE AUTO INDUSTRY

By LOUIS LIMKER

Judging by recent developments in the automobile industry and its allied manufactories, the prophecy of "War in 1934" does not seem entirely without reason.

It is generally known that the automobile industry played such a decisive role in the World War that it has ever since been kept geared to swing into the production of military requirements on very short notice. Most of the important plants now operated by the industry were laid out specifically for War production.

In fact, a study of the records shows quite plainly that the industry got its greatest impetus during the War years and grew tremendously into a basic factor of the nation's economy. Capital invested during that period nearly tripled; the ratio of earnings to capital jumped 100%; and the estimated net profits, which were already substantial, increased tenfold.

A Capitalist Peace Leader

The greatest share of the War booty, of course, was captured by Henry Ford's Motor Company. (Remember the "Peace Ship"?) As the leader in the industry, this company alone, during the War period, practically tripled its invested capital and paid out dividends, in stock and cash, of approximately 1,000%. Thus, while 10 million soldiers were killed during the War, Henry Ford became a billionaire. (The same Ford who on Bloody Monday, March 7, 1932, ordered his gunmen to shoot down workers in the Dearborn demonstration, killing five.)

With these facts in mind, together with the tobogganing of profits in the industry during the last few years, and the recent "educational orders" of the War Department on requirement allocations for military purposes, it is not altogether surprising to find the auto manufacturers and their bankers once again slobbering greedily for a share of Roosevelt's record War pot of profits.

"The Good Old (War) Days"

We find, for instance, that Packard and Cadillac, both concerns of highly skilled personnel, have already received War orders; the former for shells and 75 millimeter guns, and the latter for howitzers.

Packard, which is now producing only ten to fifteen cars daily, also makes the Diesel motors for airplanes. In view of such low output of cars and the millions of dollars assigned in the War budget for building up the air force, it is quite understandable why preparations are now being made at Packard to shift the entire plant into intensified War production.

This also explains why the Bohn Aluminum Corporation is making parts for dirigibles and airplanes.

Likewise we find Henry Ford, that great humanitarian, who denounces War in the press and blames the munition makers and international jealousy as the prime instigators, also producing gun carriages, grappling iron for tanks, and khaki-colored U. S. Medical Corps ambulances.

It is interesting also to discover that the trucks newly designed by Chevrolet, Chrysler, and Dodge, for which they have received such large orders, meet the requirements of the War Department very nicely.

Another significant movement under way in Detroit is to make this district a steel center, although the auto industry used only 15% of the steel and iron produced in the U. S. in 1933.

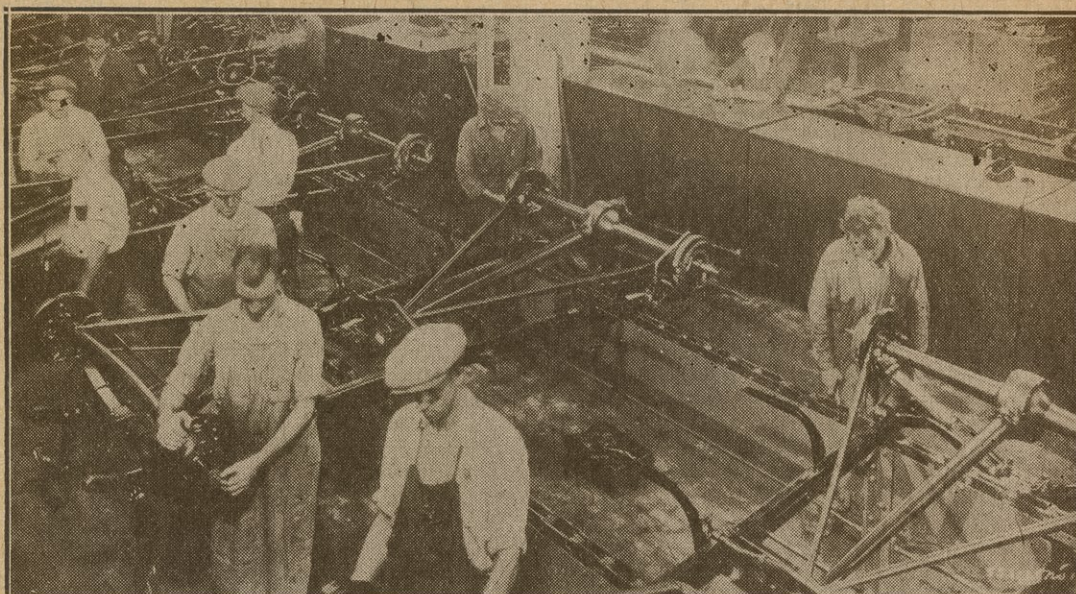
And again it is Ford who makes the first move. While he preaches publicly his theory of decentralizing industry, he is at the same time expanding his operations at River Rouge with the addition of a 10 million dollar steel mill, complete with all units for the making of sheet steel. The addition of this equipment

their "educational orders" from the War Department, read and digested them with some anticipation and pleasure. Now they are putting these orders into effect.

This is their solution. Faced as they are by the growing and militant demands of the workers, battered by five years of crisis, hunger, and misery, they offer their solution—War!

Will the workers accept this solution?

To quote the *Auto Workers News*: "In every factory in the automobile industry there are signs of rising resistance of the workers to the worsening of their conditions. Mass strikes have electrified the workers in the entire industry. . . . This situation has resulted in a very rapid movement of the workers toward organization. For the first time in the auto industry there is a sign of mass joining of unions by the workers in practically all the shops. . . . This action of the workers shows the increased mass indignation and resistance to the growing attack of the auto companies against the auto workers."



Henry Ford, while publicly denouncing Munition Makers in the interest of Peace, turns his own plants into "producing gun carriages, grappling iron for tanks and khaki-colored U. S. Medical Corps ambulances." (ABOVE) Inside of a Ford plant.

will mean that Ford will be able to produce 30% of his requirements instead of only 5% as heretofore.

General Motors is negotiating for the acquisition of Corrigan, McKinney Steel Co. and its affiliate the Newton Steel Co., operating at Monroe, Mich. Only last year, the Rotary Electric Steel Co., pioneer in a new type of steel production, erected and started operations in a new plant at Detroit. And now, the American Rolling Mills, which holds control of the continuous sheet rolling patents, is getting ready to acquire a plant on the Detroit River front.

Preparing the "Steel Bath"

All these developments make it apparent that the "captains" of industry have received

Although this resistance of the auto workers is based principally on an economic attack, against the N.R.A. (first War measure), against the betraying, reactionary union leadership, it has also a political aspect which must be mobilized against the reactionary forces of Fascism and War.

When this realization comes, when every worker in the auto industry joins hands with the workers in the steel industry and munition factories and together, in mass solidarity, they go out on strike protesting against the brutal, monstrous machinations of the profit-insane capitalists who would drive them to destroy their fellow-men and their brother workers in other lands, then—and only then—will War be made impossible.

When War Is On

By ROBERT WHITAKER

The World War brought me a triple experience, a brief recital of which may be of profit to those who are today trusting in intellectual and moral forces for their program in the new World War which threatens our day.

As a sequence of my outspokenness against War during the first four months after we had entered upon our War with Germany in April 1917, I was sent as a delegate to the People's Council (an anti-War organization formed during the World War) meeting at Minneapolis, at the end of August of that year. By the time the California delegates arrived there, the People's Council had been driven out of Minneapolis by mob manifestations, and had adjourned to meet in Chicago. There the meeting was held on the first Sunday in September. The Mayor of the City, Mayor Thompson, refused to interfere, whereupon the Governor of the State, properly named Small, called out the State troops to disperse the gathering. Before the troops could get to Chicago for action, the People's Council had transacted its business and adjourned. This was late on Sunday. I did not reach Chicago till the next morning, but found the delegates of the Council still there. Seven meetings were held, under conditions of strictest secrecy, in private rooms in a certain hotel where many delegates were guests; in the office of a prominent Socialist attorney, afterwards candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States on the Socialist ticket; and in the rooms of a South Chicago home, where lived the wife of a professor in the University of Chicago. I was called upon to act as Chairman at each of these seven "rump" meetings. The conditions under which we met were reminiscent of the experiences of early Christians in the catacombs of ancient Rome. Later, the People's Council adjourned to New York City, where I took a less conspicuous part, and where decisions made under the persuasions of the political leaders in the assembly dissipated all effective action, and practically ended the work of the organization.

