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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

What Can Be Done to Maintain Ethiopian Independence and STOP WAR ?

Should Sanctions Be
Applied Against Italy?

A Symposium by

Roger Baldwin
Dorothy Detzer
Earl Browder
Clarence Irwin
Quincy Howe
Jerome Davis



The Olympics Must Not Be Held in Berlin!

PROCLAMATION AGAINST WAR

From the National Bureau of the
AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR and FASCISM

ANOTHER WAR! A war of aggression! A war for plunder! It begins with the unprovoked invasion of one country in the League of Nations by another member of that body. It starts with the breaking of the covenant that was to keep the nations out of war. It leads straight toward the mutual slaughter for which all the great powers are preparing with all the means that science can devise. The spark that may set the world in flame is smoldering in the biggest powder magazine of history.

Facing these grim and pregnant facts the American League Against War and Fascism calls upon all who recognize the common rights and desire the common well being of mankind to raise with one voice the demand

Stop the War!

FOR MONTHS the diplomats have talked in vain. Despite all their pleas and plans, regardless of their protests or threats, *the troops are marching*; the fleets are assembling; the helpless are being butchered with scientific precision. *It is now time for the millions to speak.* Those whose first concern it is to protect the booty their nations won by imperialist aggression in earlier days could not prevent this war they dread. Those to whom war is an opportunity for profit have no language able to halt the event whose outcome they fear. It is the multitudes to whom imperialism, and the profit-seeking economy it has carried round the earth, has brought only insecurity and suffering, whose voice alone is strong enough to command war to stop. *Let them now speak!* In demonstrations on the streets and campuses, in all their ordinary places of assembly—in their unions and professional organizations, their churches, fraternal and cultural societies let them raise a united voice demanding the stopping of this criminal adventure.

The word must be accompanied by the deed. The actual thing the American people can do to stop this war is to *withhold all aid, direct and indirect, from the aggressor.* Otherwise we are accomplices in the crime. We propose as our national policy:

No Supplies, No Loans, No Credits, for Mussolini

WE URGE the American people to inform their President, by telegram, letter and resolution that the embargo on arms is not sufficient. It can be evaded by the shipment of parts and unfinished products. It does not cover supplies which are essential as guns to the conduct of modern warfare. If governments cannot stop this war by preventing the aggressor from getting the supplies without which his campaign cannot continue, the millions of workers who make and process and transport these supplies can and must. In behalf of their fellow workers, in Italy and Ethiopia, in the name of the innocent women and children who are suffering and who will suffer, we call upon the workers, the farmers

and technicians of the United States to prevent the resources and skills of this country from being used to carry on a criminal war.

THE POLICY of no supplies for the aggressor must be accompanied by the policy of no loans or credits. The American people need to remember that, after all other pressures had been resisted, *it was the loans of our investors to the allied powers which finally pulled us into the world war. That must not happen again.* We call upon all citizens to inform the administration that they will not tolerate any financial aid, direct or indirect, to Mussolini. We urge them in meetings and demonstrations to bring public condemnation of their community upon any who are willing for the sake of financial gain to aid the mad adventure of a fascist dictator and to risk embroiling their country in another world war. Still another issue confronts us. Failing to stop the war, some of the great powers are striving to confine it to Ethiopia. They have officially proposed to buy Mussolini off by some scheme for the joint disposal of the economic resources of the country he has invaded. We warn the American people not to be deceived by the fiction of territorial integrity or political sovereignty. *We call upon them to protest as vigorously against collective as against individual exploitation of Ethiopia.* We urge them to oppose any settlement that infringes upon the economic independence of Ethiopia. We ask them to rally behind the demand:

Ethiopian Independence Must Be Maintained

WE INVITE all organizations whose principles and purposes commit them to the ending of war and the prevention of fascism to associate themselves with us in rallying support behind these demands. Let us unite to stop the war, to preserve the independence of Ethiopia.

This dangerous situation in which the world now stands contains a warning for the American people. If they are not to be dragged into another world war, they must understand the relationship between war and fascism. They must shape their course in light of the fact that this belated, aggressive war is born of the principles, the policies and the acts of the first fascist state in history. *If the people of this country want peace they must stop the development of fascism among themselves.* They must maintain and extend their democratic rights. The fascist state is a war-making state. *Its people cry peace in vain for under fascism there can be no peace. There is only more hunger, more unemployment, more war.*

We call upon the American people while yet there is time to

UNITE

Against War, Against Fascism

For Peace, for Freedom

MAINTAIN ETHIOPIAN INDEPENDENCE

THE PRESENT war crisis demands that the American League Against War and Fascism make every effort to mobilize the greatest pressure and action possible against Italian fascist aggression in order to stop the war. As the broadest anti-war movement in the American scene, this situation confronts us with a forceful challenge. The very nature of the present conflict reveals the direct relationship between war and fascism.

We are calling for the establishment all over the United States of *Joint Committees for Ethiopian Independence*. In a number of the larger cities and in many of the smaller ones, various types of Ethiopian committees have arisen, generated by the long-threatened war, and now galvanized into activity by Mussolini's open invasion of Ethiopia. It is imperative that these existing committees be enlarged to achieve their maximum effectiveness immediately! In cities where no such committees now exist, we urge their establishment on the most inclusive basis. They should include representatives of Negro Churches and patriotic organizations, trade unions and farm groups, peace societies and religious organizations, women's and youth groups, social and cultural, professional and national language organizations.

The Proclamation Against War issued by our National Bureau contains demands that can serve as the common basis for joint organization and action on the part of every group opposed to the present war. These demands provide both the program and the policy for the widest possible united protest against Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia:

(1) *Stop the War!* (2) *No supplies, no loans, no credits for Mussolini!* (3) *Ethiopian independence must be maintained!*

Such Joint Committees can include all organizations implicated and concerned in stopping the present war as well as provide a common rallying ground for all individuals who are opposed to this conflict, for their program voices the common concern of all—stopping the war, withholding supplies and loans from Mussolini, and maintaining the independence of Ethiopia. On this last point—the independence of Ethiopia—we clearly separate ourselves from aiding in the actual physical defense of Ethiopia. The actual defense of Ethiopia rightly belongs to the program and activities of groups within the united front of the Joint Committees that believe in direct action and direct aid, but obviously must be carried on by these organizations independently and outside of the province of the Joint Committees. The common position and program confines itself to the points set forth in our *Proclamation Against War*.

The function of these Joint Committees is not to supersede or direct existing Ethiopian committees or other organizations active on this issue, but rather to co-ordinate the propaganda and activities of the member groups so that the greatest impact possible may be made on the war situation.

The program of these Joint Committees is designed to exert the greatest mass pressure against war in the localities where they are organized. Mass meetings and demonstrations—parades, stoppage of work, involving shop, factory and campus—are of first-rate

importance. Efforts should be made to get speakers before all organizations and assemblies possible. The preparation of outlines and data for speakers is of considerable importance, as well as getting articles and letters of protest against the war into the local press. The field of investigation—discovering the sales and manufacture of supplies to or for Italy and securing information concerning loans and credits to Italy—is a vital one. The formation of Citizens' Committees to demonstrate, protest and picket against local production of war supplies as well as the publicizing and securing expressions of disapproval in meetings, picketing and such actions around the matter of loans and credits should follow such investigations immediately. The Joint Committees should stand ready to hold meetings and adopt resolutions against any settlement that infringes upon Ethiopian independence.

Indications are that the great powers of Europe have already secretly agreed on the disposal of the economic resources of Ethiopia and will buy off Mussolini at the moment the "honor" of Italy has been "fittingly" avenged in battle. That moment may not be far distant! Ethiopia's independence hangs in the balance. We must act promptly. This is a crisis, an emergency situation, and immediate mobilization is imperative.

Every reader of FIGHT, every opponent of war and fascism, whether connected with the American League or not, is urged to work toward the formation of a Committee for Ethiopian Independence in his locality.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

A Symposium

Roger Baldwin, Dorothy Detzer and Earl Browder each visited Europe this fall. FIGHT asked them to give our readers their opinions on the important questions arising out of the war in Africa, with emphasis upon what we can do to keep out of war, to aid the anti-war and anti-fascist forces in Europe, and to defend Ethiopian independence. Clarence Irwin, Quincy Howe and Jerome Davis also contribute to this symposium.

By ROGER BALDWIN

Chairman, American Civil Liberties Union

FEAR THAT SANCTIONS by the League of Nations would play into the hands of British imperialists in Africa, was the heart of the opposition by the Socialist League at the recent British Labor Party Conference in Brighton which I attended. Now there is no doubt that League sanctions do serve the interests of British imperialism. That does not seem to give, however, a persuasive reason against them. If no action is to be taken against an imperialist power because some other power benefits from it, the world is thrown back into barbaric rivalries based on force.

The point which ought to concern all of us anti-war fighters is not whether British and French interests are being served by the League, but whether Ethiopian independence can be saved. Sanctions or not, it looks now as if a deal had already been arranged to partition Ethiopia between the British, French, and Italian imperialists. That was the substance of the report of the Committee of Five. It is the solution that naturally

arises in the minds of diplomats. Ethiopian independence does not concern them. All that interests them is restraint of military force to accomplish what an imperialist understanding can do in more gentlemanly fashion.

