

Section One

★

November
1936

The **Fight**

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

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SPAIN

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A Special Interview
with Ventura Gassol
Catalonia's
Minister of Culture

Do You Make These Mistakes in English?

Sherwin Cody's remarkable invention has enabled more than 100,000 people to correct their mistakes in English. Only 15 minutes a day required to improve your speech and writing

MANY persons say "Did you hear from him today?" They should say, "Have you heard from him today?" Some spell calendar "calender" or "calander." Still others say "between you and I" instead of "between you and me." It is astonishing how often "who" is used for "whom," and how frequently the simplest words are mispronounced. Few know whether to spell certain words with one or two "c's" or "m's" or "r's", or with "ie" or "ei," and when to use commas in order to make their meaning absolutely clear. Most persons use only common words—colorless, flat, ordinary. Their speech and their letters are lifeless, monotonous, humdrum.

Why Most People Make Mistakes

What is the reason so many of us are deficient in the use of English and find our careers stunted in consequence? Why is it some can not spell correctly and others can not punctuate? Why do so many find themselves at a loss for words to express their meaning adequately? The reason for the deficiency is clear. Sherwin Cody discovered it in scientific tests, which he gave thousands of times. *Most persons do not write and speak good English simply because they never formed the habit of doing so.*

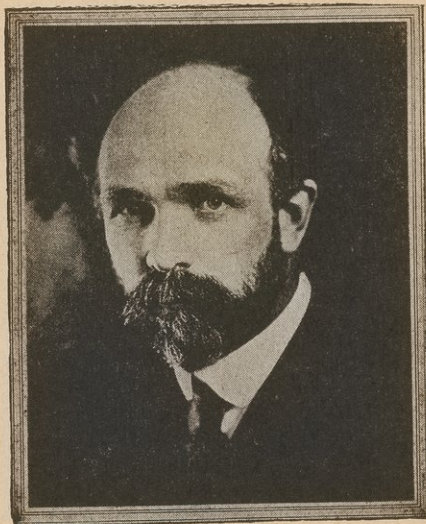
What Cody Did at Gary

The formation of any habit comes only from constant practice. Shakespeare, you may be sure, never studied rules. No one who writes and speaks correctly thinks of rules when he is doing so.

Here is our mother-tongue, a language that has built up our civilization, and without which we should all still be muttering savages! Yet our schools, by wrong methods, have made it a study to be avoided—the hardest of tasks instead of the most fascinating of games! For years it has been a crying disgrace.

In that point lies the real difference between Sherwin Cody and the schools! Here is an illustration: Some years ago Mr. Cody was invited by the author of the famous Gary System of Education to teach English to all upper-grade pupils in Gary, Indiana. By means of unique practice exercises *Mr. Cody secured more improvement in these pupils in five weeks than previously had been obtained by similar pupils in two years under old methods.* There was no guesswork about these results. They were proved by scientific comparisons. Amazing as this improvement was, more interesting still was the fact that the children were "wild" about the study. It was like playing a game!

The basic principle of Mr. Cody's new method



SHERWIN CODY

is habit-forming. Any one can learn to write and speak correctly by constantly using the correct forms. But how is one to know in each case what is correct? Mr. Cody solves this problem in a simple, unique, sensible way.

100% Self-Correcting Device

Suppose he himself were standing forever at your elbow. Every time you mispronounced or misspelled a word, every time you violated correct grammatical usage, every time you used the wrong word to express what you meant, suppose you could hear him whisper: "That's wrong, it should be thus and so." In a short time you would habitually use the correct form and the right words in speaking and writing.

If you continued to make the same mistakes over and over again, each time patiently he would tell you what was right. He would, as it were, be an everlasting mentor beside you—a mentor who would not laugh at you, but who would, on the contrary, support and help you. The 100% Self-Correcting Device does exactly this thing. It is Mr. Cody's silent voice behind you, ready to speak out whenever you commit an error. It finds your mistakes and concentrates on them. You do not need to learn anything you already know. There are no rules to memorize.

Only 15 Minutes a Day

Nor is there very much to learn. In Mr. Cody's years of experimenting he brought to light some highly astonishing facts about English.

For instance, statistics show that a list of sixty-nine words (with their repetitions) *make up more than half of all our speech and letter writing.*

Obviously, if one could learn to spell, use and pronounce these words correctly, one would go far toward eliminating incorrect spelling and pronunciation.

Similarly, Mr. Cody proved that there were no more than one dozen fundamental principles of punctuation. If we mastered these principles there would be no bugbear of punctuation to handicap us in our writing.

Finally, he points out that twenty-five typical errors in grammar constitute nine-tenths of our everyday mistakes. When one has learned to avoid these twenty-five pitfalls, how readily one can obtain that facility of speech which denotes the person of breeding and education!

When the study of English is made so simple, it becomes clear that progress can be made in a very short time. *No more than fifteen minutes a day are required.* Fifteen minutes, not of study, but of fascinating practice! Mr. Cody's students do their work in any spare moment they can snatch. They do it riding to work or at home. They take fifteen minutes from the time usually spent in profitless reading or amusement. The results really are phenomenal.

Sherwin Cody has placed an excellent command of the English language within the grasp of every one. Those who take advantage of his method gain something so priceless that it can not be measured in terms of money. They gain a mark of breeding that can not be erased as long as they live. They gain a facility in speech that marks them as educated people in whatever society they find themselves. They gain the self-confidence and self-respect which this ability inspires. As for material reward, certainly the importance of good English in the race for success can not be over-estimated. Surely, no one can advance far without it.

FREE—Book on English

It is impossible, in this brief review, to give more than a suggestion of the range of subjects covered by Mr. Cody's new method and of what his practice exercises consist. But those who are interested can find a detailed description in a fascinating little book called "How You Can Master Good English in 15 Minutes a Day." This is published by the Sherwin Cody School of English in Rochester. It can be had by any one, free, upon request. There is no obligation involved in writing for it. The book is more than a prospectus. Unquestionably it tells one of the most interesting stories about education in English that ever has been written.

If you are interested in learning more in detail of what Sherwin Cody can do for you, send for the book, "How You Can Master Good English in 15 Minutes a Day."

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With the Readers



FOR some reason or other we never took to birthdays. Well, maybe there is a reason, and *maybe* we are just a natural crank. We have always thought and felt that good things come without little paper bells and artificial flowers. But most birthdays and weddings and funerals, too, in our war makers' world, have something of the tinsel about them. But then again, maybe we are a little sour today and *maybe* again we are not.

ANYWAY, with this special number we too are celebrating a birthday, but that's a horse of another color. *We like this birthday.* And we think and feel that that this birthday is real. We are three years old today. And the *we* are the American League and THE FIGHT.

THREE years is a short span of time in the life of a man. Hardly past the diaper period. But in the life of an organization . . . we are a little wiser and our hair is beginning to gray . . . blossom time is over . . . the young tree is bearing fruit.

THREE years ago a tall, slender, sick old Frenchman came to America to help ease the birth of the American League. Everyone was skeptical. (What, another peace group?) The gossips were malicious. The political wiseacres were prophesying disaster. Narrow-minded "idealists" caucused in hotel rooms, mixing their poison for the "kid." But the tall, slender, sick old Frenchman kept on, marshalling his forces for peace and freedom, marshalling all men and women for the Idea.

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

A WEEK or two after the first Congress of the League, Barbusse "caucused" with us on the magazine which you are reading now. He took us into a little room and talked to us. (And how he did talk!) Three or four weeks later the first issue of THE FIGHT came off press.

THE League with all of its shortcomings is *the* living force against war and Fascism in America today. It has influenced and pointed the way. It has changed the peace movement of America from an impractical afternoon tea society to groups of men and women who are about ready "to go."

HENRI BARBUSSE is dead. But other men and women, intelligent, creative, honest and politically wise, have come in his place, and they are giving great leadership to this movement. This movement for peace and freedom is just maturing. In the next year or two it will be faced with great tasks. What will we say on our fourth or fifth birthday?

HERE the editor wishes to express his appreciation to the many contributors who have made this number possible, and to the Henri Barbusse Memorial Committee for the financing of the special section. Peace and freedom to you!

FIGHT, November 1936



Protesting Mussolini's military aid to Spanish Fascism. A demonstration before the Italian Consulate in New York City

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JOSEPH PASS, Editor

The Fight Against War and Fascism, published monthly by the National Executive Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, 268 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Chairman, Harry F. Ward. Vice-Chairmen, Robert Morss Lovett, Mrs. Victor L. Berger, Earl Browder, Max S. Hayes, Jacob Mirsky. Treasurer, William P. Mangold. Secretarial Staff: Executive, Paul Reid; Administration, Clara Bodian; Organization, Waldo McNutt; Youth, James Lerner; Women, Dorothy McConnell; Trade Union, John Masso; Religious, Rev. Herman F. Reissig. Single Copies, 10 cents. Yearly subscriptions, \$1.00. Six-month subscription, 55 cents. Canada and Foreign, \$1.50 a year. Entered as Second-Class matter, February 20, 1935, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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The Contributors



VENTURA GASSOL, interviewed by Margaret Duroc, is Minister of Culture in Catalonia. The most inspired leader of the present Catalonian government, he is one of the outstanding living Spanish poets. Author of many books, he was imprisoned by the reactionaries and was serving a thirty-year term when the People's Front government freed him.

JEROME DAVIS, educator and sociologist, teaches at Yale University and is the author of many books, including *Capitalism and Its Culture*, *Contemporary Social Movements*, *Labor Speaks for Itself on Religion, Business and the Church*, etc., etc. Professor Davis was elected recently to head the Teachers' Union.

WILLIAM GROPPER, who made what we think an unusual and beautiful cover on Spain for our special section, is generally recognized as America's foremost black and white artist.

MARGARET FORSYTH, who writes the article on the Brussels Peace Congress, was on the American delegation to that conclave. Miss Forsyth is Associate of Religious Education, Teacher's College, Columbia University, and is on the National Board of the Y.W.C.A.

WANDA GAG, hailing out of Minnesota, is the author of many books: *Millions of Cats*, *Wanda Gag's Story Book*, *Tales from Grimm*, etc., etc.

QUINCY HOWE, formerly editor of *The Living Age*, and now connected with a publishing house, for years has been interested and active in the anti-war movement.

ART YOUNG needs very little comment in the pages of this or any other American publication. He has been battling with the reactionary forces for over four decades and his pen, brush and pencil have left many a scar.

JOHN GROTH, formerly art editor of *Esquire*, has contributed to many American publications, including *Today*, *Stage*, *New Yorker*, etc., etc.

MAURICE BECKER lived for many years in Mexico where he made the illustrations appearing here.

WALTER WILSON is the author of *Forced Labor in the United States* and several pamphlets, including *American Legion and Civil Liberty*, and has contributed to *Harper's*, *The New Republic*, etc., etc.

PEARL BINDER, who makes her initial appearance in this issue, is a well-known English lithographer.

HUGO GELLERT has drawn for anti-war publications for over twenty years. His contribution here is from his forthcoming book, *Aesop Said So*, to be published by Covici-Friede.

HARRY GOTTLIEB, born in Ireland, reared in Minnesota and now living in New York, was the recipient of a Guggenheim fellowship.

M. PASS received his baptism in anti-war action during the World War, and has contributed since to many labor and progressive publications.

LOUIS LOZOWICK, whose lithographs of the American scene rank among the finest examples of post-war art, is a frequent contributor to THE FIGHT.



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Last year it was the fashion to *Let Freedom Ring!* This year we must unite our forces to *Make Freedom Ring!*

But we must know who threatens Democracy!

SPAIN'S DEMOCRACY TALKS TO AMERICA

is the report of an interview which DR. HARRY F. WARD, National Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, and A. A. MACLEOD, National Chairman of the Canadian League Against War and Fascism, had with nine representatives of the Spanish People's Front. 3c

HEARST: COUNTERFEIT AMERICAN

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by WALTER WILSON

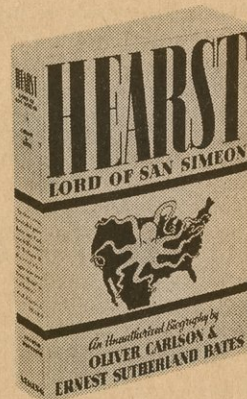
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November, 1936

Spain Speaks

In a special interview, Ventura Gassol, Catalonia's Minister of Culture, tells of the people's efforts to build a better world out of their medieval darkness

By Margaret Duroc

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM WESTLEY



CATALONIA'S Minister of Culture is a poet. An ardent patriot, Ventura Gassol had dedicated his literary talent to the ideals of liberty of his Catalonian compatriots. Today, after being wrested from a thirty-year prison term by the Popular government, he is Minister of Culture of that very interesting autonomous Republic of Catalonia, where, already, the Fascist putsch has been defeated, and where, already, the phoenix of a new culture is arising.

I went to see Gassol, because as an art historian I wished to know what action was being taken to preserve the artistic heritage of Catalonia. I had seen the magnificent Gothic church, Santa Maria del Mar, a ruin; the facade missing from El Pino; and Belén standing without its roof. "Why," I asked Gassol, "has this been allowed to happen?"

"Because the churches were used as forts by the Fascists." One could see that this earnest and self-sacrificing man was grieved by the destruction, but one could also see that he felt that the act had to be pardoned. "As forts?" I queried. "Yes," he affirmed. "The Fascists shot at the people from the belfries. One convent opened its doors as if to give protection to the hard pressed militia. But once inside, the priests forced the workers to shoot upon their fellows. Inside the churches, in many cases under the high altar, stores of ammunition were found. The curés arbitrarily turned the churches into forts."

I remembered the atrocity stories which I had been told and had read of the shooting of priests. And it seemed to me that when a man, who had dedicated himself to the service of God, had so far forgotten his high mission as to shoot upon his own flock, then he had so befouled himself, that he was not even worthy of the treatment accorded a traitor.

Risk Lives for Art

Whatever destruction took place, occurred within the first three days. Even then, there was an effort to preserve the monuments. Gassol told me the story of how a group of workers refrained from attacking an old Gothic church, from whose rose window there was sniping, until they had received permission. He also told me of the

The churches are used as forts by the Fascists

heroism of artists and writers who risked their lives in order to carry paintings and books out of burning buildings. The famous Cathedral has not been touched. Peret Nau, the author, harangued the militia and pleaded with them not to burn the Cathedral. One must have confidence in the ability of the Catalan people to erect a new civilization, when it is realized that the very ones who wished to burn the Cathedral, seeing in it a symbol of the oppression of the old inquisitorial Spanish Church, now mount guard in order to protect it.

The people are learning fast. In a few short weeks an intense pride has arisen for the artistic past. Long queues now form to turn over to the Generalidad (the Catalan government) objects brought back from the front. They wish to know, "Has this any value?" They bring back and turn over the mediocre as well as the magnificent. They are fearful of desecrating any art. Gassol said very emphatically to me, "There has not been a single case in which an art treasure was pointed out to the militia, that it was not respected."

Catalans Hunger For Culture

"Who," I asked, "points out the treasures?" He told me that, at the request of the government, the artists and writers have formed committees which accompany the militia to the front. "A tremendous number of works have been brought back; Gothic retables, precious manuscripts whose existence was never suspected, paintings of all periods, and sculptures. It will be necessary to form a new museum to house the new acquisitions. It will also be necessary to enlarge the existing museums."

If art works have been destroyed, one cannot blame the people. They made bonfires, but they did not know that they were destroying anything precious. In the truly stupendous museum of Catalan art at Montjuich, one of Gassol's secretaries showed me two retables which came from his native village of Granollers. The curé, he told me, used one of them as a house door, and the other as a table top upon which he treated his pigs. The Catalonians have been illiterate and kept in ignorance. Today they hunger for culture. The Republic has opened up to them the great artistic traditions which are theirs.

A Republic Is Born

"I read in the newspaper, *El Diluvio*, that Tarragona will be excavated. Is that true?" "Yes. Within a few days," said Gassol, "work will be resumed at the ancient Greek city of Empourias as well as Tarragona." I was thrilled. Remnants of barricades still dot Barcelona, every day detachments of militia depart to the front, but meanwhile, the optimism of the people and their conviction of the justness of their cause give them the courage to build their



new republic. "The revolution," added Gassol, "has given us the means and the possibility of restoring the artistic monuments. Preparations are also under way to work on the monastery of Poblet and the Church of Santes Creus."

Schools to Teach Music and Art

"It is necessary," Gassol explained, "to develop the artistic conscience of the people. Without the sensibility which art contributes there can be no culture. One can manufacture machines, but not cultured people. To create a high civilization it is necessary to have an ambiance of culture, and this can be formed only by the contribution of the arts. I shall place a musician and an artist in every school, because I believe greatly in the enrichment of life which is due to the arts. The Catalonians have always expressed a high idealism. They have an artistic heart. Through the action of the arts it will be possible to raise the people to new heights."

"At the present moment we are rehearsing a mass chorus of twelve thousand singers which will participate in a musical festival which we are planning for the aid of the militia. The Catalans are a musical people. We will further develop their appreciation of the arts through expositions, festivals and traveling exhibitions."

Upon my query as to the relationship of the Generalidad to the artists, he was very positive. "It is necessary to work in the closest cooperation with the artists and their organizations and unions. The artists constitute a most precious source of spirituality." This attitude was confirmed by the artists themselves. They look upon Gassol as their minister and have a very marked affection for him. I scrutinized the delegations who came to see him, musicians, writers, artists and teachers. In all I could see pride as they greeted their minister. I could understand it. One immediately knows that one likes Gassol. He is quiet, undramatic, most unassuming, but most sympathetic and endearing. He makes promises and he keeps them.

Every Child in School

The close cooperation that exists between the unions and the government is most strikingly revealed in the new school policy. All the schools, from the nurseries and kindergartens to the technical schools and the university, have been placed under the control of a commission consisting of delegates of the government and the professional unions. I asked Gassol whether new schools will be opened. "It will be absolutely necessary. The first step in our new school program is: on the first of October there shall not be a child in Catalonia who is not in school. We wish to give to our children a culture

If Fascism wins in Spain

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which shall be the guarantee of a more just and more human future. We shall construct, in open spaces and in parks, new school developments which shall be in accord with our pedagogy." "But until you build new schools, how will you take care of so many additional children?" I asked this question because I knew of the widespread illiteracy in Spain. The answer was simple. "We shall use the palaces of the Fascists."

Eager to Learn

I thought of the line of scribes I had seen along the Ramblas on my way to the Government Palace. More than fifty per cent of the people of Spain can neither read nor write. Such is the record of the former clerical-feudal system. The scribes sit in a line of booths, resembling confessional stalls. To them come the workers and peasants, and even shopkeepers, to write their documents; sweethearts, to pour out their longings; and today, mothers and fathers, to send letters to their children at the front. They do not dictate their letters in Spanish, but in Catalanian, a language midway between Spanish and French. In the new educational system, the children will be taught to read their native language first. It is much easier, Gassol pointed out, to both teach and learn in one's own language. The high cultural level toward which the people are aspiring will be aided by the use of their native tongue.

Autonomy and Unity

I have frequently read in books on Spain that one of the principal defects of the Spaniards is their sectionalism; that the mutual distrust of the Basques, Catalonians, Galicians, Aragonese, Castilians, etc., toward each other made it difficult for the country to advance. This situation has been very successfully solved by the People's Front government. Each region which has an independent language and tradition has been given the right to form an autonomous republic. This, instead of further dividing the country, has united it.

The Catalonians have completely defeated the Fascist insurrection within their own borders. Now they are fighting for the rest of Spain. They have sent columns to assist in the defense of Madrid, but they are giving their aid chiefly to the Aragonese, on the Saragossa front. When they enter the villages and towns of Aragon, the country which was formerly their hated rival, they receive a most joyful welcome. Unlike the Fascists, whom they have driven out, they do not requisition goods from the people, but help supervise the division of the land among the peasants. One of my precious possessions is a photograph of the village committee of Antillon. "We used to think," they said to the victorious Cata-

If Democracy wins in Spain



lonian militia, "that you Catalonians were our enemies, but now you have come to fight for us. When the Fascists are defeated, you must come back again to us, but you must bring us books instead of rifles."