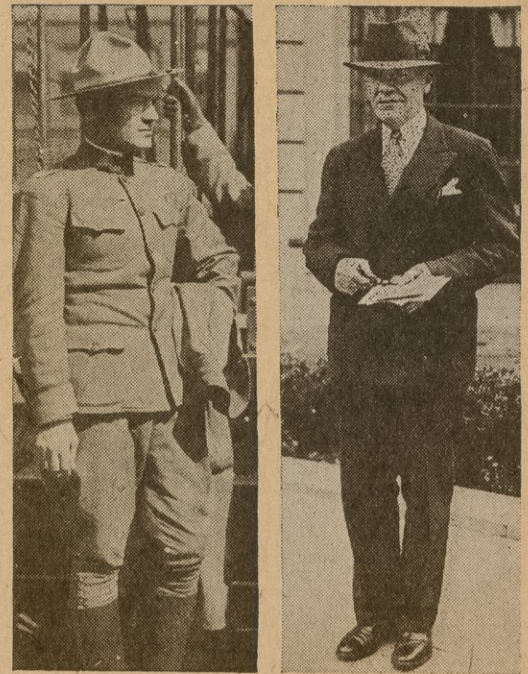
"Free Speech"

From New York I returned home by way of Los Angeles, where it had been arranged that certain of us would hold a Christian Pacifist Conference, covering the three days of October 1-3, 1917. We had expected to hold this Conference at Long Beach, but were denied a hall there, likewise at San Pedro, so we accepted Los Angeles as the place where we were likely to arouse the least of violent attention. But the hysteria of the press, with that of the Rev. Billy Sunday, who was in revival work there, led the police to announce that we would not be allowed to meet. In fact, the hall we had hired was locked against all meetings for the three days named above, and the police arrogantly ordered us to move on when we sought

admittance. But we had hired another hall, without publicity, divided our forces, quietly passed the word around, and had our meeting in full swing before the police found us. As Chairman of the meeting, because I would not disperse it, I was arrested, with the Secretary and a young Quaker, who was the speaker of the hour. We were promptly bailed out, and we carried on the Conference for the full three days, in private houses, followed from place to place by the police and the reporters, these last playing us up on the front page of the dailies as ordinarily only murderers of sensational fame are played up. The last evening, in South Pasadena, we were mobbed, in a private home, and some of our number manhandled by the respectables of that ultra-respectable town, who sang "America" while they were dragging us out of the house. Our case was brought to trial in November; the trial lasted from November 14 to December 9. We were convicted, sentenced to heavy fines, and to as long terms in jail as the law would allow. The Supreme Court of the State turned us out, after we had served ninety-four days in the city jail, and laughed the case out of court when it came up for final decision in October 1918. "Unlawful assembly" was the main indictment.

Old Methods Ineffectual

The third item in my experience covered a longer range of time. My church in Los Gatos, with the exception of certain of the more nationalistic members, stood by me, though I had offered to resign for their release. My wife and I were disinherited of a considerable property willed us in San José, threats of tar and feathers were held over us, the program of hanging me was vociferously applauded in the leading church of the town, but we escaped actual physical attack. I continued my work in Los Gatos till June of 1921, when, following an attack of pneumonia, I was advised to make a change, and the church at my request released me. But the ill-will of the community followed the church to the end, and after three brief pastorates the remnant of the congregation resolved to turn the property over to another church which was in need of larger accommodations. The town, now that we have returned to it without official connections of any kind, is tolerant enough toward us, most of the people unaware that we are here, no doubt, as the community has the character in general of a resort town. But the community, like most communities of its size in America today so far as I have had opportunity to judge, is more conservative, more wedded to the things that make for War, more potentially powerful to sweep away all opposition



1917-1934 (LEFT) General Hugh S. Johnson, who drew up the Conscription Act, during the World War. (RIGHT) Still on the Job—the Head of the N. R. A.

to the next War with active ruthlessness, than it was twenty years ago when the World War began.

New Times—New Methods

The time to oppose War is before War gets under way. Opposition following the opening of the next War will be more impotent than was ours of 1917-18—unless we organize now—more costly to those who undertake it, more impossible to the masses of the people. Nor will any opposition to War avail us much until War-power is out of the hands of the profit-takers, and their henchmen, and in the hands of a revolutionary proletariat. It is not by abolishing force that we shall lessen its use, but by transferring the control of force to the side of those who speak the common interest. I was never an absolutist, even when in jail as a pacifist. I was then, as I am now, against all nationalistic, imperialist Wars. But War will cease to be War, actively, only when the power to make War is in the hands of a society that knows no owning class as against a class of the disinherited. Special interest compels contention and War. The common interest, once in the saddle, lives by the fact that it is the interest of all to maintain it, and this is therefore the only way out of War.

BERLIN.—Hitler's pre-election campaign against department stores has evidently been without effect since he came into power. Woolworth's reports a 23% increase in invested capital in Germany and a growth in the number of branch stores from 70 to 81 over last year. Many small business houses have closed their doors during the past 10 months.



WHITE SUPREMACY

By JOHN WEXLEY

In my play, *They Shall Not Die*, I have tried to give a dramatic portrayal of the Southern "Theory of White Supremacy." This theory concerning and proving the natural superiority of the white man and the innate inferiority of the Negro has thrived and is thriving in this country through the active efforts and deliberate policy of America's ruling classes.

We saw this policy manifest itself recently in the Board of Education of Nyack, N. Y. We remember the Chicago race riots. No, the North is not immune from the pursuit and propaganda of this theory. Therefore it is that I do not say "Southern ruling class," but include all of these free and democratic United States in my accusation.

How do the superior white theorists proceed to prove their thesis of the Negro's inferiority? They demonstrate that the Negro lives in "nigger-towns," that he holds inferior jobs, such as: elevator-boys, laborers, porters, stevedores, etc. They say he is libidinous, syphilitic, naturally thieving, and a rapist. They say in the South that Saturday night is "nigger-night" and that, when a Negro gets drunk, the first thought he entertains is the rape of a white woman. Let us pause a moment and examine the facts.

How the Negro Lives

"Nigger-town" is always the dump on the other side of the railroad track. There are no paved sidewalks or streets. Plumbing and adequate sewerage is foreign to it. Schools are few, and where they do exist (chiefly through the personal philanthropy of Chicago millionaires) they are segregated from those of the whites. The Negro is forced to live in filth and degradation and then the white theorist accuses him of being inferior. Southern states have laws passed by their white legislators, segregating Negro schools and residences from white ones, and yet we hear the accusation that the Negro prefers to remain in his "nigger-town." What hospitalization does the South afford its Negro population? What hygienic education does it seek to instil in the Negro child? What job or position is open to the average Negro? But on the other hand what steps do our police and legislatures take to curb the prostitution that exists and is not only overlooked but zealously sponsored?

Libidinous? Thieving? Rapist? Who says so? The white ruling class of the South. Is the Jew naturally a usurer? The Fascist Nazi says so. Is the Frenchman a pervert? The nationalist German and Englishman say so. Is the Russian a bewhiskered bomb-thrower? The Hamilton Fishes and Matthew Wolls say so. It seems to me that this sort of argument is too stupid even to attempt to answer. Suffice it to say, assuming all these accusations are well-grounded, let us demand . . . who made them so? Who is the cause of it? Who forces them into thievery? Who raped and rapes black wives and daughters, so that to-

Author of "*They Shall Not Die*," "*The Last Mile*," "*Steel*"

day we have a population of not less than 13,000,000 mulattoes and 2,000,000 pure blacks? How common it is for white men in the South (of course there are thousands of exceptions) to boast when in their cups of the Negro wenches they have "had." How many Negro husbands and fathers have been lynched because they have dared to protect their wives and daughters against white rapists? When a Southerner hurled at me the point: "When a nigger gets drunk, he craves a white woman," I asked him if it were true that when a Christian gets drunk, he lusts after the body of a Jewess? He stared at me.

Dividing the Front

Let us go a bit deeper into the problem. I have it on the word of an extremely intelligent person who resided in the capital city of a Southern state that, during a period of three and a half years' residence in that city, he had never once heard the charge of rape raised against a Negro. However, one day a strike broke out in the cotton mills near-by, involving both Negro and white labor, a strike for better conditions and a little more pay. Cost of living had been increasing and wages constantly decreasing. Immediately, a charge of rape was trumped up against a Negro, and, oddly enough, or rather very coincidentally, the charge was made against a Negro very active in the strike, one who had gained the respect and confidence of his fellow white workers. The net result, of course, was exactly

what was intended: a "nigger-hunt." The white strikers' attention and interest were drawn away from the strike with its real grievances and turned into a channel of imaginary and illusory grievances. They were incited into hating illusory enemies and into forgetting the identity of their genuine opponents. Who incited this and activated it? Who stood to gain by such Machiavellian methods?