Our job in the United States is to insist that Ethiopia shall not be sold or partitioned. The independence of the one remaining black state in Africa is more important than what the diplomats call collective security. What difference would it make if collective security is successful in restraining military conquest but diplomatic action reduces a member state of the League of Nations to a vassal of European imperialist powers?

By DOROTHY DETZER

Secretary, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

THERE IS no doubt that the September meetings of the League of Nations Council which I attended, were the most interesting in the history of that body. They were noteworthy because of the suddenly vitalized and vigorous League policy of united

action against an aggressor nation. This is chiefly significant as a precedent and because it salvages the waning prestige of the League.

But having said that, it is almost all one can say. For whatever may be claimed for League action, the ugly truth remains that Ethiopia is the latest victim of rival imperialisms in Africa. Ethiopia as an independent nation is a thing of the past; and I find myself unable to be very much concerned as to whether Italian or British imperialism is victorious in this present adventure.

The report of the Committee of Five of the League of Nations is one of the most vicious, outrageous documents in modern history, and it is to the credit of such powers as Turkey and Soviet Russia that they refused to associate themselves with it, so that the Council could not accept the report.

Sir Samuel Hoare proclaimed that Britain has no selfish interest and is motivated only by such high altruistic ideals as "maintaining the rights of colored peoples," and the integrity of small nations. Two of the Irish delegates nudged each other at this point. It must be painful to the British Foreign Minister that

just at this moment natives on the northwestern border of India should make "trouble" necessitating the sending of 15,000 British troops across the border into a country as independent as Ethiopia, to "pacify" the neighboring tribes—despite a vote of condemnation by the Indian Parliament.

The great powers have all followed much the same pattern, including the United States.

The difference between the imperialism of Italy and that of Britain and other countries is largely academic.

In all the welter of imperialist rivalries and war preparations in Europe there are two striking trends for peace. One is the extraordinary united front movement in France which embraces all left wing and labor groups. In the tenacity and strength of the French

People's Front may lie the hope of Europe. The other is something no pacifist could help but hail—the speech of Maxim Litvinoff at Geneva calling for a reconsideration of the Russian plan for total and universal disarmament and the marvelous pacifist speech of Lansbury at the Labor Party Conference. These were not sentimental appeals but speeches of practical statesmen.

The French Peoples Front, the Application of Sanctions, and the American Labor Party

An INTERVIEW with EARL BROWDER

Secretary, Communist Party, U. S. A.

What can Americans learn from the People's Front in France? Has the danger of fascism there been averted? What is the present attitude of the leaders of the French Socialist Party toward the People's Front?

DURING the week I spent in France I met many Socialists as well as radicals and liberals active in the People's Front. There are difficulties which spring naturally from the wide divergence of opinion among the leaders and members of the various constituent organizations of the People's Front. But the united front which has been established in France stands firm and solid against fascism and war. It stood the test applied by the crisis arising from the invasion of Ethiopia. No leader dares attack the People's Front—anyone who did so would destroy, not the People's Front, but his own political influence and career.

The Socialist and Communist Parties of France have just issued a joint declaration and program of action which is the first comprehensive agreement on the burning issues facing the French workers; a united front of the left wing within the People's Front. This agreement, after a year of the People's Front, is the best answer to its enemies.



Col. De La Rocque, French Fascist Prepares for a Putsch.

The People's Front has checked the onward sweep of fascism in France and prevented De La Rocque from seizing power. But the danger is by no means over. It is still a question whether there will be a People's Government in France, or whether the fascists will not attempt to prevent that by a coup d'état. The fascists are armed—about 25,000 of them, and backed by big finance capitalists. It is the policy of the People's Front to demand the disarming of the fascists and the arming of the workers.

Since I left France unity has been achieved on the trade union field by the amalgamation of the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U., reformist and revolutionary trade unions.

The French People's Front points the way toward the unity of the working class in alliance with middle class elements and with the farmers, which unity is necessary to the defeat of reactionary fascist forces.

The charge has been made that the French Communists stopped their opposition to military preparations after the Franco-Soviet pact. Is that true?

It is not true. French Communists have continued to fight with even greater determination against the militarism of French imperialists. There has been no pact between the French workers and the capitalists. The revolutionary workers have no confidence in the present French government and demand a People's Front Government. There is general agreement between French Socialists and Communists on the question of opposition to war preparations, extending military service, etc. Leading French Socialists have come to recognize the correctness of the Soviet peace policy as expressed in the Franco-Soviet and other pacts as part of a system of collective security recognizing the "indivisibility of peace" which is the last barrier against war.

Will the application of sanctions against Italy result in a European war, and will they aid British imperialism?

The point of view expressed by such pacifists as George Lansbury rejects in principle positive struggle against war. It is outright surrender to the enemy, leaving the field clear for Italian aggression. It gives Mussolini a free hand rather than risk anything in opposing him with effective measures. The only possibility of stopping the war now is

to bring about such a concentration of forces against the fascist aggressors that they will be quickly defeated. That means that the masses must apply their own "sanctions" in the form of preventing shipment of war materials, while also demanding that their governments support the League of Nations in applying sanctions. In the United States it means we must mobilize all opponents of war and fascism for mass action to defend Ethiopian independence and demand that the United States Government apply a strict and complete embargo against Italy.

If we succeed in building a united front against war and fascism we will ensure that if, in spite of all our efforts, the fascists make war, the outcome will be the defeat of fascism. Those who say that in case of war all countries will go fascist, are defeatist, are surrendering in advance. If war breaks out we can defeat the fascists and end the war by united action of the working class by bringing the masses into the struggle with clear, independent leadership.

What are the prospects of forming a People's Front in the United States?

Today there are arising everywhere in the world movements like the People's Front in France, in response to the necessities of the hour. In America this united front takes its highest form in the Farmer Labor Party which is arising. We see an excellent expression of this in the resolution of Francis Gorman at the A.F. of L. Convention. Gorman certainly is no Communist, but responds to the feeling of the masses of the need for independent political action in protection of the interests of trade unionists, who know that their unions would be destroyed by fascism here as in Germany and Italy.

There are local movements for Labor Parties in many sections, cities and states. Conditions are ripening for an American People's Front, based on the trade unions and all other organizations of labor and of farmers and in alliance with middle class groups. This new party will be a coalition of anti-war and anti-fascist forces, and if it is to be effective, if it is to unify the working class and its allies against fascism, must include both the Socialist and Communist Parties. Only so can unity be achieved, and only a united working class can defeat fascism.



ABOVE: His Majesty's fleet is in the Mediterranean prepared to defend British imperialist interests against Italian encroachments. BELOW: Col. Hubert Julian of Harlem, New York, leading Ethiopian troops in defense of their country.



A few of Haile Selassie's crack troops who have been instructed in the arts of war by Belgian officers.

Keep the United States out of war by demanding that no war supplies, no loans or credits be given Italy. Do not permit American soldiers to march to war—and a grave as shown below — the Aisne-Marne American cemetery near Belleau Woods where thousands fell—in defense of profits.



The Ethiopian Smoke-Screen

By QUINCY HOWE

MUSSOLINI'S INVASION of Ethiopia confronts American foreign policy with its most momentous choice of the past twenty years. Assuming that the people of the United States want peace at any price—what course should groups and individuals urge, support, and fight for?

This may be assuming too much. The history of the past three centuries consists of an unbroken record of imperialist expansion conducted at the point of the sword. Capitalist states everywhere and at all times have resorted to war in order to acquire new sources of raw materials, cheaper supplies of labor, increased markets, and more profitable fields of investment. Lacking these outlets, the domestic economy approaches bankruptcy as the rate of profit approaches the vanishing point.

Fundamental and long-range considerations should therefore compel the honest pacifist to work for the overthrow of capitalist economy because it necessarily gives rise to war. Democratic France, monarchistic England, imperial Japan, fascist Italy, in spite of domestic differences, all employ the same methods of imperialist expansion abroad. The machine guns of fascist Italy have the same

effect on the natives of Ethiopia as the machine guns of democratic France have on the natives of the Rif. Indeed, the machine guns often come from the same factory.

If our honest pacifist is to be completely consistent and logical he will not be greatly moved, then, by the current outcries against fascist imperialism as if the imperialism of France and England were an entirely different story. To overthrow the system from which imperialism springs will appear to him the one job worth doing.

Only in France, however, do the revolutionary opponents of the capitalist-imperialist system appear to enjoy the slightest chance of success, thanks to the formation of the People's Front of Radicals, Socialists, and Communists who not only comprise more than half the population but who do the work that keeps French economy functioning. The British Labor Party has much less power and in the United States the organized forces opposed to capitalism are numerically insignificant.

What the immediate situation requires is a realistic appraisal of the existing forces in the world followed by action through every possible channel. Let us, then, clear our

minds of any illusions as to the aims and interests of the League powers or of our own Administration and decide what steps to urge on the constituted authorities who, under the present situation, are alone capable of taking effective action. *For the moment*, at any rate, general strikes or mass refusals to handle shipments of goods to belligerent powers can be ruled out of practical consideration.

