

January
1937

The Fight

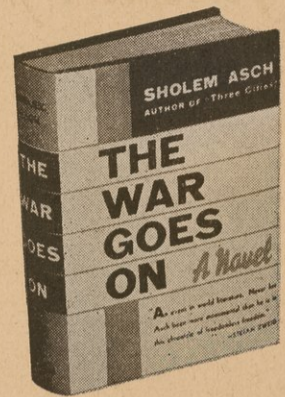
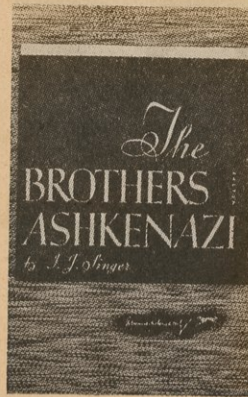
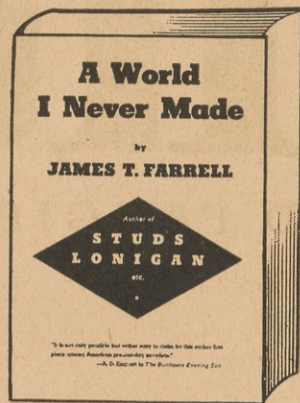
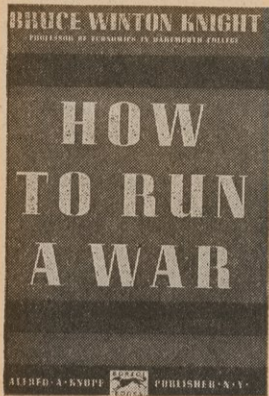
AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

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UNDERMINING LIBERTY • By George Seldes

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With the Readers



ONE of our earliest recollections is of a serious parent taking a little boy to the dentist. Not exactly a pleasant memory, you would say. And we would ordinarily agree. But in this case *it is* a pleasant memory. For in the dentist's office he saw for the first time a publication called *Judge*. (Or was it *Puck*?)

FORGOTTEN was the toothache and the ominous looking man dressed in white, and the fond parent. For the little boy found a picture magazine with funny looking people in it, and among the pictures there were two which held him.

YEARS later when the little boy grew up somewhat (by that time he had headaches), some one gave him a copy of the old *Masses*. *Puck*, or *Judge*, was able to make the boy forget his toothache and the *Masses* was able to tighten the screws in the young man's head. And there, between the pages of that brilliant magazine, he found a familiar name. The name was Art Young.

NOW the young man has grown a little older. And to his desk came the other day a book titled *The Best of Art Young*. Books are precious things to that man who went to the dentist when he was a little boy. But when books keep piling up on one's desk they become just a little less precious. *But this book . . .*

EVERY once in a while—not so often, unfortunately—a man is able to record the times he is living in. *Huckleberry Finn* was such a book and *Das Kapital* was another. And now comes Art Young with this record which gives us America.

YOU laugh with him. You get mad with him. You cry with him. You see little children slaving in mills; you see them standing on a cold bitter night looking at the sky and saying, "Chee, Annie, look at de stars—thick as bed-bugs!" Art Young pioneered against Hearst and the corrupt press long before any of us ever heard the name Hearst. He makes us understand and see war, the fight for Democracy and freedom, the trade unions, Sacco and Vanzetti, the workers and farmers struggle for a better life.

LOOK at these drawings, reader, and you will understand America better and why America is inherently opposed to Fascism, and why if we don't struggle against Fascism we are liable to get it here, too.

LOOK at these drawings, reader, and laugh with Art Young at the stupidities and sham in this war-makers' world. These are not the laughs of the *New Yorker*. You see they are "sophisticated," but Art Young comes out of an apple barrel in Wisconsin.

FOR some reason or other, we like the idea of an apple barrel in Wisconsin. And if you know an apple barrel, you know this book. Here in these pages a rare human being, who is a rare artist, saw and felt and thought and put it down on paper for you to see and feel and think. He has given a record of his time and the things he saw from day to day.

THIS book is a promise that the world will not always be in the hands of the dunderheads—that the day is not far off when war and Fascism will be only a memory. And above all else, we see the great contribution a great artist can make to the people of the world.

FIGHT, January 1937



The Spanish delegation in America, Isabel de Palencia, Father Luis Sarasola, Marcelino Domingo, and Harry F. Ward

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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; Education, Robert K. Speer; Publications and Publicity, Frank B. Blumenfeld; Youth, James Lermer; Women, Dorothy McConnell; Trade Union, John Masso; Religious, Rev. Herman F. Reissig. Single Copies, 10 cents. Yearly subscription, \$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



HARRY F. WARD, head of the American League Against War and Fascism and Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, has been active in various social movements for over three decades. Mr. Ward is Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, and one of the founders and Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. He has contributed to *The Nation*, *Annals of Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, *Christian Century*, etc., etc., and is the author of *In Place of Profit*, *The Labor Movement*, *The New Social Order—Principles and Programs*, etc., etc.

GEORGE SELDES—we can never get enough of him and we hope some day to convince him of the great contribution he would make to the cause of peace and liberty by taking a page every month in *THE FIGHT*. Mr. Selles is not only a great factual journalist but that rare thing, a man who understands the social forces at play.

REDFERN MASON, who writes the article on San Francisco, has long been a resident of that city and is a writer of many years' standing. He has contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly*, etc., and is the author of *The Song Lore of Ireland*, *Musical Cameos*, *Rebel Ireland* and *The Girl Who Knows How*, the last being a genial satire on San Francisco. Mr. Mason was with the Knights of Columbus during the World War and later visited seven capitals from Brussels to Rome to investigate the subsidizing of opera and symphony.

WILLIAM GROPPER, who made this month's inside full page—it's on Spain—is now writing a book (we always like the idea of artists writing) which Covici-Friede will publish this year. The book will, of course, be illustrated and Mr. Gropper will, of course, be the illustrator. Bill is willing to tell all and that's saying a mouthful. We predict "trouble."

JOHANNES STEEL, the foreign correspondent who writes in this issue on Hitler's war moves, was formerly attached to the German Minister of Economics as economic observer abroad. Mr. Steel is now at work on a new book to be titled *First Papers*, which Farrar and Rinehart will publish this spring.

DOROTHY McCONNELL is now in South America, where she is a delegate to the People's Congress for Peace and an observer at the Inter-American Conference. This special article was airmailed before the Conference ended. Miss McConnell is Secretary of the Women's Section of the American League and is the author of a number of books for children. She has been editor of a church publication.

ELIZABETH NOBLE is the pseudonym for an American art critic.

RUTH CRAWFORD is a native of Terre Haute and has contributed to *Scribner's*, *Today*, etc., and has worked for the United Features Syndicate. Miss Crawford is now finishing a novel.

HOFF, needless to say, made the cover. (You can never miss a Hoff.) We hope the 1937 kid does a good job with the scythe. We rather think he will.

Are You Afraid to Face the Truth About Yourself?

THERE are occasions in the life of every man when he realizes how miserably he has fallen below what others had expected of him and what he had dreamed for himself. The "big" man faces the truth, and does something about it. The "little" man finds an excuse for his failure, and does nothing. What are YOUR answers when you ask yourself questions like these:

Am I not drifting along aimlessly?
What, after all, is my purpose in life?

Once I had real ambitions—are they unattainable?

Am I trusting too much to chance to bring me success?

What is my greatest weak point?

Is it lack of will, poor memory, mental laziness, mind-wandering or what?

Am I too old now ever to do anything worth while?

Am I "licked" by life, am I a "quitter"?

What can I do, now, to "find myself"?



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| General Sir Robert Baden-Powell , founder of the Boy Scout Movement. | Jerome K. Jerome , author and dramatist. |
| Frank P. Walsh , former Chairman of National War Labor Board. | General O'Moore Creagh , V.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.J. |
| Major General Sir Frederick Maurice , Director of Military Observations, Imperial General Staff. | George Lunn , formerly Lt. Governor of State of New York. |
| Admiral Lord Beresford , G.C.B., G.C., V.O. | Sir Harry Lauder , celebrated comedian. |
| T. P. O'Connor , "Father of the House of Commons." | Sir Harry Johnson , author and dramatist. |
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| | W. L. George , author. |
| | A. Gillespie , Vice-President of Cluett Peabody & Co. |

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January, 1937

I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. . . .

Corporations have been enthroned, an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until the wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed.

ABRAM LINCOLN wrote these prophetic words at a time when the industrial-financial system of the United States was in its early youth, when it was conquering the West, following the gold rush, when industrial capital was about to make its great march across the continent,—but at a time the crisis of 1857 gave the first warning that all might not go well forever with the economic system which had been established.

The industrial revolution, the industrial age, the economic system as we know it today, came into being almost immediately with the libertarian movement which produced uprisings in many countries, upset tyrants, established republics and Democracies of a sort. The coincidence persists today. The Bill of Rights of the first hours of the American Republic was echoed throughout Europe, and although our Democracy was strongly entrenched in the 1830's, Europe went through two decades of fighting before it calmed down and devoted itself to manufacturing, world trade, exploration and exploitation, empire building, great money making. Strange indeed that Lincoln should have foreseen the great crisis of the 1930's.

The Last War?

As wealth became concentrated in few hands in many countries and the social-economic-libertarian ideas spread in direct proportion, the conflicts between the nations became more and more commercial, until recently it has been held that all wars are commercial wars. And when the World War ended in disillusion, when the tyrant of Russia was overthrown, when the symbol of commercial imperialism, the Kaiser (but not the system), was destroyed in Germany, when kings were tossed aside in several countries, labor governments, Socialist governments, and one Communist government established in Europe, and years later, several dictators driven out in backward South American countries, it became



Undermining Liberty

How does money fit into the Fascist pattern? Mr. Seldes shows its influence in Germany and Italy and the part it is playing in the U. S. A.

By George Seldes

more and more apparent that in one respect the World War was exactly what many persons said it was, "the war to end wars." But not in the sense in which they meant it. Not because it was the biggest war, not because it killed ten million and wounded another twenty million and sent an additional ten or twenty million to death from starvation and disease, was it to be the last of all wars, but it may well be that because the wars of the future may not be wars between nations but in a sense wars between classes. The threat of such a world war is apparent as this page is written, when Hitler and Mussolini are aiding the Fascist class in Spain.

Requisites of Fascism

The final, and the desperate effort of any reactionary régime to preserve the economic-financial status quo can be called Fascism provided it acts according to the Fascist pattern—and that means, that to be Fascist it must employ violence, it must use armed force, it must, if necessary, impose itself through armed seizure of power and armed maintenance of power. This has been proved true elsewhere; it is the pattern for Fascism in America. The mass following is also a *sine qua non*, and so is a radical program by which the disinherited and dispossessed will be inveigled into following a dictator—Mussolini, you know, took seven out of Karl Marx's ten fundamental principles of the Communist Manifesto and rewrote them for the Fascist Proclamation of March 1919, while Hitler called his party National Socialist and still promises the socialistic reforms which most of Germany demands. And there are other imperative requirements for Fascism such as the dominance of the State, which Americans still reject. But first of all I would place armed force for the preservation of the business or money system.