We can answer this question best by examining certain figures given by the Department of Labor and the Bureau of Census, concerning a notorious Southern state, notorious for its illiteracy, lynch-reputation, and general backwardness. This state boasts a population of 3,000,000 human beings and a wealth of \$5,000,000,000. Its Negro population is 37 per cent of the total. These Negroes contribute 80 per cent of the basic labor supply. That is, 80 per cent of the labor done in this state to create these five billions of dollars was and is being done by Negroes. Yet, it seems, only one and one-quarter per cent of this wealth is held by Negroes. Another five per cent is held by poor whites, and ninety-three and three-quarters per cent is held by the landlord class.

Who Is Responsible

It is now necessary to ask who contributes to this false "Theory of White Supremacy"? Is it at all obscure to anyone that a small parasitic class finds it to its interest and profit to keep alive this theory and by it to maintain the division between white and black workers, and thus to keep them weak, divided, and full of mutual hate?



The tree near the Court House at St. Joseph, Mo., on which a 19-year-old Negro was hanged and later burned

THE STRUGGLE

The situation in France is marked by the most profound gravity, in the sense that it is entirely characteristic of political tendencies and positions which are becoming more and more clearly defined.

The situation can be summed up in the expression "pre-Fascist phase." It cannot be said, as some blind persons still dare to do, that "France is a country in which Fascism cannot conquer." It cannot even be said that France is a country where Fascism would be unable to assume the summary and brutal forms it has taken in Italy and Germany.

In the first place, we must state that, after sixty years of a so-called progressive republic, the government is entirely reactionary. The government of Daladier, which preserved the appearance of democracy, has given place—or taken flight—before a ministry dominated by proved representatives of reaction and social conservatism. In the face of the first budgetary difficulty which presents itself, this ministry will obtain "full power."

The Prelude to Fascism

A large section of the population of France

—aside from the working class—is becoming a prey to misery, uncertainty concerning the future, discontent, and anger. This unrest is co-ordinated and methodically directed towards Fascism and reaction: the Taxpayers' League, the conformist Veterans' Leagues, the Young Patriots—that is, the most clearly defined of the peasant and middle-class elements—are stirred by nationalist and Fascist agitation. Misery and fraud, the mad increase in taxes, scandals and corruption—in short, all the evils and the consequences of the capitalist system—are exploited in order to consolidate the capitalist system itself by means of violence, and to consecrate a dictatorial government of the Right.

Gross as the snare may be, the fact is that a large part of the population is deceived by it. This terrible blindness, which confuses the system with the personnel of the government, and which uncritically blames the condition of affairs on a "democracy" which in reality never functioned, is greatly increased by patriotic and nationalistic sentiments, which are unusually strong in France. It is difficult to estimate properly the enormous motive and explosive power of this traditional sentiment in a

country like France. A single concrete event involving a national question would be enough to arouse and precipitate three-quarters of the French population into the most ferocious action.

In this stupid and illogical confusion—just protest against impossible living conditions, just bitterness against waste, fraud, and patent abuse, together with inept distrust of the only great and logical social changes—internationalism and socialism are identified with elements of disorder, while anti-Semitism and the race question may be involved at any time.

These are precisely the forerunners of the arrival of Fascism, which we have seen developed to the final revolutionary parody in Germany and Italy.

Speed United Front

And the working class? The working class is more conscious and better organized than ever before, but it suffers from the splits which the concessions and the betrayals of social democracy have generalized and crystallized. The efforts which we are making, on

HITLERISM IN HOLLAND

By ALBERT ALLEN

The emptiness of bourgeois patriotism is never more strikingly illustrated than when profit interests within a nation conflict. Holland, it would seem, has every reason to oppose Hitler. For one thing, the Nazis have open designs on the coal mines in South Limburg and ultimately hope to swallow Holland whole. For another, Dutch imperialist policy is more closely allied with that of France and for that reason opposed to Hitler imperialism. Yet we find that, while the Dutch government, on the one hand, fights Hitlerism in the profit interests of one group, it aids Hitlerism, on the other, in the profit interests of another.

Dutch Munition Makers

Thus, at the same time that it opposes Hitlerite imperialistic plans, it facilitates the execution of those plans by permitting the manufacture and shipment of huge quantities of ammunition to Germany. The newspaper "Metropole," published in Antwerp, discloses that eight Dutch factories are working in close co-operation with German plants and German capital in turning out War material. The Rheinmetal factory in Germany, for example, "is making a new type of double-barreled machine-gun and new monster anti-aircraft guns operating with five rotating barrels firing 1,000 shots a minute," while the Nedinske fac-

tory at Venloo, Holland, is developing precision instruments for these War machines in close co-operation with Rheinmetal and employing exclusively German help. The "Krupp Company" maintains similar co-operative arrangements with Dutch munitions makers.

Of a similar character is the contradiction between the official stand on Nazi activities in Holland and the way that stand works out in practice. On the surface, the government is against the Nazis. Following disorders in frontier towns caused by uniformed Nazis, the authorities forbade all Germans wearing brown shirts or other Nazi emblems to cross the border. About the same time, two Nazis were expelled from Holland for political activities in the Heerlen mining district and a police order was issued prohibiting foreigners living in this section to cross the Dutch frontier to take part in Nazi exercises in Germany. Violators were subject to deportation. Konrad Tykfer, regional leader of the Nazis, was expelled from Limburg. Of the twenty-odd Fascist groups in Holland the only one countenanced by the government is the Mussert organization, and here is the hitch.

Ideologically, the Mussert organization is very close to the Hitler movement except that it places no great emphasis on anti-Semitism. Though government officials are forbidden to be members of any Fascist or Communist organization, the one notable exception is Mus-

sert. A. A. Mussert, himself, until a month ago held a government post, and many mayors are members of his organization. Because it enjoys a monopoly of legal protection, the Mussert organization is serving as a receptacle for disintegrating Fascist groups of various complexions including many Nazis who consider it more expedient to operate from within a larger group to which they are in any case related.

Fascism World Wide

There is strong evidence of complicity on the part of Mussert followers with Nazis in Berlin in the apprehension and deportation of anti-Fascist workers in Holland. It has been definitely established, for example, that one Gemmeke, who played a leading role in the Mussert movement and was at the same time an official in the Amsterdam police, acted as contact man in Berlin. Although it was known that he had been in Berlin Nazi headquarters on a Mussert mission, he continued to hold his police post. It is an open secret that Mussert had tried to get financial subsidies from the Nazis, and it is very likely that he has succeeded. For his publication, *De Deutsche Gerachte* has been recently enlarged. Also operating in collusion with the Nazis are the Black Shirts led by an Englishman named Haighton. This organization, which joined

IN FRANCE

By
HENRI BARBUSSE

the other hand, to obtain a united front of the working class despite the pressure of unworthy leaders towards reformism (which means consolidation of the bourgeois regime and therefore social conservatism), have yielded appreciable results.

But they are relatively slow, and at the present time we must act with desperate and intense energy, in order not to be overtaken by the demagogic sophisms of the enemy in our midst (that is, the coalition of bourgeois elements with all nationalist and reactionary elements of every character).

The General Strike

On February 12 there was a general strike in France. It was quite impressive. But we must admit that in the development of this workers' demonstration there were a certain number of doubtful circumstances which make it impossible for us to regard it as a purely revolutionary movement. The initiative in this strike was taken by the reformist C.G.T., whose leader, M. Jouhaux, has many connections with the bourgeois power. It was declared after conversations and dealings be-

tween Jouhaux and the government, and this lent it a quasi-official character which ought to give us pause.

As a matter of fact, the working class in France does not seem at the moment capable of conducting by itself a revolutionary struggle, or even an anti-Fascist movement, with any chance of success. Although it has in itself a strong organization, and the revolutionary unions and the Communist Party represent a powerful and inspiring vanguard, it is numerically too weak in comparison with the population which the crisis is beginning to shake, and whose unrest is deftly exploited by the powers of reaction. It will not be able to hold out alone in France any more than it did in Italy, in Germany or Austria, against the combination of Fascism, the nationalist masses, and the power of the state. The great strength of the working class (and, indeed, its certainty of ultimate victory) rests on the immense and dazzlingly successful construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. But the mere fact that such success does not at once induce triumphant revolutionary struggles elsewhere proves how completely the adverse campaign and the reactionary libels have been able to travesty the

truth and have led astray the masses outside of the working class.