The Spanish people are thirsting for knowledge and the good things of life. Music, sports, books, theatre and art have been the possessions of a small minority. The people are claiming them. These are the goals which are being threatened by the Fascists. For two years, while the reactionary parties were in power, there was a systematic annulment of all the advances of the new Republic. Today, while the battle against Fascism is so intense and grim, the people are already working towards these goals.

A Great Awakening

In the newspapers I read of the preparations being made for a great anti-Fascist festival in which musicians, actors and writers were collaborating. I strolled along the Ramblas, Barcelona's famous boulevard filled with flower stalls, and listened to a radio broadcast of a Beethoven concert. At the headquarters of the Painters' and Sculptors' Union, built around a pleasant patio, I found several beautiful Gothic retables which had just been brought back from the front, and which were destined for the Museum at Montjuich. At Montjuich, in a vast hall, I found paintings of all periods, standing in deep rows, waiting to be cleaned, catalogued and mounted. I saw an exhibition of works done by the members of the Graphic Artists' Union during the month of July. The proceeds were divided between the militia and the artists. Gassol attended this exhibition, and the Generalidad bought several pieces for the Catalan Museum. Standing outside the Generalidad are long queues of returned workers' militia, bringing treasures which have to be sorted. The very posters which one sees on the streets, stating that **PILLAGE DISHONORS THE TRIUMPH** or calling for more men and arms to fight against Fascism, or asking for the protection of the peasants, are of high artistic merit. All the artists are busy, preparing new works for a large exposition of painting. Arrangements have already been made to have this exposition travel to Paris and London. Throughout the city there are posters demanding, **THERE MUST NOT BE A CHILD THIS OCTOBER IN CATALONIA WHO IS NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL**. There can be no doubt that Catalonia is, today, on the threshold of a great awakening. All power to this heroic, magnificent people! Today they are faced with the task of building a Democratic Republic, and Hitler and Mussolini are arming their enemies. The Democratic forces need clothes, food, ambulances, bandages. They look to us for assistance.

Frontiers—Old and New

"In the early days," says Professor Davis, "the college teacher was to some extent the outstanding and honored leader of his community." And today?

By Jerome Davis

ILLUSTRATED BY PHIL WOLFE

THE OLD order is everywhere creaking; depressions, revolutions, Fascist dictatorships, wars and rumors of wars surround us on every hand.

If we turn to the educational world we are again confronted with turmoil and tragedy. Thousands of teachers have been discharged; countless numbers have had their salaries reduced. In 1933 sixty-seven colleges closed up entirely, without paying back salaries. We should note well that even in Kansas, under the reign of economy of a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, some 444 rural schools have been temporarily closed and consolidated. In 1933-34 there were only ten states in the Union which had a smaller average number of days when the schools were in session, than Kansas.

Lack of Organization Costly

The fact is, security of tenure, freedom of speech, pension funds, are all in jeopardy in the scholastic world. At almost no other time in American history have we been faced with greater threats against all that is best in our heritage as teachers. It has become a commonplace to say that the depression has cost more than the World War. What we do not so readily recognize is that the lack of complete organization among the mass of the workers, together with the failure of the great body of teachers to organize effectively in union with them, has probably also cost us more than the World War.

If the workers, both of hand and brain, were organized effectively everywhere, then wages and salaries would have been kept up and profits would have been kept down. The disastrous financial orgies of the twenties, at least in part, would have been impossible and we would not have experienced the unhealthy financial fever of 1929 nor the subsequent headache of 1932. The National Survey of Potential Product Capacity shows that if we used even present equipment and distributed output equally, every family in the United

States could have an income of \$4,400. Yet in 1929, at the peak of our prosperity, over 16 million families had less than \$2,000. As a matter of fact, 26,860 rich people received an income as great as 19,000,000 poor people.

If the American people sensed the real situation its continuance would not be tolerated, but it has crept on us so silently that many, even today, are blissfully unaware of what is happening.

Group Endeavor

In the pioneer days of the American republic the open frontier beckoned to every dissatisfied worker. Each individual was more or less independent and his success depended in large measure on his own ability. Today all this is changed. We are living in an era of group endeavor, group pressures and group achievement. The labor union, both of hand and brain, has become an absolute necessity. What are some of the changes that have brought this condition about?

1. Technical discovery has produced the factory. In the old days a house was sometimes burned down just

to recover the nails, now a carpenter doesn't even stop to pick up the nails he drops.

2. We are living in a period of corporocracy. Corporations rule the economic life and threaten security, tenure and freedom of the teacher whether he recognizes it or not. In 1932, the 200 largest manufacturing corporations controlled more than 56 per cent of all the assets of manufacturing corporations.

3. Prices are largely fixed today by the corporation. It used to be thought that prices declined with demand. This is not true today because insiders usually find it more profitable to keep prices high and produce less. For example, from 1929 to 1933 the wholesale prices of agricultural implements and motor vehicles dropped only 15 per cent while production dropped 80 per cent. Technical discoveries for the benefit of humanity are often cornered by insiders, who coin millions at group expense.

4. Wages for farmers and workers are fixed by the corporations, and indirectly they affect the salaries of teachers also. Actually in 1932, the salaries of the executives and the earnings of stockholders in only four of the largest tobacco companies exceeded the total amount that all the farmers in the United States received for tobacco. Those who control our corporations control our education. A statistical study showed that over 70 per cent of the directors of twenty-seven universities in the United States, with endowments of \$10,000,000 or more, were financial

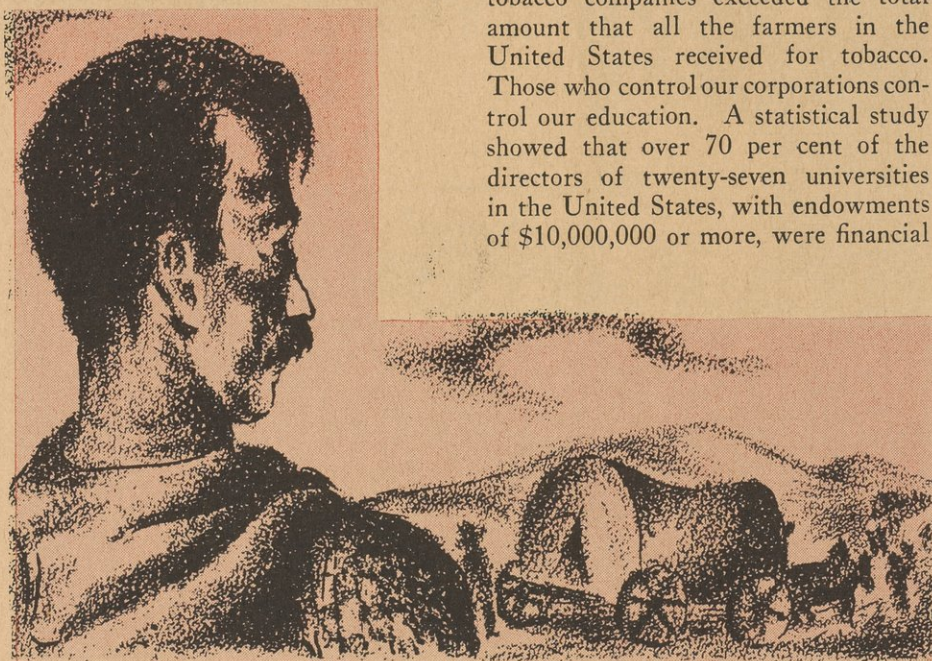
magnates of some sort: bankers, manufacturers, utility or railroad executives. Consequently, when business profits go down, these financial magnates play their part in reducing salaries of teachers both in the public schools and in the universities. No wonder that during the depression the salaries of professors in 76 colleges dropped an average of 23 per cent.

5. Corporations are controlled not by the owners but by a small inner ring. A study of the 200 largest corporations in 1929 showed that 89 per cent were controlled by a small minority of the stockholders.

Now all of this goes to show that under the changed conditions of 1936, group organization is absolutely indispensable to our Democracy. This means that both teachers and workers must be solidly organized and must cooperate with each other, if we are even to begin to build a world of justice.

Hired Hands

There may have been a time when the college teacher could ignore the ups and downs of business. In the early days, the college teacher was to some extent the outstanding and honored leader of his community. Both in prosperity and depression he was safe. Today all is changed. Now, the college teacher is little more than a hired hand. He is not to criticize the financial control of the universities, nor take the "wrong" stand on a public issue without risking his place. For instance, Prof. Kirkpatrick was dropped from Olivet College in Michigan because he published a book on *The American College and its Rulers*. Prof. Auerbach was dismissed from the University of Pennsylvania with the frank statement that it is "incompatible for a man to take a stand on a public issue and at the same time to retain the critical state of mind necessary for research in philosophy and teaching." Prof. Miller was dropped from Ohio State University because he opposed compulsory military training. From 1930 to 1935 at the University of Pittsburgh, 25 teachers were



dismissed and 59 compelled to resign. What can be done by an aroused American Federation of Teachers college section is shown in the Schappes case. Here a dismissed college tutor has been retained because of the pressure brought to bear through the brilliant work of the New York Local.

Change from the Early Days

In the early days, students were freer to search for truth because there were no vested financial interests. To be sure, dogmatism and intolerance have always been with us, and the path of the fearless searcher for truth has never been easy, if it conflicted with vested interests. Whatever the conditions in an earlier age, today we have censorships and autocracy. Let me cite but a few examples.

At the University of Illinois, two students were expelled for writing an article describing the zinc smelting industry in an "unfavorable light." In Oklahoma, a student paper at the Baptist University was suppressed because it demanded the reinstatement of three

ing, by the reactionary authorities.

If we look at the educational scene in Nazi Germany we can see the end result if present trends continue here. There, the Minister of Education has said: "We begin with the child of three. As soon as he begins to think we press a little flag into his hands; then comes school, Hitler Youth, the storm troops, military service. We do not leave him alone for one moment, and when all that is over the Labor Front comes and takes possession of him again and does not let him go until death, whether he likes it or not." God grant that this program may never come to America, whether under the guise of a Liberty League or any other banner. Our security lies in organization of the teachers and the workers.

A Hard-Boiled Policy

One danger college teachers face, among others, is smug, contented respectability—teaching in cloistered halls sheltered from the practical problems of the world outside. Professors already are the friends and associates

On July 23rd, Dean Russell of Teachers College, Columbia University, sounded a warning to 600 teachers in the summer session against teachers' unions. He declared these meant control of education by that "minority of people that belong to organized labor." If unionization of colleges took place, he declared that the trustees would have to bargain collectively, with the possible result that duly elected officials would become "employees of labor."

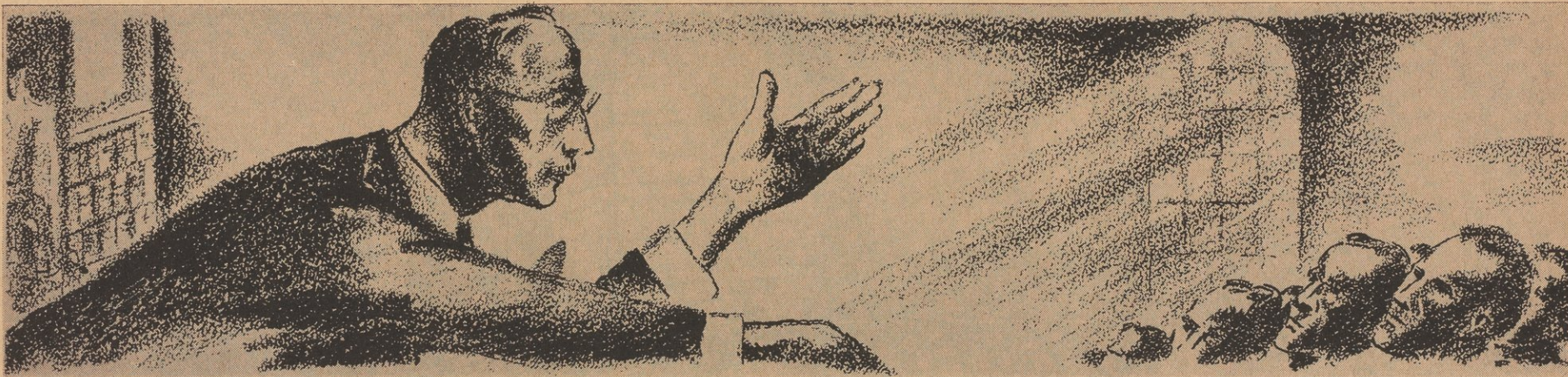
Considering the fact that public school and, to an even greater extent, college boards are overwhelmingly, now, in the hands of the financial and business classes, it is humorous for Dean Russell to ignore what is now actually true and harangue about hypothetical and remote future danger. As a matter of fact, if labor controlled the schools there would be far less danger than at present. Labor is interested in getting the best education it can for its children, and in paying good salaries to get good teachers. This cannot always be said for the business men

to be vocal about it has prevented his obtaining what should have been his due.

Shelter of Cloistered Halls

If the teacher is not to be sheltered in the cloistered halls away from the throbbing problems of the world, if he is not to become a bookworm eating his way through life in the narrow scholastic pursuits of book learning, he must join with his fellows in trying to make the world in which we are immersed a better place than it is. If the teachers ignore the great outside forces, they may be sure the outside forces will not ignore them.

In 1929 the teachers may have been unconcerned with business and banking and property and politics. But in 1936 they see that the business leaders were not unconcerned about them. The worst depression in the history of our country swept across every school in the land, scattering unemployment and drastic salary reductions in every direction. The teacher may have been unconcerned, but the depression smote



professors who had been ousted for teaching evolution. In Worcester, Massachusetts, the president of Clark University obtained an article in proof before the editors had seen it, and then summarily expelled them from the college although the article had never been published. Seven of the staff of the *Williams College Quarterly* were ousted for the publication of an article which the Dean declared was "not in good taste." In my own state, at Connecticut College the trustees passed a rule in 1935 prohibiting even the discussion of compulsory military drill on the campus. Fortunately, this has since been rescinded. Probably the worst conditions have developed at Syracuse University where students are forced to sign "yellow dog" contracts agreeing to their dismissal in advance without any hearing and without stated cause. The student paper is censored, the student peace council was abolished and even an individual forum of students, off the campus, was closed. At one of the largest universities, Ferdinand Pecora, Counsel for the United States Senate, was debarred and Senator Nye was officially asked to postpone his com-

of the business class and to a considerable degree absorb an upper class outlook, if they did not have it to begin with. Furthermore, as we have seen, the colleges are now run by trustees who are for the most part business men, bankers, property owners or their satellites. The hard-boiled policy of institutions towards janitors, firemen and laborers, generally, is well known. I recently found firemen working twelve hours a day, seven days a week, in one college. The case of the scrub women at Harvard demonstrates that even our largest universities are hardly willing even to obey the state labor laws if it is inconvenient to do so, or if it goes against their policy. Often they take refuge in the fact that the law does not apply to educational institutions.

Labor and Education

Since the depression, the hard-boiled policy of some educational corporations has been extended to the teachers as well. The way salaries have been slashed and instructors dropped proves that whether or not the college is run for profit it often follows the practices of a profit economy.

who send their own children away to expensive private schools and curtail to the bone public instruction.

College teachers tend to reflect the general attitudes of the community. If the nation goes to war, so do the colleges. In the larger sense, what I have been saying is that the college professor stands and falls with the public school teacher and the laborer. We are in a crisis period when the old ways no longer suffice. It is not a question of security for the college professor alone, although he has little enough now. It is a question of the security of our entire society. Does labor have the right to organize everywhere? If not, then sooner or later the college teacher stands in danger of losing any measure of freedom which he now has. The only way to union freedom is for all who genuinely desire it to join together as a pressure group in demanding social justice.

A concrete example of the necessity for the organization of the college teacher is the fact that the Social Security Act does not even apply to him. Obviously the teacher needs security as much as other groups, but his failure

him in the face just the same. No teacher can be totally unaware of the great social problems of our epoch, nor of our theoretical heritage of liberty, equality and fraternity. But the mere fact that we were born in a country dedicated to freedom does not guarantee its perpetuation. It is only men and women whose lives are devoted to the common good, and to liberty, and who are willing to sacrifice themselves at the altar of these ideals, who make their perpetuation possible. This the American Federation of Teachers has tried to do ever since its inception. This it is doing today, and it is my hope that as long as the American Federation endures it will stand for these great principles, not alone in theory but in practice.

The teachers, perhaps as much as any other group, should be the guardians of the public welfare. They have no selfish stake in the profit system. They are not benefited primarily from the profits of exploitation. Therefore, the teachers stand in a disinterested position to aid in bringing about beneficial national and state legislation in the in-

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Little Rock

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—the capital and largest city of the state. The aggregate population of the urban unit, including North Little Rock, is estimated at over 130,000, of which 30% are Negroes.

SIXTY miles west of Memphis, the delta cotton country runs up against a broken, irregular escarpment that cuts diagonally across the State of Arkansas until it sinks into the flat lands at Texarkana on the Texas border. Halfway along this natural line, at the geographical center of the state, Little Rock with its squat skyline of fifteen-story buildings faces north across the Arkansas River.

This is the capital city. On its right, the swamps and plains of the rice-lands, the cotton fields. On its left, the foothills, the plateaus, the fruit-lands, the Ozarks and the Ouachitas. At this point two agrarian economies face one another. First, the large-scale mass production crops of cotton and rice, with their tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Landless men. And second, the economy of individual hill men with their small rocky patches, their own cabins. Landed men, but men forgotten in the march of invention and modern farm machinery and methods.

Rooted in the Soil

In Little Rock these two types of farm workers occasionally meet on Saturday afternoons, in the shabby back streets where they buy their second-hand clothing and second-rate groceries. Except for slight differences in inflection and tempo of speech, these men might come from the same fields. Their clothing is the same, faded blue overalls or cotton khaki. Their faces are the same, parched and seamed from the sun; their bodies, thin and angular from malnutrition, pellagra, or malaria.

From the labors of these men of the earth, Little Rock came into being. Today many of the buyers and sellers, the merchants, the bankers, the lawyers, have forgotten this fact. Little Rock is almost entirely a city of entrepreneurs—merchants, bankers, lawyers—passing money from hand to hand, producing nothing. But the city is rooted in the soil.

Scarcely 5,000 workers are engaged in manufacturing in both Little Rock and North Little Rock, and the few industries that exist are almost wholly based on agricultural products. So small are the factories, so few are the employees, trade union organization has made little progress. Most of the unions in Little Rock are highly specialized craft unions, and their power is inconsiderable as yet. The railroad men, the workers in the Missouri Pacific shops in North Little Rock, form the largest body of organized tradesmen. The printers are well or-



ganized also. Gradually through the efforts of a few earnest labor leaders, unionization is progressing.

However, even if the manufactures of Little Rock were to become solidly organized, the unions' strength would be nullified by the tremendous surplus of unskilled and unorganized labor in and around the city. Little Rock, as has been pointed out, is a city of buyers and sellers, and the workers are largely of the white-collar class. Clerks, stenographers, salesmen, barbers, secretaries, teachers. From the little towns all over the state, an army of ambitious white-collar workers continually streams through the city. Naturally wages are low, averaging from ten to fifteen dollars per week.

Peaches, Berries, Rice and Cotton

But there is another group of workers, a group that outnumbers the white-collar class. They are the agricultural workers, the day laborers. Some of

them are stationary, most of them migratory. In the spring they leave Little Rock to roam from the berry fields to the peach orchards, in the autumn they are in the rice fields and the cotton fields. In winter they flock back into Little Rock, some get on relief. Others live precariously by odd jobs. Unorganized, they are a constant threat to unionization efforts such as the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Organized by demagogues, they would be still more dangerous.

In the hands of this shifting, constantly growing class of unskilled workers lies the future of Little Rock and the state. Only a rapid, persistent fight to educate and organize these peoples can stave off the encroaching wave of Fascism.

The number of citizens in Little Rock who realize the seriousness of the problem is small; all too slowly they grope towards a solution. The recently organized Teachers' Union is foremost

The Arkansans are separated by only a generation from pioneers who conquered the wilderness. "We were a rich state," says the writer, "but none of it belonged to us."

