

chauvinistic, its philosophy mystic and anti-scientific, its cultural attitude uniformly reactionary, its economic theory a crazy patch-work quilt of nostrums behind which the inexorable processes of bourgeois "rationalization" and retrenchment are carried out. The fight against Hitler in Germany and the varieties of Hitlerism in America must be not only cultural but political. American intellectuals must be prepared to politicalize themselves by active participation in the *united front* now in process of crystallization of *all working-class organizations*.

No intellectual can be true to his vocation who does not struggle against a regime in which assassination is the primary political weapon and brutal gagging of all discussion the ultimate intellectual argument. In identifying himself with the cause of the international working-class for international socialism, the intellectual is helping to achieve a society in which a genuine intellectual life is accessible to all.

H. M. KALLEN

Hitlerism is the collective insanity of the German people.

In its doctrines and disciplines, the German mind reacts against the evils done it by the Treaty of Versailles. The peace which this treaty imposed split the German national consciousness. It cast down the German rulers who had made the war with their imperialistic jingoism, but it also made the Germany of the Hohenzollerns a happy dream of strength, glory and security. It did this because it compelled the German people to confess to a war-guilt which they did not feel, to pay the tribute of a war-indemnity for which they could not feel themselves responsible, and to suffer the indignity of an army of occupation that seared their souls.

Germany submitted to the impositions of the victors because she could not help it. But in their hearts, the German people did not submit. They withdrew their consent not only from the military and financial aristocracy which had forced them into war, but from the terms of the dictated peace which they were deceived into signing. They knew in their hearts that they did not deserve the indignity and the slavery which the peace compelled them to accept. They hated those responsible for it, but they feared to express their hatred openly. Its objects were too strong and too dangerous. Toward them, consequently, the Germans developed the mixture of defiance and submission usual in such a situation. Yet the hatred had to be expressed. Its real objects were concealed by avowed ones. These avowed ones are the Jews and the Communists. To them are attributed all of Germany's misfortunes. Against them all the revenge is to be practised which can not be practised against the allies. The degradation and misfortune of Germany is compensated for by a fantastic racial supremacy and imaginary political paramountcy, embodied in the philosophy of the superiority of the Germanic stock, the Germanic culture, etc. etc., over all others.

The combination amounts to a systematic delusion of grandeur, coupled with a systematic delusion of persecution. In the individual, this is paranoia. In the form it has taken among the German people, it is called Hitlerism. Alike in the mass and in the individual, it is a mental disease, and Germany is today in the grip of this disease. To students of international relations, its course was apparent from the beginning. As its history shows, the allies slowly recognized the dangers to themselves of the implications of the peace treaty. But their corrections and concessions came regularly just too late. Greater and greater numbers of the people in Germany found some release from their feelings of failure and enslavement in the paranoid delusions of the Hitlerites. Now Hitler's movement is the master of Germany.

In the individual, the prognosis of paranoia is not favorable. Neither is it in the case of the mass. The course predestined for the social disease of which Hitlerism is a case begins in the abrogation of all civil rights, develops in civil war, and ends in the self-destruction of the disease. The treatment indicated is like that for paranoia in the individual—isolation and regulative control. The effective way to free the German people of Hitlerism is to quarantine it—to refuse to have any dealings whatsoever with its spokesmen, and to appeal from it to the

good sense and love of freedom of the German people. Such an appeal, at the end of the war, freed Germany of the monarchy. A similar appeal, joined with guarantees of a just revision of the peace treaty, will cure Germany of the Hitlerarchy.

SCOTT NEARING

The developments in Germany since July 20th, 1932 are of immense significance for the workers in every centre of capitalist imperialism. In a bitter struggle for power, the property-privilege coalition headed by Hitler, von Papen and Hugenberg won a decisive victory over the working masses which were divided between the Catholic Centre, the Socialists, and the Communists.

The German Nazis showed, in their fight for power, that they have mastered three principles:

- a. Mass appeal
- b. Class alliances
- c. Capturing power in the 1933 world.