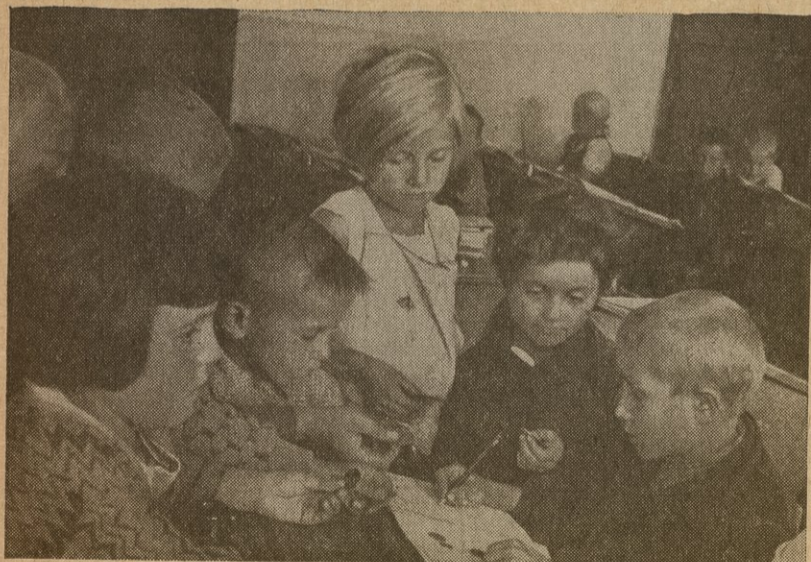
Only Two Formulas

It is therefore extremely urgent for us to expand the working-class front by a defensive and offensive alliance with the middle classes, the peasants, and the War veterans; and for this purpose we must forcefully work upon the great undirected masses, to show them the similarity of their interests with those of the working class. The chances are still on our side and there is still time to undertake this on a large scale. We must show all those who are exploited and oppressed that there are only two formulas to follow from now on, Fascism or Socialism; that the formula of Fascism leads to nothing, economically, and can only result in War and ruin; that only the formula of Socialism is beneficial for each and for all.

We have begun to work assiduously on this conquest of the broad masses by means of the women and the young people: it is the most positive and living direction that can be given to a struggle which is becoming more momentous and significant with every instant.



(TOP) The three Victorious Defendants in the Reichstag Fire Trial enjoying their freedom in the Soviet Union. (LEFT TO RIGHT) Popov, Dimitrov and Tanev talking to American correspondents. (BELOW) Children in a Russian school taking up a collection to aid Victims of Fascism in Germany



hands with the Nazis at the Schlageter memorial in Dusseldorf, receives its support from German industrialists. Although they maintain separate organizations, these two groups have a common interest with the Nazis in fighting anti-Fascists, and it is on this issue that

they have been drawn together in their work.

Nazi activities were launched early last year under the personal supervision of Dr. Hans Neiland, then chief of the foreign department of the Nazi organization. He visited local agents at the Hague and was the principal

speaker at a rally held for the purpose of gaining members.

Since then the movement, receiving its orders from Munich, Cologne, and Aachen has been growing, chiefly in South Limburg where a great many Germans work in the coal mines. *The Times* on July 11, reported that the Kettlerbund, an association of German Catholics in Holland had been co-ordinated as a Nazi organization. On the same date the *Times* reported a leading Dutch Nazi, van Waterland, as asserting in Herzogenrath near the frontier that 500 German storm troopers stood ready to help the Dutch Nazis conquer Limburg. On March 6 of this year the Dutch government was reported ready to protest the invasion of Doetinghem, a frontier town by several hundred German Nazis who demonstrated, sold Nazi literature, and acted as strong-arm men at a meeting of Mussertites. Just four days previous the *Times* reported that "German employees of German firms in Amsterdam were freely expressing indignation, saying they had been virtually compelled to attend a pro-Nazi demonstration regardless of their political views." The affair had been arranged by leading members of the German community.

Government Encouragement

Despite repeated provocations the government seems unwilling to take any decisive action to curb the Nazis. The explanation is simple. Pressure against the Nazis has its origin in those groups composed chiefly of political refugees who oppose all forms of Fascism. Now the Dutch government has

shown quite clearly that it is not opposed to all forms of Fascism but in fact encourages the Mussert organization. So it finds itself lined up on the side of the Nazis in opposing anti-Fascists. The following incident seems to bear out this view: When the government was petitioned recently to curtail provocative Nazi activities among the refugees, Dr. P. Donner, Minister of Justice, replied by declaring: "Foreigners must refrain from any political action in this country if they do not wish to be expelled." And only a month or two ago the Dutch government cancelled a boycott of German goods pronounced by the city of Zandam, an important shipping center, explaining that a "subordinate municipality could not be allowed to maintain a hostile attitude toward a friendly nation." It is clear that the same reasoning might well impel government action against Dutch citizens to say nothing of foreigners who maintain a hostile attitude toward the Third Reich.

Jailing Anti-Fascists

This is clearly shown in the case of Heinz Liepmann, noted German-Jewish novelist who escaped from a concentration camp at Wittmoor to Paris and there wrote of his harrowing experiences in a book called *Murder—Made in Germany*. Coming to Amsterdam to arrange for the German edition of the book, he was arrested on a charge of having made defamatory statements about Hindenburg and Hitler in his book, thereby "maligning the head of a friendly state." He was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, the German government is bringing great pressure on the Dutch government to extradite him, in which case he will be put to death. The *Guardian* further reports that "after his arrest Liepmann was treated like a criminal and given only bread and water and, though the prison doctor wished him to be taken to the hospital, as he is still suffering from the effects of his treatment in the concentration camp, the court refused to allow this."

(Continued from page four)

a Federal Secret Service bureau. Daily the Hearst papers print endorsements of this plan from prominent Senators and Congressmen. David L. Walsh, of Massachusetts, and our own Hamilton Fish are the first of what it is hoped will be an impressive total. What are today considered the scatter-brained schemes of these mad-hatters of reaction may tomorrow be the accepted policy of our national government.

Easley and Hearst are doing no more than their bit to further the War preparations of the Roosevelt administration. It is no wonder that their chief target of attack is the student fight against War. Mr. Easley has at last discovered the preparations that the Student Section of the American League Against War and Fascism is making for a Student Anti-War Week from April 6 to 13, for demonstrations and a one-hour strike on April 13. He is dismayed when the National Student League maintains that "The student fight against War must be closely associated with that of the

POETS and War

By **BABETTE DEUTSCH**

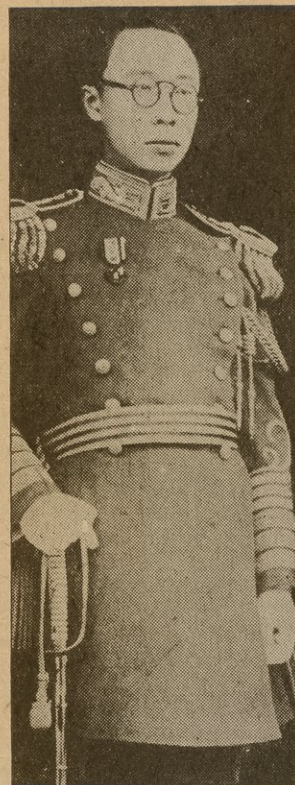
Author of "The Mask of Silenus," "Banners,"
"In Such a Night," etc., etc.

When the last War was being fought, I was an undergraduate, imaginative enough to realize the waste and the horror of it, young enough to enjoy the excitement of belonging to a rebellious minority. I remember going down to Washington with a trainload of college girls and boys who thought they should try to persuade their representatives to vote against America's entry into the War. The sardonic humor of that crusade was pointed for me by a hurried congressman who excused himself from listening to our arguments for peace because he had to go in and vote on a naval appropriations bill. I remember the chagrin with which we watched the resistance of the intellectuals crumble. The death of that lonely heretic, Randolph Bourne, still seems to me one of the saddest casualties of the War. One by one the strongholds of reason fell before our disillusioned eyes. The *New Republic* betrayed us by praising this War. The *Seven Arts* failed. The old *Masses* was destroyed by the government. The names of those magazines had a meaning then, and it was in a very real sense that the new republic we young people had dreamed of vanished like the baseless fabric of a vision, and the masses in whom we had put our faith went under with scarcely a murmur. As for the seven arts, one of them certainly flourished as never before, and the single good memory of those years is the part the poets played in them.

workers. . . . The National Student League must in the future co-operate very closely with the American League Against War and Fascism." Only the War makers will be horror-struck by such revelations. The motives behind them will be answered effectively only by action.