A glance at the map shows that the British Empire constitutes the largest and most powerful element in the world-wide imperialist system. One quarter of the earth's surface and one quarter of its population are subject to British rule. The cardinal principle of an anti-imperialist American foreign policy should therefore be never for any reason or in any part of the world to support any British Government that is devoted, as the present British Cabinet is and as both the Labor Cabinets were, to perpetuating the Empire. This does not mean that the State Department should range itself actively against British imperialism, for since our own government is also essentially imperialist, that would mean merely a dog-fight between two rival systems of oppression. In like manner, opposition to British imperialism does not mean active support of any foreign imperialism—Italian, German, French, or Japanese.

One specific choice that American foreign

policy must make today is whether or not to support League of Nations sanctions against Italy. But to support the League means to support French and British imperialism and the same ends can be gained by other methods. A real embargo of shipments of goods and credit to any belligerent power does not commit the United States to the League in any way, whereas support of the League as such means support of the imperialist status quo.

The present situation in Ethiopia is merely a beginning, but if the war spreads, increas-

ing pressure will be brought to bear from the same sources that are now urging the United States to stand shoulder to shoulder with the mother country and the League. If sentimental sympathy for the Ethiopians or equally sentimental opposition to Italian fascism rallies United States at the very outset into the camp of the big imperialist powers, the diplomats of the British Empire will have won at the very outset a battle that it took them two and a half years to win the last time it occurred. I therefore advocate an independent embargo against belligerents.

LABOR CAN STOP WAR

By CLARENCE IRWIN

President, Sixth District Organization Committee, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers

TODAY ALL EYES are turned towards the scene of the latest of Italy's adventures in imperialism: the attempt to conquer Ethiopia. In the face of this threat to civilization, anxious workers in every country are asking themselves what it is all about and what can be done about it. Why does Italy go to war? Will other nations be involved? Can the United States keep out if a general European conflict develops?

Why does Italy assume the risks involved in the dangerous game of war? Italy is today facing an ever deepening domestic crisis. Both the working class, and the "middle class," under the fascist dictatorship, have been driven into the most miserable poverty. And now the Italian capitalist class, the real backers of fascism, are driven to foreign shores in their search for markets and for more workers to exploit. Further, by raising the cry of patriotism Mussolini hopes to still the rising tide of worker unrest and the ever deepening conviction of the workers that their only salvation lies along the road of revolution. Thus Mussolini has two objectives: to secure fresh territory for his financial backers and to still unrest at home.

Italy's campaign in Africa arouses a fear in Great Britain that her own far-flung empire is threatened, that a new imperialist rival has arisen who is demanding a place in the sun, and that this place may be gained only at England's expense. There is also a very real danger that all the submerged millions of Britain's colonial population may make common cause with the Ethiopians and throw off the yoke of bondage which is crushing them. These and other materialistic reasons are the real cause of England's concern over the Ethiopian situation. Certainly no altruism would cause Britain to mobilize her war machine and to exert the pressure she has in the League of Nations against Italy.

With one group of nations, gorged with the spoils of past conquests, insistent on preserving the status quo, and another group, less favored, demanding a re-division of the world market, it is almost impossible to localize any conflict in which any of the major countries of Europe are not involved. But it should also be remembered that it is im-

possible to maintain the status quo. Capitalism cannot remain stationary. A continually expanding market for commodities and capital is an absolute necessity to its continued existence.

The League of Nations has been set up by some of the nations, presumably as a means of averting wars, but in reality as an arena for diplomatic maneuvering. Each of the member nations of the League is trying at all times to use the League to its own advantage. The impotence of the League is shown by the fact that both Japan and Germany have recently openly flouted its decisions. Both Austria and Hungary have refused to impose any sanctions against Italy. In America the Conference on Port Development of the City of New York and other export firms have already denounced President Roosevelt's ban on shipments to either Italy or Ethiopia, and openly stated that they will carry on their business as usual. This shows quite clearly that regardless of League of Nations sanctions or presidential edicts the profiteering manufacturers and shippers will carry on business with anyone who has the price. In fact many of them welcome the war as means of increasing their profits.

But these difficulties do not make the situation hopeless. The war can be stopped, traffic in munitions can be barred, although not by depending on capitalist-controlled politicians, or on the decency of financiers, manufacturers or shippers. All organizations and individuals throughout the world who are opposed to fascism and its inevitable corollary war, should be drawn together in joint action against all war. Even with all the modern developments, workers are required to wage a war, to kill and be killed on the battlefield, and in manufacturing and transporting the thousands of products needed to wage war. War, like other present-day institutions, is a business which cannot be carried on without workers, and one in which every one reaps a profit except those who labor and fight. Poverty, misery, disease, mutilation and death, are the rewards which workers gain from any imperialist war.

Peace projects in the past have been instituted by politicians, rulers, business men, or religious groups. They have all failed. It



Drawing by Mackey

"CIVILIZE THE BARBARIANS"

now remains for the workers to succeed. The World League Against War and Fascism invites all individuals and organizations opposed to these twin horrors, appealing particularly to working-class organizations. This League, therefore, is a new and powerful vehicle for enforcing peace. When the workers of all nations refuse to produce the machinery of death to be used against their fellow workers, when the workers of the world refuse to fight the battles of their oppressors, then indeed shall we have peace.

NATIONAL DEFENSE?

By JEROME DAVIS

THE UNITED STATES just now is reacting against participation in European affairs. It is endeavoring to center attention on conditions in our own country. At the same time it is building up the largest navy in our history. The probabilities are that in the event of a general European war United States trade would be interfered with, and sooner or later United States interests would become so involved that the United States would not keep out of the conflict.

Americans should now do all in their power to organize against fascism and against war. Whatever is done to prevent Europe entering a major conflict will aid the United States and the world. It is hard to think of any war in which the United States might be involved that would really promote justice and equality for the exploited classes of America and other nations. It is obvious that no citizen should support any conflict unless it was waged genuinely in the interests of the proletarian classes. Considering the geographical situation of the United States, it is hard to see a war being waged really in self-defense. Every citizen of the United States should do all in his power to work for economic justice for the farmers and workers, and this means a united front against war and fascism.

In the Remote Neighborhood of Liberty

By ANN WEEDON

Mark Twain was born in November, 1835. This month marks his centenary and is a good time to call attention to his radicalism! He was against imperialism and war—and said so. Once again it is shown that Hearst's "Americanism" is not of the same stuff as that of the great Americans of the past—and present.

EVERY REGIMENTED American school child is taught that Mark Twain was a humorist who wrote delightful, entertaining yarns; but you might grow up and be as well educated as a New Deal brain-truster and not know that he was a revolutionary writer. You might not be taught that one of his best bits was a pamphlet, "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," written for and published by the Anti-Imperialist League of New York. The occasion for this piece of satire and severe condemnation of a government serving the profit makers among its citizens was the conquest of the Philippines. The apology of the government then was precisely that of Mussolini now—civilization for the heathen.

Mark Twain pointed out that such "civilization" as they could expect would be purchased by the Person Sitting in Darkness with his blood and tears, his land and his liberty. And to disillusion the vain and haughty he was explicit on the subject of racial superiority: "Among the savages—all the savages—the average brain is as competent as here or elsewhere."

Mark Twain's anti-imperialist pamphlet could, with the mere change of names and dates, be re-published now concerning Cuba, or used, perhaps in 1936, about Ethiopia. "We have crushed a deceived and confiding people; we have turned against the weak and friendless; . . . we have robbed a trusting friend of his land and his liberty; we have invited our clean young men to shoulder a discredited musket and do bandit's work under a flag which bandits have been accustomed to fear, not to follow." He suggested a flag for the new "civilized" Philippines—our own with changes: black stripes instead of white ones, and in place of the field of stars, a skull and cross bones.

It is a pity that he could not have lived until the Russian revolution was successful, for he spoke again and again of its necessity (another fact not taught in the schools in Hearst-and-Coughlin's sphere of influence). Once, impatient of the slowness of the Russian people to revolt, and exasperated by the reformist policy of some of their leaders, he wrote a letter to the Editor of "Free Russia"—a letter which that editor did not dare to publish:

"Do these liberation-parties think they can succeed in a project which has been attempted a million times in the history of the world and has never in one single instance been successful—the 'modification' of a despotism by other means than bloodshed? They seem to think they can. My privilege to write these sanguinary sentences in soft security was bought for me by rivers of blood poured upon many fields, in many lands, but I possess not one single little paltry right or privilege that comes to me as a result of petition, persuasion, agitation or reform, or any kindred method of procedure. When we

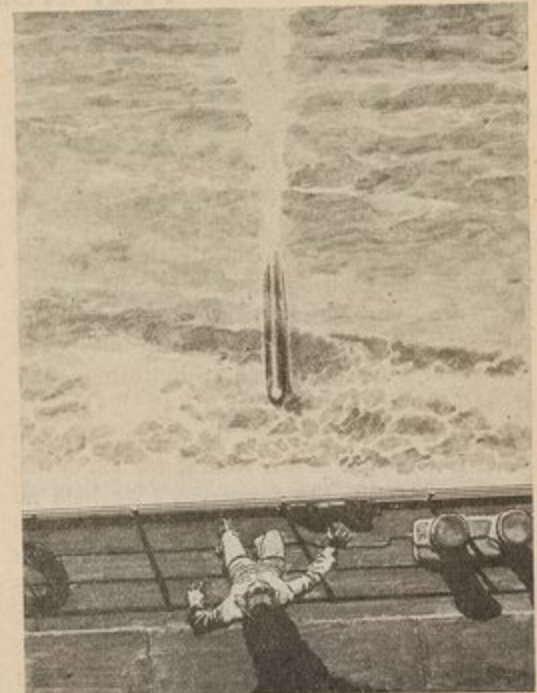
consider that not even the most responsible English monarch ever yielded back a stolen public right until it was wrenched from him by bloody violence, is it rational to suppose that gentler methods can win privileges in Russia? Of course I know that the properest way to demolish the Russian throne would be by revolution."