By Dee Brown

ILLUSTRATED BY WILL BARNET



in the fight. Claude Williams, the local minister who was recently beaten by plantation owners at Marked Tree, is leading a double campaign of organization. Organization for both the agricultural workers and the white-collar workers. Unless both groups are united, neither can succeed.

This naturally leads to the question of the Negro. There are few Negroes in the white-collar class, but in the agricultural group half of the workers are Negroes. Racial prejudice is still strong; only in remote sectors are there any signs of advancement. Yet the fact that there are any signs at all in this part of the country should be encouraging.

Segregation is not as acute as in certain other Southern cities; the Negroes live scattered about the town, in houses which are not any more dilapidated than many of the white workers' houses. They do have their own business street, Ninth Street, where

they congregate in the evenings; but they are no longer molested (as they once were) if they choose to walk on Main or lower Broadway or Capitol Avenue. (*The recent disclosures of peonage in Arkansas and the subsequent Federal indictments still leave a great deal of work to be done by the progressive citizens of that state.*—Editor.)

Little Rock has not known a lynching for a number of years. The one which occurred in 1927 so sickened the progressive minded citizens that they overthrew the city administration which had condoned the affair.

One Hundred Years Old

This year, we are observing the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the State of Arkansas, and also the centennial of the incorporation of Little Rock. The local celebration is not in the glamorous class of the Dallas and Fort Worth shows in Texas, but there has been a good deal of delving into the past, and looking back on the history of the capital and the state.

We have learned enough about ourselves to tell the interested visitors that Little Rock was so named because many years ago there was a settlement on the opposite side of the river called Big Rock, after a high bluff. There is actually a little rock in Little Rock, but it has long been forgotten and is now serving as the abutment for a railroad bridge.

Another thing we tell all the visitors is that Little Rock and Arkansas are so self-sufficient that if we chose to build a high wall all around the state we could live quite comfortably. Honestly, we used to believe that. No politician or commencement speaker could deliver an address without referring to the mythical wall. It got to be a legend, and many Arkansans looked forward to the day when they could start construction.

We Were a Rich State

But the depression has brought disillusionment to this dream as it has to so many other dreams. Soon we were wondering if the majority of us had ever lived comfortably, without the wall. Beginning in 1930 with a drought, followed by a series of bank crashes and financial and political scandals, Little Rock began watching straggling crowds of hungry men walking the streets in desperation. Along Main Street, insured buildings began burning mysteriously in the night. By 1933, the city's principal business street was an eyesore with a gaping blackened ruin in almost every block. Jobless men and women clamored for relief, while officials wired frantically to Washington for more and more funds. We forgot the legend of self-sufficiency and that wall around the state.

The people also began to take stock of their natural resources. On the outskirts of Little Rock are the great beds of bauxite ore, from which 95% of America's aluminum products are

made. The industry runs into millions of dollars annually, yet the people of Little Rock and Arkansas receive practically nothing. We discovered that the mines and machinery are owned by one Andrew Mellon of Pennsylvania.

It was the same with the great cotton plantations, the lumber mills devouring and wasting the forests, the ricelands, the oil and gas wells, even the few textile mills. Outside of a half-dozen individuals, the people of Little Rock and Arkansas receive practically nothing for these products.

We were a rich state, but none of it belonged to us. The depression and the relief rolls have set Little Rock to thinking. There must be a change. We cannot go on forever using relief checks as our sole means of exchange.

Many disillusioned people in the city were followers of Huey Long. He appeared before them as a great Messiah. For generations, fundamentalism has been the dominant religion here. Automatically, when thinking of change, the Little Rockian is too prone to search for a Messiah, a great leader, to guide him to a promised land. That is one of our weaknesses. When we learn to start working out our own solutions, collectively, rather than through the "wisdom" of a demagogue, we'll be on the way to winning back our lost heritages.

Waste Products

Little Rock's school system is neither better nor worse than the average American system, but it is so far superior to the other Arkansas school systems that many middle-class families in the state send their children to Little Rock, paying tuition for their instruction. The new high school on Park Avenue is one of the most beautiful buildings in the South; its auditorium is the best in the city; the teaching force, though understaffed, is better than average. For years Little Rock citizens have worshipped at the shrine of education as a sure means to economic independence for their children. Taxes have been poured into vocational courses, shorthand, typing, business administration, auto engineering, printing.

And gradually a peculiar custom has arisen, a system of "cooperation" between the city schools and the local business firms. Briefly the scheme is this: vocational students work on alternate days in certain "generous" establishments, gratis, for experience. Each student hopes earnestly that he or she will be employed permanently, with perhaps a salary. But this dream rarely happens, because each year the army of vocational students grows larger. This army of "free" workers is gradually displacing regular employees in business firms, department stores, newspapers, filling stations, even undertaking parlors.

Naturally, this practice serves to aggravate a serious problem that has arisen in recent years, a problem that

(Continued on page 26)



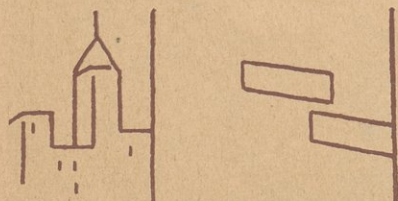
ALL READERS of this page who wish to preserve America's dwindling civil liberties should protest to their local radio station managers if the latter attempt to broadcast a new series of phonograph recordings sponsored by "The Crusaders." This organization was chased off the big networks some months ago because of its vicious semi-Fascist propaganda and is now trying to spread its poison throughout the United States by means of this new dodge.

The "canned" programs consist of 26 talks by Andrew Kelly, billed as *The Horsesense Philosopher*. They have been sold to sixty small stations throughout the country and dovetail neatly with the fulminations over station WOR of Fred G. Clark, commander of "The Crusaders." Kelly and Clark both attack all types of progressive legislation, raise the red scare against union labor and give aid and comfort to the Hearst-Liberty League crowd which pays their bills.

Clark's organization, which claims a fantastic membership, was formed originally by a group of business men who wanted to cut in on the liquor racket by means of the repeal of the prohibition amendment. When this purpose was accomplished they looked around for new worlds to conquer—and new sources of revenue. Whereupon, the Liberty League welcomed them with open arms and an initial donation of \$9,000. A new board of directors was set up, including such wealthy reactionaries as James P. Warburg, Cleveland E. Dodge, Francis H. Brownell, Sewell W. Avery, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. and John W. Davis. Lawrence Dennis, America's self-styled Fascist theoretician rallied 'round, as did the du Ponts and a few of the inevitable J. P. Morgan partners.

For a time Commander Clark was going strong on the Columbia network, but protests from listeners became so loud that he was shunted to WOR, although he still wangles an occasional free program out of CBS. Over in Newark, he stages weekly wrestling bouts with a monster known as Red Menace, uses language which would put Father Coughlin to shame when speaking of the New Deal, social security or the Guffey bill, fawns upon the Supreme Court, Hitler and Mussolini, and concludes his broadcasts with the following theme song:

Not a red, not a pink, not a yellow.
Every fellow is true blue.



Radio

*The Horsesense Philosopher in
"canned" programs . . . The silly
season . . . Legion of Decency*

The New Season

RADIO'S silly season has opened with a new flock of sponsored programs which, with the exception of broadcasts of classical and semi-classical music, set a new low in entertainment value.

Serial stories which smear agony all over the microphones are favored for daytime wear. *Rich Man's Darling*, *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch*, *Bachelor's Children*, *John's Other Wife*, *Just Plain Bill* and *Backstage Wife* provide good, solid, substantial suffering which is supposed to be just what women want.

The miseries also are exploited *a la The Voice of Experience* by a host of imitators, such as *The Family Counsellor*, *The Friendly Advisor*, *Good Will Court*, *Husbands and Wives*, *Counsellor to Youth* and the ever-gushing Nellie Revell as *Neighbor Nell*.

Children's programs continue to be just so much twaddle, with the possible exception of *Wilderness Road* and *News of Youth*. After trying to listen to *Popeye the Sailor*, *The Gumps*, *Bobby Benson*, and *The Treasure Adventures of Jack Masters*, no wonder the little dears prefer to tune in on adult programs (if any).

Eddie Cantor, Phil Baker and most of the other comedians either are having difficulties with their script writers or their jokesmiths, while Helen Hayes and Ethel Barrymore are equally unfortunate in their selection of story material.

Of the classical programs, Ford's Sunday Evening Hour still is one of the best, although the reactionary mouthings of the Rev. W. J. Cameron are hard to stomach during intermissions. General Motors' symphonic series ranks a close second, while at least a dozen other symphonic concerts will be heard weekly over the networks this winter. Nelson Eddy, Nino Martini and a host of good singers also are to be presented regularly or as guest performers.

In the last analysis, however, it is the sustaining program which gives vitality to the broadcast schedule. *The American School of the Air*, *The Listener Speaks*, *Science Service* and *The Academy of Medicine* are examples of sustainers which have definite educational value. The non-sponsored musicals, such as *Everybody's Music*, Clyde Barrie's baritone solos and E. Robert Schmitz's piano recitals, compare favorably with the much-publicized commercials. And what manufacturer would think of sponsoring the recent radio talks by Dr. J. P. Warbasse, New York president of the Co-Operative League of the U. S. A., or the Bishop of Durham, that grand old fighter for academic freedom and against the cruelties of Hitler and Mussolini?

"Legion of Decency"

A TREMENDOUS drive has just been started to induce clergymen of all faiths to organize a "Legion of Decency" for the radio similar to the Catholic censorship body

now operating so disastrously in Hollywood.

Half a million copies of an attack upon broadcasters by Congressman William Connery of Massachusetts have been mailed throughout the country. Explanatory letters attached to the speech are printed on reproductions of official Congressional stationery, signed by Congressmen and postmarked in Washington.

The identity of persons and organizations backing the campaign is a mystery. Its objectives also are vague, although it boasts of the success of the "Legion of Decency" campaign against allegedly immoral motion pictures, and makes much of a so-called indecent broadcast from Mexico which occurred all of two years ago.

The new campaign shows that the forces of reaction dream of the day when they can dictate what Americans hear over the air, as they now dictate what can be seen on the screen. The charge of immorality is ridiculous, of course, for most programs already are pure to the point of emasculation.

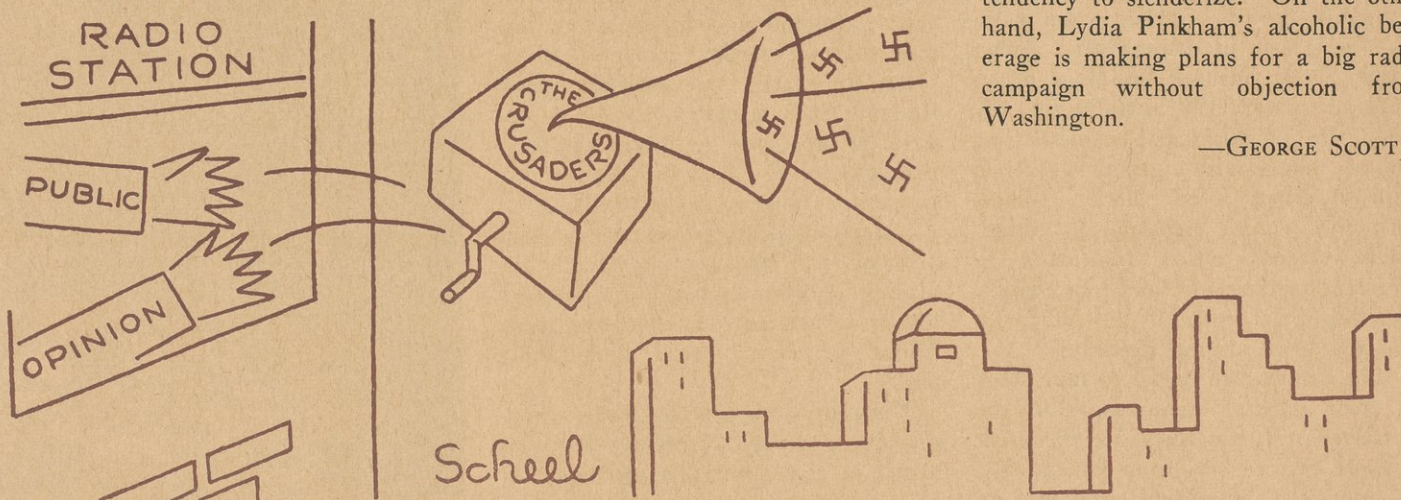
The real purpose undoubtedly is to throttle the expression of liberal political, economic and sociological views. It is about time that radio listeners of this country organized a lobby of their own for the protection of the rights yet remaining to them. A People's Film Lobby is now being built up by those interested in the production of honest, adult motion pictures. Couldn't the same sort of thing be done by listeners-in?

Air Notes

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, labor-baiter, is still spluttering because WCAE, his Pittsburgh station, was forced to broadcast campaign speeches by Earl Browder, Communist candidate for President.

The F.C.C. has forbidden the manufacturers of "Wheaties" breakfast food to parade as a philanthropic outfit on the air. "Wheaties" had pretended that part of the proceeds from the sale of its product was used to provide medical attention for poor people. The Commission also ruled that the Acme Brewing Company could not announce on the air that its beer contained "certain ingredients which cause it to have the tendency to slenderize." On the other hand, Lydia Pinkham's alcoholic beverage is making plans for a big radio campaign without objection from Washington.

—GEORGE SCOTT





"Since he became an anti-Fascist, even I can't dictate to him!"

By Hoff



"Millions of Us" is the new labor film made in Los Angeles

WITHOUT any further ado, we reprint herewith a news item published in the *Hollywood Reporter*, a motion picture trade paper, on September 22nd, 1936. The story is date-lined Washington, D. C., and runs as follows:

"This country is on a war basis, so far as liberty to depict the activities of any of the national defense organizations is concerned. The government from now on will be extremely guarded in its 'cooperation' for the making of pictures whose action involves army or navy background. Efforts to depict drama within the army, the navy, the coast guard or the military aviation services will be toned down relentlessly, if not tabooed altogether. Persistence in filming such subjects, or in attempting to release any already made in defiance of suggestions, will mean a brush with the Department of Justice for the producers and distributors involved. . . ."

"The dangerous international situation in Europe has put the United States defense forces in an extremely sensitive mood. The attitude within the organizations is that any effort to depict their operations or activities rates as a form of potential espionage. Major companies, such as Warners and M-G-M, that have received government co-operation in the past few years in filming military subjects with naval and aviation backgrounds, are expected to take the hint and drop further ideas on similar lines. The 'hint' will also prompt them not to re-issue subjects touching on contemporary military methods. . . ."

To this we add another item, clipped from the *Daily Variety*, another Hollywood trade paper, in its issue of September 30th, 1936:

Lacking cooperation from branches of the military service, Metro has shelved two stories, one, *Anchor Man*, dealing with the U. S. Navy, the other, intended for Wallace Beery, *Talk to the Marines*, featuring the leather-necks, within past few days. . . .

As long as six months ago, Army refused to allow Director J. Walter Ruben to set up

camera for long shot of massed planes at Mines field for *It Can't Happen Here*.

During recent air races it was noted that, contrary to previous air derbies in which military branches have participated, no military maneuvers or battle formations were revealed by army or navy planes.

War department policy seems to have been rigidly fixed against further use of military equipment by studios at this time.

There were, in addition to these bits of information, one or two other items worth consideration during the past few weeks. Of prime importance, for example, was the public presentation of *Millions of Us*, a labor film manufactured in Los Angeles by a group of motion picture experts who preferred to remain anonymous rather than incur the wrath of movie moguls indisposed to anything savoring of labor problems.

This *Millions of Us* is the outgrowth of the growing social consciousness of the workers in Hollywood, the writers, the actors and the directors. There was talk at one time that the American Federation of Labor was behind the production, but national officials of that organization subsequently denied it, and now it's anybody's guess as to who put up the backing. In the face of the threatened revolt of the Screen Actors' Guild, however, and its demands for a

THE FIGHT RECOMMENDS:

Dodsworth—A warm, human screen translation of the novel by Sinclair Lewis and the play by Sidney Howard. Splendidly played by Walter Huston, Ruth Chatterton and Mary Astor.

La Kermesse Heroique—A French importation revealing how the ladies of a small Flanders town entertained the Spanish invaders.

Craig's Wife—Adapted from George Kelly's prize-winning play about a woman who lost her home because she kept a house. A vivid performance by Rosalind Russell.

Nine Days a Queen—What *Mary of Scotland* should have been.

Sing Baby Sing and *My Man Godfrey*—As batty a pair of farces as have come out this season.

THE FIGHT FIGHTS:

The Road to Glory, Suzy, already mentioned as glorifying war. They still do.

Movies

Is the country on a war basis? . . . At last a labor film . . . Reactionary Pathe

closed shop in the Hollywood studios, following the appointment of Kenneth Thomson, its executive secretary, to a vice-presidency in the California State Federation of Labor, the guesses can come pretty close to the truth. Moreover, *Millions of Us* is to be followed by other labor films in the future, and again it's anybody's guess as to who will make them.

The picture itself is a brutal, vivid short, packing a terrific wallop in its short two or three reels. Its simple story is of a boy looking for a job—any job—his coming into contact with organized labor, and his realization that the job he could get would be one taken away from a man fighting for something more than just a job. The development of this tale is magnificent, with such shots as that of a back alley and the resplendent Los Angeles City Hall in the distance, with such scenes as that of the boy trying to pick up a discarded apple while a policeman stops him and a loud speaker blares a speech about equality and freedom.

The film was made for exhibition in labor temples and similar meeting places throughout the country. In New York it was displayed at the newly-opened Filmarte Theatre, devoted to better pictures, and its exhibition there brought forth stormy applause as well as reactionary protests which caused its withdrawal. Already it has aroused nation-wide interest, and already its existence bespeaks the sort of thing that Hollywood can do when it has a mind. It is a stirring sermon for solidarity, a picture that should rank high in the annals of labor propaganda.

Also, during the month, there was the presentation of *Der Kampf*, made by a group of German refugees in the Soviet Union. This, too, was brutal and vivid, particularly in the scenes of a German concentration camp, but to this observer, the film lost much of its strength in its righteous anger. It lacked both coherence and dramatic unity, but it had, on the other hand, an effective exposition of the trial of George Dimitroff for the Reichstag fire, and it had, in the end, its anger. And you cannot discount it too much when you consider that the men who made it had to flee Germany for their beliefs.



Ruth Chatterton and Walter Huston in "Dodsworth"

Hollywood came through handsomely with *Dodsworth*, a fine, moving adaptation of the novel by Sinclair Lewis and the play by Sidney Howard. (Mr. Howard, we are advised, also did the scenario for the film.) Walter Huston performs brilliantly as the American automobile man who finds his youth and loses his wife in Europe, and Ruth Chatterton and Mary Astor give him splendid support as the two women in his life. It is further evidence of what a pity it was that *It Can't Happen Here* couldn't have been filmed as well—for again Sinclair Lewis was the author and Sidney Howard the scenarist.

One more point. In *My Man Godfrey*, a Universal picture, William Powell is a "forgotten man" snagged by an empty-headed society girl and turned into a butler. Mr. Powell gazes with compassion on his fellow forgotten men, and decides to do something to help them. So he turns the city garbage dump into a night club and gives them all jobs as waiters and door men.

And that, my friends, reaches the year's high point for unemployment relief.

Newsreel

PATHE NEWSREEL has taken the lead in reactionary tactics. While even the Hearst reel referred to the dynamiting of the Alcazar as being done by "Spanish government engineers," Pathe was describing "red savagery in Spain" in connection with government air raids on Burgos.

The new *March of Time*, which devotes a chapter to the industrial union crisis, will be reviewed in our next issue. Last month's release did an interesting and comprehensive job on the would-be American dictator, Gerald L. K. Smith, for whom, the commentator said, the Fascist salute made its first appearance in America. It also referred to him as demagogue and rabble-rouser, and concluded with the statement that thoughtful observers wondered whether he was a "man of destiny" or a "political windbag."