The German Socialist Party has a mass support from the trade unions; is inept at class alliances, never heard of capturing power and shoots down the Communists when they try it.

The German Communist Party appeals to the poorest workers; is clumsy at class alliances; has bitterly attacked the Socialists and the Nazis; and for a decade has written theses about the capture of power.

Hence the vote on March 5th:

Nazis	17 million
Socialists	7 "
Communists	5 "

It is easy to over-stress the importance of these election returns. The Nazis would be carrying on in Germany today had they received only half the number of votes, because they have captured power and intend to keep it.

The capture of power does not settle matters by any means. It merely opens a new chapter of political and perhaps of social history. But those who capture power write history for the time being.

There are two things we can do about the experience of the last six months in Germany. One is to scream like the *Nation*. The other is to study the situation from every angle, to see where our comrades have blundered and to avoid making the same mistakes when our turn comes.

And come it will. The struggle for power in Germany is merely a prelude to a class conflict that will be fought out across the entire capitalist world.

JAMES RORTY

The Hitler reaction in Germany is a flat challenge to the revolutionary workers the world over. This brutal *fait accompli* constitutes a rebuke particularly to all those middle-class easy-going fellow-travelers of the Communist movement who have imagined that the sharpening of the revolutionary struggle will exempt them from strenuous participation. We have had Mussolini; we now have Hitler. Can anyone doubt that we shall have in America within a period of a few months so definite a formulation of a Fascist drive that nobody can doubt it?

What are we as writers, artists, teachers, to do about it? The first thing to do, it seems to me, is to sophisticate ourselves politically as rapidly as possible. The second thing to do is to activate ourselves; in terms of an organized struggle, to set up an anti-Fascist front of intellectual workers in America. We must look to the Communist Party for leadership in the struggle against Fascism, but we must not be passive. We, the minority of intellectual workers who see clearly what is involved, must study the evolving materials of the American situation, set up the machinery of organization, anticipate the developments which are clearly inevitable, capitalize every blow which the unfolding of events will inflict on the dwindling illusions of middle-class professional workers.

Concretely, what does this exhortation mean? It means the functional coordination of all the existing organizations consti-

tuting the so-called cultural front of the revolutionary movement. It means a prompt and convincing seizure of the opportunity for leadership presented by the obvious intellectual and moral bankruptcy of Socialists, liberals and pink intellectuals in general. It means that intellectuals who are prepared to work at the job instead of talking at it take on a few of the definite, neglected tasks for which they are best fitted: a strengthening of the radical press; a qualitative and quantitative increase of pamphleteering; a competent and well-organized attempt to utilize the education and propaganda possibilities of the cinema, a similar attempt directed at the radio.

The position of the intellectual fellow-traveler of the revolutionary movement remains today ambiguous. It will become progressively less so as fast as bourgeois intellectuals follow up their public conversions with public and private works.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

Hitlerism is Ponzi-ism in politics. It is Jack-the-Ripperism in politics. It is a lottery where all tickets are stamped winners. It is a beaten dog's snapping at small dogs. It is hysteria calling itself heroism, jealousy calling itself dignity; treachery calling itself patriotism; it is the poison in German society coming to the surface like boils breaking out.

The Ponzis ultimately get shown up. The Jack-the-Rippers get stuck in jail. The lottery ticket holders go for their prizes; the snapping dogs get a second beating. The hysteria dies down; the poison in the system is finally discharged. In the meanwhile we'll have to keep fighting it. It may spread the infection here. Roosevelt's demand for dictatorial power is a dangerous itch, a first sign of the disease. We must fight it without fear.

When the American revolution started off the bourgeois revolutions in Europe, there were long periods of reaction. But it was impossible to defeat the revolution. Even in the blackest years of reaction there was the example of America, growing in power, to encourage the bourgeois revolution. The proletarian revolution has a stronger bulwark. The U.S.S.R. Growing in power, revealing the strength and enthusiasm and peace and security and happiness of a socialized state.