Backers of Europe's Fascism

What if the Banca Commerciale no longer finances Mussolini and dictates his actions, or the Lega Industriale cannot keep Mussolini from interfering in its factories and the Confederazione Generale dell' Industria and the Associazione fra Industriali Metallurgici Meccanici ed Affini feel that the dictator is forcing taxation and labor laws upon them instead of carrying out the labor orders they have given him up to now?

It is a fact that these organizations bought and paid for the March on Rome in the expectation that they would be the power behind a successful dictatorship. And Hitler's backers were analogous groups: steel, power, coal, banks. There was Krupp von Bohlen, next to Zaharoff the greatest merchant of death; Fritz Thyssen, the steel king of Germany; F. C. von Sie-

mens of electricity; Professor Karl Bosch of dyes; Dr. A. Voegeler, steel; A. Diehn, potash; Bochringer, steel; F. von Schroeder, the banker; A. von Finck, the banker; F. Reinhart, the banker, and other non-and-anti-Fascists who risked their money on Fascism when they saw it had a chance to win. What if Thyssen is in South America and on the outs with Hitler, and some of the other original money men of Fascism feel they are not getting their money's worth? *The fact is that they made Fascism for their preservation and financial economic gain.*

So also in France, Colonel de la Rocque's Croix de Feu is financed by geographical analogies—for silk in Italy and dyes in Germany, we have M. de Mun of Champagne and the House of Nicolas, wines at any price, and most important of all, M. François de Wendel, merchant of death, director of the Comité des Forges, of banks, newspapers, mines, industries, and first of the 200 families who own and control France.

American Parallels

It is always money and power that finances Fascism.

In America for François de Wendel and Krupp we could read Gary, Schwab, Grace, Myron Taylor, E. T. Weir; for the Lega Industriale we have the Manufacturers Association, and for the Associazione fra Industriali the National Chamber of Commerce. The backers of Fascism everywhere are the industrialists, manufacturers, big business men, the bankers.

The financing is always done secretly—until the movement succeeds. In America, the one organization which is best adapted for financing a reactionary armed force is the one which has already proclaimed among its principles the salvation of private profits. The American Liberty League answers the description of the subsidizers of Hitler and Mussolini.

The United Press has made a survey of the industrial and financial empire which the members of the Liberty League direct or control, and places a money value upon it of \$37,000,000,000. The directors of the League are affiliated with all the great corporations, including United States Steel, General Motors, Standard Oil, Chase National Bank, Goodyear Tire, Westinghouse, Baltimore and Ohio, Mutual Life Insurance Company, American T. & T., and scores of similar concerns.

The committeemen of the Liberty League are directors in the following institutions (which are given with their assets):

American Telephone and Telegraph Co., \$3,078,568,666; General Motors Corp., \$1,183,674,005; Armour & Co., \$356,179,450; United States Steel Corp., \$2,102,896,880; Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York, \$1,131,089,858; E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., \$605,631,064; Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, \$857,751,940.

In the council of the Liberty League are the following representatives of big business in America:

Pierre S. du Pont, Edward F. Hutton, Henry B. Joy, Alvan Macauley, Grayson M. P. Murphy, John J. Raskob, Elihu Root, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., E. T. Weir, Joseph E. Widener and Hal E. Roach.

If Fascism comes to America, it must have the backing of an organization analogous to the American Liberty League. It must have the inactive support of the regular military forces and the active leadership of an organization analogous to the American Legion.

Filling the Requirements

Certain conditions necessary for Fascism exist in America as they did in Italy and Germany. We seem to have everything from economic distress to red-baiting hysteria to demagoguery, to intolerant super-patriotism. The profit system is at last fighting in the open. As in Italy, the banner of nationalism,

discipline, order, will be raised, and promises of share-the-wealth and social security will be made, and every means known to man will be used to obtain a mass following for a magnificently worded program. Although it will differ from Italian Fascism as German Fascism differs from the latter, the controlling forces will be the same.

These forces do not necessarily want civil war although they are willing, as history in other countries proves, to engage in bloodshed as a last extreme. They are usually willing to buy their peace. In the United States, this means control of the two big political parties and the corollary, the knifing of any and all third parties which might either get popular support or obtain the balance of power.

In the past, it has been big business which paid the bills of both parties; at present, it is still big business but there is a decided leaning towards one of the two parties which is closer to Fascism than the other, and in the future we may see a purely Fascist party—under a fine American patriotic Liberty-Boys-of-1776 name of course. Potential sponsors for this party are the Liberty League and Mr. Hearst.

Financing of Politics

How the corporations finance the Republican and Democratic parties, today, is partly revealed by the publication of campaign fund contributions—partly, since we can never know the secret financing of politics. Sometimes, of course, there is a scandal, for examples, the Hearst revelations of the Standard Oil Company's buying of senators, or Teapot Dome, or the recent Black Legion investigation, and we get a small view of the vast corruption. That the corporations own both parties has been proven time and again. For example, the New York *World* (January 13, 1924), in its great liberal crusading days, published the revelations made by Major Dickin-

son, a retired official of the State Department, showing that big business and the bankers had financed Theodore Roosevelt, the president who has gone into history as Teddy the Trust Buster, the enemy of the corporations as well as the opposition parties. Major Dickinson wrote that T. R.'s campaign was underwritten "just as they would underwrite building a railroad from here to San Francisco." Judge Alton Brooks Parker, Roosevelt's Democratic opponent, had the ammunition to destroy his rival but either Parker himself had been underwritten by a similar if not the same group, or the ethics of presidential campaigning were the same as newspaper ethics which require the suppression of all scandals involving the profession, because Judge Parker refused to use the facts.

It is quite possible that Judge Parker realized that, should it become known by the group of powerful men who had underwritten the Republican campaign for the corporations that he had obtained the evidence from Colonel Dan Lamont, then he, Judge Parker, would immediately become *persona non grata* to the whole financial world, which, alarmed by the disclosures, would surely annul his chances of getting the presidency. The list of seven, however, was furnished the candidate by his close friend, Colonel Lamont. As given by Major Dickinson it is: James Stillman, head of the National City Bank; Judge Elbert H. Gary, head of the steel trust; E. H. Harriman, master of railroad systems; Daniel G. Reid, railroad manipulator, founder of American Can; George W. Perkins, partner of J. P. Morgan & Co.; Charles F. Brooker, vice-president, N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.; Robert L. Bacon, Morgan partner.

"We Buy Our Presidents"

I regret that I am unable to give the names of the persons involved in

(Continued on page 24)

What would the unknown soldier say to the Fascist plans for a world war?



No Pasaran!

By Marcel Acier

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM SANDERSON



A NATION oppressed by a feudal system of landlords. Benevolent paternalism at its worst. No European country can count as large a percentage of illiterates.

Perhaps they do not know how to read or write, but they do know that the French Revolution has passed. They have grown tired of laboring from daylight deep into the night for from 12 to 20 cents a day. Their bodies are weary and starved.

Spain didn't escape industrial development, little favored that it was by the feudal landowner.

The toilers went from the land to the factories. There they learned many things. They found the union and the desire for better conditions. No, not better conditions, but the right to live, to eat their fill. They refused to see their children die needlessly any more.

They went back to the farms and spread mysterious words of freedom among their brothers on the land.

Freedom!

Spain's scholars went to the universities of Paris, Munich and Vienna. What they learned there, they brought back with them. When they returned, they made bold to begin the release of their beloved country from the condi-

"They Shall Not Pass!" is the cry of the Spanish Republic, fighting to retain its democratic form against the Fascist invasion

tions of slavery: A state of slavery in which the slave had no price. There were too many of them!

At last, one night in 1931, Alfonso of Spain made a hasty exit from the country he wasn't able to rule. But behind him he left the adherents to his throne who swore to subdue the people and to bring back this remnant of the Middle Ages. The people's sponsors had triumphed for the present. Spain was given a constitution. Every Spaniard got a bill of rights.

For almost three years the people's representatives were in power. Comparative peace reigned in Spain. More than 10,000 schools were built all over the country.

Five thousand libraries brought books to people who were learning to read. All property of the Church, accumu-

lated from the people over a number of centuries and representing *one-third* of the total national wealth, became the property of the state. The government charged itself with its maintenance and protection. It allowed the Church to use it unconditionally. State property is tax-free.

In return, the Church agreed not to dispose of any of the state property.

Church and state separated. Herebefore, bishop and governor, priest and mayor, had divided the power that was law. They had shared equally in the political control of the country.

Catalonia was given the freedom for which she had thirsted so long.

November, 1933

The people of Spain had put their faith in a Republican government. They

made the unpardonable mistake of allowing themselves to fall back into the position of observers.

The reaction didn't sleep. It was whipped up savagely by the losses to its prestige which it suffered at the hands of the Republic. The landlord can't control his slaves any more; the imperious factory owner has been compelled by law not to allow wages to go below a decent standard of living. This must have been a great shock to those who were paying wages of from 12 to 20 cents a day.

It is deplorable that the Church was implicated in the propaganda campaign of the reactionaries, which becomes only too evident after the November elections. They combined with the feudal army system in a crusade against the "constitutional" heretics.

This campaign results in a victory for the united reactionaries. The Azana government is overthrown. The new government, pledged to uphold the Republic's constitution, proceeds to demolish it in all haste. The people soon realize the effect of their political disinterest. Spain now goes through a period of incredible waste and corruption. The Catalan autonomy, so bitterly fought for, is completely wrecked.

(Continued on page 26)

The Fascist International

What is the meaning of this alliance between Hitler, Mussolini and Japan? As in our recent election campaign, they raise the cry of Bolshevism. What is behind this international red scare and military alliance? Has the end of legality come?

By Harry F. Ward

ILLUSTRATED BY M. PASS

THE FASCIST INTERNATIONAL has been formed. Its offensive has been organized. Its objectives are clear. The details remain hidden behind the scenes. But the main course of events has developed in the open for all the world to see.

At the Nuremberg Congress, following the Olympic Games, Hitler called for a world crusade against Bolshevism. Shortly thereafter the Pope invited all Christians to join in a holy war against Communism—the anti-Christ. Then came Mussolini urging the forces of order everywhere to get together in “a decisive conflict to defend civilization against anarchy.” Next Hitler and Mussolini signed an agreement, offensive and defensive. Then a treaty was announced between Hitler and Japan. Now come the reports of a similar engagement between Mussolini and Japan.