Another example of Mark Twain's radicalism, apropos taxation and the tariff: "In no case will the United States go without its share of the swag. It is delicious. The biggest and proudest government on earth turned sneak-thief; collecting pennies on stolen property, and pocketing them with a greasy and libidinous leer; going into partnership with foreign thieves to rob its own children. . . . Go in with a big rich government that robs paupers, and the widows and orphans of paupers and takes no risk? Why the thought just gags me."

Mark Twain wrote of the French Revolution: "Next to the 4th of July and its results it was the noblest and the holiest thing and the most precious that ever happened in this earth. And its gracious work is not yet done—not anywhere in the remote neighborhood of it."

MARK TWAIN'S WAR PRAYER

○ LORD, our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out ruthlessly with their little children to wander unfriended through wastes of their desolated lands in rags and hunger and thirst, sport of the sun flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee, for the refuge of the grave and denied it—for our sakes, who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with tears, stain the



white snow with the blood of their wounded feet! We ask of one who is the "spirit of love" and who is the "ever faithful refuge and friend of all that are sore beset," and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Grant our prayer, O Lord, and Thine the praise and honor and glory now and forever. Amen.

"WISDOM, JUSTICE and MODERATION"

(Motto of the State of Georgia)

a Pamphlet on

THE CASE OF ANGELO HERNDON

Published by the Joint Committee
to Aid the Herndon Defense

2c—Order from American League Against
War and Fascism

A school for war brides; Japanese women are recruited for patriotic service with soldiers in Manchuria, taught to be docile and hard-working and sent to foreign lands—to make sure the supply of cannon fodder will not grow short.



WAR WILL CEASE WHEN MEN REFUSE TO FIGHT

War Resisters and the American League

By JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN

Secretary, War Resisters League

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE Against War and Fascism is active and powerful; it stages headline demonstrations, and works indefatigably to educate the American people in the economic causes of war. Why, then, are War Resisters reluctant to accept the League as the mass anti-war movement for which we have long been agitating, some of us from as far back as 1914?

The reason is not in the least that the American League is too radical for us, or too working-class, or too dangerous. We hold no illusions regarding the efficacy of Peace Pacts, or the power of persuasion as applied to world financiers and world diplomats. We recognize with the League that capitalism, fascism and war stand together, that the fight is here and now, and that for many of us it will mean a life-and-death struggle.

The difference between us lies in two definite points of policy. War resisters are convinced that *all war, both international and civil, is not only horrible but absolutely futile, and destined to bring disaster to both sides which resort to it, whether victors or vanquished, attackers or defenders, government or proletariat.* As an instrument for working-class revolution or defense even more than for international conflict, modern war can prove only a boomerang, for twentieth century mechanization has made military victory dependent no longer on man power, but upon capital and capitalist alliances.

Accordingly we oppose all war and preparation for war without exception, defensive and civil conflict as well as aggressive and imperialist, for we refuse to be parties to the destruction of either the country or the cause to which we hold allegiance.

Our second point is that the method of war resisters in the fight against militarism is definitely that of the strike, the tried and tested weapon of the workers; we are hopeless of urging militarist powers to disarm, and we repudiate utterly the old farce of a "war to end war" or to "make the world safe for democracy." The rulers of the last generation learned one lesson, that modern conflict cannot be waged successfully without at least the apparent cooperation of 100 per cent of the people. The War Resisters International has deprived governments of this cooperation, for its members have publicly declared their refusal to give support to any war. They are pledged against enlistment, against yielding to conscription, against subscribing to war loans, against manufacturing or transporting munitions and all other forms of war work; and their refusal goes into effect immediately. American war resisters have been expelled from college for defying the R. O. T. C., and in every European country with peace-time conscription there are war resisters who are serving long prison terms for their refusal.

Now the American League, though it contains a number of war resisters, has not yet

endorsed either of these two principles which we consider essential. Its official declarations and platform spokesmen are careful to confine their opposition to *imperialist* conflict and to refrain from committing the League to a refusal to support *any and every war.*

The reason may as well be stated frankly. The League was initiated by Communists and Communist sympathizers, with the aid of others whose anti-militarism is of the liberal rather than the radical type. Under certain conditions they favor civil and even international conflict, discriminating between "good and bad wars" just as President Roosevelt would discriminate, only with different criteria of judgment.

Even in the case of imperialist war, to which the American League is sincerely hostile, it has failed hitherto to urge the opposition of individual men and women explicitly declared in advance. It exhorts its adherents to support labor unions in the refusal to manufacture or transport munitions when war arrives, but there is no lining-up of members against enlistment or even against entering war industries; and action even on the part of labor groups is left almost entirely to a somewhat vague future.

Once more the reason need not be soft-pedalled. The Communist plan is not to refuse war service, but to enter the army and agitate from within, awaiting the occasion for mutiny. Its present activity in the United States, moreover, as reported to the Comintern, is the radicalization or Communization

of the labor movement; and this process is materially furthered by the insistence upon unions, rather than individuals, as the necessary factors in radical opposition to war under the banner of the American League.

Although members of the Communist Party are now somewhat less conspicuous than formerly in the administration of the League, it is obvious that it cannot adopt either of the essentials of war resistance—the agitation against all war without exception, and the urging of individual declarations in advance—without thereby alienating the Communist sympathizers who are still its moving spirits.

Not until the League explicitly adopts these principles, however, can war resisters welcome it as *the mass movement against war.*

Meanwhile we can work together against imperialist war through special projects—in platform and symposium discussions, in street demonstrations, and in the actual boycott of war if it arrives in its true imperialist semblance and not as an angel of proletarian light.

There are many members of the American League who are ready to declare today their refusal to support all war. We urge these to cash in their opposition at once by signing the pledge of the War Resisters:

"War is a crime against humanity. I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive for the removal of all the causes of war."



FASCISM AND WAR TRAVEL TOGETHER

The Necessity for Joint Action Against War

By PAUL REID

Executive Secretary, American League Against War and Fascism

THE SECRETARY of the War Resisters League is right in stating that there are a number of war resisters (i.e., pacifists) who are members of the American League Against War and Fascism. Their very presence in our organization indicates two significant facts. In the first place it reveals that the American League provides a rallying ground for people and organizations that differ in religious and social convictions but are united in common resistance to war and fascism. Secondly, it discloses that differences of opinion on the "class war" do not prevent members of the League Against War and Fascism from agreeing on a program of joint action. We are an organization committed to a very definite program in opposition to these major evils of the day. All other issues lie outside our province and concern. It is our task to prevent the outbreak of another war, and to preserve and extend democratic rights and liberties in order to provide the environment and conditions under which a social and economic system of peace and freedom can be developed. The immediate requirements are to stop the advance of fascism and to thwart the preparations, propaganda, and actual initiation of the next war. This in essence means directing a definite blow at the capitalist system, the generator of class conflict and class war, as well as imperialist and civil war.

The exact character of the new social and economic order and the method of achieving it—through "class war," non-violent revolution, class collaboration, etc.—are not the concern nor the program of the American League. Such matters as these—the character of the new order and the method of attaining it—fall within the province of various of our constituent member organizations and individual members of the League. Hence we refuse to endorse opposition to all war not because there are Communists as well as liberals and pacifists in the American League, as Jessie Wallace Hughan holds, but simply because the issue of class war lies outside the scope of our program.

Furthermore, the social revolution in the American scene has not yet reached the stage of class war; we are still in the period of class-struggle. The immediate concern over such a future event is a rather typical position frequently adopted by middle class intellectuals. In so far as it directs energy into ineffective channels and causes preoccupation with theoretical abstraction rather than concrete action against war, such a position robs the anti-war movement of vital and needed forces.

In regard to Miss Hughan's second point—that the American League does not urge its individual members to declare their refusal to support war in advance—it must be pointed out that we certainly do not forbid our members doing this. In fact, a number of them have already taken this stand. The major concern of our organization is mass protest, mass

action, mass pressure, against war *now!* We are an organization of action, not a band of austere individuals who have made a certain declaration about what they will do or not do in the future. This point forms a major contrast between the War Resisters League and the American League Against War and Fascism. We feel that group action and mass pressure *now* are more important in actually stopping war and fascism than individual declaration against war, to be tested largely in the event of actual international conflict. Individual withdrawal from the war machine is not without significance, but its economic and political effect can only be given its major force in united front activities which are a part of planned action at the functional points

where the war machine can and must be stopped.