The Students Are Coming Awake!

Tens of colleges throughout the country are preparing anti-War conferences. At the College of the City of New York the administration, a bit more subtle than Fish and Easley, made an interesting legal point. Its spokesman pointed out that all students on entering the college sign the Ephebic Oath of loyalty to the institutions of the college, the city, the state, and the nation. He wished the arrangements committee to assure him that the Oxford pledge—of non-co-operation with the United States government in case of War—would under no circumstances be passed. The students stood pat. The conference is going



Japanese War lords set up a new Emperor.

Kang Teh, in full Military Uniform on the day of his coronation at Hsinking, Manchukuo

Poets and Courage

With remarkably few exceptions, the poets faced the facts of War with courage and intelligence. They were not bothered about the question of art and propaganda. They wrote with the passion of men seeing all that they loved done to death, with the conviction of men who knew that we become the image of the thing we hate, that slaughter breeds slaughter, that the victors are the filth and stench of no-man's land like a running plague. Wilfred Owen, who went on fighting simply that at the end his word against the shame of it might be taken seriously, and who was killed before it ended, wrote with dreadful foresight:

Now men will go content with what we spoiled,

Or discontent, boil bloody, and he spilled.

(Continued on page thirteen)

on without restrictions and compromising agreements. The faculty retreated with a harmless manifesto in its faculty bulletin pointing out the impropriety of the Oxford pledge.

At Hunter College in New York City, at Johns Hopkins and Cornell, students are working feverishly for their conferences. One hundred and seventeen delegates from eleven colleges in the Connecticut Valley met in Smith College on February 24, in an impressive anti-War conference. Delegates from such presumably conservative colleges as Dartmouth, Amherst, Mount Holyoke, and Smith pledged "active support to the struggle of the working class against War." They declared that they would "support the government in no War that it undertakes." They resolved also, "To set aside the week of April 6 to 13 to be used as a week of protest against War." An effective united front of action is being built on many campuses between the National Student League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and many other organizations.

THERE IS ALWAYS A 1917

By W. R. RICHARDS

Down at the Army and Navy Club they've been having an argument. General Triple-star says it was tanks that won the War. Colonel Triple-bottom credits "superior staff-work" with the victory. Captain Triple-rakeoff, Legion commandant, shouts the claims of Yankee grit.

The answer is simpler than that. The Generals who weren't driven out by their own men were "victorious."

It's no news that during 1917 the Russian soldiers drove the Tsar and his generals from power and put an end to the fighting on the Eastern front.

The French Mutinied, Too!

But what was happening in France in 1917? Read Premier Poincaré's diary: "The soldiers are shouting, 'Down with war' and 'Long live the Russian Revolution. . . .' Mutiny in the 21st Army Corps. . . . Men refuse to go into the trenches. Next day another division of the 7th Corps refused to go into position. . . . Five corps almost entirely infected. . . ."

In May 1917, relates Minister Painlevé in his memoirs, the soldiers on the Somme were holding open-air meetings, demanding that the War be stopped immediately, and stating their willingness to follow the revolutionary example of the Russian Army. In Soissons, in 1917, two regiments occupied the railway station and seized trains, to move on Paris and dissolve Parliament. On July 7 the situation at the front was so serious that Marshal Pétain demanded the restoration of field court-martial. Along the whole front only two divisions of the French army were considered reliable.

British Soldiers Strike for Peace

In 1917 " . . . on both sides of the Straits of Dover, unrest and disorder had commenced," recorded the Englishman Churchill in his War memoirs. "In a single week we received information from various points of more than thirty cases of insubordination among the troops. In some cases considerable bodies of soldiers refused to recognize any authority for several days."

English troops elected committees (soviets) to take control. Churchill states that these soviets held control in the towns of Lutin and Calais for several days.

Within the German line a parallel movement developed in 1917. Major political strikes against War were started in important centers in Austria and Germany. A mutiny broke out in one section of the German Navy.

Verdun Troops Start Home

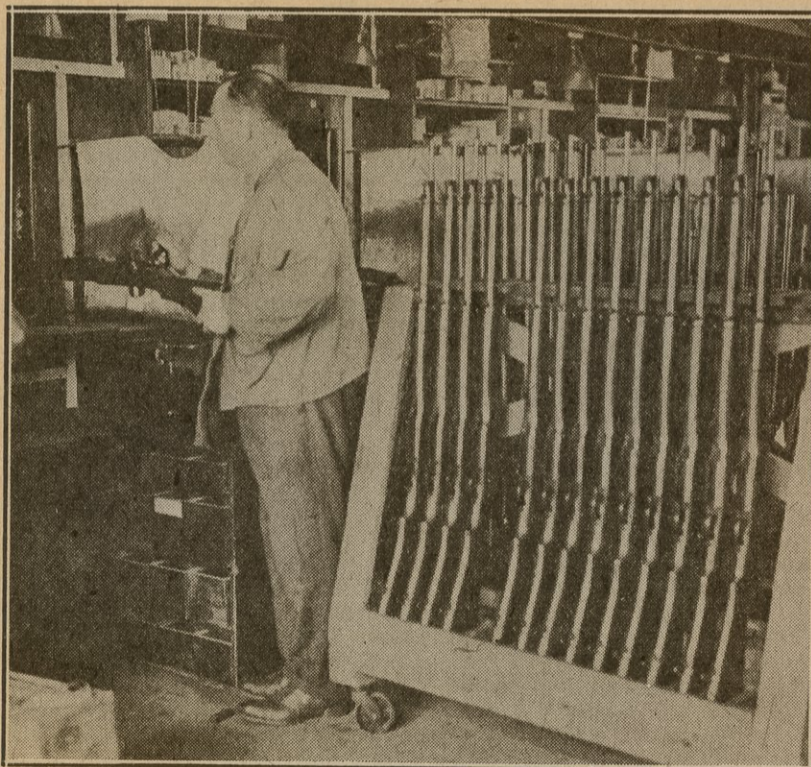
Then the "They Shall Not Pass" troops at Verdun decided to end the War. 1917 had brought letters from home telling of hardships

nearly as great as those of trench life. To the tune of the "Internationale" the soldiers declared the War at an end and started home to provide for their families.

The greatest mutiny of all had begun. Poincaré wrote in his diary " . . . collective madness. . . . Has general disorder arrived? . . ." Would the War collapse, and the War-system with it? Or would one group of generals manage to survive the others, to perpetuate the War-system?

The Red Cross Breaks the Strike

American gold "saved the day." But it was NOT the gold Morgan loaned the Allies. Red Cross funds sent to France in 1917 were used—not for the wounded—but as special bounties for the starving families of the disaffected French troops! Nickels and pennies and dollars collected all over America, given to soften the blows of War, were used, unknown to the donors, as a bribe to prevent the soldiers from leaving the battlefield!



Testing rifles at the Remington Arms Co., where production has increased greatly in the last Six Months

1918! American troops, full of raw enthusiasm, replacing the mutinous Allied veterans.

Even then it was an open question as to which side would revolt first. Brigadier General C. E. Debevoise, U.S.A., tells a typical incident: "One unit went in with 168 men and sixteen guns and came out with twenty-eight men and one gun. . . . This was in the 27th

Division. Our casualties in the 27th at this time were heavy because we had no support on our left from the British. The excuse was afterward that there was rebellion in the British ranks and they had refused to fight."

German Workers and Soldiers Stop the War

Though the position of the Allied generals was increasingly uncomfortable, the Entente generals were to be kicked out first. A general strike for peace was called in Austria on January 20, followed on January 27 by one in Germany. At Cattaro, February 1, a part of the Austrian Navy revolted. On August 7 the German ships at Wilhelmshaven were in mutiny. The workers of Austri-Hungary rebelled in October. And in November the German workers seized power.

The first World War was at an end.

But WAR was not ended, for the War-system remained. In France the mutinies had not aimed deeply enough. In Germany the work-

ers were betrayed. The generals, representing the War-system, were soon back in power.

We learn. The present anti-War movement, centering about the American League, views the soldier and sailor, as workers who happen to be in the army or navy to be won as allies in the struggle against War.

There is always a 1917!