The proclaimed objective of these engagements is the ending of Communism. The explanation is that this means the Communist International, not the Soviet Union. What is not announced is the military arrangements involved, nor all the agreements concerning territory, both of them designed

to cover up and ease off the economic failure of the Fascist states. Japan and Italy recognize each other's conquests. Hitler and Mussolini come to an understanding concerning Austria, and probably concerning the Danubian countries. But what has been arranged about Czechoslovakia? And China? There must be some reality to the persistent rumors about spheres of interest in the Dutch East Indies and Far Eastern waters.

Familiar Strategy

The real meaning of these agreements appears when they are set against the actual situation. An international offensive, with armies, against the Communist International just doesn't make sense. The Comintern is not threatening anybody. Japan, Germany and Italy need no agreement to exterminate Communism within their own borders. They have already driven it underground. The Comintern hasn't any territory for Hitler to annex. It is the Ukraine, a part of the Soviet Union, that Hitler has been saying for years is needed by Germany. The Japanese army doesn't talk about the Communist International, but about the necessity of

matching the “red army” of the Soviets. Plainly, one objective of two of these Fascist allies is a military attack upon the Soviet Union.

But there is a more immediate goal. Who are Hitler and Mussolini attacking in Spain? Not Communism, but a democratically elected People's Front Government, in which the Communists are a small minority. The second article of the Supplementary Protocol of the treaty between Hitler and Japan pledges them to “take severe measures against those who at home or abroad are engaged directly or indirectly in the service of the Communist International, or promote its subversive activities.” Already the German press is charging Czechoslovakia with doing just that. If Hitler can control that country, he has a road from his own borders almost to the Soviet Union. Under the claim that they are helping, or may lead to, Communism, democratic governments are to be destroyed by the tactic of fomenting and aiding revolts which has been used in Spain. Thus the world is to be made safe for dictators. The strategy is familiar enough in this country. It was used viciously in the recent election. Announce Communism

as your objective, but strike at Democracy.

End of Legality

The international Fascist offensive has been forming for some time. It was organized and brought into the open by the struggle in Spain. Last summer the Manchester *Guardian* published documents showing that the military plans for the Spanish revolt were made in Germany. The amount of military materials and personnel supplied to the rebels by Italy and Germany has been reported by unbiased American correspondents and recognized by our most conservative papers. This record makes the findings of the Non-Intervention Committee a tragic farce. Even its authors have had to admit that it sanctions a certain amount of aid to the rebels. The joint recognition of Franco by Hitler and Mussolini was evidence of the kind of action that can be expected from the Fascist International. It was without precedent in the history of civilized nations. They recognized a government that had no base, no power, and no claim to existence except its army. This proceeding signifies that for the Fascists the established ways of civilized nations do not exist. In international relations, as within their own borders, they have made an end of legality. Only force remains.

Austria, Hungary, and a couple of insignificant Central American states have joined the company of international bandits in the recognition of Franco. But the Fascist International has a wider scope. It is gathering to itself all the anti-democratic powers, whatever the degree or type of their dictatorship. They assemble under the anti-Communist banner; “End Communism” is their war cry, but their immediate objective is the destruction of the right of the people to govern themselves in ways of their own choosing. Their immediate offensive, as the German press makes clear, is against De-



mocracy and particularly against People's Front Democracy. The German Minister of Agriculture recently told peasant delegates from 21 foreign countries that they must do away with democratic governments to escape Bolshevism. Then Rudolph Hess tried to tone this down by saying, "We do not care what form of government a nation has if it is ready to combat the world pest—Bolshevism." The Pope made it clear that he was trying to save the faithful from being deceived into alliance with Communists. That means the People's Front Governments in Spain and in France. The Church blesses a cause that uses Mohammedan Moors to kill Spanish Catholics, but curses the Spanish Catholics who support the People's Government. The People's Government is ordered destroyed by Fascist attack because it may lead to people's power in every aspect of life.

A New Historic Form

It is a world-wide attack upon Democracy that the Fascist International is organizing. It reaches to Asia and the Americas. It is mobilizing in Africa. Hitler and Mussolini have announced that their principle of autocratic control is the only sound base for government anywhere in the world. They invite reactionaries everywhere to join with them in establishing it. Berlin sends a cable of congratulations to the Chief of Police in Terre Haute for denying the presidential candidate of a lawful party his constitutional right to free speech. This is more than an alliance of the hungry nations against the older imperialisms. It is more than the encirclement of France to pay an old score. It is more than a new Roman Empire. It is more than the isolation of the Soviet Union. It is an attempt on a world scale to destroy the democratic way of life. This conflict cannot be localized in Spain, because those who have started it have already moved far beyond that area.

The Fascist International is a new historic form. It is basically different from the Second (Socialist) International, and the Third (Communist) International. They are composed of political parties. This new one is composed of governments. The others carry on their work through propaganda. This one uses armies. The Socialist International tried to use Democracy and the Communist International, since 1935, has been trying to defend it. The Fascist International seeks to overthrow Democracy by force of arms.

Progress and Reaction

This international offensive against democratic government marks a turning point in world history. Spain is the battleground for control of the future. The international forces that are there contending have started some-



thing vaster than a new world war. It is not a struggle between two ideas, like the religious wars of old. It is a vital conflict between two ways of organizing life—the democratic and the autocratic. The issue is whether the people or the exploiters are to rule. It involves the question of whether life is to go forward or backward. Just as all the forces of reaction in Spain gathered together to crush the lawful People's Government and establish a military dictatorship, so all the international forces of reaction, political, economic, cultural—join in the Fascist offensive against Democracy. How many of our newspaper owners want the Spanish rebels to succeed and are deceiving their readers about the issues in the struggle? Plenty of our patriotic profiteers make no bones about saying that they would prefer a Hitler or a Mussolini here to a People's Government.

At the beginning of the capitalist period of history, all the forces of feudal reaction united against the growing Democracy. Now, at the end of the period, they gather again—all the feudal remnants, all of capitalist reaction—to destroy the democratic process before it leads to the social change that will remove them from the seat of power. Since the People's Front Governments were formed in France and in Spain, the forces of reaction have discovered that if they are to preserve their power and privilege, they must swiftly destroy Democracy. What our steel and coal barons, our automobile and textile magnates, have long done in their local communities, what Hitler and Mussolini have done in Germany and Italy, is now being attempted on a world scale. In the concrete, it is the fight between democratic and Fascist forms of government that has started in Spain. In the broad, the struggle is between reaction and progress, for only by the democratic process can life go forward into the development of its higher possibilities.

By taking the offensive against people's governments, the Fascist leaders of

the forces of reaction have put a sharp choice before all those who believe in the principles of Democracy. They must now act, and act together, or government of the people, by the people, for the people will perish from the earth for a period. The Fascist leaders see the issue clearly and act accordingly. They understand that the exercise by the people of their right to govern themselves in ways of their own choosing awakens the people to exercise the same control over the economic and cultural means of life. So they confuse the issue by the cry of "Communism." Will the believers in Democracy be deceived, or will they follow the road they have chosen, knowing that it is the only way to peace and freedom?

The Issue Today

The Fascist offensive makes it perfectly clear that the defense of peace today is the defense of Democracy, that those who would end war must end Fascism. Does this mean another vain attempt to make the world safe for Democracy? This time the people face reality, not the illusions of a slogan under which the purposes of economic imperialism were concealed. *This time the attack is against People's Front governments, because they register a forward step in Democracy.* The effort is to crush the people before they take the next step, and establish the people's power completely. The issue today is not a crusade in behalf of a fictitious Democracy, but the defense of the reality against actual attack. How is this to be done?

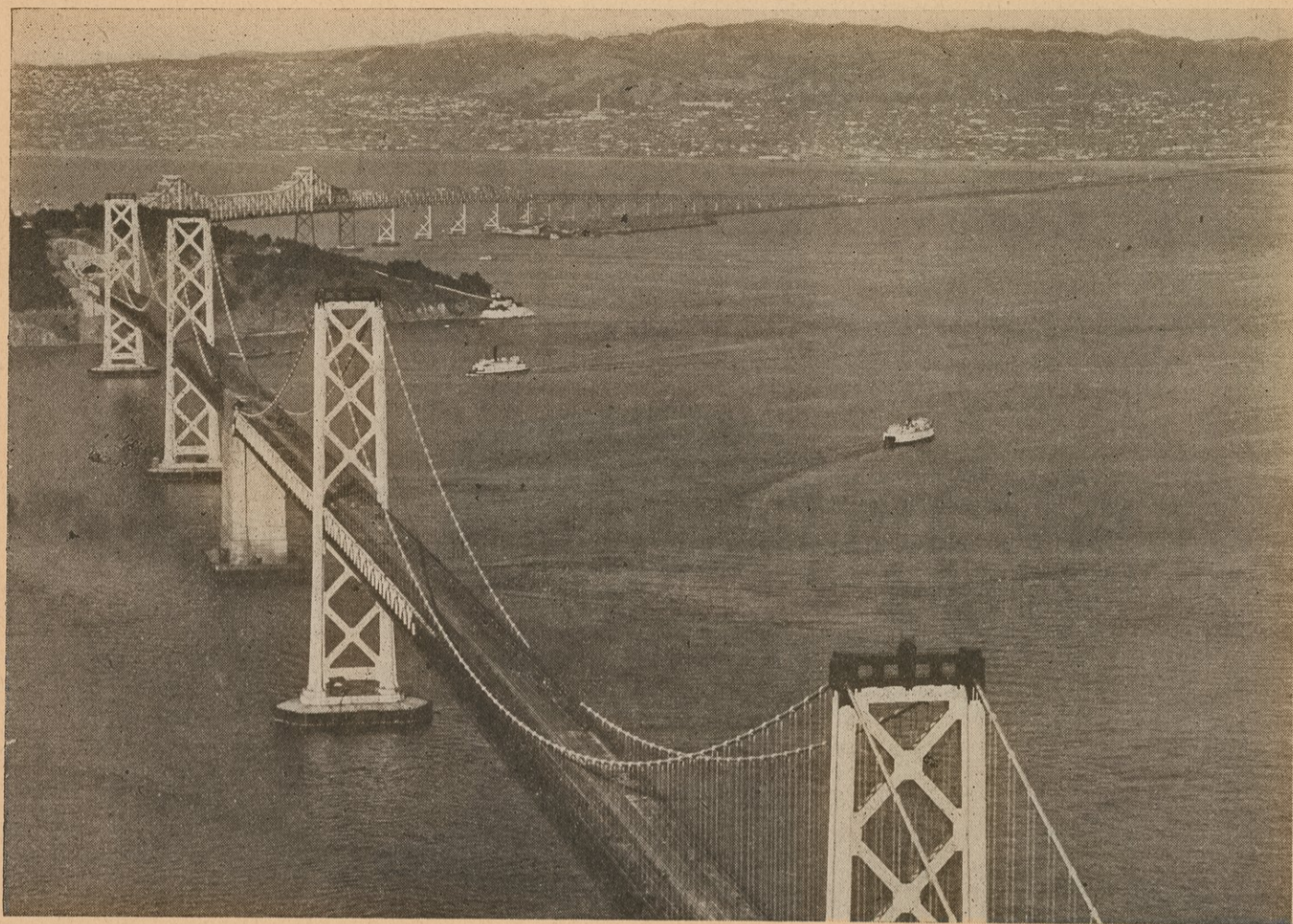
The issue cannot be decided by a clear line-up between the so-called democratic countries and the united Fascist states. Not even with the inclusion of the Soviet Union in the "democratic bloc," where it clearly belongs by virtue of its economic democracy and its new constitution. Indeed that line-up cannot at present be formed. If it could, the Democratic governments would not have deprived the Spanish People's Government of its lawful right to buy what it needed to put down