The demand of Miss Hughan that the American League Against War and Fascism, a united front movement, adopt the complete program of the War Resisters in order to obtain their full support is a position that no member organization in the American League takes, and one that is utterly impossible to maintain if united action on a common program against war is to be secured.

We welcome her proposal, however, that the War Resisters League and the American League Against War and Fascism work together against war on special projects.

"Wars will cease when men refuse to fight," but they will not refuse at the moment of conflict unless they are supported and strengthened by participation in the continuous activities and program of an anti-war movement of a mass character while war is brewing. Refusing to fight a war in the future demands active fighting against war *now*, in order to validate the refusal in the time of war and to secure its maximum effectiveness.



SCHOOL BEGINS IN ETHIOPIA

By LESLIE READE

THE EMPIRE of Ethiopia has a population variously estimated at 5 to 12 million people, not counting the recent influx of Italian visitors. From any published figure it would be prudent to deduct some thousands of the inhabitants, who in the early days of October had their first—and final—contact with capitalist civilization. That their disappearance means a decrease in the number of potential workers destined for the fascist mines and cotton fields in Ethiopia is a result which had been foreseen, but one cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs, nor have a Roman holiday without slaughtering Christians.

The story of the white man's prowess, for bad or for worse, has long been known in Africa, but until this present year of grace the Ethiopians alone among the African peoples had had little opportunity of yielding to the charm of that romantic and sanguinary legend. True, in 1868 a misunderstanding with Great Britain led to a clarifying expedition from that country, but after burning many of the natives' homes the torchbearers of Victorian civilization withdrew their forces. Mr. Rickett was not yet born nor the motor car invented. A later misunderstanding with Italy was finally explained in different fashion at the Battle of Adowa. With these exceptions the countrymen of Rasselas were allowed to pursue their own path of ignorance.

It remained for the murderer of Matteotti to undertake the real education of the Ethiopians. Those who have already perished are beyond further enlightenment, but even in the short time since the fascist army landed in Eritrea much has been learned by the surviving Africans.

For instance, Emperor Haile Selassie in his desire not to offend the Italians withdrew his soldiers and established a neutral zone between them and the frontiers of the Italian colonies. Although better educated than his subjects, the Emperor was perhaps not the least astonished Ethiopian when a diplomatic countryman of Machiavelli informed the world that the establishment of the neutral zone was in itself an act of aggression! One begins dimly to see the immense possibilities latent in fascist education.

As for their instruction by aviation, some months of advance publicity had already taught those Ethiopians who are literate what to expect. But fulfillment has far surpassed anticipation. The bombing of Adowa and other similar groups of mud huts, in which thousands of poor African traders and workers had lived for generations, is surely the most beautifully characteristic accomplishment of the age. And this is said even while bearing in mind other memorable achievements of capitalism such as the British restoration of order at Amritsar, the tranquilizing expeditions of American marines, and the Japanese pacification of Manchuria. The act has that same perfect quality which De Quincey



immortalized in his essay on "Murder as a Fine Art."

Chemical warfare is another subject hitherto absent from the Ethiopian curriculum. Haile Selassie has already declared that he will not use poison gas in the present war, for the singular reason that he signed a treaty not to do so. Italy signed the same treaty, but up to the time of writing the fascists have not stated their intentions as to the use of gas. Precedent being what it is, one may look with confidence for this further enlargement of the Ethiopian mental horizon.

Such then, added to the shelling by heavy artillery and tank attacks, are the present achievements of the fascist pedagogues. The completion of their educational program can be assured only by the conquest of Ethiopia, but it is not wholly idle to speculate now on the nature of the training to be expected in the Italian finishing school now being established under the distinguished patronage of Signor Pirandello, the munition makers, and His Holiness the Pope.

In Italy itself Mussolini believes in catching his fascists young. Recently he decided that military education should begin at the age of seven. When one remembers the parlous economic condition of the fascist state there is a hint of Roman magnificence in thus squandering black shirts on Italian infants. With the children of Ethiopia, already endowed with black skins, fortunately no such consideration arises. So we may reasonably expect that the age limit will be lowered in Ethiopia, and that a minority of the babies, who are spared education by aeroplane or gas attacks, will find their destiny in the ranks of the Balilla, in later life to become the privileged instruments of other fascist civilizing and educational expeditions.

The majority, of course, will suffer a less exciting, if no less terrible, fate, for beyond question the most important means of educating the Ethiopians will be by giving them all—men, women and children—the opportunity of laboring for their Italian masters in the fields and mines and factories which fascist capital will develop. If the example of rival imperial systems is a safe guide, the Ethiopians will learn to spend their lives in toiling from early in the morning until late at night, receiving a few cents a day,

and suffering the lashes and bullets of their owners should they pause to wipe the sweat from their brows.

They will learn, too, the hitherto unsuspected educative properties of castor oil, and they will have to accustom themselves to the working of a series of penal statutes, designed solely for their improvement.

Although an official at the Italian Consulate in New York recently declared that there are but 120 political prisoners in Italy there are no fewer than twenty-four "establishments for the execution of preventive measures of safety." So it would seem either that the grandeur and luxury of Rome maintains one such establishment for every five prisoners, or that the consular official was somewhat modest in his estimate of political prisoners. Whichever is the true explanation, it is a fact that in all Ethiopia—more than three times the size of Italy—the authorities have not provided even one "establishment for the execution of preventive measures of safety." There is no reason to doubt that the fascists will be far more generous in this respect, for the educational possibilities of such concentration camps and prisons have been proved in Italy as in Germany.

That the Ethiopians themselves have ungratefully refused all fascist attempts at enlightenment has become abundantly clear, but it is equally clear that the Ethiopians alone will not be able to resist their would-be civilizers. Only an immediate and determined agitation by the international working class, exploiting the temporary hostility to fascism on the part of their rulers in the rival imperialist powers, can save the Ethiopians from suffering a degree in that faculty whose professors are bankers and industrialists, and whose weapons are bombs and poison gas and chains. Such an agitation too will undoubtedly find an echo in Italy itself, for consider this opinion:

"What a sad alarum for the ruling classes of Italy! They were leading themselves in the illusion that the African war had realized a unanimity of national sentiment. . . . They said there is no longer class or class struggle. . . . The African war was supposed also to mark the end of Italian Socialism. . . . Never was there a hope more foolish. . . . The proletariat still exists with us, and rises against the Nationalist fatherland. . . ."

Those words are as true today as when they were written in 1914 by a socialist called Benito Mussolini.



Mars and the Cash Register

The Story of the Du Pont Dynasty

THE DU PONTS have a weekly income of over a million dollars. Old Pierre Samuel du Pont who left France in 1800 to found a state in America to be called Pontania, never realized his ambition, but his descendants control more wealth than any other single American family, and they have built up a great industrial empire, over which they rule, like the Mitsui family in Japan.

John K. Winkler tells the amazing story in *The Du Pont Dynasty* (Reynal and Hitchcock—\$3.00). He is not unsympathetic to the central figures of this famous family, which now numbers several hundred. But he reveals a mass of evidence sufficiently overwhelming to damn the du Ponts and the system which permitted them to amass enormous wealth out of death.

The du Ponts sold powder to the United States Government in the War of 1812. But the Civil War gave these merchants of death their first great opportunity. They sold the army a million dollars worth of powder. Then as now they kept the percentage of profits high. They managed to maintain a practical monopoly in the industry, through trade associations and secret price-fixing agreements; and by 1904, under the leadership of Coleman du Pont, the family had, through absorption and combination, established a complete monopoly, building the great munitions trust which, despite anti-trust laws, remains intact today.

The family has been always very, very patriotic—but also quite business-like in their dealings with their government. They were more than willing to supply the government with all the war supplies needed, but when the government asked du Pont aid in the construc-

A Few Facts for Armistice Day!