Reaction is the death-thrashing of all that is dying in our society. The living thing, the International Soviet, will soon take its place.

EDWIN SEAVER

The lesson of Germany's March fifth must be plain to every American intellectual and comrade of the working class. Faced by the ever increasing solidarity of the German workers and the growing strength of the Communist Party, the German landowners and industrialists have at last unleashed their dogs. The moron Hitler and his murderous black hundreds are meaningless unless we see in back of them the von Papens, the Hugenburgs and such grand old pillars of society and friends of the people as von Hindenburg. Hitlerism is the weapon forged by German capitalism to meet the challenge of German communism; it is the means by which the reaction aims to wipe out every advance for which the German masses have struggled for more than a century.

No honest intellectual, no genuine liberal anywhere, but must be revolted by the spectacle of Hitlerism, but must voice his indignation at this brutal and hypocritical and blatant insult to the intelligence of the world. To our comrades, the workers and intellectuals of Germany, we pledge our support in their fight against the fascist reaction, against the temporary return to barbarism that is known as Hitlerism.

As Americans we must realize that what has taken place in Germany today, can and will take place in our own place in our own country tomorrow unless we organize to fight the reaction at home in all its manifestations. Black shirts or brown, brown shirts or khaki—fascism is to be recognized not in the color of its shirt but in the often subtle and always reactionary role it plays in the class war as the servant of capitalism and the foe of the proletariat; the forms of fascism change, but the spirit remains the same. Now is the time for

a united front against Hitlerism in America. Tomorrow it may be too late.

RESOLUTION OF REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS FEDERATION

Hitlerism, the mailed fist of bourgeois class violence, has been put into power by German big capital, for the purpose of smashing the organization of the working class and the ever-growing forward movement of the Communist Party, that leads the laboring masses of Germany towards the proletarian revolution.

Through a series of shameless provocations and assassinations, the arrest of thousands of working class leaders and militants, the throttling of the press, the abolition of all civil rights, anti-Semitic excesses and chauvinistic demagogic incitements, the Nazi murder bands are attempting the destruction of the mass struggle against fascism and the entire hunger programme of the capitalist class.

But capitalism, resorting to stark terror, the last desperate means it can wield in defence of this class domination, cannot swerve aside the iron will of the German workers, who through a broad united front uniting millions of toilers, are rallying for the repulsion of Hitler's brutal attack. The Nazi troops of kulaks and petit-bourgeois "gone mad" will not succeed in their frantic attempt to crush the German Communist Party and the increasingly militant social-democratic rank and file. An open civil war between capital and labor will be the inevitable culmination of Hitler's hooligan regime.

Here in the United States, where capitalism is undergoing the most profound economic and social cataclysms, the fascization of the State is proceeding apace. The capitalists seek to load the whole burden of the deepening crisis upon the workers, farmers and impoverished lower middle class. It is clear that the struggle against Hitlerism is an organic part of the struggle against bourgeois oppression of the working class wherever capitalism exists.

We, revolutionary-proletarian writers and cultural workers, pledge our support of the German laboring masses, and its vanguard, the Communist Party, and declare relentless war on fascism, social fascism, and the capitalist rule in its entirety.

REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS FEDERATION

John Reed Club Writers Group, Proletpen, Hungarian Proletarian Writers Association, Burevestnik, Ukrainian Proletarian Writers and Worker-Correspondents Association, Japanese Cultural Federation, Finnish Cultural Federation, Lithuanian Literary Dramatic Group, Jack London Club, Pen and Hammer, Student Review.

AGAINST FASCISM!

NEW MASSES readers are invited to participate in the mass demonstration and protest against the German fascist persecution of working class organizations, Jews, intellectuals; against the imprisonment of revolutionary workers and leaders; against the oppression of workers and scientists.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5 — 7 P. M.

—John Reed Club

—Revolutionary Writers Federation