—ROBERT SHAW



Removing enormous shells at the Imperial War Museum, London

Out of Their Own Mouths

The writer here asks: Will America's participation in the next war be governed by British imperialism?

By Quincy Howe

son's urging impartiality 'even in thought,' we found it impossible to be impartial as between right and wrong. . . .

"We agreed that we should do all that was lawfully in our power to help the Allies win the War as soon as possible."—J. P. Morgan, before the Senate Munitions Investigation Committee, January 7, 1936.

The Japanese Menace

"In a word, America and Great Britain are faced with a crisis in Pacific questions which demands a complete stock-taking and a positive policy."—Sir Frederick Whyte, in *Pacific Affairs*, March, 1936.

"I think I speak the mind of every Englishman when saying that the stronger the United States is the better we are pleased, for whatever the differences between England and the United States, there will never be war between them. I believe that the more the United States grows in power the common roots of history and tradition, of Britain and America, and our faith and morals will inevitably bloom."—Sir Austen Chamberlain, former British Foreign Secretary, before the annual dinner of the Birmingham (England) Chamber of Commerce, February 24, 1936.

"We are in favor of Britain's re-arming on the large scale outlined in the White Paper and hope the Labor Party and pacifist opposition to the program will come to naught. As Sir Austen Chamberlain remarked ten days or two weeks ago, 'it is a good thing for Britain when the United States is strongly armed and it is a good thing for the United States when Britain has plenty of modern battleships built and building.'

"The interests of the two nations are alike in a large piece of the world, the Pacific Ocean piece. We have our business interests in the Far East, our Hawaiian outpost, our Philippine liability which the majority in Congress is thus far determined we shall hang on-

to for ten years more. Britain has Australia, the Federated Malay States, its large Chinese investments, its heavy holdings in the Chinese treaty ports. We are both menaced in these possessions by the up-and-coming Empire of Japan, a nation of extremely brave and bright and hungry people. . . .

"For either us or Britain to count on anybody but ourselves to protect us against Japan would be the height of folly."—Leading editorial, "One Ship for One", in the *Daily News* of New York, March 9, 1936.

"Highly placed Chinese bankers express the belief that the Chinese fiscal delegates now in Washington were sent at the suggestion of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, chief financial adviser to the British Government, as a measure to further Britain's desire to have the United States more deeply involved in the general Far Eastern situation."—Wireless dispatch from Shanghai to the *New York Times*, May 16, 1936.

Britain's American Brothers

"The United States' neutrality in a future war is not possible and Canada would not be able, any more than the United States, to keep out of a world war."—Viscount Elibank, President of the Federation of the Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire, speaking in Toronto, August 19, 1936.

"How can we reconcile ourselves with the foreigners? Their minds don't work with ours. Why don't we turn to our brothers and sisters and to the Americans overseas? We should turn our backs on the foreigner and seek the companionship of the United States and find happiness for our people."—Lord Beaverbrook, London press baron, March 18, 1936.

"Our two nations together can control the world."—The Right Reverend and Right Honorable Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram, Lord Bishop of London, in an interview in New York with the *New York Times* on August 10, 1936.

(Continued on page 30)

LIKE a good many other Americans, I have believed for many years that the United States entered the World War to rescue the British Empire. This belief has led me, in turn, to suspect that American participation in the next war will be governed primarily by the interests of British imperialism—always strong in the United States. Not that powerful American interests did not profit from the last war and do not hope to profit from the next one. On the contrary. Precisely because our dominant interests, especially our dominant financial interests, maintain the closest kind of social and economic ties with England, the key to American foreign policy lies in London rather than Washington.

With this hypothesis in mind, I have read and clipped from the newspapers, in recent years, many items that showed either the tendency of powerful American interests to support British interests or the tendency of powerful British interests to seek American support. I have not done this with a view to making British imperialism, or even Wall Street, the unique villain of a plot to involve the United States in the next World War. My thought has simply been to illustrate where some of the forces lie that are driving America toward war and how they may be expected to operate. For it is easy enough to proclaim that in an imperialist

world, the United States can hardly expect to stay out of any extensive imperialist war that may occur. The more important and more difficult task is to show how the United States may become involved, on what side it may be expected to fight, and when trouble will break out. Without further comment, I therefore present these gleanings:

"The future policy and association of our great British Commonwealth of Nations lie more with the U.S.A. than with any group in the world."—General Jan Christiaan Smuts, former Premier of South Africa, before the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, November 10, 1934.

"We Were Pro-Ally"

"Like most of our contemporaries and friends and neighbors, we wanted the Allies to win from the outset. We were pro-Ally by instinct, by inheritance, by opinion."—Thomas W. Lamont, Morgan partner, in a letter to the *New York Times*, November, 1935.

"When in 1914 the War was begun by Germany by the unexpected and criminal invasion of Belgium in violation of a treaty which had been respected for eighty years, we were deeply shocked. None of us had expected such a course to be taken by any civilized nation and, in spite of President Wil-

18 Years

*Explaining the American Legion
between the rank file and the*

By John G.

ILLUSTRATED BY BARB



was over. In the trenches their talk became ominous. They talked then of the score they had to settle with those back home, growing rich from this slaughter.

By the time the Armistice was signed these rumblings were a factor with which to reckon. Elsewhere in Europe there were reminders that veterans in times of peace are a dangerous element

to insure protection of the status quo.

The propaganda machine built up during the World War was placed at the disposal of the officers' committee for organization. The government, especially the War Department, the press, industry and business, motivated by self-interest, lent their aid to the corraling of the veterans into the safe fold of the American Legion.

"TO BIND up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan" . . . these words of the martyred Lincoln echoed with bitter irony throughout the land. The war was over. The Union was saved. The men were returning home. They were heroes, but also they were hungry, sick, crippled and jobless. A country doctor in Lincoln's own prairie state wrote:

The promises made the soldiers have been completely forgotten. Induced by his rich neighbors to offer up his life on the altar of country, on his return, instead of finding his family well-clothed, fed and educated, the soldier too often finds his poor wife washing from house to house for bread for their babies. Instead of finding the place open that he left, he can scarcely get employment at all providing the people can get any one cheaper.

This doctor, B. L. Stephenson, America's forgotten angry man, knew whereof he wrote. The men who had borne the battle were coming to him to have their wounds treated. A poor man himself, he had not the courage to charge these wretched ones for the salve he used.

The G. A. R. Organizes

He called together twelve veterans in his neighborhood and outlined to them a way they could save themselves and their country. These twelve, he said, were to launch "the power in the land"—the Grand Army of the Republic. He knew what he was doing. He

declared his intention from the beginning. These twelve men were to write to other veterans and get posts set up for "the spreading of universal liberty, equal rights and justice to all men," as the doctor stated the ideal. Practically, the G.A.R. was to operate for the mutual benefit of Union veterans through the promotion of legislation. There were some two million votes involved.

This chain letter way of organizing, by the veterans themselves, had an amazing success. Posts of the G.A.R. were organized all over the country. Within less than a year the doctor was writing enthusiastically that "already the stay-at-home politicians were trembling in their boots." The veterans were demanding and receiving tangible evidence of their country's gratitude.

Learning its united strength with every victory, this rank and file veterans' organization verily became the power in the land. It influenced every election from Grant's to Cleveland's. Pensions, care for widows and orphans, soldiers' homes, all were won by these saviors of the Union who angered the "taxpayers" with the price they set upon their patriotism.

"A Dangerous Element"

Thus was the precedent for veterans' relief set by the Grand Army of the Republic. Even as the grandsons of these veterans went overseas in the World War they talked of the organization they would have when the War

of the population. In Russia they had "voted for peace with their feet." But before walking home the Russian soldiers had propagandized the enemy so effectively that the German army, on its eastern front, was demoralized long before November 11th, 1918. Any thought the German rulers might still have had that the army, released from the western front, would put down the people's rebellion, likewise vanished. The Kaiser fled. The Italian government feared to demobilize its army. Revolution was more than a dread word in Europe.

The Officers Take Charge

But forewarned was forearmed. Since a veterans' organization was inevitable the advantage lay with the offensive. That is precisely what took place. Twenty officers were called to Paris by General Headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces to discuss "the promotion of contentment in the American Expeditionary Forces." They met at dinner at the Allied Officers Club, February 16th, 1919, and planned the new power in the land,—the American Legion. They knew what they were doing just as certainly as Dr. Stephenson knew what he was doing when he planned the G.A.R. Their motive, however, was the opposite of his. Instead of an organization initiated and controlled by the veterans themselves, the new "power in the land" was to be organized from the top down with but one goal in mind and one only,

Typical of the government assistance given the Legion was the service of its Foreign Press Bureau, which three or four times a week released Legion news by wireless to the American Expeditionary Forces on land and sea. This assistance was given openly. The War Department rendered an even more important service by keeping its eyes closed as to the means by which enlisted men from the A.E.F. were brought to Paris for a meeting with the officer organizers. It was necessary, early in the organizational efforts, that enlisted men be made to feel that they were having a part in its creation.

The Legion tells proudly of its literature made available to every veteran embarking for America, as well as to those being demobilized in American camps. It offers no explanation of how this direct advertising campaign, which reached 4,000,000 men, was financed. Such a colossal program would have staggered even the master advertising minds of 1929.

However, it is not difficult to surmise that the Legion's credit was good. A letter from Swift & Co., to other industrialists, solicited funds for the Legion, thus:

We are all interested in the results the Legion will obtain and the ultimate effect in checking radicalism.

Wary of the Legion

Plans to "railroad" the Legion through met with strong resistance, though, a fact forgotten in the over-

ars After

American Legion and the gulf
file and the top officialdom

John Graves

Y BARBARA ALEXANDER

whelming success which the American Legion so quickly achieved. Men with trade union experience were wary of a veterans' organization initiated and led by officers. To them it was a company union plan. Thus, throughout the country, groups of returning veterans organized independently, uniting into the Private Soldiers and Sailors Legion of the United States of America. It



demand a bonus of \$500 and land grants. Their platform read:

We seek no crumbs of private charity. We accept no dole of public alms. We know our rights and we demand them like men. We do not propose to be used as crowbars to pry some other man or woman out of a job. Nor do we intend to be recruited into an army of unemployed to be used as a lever to force down wages of other citizens. Nor do we intend to starve.

Lundeen, Privates' Champion

But the Private Soldiers and Sailors Legion of the United States of America, along with other rank and file attempts at organization, went to quick defeat. Typical of the pressure used was the criticism in the press, and also by other government officials, of the private soldiers' champion, Ernest Lundeen, Minnesota representative. He was accused of using his Congressional office for the furtherance of Bolshevism. Senator Harding of Ohio, later President, spoke for the patriots:

Of course we shall have soldiers' and sailors' organizations, but an organization designed to exact government bonuses and to force land grants will never be popular with a citizen soldiery or encouraged by patriotic Americans. It is a symptom of Bolshevism.

To the Senator, Lundeen answered:

Keep an eye on the private soldier. He is yet to be really heard from. American soldiers are not going to be satisfied with charity. They will find a way to get that to which they are entitled even if the next Congress does not make provision. I know. I have mingled with many who have re-

turned from over there. They are demanding to know why the last Congress failed to provide for them. Just wait until they register their resentment at the polls. If this be Bolshevism make the most of it.

Victories for Reaction

Thus the Red scare was used early in the struggle for control of the veterans. The first victory undoubtedly was won by the forces for which Harding was the spokesman. At the officer-controlled St. Louis caucus in 1919—the proportion of enlisted men to officers in the state organizational committees was one to six—the Legion was a credit to its sponsors. Yet even in this caucus, hand-picked as it was, the men for whom Lundeen spoke, the privates, were heard from. One whole session was devoted to consideration of the Soldiers and Sailors Council of Seattle, which applied for membership. Proof of the organization's Redness was the double-dealing delegate's forced admission that the Council would not admit officers to membership. The caucus turned a deaf ear to the delegates' plea for assistance in ridding the Council of its "bad elements." The application was unanimously voted down.

It was not so easy, however, to control the next evidence introduced in behalf of the private soldiers' sentiments. At the next session, mindful of the resentment of the unemployed veterans wooed by the Legion, the delegates were about to pass a resolution asking six months' back pay when the Legion's honor was saved by Col. Theodore Roosevelt. At a critical moment the Rough Rider's son made an impassioned speech, pleading with the veterans not to "sandbag the government."

Legion's Strike Activity

The American Legion was a joy to its sponsors. In the early years of its existence, seemingly, they had succeeded. Instead of having anything to fear from the veterans, they had an organization which once more, at the cry of Red, would risk its collective neck in their behalf. As "Bolshevik bouncers," legionnaires were recruited for strike duty in Detroit, Denver, Omaha, and Oakland, California, to cite only a few instances. During the steel strike, they patrolled Youngstown, Ohio.

To this vicious anti-labor policy, disguised though it was in Red trappings, the private soldier, by his action, issued a cease and desist order. He, and a quarter-million like him, withdrew from the Legion. Faced by this drastic loss of membership and threatened by even greater losses through the boycott of such powerful organizations as the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City, the leadership of the Legion was forced to abandon its open anti-labor policy. It is true that the Legion's strike-breaking activity as late as 1931 was disclosed at the La Follette Senate committee hearings, recently. Yet this, and other actions

like it, are counterbalanced by the Legion's unexpected refusal to act for the employers in other labor battles, notably the general strike in San Francisco.

This defeat at the hands of the privates was a setback. On the question of a soldiers' bonus, or back pay, the leadership was routed. It was a comparatively easy task for the Colonel, with tears in his eyes, to plead with the veterans not to "sandbag the government" in 1919. It became increasingly difficult to appeal to his self-sacrificing patriotism as the years proceeded, giving one object lesson after another of the profitable patriotism of his superiors.

Revolt in the Legion

At every Legion convention a resolution calling for a bonus was introduced and defeated, but after 1929, the revolt of the privates in the Legion grew rapidly. By 1932, hungry, desperate, angry at a dispensation which could find \$90,000,000 for the Charlie Dawes' bank, yet could not find money for them, they came to Washington. The Hoover government expressed its gratitude for their past services, with tear gas.

The reaction was instant. Local posts of the Legion passed resolutions censoring the government. No amount of calling the evicted ones Reds could assuage the indignation of their fellows who knew them as veterans, veterans who before they were thrown on the industrial scrap heap had been fit for the saving of civilization.

The Legion's officialdom had its choice. If it still resisted, the membership of its "million dollar corporation" would go inevitably to the more militant Veterans of Foreign Wars or to the Army and Navy Union.

The Legion directors made the necessary concession. The Legion was still useful. On one major point of the original program, it still remained undefeated. It still had suffered no serious setbacks in its anti-labor program.

The Answer to America's Fate

The Legion, with its million members organized in every town and city in America, holds more of the answer to America's fate than a liberty lover cares to contemplate in view of its re-

actionary record. "In nearly every case," declares Marcus Duffield in his book, *King Legion*, "its powerful influence is thrown on the side of ultra-conservatism in shaping the policies that rule America."

It has done this through its skilful propaganda, which from the beginning has used the finest words in the language to serve its reactionary leadership. Screaming Democracy, it has suppressed civil liberties, bringing to naught the Bill of Rights of the very Constitution it professes to champion.

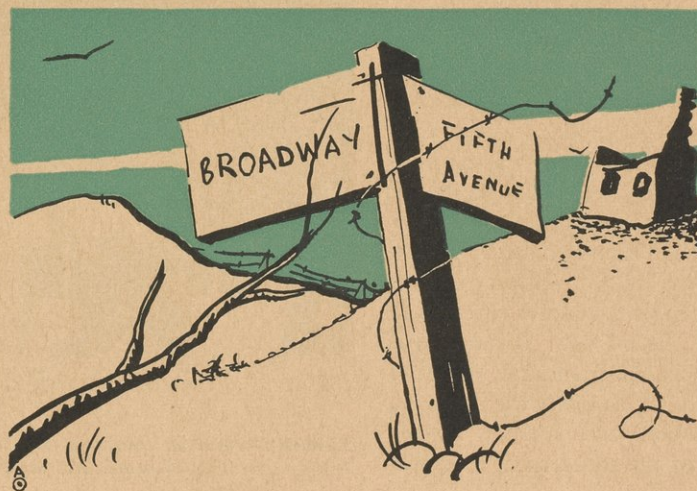
The outlook would be all black were it not for the past performance of the privates in the American Legion. They have been heard from effectively on the anti-labor policy; they have been heard from decisively on the bonus question; and they may yet have the last word in saving the American Legion for Democracy.

Legion Leaders Fear Defeat

In the face of defeat generals often talk loudest of victory. So it may well be with the bombastic utterances of the leaders at the recent national convention in Cleveland. Examine the program and note the concessions. Tricky as it is, the universal draft act which receives Legion sponsorship answers an actual demand for peace of those who have nothing to gain by war and only their lives to lose. Note the even more significant, if timorous, favoring of care for widows and orphans, an admitted step toward a pension system such as the G.A.R. won. What is it but a concession to the growing demand of the rank and file for social security?

Furthermore, all their anti-labor talk fails to hide their first strategic defeat of importance on that most useful issue. The fact remains that those who guide the Legion dared not risk inglorious defeat on the teacher's oath bill. That bill, rightly recognized as an attack upon the fundamental liberties of the American people, was tabled. The Legion, in its past sponsorship of such reactionary legislation, not only had provoked an open clash of interests in its own membership, it had run head on into the resistance of the organized, articulate democratic forces in America today.

(Continued on page 30)



Books

Modern Imperialism

RUBBER: A STORY OF GLORY AND GREED, by Howard and Ralph Wolf; 533 pages; Covici-Friede; \$4.25.

THE MESSRS. WOLF have accomplished an amazing feat in piecing together from many sources the fantastic story of rubber; a story that starts with the discovery of the product and ends with the not completely successful search for a synthetic rubber. The mass of material makes the book somewhat confusing. The difficulties in narrative and analysis are considerable when the history runs from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, from the headwaters of the Amazon to Belgian Congo to Malaya to New York to Akron. The first three books of the volume trace the development of the rubber plant from its wild to its cultivated state, the development of rubber plantations, the rivalry for areas in which rubber might be grown. The last two books are concerned with the technical inventions connected with modern uses of rubber, the production of rubber products, the industrial competition and eventual victory of a few large companies, and the labor struggles that accompanied the growth of rubber factories.

Perhaps the book attempts too much, but even so, the reader can get a good idea of what is involved in modern industrialism if he follows the history of the one product, rubber. The results of international rivalry for raw materials are particularly interesting to those concerned with the problems of imperialism and war. The authors retell the gruesome effects of this scramble for rubber on some of the native populations. Entire native cultures were exterminated by the Europeans in the search for rubber in Belgian Congo. In South America, in the Amazon region, native Indians, made docile by European missionaries, were enslaved in order to gather rubber. If they failed to deliver the rubber there was no punishment, including death, too severe for the natives. If the rubber gatherer tried to escape, it merely meant a lingering death in the jungle. However, such treatment of natives was not repeated in all parts of the world. Boom towns suddenly appeared thousands of miles in the interior of Brazil with imported opera companies and marble houses. Cultivation of the soil ceased, food was

imported. Everyone had to have rubber to buy anything at all. Competition was terrific. But the prices rose until they eventually stimulated production in other areas and the Brazilian rubber boom ended just before the World War. The jungle reclaimed the region, and the Indian population was almost eliminated.

Another aspect of the story that should be noticed: the connection between competition for raw material and national conflicts. A number of disputes between Latin American countries can be traced to disputes over rubber territory. In the case of Europe, part of the scramble for Africa which helped pave the way for the World War was due to rubber. Not only did Leopold of Belgium endanger the financial stability of the Belgian government because of rubber, but his ruthless administration of the Belgian Congo created grave international tension in Europe.

When the British attempted to set up what was called the Stevenson Plan, for the restriction of rubber production in order to maintain prices, there were repercussions in the United States, the largest rubber market. (Incidentally the Stevenson Plan illustrates the futility of such restriction schemes.) The restriction did not affect the price of rubber to the extent claimed but it frightened the American buyers. The rubber men went scuttling off to Wash-

ington to seek protection from this new kind of British tyranny. The usual protests were made to the British government. Firestone acquired a rubber plantation in Liberia, with some unlooked for effects on the natives. Ford went to northern Brazil. Goodyear was attempting to develop plantations in Central America. These efforts toward controlled sources of rubber supply were not entirely successful. But they accounted for a number of new international frictions in various parts of the world.