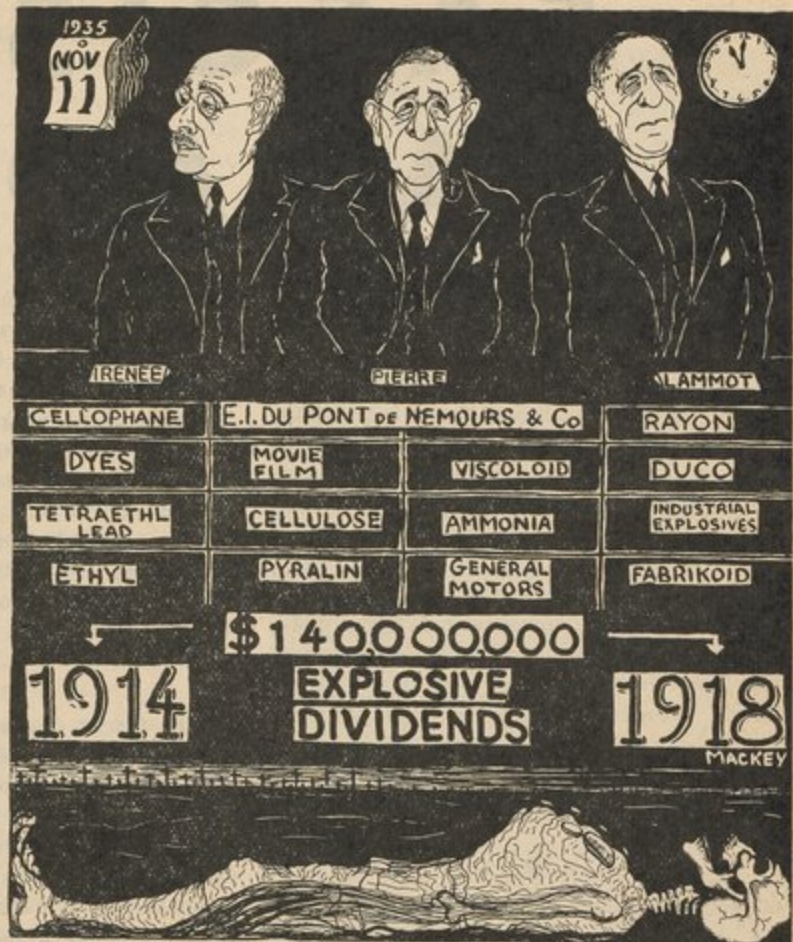
During the four years of the World War, the gross income of the du Pont company reached one billion dollars.

The capital employed in their business increased from \$83,000,000 to \$308,000,000.

The net profit during those four years was \$237,000,000—more than three times the capital employed in the business in 1914.

The dividends paid to stockholders amounted to \$140,000,000—a dividend of over 458 per cent on the par value of the stock.

According to Col. E. G. Buckner, du Pont super-salesman, war sales equalled 276 years of regular business.



Drawing by Mackey

tion of munitions plants and the loan of du Pont formulas, they very politely refused. The rights of Private Property!

Will the present neutrality legislation prevent the du Ponts and other big capitalists from selling war supplies to belligerent nations? Apropos a similar proposal which was to guarantee neutrality "in word and in deed," the following excerpt from a letter written during the World War by Pierre to Coleman du Pont is significant:

"We have given a great deal of consideration to the proposed law . . . we are not concerned . . . as all of our contracts are for delivery in the U. S. and have no relation to the question of shipment of material. In the last contract entered into by us with Nobel (for account of Vickers, London) they took the precaution to make the contract for delivery to their Spanish house which would be entirely apart from the proposed legislation, which deals with belligerent nations only. I believe that a similar change could be made in other contracts if it was found necessary. Altogether this legislation seems to be of small amount to us at the present time."

In short, munitions makers can always find a loophole in "neutrality" laws. Besides, it isn't good Americanism, it isn't constitutional, for the government to interfere with profits.

John J. Raskob guided the du Pont fortunes for many years. He brought the du Ponts and General Motors together when they emerged from the war with surplus wealth seeking investment. They have earned profits of over \$250,000,000 on an investment of \$49,000,000 in General Motors.

Profits have been kept up during the depression by ruthless wage cutting and firing and speed up. The attitude of the du Ponts toward labor is illustrated by a recent pamphlet

issued by the brokerage house of Francis du Pont, setting forth the "true Americanism" of company unions. This pamphlet reports that from 1899 to 1929 the value of the products per wage earner in the chemical industry increased from \$3,239 to \$11,850. But the labor costs decreased from 15.3 percent of the value of the products to 12.8 percent in that period. Mechanization has reduced the number of workers needed; in 1919 76,918 workers produced \$614,278,849 worth of chemicals, while in 1929 only 62,199 workers produced \$738,048,386 worth, although chemical prices were about 32 percent lower in 1929. The pamphlet draws the conclusion that all this makes the chemical industry an attractive investment, since high profits are not threatened by organized workers demanding high wages; "the chemical industry has not been unionized, as the company unions and associations have thus far been effective substitutes."

The du Ponts supported Roosevelt, but now having obtained what they wanted from it they wish to discard the New Deal and swing the country further toward the right. Their American Liberty League is an ultra-reactionary organization of finance capital with fascist potentialities. Through it the du Ponts are reaching out to dominate national affairs as they dominate Delaware. They may play the same rôle in the United States as Thyssen played in Germany in backing fascism. They are pals of Hearst and applaud his anti-Red crusade, his anti-labor policies. Under the slogan of "defend the Constitution" the du Ponts are attempting to drive this country toward fascist reaction, and toward another war—for war is the foundation of their colossal riches, and all their plants producing 11,000 products would become war plants producing supplies for the army and navy.



"Keep away from that Juden, Bismarck, you'll be contaminated."

FASCIST PARADE

THE GESTAPO has its troubles. It has failed to catch the members of the terrorist Nazi group calling itself "R.R." which stands for Raecher Roehm, meaning Avengers of Roehm. He was the Storm Troop leader murdered in the June blood purge of 1934. This clique of terrorists has killed six Nazi secret police agents in Berlin in the past few weeks.

HITLER visited a movie incognito for a quiet evening's amusement. When a news-reel flashed a picture of himself on the screen every one dutifully stood up—except Hitler himself. Whereupon an usher quickly rushed over to him and confidentially whispered:

"You better stand up, friend. We all feel the way you do about it, but it's not safe to show it."

"THOSE pastors who use the pulpit for propaganda purposes are digging their own graves," the central organ of the Storm Troop states editorially. Meaning that German clergymen who think that barbaric torture and terror is not Christian had better not say so from the pulpit if they want to stay outside of concentration camps. Despite this warning the opposition of Protestant ministers to fascism is growing in Germany, according to the Intercontinental Press Service.

After a short breathing spell the attack on the anti-Nazi Catholics of Germany has started again with increased ferocity. The Nazis have tried to suppress Catholic Workers' Clubs but have met with determined opposition.



The opposition among German clergymen has forced the Nazis to try to replace Reich Bishop Mueller, religious dictator, but he refuses to give up his job.

OTTO STRASSER, German exile and one of the founders of the "National Socialist" Party, expelled by the Nazis when he demanded that the party carry out the "socialist" part of its program, writes in his paper, *Die Deutsche Revolution* that "Today we are in a position to reveal that the secret treaty between Berlin and Tokio, so often reported and so regularly denied, exists, and provides for closest cooperation between the military forces of the two countries against the U. S. S. R."

THE fascist menace in France has been checked by united action, at least for the moment, according to leaders of the People's Front. Pierre Cot, former Air Minister and now a staunch adherent of the People's Front, declares that the majority of the army is unsympathetic to fascism and if the officers should attempt a fascist putsch, the soldiers would side with the people, in defense of democratic rights.

If the trend continues toward the left, a People's Front government is a definite possibility in the near future.

THE opposition to Il Duce is becoming unified; a People's Front, similar to the French People's Front, is planned, with the collaboration of Socialists, Communists and Republicans, according to Cipriano Facchinetti, former editor of the *Turino Lecola* and a Republican leader, now in exile in Paris.

A thousand policemen attacked ten thousand defenders of Ethiopian independence in Chicago and jailed 300, for defying a police ban of their demonstration against war.



GOD, in creating Germans, endowed them with three qualities, the story goes. These qualities were: Intelligence, Honesty and Naziism. But God imposed a restriction—a German could possess only two of these three qualities.

Therefore, if a German is a Nazi and honest, he can't be intelligent.

If he is a Nazi and intelligent, he can't be honest.

If he is honest and intelligent, he can't be a Nazi.

AN EDITORIAL in the Berlin *Germania*, a paper which reflects official Nazi policy, indicates the readiness of the Third Reich to conclude a deal with whatever coalition of powers offers Germany the greatest advantage



The renowned Minister of Propaganda, Herr Goebbels. Drawing by Ferstadt.

in the event of a world war. The editorial reiterates the fundamental thesis of the Reich foreign policy, that "Bolshevism is the source of all internal and external difficulties of Europe." It declares Germany ready to "participate in the reconstruction of the world"—for a price. The Reich demands either the restitution of her former colonies, or the right to expand eastward, which means into the Ukraine; also the absorption of Austria and Memel. But Britain is reassured that Germany's demands can be met without sacrifice of British imperialist interests.

THE FIRST ACT of the Committee for Ethiopian Independence was the holding of a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden on September 25. The Committee received the

endorsements of many leading trade unionists, including George P. Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor; James Quinn, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City; Arturo Giovanetti, a vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Mr. Wilson, president of the Pressmen's Union No. 51; and Mr. Lapham and Mr. Duffy of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local No. 3. A. J. McClaurin of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and sixteen other delegates from trade unions were on the platform.

The Committee for Ethiopian Independence sent S. K. Solomonick and Louise Bransten to Atlantic City to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.