a military revolt. And the shameful, lying record of the Non-Intervention Committee would never have been written. If there were a clear line-up between the democratic countries and the Fascist states, Hitler would not be continually maneuvering for the support of England, and Mussolini would not be seeking loans from England and the United States. It is only when there are People's Front governments in Great Britain and the United States that there can be a clear line of division between the democratic world and the Fascist world. As long as there are not, Hitler and Mussolini can get help from the reactionary elements in the democratic countries to destroy the People's Front governments, on the plea that they are, or lead to, Soviets. It is these Fascist, or potentially Fascist, elements in the democratic countries that have helped and are helping the Fascists to power elsewhere. They do this through financial aid, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously in the ordinary ways of money making. Thus, it is clear that if the democratic forces in the other countries are successfully to resist the Fascist offensive they must defeat the forces of reaction at home. The strength of the enemy abroad is the enemy within the gates. Unless he is discovered and disarmed, the citadel of Democracy is lost.

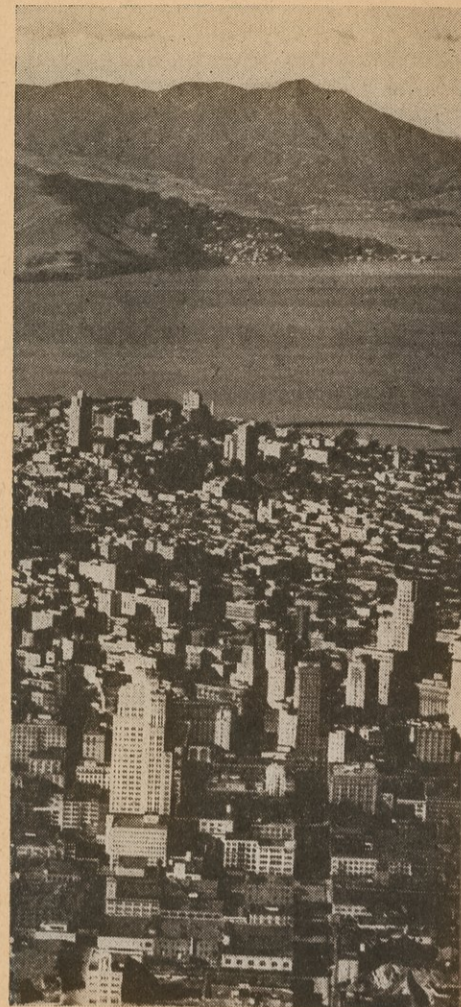
To Defeat Fascism

There are only three ways in which the Fascist International can be defeated—by its own contradictions and antagonisms, by force of arms, by economic strangulation. From the present course of events it looks as though the differences between the Fascist allies can be submerged long enough to carry on their projected offensive. They may have overreached themselves in announcing their alliance too early, and in recognizing Franco too soon, thus obligating themselves to a test of strength before they are ready. This prospect may split them. But if they surmount this difficulty, the fact that

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The great San Francisco-Oakland Bay bridge



San Francisco from the air

The Golden Gate City

By Redfern Mason

A MAD city, my masters, but its madness has method in it.

That is what you would say of San Francisco on this night of the opening of the great bridge which crosses the Bay and connects the city with Oakland.

All the carefree romance of the community, all the glamour of its picturesque history seems to be present tonight, when the automobiles are crossing the stupendous structure at the rate of a hundred a minute. For years San Francisco has dreamed the dream which is now accomplished. It seems as if the whole population were in the streets, and it is as polyglot a mass of humanity as you will find in Cairo. Indeed, if an imperfection can be found in this improvised pageant, it is that the city fathers did not invite the many races that compose our population to dress in their characteristic garb. But the bridge which will span the Golden Gate is to be opened next May, and then perhaps San Francisco will give the world such a spectacle of al fresco

opera as it has never seen before.

Yet with all its romanticism San Francisco is the most self-complacent city in the United States. Bret Harte saddled her with the epithets "serene" and "indifferent" and she has lived up to them. Calm in her self-sufficiency, she looks forward to the time when, on her seven hills, like another Rome, she will be the metropolis of a civilization which, while remaining genuinely American, will link East and West and bring them into mutual understanding.

Serene and Indifferent

Her clippers of the air have reduced the journey to China from four weeks to as many days; the Pacific Ocean has shrunk to the proportions of a lake;

Chinatown has dropped "pidgin" English, and the Chinese Y.M.C.A. is the pot in which Christ and Confucius brew the future.

Her founders were the Spanish friars and conquistadores, though she might have been English had not Sir Francis Drake passed the Golden Gate during the night. Afterwards came the discovery of gold, and its first effect was to strip the baby settlement almost bare of people, for they all set out for the diggings. But they returned and, in the course of a few years, there grew up a city of many thousands, a strange mixture of adventurous spirits, who administered justice with vigilante vigor when the officers of the law were in league with the criminals. Today our

would-be vigilantes seek to crush labor "by force and violence."

Leaving the great bridge, that stretches out into the darkness like an aspiration in metal and stone, we speed along Market Street and wind upwards till we reach the Twin Peaks which, like benevolent guardians, watch over the city. Beneath us, an incredible checkerboard of light and shadow, stretches a wilderness of buildings flanked by the wide inland sea of San Francisco Bay, with a dozen sister cities beyond, topped with hills, and in the distance, the massive shape of Diablo, darting its signal light to mariners far out in the Pacific, which lies behind us, austere and sinister.

Luminous with hundreds of lights, yonder stretches that patch of the Orient they call Chinatown, the enigma which is the Orient cheek by jowl with the enigma which is the West, each trying rather pathetically to understand its neighbor.

That mass of drab habitations lying drearily in the distance was once the

'Frisco is an eager city, with class lines sharply drawn, and the patricians as definitely separated from the workers as ever the Helots of ancient Greece were from the aristos



C.M.T.C. students fire a 155 mm. howitzer at Fort Funston, San Francisco

Potrero, the kitchen garden spot of the Spaniards, California's real aristocrats. The Mission Dolores still remains to remind us of the past. Overlooking the bay and the long miles of docks and wharves rises Telegraph Hill, crowned with an anachronistic tower. From the top of the hill in old days watchers were on the lookout for vessels that had rounded the Horn, bringing adventurers from all over the world in search of the Golden Fleece. When one was sighted the whole city would turn out to welcome the new arrivals.

Class Lines

From the foot of the hill stretches Kearney Street, famous in the annals of Robert Louis Stevenson, who said that there you could find men ready to take part in any deviltry that the perverted wit of man could devise. Today it is drab enough, save for the bulk of the Hall of Justice with the bail bondsmen almost under its eaves, trembling lest it should be made to appear that they had a share in the police graft that is now being brought to light. This neighborhood elbows the Barbary Coast, once renowned for its obscenities, but now fallen into the contempt even of the dissolute.

San Francisco is an eager, sanguine community, with class lines sharply drawn, and the patricians as definitely separated from the workers as ever the Helots of ancient Greece were from the aristos. "What America needs is a peasantry," said one of our magnates, and the wish is father to the thought. Yet these wealthy bankers and ship-

owners and the rest of our golden aristocracy are, for the most part, only a generation from shirt sleeves. Their ancestors were delvers and ditchers; they ran little stores or tended bar; they "struck it rich" in the goldfields or were fellow workers with the coolies when the first transcontinental railroad was built. That enterprise, by the way, was brought to a successful conclusion by methods worthy of Wall Street in its most predacious mood. The robber barons of its inception, only a few thousand dollars among them, played community against community. They ran the line near the town which would give them the most money. It was a hold-up carried to the point of genius, and so successfully did it work, that the men who started with next to nothing emerged from the process with millions to their credit. Thus was created the tyranny which made the Southern Pacific a legalized piracy that, by imposing tolls of "all that the traffic would bear," grew fat by extortion. Not till Hiram Johnson became governor and lopped off some of the tentacles of this industrial octopus was California free to develop normally.

The Pirates Fight Labor

Descendants of these corsairs rule San Francisco today, and the Sultan of San Simeon watches from afar with a calculating eye. The Chamber of Commerce and the Industrial Association are prepared to use strong-arm methods to preserve the integrity of capital. How low men will descend is well illustrated by the Mooney case. A

few weeks before the Liberty Day parade a meeting of the big industrialists and financiers was held, and a fund of \$800,000 was subscribed for use against labor. The word had gone forth that the unions must be crushed, and the Mooney defense seeks to connect that fund with the framing of Tom Mooney. If the capitalists could do as much today with Harry Bridges, the genius of the Maritime Federation, some of them might be inclined to do it. If Bridges would accept a gift and discreetly disappear from the scene, he could command his \$100,000, and live in comfort for the rest of his life. But unluckily for high finance, Bridges is incorruptible, and all his enemies can do is to call him a "Red," gnash their teeth, and acknowledge that they have met with an opponent worthy of their steel.

An International City

The longshoremen are the backbone of the labor struggle here. To address them is an experience. You are face to face with great-thewed vikings of today, men who look you through with an ingenuous sincerity. There are eager-eyed Irishmen, the "lightning spirit of the Gael" in their glance, Mexicans who have freed themselves from peonage, Germans, Slavs, Britons, an army of the sons of toil that no cohort of millionaires will ever defeat. These are the fellows, if war should come, who will fight for America. As matters stand they mean to live for America and, if necessary, to fight for the right to do so.