All this is part of the history of rubber. While there are many interesting details in the history, you should read this book, if only for some of these aspects of modern imperialism which are frequently neglected.

—DONALD McCONNELL

Spain and France

THE MOUNTAIN AND THE PLAIN, by Herbert Gorman; 653 pages; Farrar & Rinehart; \$3.00.

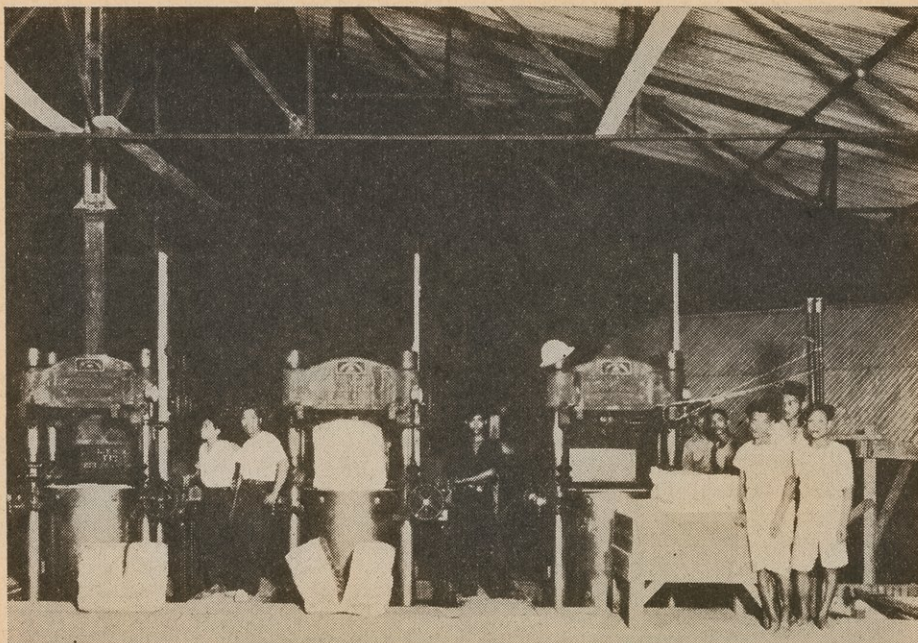
THE OLIVE FIELD, by Ralph Bates; 477 pages; E. P. Dutton & Co.; \$2.50.

WHEN Oscar Wilde first laid eyes on William Powell Frith's "Derby Day" it is said that he gazed in silence for some minutes at the huge and crowded canvas. Then, in an awed voice, he asked,

"Was all that done by hand?" One puts down Mr. Gorman's novel of the French Revolution with a similar crushed feeling. Apart from the regrettable omission of an index of the main events and characters, we have here everything about the French Revolution except an understanding of it. All the best known episodes of that heroic period, and all the best known historical characters are presented by Mr. Gorman. In addition Mr. Gorman has populated his work with a large number of fictitious characters, although in fairness it should be admitted that they are all by Sabatini out of Orczy.

The publishers' blurb describes *The Mountain and the Plain* as a "great historical novel." In the sense already suggested it is "great," but the use of that word implies the presence of deeper and more permanent literary qualities than the mere spatial. "Great" is a rash word for a publisher to use about one of his products, for it invariably increases reader-resistance among the skeptical. But this is no novel for skeptics. Nor should an author be held responsible for the indiscretions of his publisher. But the trouble is, Mr. Gorman seems to have sat down and decided in cold blood to write a "great" novel. So far as I know, only Arnold Bennett, in *The Old Wives' Tale*, achieved that astonishing feat. There is, of course, no law to stop an author from writing "Thematic Overture," as Mr. Gorman does, instead of "Chapter One," which term has served lesser men, but Mr. Gorman's phrase is apt to raise expectations that are never realized.

However, if one can overlook this aura of pretentiousness, and remain calm in the face of Mr. Gorman's obvious dislike of the Revolution, *The Mountain and the Plain* will provide easy and entertaining reading. I discovered also that one's enjoyment of the book may be increased by opening it at random and reading on. By this method of attack, although you can guess pretty accurately what is about to happen, your curiosity is aroused as to what has happened, but fortunately not strongly enough to compel you to turn back and read consecutively. *The Mountain and the Plain* shares this interesting quality with such great novels as *Pamela* or *Glarissa*, and is, therefore, in this respect at least dissimilar from



Rubber workers in Sumatra, Dutch East Indies. (Rubber: A Story of Glory and Greed by Howard and Ralph Wolf. Covici-Friede is the publisher.)

other great novels like *War and Peace* or *The Brothers Karamazov*. Moreover, Mr. Gorman's work is studded with vivid descriptive passages such as the scene of the King's execution, where—surprisingly enough—the author controls his anguish more effectively than elsewhere.

Mr. Bates's novel about Spain is of a different caliber. It is not so much a novel about a revolution as a revolutionary novel. That is, in contrast with Mr. Gorman, Ralph Bates knows that a revolution is an historical event not created by a contumacious mob merely for the discomfort of a ruling class, but is the inevitable result of dynamic forces.

The greater part of *The Olive Field* is set in the Andalusian village of Los Olivares, and slowly, very slowly, the climax of the 1934 rising of the Asturians is prepared. The bitter poverty of the peasants who work the olive fields is contrasted with the existence of the owner of the estate, Don Fadrique Guevara. Despite their poverty there is life and energy in the workers, while Don Fadrique, an effete aristocrat, takes refuge from the present in religion, in the study of old music, the collection of old books, and finally in ignominious flight. The ineffectuality of this aristocrat is seen even in the fact that his trusted steward Argote was busy plundering the estate while the master was absorbed in his nostalgic and sentimental hobbies.

This novel also is crowded with characters, in fact too crowded, for only a few of them are sufficiently individualized to come to life. Even the two main characters, Joaquin Caro and Diego Mudarra, both anarchists, do not attain the stature which should have been theirs. The story, such as it is, is devoted to the love of Caro and Mudarra for Lucia, their quarrel over her, and their final collaboration after their conversion to Communism in the 1934 uprising.

The Olive Field has, of course, apart from its intrinsic literary quality, a timely and tragic interest by reason of the present Fascist rebellion in Spain, and that interest is increased by the knowledge that Ralph Bates himself is fighting in the ranks of the workers' militia. This does not mean that the book is the result of an attempt to capitalize the present situation. Spain is an innate part of the author's being, and he has written about the country with a familiarity which is astonishing in a foreigner.

This familiarity may be responsible for the fact that Mr. Bates evidently presumes an interest on the part of his readers in matters which may be familiar to the average Spaniard, but which are strange to the rest of us. So it is that his fascination for technical detail captures him, and unfortunately clogs his book. Old Spanish music, the fight with knives between Caro and Mudarra, a hailstorm, and above all the

details of olive culture are described in such profusion as to delay the progress of his work, and make the reading of some of it a formidable task. But the writing itself is of high quality, and the total effect is one of such power as few post-war English novels have possessed.

—LESLIE READE

For "Aryan" Readers

ANTI-SEMITISM, by Hugo Valentin; translated by A. G. Chater; 324 pages; Viking Press; \$3.00.

THE basic limitations of books like Professor Hugo Valentin's *Anti-Semitism* is perfectly demonstrated in the following passage from his volume:

In the *Voelkischer Beobachter* of April 2nd (1933), there was printed in full-faced type a quotation from a note addressed to France on February 6th, 1920, by "the Jewish Foreign Minister" Rathenau. It said among other things: "Annihilate Germany in the full sense of the word, kill off its population, people its country with others! It is not sufficient to split up the Empire into small States. If you wish to dishonor a neighboring nation, annihilate it, so that even its memory is wiped out. . . . Annihilate the very memory of the nation, in annihilating the German people." Here the passage quoted in the paper ended. Its continuation, of which, of course, nothing was said, reads thus: "Are you aware of this? Is it your will? Is it the mission of France? Good. What is left for us to lose, including our lives, is scarcely worth the trouble. Your armies are ready. March! But if it is not your will, then, men and women of France, make peace! But peace cannot be based on dishonor and injustice, but only on that of which you have hitherto been the mouthpiece: the idea of humanity and of the rights of man." Thus the appeal of the fervent German patriot Rathenau to the great humane traditions of the French people had been given an implication directly contrary to its real meaning.

Against the prejudice and passion unleashed by reaction in its desperate search for decoys, apologetics, no matter how well presented, and argument, even though statistically buttressed, are unavailing. Professor Valentin, in fact, seems to sense the futility of his own painstaking and praiseworthy effort. For in his final chapter he laments that it does not "seem possible to get rid of anti-Semitism by the spread of enlightening literature . . . the terrible thing about hatred is that he who is seized by it as a rule does not wish to be rid of it." Put more crudely: Jews read books against anti-Semitism; Gentiles read books against Jews!

We cannot agree with Professor Valentin, however, in his conclusion that while anti-Semitism will decrease if and when prosperity returns, "there is nothing to lead us to believe in its disappearance in a reasonably near future. Rather does it seem that anti-Semitism must be regarded as inseparable from the existence of the Jews in dispersion." For this conclusion ignores the entire burden of the book's argument. Beginning with antiquity, it traces the rise of anti-Semitism, its medieval spread, and temporary decline

in the era of industrial and commercial expansion, and its current depression-born revival as an *economic phenomenon*. Thus in the Middle Ages, Professor Valentin notes: "At any moment the government could conjure up a pogrom spirit . . . and could afterward extort the uttermost farthing from the panic-stricken Jews in return for offers of protection." And a century ago he records that "the fall in prices, which like anti-Semitism had already begun before Napoleon's fall, gave rise as always in similar cases to a *Der Jud ist schuld* atmosphere."

What he neither notes nor records, however, is the inevitable deduction that anti-Semitism can be permanently ended by ending the economic conditions which cause it. Nor does he recognize that the first long step towards ending these conditions is to unite Jew and Gentile, foreign and native-born, Negro and white in determined resistance to their common foe—Fascist reaction.

—JAMES WATERMAN WISE

Five Men Who Died

THE HISTORY OF THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR, by Henry David; 579 pages; Farrar & Rinehart; \$4.00.

AT ELEVEN-THIRTY on the morning of November 11th, 1887, four men were led from their cells in a Chicago prison, taken to the scaffold, and hanged. They were George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Albert R. Parsons and August Spies, and they belong to that line of working class heroes which includes also Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings.

The four men who died that November day were convicted of murder, but in fact they went to the scaffold because they were militant agitators for the eight-hour day. The State of Illinois had intended that a fifth—Louis Lingg—should also be hanged, but he had anticipated the hangman by committing suicide the day before. The sentence on three others—Fielden, Neebe and Schwab—had been commuted to imprisonment, and after some years in jail these men were pardoned.

The event for which these eight men suffered was the throwing of a bomb at a meeting in the Chicago Haymarket on the night of May 4th, 1886. The explosion caused the deaths of a number of policemen, and led to the first of the "Red scares" in the United States. How many workers were killed by the same explosion, or by the rifles of the police, has never been exactly determined.

In this long and scholarly book Dr. David has told for the first time the whole story of the Haymarket affair, from its background of workers' poverty and exploitation in the years following the Civil War to the appearance of another suspect as recently as 1933. The mystery that enshrouds the



How the trade union leaders of the eight-hour day were pictured by the press in 1887

identity of the actual bomb thrower remains to this day. Dr. David, after all his immense research, can offer only suggestions and suspicions, but whoever he was, it is certain that the criminal was not any one of the eight men convicted.

Apart from an account of the case itself, with a detailed summary of the evidence, speeches at the trial, subsequent appeals, etc., Dr. David has given a valuable description of the state of the labor movement in the United States before the Haymarket affair, and the effects of it on unionization, the eight-hour movement, and public opinion in general. Bitterness against militant trade unionists persisted, and the following quotation from a guide to Chicago (not mentioned by Dr. David), published in 1892, is probably characteristic of the thoughts of the ruling class about the Haymarket:

It is not known how many of the mob the bomb slew, for, following the customs of the savages, whose bloodthirstiness they imitated, they carried away their dead and wounded, quietly burying all [sic] as soon as they were fit, lest evidence accumulate against themselves. . . . These "apostles of unrest" and refugees from the laws of their native lands were given ample opportunity to prove any extenuating circumstances. They could offer nothing but a demon-led desire for blood, and an insane craving for notoriety. . . . Nothing stayed the hand of justice. . . . The executed defile Waldheim Cemetery, where those who seek chaos, hating peace and harmony, make pilgrimages to air their obstinacy.

The condemnation of the agitators led to an agitation on their behalf in Europe as well as among American liberal elements, and it is a pity that Dr. David gives no quotations from the foreign press. Nor is there any mention of William Morris's well-known letter to Robert Browning. It is possible also that the book would more easily have reached the wide public it deserves if it had been equipped with a selection from the many contemporary illustrations pertaining to the case, a plan of the scene, a short chronology, and, above all, if the price had been \$2.50, instead of the more forbidding one of \$4.

—L. R.

(Books continued on page 25)



*The Street's roll of honor . . . Have
you a little Pinkerton in your home?
. . . A present from the metropolis*

WALL STREET'S roll of honor has been indelibly spread across the records of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee investigation of labor-spying and industrial terrorism. The trail of espionage, gas-bombing and provocation that has been laid bare merely by the preliminary spadework of the Senate investigators leads directly to the sacrosanct quarters of Wall Street's best names—Morgan, Rockefeller, du Pont and Mellon.

Take the scene at which the coal barons of the Anthracite Institute laid their plans for gassing the poverty-stricken anthracite miners of southern Pennsylvania out of the "bootleg" mine-holes from which they were eking a miserable existence. The locale of this meeting was the office of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, a company which takes its orders from J. P. Morgan & Co. Two Morgan partners, A. E. Newbold and Thomas Newhall, have long dictated the financial policies of the Philadelphia and Reading.

Other large customers of the thriving anti-strike tear and nausea gas industry, as disclosed by the recent Washington hearings, are the Chevrolet Motor Co. (General Motors-du Pont-Morgan), and the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. (Morgan-Rockefeller).

Invoices, presented in the committee hearings, showed that three companies sold almost half a million dollars worth of nauseating and tear gas to industrial companies throughout the United States from 1933 to date. These companies which make a specialty of supplying such gases for industrial warfare are the Lake Erie Chemical Co. of Cleveland, Federal Laboratories Inc. of Pittsburgh and the Manville Co. of Pontiac, Mich. They sold more than \$17,000 worth of gases to the hard coal operators in Pennsylvania. They boast of the effectiveness of their products in their advertising, an example, filed with the committee, vividly describing the advantages of using tear and nauseating

gas in fountain pens, "baby giant gas projectors" and watchmen's clubs loaded with gas bombs. Naturally these companies profit from labor troubles, and consequently are always wishing "a hell of strike would get under way," as one agent for the Cleveland firm wrote his superiors.

Consider also the principal corporations which paid \$1,000,000 in 1935 and \$500,000 during the first seven months of 1936 to the notorious Pinkerton National Detective Agency for labor-spying. First, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the largest railroad property in the world, and the leader in the anti-labor policies of the railroad lobby. Second, General Motors (du Pont-Morgan). Third, Bethlehem Steel (Morgan). Fourth, Baldwin Locomotive Works (Morgan). Pinkerton's also bought gas from the Cleveland concern.

Take a selected list of the choicest purchasers of the services of the espionage agents, strike-breakers and thugs from the Railway Audit and In-

spection Co.: American Aluminum Co. (Mellon), Borden Milk Co. (Morgan), Bendix Products Corp. (General Motors-du Pont), Consolidated Edison Co. of New York (Morgan), Frigidaire Corp. (General Motors-du Pont), Pennsylvania Railroad (Kuhn, Loeb-Warburg), Precision Tool Co. (Remington Rand-Committee for the Nation-Father Coughlin), Western Union (Kuhn, Loeb-Warburg), Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing (Mellon-Rockefeller), Carnegie-Illinois Steel Co. and H. C. Frick Coal and Coke Co. (U. S. Steel subsidiaries-Morgan-Mellon).

Morgan's American Way

CAN anyone contend that only a coincidence dictates the constant repetition of the names of Morgan, du Pont, Mellon and Rockefeller in this list of the subsidizers of industrial Fascism and the repetition of the same glorious Wall Street names in the list of Landon subsidizers? While Landon croons softly about the "American Way," and while the American Liberty League (financed by the same sources) shouts for "liberty" and "freedom," Morgan, du Pont, Mellon and Rockefeller continue steadfastly to bid with hard cash for their own version of the American way—a way of terrorism, tear gas and suppression of the most fundamental rights of a democratic society.

Bailing Out the Subways

THE gambling and stock manipulating fraternity in the Street have been confidently watching for a triumphant finale to the long drama of speculation in the securities of the two privately-owned New York City subway lines—the Interboro and the B.M.T. For years, insiders have been manipulating these stocks on the theory that New York City would bail them

out, at a handsome profit, by buying the subways at a figure far above their going value as private enterprises. The Seabury-Berle unification plan has been hailed in the Street as, by and large, an answer to an insider's prayer.

The Fusion Administration appears to have its heart set on railroading through a plan whereby securities valued at \$436,000,000 will be issued to purchase the combined I.R.T. and B.M.T. properties which a few months ago were valued, at current stock market quotations, at only \$281,000,000. Holders of the existing securities, which are subject to both federal and state income taxes, would receive \$110,000,000 in tax-free New York City bonds and \$320,000,000 in partially tax-exempt Board of Transit Control bonds which will be secured not only by the assets and earnings of the present I.R.T. and B.M.T. properties but also by the city's investment in the Independent System, which will amount to \$800,000,000 upon completion. The city's generosity is all the more striking in that its bargaining power with the private lines is increasing in direct proportion to the business taken by the Independent System from the I.R.T. and B.M.T. routes, a process which will be accelerated by the completion of the Independent routes now in construction. Moreover, the city has readily available an alternative method of unification through the "recapture" provisions of its original contracts with the I.R.T. and B.M.T., which would make unification possible at a much cheaper price than the stupendous sum so nonchalantly proposed by Messrs. Seabury and Berle.

The delight of Wall Street in this proposal has also its Machiavellian side. At the inflated purchase price proposed by the Seabury-Berle plan, there is considerable doubt as to whether the resulting tremendous interest charges can be covered under the five-cent fare. And the end of the five-cent fare might well prove the decisive factor in returning Tammany to City Hall. Despite such plums as the Seabury-Berle plan, Wall Street would feel much more at home with the Tiger at his old stand than under the mild reformism of the Fusion Regime. No better proof for this need be cited than the endorsement given the Seabury-Berle plan by the New York State Chamber of Commerce which is bringing pressure to bear to hasten favorable action on that plan. This, despite the Transit Commission counsel's warning that the traction companies gypped the city in the first place and are out to do it again, and will, if they are permitted to rush through their plan. The N. Y. C. of C. is urging speed in order to "take advantage of the prevailing low money rates" and it sees the city's financial position "benefited" in addition to enabling "a more orderly development of transit services"—tut, tut.



Robert A. Pinkerton (Left), before the Senate Civil Liberties Committee



The U. S. and Canadian delegations to the World Youth Congress at Geneva

Youth Stands for Life

Jack, Helen, George, Mary and Tom are all young and eager to live a full life. But old men, they heard, are planning a war. So the young people got together to see what they could do about it

By John Lorimer

SEVENTEEN years after an American delegation arrived in Europe to help make a peace treaty which has proved one of the most shameful and disastrous documents in modern history, an American youth delegation arrived to help make a peace program. The young people who represented the United States at the World Youth Congress in Geneva on August 31st to September 7th had a heavy responsibility on their shoulders. They came, for the most part, unacquainted with the complex problems which are tearing at the jugular veins of Europe today. And they came with a background of insular sectarianism which made all the delegates wonder, "where will America stand?"