NAZI RACE THEORIES

By **BERNHARD J. STERN**

Author of "Social Factors in Medical Progress," "The Lummi Indians of Northwest Washington," "Lewis Henry Morgan: Social Evolutionist"

The writer of this article teaches sociology at Columbia University and anthropology at the New School for Social Research.

Nazi race theories must be judged not as scientific hypotheses but as propaganda devices to incite intense national and racial chauvinism. With pretentious pseudo-scientific phrases, the German Fascists seek to arouse violent hatreds against those who are not of "Nordic" stock and thus to pit worker against worker and to develop a War psychology.

Their official race doctrine is based primarily on Count de Gobineau, who was not an anthropologist but a counter-revolutionary publicist; his *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* which first appeared in 1853 was written as a polemic against the revolutionary sentiment then surging in Europe. The work of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who popularized Gobineau in Germany before the World War, is also permeated with scorn against the masses. From the very beginning, therefore, concepts of race dominance in the race mythology of Teutonism have been intimately associated with objectives of class dominance. Among the cries of horror against racial intermixture there have been freely interspersed warnings against the passing of old stocks and the rise of the proletariat. Grandiose claims of innate superiority of the German peoples

ties which are always found marking out Nordic man. It is by a certain mastering of his nature that he comes by his power of judgment and keeps it. . . . His inclinations are always toward prudence, reserve, steadfastness, calm judgment. Just as he himself quickly grasps the idea of duty, so he is inclined to demand the fulfillment of duty from those around him as he does from himself; and in this he easily becomes hard, and even ruthless, although he is never without a certain knightliness."

Can one be expected to take this pap seriously? Yet it is on the basis of such absurd romanticism that the German masses are being urged by passionate exhortation to rid themselves of the "verdamnte Juden" as aliens who pollute German racial stock. As they whip up hate against their victims, the Fascist rulers of Germany deprive hundreds of thousands of Jews of the working and middle classes of their jobs and of their legal and social rights and subject them to brutal tortures and humiliations. These campaigns for racial purity, conducted with the same terroristic methods as are the drives against Communists and Socialists, are to raise smoke screens to conceal the economic *cul-de-sac* in which Fascist Germany finds itself. They seek to distract the masses from the realization of their ever deepening economic exploitation at the hands of the large

and in other capitalist countries. To argue superiority from present cultural dominance is to ignore the facts of history. No one race can be associated with the simplest cultures, for the surviving primitives belong to different races. The cultural achievements of members of the same race differ decisively when considered over long periods of time. A people may lead in culture, as did the Arabs in the Middle Ages, only to lose their hegemony without any change in their racial composition. The entire cultural orientation and place in world economy of the Japanese have been transformed in a few decades without the infusion of different racial stocks. It was not a change of race but an historical event, the Bolshevik revolution, that marked the beginning of an era in the Soviet Union that turned many who had been morbid defeatists into active creators of a new social order. All present races are the results of intermixtures of previously distinct races brought together by migration and conquest; history supports the generalization that none of these are incapable of sharing in, advancing, and perpetuating any culture.

Sterilizing Workers

The Nazi emphasis on race purity has led them to adopt a sterilization program. They have announced that they are going to sterilize not only those whom they classify as feeble-minded, insane, and criminal types (the interpretation as to who fits in these categories permits reprisals against revolutionary workers) but also the children of Negro soldiers who were quartered in Germany during the World War, whom they brand as biologically inferior. But the present status of the Negro is due not to racial factors but to the crimes of the white ruling classes who shattered Negro culture and economy in Africa by slave traffic and whose exploitation of the Negro peoples has been infamous. Whenever the Negro peoples have been able to get release from the social and political discriminations which have held them down, whenever they have been able to take advantage of economic, educational, and cultural opportunities, the claims of white chauvinists have been disproven.

Nazi Germany is serving as a focal point of infection for an increase in racial antipathies throughout the capitalist world. All ruling groups who will profit from imperialist Wars are participating in nurturing these passions. The struggle against War and Fascism therefore demands a fight against all forms of chauvinism as an inherent part of its program.

Goering, Hitler's minister, and one of the chief Propagandists for pure blood Aryans



have served as a rationalization for imperialistic aggression in the colonies and for the maintenance of the ruling groups at home.

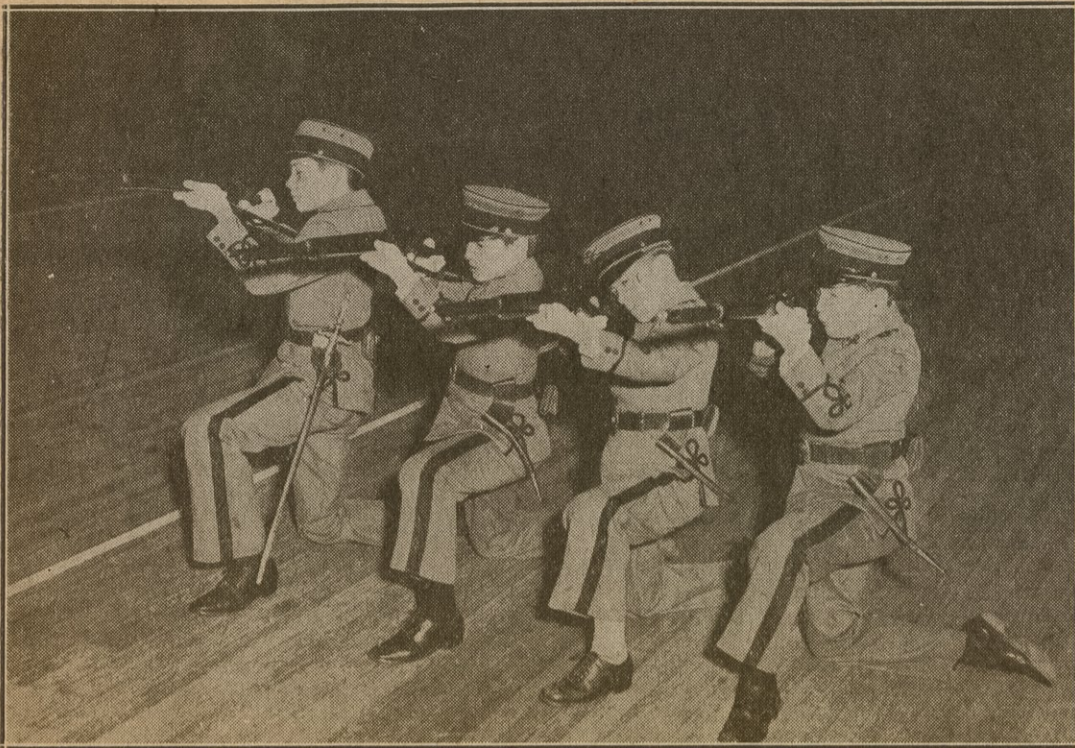
The Nordic Knight

The spurious nature of the race theory of Hitlerism is well illustrated by the following citation from a much quoted work of Hans F. K. Gunther, one of the most prominent of the Nazi anthropologists: "We may take judgment, truthfulness, and energy to be the quali-

ties which are always found marking out Nordic man. It is by a certain mastering of his nature that he comes by his power of judgment and keeps it. . . . His inclinations are always toward prudence, reserve, steadfastness, calm judgment. Just as he himself quickly grasps the idea of duty, so he is inclined to demand the fulfillment of duty from those around him as he does from himself; and in this he easily becomes hard, and even ruthless, although he is never without a certain knightliness."

Nazi Theories—Myth

Actually there is no scientific proof of the biological superiority of any race or people in spite of the race myths fostered in Germany



Preparing Children for Imperialist War at the Seventh Regiment Armory, New York City.

Warping Minds for War

By IRVING ADLER

Secretary, Teachers' Anti-War Committee

When the Superintendent of Schools in New York City, William J. O'Shea, retired in January of this year, he expressed the belief that his most important work as an educational official had been done during the World War. This belief was seconded by the Board of Education when it adopted a resolution of praise for the retiring official, making special mention of his wartime activities. What are these activities that are thought so praiseworthy by the school officials?

Under the supervision of O'Shea hundreds of high school students were lured, cajoled, or goaded into the army. Every high school now has a bronze plaque listing the many students who died to protect Morgan's millions.

Under the supervision of O'Shea the hands, the eyes, the energy of the children in the schools were conscripted for the manufacture in school and at home of wartime accessories.

A "Wake Up, America" parade of 30,000 school children was organized.

Text-books were destroyed or re-written to give them the proper chauvinist anti-German bias.