Stroll along Kearney Street, and you will hear "shanties" from the Seven Seas. Joseph Conrad told the writer that the best shanties in the world come from San Francisco, and he used to sing, in a hoarse, deep sea bass, "On the Banks of the Sacramento." Every nook of laboring class San Francisco has its music. Carry your steps to North Beach and you could hardly throw a stone without hitting Romeo or Juliet. They know their Verdi and their Donizetti by heart and, when society goes to the opera, it looks to the Italian gallery for critical guidance. South of Market is the Greek colony and, from the names on the stores, you would think you were reading Herodotus.

When Sarah Bernhardt visited the West she loved to renew her friendship with Jeanne and André Ferrier, two associates of the Paris Odéon, who today have a bandbox theatre in which they give performances of Molière and Massenet.

Indeed San Francisco is a mine of the songs of Occident and Orient that has never yet been worked. That excellent musician, Harriet Wilson of the International Institute, who passed away a few months ago, used to play accompaniments to the singing and dancing of wanderers from the isles of the Pacific, Russians, Czechs, Hindus, Tagalogs and a dozen peoples besides. In a more enlightened civilization she would have been given the task of recording this music. Now much of it is lost forever.

How, you may ask, does this amorphous mass of quasi patricians, climbers, artists, toilers and white collar people harmonize? To tell the truth, it doesn't harmonize. Class distinction is sharply drawn and the dividing line is money. A few old families dream aristocratic dreams, but the number of believers is limited. San Francisco is a seething cauldron of controversy, sometimes genial, often acerbic, usually droll. Only once within living memory has this extraordinary social amalgam been completely in accord. That was for a brief period after the great catastrophe of 1906, when the city was shaken by earthquake and a third of its buildings destroyed by fire. People who took part in that experience speak of it as a time in which the bonhomie of California was exemplified at its best. Perhaps Caruso stirred St. Francis to a special benediction, when he sat telling his beads in Union Square and vowing that, if he ever got out alive, he would never, never come back, a vow which he kept. Rich and poor stood in the bread line and jollied one another. "Got anything, Jack?" one millionaire would ask of his pal. "Not a cent," was the answer and both would laugh uproariously. It was a halcyon moment in a social storm which grows worse as time rolls on. The spirit of those days was magnificent, and it was justified by the energy which, in the course of a few years, enabled the citizens to build a

(Continued on page 26)



A scene from "Winterset," based on the Sacco and Vanzetti case

DARRYL FRANCIS ZANUCK has abandoned plans to film *The Siege of the Alcazar*. Victor McLaglen's films are being threatened with a boycott because of his militaristic, Fascist "Light Horse Troops." And the mighty Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios are about to bring Robert Sherwood's *Idiot's Delight* into the movies, no matter what the Hays office says. It really looks like a Happy New Year.

Maybe we're wrong about such signs, but things like these indicate that there are vast forces at work in Hollywood, forces that the producers are just beginning to see. That they have been blind in the past to the growing antagonism to war pictures nobody can deny. That they are at last awakening to the dangers of further exhibition of such films is a matter for felicitation, congratulation and general whoop-de-doo. There is something essentially right in a world that can make Hollywood do its bidding in such fashion.

There are even further signs that the film industry is alive to the force of public opinion. In the November 25th issue of *Variety*, theatre and film trade publication, there is a notice that both Metro and Paramount are seeking the support of anti-Fascist and anti-war organizations for two forthcoming productions, *They Gave Him a Gun*, and *The Last Train from Madrid*, on the ground that the former picture is an indictment of war, and that the latter will be handled strictly from a melodramatic standpoint, "with no coloring one way or another." It is perhaps not enough that Paramount remains neutral with *The Last Train from Madrid*—there can be no neutrality in matters like Democracy—but that the studio is not glorifying the business of slaughter is a hopeful sign.

The abandonment of *The Siege of the Alcazar* by Zanuck and his 20th Century-Fox studios is stale news by now, but it retains importance in that

Movies

Hollywood's ear to the ground?

... McLaglen as a tin soldier

... Happy New Year

the incident is being used as a driving point against similar pictures being made in the future. No studio is willing to risk buying a story or a play if it has to face indictments by anti-war and anti-Fascist organizations. The cost would be too great, as Mr. Zanuck found out to his sorrow. What he lost when he gave up the idea of producing the film has not been revealed, but it must have been considerable. With that example before them, the word has gone out to producers to lay off.

McLaglen's plight was disclosed in the *Motion Picture Herald*, another film trade publication. According to that distinguished organ, a strongly worded protest was sent to the Hays office by the Allied Theaters of Connecticut, an organization of exhibitors in New England. And the Hays office, with its customary obtuseness, replied that the matter was not in its jurisdiction, and that the Allied Theaters of Connecticut would have to take up the subject with Mr. McLaglen himself.

"Allied petitioned Mr. Hays," said the *Motion Picture Herald*, "that its members also felt that Mr. McLaglen's regiment might fulminate class and race prejudice, and that it was unfair to exhibitors and to motion picture fans for McLaglen to exploit the popularity of his name, for which, Allied said, both exhibitors and the public were responsible. Mr. Hays was urged to prevail upon the actor to dissociate himself from the group.

"Victor McLaglen, now 50, son of the Bishop of Clermont, in South Africa, is working for Radio Pictures, in "The Coast Patrol," in Hollywood, where he only recently finished "The Magnificent Brute," for Universal. His performance in "The Informer" for RKO last year won the highest actor award of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. . . .

"The actor, who has been described as the hard-boiled soldier of the films, and a burly actor who scorns machine-gun tripods and holds the heavy weapons himself as he mows down his screen enemies, had this to say to Associated Press concerning his Light Horse Troops:

"Sure, we're organized to fight. We consider an enemy anything opposed to

the American idea, whether it's an enemy outside or inside these borders. If that includes the Communists in this country, why, we're organized to fight them, too."

"However, he said the original purpose of his group was not militaristic.

"Nor is it, primarily, today," he added. "It's no more militaristic in intent than any fraternal organization."

"The Light Horse was organized three years ago. Mr. McLaglen, its commander-in-chief, said the nucleus of the group was a number of Scotch, Irish and English war veterans who had become American citizens and were singing the praises of their adopted country.

"Several days ago the air force unit was organized to become a part of the troops.

"Branches have been formed in Long Beach and San Diego, with a private field in San Diego. This branch of the troop has 50 privately owned planes at its disposal and 120 men enlisted. It is under the command of Captain William Gage, a World War flier, aided by Captain Grant Stone and Major George Sprade, the actor said.

"The sole purpose is to keep regular aviators in training and encourage the enlistment of young men interested in aviation," Mr. McLaglen explained. "In time of war, or any emergency, we can be counted upon as a government unit."

"The whole group, he said, is self-supporting and non-profit.

"We're not financed by any secret Fascists," Mr. McLaglen laughed. "We pay our way by \$1-a-month dues and the sports events we stage."

The M-G-M production of *Idiot's Delight* seems to be assured. This was



Burgess Meredith and Margo, in Maxwell Anderson's "Winterset"

the studio that came to grief some months ago with Sinclair Lewis' *It Can't Happen Here*, and it is obvious that it would take no second chance on such material unless the way had been cleared first. Maybe it's not too much to hope that the Hays office is also awakening to the force of public opinion. The day of miracles has not yet passed.

There were many notable releases from the Hollywood studios during the past month. Topping them all was RKO's *Winterset*, transcribed to the screen from Maxwell Anderson's poetic drama. With Burgess Meredith once again as Mio, with Margo as Miriamne, and with Eduardo Ciannelli as the horrible Trock, it emerged as a profoundly stirring motion picture, with Anderson's flaming cry for truth and justice retained intact. It is undoubtedly one of the finest films of the year. Alexander Korda and Charles Laughton brought in *Rembrandt* from London, another addition to the Laughton gallery of historical portraits, and quite possibly the best the English actor has ever done. The 20th Century-Fox studios contributed *Lloyds of London*, a melodramatic, highly colored tale of the insurance firm, laid in a background of Napoleonic wars and victories at Trafalgar; Elisabeth Bergner came across with her Teutonic accent as Rosalind in *As You Like It*, causing many critics to revoke their estimates of her as one of the world's great actresses; Johnny Weissmuller came back as Tarzan and Mae West came back as Mae West but more so; *The Garden of Allah* brought technicolor and soul suffering further along the way, with Marlene Dietrich and Charles Boyer as the sufferers; and the Callandar Cuties, Yvonne, Marie, Cécile, Emilie and Annette Dionne, made their second appearance in *Reunion*.

Truly a notable month for the movies. Or maybe its just that we're getting soft.

—ROBERT SHAW

THE FIGHT RECOMMENDS:

Winterset—A transcription of Maxwell Anderson's stage play, burning with a cry for truth and justice, and standing as one of the finest films of the year.

Rembrandt—Charles Laughton adding another distinguished portrait to his already notable gallery of historical characters.

Reunion—A warm, genial account of a get-together in Canada. With Jean Hersholt once again as the Country Doctor, and the Dionne Quintuplets again as themselves.



Fascist Order Visits Madrid

By William Gropper

PRELIMINARY battles of the next world war are being fought not only on the plains surrounding Madrid and the steppes of Mongolia but also on radio's short wave bands.

Leading contenders in this uncompromising struggle between political propagandists are Great Britain, Germany, Soviet Russia and the United States in about the order named. But as the result of opportunities afforded the U. S. by the Inter-American Peace Conference at Buenos Aires, it seems certain that this nation soon will move up.

While the big imperialists increase the number of their stations and their power and lengthen the hours of foreign broadcasting almost every month, the smaller powers, and even such agencies as the Catholic and Mormon churches, conduct guerilla warfare with inferior equipment and dream of super-power stations with which to spread their messages to all parts of the world.

This battle of high-frequency ballyhoo wherein each nation tries to glorify itself and, if possible, put its enemies in a bad light is the only outstanding radio development of 1936. The whole thing started years ago, of course, but its growth during the last twelve months has been matched only by the steadily increasing threat of war.

There were several minor improvements in broadcasting during the same period. The big electrical companies practically had to sit on the head of television to keep it from being perfected. Further steps were taken toward the elimination of too-offensive advertising on the networks—but not on independent stations. Community singing and variations of the *Good Will Court* idea were used to induce the radio audience to entertain itself at no cost to the advertisers. New types of directional microphones were introduced. But overshadowing all of these things, were the efforts of the big nations to pump more and more political propaganda into the ether.

As has been the case for several years, the government-owned British Broadcasting Corp. led the rest of the world in the volume of international programs. During 18 hours of every day, British subjects and all other DX-ers who understand English were told about the jolly fine old Empire. Now plans have been completed to boost the schedule to 22 hours daily in 1937.

Radio

Battle of high-frequency ballyhoo . . . Imperialists tighten grip on radio . . . "Friendly" investigation

The government has spent \$3,000,000 for such Empire broadcasts during the past three years, despite the howls of the taxpayers. At Daventry headquarters it has short wave equipment valued at \$1,250,000 and consisting of six transmitters with 22 directional aerials capable of reaching all parts of the earth at any hour of the day or night.