Thirty-eight regularly elected delegates and fourteen additional observers sat in the seats allotted to the United States. We do not know whether these seats belong to Italy, or formerly were occupied by Germany, but one thing we all felt, this was historical, because these seats had never yet

been occupied by Americans. We were meeting in the hall of the League of Nations Assembly.

International Arena

It may have been somewhat unfortunate to choose this hall for our deliberations. This site may have had something to do with the generalities which crept into much of the discussion. As several delegates remarked: It is like a mock League of Nations, and some here imagine themselves to be Captain Anthony Edens. It is true that some of the delegations actually were picked just as diplomatic deputations, by governments at home wanting the particular views of the ruling party thrown into the international arena of youth's deliberations. Such, for example, were the Bulgarian, Roumanian, Polish and Hungarian groups. But even the groups which had been freely elected by youth had their special national problems and approaches. These discussions, even the general ones, therefore, were revelations to many of the

Americans who have not been troubled by the acute situation in Central Europe.

It is necessary to record that a number of the American delegates had had some doubts and hesitations as to the set-up of the Congress and the program it might adopt under the influence of its convenors, the League of Nations Associations. And in the first days things came to light which pointed to denial of democratic rights. Some delegations had been government hand-picked and large youth organizations with opposition viewpoints kept out. The Americans came to the front in the fight for free and open representation to all groups. With the help of others, this was won.

For Revision of Mistakes

It was on the question of collective security that the greatest discussion was held. There were three points of view in the American group. These were: 1. For immediate support of the League of Nations; 2. For collective security

and cooperation with the League of Nations by the United States in the former's peace efforts; 3. Against all cooperation because the League of Nations contained capitalist governments. The Americans adopted the second position and in doing so came to the fore in the Congress.

For three days a number of European and other Continental groups had pledged their support to the League. Two big question marks stood before the delegates. One was, would the youth of the smaller countries, upon whom Hitler and Mussolini have been expending such loving care, be willing to cooperate in guaranteeing peace, and the second, would the U.S. drop its isolationist position? The fourth afternoon of the Congress, in the commission dealing with peace, the answers came bold and direct. Started by Czecho-Slovakia, group after group from the heart of troubled Europe marched to the platform and in brief, simple statements reiterated: We are

(Continued on page 24)

Eighteen years ago the World War came to an end. What do the millions of American soldiers think now about that war? In this, the concluding article in a series of three, the writer quotes from hundreds of letters he has received from veterans

On Armistice Day

By Walter Wilson

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM SIEGEL

THAT a great many veterans have become disillusioned about the War can be proved by quoting military authorities. One could point to the fact that the General Staff was anxious to have the American Legion organized—it has been frankly confessed that it was because of the wide discontentment among the soldiers and former soldiers. Or one could quote General Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff for most of the war period. He wrote in his memoirs: "The draft took from gainful occupations hundreds of thousands of men, and sent them where the government found necessary at a very small wage; putting them in peril of their lives and disrupting their relations with their families" and civil life generally. "Many business men made huge fortunes," says General March, "at home, by the production and sale of war materials to the government or the Allies. A deep and enduring resentment toward this situation spread throughout the four million men called to the colors," but particularly, he points out, among those who came back home and found no jobs waiting for them.

Victorious but Bitter

General Samuel T. Ansell, Acting Judge Advocate General during the War, said in 1919: "I believe that I have talked to more enlisted men than any other man in the army, during and after the War, and it is a matter of the greatest regret that I fail to observe any of the enthusiasm among our soldiery that you would naturally expect to possess them, returning, as they have returned, victoriously."

Testifying before a Senate Committee in 1919, Governor Allen of Kansas, who had been a Y.M.C.A. official in the A.E.F., said: "You will find men coming back from France today utterly without spirit. They are victorious soldiers, they have fought a magnificent battle, and yet they come back, every one of them, of the opinion that they have been through an unnecessary torture."

All of these opinions are in line with

sentiment expressed by veterans in the years between the Armistice and the present. Here are extracts from letters sent me by two former soldiers, dealing with their experiences in the A.E.F. after the Armistice, when the drilling and goose-stepping continued.

"After the Armistice—started drilling us in a flurry of snow in Belgium on the 12th, which annoyed us no little. It was Christmas before we had a 'Y' hut in the town in which we were quartered. Estaminets provided chief fun. . . . At Wormhoudt several of us

were assigned to an outbuilding near a small chateau. One day, without any warning but with great show of swell-headed authority, the Chief of Staff of our division ordered us peremptorily out of the shack because the General wanted to stay in the chateau—our impression was that the very unpopular Chief of Staff felt our presence near His Nibs would in some way contaminate him and his gallant staff."

Drills and Flunky Duties

The next letter was just as bitter: "To the combat units the Armistice did not mean a cessation of routine. The higher command did not regard it 'for the good of the service' to let the men take it easy. They drilled their heads off, and the men resented it deeply." Not only were they drilled but they were often put to hard labor. Another soldier wrote: "After the Armistice, they used the army in France for any purpose that might present itself. This being true, we forsook 'squads east' on Thursday, February 6th, and went to roadbuilding." Still another soldier wrote me: "You can easily verify the fact, I believe, that men who enlisted to save their country were assigned to ignominious duties such as the following: Some were stationed at St. Cloud to chase tennis balls for athletes training for the inter-allied games! Some were assigned to the duty of washing dishes for the Y.M.C.A. at the Columbus Athletic Field. Some were assigned to hallboy, doorman" and other flunky duties with the American Peace Commission.

Spinning Tops!

All the while the soldiers, restlessly homesick, wanted to return. They parodied the famous "Lafayette, we are here" to "Lafayette, we are still here." Many verses of "Silver Threads Among the Gold" were also parodied. Soldiers sang lustily to:

Silver threads among the black
Darling I am coming back;
Now that Europe's peace appears
I'll be home in seven years.

Early in 1919, the Y.M.C.A. pro-



At the front, the soldier is thinking longingly of the folks back home

posed to send a few hundred thousand spinning tops to the A.E.F. soldiers to keep them contented. This brought forth a blast from a private in the A.E.F. It read in part:

"Do the people who are responsible for this think that the American soldier is at the age when girls play with rag dolls and boys with rocking-horses? Why not send over several hundred sets of blocks, some shrill whistles, several thousand trains of cars and some toy boats—which, by the way, would be more appropriate than tops for we have numerous mud puddles we might sail them on, and tops can't be used in mud.

"In all seriousness, was there ever a worse insult to intelligent men than this suggestion of tops for the American soldier?"

This soldier thought a good substitute for the tops would be "a speedy return to the United States." He thought the suggestion would be emphasized by the "cheers of two million American soldiers."

Demobilization and Inventory

The years that have passed since the veterans were in uniform have given them time to mull over just what the War did for them and for their country. Did America get what it was fighting for? That is, did it get what the militarists said it was fighting for?

Here is what an Ohio veteran writes:

"If I have lost anything by my army experience, it was a change of mental attitude; I have a restlessness which interferes with home life, a nervousness and the loss of desire to achieve the Presidency or whatever else I was after more than just the comforts of life for myself and my family. Realizing that our people have learned no lesson from the War, that the motive for entering was not so spiritual after all and that my buddies who offered their lives are now scorned, reviled and repudiated as 'treasury raiders' . . . I would be sorry I had ever donned the uniform were it not for the fine things I learned about my fellow men—that the buck privates were nearly all heroes at heart, willing to share their meager ration with a hungry buddy, ready to die to save each other from peril, without regard to moral turpitude, race, color, creed—they taught me tolerance, forbearance and compassion for humanity."

This was written by a Texas veteran:

"After the Armistice the entire A.E.F. howled to come home. Not many of them wished to stay for the cleaning up process. All they could think of was home. They finally came home and . . . found that their former employers wouldn't give them their old jobs back because Mr. or Mrs. So-and-So was doing it better than they ever had. And they walked the streets looking for something to do. They also found that the suit of clothes they



At home, they are waiting for the soldier to come back from war

could buy for \$20 when they went away now cost them \$75. . . . How many employers offered to increase their forces? How many of those who gave them a slap on the back when they were going to war offered more than that when they returned? You rated a cheer on your way over but got a sneer when you returned.

"Just who is a slacker? If you raise your voice against this legalized killing you are classed as such, but if you keep your mouth shut, and get out of slaughtering your fellow man in a quiet way, you generally get a nice fat job and gain the esteem of the community."

Victory for British Commerce

A veteran who was on one of the Florida Keys, when the big storm killed several hundreds of his comrades, writes: "I hate the whole business of war and militarism now, as a Socialist of the past four years. Many used to say the War was for Wall Street but I never gave much attention then. . . . On returning, I found less Democracy than ever, and found later on there never was any to fight for at all."

Rolland Bradley, a veteran member of the Texas Legislature, in a letter to the author of these articles, says: "The only thing that was won, that America was fighting for, was the defeat of Germany. Instead of promoting Democracy, the World War promoted imperialism.

The real victory was that of British commercialism over German militarism. However, we are now finding a revival of militarism and a new race in armaments that are leading toward another war."

This Utah veteran replied to a questionnaire sent out by the author in 1933. In reply to the question of whether or not he would go to war again if called, he wrote: "No! I'll go where Debs went. I'll take up no arms except in case of an invasion of our shores. Or to free us from the bondage of militarism and capitalism as is."

Anyone who reads a large number of letters written by soldiers and former soldiers has no difficulty in isolating the immediate grievances which aroused resentment during and after the War. One important grievance was the autocratic draft law. Another was the Valley Forge conditions which existed in training camps in the United States — conditions caused by the infamous "Cost-Plus" system under which contractors, because the more a job cost the more they made, delayed the construction of the camps as long as they could. As a result, soldiers went into unheated, unsanitary quarters in that awful winter of 1917. Epidemics of pneumonia occurred because of lack of warm clothing, exposure in unheated barracks and because of crowding in barracks and tents. Another grievance was the tight packing on the "cat-

tle boats." The injustice of military justice as administered by courts martial—particularly the prison gangs of the A.E.F.—was a particularly rankling grievance. Common soldiers were excluded from these courts and were thereby deprived of a trial by their peers. The Y.M.C.A., the Chaplain Corps and other morale organizations came in for a lot of panning. After the Armistice many soldiers wrote about the goose-stepping discipline and hard labor. Perhaps one of the most serious grievances of all was that the soldiers were kept in France so long after the War was over.

Conclusion

Millions of words were written attacking the caste system and favoritism to the officers. Although it is eighteen years since the Armistice, the veterans have reason to remember the grievances they suffered as common soldiers. The Democracy they fought to save was conspicuous by its absence in the army. They were ready to do something about those grievances when the War was over. But the interests beat them to it. The General Staff, as has been said before, encouraged the organization of the American Legion. Wide discontentment among the soldiers was a good excuse for bringing the Legion into existence, with control and leadership in the hands of the officers.

The soldiers resented the caste system during the War and today, as veterans, they resent officer leadership in what is supposed to be a rank and file organization. They are realizing that they have been propagandized into fighting so-called subversive influences and that most of these influences are, in reality, manifestations of democratic rights. The activity of the Legion's reactionaries in the suppression of freedom of speech and assembly, strike-breaking, and intimidation of teachers by supporting teachers' oath laws has been well publicized in the daily press and in the newsreels. However, the growing trend among Legion members towards the support of civil rights is not so well known.

Here is an example. During the 1934 textile strike in Burlington, North Carolina, veteran leaders called a meeting of ex-soldiers to ask them to volunteer for special duty as policemen. An organizer, himself a veteran but not a member of the Legion, was given the floor. He made a speech pointing out the grievances of the strikers and warning the veterans that they, as special policemen, would be expected to break the strike. He received a rousing round of applause and only one man volunteered for police duty. This is only one of the cases which illustrate a trend. The rank and file of veterans are Americans who believe and stand for civil rights and Democracy.

Letters

Invoking hate through textbooks for children . . . Yes, California is always up to something . . . Why not more trade union work?

A Textbook of Hate

WILL you be kind enough to have someone review the book, *United States in Our Own Times* by Paul L. Hayworth, published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

The book is being used in the Ir-



ington High School as a history textbook and we think we should protest its Fascist tendencies, and the hate it invokes in the manner the World War is covered within its pages.—GRACE CHORLTON, *Irvington, N. J.* [A number of such letters about various textbooks have reached our office, textbooks glorifying militarism and the Fascist state. It would be a contribution to the cause of Democracy and peace if parents would protest the use of such textbooks.—Editor.]

More Trade Union Work

REMEMBERING your July issue of *THE FIGHT* with its excellent trade union and labor material (it was really a landmark), I have been wondering why the League does not go into more trade union work. I am hesitant about asking this question because I am so far removed from any center of activity and I am not fully acquainted with the situation as a whole.

But I venture to say this. The overwhelming majority of the people in the United States are workers and farmers. The millions who are organized are the vanguard—consciously or unconsciously—against war and Fascism. For a period of seventy-five years the workers in the trade unions have fought to keep up the standard of living—and they have kept it up. We would still be working 12 and 13 hours a day and our liberties would have been greatly curtailed if not for

the brave and consistent fight of millions of organized workers. This movement is and should be the backbone of any struggle against war and Fascism.

In my humble opinion, we would get much further if *THE FIGHT* and the League would pay more attention to the organized movement of workers and farmers. —HERMAN AULT, *Colorado Springs, Col.*

In Good Old California

THE Oakland branches have got going nicely on their anti-picketing campaign but we have more difficulty getting under way on this, due to the fact that the Salinas matter and the waterfront (including the King frame-up and defense) are getting so much deserved attention that it is hard to get their attention on such a humdrum thing as an ordinance. We are feeling pretty good about the fact that the King Defense Committee and now the Salinas strikers have come to us as allies—we may have a labor base



yet! The waterfront situation is still a toss-up and we don't know from hour to hour what may happen after tomorrow. I still believe that there will be a truce until just before election but I may be entirely wrong.—H. T., *San Francisco, Cal.*

Youth Stands for Life

(Continued from page 21)

for a system of collective security guaranteed by regional pacts. We are for peace. We are for peaceful revision of mistakes made by treaties. Bulgaria, Poland, Roumania, Denmark, which are in the orbit of Hitler's foreign policies, Belgium, Switzerland—all had the same words.

Then came Mexico. The delegate from this progressive nation of the West rose to challenge the U.S. youth—where do you stand on the principle of collective security, where do you stand on the principles of the Monroe Doctrine which have been a system of oppression of Latin American countries for scores of years? And when James Lerner, speaking for the delegation of the U.S., denounced the Monroe Doctrine and pledged American youth's support for the freedom and independence of smaller countries, when he added that collective security and cooperation with the League by our government in its peace efforts was our aim, a wave of enthusiasm and warmth rushed over the hall. From the remarks of the speaker, the delegates knew that we did not give our stamp of approval to the League, as it was formed on the treaties of revenge, nor had we forgotten the betrayals of Manchuria and Ethiopia; they knew that we placed major emphasis on the action of the people, young and old, to stop the growing stampede towards war; but they also knew that isolationism was going by the board.

Fascists Fail to Appear

Many of us had gone to Geneva a little worried. The Fascists, Hitler and Mussolini, were sending youth delegations. The terror countries of other sections of the world were to be represented at Geneva as well as the peace-loving youth of the Soviet Union. Could we get unity out of this babel of differences? Would not the issue of Fascism versus Democracy split the efforts for a unified international movement? Would not such a broad movement defeat its purpose by having too weak a program?

A few days before the Congress opened, it became known that Hitler and Mussolini had refused to permit delegations to come. Instead of joy, there was great disappointment in all delegations. We wanted the contacts with the youth under Fascism, we wanted to break through the blockade of censorships and convince these young people that all of us wanted peace and that through international action security could be obtained. The only serious danger came when the Bulgarian delegation walked out of the room on the last day, because of a formulation in the resolutions which denied an injustice done by the Versailles Treaty. The matter was ironed out and unanimity established.

Americans Lead Fight for Peace

The head of the Soviet delegation, Kossariev, spoke on Communism and peace, as part of a discussion on the philosophical and religious aspects of the question. And the heroic youth of Spain came with 18 young men and women. From the battlefields, one girl who had been hit by a shell and wore her arm in a sling, and who was mourn-

ing the death of a brother and her fiancé. Commander Vidol of the Pasionaria Battalion, still in his olive green militia uniform, a young chap with courage written all over him. The large delegation of Chinese, headed by a charming young girl. The Indian, the Persian and our own orator, Edward Strong of the National Negro Congress, these were leading figures at the World Youth Congress.

The experience that American youth had had in its fight for peace stood it in good stead at Geneva. Together with the British, French and Canadians, we took the lead in moulding the movement. It was the Americans who became known as the most progressive, and a passionate British speaker, trying to show how broad was the unity here, declared at one session: "Here we have created a unity all the way from the Christians to the Americans."

And it was the American delegation that insisted on definite action for peace. We wanted an international demonstration for disarmament on November 11th. Joseph Lash presented this proposal as well as several others to the Congress. We proposed an international plebiscite. We wanted a Pan-American Youth Congress to take place at the same time as the Pan-American Congress. We proposed that the Congress send an impartial delegation to Spain to make a report to the youth of the world. We suggested that world youth be represented at any world disarmament conference as well as at the present session of the League Assembly and all other international diplomatic gatherings. Our proposals were turned over to the World Continuations Committee for further elaboration and execution.

Sound and Hopeful Results

A good deal of the credit for the unity of the American delegation and the prominence it received was due to the work of our Chairman, Joseph Cadden of the National Student Federation of America. He and Miss Myrtle Powell, of the Y.W.C.A., were elected the American representatives on the World Committee. It is necessary to add one side-issue to this story to complete it. Among the Americans there were two Negroes. In attempting to book passage home, they were told by the Cunard Line that they could not go on the same boat as the rest of the group because some whites had objected. Eighteen national and three international delegations signed protests backing the American stand for no discrimination. The Cunard Line backed down.

The World Youth Congress has given us these: One, a unified international organization. Two, the possibility, because of its broadness, of building peace movements even in semi-Fascist countries. Three, the beginning of a better understanding of the problems of the world by the youth organizations



Having just received her ammunition at a Madrid depot, this woman is ready to battle the Fascists

of America. Six hundred and seventy-six young people, from 33 countries, and from every continent, cleared the air of Geneva of some of its diplomatic staleness. The overlooking Alps, the beautiful Lake Geneva, the River Rhone and the Bavaria, where the great and would-be great sip their beer, remain in that most beautiful city. But Geneva now also has something which may become an important contribution to the security, peace and beauty of the entire world.

The American delegation to Europe in 1936 did a better job than that of 1919. It was actuated by better aims.

Frontiers

(Continued from page 9)

terests of the mass of the population.

The old frontier is gone. The West no longer beckons. But I am inclined to think that we are faced with a new frontier which beckons to us with compelling power. It is the frontier of unemployment, reactionary conservatism and exploitation. It is the adventure for happiness, freedom, beauty and spiritual values for all the American people, not for the few alone. Yet, even in 1929, 40 per cent of our people were forced to live on a bare subsistence level or less. In the past few years technocratic progress has gone steadily on, yet greed and exploitation have used this same mechanical progress to grind our welfare into bits. In the new frontier we are trying to make, the machines will be our servants rather

than our masters. Education is a mockery if children come from homes where parents are unemployed or on the poverty line.

The New Frontier

To conquer the New Frontier is a task which teachers cannot ignore. We must show that we do not propose to let the welfare of these millions be neglected, that education involves their understanding something of the tragedy of the society in which they live. Democracy in Education and Education in Democracy, if it is to be more than a mere phrase, demands effective action.

Books

(Continued from page 19)

America, America!

CREATIVE AMERICA, by Mary van Kleeck; 353 pages; Covici-Friede; \$3.00.

WHO OWNS AMERICA? Edited by Herbert Agar and Allen Tate; 342 pages; Houghton Mifflin; \$3.00.