Through the action of O'Shea, in short, the schools were used to chain the bodies and minds of New York's children (in this respect New York is very much like the rest of the country) to the War aims of American imperialism. This is the action of which the Board of Education is so proud!

Imperialist Poison

While O'Shea looks back upon his War service of the past, his successor, Harold G.

Campbell, is preparing to repeat this service in the next imperialist War.

A new text-book used in the elementary schools (*Readings for Fifth Year*, by Grady and Klapper) includes the following significant quotations:

Part II, page 123: "There is an old Latin proverb which says: 'It is sweet and fitting to die for one's country.' America's sons have shown again and again throughout America's history how deeply they feel the truth of the old proverb."

Part I, page 168, quoting Henry Cabot Lodge concerning the flag: "We must be ready to defend it, and like men of '76 and '61 pledge to it our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

The connection of this chauvinism with the aims of American imperialism is revealed in the description of the flag, on the same page, as "the emblem of the power on earth which is to exceed that on which it is said the sun never went down."

Text-book propaganda is supplemented by the weekly "pledge of allegiance" to the flag, by the "loyalty pledge" required for high school graduation, and by the presence of R.O.T.C. in some of the schools. All three are retained by Campbell in spite of open opposition by many students and teachers.

Although the school supervisors have already embarked upon the War campaign, they are not assured of the support of the classroom teachers. They are therefore preparing coercive measures to keep the teachers in line. A bill is now being rushed through the state

legislature requiring all teachers to subscribe to the following oath:

"I solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States of America, the Constitution of the State of New York, and the laws of the United States of America and the State of New York, and that I will faithfully, impartially, and justly perform all the duties of any position to which I am now assigned or may hereafter be assigned."

The last phrase especially reveals the War purpose behind this bill.

Teachers Organize

The teachers have responded to this threat by launching a struggle against the passage of the bill. Hundreds of teachers are now rallying behind the Teachers' Anti-War Committee to eliminate War preparations in the school and support the struggle of the working class against War and Fascism.

Note: In response to the call of the Teachers' Anti-War Committee, the Classroom Teachers' Groups, the Teachers' Union, and the Unemployed Teachers' Association have announced their opposition to the bill described above. On March 2nd, at a mass meeting in a high school auditorium, 500 teachers and parents unanimously endorsed the program of Anti-War Committee. As a result of its activity, the slogan "Build Schools, Not Battleships" has become an integral part of the present struggle against retrenchment in education.

(Continued from page ten)

Ezra Pound, although even then not too clear about the forces that would destroy these evils, looked up from his Cantos long enough to see how his fellows

Walked eye-deep in hell
believing in old men's lies, then unbelieving
came home, home to a lie,

and to cry out:

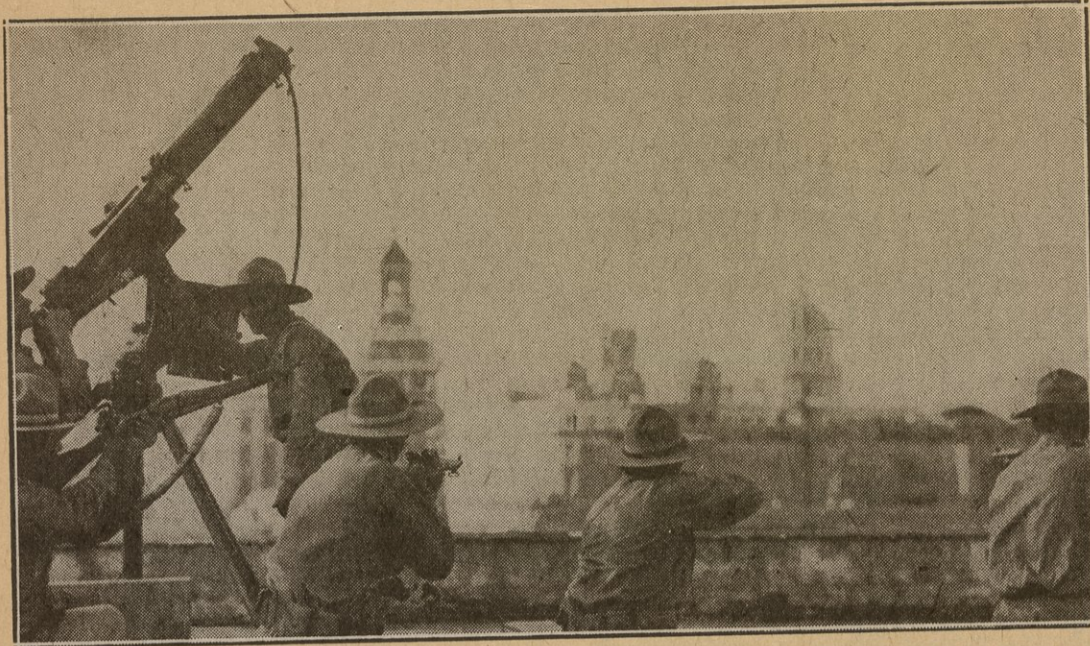
There died a myriad,
And of the best, among them,
For an old bitch gone in the teeth,
For a botched civilization.

And that reticent writer of eclogues, Robert Frost, said with terrible truth:

War is for everyone, for children too.

Workers Can Stop War

I am not so happy as to believe with Shelley that the poets are the legislators of the world. If they were, the world might be a saner,



The Federal troops which were called out by President Mendieta of Cuba against the recent Island — Wide Strikers who were protesting unbearable living conditions brought about by Wall St. Imperialism

richer, happier place. Poets cannot stop War. Only the workers who do the fighting and who make the munitions with which they kill each other can stop it. But I believe that it is imagination, which is, after all, the faculty of poets, that may save them from repeating this madness. If men, the men who must hang on barbed wire, or be stuck like pigs, or horribly burn alive among green corpses, could imagine these agonies; if women, the women who are their mothers or their comrades, could imagine them enduring such things; if men and women alike could realize, with all their senses alive, the sights and sounds and smells

of War, the physical pain, the mental anguish, the spiritual nausea, the thing could not go on. People imagined hell-fire once and were ready to sacrifice their lives to escape it.

It is time for us to imagine an earth that has quenched hell-fire, and to give our lives to create it.



The *Kiplinger Letter* (confidential information to business men), writes: "War in Europe within the next year or two seems to be taken for granted by the more sophisticated international observers."

Statement of the American League

The Bureau of the National Executive Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism has before it the resignation of certain of its members connected with the League for Industrial Democracy. The reasons brought forward for the resignations center around the occurrence in the Madison Square Garden Meeting of February 15th.

The Bureau of the League expresses its deep regret for the development of antagonisms which in any way contribute to widening the breach between any groups of sincere opponents to War and Fascism. All such divisions bring joy to the War-makers and Fascists. All of the efforts of the League have been to bridge existing divisions and to bring about united action on the basis of the program adopted in the great U. S. Congress Against War, Sept. 30, Oct. 1, 1933.

The League has used its efforts in the past, and will continue in the future, to avoid conflict or disruption among the forces fighting against War and Fascism, whether members of the League or not. Agreements have been sought and will be sought, to promote the greatest possible unity and to prevent disunity — while preserving the fullest freedom of all organizations to conduct in their own way their campaigns. The League is not and will not be dominated by one political party. No majority in any committee now does or will represent any political party.

The Bureau records with satisfaction that, in every case where it has succeeded in initiating a joint action, the result has been the drawing together of hitherto separated forces, thus strengthening the whole struggle against War and Fascism. The highly successful con-

ferences following the U. S. Congress Against War that were held in Chicago, San Francisco, Boston and many smaller cities; the series of students' anti-War conferences held in Columbia, New York University, and regional conferences involving student groups from scores of universities; the delegation to Washington at the opening of Congress to oppose the War budget; the successful mass demonstration and parades against Austrian Fascism held under the auspices of the League in Chicago and Pittsburgh; these and innumerable smaller instances prove the vitality of the League's progress and the necessity of its work.

The enthusiastic support that has developed for the magazine *FIGHT* published by the League, and its widespread and growing circulation among the most diverse groupings throughout the country, give further evidence of the deep-felt need for precisely this organization.

The League does not assume the function of passing judgment upon such disputes as that which gave rise to the resignation of a few members of its committee. It must emphatically be stated that no controversies as to tactics constitute a valid reason for abandonment of the program and principles of the League. Now more than ever this program is necessary. The extreme sharpening of the War danger and the rise of Fascism throughout the world are putting a severe test upon all avowed enemies of War and Fascism. It is to be expected that there will be desertions in this most difficult pre-War period. This is all the more reason why all true fighters against War and Fascism will steadfastly maintain and promote the principles and program of the League.