A great deal of drivel goes over the BBC short wave mikes due to the mass of program material required, but the average quality is fairly high and the propaganda is well disguised. It is interesting to note that the American networks pick up ten of these Empire-building programs for rebroadcasting, to one American program picked up by BBC.

The British also are tightening their grip on radio facilities of their colonies. During the year, South African and New Zealand networks were placed under government control.

The German stations use a lot less finesse than do those of England. They have developed the "blast-out" technique to a fine art and use so much power—80 kilowatts in some instances—that Nazi propaganda in English, French, Spanish and Russian can override anything else coming over the air. The latest German stunt was cutting into the wavelength of the Moscow station broadcasting Stalin's speech on the new Soviet constitution, and garbling it so no foreign listener could understand a word of what was said. Goebbels' ablest publicity writers work on the German short wave programs and, it must be said, do a very clever job of making black look white.

Programs from Radio Center at Moscow and the many other Soviet high frequency stations do not have the flashiness of the Nazi stuff but sound

much more honest. There is less high pressure salesmanship and more accent on cultural values.

The Inter-American Conference offered a golden opportunity for the United States to build up its own "Empire broadcasts" and the networks, which like to please the government, were quick to respond.

NBC sent John F. Royal, its program chief, to make an 18,000-mile tour of South and Central America. During this trip, which of course is to include Buenos Aires, Royal will arrange for the regular exchange of programs between the U. S. and every important Latin American country. In order to aid this country in competing with European short wave broadcasts, NBC has offered the facilities of its stations at Bound Brook, N. J., Pittsburgh, Schenectady and Montauk Point, N. Y.

CBS, not to be caught napping, hired J. Muddin Schaffter (Jorge Leal), Argentine commentator, to interpret developments at Buenos Aires for a hitherto non-existent Latin American audience.

Of course the United States doesn't forget to carry its "good will messages" to the Orient, where Wall Street investments also are heavy. KFI, Los Angeles, is teaching its announcers Japanese, German, Spanish, Italian, French and Russian. A huge short wave station is planned for Manila. And Viola Smith, American Trade Commissioner in Shanghai, is urging the construction of directional stations which could contact China "and offset propaganda programs from France, Germany, Holland and Great Britain."

Other nations are waking up to the fact that they must use the air if they intend to continue the struggle for

power. China is building a 35-kilowatt station at Nanking in order to express her opinion of Japan. Robert Jardillier, French Minister of Communications, recently announced that his country soon was going to construct stations powerful enough to shout down the Germans. Norway, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Italy each are trying to get their messages across a heaving sea of interference. Madrid also is doing its best to present the position of the Spanish government in the present war, but in recent weeks has been constantly jumbled by the waves of Fascist Radio Seville.

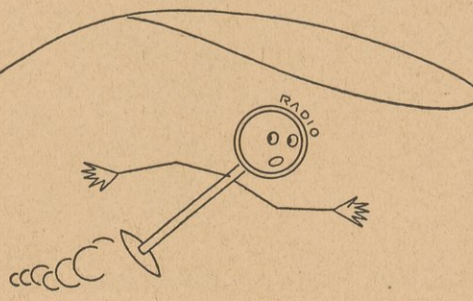
Two other contenders in this battle of the airwaves must not be ignored. They are the Vatican Station at Rome, official mouthpiece of the Catholic Church, and KSL, Salt Lake City, which acts in a similar capacity for the Mormons.

Air Notes

BOAKE CARTER is being picketed by striking seamen because of the commentator's recent bitter attacks upon members of the American Radio Telegraphists' Association. Boake has repeatedly charged that the brass pounders are responsible for "radicalizing" other categories of seamen because they pick up news broadcasts about strikes, violations of civil liberties and the excesses of Fascism and post them on their ships' bulletin boards. He even asked his listeners to help him devise ways of preventing such actions. Yet when pickets took up their positions before his office in station WCAU, Philadelphia, Carter professed himself surprised, then tried to cook up a story that his life had been threatened by the strikers.

Rumors are going the rounds that a "friendly" investigation of the Federal Communications Commission will start soon down in Washington. It seems the boys have been somewhat high-handed in awarding or revoking station licenses, passing hampering regulations, etc., etc. This has resulted in a storm of protests, among them one from Mayor LaGuardia of New York. The latter accused FCC of forcing broadcasters to lease wires from the telephone monopoly at times when they could have saved much money by using unoccupied short wave bands.

—GEORGE SCOTT



Scheel

THE MOST paramount international development during the year 1936 was that Germany unmistakably and quite openly emerged as the spearhead of the Fascist war coalition consisting of Italy, Japan and Germany.

Ostensibly, these three powers have banded themselves together in a common fight against what they call the avalanche of Communism. Obviously, this avowed policy on the part of Germany, Italy and Japan hails first of all from nothing less than the determination of these powers to carve up the Soviet Union for their own economic benefit. But beyond the fact that the Soviet Union is hoped to be the principal victim of this policy of aggression, there is another and even more sweeping policy that has been inaugurated by the spearhead of the Fascist drive, Germany. It is quite true that Hitler is anxious to conquer the Ukraine in order to steal the food that he cannot provide peacefully for the German people, but his deeper policy is not confined to that.

Requirements of Autarchy

Germany today is organized as an economic unit that is based upon the principle of autarchy. This means that Germany is supposed to be dependent for all consumer goods such as vital foodstuffs and clothing upon its internal production, that imports of these goods are curtailed to the minimum or abolished entirely, and that exports are unnecessary. This policy is based upon the idea that Germany can create within Europe a self-contained economic unit that is perfectly balanced.

In order to do so, however, Germany has to counterbalance the over-industrialized centers on the Rhine and Ruhr by the acquisition of grain producing regions, since the grain of East and West Prussia and Pomerania is not sufficient to take care of the capacity for consumption. German foreign policy, during 1936, has been directed, therefore, upon penetration of Central and Southeastern Europe. This penetration has been pursued with the usual ruthless Nazi methods in violation of all diplomatic niceties.

Threat to Little Entente

The first victim of this policy was Roumania. For the past three years, the German Minister of Propaganda has poured great sums of money into the coffers of the Roumanian Fascists. The Nazi agents in Roumania went so far as to poison the Roumanian foreign minister, Titulescu, who for the past decade had dominated the Roumanian foreign policy and kept it in the French orbit. After Titulescu had been poisoned, a Fascist government came to power; which, of course, immediately effected a coordination of aims with Germany as far as the Roumanian foreign policy was concerned.

Hitler's War Cry

The Nazi dictator would like to annex the world.

His idea of peace is an all German Europe

By Johannes Steel

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM WESTLEY



Generally speaking, the German policy was so constructed as to explode the French system of alliances which was built up during the past decade, as exemplified by the Little Entente. The Little Entente, whose principal members were Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia, today exists only in name, as Germany was able to create pressure groups, within those countries, that are pressing for a pro-Nazi orientation of their respective foreign policies. In practice this worked out more or less as the Roumanian example, namely that Germany, through the agency of the Minister of Propaganda, supported Nazi and Fascist organizations in those countries, which eventually began to exercise the dominating influence upon the governments of those countries during the latter half of 1936. This policy is a very deliberate one. The real rulers of Germany today, such as Dr. Schacht, believe in what they call the principle of "continental" expansion in contradistinction to imperial expansion, that is to say the acquisition of colonies. They contend that expansion on the European continent will increase Germany's power and that the creation of a German Mittel-Europa will make Germany more powerful than will the acquisition of over-sea colonies.

Under the cover of the anti-Communist crusade, German penetration into Central Europe is becoming more aggressive with every week. Rome, Berlin and Budapest have agreed upon a division of spheres of influence in Central Europe. Budapest, which anyhow had been in the revisionist camps since 1920, was only too eager to join in this combination. In practice, this means that Italy and Hungary have agreed to support each other in their territorial claims upon Yugoslavia, while Germany has been given a free hand in Czechoslovakia and Austria. Roumania, when the climax comes, is expected to assist both Italy and Germany in the partition of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The latter, of course, is strategically in a very precarious position. This is so because she is, *de facto*, enclosed in a German-Austrian-Hungarian-Roumanian Fascist vise that is formidable. The main counterpoise to this combination, of course, is that which is left of the Little Entente, which consists now, presumably, of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Poland again in this combination is unreliable because she will at the last minute go to the highest bidder.

Britain, Balkans and Baltic

In Poland, today, two points of view fight for dominance as far as foreign policy is concerned. The view of the Polish industrialists and capitalists, naturally, is not to enter into any combination that might be pro-Russian,

(Continued on page 25)

NOW HERE she was, of all things, stirring blackberries in the big black iron kettle, at five o'clock in the afternoon. She and her mother had decided when they came home from the meeting that they had better put the berries on if they wanted to save them. By morning there would be too much going on for any one to want to stay in the kitchen.

"We may need them berries," her mother said, "before this winter's over. I never thought I'd be bakin' bread again, but I am. Cheaper lots." She thumped the good brown loaves cooling bottomsides up on the bread board.

"There's lots of things we never thought of, the way things been happening around here," Mary answered. She raised the spoon and let the juice drip back from it into the pan. She was thinking of all the things that had happened and yet at the same time she was noticing how beautiful blackberry juice was. Everything she thought about, everything that happened was so clear, as if she had never heard about it or seen it before in all her life, at least not just that way. Blackberry juice so very beautiful, the odor of new baked bread still fragrant in the kitchen, the shadow of the back yard tree moving over the linoleum, things like these, every-day things a person has seen or smelt over and over; yet now, they were like new.

Even the people you knew, or had known all your life, when they talked now you listened and heard every word, bound to them in a close way that made you know what they were feeling. With neighbors it was like knowing what they were like for the first time, like Mrs. Godwin, quiet little Mrs. Godwin, getting up and making a speech, saying they'd stay out till Christmas and then some, but they wouldn't have to, because, by God, they were all going to stick together now. All the people!

All the people. As she stirred the blackberries again Mary said the wonderful words over and over. All the people, that was the secret of this that was happening. All the people, all together . . . like a mighty ar-r-r-my moves the church of God . . . only it wasn't the church of God. It was just all the people acting on their own, taking things into their own hands, telling the high muckety-mucks where they were to get off. It's our turn now, for a little while. Our turn. All the people.

She stirred rapidly, humming about the mighty army, but thinking about what was happening, how right things were coming out after all, for everybody. Even for herself, for Jim was back, she'd heard, and it could not be that his coming had nothing to do with her need. Now she knew the answer, now that she knew what she should have told him, the night he left her, it was impossible that he would not come

back to hear it after fifteen years.