The Fascists Are Not All in Europe

IN THEIR New York State Conference the Daughters of the American Revolution were warned against a long list of "menaces." First, they were told to oppose the Federal Child Labor Amendment, as "infringing upon the children's God-given right to work by making them government charges as they are in Russia." Second, they were informed that the Constitution is perfect and should never be amended. Third, all the evils of today were blamed on Socialism, "which has put this country where it is today—such a deadly, insidious thing that few have grasped its sinister significance." Fourth, Communism was accused of "insulting everything we hold sacred." Fifth, pacifism, internationalism and class hatred came in for their fair share of denunciation. But "the greatest menace of all," the Daughters of the American Revolution were told, is the "alien menace."

The Daughters of the American Revolution are not Mothers of American Revolutionists, but rather mothers of fascism.

The D.A.R. had nothing to say about the real menace—the menace of war and fascism, except to propose that peace be preserved by preparing for war.

THE NEW YORK POST warns the American Federation of Labor editorially against "playing its enemies' game" in expelling "Reds" from the unions, as advocated by Green and Woll. "Mr. Woll is vice-president of the reactionary, open-shop and anti-labor National Civic Federation, which hopes to use the 'Red' issue as it has been used by fascists abroad. First, war is launched on the 'Reds.' Then all liberal and labor forces are labeled 'Reds.' And when the job is done and every

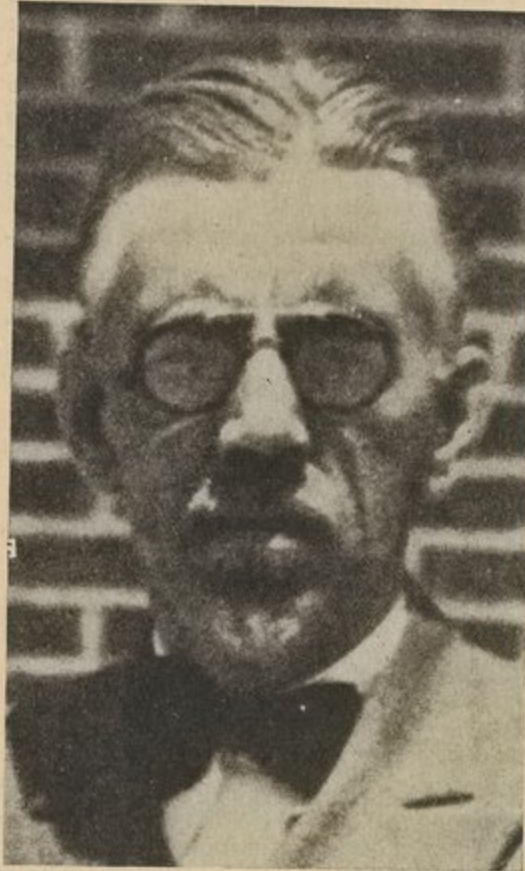
mildly independent leader is muzzled, the world is safe for wage-cuts and profits."

Racketeer labor leaders raise the cry of "Communism" and "disruption," the *Post* points out, "whenever the rank and file make an effort to clean house."

"Mr. Green forgets that in Germany, Hitler started out to 'save Germany from Bolshevism' and ended up by murdering the German equivalent of John L. Lewis and exiling the German equivalent of Matthew Woll."

"Mr. Green is fighting fascism—abroad. He is helping to prepare the way for it at home."

DO YOU shiver at night in fear of the Red Jewish Menace? Don't worry, Pelley has founded the "Christian Party" to rescue you from the "gang of powerful European Jews who remain in control as the Invisible American Government." Pelley announces himself as "100 percent pro-German in sympathy" and adds he has a German wife. He says that Hitler's anti-Jewish program must be adopted in the United States or this country is headed for ruin. When Pelley is elected President, "a rapport can be entered into with Hitler's Nazi Government by which non-Jewish Germany and the non-Jewish United States can promote Nordic-Aryan culture so that it overwhelmingly dominates the political situation of the world."



WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY

Another viper! Pelley, Silver Shirter, is running for President on the slogan "For Christ and the Constitution!"



Sally Alexander, Pelzer, N. C. textile worker, has learned that when workers strike for decent wages the employers organize vigilante bands, the government sends in troopers, the sheriff deputizes thugs, and fascist terror is used to break the strike. She was one of twenty-two wounded by gunshot.

J. B. Matthews Resigns from League Bureau

The American League Against War and Fascism received the following letter from J. B. Matthews on October 1:

"Being fully aware of the embarrassment which my membership in the League's National Bureau must be occasioning you and the League, I hereby tender my resignation to take effect immediately. I cannot tell you how much I regret the necessity of this step and the incidents which make it necessary...."



Congressman Marcantonio encouraging the strikers at Consumers Research, Washington, N. J. Marcantonio denounced J. B. Matthews as a liberal strike-breaker and traitor to organized labor.

The Big Four in War Industries

By ANNA ROCHESTER and ELSBETH E. FREUDENTHAL

Anna Rochester is the author of the forthcoming book, "The Rulers: A Study of Finance Capitalism in the United States," to which Elsbeth E. Freudenthal contributes three chapters on War Industries.

ITALY'S WAR in Ethiopia has already made vivid to every newspaper reader that all basic industries and raw materials are indirectly involved in modern warfare. And such neutral commodities as shoes, cameras, motor trucks, overcoats, flour, canned food and gasoline are just as essential for the army as cannon, rifles, shells, and airplanes. Merchant ships to carry troops and supplies are as necessary as warships.

In this broadest sense, the leading war manufacturers in the United States are identical with the leading finance capitalists of American industry. Practically every industry piled up war profits during the first World War. And the United States Government is now openly following the policy of industrial preparedness, with a special function assigned to each industry in the event of a war involving this country. Not, of course, for a minor colonial affair—like the still unforgotten attacks on Nicaragua—but for a genuine first-class war.

But very few companies will acknowledge that they are primarily interested in armaments. They all insist that their profits come chiefly from peace-time activities, or that their production of war materials is a patriotic, losing proposition. And, in spite of the material uncovered by the Nye Committee, it is difficult to check up on war production. Official records of war exports, for example, are notoriously and absurdly incomplete.

Morgan and du Pont Interests Allied

The Morgan interests are strongest in war industries—even as they are in the general economic life of America. The du Pont group, powerful and most conspicuous in chemicals, are close allies of Morgan. The Morgan firm has dominated U. S. Steel Corp. since the elder Morgan created the company in 1901. Bethlehem Steel Corp. and Midvale Co., a subsidiary of Baldwin Locomotive, are also under Morgan influence. These three companies have a monopoly of armor plate manufacture in the United States. Bethlehem and Midvale manufacture, along with "non-pierceable" armor plate, projectiles boosted as "armor-piercing." Bethlehem and U. S. Steel have shipbuilding subsidiaries whose "fixed bids" on U. S. Navy orders have become history.

E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co., whose profits rose dizzily during the Great War, is not only the leading chemical company in the United States, but exerts influence through its large investments in other industries. It has acquired control of Remington Arms. With Morgan it controls General Motors, whose interests extend beyond automobiles and trucks into aviation. The General Motors affiliate, North American Aviation, and the interlocking Sperry and Curtiss-Wright companies, cover all phases of aviation, in-

cluding manufacture of engines, planes, and essential aircraft instruments.

Morgan-duPont-General Motors interests along with representatives of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., the British chemical trust, jointly control International Nickel Co. of Canada, Ltd., and its American subsidiaries. This nickel trust has a virtual world monopoly of nickel, a metal important in warfare both directly and indirectly. Not only through their joint interest in International Nickel and General Motors, but through other joint interests in Canada and South America, duPont and Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., are closely tied up, competing in a world rivalry against the German chemical trust.

Copper is another important metal, as essential as steel and nickel in the manufacture of war equipment. Here Morgan is, on the world scale, the strongest single financial power,—directly through Kennecott Copper Co., largest producer in the United States, through Phelps Dodge Corp., and through International Nickel, largest copper producer in Canada. Morgan participates in British copper interests in Rhodesia. And Morgan indirect influence has increased in Anaconda Copper Mining Co., leading refiner and fabricator in the United States, with large mines in Chile.

Five companies are now known to be engaged in the manufacture of tanks and military or convertible tractors. At least two of these — International Harvester Co. and American-LaFrance and Foamite Corp.—have a definite, though indirect, Morgan connection. But, of course, the entire motor industry—with General Motors and Ford far in the lead—could readily be turned to production of armored cars, tanks and military tractors.

In the field of small arms and ammunition, indirect Morgan influence can be traced to several companies, but these operate in apparent competition.

Widespread and powerful as the Morgan influence is in several fields of war manufacture, the Morgan-duPont group is only part of the story. And the several companies under Morgan influence are not brought into any such compact armaments ring as the French Schneider-Creusot ring or the British Vickers armament and steel trust. Several small and apparently independent companies are functioning in war chemicals, small arms, and convertible tractors. DuPont has two large competitors in certain chemical fields. Eight large steel independents are controlled by outside interests with only a certain measure of price agreement to modify their competition with U. S. Steel and Bethlehem in the manufacture of raw steel.

And Mellon and Rockefeller have a large stake in certain fields definitely involved in war equipment.