The League urges all its members to stand firm on this position and energetically promote and extend the League organization and build a broader mass circulation for the magazine, *FIGHT*, and prepare for the second great U. S. Congress Against War, which, as decided last year, will occur in the coming fall. The League sincerely invites those few who have left to reconsider their position and return to their fighting posts. To replace those who remain outside, the League undertakes to bring reinforcements a hundredfold and to build an ever stronger united mass movement of all forces against War and Fascism.

(Signed) *Roger N. Baldwin*

Annie E. Gray

Earl Browder

For the NATIONAL BUREAU
American League Against War and Fascism



BUILDING the LEAGUE



By **IDA DAILES**

Assistant Secretary

NEW YORK CITY

On April 6, the seventeenth anniversary of the entry of the United States into the World War, the New York City Central Committee will hold a city-wide mass meeting (at St. Nicholas Arena, 69 W. 66th St.) to protest the preparations for the new World War. The meeting will be addressed by Dr. Harry F. Ward of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, Louise Weir of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Carl Brodsky of the Communist Party, and other prominent speakers from pacifist and labor organizations.

Sixty-nine organizations represented by more than 90 delegates responded on March 2 to the call of the City Provisional Committee for the first meeting of the City Central Committee. The delegates decided to constitute themselves a permanent body, meet regularly, and set up a permanent Executive Committee. They began preparations for the April 6 meeting.

HARTFORD, CONN.

The anti-War rally on March 4 was attended by 400 trade unionists, church members, students, Socialists, Communists, and others. It was addressed by Treadwell Smith, sent from the National Office. A meeting of Enlisted Supporters is being called to form them into a functioning group. The Committee is planning to hold an essay contest on War and Fascism to be open to three groups—pupils of elementary schools, high school students, and adults. FIGHT is making enthusiastic friends in aircraft and other shops, churches, schools, and workers' organizations.

Dick Farber, Secretary of the Hartford Committee and a member of the Socialist Party, in reporting activities, says: "Received your statement signed by Annie E. Gray, Roger Baldwin, and Earl Browder for the National Bureau of the League. It will make things much clearer, although the Madison Square Garden meeting did not in any way hinder or stop the work of our local committee. For that matter, we will carry on more determined than ever the fight for unity between all elements sincerely opposed to War and Fascism through the League."

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

In response to the statement of the Bureau on the resignations from the National Committee, Helen Armstrong, Milwaukee Secretary, writes: "In the light of the world demand for united action against Fascism we cannot understand the provincial attitude of those who resigned in letting Madison Square Garden be the boundary of their horizon. . . . Long live the United Front Against War and Fascism."

DETROIT, MICH.

The Detroit Committee Secretary, Francis W. Murphy, writes: "By digging into the neighborhoods and rooting our movement in the factories, we can soon build a movement which will be heard from throughout the country. . . . We are considering the calling of a city-wide conference on April 5, at which time we hope to have accomplished the necessary ground-breaking. . . . In the meantime not only are we going to organize as much mass support as possible, but we shall enlarge our functioning committee to include the widest possible tendencies which can be utilized in reaching the masses and in waging struggle against War and Fascism."

BOSTON, MASS.

A. A. Mallinger, Boston Secretary, reports that during National Defense Week a squad of fifteen-minute-men addressed unions, churches, clubs on the War menace. The Committee also formed a speakers' bureau to supply speakers and lecturers to organizations. He also writes: "We are in touch with workers in certain shops; one where they received a government order for army blankets. Also a local chemical factory and a soap factory where additional workers are being hired. Our magazine is on three newsstands, also at the Community church every Sunday morning, at clubs, etc. We distribute 50 to 75 free copies each month on the waterfront and among unemployed."

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

This important center of War industry, steel, set up a branch of the League on February 26. One successful mass meeting has already been held. Lantern slides of photographs and documents in the *Brown Book of Hitler Terror* have been made and will be sent to all organizations in Youngstown, accompanied by an able lecturer. The lectures will help defray expenses, and be used to popularize the League and obtain subscriptions for FIGHT. Another anti-War mass meeting will be held in April.

CHICAGO, ILL.

"The Chicago branch of the American League Against War and Fascism learns with regret that certain members of the National Committee have resigned," writes Thomas McKenna, Secretary. "At last night's meeting of our Executive Board, it was unanimously voted that we send a communication to our National Office, stating that nothing will hamper our efforts to gain unity in the struggle against War and Fascism in Chicago. We shall go forward on the basis of the program of the American League, despite these resignations."

YOUTH SPARKS

Close to three hundred delegates, gathered at the Columbia University Anti-War Conference on March 14 and 15, defeated a resolution to have the movement leave the American League. A very exciting discussion developed about the question, in which faculty members played a leading role. One group put forward the claim that, since the A.F. of L. leadership was not in the United Front, the League was ineffective in halting War. Dr. Treadwell Smith brought the conference to a high pitch of enthusiasm when he stated in the minute allotted him: "In the last War the A.F. of L. leadership was part of the War machine. Anybody who today wants to join with the official leadership of the A.F. of L. must be pro-War and not anti-War."

Dick Farber, young Socialist member of the National Bureau of the Youth Section, writes from Hartford, Conn.: "In our city executive we have two Socialists, three Communists, a minister, a student, an unemployed worker, etc. We have also started work for a Youth Conference."

Young Workers Active

The encouraging part of last month's work has been the remarkable awakening among the industrial workers. From Baltimore we get word that a committee of young seamen and steel workers is preparing a youth conference. Similar news from New Jersey, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Nebraska. In New Jersey the State Committee of the YPSL rejected a plea for unity by the vote of 5 to 4. Local groups will be asked to send delegates.

The National Bureau has just drawn up a concrete plan of action for the next few months. This includes the development of conferences throughout the cities and states where these have not yet taken place; the demonstrations on April 6, seventeenth anniversary of the American entrance into the World War; and nation-wide anti-War demonstrations on May 30, when it is to be expected that the militarists will attempt to develop a huge preparedness drive this year.

Then the question of sending a delegation of youth to the Soviet Union this summer was dealt with. As the main danger of War seems at present to lie in the Far East, with the Soviets as the objective of attack on the part of imperialist nations, such a delegation would serve the important task of waking the American youth to the fact that this one country has for sixteen years been the champion of world peace.

—J. L.

6 MONTHS OLD

FIGHT is now in its sixth issue. When the American League Against War and Fascism was planning the magazine last October—immediately after the U. S. Congress Against War—such country-wide response was not anticipated. Thousands of people, in every state of the Union, are now reading the magazine. Thousands of people are now earnestly and militantly organizing to combat War and Fascism.

FIGHT is the youngest of all Anti-War or Anti-Fascist publications in the United States. After only six months in the field, the magazine has a larger paid circulation than all the other papers and bulletins of a similar nature published in the U. S. A. Why? Because the program of the League, as expressed through the pages of the magazine, is built upon basic, world-wide facts, is militant in character and popular in tone.

FIGHT expresses the program of the League through a united front of workers, farmers, students, housewives, soldiers, writers, teachers, etc., etc. The world is today divided into two fronts. Throughout the pages of the six issues you will find *that* front which is militantly and sincerely and concretely fighting War and Fascism.

FIGHT during the first six issues had amongst its many contributors—a steel worker, a nurse, a seaman, a young worker in a Civilian Conservation Camp, an ex-marine, a German exile, an auto worker, a soldier, a school teacher, a student and

Louis Adamic
Roger Baldwin
Henri Barbusse
Thomas Boyd
Fenner Brockway
Malcolm Cowley
Addison T. Cutler
Babette Deutsch
Robert W. Dunn

Guy Endore
Kenneth Fearing
Hugo Gellert
Eugene Gordon
Annie E. Gray
William Gropper
Josephine Herbst
Harold Hickerson

Granville Hicks
Langston Hughes
Corliss Lamont
Jennie Lee
Robert Morss Lovett
Pierre Loving
Lord Marley
Harvey O'Connor

Morris Pass
Isidor Schneider
Edwin Seaver
Paul Sifton
John Strachey
Harry F. Ward
Lynd Ward
John Wexley
Ella Winter, etc., etc.

FIGHT expresses its deep gratitude to the thousands of its friends everywhere. We shall continue, now more than ever, to forge the magazine into a weapon of steel in the struggle against Imperialist War and Fascist Slavery.

FIGHT Against War and Fascism, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

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