She was standing by this very stove that night fifteen years ago, only the fire in it was low because it was late at night and they always had to be saving on coal. Times were hard then, too, she remembered. The mill was cutting wages and laying off men. They were lucky her father hadn't gotten his walking papers, old as he was even then, but with a young man like Jim, a good worker, fighting the boss, throwing up his job and walking out. Well, he must have had good cause, she had said when she heard about it. He must have been driven to it, to throw up a job just when they planned to marry.

But that night, as she stood by the stove . . . "Mary, I ain't goin' to marry you" . . . she could bring herself to say the words now. "I ain't goin' to marry you nor no other woman in this world, I ain't." He looked at her steadily when he said that and then he turned away. "I'm gettin' outta here."

"Why, why . . ."

"Only thing. I'm sorry 'bout what I done to you, but I figure it out I'd be sorrier if I stuck around and got you in any deeper. The trouble is we just get caught up like this, wanting what's natural to want, thinking things are goin' to be different for us. Then we'd get caught up like your old man and my old man and first thing we know we'd have a bunch of kids on our hands like they got. What I wanna make clear to you . . . it ain't for me I'm afraid. I ain't afraid. It's just that I ain't goin' to be responsible for no more of this damned trouble. I ain't goin' to bring no more kids into the world to go through like we gotta go through."

"But Jim, you said . . ."

"I know. I said a lot of things 'cause I'm crazy about you. You know damned well I am. The way I feel about you, well, the thing I'm glad about now is that I didn't give in to my feelings like some times I been tempted to when I been with you. You're a good girl and I'm leavin' you good. You can finish up that school business of yours and be a typewriter and work in an office and marry . . ."

"But, Jim!"

"A pretty girl like you's good enough for the best of them. You been good to me. It ain't that I don't know you care. That's part of it. You're the kind that'd stick, and I know it, and that's why I'm not goin' to let you get into this no more than I'm goin' to let myself. You can marry yourself one of them white collar fellows and have yourself a family . . ."

He stopped pacing the floor and stood in front of her.

"Me, Mary, I'm lightin' out. See. I want you to forget about me. I ain't worth it. I'd just get you into trouble like your old woman got into and my



A Love

*"Mary, I ain't goin'
Jim left Mary and the
world has changed in
years and on the eve
strike Jim and Ma*

By Ruth C.

ILLUSTRATED BY S.

old woman got into. You be a typewriter . . . and . . . me, I'm gettin' out."

So he had gone fifteen years ago. At first, that is, the first few weeks, she listened for his step on the board walk. Then she heard he had gone to Detroit, then to Chicago, and then that he was firing on the railroad. There was a post card from him and that was all. He was making the break clean.

Today he was back in town and she could listen for his steps again. Surely he'd come tonight. She had so much to tell him. Now, though, there was the immediate need of straining the blackberries while her mother fixed the supper.

"Dad ought to be home soon, and he'll be worn out."

"Yes," Mary said. "He's had no good rest on account of the meeting. And picketing all night like he did."

"He says he's going back tonight, too, but I say, let the young ones do that . . ."

"But you oughtn't to say that to him, Mom. He wants so to go."

"Yes. A twenty-mule team couldn't keep him when it's his turn."

By and by, dad came round to the house.

Mary never remembered seeing him this way before. He was young-like, excited.

"The unions all voted to come out with us. Looks like we're goin' to win now, Mom. All the unions. Tonight. They're goin' to deliver bread and milk and ice now, so's everybody kin come out at midnight. We've give the mayor his last chance to talk turkey, his last chance to get them thugs out of that mill. Midnight."

There was a grave silence.

"Yes-sir, midnight. The fellows at the power house, we finally got 'em in though their secretary ain't so hot for this. But at midnight they're to throw the switch and that's the signal. All the lights will go out. And all the unions—we'll show 'em."

"Well, eat your supper now."

But none of them could eat. After the chairs were put back, the old man

Love Story

"I ain't goin' to marry you."
Mary and the mill town. The
changed in the last seven
on the eve of a general
and Mary meet again

with Crawford

BY SAM SWERDLOFF



sat on the back porch and smoked his pipe while the women cleared the table and washed the dishes, speaking little. General strike, that's what this was called. There's never been a day like this since the time of the Armistice. So many people all doing the same thing, Mary thought.

After awhile they went out front and sat on the steps. Even here, there was excitement as men went by, stopped at every house to tell that there was still no word from the mayor. They think we're bluffing, the men said, but by God they asked for this and they're going to get it. There was a big crowd around the mill, couple thousand, they guessed. Mary and her mother thought about going over there to see, but decided not to. Her mother said she'd better be getting dad off to bed if he was to be at the mill at midnight. Mary did not give her reason. She could not say that she wanted to be here when Jim came. When her mother went in the house, she simply said that she thought she'd stay out-

side and sit there a while longer.

"Well, wake us if anything happens. You gonna stay up long?"

"Till the lights go out, Mom. I want to see the lights go out."

"Well, I'd better be turning in. Dad, you come on in. Things'll get along without you for a few hours."

Mary heard them go upstairs and was glad, for now she was alone. If Jim came by now, they could just talk and she could tell him all the things she knew now, all the answers she had for him. It wasn't the way he said it was about poor people, because things were going to be different. People weren't going to be kept down. Like the union speaker said, they were through asking, they were going to demand, and with all the people standing together, nothing could stop them.

"And we ain't Bolsheviks either. We're just demanding what's ours. A right to make a living like men and take care of our women and bring up our children like ought to be done in a rich country like America."

What the union man said was the answer. She knew it. If Jim came and they got talking, she'd tell him, only . . . it seemed so long that she herself had gone without the answer. There were times, yes, many times, when she thought of what he said and agreed with him. There was that day when just to have something to do she answered the housework ads, she, who, as Jim said, had learned to be a typewriter, yes, and made a living at it for ten years. She, Mary, answering housework ads because she couldn't sit home any longer and let a seventy-year-old man make a living for her.

Four dollars a week to do the work and take care of the children. Three dollars and fifty cents—but of course, there is no laundry—such unashamed offers from women whose names got in the society columns.

"I'll starve first," she said, as she walked home, the tears blinding her, thinking of Jim who had left her to this. "Jim, I wouldn't have minded if we'd been together," saying that over and over, all the time thinking, but he was right: *poor people like us, we ain't got no right to bring kids into the world.*

But they did have the right, that she knew now. It was like the speakers said, the whole country belonged to people who worked, and when they got wise to their strength, and stood together, all the people, then they'd get what was coming to them.

And now, when Jim came, she would tell him—but what if he were married? He wouldn't be, she told herself. That wasn't just an excuse he used when he left her. He was strong that way, once he made up his mind. But what if he didn't come? . . . it was getting late.

HE DID. She knew him when he turned the corner, silhouetted against the street light. She knew the lanky build, and the way he bent his left knee with every step, a funny walk.

She stood as he came toward her.

"Hello, Mary."

"Hello, Jim."

She could scarcely see his face, and suddenly, she was glad he couldn't see hers. Fifteen years, why she was only a kid the last time he saw her. Maybe he still had the same idea of her. He wouldn't have noticed the change much if they had been together, she thought in the first silence as he sat on the steps beside her. But as he talked, slowly at first, then quickly as if he had much to say, she lost her fear in the import of the things he was saying.

"How'd I get here?" he answered her. "Well, a fellow on the run pulled into Chi and said there was goin' to be trouble here and, when I heard what it was about, I took the next freight out. By God, Mary, chains couldn't have kept me. When I heard it was that mill, I said, 'Jim Davis,' just,

'Jim Davis,' crazy-like, but I knew. Fifteen years now . . . that place . . . what it done to me—and to you, Mary, 'cause it's on 'count of it we didn't hitch up like we'd ought to have done. But now . . .

"Mary, I hear things ain't been goin' so well with you."

"No, it seems jobs are scarcer than hens' teeth."

"Funny," he said slowly. "You got to be a typewriter, too, didn't you? And yet you ain't no better off. I used to think it was because we wasn't educated that things was so hard, but Lord, here's you, and the bums on the trains . . . Mary, some of them's been to college. You can tell, the way they talk. And no better off . . . Damn it all, Mary."

And now was the time for her to tell him what she knew, but she couldn't find the words. She only listened.

"Well, one thing, I ain't so God damned dumb like I used to be. I see lots of things now, and I listen. Them Reds, they ain't so bad, Mary. They got some good ideas. When we all get wised up to what's goin' on . . ."

"Yes, that's it, Jim. That's what the speaker said, today. All the people! Tonight . . ."

"Yeh, tonight. I'd trade ten years of my life for tonight, them damned mill rats. They got it comin' to them."

"Dad goes over every night, Jim. Did you hear about him leading the parade of the strikers because he was the oldest employee? Fifty-two years over there, Jim. I wished you'd a seen him. That's the best he's ever been. You should have seen him."

Jim laughed softly and reached for her hand. "And your old woman, she all right too?"

"Yes."

"We'll take them to Chi with us when this is over, if you want."

"Jim."

"Yeh, we can get us a little place there and I guess we'll get along somehow, that is,—well, hell, you can't be much worse off, can you?" He laughed foolishly as he drew her to him.

Still he didn't turn his face to hers. Instead, he looked straight ahead into the night and talked on.

"Yes sir, I sure got a grudge against that mill. I been nursin' it along all these years, and now, by God, I'm stickin' round until it's paid off. Me and it's got a score to settle."

"Me, too, Jim. For dad, mom, me, you . . . everybody. All the people!"

"Yeh, if only they'll stick together."

"But they will."

"Can't never be too sure, honey. I seen 'em. When they get hungry . . ."

"But the commissary."

"Yeh, I know, but it ain't goin' to be so easy. First time you ever been in a strike, ain't it? Yes. It ain't so easy, baby. Wait till they bring the tin soldiers in."

(Continued on page 29)

I shall not die without a hope that light
and liberty are on the steady advance.
—Thomas Jefferson

Books

Thunder on! Stride on! Democracy,
Strike with vengeful strokes.
—Walt Whitman

A Progressive Neighbor

MEXICO: A REVOLUTION BY EDUCATION, by George I. Sanchez; 211 pages; The Viking Press; \$2.75.

DR. SANCHEZ, with assistance from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, spent over half a year traveling through obscure regions of Mexico in an effort to assess the new educational system of that country. Not only did he accumulate the opinions of school officials but, by living in peasant homes, noted the reactions of the general population to these new educational efforts.

The importance and effects of new educational movements cannot be judged by any absolute standards. Dr. Sanchez studies the present education in relation to the pre-revolutionary Mexican schools and to the labor movement in the country.