Aluminum, a Mellon monopoly, is so important in the manufacture of airplanes that it constitutes about 10 percent of the cost. The Mellon family is also interested in Bethlehem Steel and certain smaller steel companies. It functions in the chemical industry, through by-products coke interests (Koppers) and through companies engaged in the fixation of nitrogen.

Mellon interests have joint ownership with I. G. Farbenindustrie, A.G., the German chemical giant, in two small companies. And Mellon controls Gulf Oil, which rivals Texas Corp. as the largest refiner and distributor of oils and gasoline outside of the Standard group.

The strongest American ties of the German chemical trust are with Rockefeller and Ford. I. G. is represented on the German Ford company, besides owning some of its shares, while on the American I.G. both Ford and Rockefeller are strongly represented. Standard Oil companies, dominating the field of fuels for warships and airplanes, are very definitely involved in war industry. The indirect Rockefeller influence in National Lead and in the Bolivian tin which it controls is also important.

In modern mechanized war, obviously all minerals, machine tools, and the basic set-up of heavy industry are important. So in war industries we find dominant the same four groups which stand out above others in the American capitalist world: Morgan, duPont, Rockefeller and Mellon.



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BUILDING THE LEAGUE

By PAUL REID

CHICAGO: A membership meeting on Sept. 27th was addressed by Waldo McNutt and Paul Reid, who were in Chicago on tour for the League. Frieda Ludwig, the new Organizational Secretary, was introduced and spoke on League campaigns and plans. The regional Week End School served as a very helpful training period for League workers from Chicago, Urbana-Champaign, and Milwaukee. Chicago League members are taking an active part in the tense fight for civil rights. They are also opposing the showing of "Red Salute," fascist movie. Plans for the next three months include the formation of additional branches and the securing of 35 new affiliations, as well as increasing the sale of FIGHT to 3,000 per month. The dates for the District Conference are Dec. 6-7-8.

New Jersey: Paterson carried on considerable agitation against the showing of the German Nazi picture, "Horst Wessel." A protest meeting against Italian fascist invasion of Ethiopia is planned. Active work in getting trade union support for the New Jersey District Conference is reported. Bergen County held a "Hands Off Ethiopia" protest meeting at the New Hope Baptist Church, Hackensack, on October 3rd, and laid the basis for the formation of a Committee for Ethiopian Independence. Over 200 people were present and the speakers were a Negro minister and an Italian anti-fascist.

Portland, Oregon: Summer activities have included a meeting for Kanju Kato, the Japanese labor leader, with over 350 people, American and Japanese, in attendance, and a conference arranged by the local Finnish group of the League and attended by Finnish people from Washington and Oregon. A District Conference of the League in preparation for the National Congress is being planned for early in November.

Minnesota: Duluth is to be the center for the Lake Superior District Conference scheduled for November 2nd and 3rd. Endorsements have been secured from 18 organizations and 22 outstanding individuals, including several Farmer-Labor clubs, a Teachers Federation, International Longshoremen's Association, ministers, doctors, labor leaders and an editor. Minneapolis has arranged to hold the District Conference for its area on November 16th and 17th. Askov has secured the affiliation of the local Holiday Association, and is planning a Barbusse memorial meeting soon.

Pittsburg: On September 17th, a large mass meeting for the Protection of Civil Rights was held with Dr. Harry F. Ward as the main speaker. Future plans include an anti-Nazi meeting, a district conference on November 17th, and a series of neighborhood meetings on the war crisis.

New Branches: In the past month new League organizations have been established in Norwalk, Conn.; Chester, Pa.; Garrison, North Dakota; San Antonio and Waco, Texas. More and more the anti-war movement all over the country is finding expression and organization through the American League.

Additional District Conferences: The Toledo League has secured the endorsement of the Central Labor Union with its 105 affiliated

organizations as well as the unqualified support of the Mechanics Educational Society which has a membership of over four thousand. Dr. Harry F. Ward will be the chief speaker for the Conference, and the dates are November 2nd and 3rd.

Denver has issued the call to the Rocky Mountain Conference, scheduled for November 9, 10, 11, and has the endorsement of a Methodist Bishop, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the secretary of the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, as well as the Secretary of the Colorado Farmers Union in addition to other significant organizations and individuals. The Conference is to be held at the Grace Community Church and speakers include Senator Edward P. Costigan, Paul M. Peterson and Clifford B. Noxon, president and past president respectively of the Utah State Federation of Labor.

California: San Francisco is planning a huge parade and protest meeting against war on November 11th. This is to be preceded by three meetings on the present war crisis. A trade union committee was recently set up and is working on the Trade Union Commission for the district conference November 22-24. On October 9th a mass meeting of protest against war preparations and shipment of munitions was held. Santa Rosa now has a branch of the League as a result of the activity centering around the opposition to the recent vigilante terror. Los Angeles is centering its attention on preparations for a dramatic mass demonstration against war on November 11th and a district conference to be held December 6-8. New Branches have been organized at South Gate and Santa Ana. Pasadena League members sent protests to Governor Olson and President Roosevelt on the recent strike situation in Minneapolis. New members have been recruited and the first steps taken toward the establishment of a Branch at Eagle Rock.

Baltimore: From all indications Baltimore will have one of the finest conferences in the country. The list of endorsers already gives the picture of a very broad movement. It includes several large trade unions, League of Women Voters, Christian Endeavor, Episcopalians, Presbyterian, Evangelical and Jewish ministers, Urban League, professors and newspapermen, Y.M.C.A. and Negro leaders.

Although much of this is due to some intensive work for the conference itself, the fact that the Baltimore Committee had developed some good work around the Ethiopian and Nazi campaigns is largely responsible for making the community feel that here is a live, sincere bunch which deserves support.

Even before the invasion of Ethiopia, Baltimore had devised a novel method of holding demonstrations. A block was chosen as the scene of a meeting. Signatures were gathered from all the residents of that street requesting that the city close the street for a meeting. This was done. Lights were strung up as in a carnival and a loud-speaker hired. In this way a number of demonstrations with as many as 2,500 people in one street were held. Consequently when organizers went to visit unions and prominent individuals asking for conference endorsements our work was immediately remembered and good response obtained.

Baltimore is the second largest port for the shipment of scrap-iron. In preparation for the conference work has begun on the waterfront. James Lerner, representing the national office,

spoke at two meetings along with Rev. Jos. Novack, where several hundred Negro and Polish longshoremen had gathered for the "shape-up" in the morning.

At the first planning meeting for the District Conference about twenty-five people were present. All the commissions were set up with Mauritz A. Hallgren, prominent journalist, as chairman of the commission on war and fascism, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, chairman of the commission on labor, the head of the Baltimore Urban League, Mr. Lewis, chairman of the commission on Racial Minorities and Rev. Jack Hutchinson, chairman of Youth Work.

THE New York City Youth Committee with its 25 membership branches is holding a series of local meetings against the Italian invasion. . . . Finding that it was not possible to have young and adult members mix easily, the young people in the Mt. Vernon Branch of the League have organized a Youth Branch. . . . The Iowa student branch has begun planning its work now that the school year is on. . . . A new Youth Branch has been organized in San Antonio, Texas.

JAMES LERNER, secretary of the Youth Section, is spending several weeks in western New York State and Erie, Pa., setting up new groups of young people. He was with a delegation of the American Youth Congress to the Assistant Secretary of State Moore which sought a stringent embargo on war materials to Italy.

Growing out of the successful student strike last April 12 we now have the broadest student united front ever organized working for November 11th demonstrations. A call issued by the Student Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A., National Student Federation of America, Student League for Industrial Democracy, National Student League, American Youth Congress, Middle-Atlantic Inter-Seminary Movement, Youth Section, American League Against War and Fascism, Committee on Militarism in Education, appeals for an "11th hour mobilization for peace" at 11 A.M. on Armistice Day in every college throughout the country. The demonstration is being organized around the slogans of "no loans, no credits, no war materials for the Italian government," the Oxford oath pledging no support for any war in which the United States government may participate, passage of the Nye-Kvale bill which stands for making optional military training in colleges and education for peace.

Activities of Our Organizers: Waldo McNutt has just returned from a five-weeks' trip through the Middle West, having visited St. Louis, Chicago, Minneapolis, Duluth, Askov, Detroit and Cleveland. Jim Lerner, recently returned from an intensive two-weeks of organizational work at Baltimore, is now on tour in northern New York State. In addition to Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse and Ithaca, he will also visit Erie, Pennsylvania, concentrating his efforts on building new Youth Branches. Jay Wright spent several days at the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City, circulating our Appeal to Labor. He is busy now shaping up the final plans and securing delegations for the New Jersey District Conference that takes place at Trenton, October 26th and 27th. Bert Leech will take a few days from his busy work in California to attend the Rocky Mountain Conference at Denver next month. Alex Phillian has been busy organizing our work at Columbus, Akron, Canton, and other points in Ohio. Paul Reid visited Indianapolis, Terre Haute, Chicago, Milwaukee and Cleveland on his midwestern tour.

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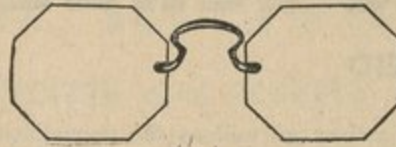
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