AS THE publishers of Miss van Kleeck's book tell us, it is neither a work of history nor of economics. The history, which surveys the inevitable clash throughout the life of the United States between the creative and possessive forces, will naturally be accepted by those who already share Miss van Kleeck's opinions, but it is doubtful whether it is sufficiently detailed or popular to convince those in whom she wishes to awaken a new point of view, and to whom, presumably, the book is primarily addressed. She shows that from the time of the War of Independence to the age of Hoover the tendency of the country has been to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few, and that between 1790 and 1925, despite all its advantages of a new country, cheap labor, and absence of governmental regulation, the best that American industry could do was to provide a year and a half of prosperity for every year of depression. On her way she also points to the contrast between the Declaration of Independence with its emphasis on human rights and the Constitution with its regard for the sanctity of property, and she shares with Professor Laski the conclusion that under our economic system government is primarily a police power for the protection of possessions.

"Creative America," Miss van Kleeck defines as "America at work, supplying material and cultural needs and developing a society which should be capable of insuring opportunity and security for the common people." At the very end of the work there is a statement that the "America of our dreams [is] collective in its economic basis; democratic in its political con-

trol by all who serve society by their work; individualist in the unfettered achievement of its creative workers," but a more practical book might have resulted if the reader had not been left to reduce for himself so many of the details of the ideal America.

The symposium edited by the Messrs. Agar and Tate, although agreeing with many of Miss van Kleeck's facts, is on the whole an excursion into cloud-cuckoo land. Finance-capital, the learned contributors inform us, has enslaved the masses. The remedy is not to abolish capitalism, but to distribute property among the masses. A small shop and a small factory in a small town fed from a small farm by a little cow are apparently the characteristics of the new Utopia. Assuming such a society were desirable one may still ask whether it can be attained. Mr. Lyle H. Lanier talks about constitutional amendments to permit the tighter regulation of big business, but Mr. Agar himself manfully takes the bull (or should one say, the cow?) by the horns in a paper entitled "'But Can It Be Done?'" and in a number of dispersed meditations, which are called a "programme," answers dogmatically, "Yes." Sweden, of course, with its powerful cooperative societies is cited to buttress the distributist case (as it has been in England these many years), but the distributists invariably forget to mention the damning fact that when Sweden took to cooperatives she knew no such monopolization of capital as exists today in Great Britain and the United States. This is altogether apart from the question of the value of co-operatives as a cure for capitalism. Mr. Willis Fisher contributes a pleasant and nostalgic paper about a small Mid-Western town and Mr. Robert Penn Warren has some provocative things to say in "Literature As A Symptom," but the quality of the thought which has gone to the making of this book is best displayed by Mr. T. J. Cauley and Mr. Douglas Jerrold.

Mr. Cauley, like nearly all his fellow contributors, condemns Fascism, but yet has so little understanding of the fundamentals of politics that he is capable of this:

There is no such thing as a "dictatorship of the proletariat." A so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat" turns out to be a dictatorship of some leader who is more or less honestly and zealously attempting to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Mr. Jerrold discusses the exploitation and rivalries which capitalism has caused in international trade, but says that "sanity" will ultimately prevail, and nations will become self-sufficient. In others words, it is not capitalism, but trade, that is bad, and "sanity" will be attained only when each nation lives fenced in by itself.

Mr. Hilaire Belloc, trumpeting about "transcendental things," rides several of his old hobby-horses at the



Lawrence Simpson, American seaman and anti-Nazi who was sentenced by Hitler to three years in prison

tail of this eccentric caravan, and is unkind enough to warn his fellow distributists to bear themselves "as sufferers who will probably fail." Which is not such a bad description of people who want to turn the clock back.

—LESLIE READE

Land of the Rising Sun

EYES ON JAPAN, by Victor A. Yakhontoff; 329 pages; Coward-McCann, Inc.; \$3.50.

A NEWS dispatch from Tokyo, dated September 28th, announced that *Eyes on Japan* has been banned by the Japanese government on the ground that the book is "anti-Japanese and disrespectful to the Imperial Court." This is indeed high testimony and leaves little doubt as to the position of the author in regard to Japanese imperialism.

Eyes on Japan is an attempt to present a picture of the economic, political and cultural life of modern Japan for those unacquainted with the subject. The chief faults of the work are its eclectic nature and its lack of a sufficiently profound analysis of the fundamental problems of Japanese imperialism. But the fact that the author is one of the few writers on Japan who have championed the cause of the Japanese people against their oppressors is of vital importance and gives to this work a particular significance.

The chapters on Japanese trade and

(Continued on page 29)

For Literature Agents Only!



How would you like one for Christmas this year?

THREE of these beautiful latest model \$49.50 Royal portable typewriters will be given as Xmas presents this year to the three literature agents who do the most outstanding FIGHT work between now and December 23rd.

ONE machine will be awarded to the best branch literature agent in New York City. Two other machines will be given to literature agents outside of New York . . . one for the larger cities and one for the smaller cities, so that every agent, no matter where he is, has an equal chance to win.

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Little Rock

(Continued from page 11)

one Little Rock educator has termed the "flight of youth." The boys and girls who learn trades or professions are merely waste products in this city of entrepreneurs. Flight is the only way out for them. Three American cities are the usual goals. Detroit, New York, Washington. The mechanically-minded go to Detroit; the artists, the adventurers to New York, those with political connections to Washington. Thus, hundreds of the best human products of Little Rock are forced to migrate annually. The results of this "flight of youth" are already beginning to show up; it is one of the principal causes of the city's intellectual and cultural backwardness. Not one great artist or musician lives here. Only two writers are known nationally. John Gould Fletcher, the poet who writes yearningly for the grand old days of crinoline and lace and slavery; and Bernie Babcock who writes romantic novels of Abraham Lincoln's love affairs.

Except for the Junior College, Little Rock has no institution for graduates. The state teachers college and the Methodist school at Conway, thirty miles away, and the university at Fayetteville in the northwest, draw most of the graduates who seek degrees.

But the college graduates, in even

larger numbers than the high school graduates, are forced to flee the state.

As for Commonwealth College, the workers' school at Mena, few Little Rock students have ever enrolled there. Yet this school, alone, offers the only sort of educational program that can hold the intelligent youths of Arkansas in the state. If a sufficient number of Little Rock boys and girls could be sent to Commonwealth for a few years, the flight of youth could be stopped.

Tyrants

Quite often visitors to Little Rock ask us why we permit reactionary officials to remain in office, why we tolerate political tyrants who destroy the little Democracy that remains. There are probably two reasons for this. The main reason is the poll tax that is a prerequisite for the use of the suffrage. To the impoverished workers of the city and state, the one dollar per year tax coupled with the four dollar road tax which must be paid with the first assessment is a tremendous sum.

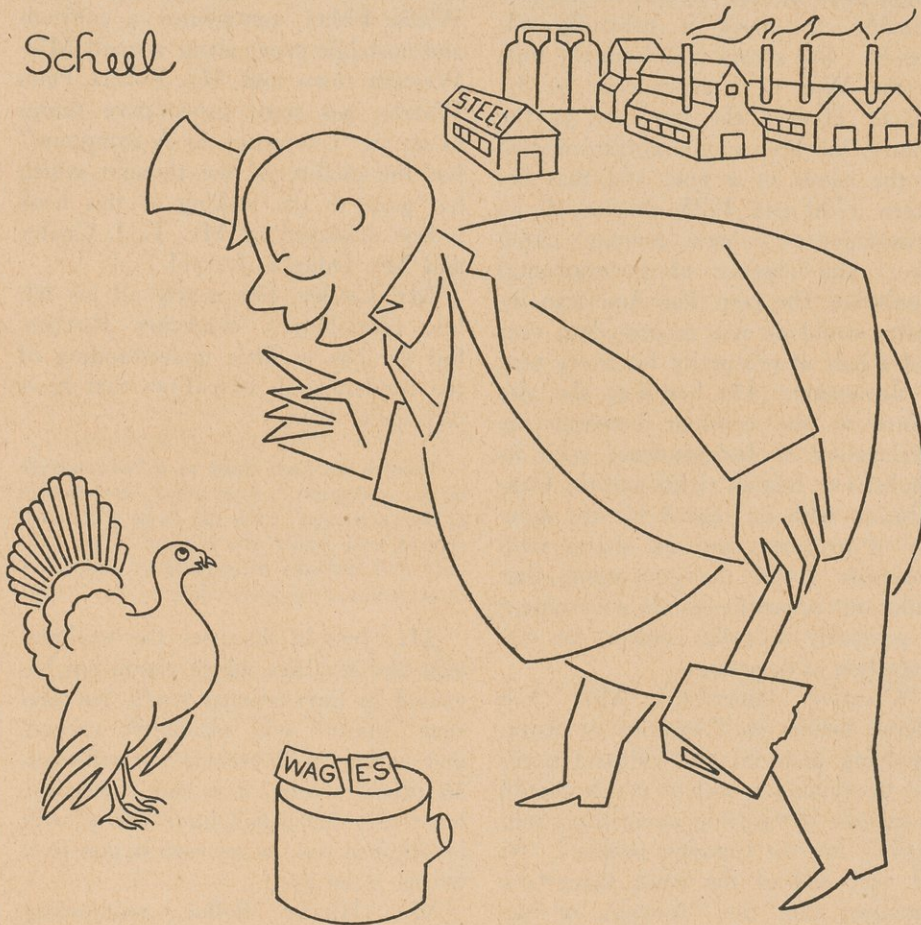
In the 1932 presidential elections only 12 per cent of the people voted, as compared with a 33 per cent national percentage. Needless to say, political Democracy does not exist. In an effort to annul the poll tax law, several union and church organizations have attempted campaigns. During one of the recent campaigns, the Governor of the state, J. Marion Futrell, said that he

(Continued on page 29)

A HOLIDAY GIFT

By Scheel

Scheel



You're Next!

LET A NATION-WIDE CONSUMER ORGANIZATION ADVISE YOU



ELECTRIC SHAVERS

How do they compare with ordinary safety razors in the time consumed in shaving, in the closeness of the shave and in other factors important to shavers? For the answers read the report on electric razors in the current (October) issue of *Consumers Union Reports*, monthly publication of Consumers Union of United States. Of three nationally-advertised makes, one is rated as a "Best Buy"—the others as "Not Acceptable."

MEN'S SHIRTS

Will unadvertised shirts selling at less than \$1 wear as well as widely-advertised \$2 brands? How do they compare on such points as shrinkage and color-fastness? These and similar questions are answered in a report on men's shirts based on wear, laundry and other tests. In terms of brand names, ten brands of shirts are rated as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable."

HOW TO BUY and USE FUEL

"Stick to stove coal and avoid trouble . . . buy No. 2 oil—No. 4 is too heavy for your type of burner," say many fuel dealers. What do heating engineers say? *How To Buy Fuel* in this issue will tell you how to buy anthracite or bituminous coal, coke, or fuel oil—will show you how, by careful selection of coal and by skillful firing, you may be able to cut your fuel bill 20% to 25%.

GINS, BRANDIES, CORDIALS

The second of three reports on liquors—the first of which dealt with whiskies, the third of which will deal with wines—this report rates 35 brands of brandies, rums and cordials—evaluates 8 brands of gins.

TOOTHPASTES and POWDERS

Based on chemical and physical analyses and on investigations by unbiased authorities, a report in this issue tells which dentifrices are safe; which are injurious; whether powders or pastes are better, and what scientific bases there are for the claims made by dentifrice manufacturers. Fifty brands of dentifrices are rated. Also rated in this issue—on the basis of tests by unbiased specialists—are many brands of men's socks, canned peas and apricots and other products.

CONSUMERS UNION OF UNITED STATES

Consumers Union Reports is published monthly by Consumers Union of United States—rapidly growing, non-profit, membership organization of consumers headed by Professor Colston E. Warne, of Amherst, Arthur Kallet, co-author of 100,000,000 Guinea Pigs, and other leaders in consumer and labor movements. These Reports—with ratings, in terms of brand names, of competing brands of products and other information enabling you to save money and to buy intelligently—PLUS A YEARLY BUYING GUIDE, to be published late in the year, are available at the low fees of \$3 and \$1 a year. The coupon below will bring you the current issue at once. If you wish your membership to begin with a previous issue, please note the month on the coupon. Leading reports in past issues (complete editions) were: Toilet soaps (May); automobiles (June); mechanical refrigerators (July); oil burners, stokers, gas furnaces and hosiery (August); shoes, tires and whiskies (September).



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I hereby apply for membership in Consumers Union. I enclose:

☐ \$3 for one year's membership, \$2.50 of which is for a year's subscription to the complete edition of *Consumers Union Reports*. Subscriptions without memberships are \$3.50.

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☐ I also enclose . . . (\$2 to \$25) as a contribution toward a permanent consumers' laboratory.

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Building the Leagues

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid



WEST COAST—California is seething with difficulties, on the waterfront and in the agricultural valleys. The League is active in both situations. The violence used against the strikers in Salinas has been investigated by members of the League and pressure for a federal investigation on the part of the Senate Committee on Civil Rights has been organized. The repressive activities of the Shippers and Growers Association and the Citizens Association, with the Associated Farmers as the state-wide coordinating agency, have been exposed to the public. Further protest is being made to the Governor against the use of the state highway patrol to break the strike. Resolutions adopted by the 37th annual convention of the California State Federation of Labor indicate that the organized workers are swinging to the support of the waterfront unions in united determination to halt the shipment of war cargoes. San Francisco is arranging a huge mass trial of William Randolph Hearst in November. The counts to be presented against this leading anti-American Fascist are: his attack on civil liberties, his pro-Fascist misrepresentation of foreign affairs, his red-baiting screen for Fascism, his anti-labor record and his jingoistic war policies. Marin County recently held a panel discussion on the subject, "The Imminent Danger of War." Our League people here are assisting in the

the past year. The fight against Hearst is also being waged at Seattle, where the League has issued a leaflet in support of the Newspaper Guild strike against the Hearst paper.

NEW ENGLAND—"The matter of peace is up to the people themselves," said the Reverend Kenneth Kingston of Farmingdale, New Jersey, at a recent meeting of the Provincetown, Massachusetts, League. The Branch has been very active in this city during the past few months. At South Norwalk, Connecticut, the League was instrumental in arranging a debate between Roger Baldwin of our National Bureau and Archibald E. Stevenson of the National Civic Federation, with "Is Fascism a Menace to Democracy?" as the subject. About 300 people of the community heard a stirring defense of civil and democratic rights presented by Mr. Baldwin as a means of forestalling Fascism. At Springfield, Massachusetts, the League has taken part in a fight to prevent the United Labor Party from being barred from the ballots. Our Fall River Branch supported a mass meeting on September 15th at which Democracy against Fascism in Spain was the major concern. The meeting was addressed by Joseph Salerno of Boston, a Catholic trade union leader, and by Leslie Richards of the local I.L.G.W.U. A collection was made at this meeting for Labor's Red Cross for Spain. Plans are being

made for a series of forums under the auspices of the Branch during the winter months.

PENNSYLVANIA—Like many of our other cities, Philadelphia is busy on the Spanish issue. A lecture entitled, "So This Is Spain," by Frederick Ingvolstad on September 28th was followed by a mass meeting at Reyburn Plaza on October 3rd. After this, a conference was organized and a committee for the support of Spanish Democracy took up active work. On November 7th the League will participate in a huge peace parade along with many other peace and anti-war organizations of the city. Pittsburgh secured Mr. Jose Gibernau, of the Spanish Embassy, and Francis Henson, who recently returned from Spain, for a rally on September 21st. In spite of the red-baiting of the local Hearst press, Patrick Fagan, chairman of the Central Labor Union, also spoke at this meeting. Subsequently the League took part in a broad conference to organize the local campaign for the support of Spanish Democracy. The League is also presenting the traveling exhibition of graphic art, consisting of etchings, woodcuts and drawings on the subjects of war and Fascism.

NEW YORK—Gloversville, at a recent membership meeting, took a collection for Labor's Red Cross for Spain, and has arranged a public meeting for October 15th when Granville Hicks will speak on "The Significance of the Spanish Crisis." Buffalo has also participated in raising about \$250 for aid to the Spanish Democracy. They have also succeeded in getting a regular ad into the Buffalo Star, local Negro paper, urging membership in the League and an active fight against war and Fascism. Westchester County has held a number of meetings on the Spanish situation in White Plains, New Rochelle, Yonkers and other communities. Nearly \$1000 has been raised throughout the county to aid the Spanish people. Kingston lost a fight for the right to use the municipal auditorium for a League meeting at which Margaret Forsyth of our National Bureau was scheduled to speak. Local American legionnaires and the mayor charged the League with being a red organization. The meeting was held in the Eagle Hotel and Miss Forsyth reported on the World Peace Congress at Brussels which she at-

tended. The local League will continue the fight for free assembly with a series of public meetings. New York City has planned a dramatic mass trial of Hearst under the auspices of its People's Committee Against Hearst. A very impressive group of witnesses will appear at the trial. Among them are Mayor John F. Dore of Seattle, Washington, President Charles J. Hendley of the New York City local of the American Federation of Teachers, and either A. F. Whitney or B. A. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. Hearst will be charged with fomenting



war, destroying civil liberties, distorting news and attempting to suppress free education. Several leading trade unions have taken boxes or blocks of seats for this dramatic affair. Among the unions are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Sign Writers and the Cafeteria Workers.

NEW JERSEY—Hackensack collected \$64 for Spain at a recent mass meeting held in the Broadway School. A cablegram supporting the Spanish fight for Democracy was sent to President Azana in Madrid. Carl Strand, a recent visitor in Spain, gave a colorful account of the way the Spanish people have rallied to support their government. Other speakers included the Reverend Albert Allinger and three speakers from the Comité Antifascista Español—Mr. G. Garcia, Mr. P. Noye and Mr. Alvares. Perth Amboy is gaining strength for its fight for the right to use the public schools for a meeting at which General Smedley Butler is scheduled to speak. The case is to be heard before the State Commissioner of Education at New Brunswick on October 15th. Witnesses will be present from the National Office of the League and from several New Jersey cities. The Civil Liberties Union is taking an active part in the fight and will be represented by one of its lawyers, Mr. Julius Kass of Perth Amboy. The League has had the free use of public school buildings in the past in other cities of the state. Plainfield Leaguers



prosecution of the Santa Rosa vigilantes. They are also carrying on activities against the regime of terror in the Salinas valley. In addition to organizing an anti-Hearst campaign, the Los Angeles League has raised over \$660 for aid to Spanish Democracy through a series of meetings. (All funds for Spain raised by the League up to October 8th were turned over to David Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U. for Labor's Red Cross for Spain. Funds collected since that date are being devoted to the purchase of medical supplies, food and clothing for the Spanish people.) The Women's Committee is publishing a very attractive pamphlet, giving the record of their work during



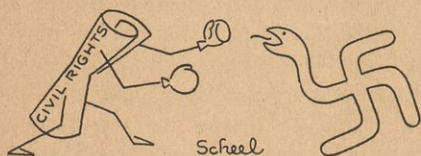
Helen E. Doriot, Secretary, Philadelphia American League Against War and Fascism

held a meeting on September 15th at which Roger Baldwin and the Reverend Archie D. Ball were the main speakers. Speaking on the subject, "Must It Happen Here?" Mr. Baldwin belittled the red scare in the United States and pointed out the purposes of the forces that were raising this false issue. The League is also organizing an anti-Hearst committee and will carry on an active campaign to counteract his influence. Trenton is also getting under way with a campaign against Hearst, and has protested the violation of civil rights involved in the arrest of a number of W.P.A. workers who were on strike.

HOUSTON, TEXAS—The new Branch of our League in this city is forging ahead rapidly with an increasing membership and wider activities. Professor Robert Morss Lovett, national vice-chairman of the League, spoke in Houston at a dinner tendered by the League on October 15th. Professor Lovett is making a speaking tour through this region in behalf of the Emergency Peace Campaign, and will visit our Branches on the way.

INDIANAPOLIS—Secretary Hull was urged to continue to recognize the democratically elected government of Spain, in a letter drafted by our Branch in this city at a recent meeting. A collection of \$11 was taken for Labor's Red Cross for Spain.

OHIO—Cincinnati held a successful meeting for aid to Spain on September 11th and raised \$40 immediately. A unique method of raising additional funds was developed through the mimeographing of an appealing letter with postage attached. The letters were purchased at the rate of five for a dime and signed and mailed right at the meeting, calling upon friends for funds to help the Spanish people. Carrying on after their fine Spanish meeting in August, the Cleveland League has arranged a symposium on War and Fascism, which will be addressed by representatives of various political parties. At a recent membership meeting, a program of activities and campaigns for the winter months was drafted and adopted. The Toledo League is in the middle of the local fight to protect the democratic rights of workers against



bombing, intimidation and police violence. A delegation recently appeared before the City Council to present evidence on these issues, was told to "Go to hell," and the meeting was closed without the hearing of the evidence. The activities of the Black Legion are

reported as playing an important part in this repression of labor and liberal groups. Local labor unions have protested the action of the City Council in refusing to hear the material offered by the American League delegation.

MILWAUKEE—The local Branch was visited by the National Executive Secretary in September, and plans were laid at that time for extended activity during the coming months. On October 14th, the Reverend Ralph M. Compere, regional organizer for the League, will address an open membership meeting.

CONFERENCES—A number of local and regional conferences of the League are being arranged for the next few



months. St. Louis is holding one on October 31st. Westchester County, New York, will have another on November 14th, while regional conferences will be held in the industrial Mid-West, the farm Northwest, the West Coast and in Washington, during the months of December and January. These regional gatherings will replace the National Congress for this year.

BALTIMORE—A mass meeting on Spanish Democracy was held here September 27th, with Jose Gibernau of the Spanish Embassy as main speaker. The League was the initiating force for this meeting which was held at the Workmen's Circle Hall. The collection totaled over \$700, and in addition another \$600 has been raised in Baltimore for Labor's Red Cross for Spain. The local joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers gave \$300 of this amount. On October 11th, the League held an all-day organizational conference and organized its program of activities for the ensuing months. The National Executive Secretary took part in this conference. The local League has recently received two interesting contributions, one of \$11 from the young people of Camp Louise, who have also been selling **THE FIGHT** every month during the summer, and another of \$5 from a graduate student of Johns Hopkins University who raised this sum by selling a gold medal awarded him by Mussolini for efficiency in the Italian language.

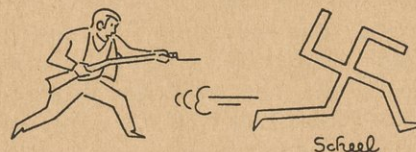
DENVER—Concentrated work in six areas of the city is resulting in new Branches of the League. A city conference will be held on October 25th with delegates from labor, youth and community groups. A campaign to combat discrimination against the foreign-born is being developed.



By
James Lerner

FROM articles in this issue one can get a picture of the activities of the Youth delegation at the World Youth Congress and in Spain. One of the great achievements of Geneva is that it brought many organizations, which had hitherto kept aloof from each other, into tolerant cooperation. It is still too early to give a complete detailed picture of the American application of the Geneva results, since our delegation will be meeting after this issue is out. We plan to establish a national coordinating committee. This committee will popularize the World Youth Congress and attempt to attract new organizations to its program.

AS FAR as Spain is concerned, our job is very specific and urgent at present. The young people of that country are a major factor in the fight to save the Republic. On the front the ages seemed to run mainly from 16 to 24. In the cities and villages, tens of thousands of young people are working overtime, donating their services so that the government may have more



goods to carry on. They have built their Youth Front, corresponding to the American Youth Congress but covering an even wider group of organizations. All groups believing in Democracy are in it. We met the Youth Front secretary, Antonio Munoz, in a hospital. He had been elected a delegate to the World Youth Congress, but a bullet in the spine paralyzed his body from the waist down and he could not attend. Munoz, like the other youth leaders, asked us to help his country, to help the youth of Spain save Democracy. The young militiamen are freezing in the mountains for lack of clothing. We have to collect clothing and money, with which to buy clothing, in this country. Pneumonia is taking a high toll. They need anti-toxins and serums for protection against infected wounds.

IN EVERY city, in colleges and wherever young people meet, stations

should be set up where clothing may be collected as well as money. We want to send a shipload of supplies to the Spanish people. No matter what the military situation may be at the moment, this will be a long war and the campaign for aid should be speeded up.

THE Youth delegation is going to work on this campaign for aid. Some of our members will be on tours, relating what we saw and heard. We will issue printed material as well as help set up an exhibit with the photos, posters and documentary material we brought back. Cities, colleges and youth organizations interested in this campaign are urged to write immediately to the National Office.

IN NEW YORK CITY a whole series of mass meetings has been arranged at which there will be reports on the World Youth Congress and Spain. The American Youth Congress held a meeting on Geneva at the Y.M.C.A. on October 16th with five delegates reporting. The American League Youth Committee in New York has planned five large meetings in different parts of the city.

THE United Student Peace Committee, consisting of representatives of most national student groups, is planning an intensive program which will start on Armistice Day and lead up to the Student Strike. On November 14th there will be radio panels, peace institutes and a peace poll. This edu-



cational campaign, plus the recent endorsement of the student peace strike by the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. student divisions, will most likely add tremendously to the size and value of the strike next spring. National organizations working with students, including the American League, have issued a joint appeal and program for activity. Among these are the Emergency Peace Campaign, Youth Section, League of Nations Association.

Little Rock

(Continued from page 26)

was in favor of raising the poll tax to ten dollars per year. "The more people have to pay for a thing," said the Governor, "the more they appreciate it."

The second reason for our apparent indifference to government is that there exists in the minds of most Arkansans a sort of humorous cynicism towards all things political. This is a heritage that has been preserved by humorists of the Southwest. Will Rogers became famous by laughing at politicians and politics, and the tradition is now being carried on by Bob Burns, the Arkansas radio comedian. Politics, like mosquitoes and barefoot mountaineers, is something we make jokes about.

Learning Fast

However, though we may laugh at our politicians, we are beginning to learn that our economic destinies are bound up with political control. We are learning fast. A big portion of us did not laugh at Governor Futrell when he declared last year that he favored a European war. He said such a war would make us prosperous again, and solve our unemployment problem. Instead of laughing and making jokes, the people, the press and the church protested indignantly. Since that date, the Governor has carefully avoided the subject of war.

And recently, there were many progressive educators and other citizens in Little Rock who brought strong pressure against a legislative proposal that would have abolished Commonwealth College.

Outside protests may have helped to kill that law, but the legislators were more impressed by the demands of their constituents than they were by those from outside the state.

And there isn't a politician who doesn't remember that march of the farmers on England, a small town east of Little Rock. They know that when an Arkansan is hungry and aroused, he stops laughing at politics and the politicians, and begins to act.

We have seen many cases of graft and corruption, and we know the votes often are not counted. We have reason to be cynical of the legal processes of our state and city governments.

Before It Is Too Late

But the people of Little Rock and Arkansas are separated by only a generation from pioneers who fought and conquered the wilderness. Today, a new wilderness of decadent feudalism and incipient Fascism is growing rank around us. Before it is too late, we know we must take up the fight in earnest against this new wilderness, or else see the foundations of our hopes for civilization collapse in terror and misery.

Books

(Continued from page 25)

industry are the most informative; ample statistical and factual material make them particularly valuable. In the field of culture the author is on less sure ground. The colonial empire, the political structure, the role of the militarists, the rise of Fascism, foreign policy and aggression, the relations with rival imperialist powers, the labor movement, and the conditions of the masses are described in various chapters. It is unfortunate that the account of the labor movement is based on sources which are both incomplete and out of date. There is only a brief mention, in passing, of such an outstanding event as the Rice Riots of 1918, and no reference at all to the Kobe Strike of 1921, greatest in the history of Japan, or to the united front movement against Fascism, which is gaining in momentum under the able and courageous leadership of Kanju Kato and others.

Certain formulations of the author are open to doubt. For example, he states: "With the arrival of full-blown Fascism, the army, with certain outsiders participating, would become the sole power. In that event, probably neither the living conditions of the people nor the policy of Japan abroad would be greatly changed." (p. 106.) This reviewer is in complete disagreement with the idea expressed in the second sentence. And, in speaking of the possibility of Japan and Germany attacking the Soviet Union, the author states: "But the feasibility of such a stratagem does not seem, at least at present, extra good. Germany is not in a sound economic position, neither is she ready in a military sense." (p. 262.) Surely the menace of German Fascism to world peace is here gravely underestimated. Too little faith is placed in the possibility of the people of China driving the Japanese invaders from their land: "It aroused new hopes among many Chinese and certain foreigners who would like to see Japan checked, but one is inclined not to overestimate the chances of direct action of the Chinese armies in a contest with the Japanese military machine. Anyhow, the solution hardly can be sought in the use of force by either side." (p. 259.)

Nevertheless, *Eyes on Japan* is a book which should be read by all. It lays bare the predatory aims and ruthless methods of Japanese imperialism; it supports the peace policy of the people; it rips away from the face of Japan the delicate veil of cherry blossoms; it dispels the legend that all Japanese stand proudly united in joyful submission to the serene Son of Heaven; it proves conclusively that in Japan, as in other countries, there exist two classes—the exploiters and the exploited, the rich and the poor.

—E. P. GREENE

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Out of Their Mouths

(Continued from page 15)

"These lessons (of the Ethiopian affair) show that the League, no less than the world of the nineteenth century, depends on a strong British Navy as one of the great factors for peace. This fact, it is interesting to note, is attracting attention in the United States of America. I observe in the current number of the chief journal of the American Navy League a plea for cooperation between the British and American Navies to make a future war impossible. Let us take note of it with interest and sympathy."—Sir Samuel Hoare, former Foreign Secretary, now First Lord of the Admiralty, speaking before the Royal Empire Society in London, June 24, 1936.

"The American supply of munitions was indispensable to reinforce all our own efforts in the last world struggle. The same reinforcement obviously would be indispensable in any further conflict. We hold it to be not less vitally required now for the reconstitution of British defense, in the shortest possible time, which would do more than anything else on this side of the water to avert, if possible, a general war."—J. A. Garvin, editor of the *London Observer*, in the June 28, 1936 issue of that paper.

Britain, U. S. and the League

"Informed Britons, and many others, know that Mr. Wilson was not the founder of the Geneva organization; that it was born deep in the recesses of the British Imperial Defense Council and was afterward passed on to the American President. The real originator was Jan Christiaan Smuts, the South African statesman. It was he who presented the project to the British Imperial Council toward the end of the World War and who afterward brought forth the outline of it at the Paris Peace Conference. His plan was recognized then, and has been recognized since, as the original proposal. General Smuts has never been a world internationalist. His main interest, during the War and since, has been the establishment of a strong and relatively independent South Africa, attached to the British system."—From *Powerful America*, by Eugene Young, cable editor of the *New York Times*; published January, 1936, by F. A. Stokes and Co.

"A perusal of his (Stanley Baldwin's) speeches, made in and out of the House of Commons within the past few months, discloses these remarks: 'I wish the United States were in the League . . . I hope that before long they will be in it.'

"In the same speech Mr. Baldwin inferentially criticized the United States' position of isolation.

"Speaking at Glasgow in November, 1934, he referred to Britain's 'unbounded regret' that the United States had not joined."—Associated Press dis-

patch from London, April 5, 1936.

"Mr. Bingham (American Ambassador to the Court of St. James') added that, Anglo-American efforts at peace and disarmament having failed, he would expect Britain and the United States to 'match gun with gun, ship with ship, and plane with plane in defense of our countries and our homes.'" *New York Times*, July 5, 1936.

"The Bad Side of the News"

How soon Americans will have to start defending their own homes by bombing the homes of others can perhaps best be judged by comparing two statements that recently appeared in the press. Returning late in August on board the Nazi liner, *Bremen*, from a ten weeks' visit to Europe and South Africa, where he stayed with the redoubtable General Smuts, Mr. Thomas W. Lamont told the assembled newspaper men in the Morgan offices, "I have no first-hand knowledge, but, in the three weeks I spent in England and France, the people struck me as far less apprehensive than many Americans are of an early outbreak of war in Europe. You see, although we are 3,000 miles away, our able American press supplies us with reports of interesting occurrences in every capital of Europe. And we are so impressed with the bad side of the news that we are apt to forget the peace-loving millions in their homes and fields and factories, and to leap a few hurdles and exclaim, 'Oh, Europe is on the verge of another great war.'"

Compare this comment with that of Alfred Duff Cooper, British Secretary of State for War, on June 15, 1936, a month before the civil war in Spain gave Europe its latest attack of jitters, "The situation is far worse in Europe than it was in 1914. There is no man with the slightest knowledge of it who would deny that statement, and still we are joking and laughing and refusing to face the facts. It is the duty of those in authority to frighten the people of this country out of their wits."

18 Years After

(Continued from page 17)

Action at the convention, though it meant no right about face, nevertheless gave little comfort to the Legion's mentors. Just as the steel barons listen with amazement to the demands of their company unions, so during the next year, those who organized the Legion may well ask, "Can this be a thing of our creation?" Neither could circumvent the inexorable law of mass organization; sooner or later, those so organized will act in their own interest.

When, as Congressman Lundeen warned, the privates have the last word, the American Legion may yet become "the power in the land," throwing its influence, as the country doctor stated the ideal for veterans' organizations in America, "to the spreading of universal liberty, equal rights and justice to all men."

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Of **FIGHT** Against War and Fascism, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1936.

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Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Geoffrey H. Byrne, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of **FIGHT** Against War and Fascism and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation) etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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(Signature of Business Manager)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 10th day of October, 1936.

PETER K. HAWLEY,
(My commission expires March 30, 1938.)

[SEAL]

November 1936, **FIGHT**

Oh Say, Can You See?

WE PROBABLY will be accused of wishful thinking when we say that the Spanish loyalists will defeat the Fascists in the long run. But, after all, there would be little thinking done unless some of it were "wishful."

In the last analysis, it boils down to the old argument between Lamarck and Darwin about evolution. One said

Scheel



(to put it simply) that giraffes have long necks because they wished to have them in order that they might reach succulent vegetation high up in the trees. The other contended that the giraffes who accidentally had longer necks survived, while the short necked ones starved to death. We're inclined to favor the former theory—and to believe that the will of an entire nation cannot forever be thwarted by outsiders.

There's an historical precedent for this contention. During the intervention in Russia about 1918-19, the legal government was entirely surrounded by White armies which were equipped and officered by the Allies, just as Franco's are supplied and directed by Hitler and Mussolini. Even the United States intervened at Archangel until its soldiers refused to fight any longer.

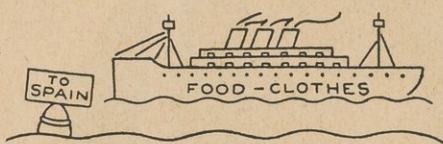
The starving, pestilence-ridden Russians were driven back and back until they held only a strip of country about the size of the state of Indiana. French .75s thundered at the gates of Leningrad and Moscow.

But, because the people as a whole supported the government, somehow they found strength to seize arms from the hands of their enemies. Somehow they fought England, France, Japan and their own reactionaries to a standstill and regained control of their homeland.

The task of supplying airplanes and arms to the Fascists, who have no money with which to pay for them, must be a terrific strain on the already insignificant resources of Italy and Germany. The former, which spent hundreds of millions on its Ethiopian campaign, is pleading with American bankers for a tremendous loan. In fact, former Under Secretary for For-

eign Affairs Fulvio Suvich has been sent to Washington as ambassador, for the specific purpose of raising funds. Germany also is begging the United States and England for money, although a friend of ours who recently went to Berlin for a big New York bank reported to his boss, on his return, that a loan to Germany at this time would be the worst possible wild-cat investment.

We do not wish to imply, however, that we can fold our arms like the Arabs who won and lost half a world by believing that "What is to be will be." If they are to win in the end, the Spanish loyalists need all the support we can give them. They must not be abandoned, even if they should be driven back to the borders of Catalonia. Much aid already has been given them by progressive forces throughout the world, and this must continue unabated until the last shot is fired.



On the other hand, we should not let our interest in what is going on across the water blind us to the encroachment of the forces favoring war and Fascism right here at home. The struggle against reaction is indivisible, it must be pushed on all fronts at the same time if we are to make the world a decent place in which to live.

Out in Chicago, for example, William Randolph Hearst is nurturing the "United Forward Movement," which, under the leadership of a mysterious Rev. Ralph E. Nollner of Houston, is circularizing 250,000 ministers against "Communism" and plans to hold a convention in December. And in San Francisco the "American League Against Communism" has been formed. The circulars sent out by both of these organizations imply that anyone who favors union labor, peace, or social security is a "Communist."

Well, as Jack Dempsey said in a recent interview: "This campaign has got down to capital and labor. I'm for the poor man and the farmer. I think the old age pension is a great thing. The trouble here is that people are trod on like they've been in Europe. What the hell is the trouble there? The monied people. The rich

taking everything away from the poor. If a man makes a lot of money, why the devil shouldn't he pay when people



are starving and women get only \$10 a week that can't even buy their socks?"

Contrast that wallop to the jaw of the Liberty League with a recent pamphlet issued anonymously by that great friend of the poor, Bernarr Macfadden, in which he attacks the thirty-hour week. The old Muscle Man would rather see a third of the working population jobless than have any attempt made to even up the load.

Other evidences of the encroachment of reaction during the past month were the assault on Joseph Gelders, Birmingham organizer for the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, by a bunch of police-inspired hoodlums; the sentencing to life imprisonment in the same town of James Thomas, a Negro accused of a \$1.50 burglary.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the forces of progress are strongest precisely in those localities where repression is fiercest. The intensely exploited tobacco workers in Tampa, Fla., have sent thousands of dollars to Spain. The workers of the West Coast have fought the Hearst crowd to a standstill in the lettuce fields, on the docks and even in one newspaper. Terre Haute still lives up to the tradition of Debs, despite martial law and police violence, and is one of the strongest union towns in the Middle West.

Japan's plan to whittle another hunk out of North China reminds us that one of the greatest military maneuvers of all history is now taking place in the Orient. If you will look at a map, you will see that Japan is intent on thrusting a great wedge between China and Siberia, obviously for the purpose of outflanking the enemy during their coming war with the U.S.S.R. and China.

Japan has insisted that Chiang Kai-shek make efforts to crush the Chinese Army at once. If that isn't done, Nippon is certain to find her North China

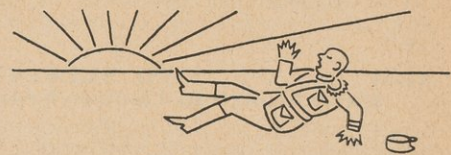
flank turned on a 3,000 mile front. Damned clever, these Chinese.

Which reminds us that Japan has banned A. Yakhontoff's book, *Eyes on Japan*, as being "anti-Japanese and disrespectful to the Imperial Court." Yakhontoff, who has lived in that country for many years, contends that "Japan is a big fist on flabby muscles," and that she does not have the money to finance her operations in China much longer.

And while we're thinking about it, let us pay high tribute to a line or so of dialogue in Clifford Odet's picture, *The General Died at Dawn*. Perhaps you remember that because of Gary Cooper's interest in a pretty face he was robbed of money which the Chinese peasants had collected to carry on the struggle against Yang, their war lord oppressor.

When Gary discloses this to Mr. Wu, the peasant leader, the latter looks at him compassionately and says: "We can't trust you any more . . . You'll be lonely, won't you?"

That, we think, is a fitting epitaph for those who desert the struggle against war and Fascism, or merely give it lip service at this most crucial point in the world's history. They'll be lonely in the long years to come.



Spain again. We can't talk or write too much about that country's fate. (Our own Democracy is at stake, too, and don't you forget that.) As we go to press, the American League announces an extensive campaign to aid Spain. The North American Joint Committee to Aid Spain is bringing over Isabel De Palencia, Socialist, former Spanish member of the League of Nations; Marcelino Domingo, President of the Left Republican Party and former Minister of Education; and Father Luis Sarasola, Catholic priest and well-known writer on ecclesiastical subjects. The first meeting will be held in Madison Square Garden on October 26th. Then they leave for a tour of the U.S.A. The same committee is aiming to get over a shipload of food, clothes and medical supplies to the Democratic forces in Spain.

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