The difficulties with which education in Mexico has been faced are so tremendous that such success as has been attained seems miraculous. Geographically the country is so divided and localized that central supervision is extremely difficult and the variety of Indian dialects, accompanied by little knowledge of Spanish, makes communication and the training of teachers a heavy burden.

The aims of the educational scheme are modern, which unites all the conservative vested interests against the schools. School teachers in various parts of Mexico have been killed for attempting to modernize the masses. Despite these difficulties, the schools have expanded and given instruction to many more pupils, adults as well as minors, than ever before. There has also been a significant effort to preserve and develop Indian handicrafts in areas where the growth of modern industry and agriculture is not promising. The educational program is progressive in the sense that it is not so much concerned with book learning as with the training of students in the task of being able to utilize the resources of the country in making a living and in developing what are called cultural interests.

Besides a rudimentary school instruction, the educational system includes Cultural Missions. These institutions are the ones assigned the task of creating a new society. As Dr. Sanchez describes these missions:

The Cultural Missions, and the other agencies that exercise similar missionary functions, represent both the most advanced thinking in Mexico and the actual application of social and educational theories *in situ*. Their primary function is that of "incorporation." They must integrate the Mexican peoples and Mexican practices into a national fold and into a coordinated progressive trend. The Cultural Missions stand for what is new in education, in agrarian reforms, in economic practices, in political policies, and in social relationships. Born of dire need, they represent all the elements that distinguish modern Mexico from old Mexico. They symbolize the change from feudalism to socialism, from exploitation to cooperation, from slavery to freedom. They wage a revolution by education.

Perhaps this rhetoric obscures Dr. Sanchez's vision. Some observers feel that the Mexican "revolution" is moving at a snail's pace. The study reveals, however, what might be done through the schools in building a new society. Whether they succeed is another question. Further, education, for the most part, creates no revolution. At best, it can be used to support a revolution that has already occurred or is occurring.

A contrast between Mexican education and education in some other Latin American countries would have revealed the superiority of the Mexican system to those countries where education is practically non-existent. The study is worth the consideration of those interested in the relationship of the school to society as a whole.

—DONALD W. MCCONNELL

Behind the Front Lines

BITTER VICTORY, by Louis Guilloux; translated from the French by Samuel Putnam; 574 pages; Robert M. McBride & Co.; \$2.50.

FASCISM has been concisely defined as a method of maintaining the dictatorship of finance-capital, by the suppression of all civic liberty and the constitutional guarantees that are, theoretically, the backbone of republican government. It is to be found, in an effective if unspecified form, in all countries during a state of war; and since wars generally bring a certain amount of prosperity to certain sections of a country's population (which prosperity filters down through the lower strata) it has not been inevitably true that war-time Fascism is extended to embody a permanently corporative state. When the war is over, restrictive measures are gradually relaxed; it becomes possible to express an opinion about the war without being publicly mobbed, and the broader masses of the people learn that they have once again been duped into trying to pull the chestnuts of the minority out of a holocaust.

Louis Guilloux's novel, *Bitter Victory*, provides a vivid externalization of the war-time Fascist state. It is a novel of war behind the front lines in a small, unspecified city of Brittany during 1917. There is no picture of the trenches, of the hospitals, of the coun-

cils of war, of the conversation of soldiers; but the sound of their marching feet is ever present during the long narrative, and they emerge into the foreground for one brief, but violent scene of discontent and frustrated mutiny at the railroad station.

It is a novel that exploits to the furthest reach of cynicism and disillusionment the mood of desperation that comes to the working population of a country, when that country is engaged in imperialist war. The people hate the war; they mutter and grumble; their hatred and their disenchantment break out into open if ineffective rebellion. Liberal thinkers, people who think for themselves and possess the temerity to express their convictions, are immediately suspect to the fat-bodied and the fat-minded who hope to profit by the slaughter. They are "bolsheviks," "subversive influences," "dangerous revolutionaries." Such a one was Cripure, the hero of M. Guilloux's narrative.

Crippled, heart-broken by early disappointment, the butt of the town's jokes because of his unprepossessing appearance, his history, his idiosyncrasies, Cripure is a tragic figure of majestic proportions. He is also a character of unshakable integrity, and it is that very integrity which brings about his death.

Nabucet was his nemesis; Nabucet, who also taught in the same school with this gentle, half-mad professor of ethics; Nabucet, who is an exemplification in his own person of everything detestable in a human being: arrogance, greed, hypocrisy, jingoism, bootlicking. The finely wrought plexus of situations which brings Cripure and Nabucet to the point of duelling is a testimony to the intuitive talent and pervasive human sympathy of their creator. For although Nabucet and Cripure represent the extremes of human personality, they are by no means cut-and-dried figures that M. Guilloux has created to point his moral or adorn his tale. They are human, blood and bone; just as the host of other characters whose lives are detailed in this long novel are, if not as fully realized, as fully alive and moving. There are the tragic histories of the ancient Mme. Villaplane's absurd love for the lecher Kaminsky, and of Headmaster Marchandau's loss of his only son, through the instrumentality of a firing squad; there are the stories of Moka's bewildered, well-intentioned



BREED!

From *The Best of Art Young* (Vanguard Press). See *With the Readers* column, page 3

blundering; of Deputy Faurel's essential decency; of M. Babinot's imbecilic arms-collection; of Maia's touching devotion to Cripure.

All these many figures are closely interrelated in a narrative that has its many faults, but that can justifiably claim the recognition it will receive, as one of the most significant fictions to arise in modern France, where world literature seems, for the moment, to be most resurgent.

—ALVAH C. BESSIE

Propaganda Today

PROPAGANDA AND DICTATORSHIP, edited by Harwood L. Childs; 153 pages; Princeton University Press; \$2.00.

PROPAGANDA, no new thing in the history of the world, came of age during the period of the World War. Today it is made to work overtime in societies that must produce bunkum to fill the cavity that was meant to receive bread.

Political propaganda is interested education by appeal to the intellect and emotions. It is not in itself objectionable, except when it is joined with force and monopoly, as under dictatorship. But force and monopoly always are implied when the state goes into propaganda, therefore government propaganda never is desirable, and it is a contradiction in a Democracy, in the view of George E. Gordon Catlin, who holds that voluntary movements and party campaigns provide a way.

These are a few of the ideas expressed by the six professors who participated in the round-table discussions at the 1934 meeting of the American Political Science Association, and later elaborated upon for publication under the title *Propaganda and Dictatorship*. Excellent summaries are provided here of propaganda techniques in Germany, by Fritz Morstein Marx; in Italy, Arnold J. Zurcher; the Soviet Union, Bertram W. Maxwell (working class and Fascist dictatorships are indiscriminately lumped together), and the Danubian states, by Oscar Jászi. Harold D. Lasswell, one of the closest students of public opinion (in the political field) in the United States, analyzes the stuff of which propaganda is made and lays the groundwork for measuring the effectiveness of different types of propaganda under variable social conditions.

A significant paper for people in democratic countries is that of Prof. Catlin, who contributes the most important brief defense of "pure" Democracy that this reviewer has yet seen. He presents a brilliant case for Democracy as a political theory; the fallacy (not unimportant in a symposium on a practical problem of the modern world) is that there never was a "pure" Democracy on the face of the earth.

Democracy, writes Prof. Catlin, is empiricism and tolerance. In a Democracy, therefore, propaganda of all sorts

must be permitted; the best will somehow rise out of the political scrimmage. The weakness of Democracy, he writes, is that it "is always in danger of dissolving into anarchy, political and moral." Catlin places his faith in the middle class as the conservator of the democratic ideal; the "planned society" (which he says this class will create) gives to Democracy the positive character that will enable it to seize the popular imagination.

Prof. Catlin's view is as far from the mark as Fascism is from Democracy. Society is not dominated by the middle class, but by the few big owners of corporate wealth. This owning class has established Fascism in Italy, Germany and several of the Danubian states, to insure and extend the profit economy. The democratic people of Spain are defending the Republic with their lives today; tomorrow Fascism may knock out our door.

Those who would save and extend Democracy must be intolerant of those who would destroy Democracy. Voltaire said: "I do not believe a word you say, but I would give my life to defend your right to say it." For that must be substituted the more positive warning: "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance," and the practical suggestion that Fascism, which would destroy Democracy, should not be permitted to raise its head in the United States.

—FRANK B. BLUMENFIELD

White Collar

A TIME TO REMEMBER, by Leane Zugsmith; 352 pages; Random House; \$2.00.

A TIME TO REMEMBER is the kind of book that makes the reader turn salesman and enthusiastically urge it upon all who come within calling distance. It is that rare thing in literature—a novel that has the double virtue of being exciting and pleasurable to read and of having substance as well.

Miss Zugsmith has written about white collar workers in a large, metropolitan department store, but the importance of what she has to say is by no means confined to this special group. For she has written from a broad, social point of view, and the people she has written about are interesting, first and last, as genuine human beings. Her clerks and section managers and employers are real people—the kind you know you have met a hundred times—and their problems, either as individuals or as cogs in a great merchandising machine, are always the problems of real people. Her social passion, far from cramping her talent as so often happens in a social novel, simply enables her to use a broader canvas and to paint in deeper colors.

For the workers in the book it is a time of learning. We meet them first as individuals, their lives stunted and their spirits dwarfed. They lead a

pinched existence in a system that has crushed the joy and satisfaction out of work and replaced it with a speed-up efficiency and dull routine devoid of human values. Yet within them all, in varying degrees, there is a spark of self-assertion that wars continually, even if furtively and ineffectually, against the emptiness and insecurity of their lives.

It is the formation of a union and a subsequent strike that whips this spark into a flame. It is not so simple as all that, to be sure. Miss Zugsmith is too good an artist to idealize either the union or the strike. There is at first much fumbling and groping, jealousy and distrust. Some are spied upon and get fired, while others do the spying and get promoted. Yet when the issue is sharply drawn and a strike is the only means left to save the union from being crushed, courage and leadership come to the fore.

Miss Zugsmith traces the impact of these conflicting forces with a keen understanding of the labor movement in the white collar field, but more important by far is the impact of these forces on the individuals themselves. Bit by bit, one sees that activity in the union is doing something for the workers—something that they hardly anticipated. They find that their union has suddenly given them a strength and purpose they never had before, and not merely a collective strength. It has broadened their lives as individuals. They have grown as human beings. It is the sort of thing that those familiar with organization know does take place. In *A Time to Remember* one sees it taking place in a moving and unforgettable story.

—WILLIAM P. MANGOLD

The Beginning of a Trilogy

A WORLD I NEVER MADE, by James T. Farrell; 508 pages; Vanguard Press; \$2.50.

HAVING completed the story of Studs Lonigan, Mr. Farrell has now begun the history of Danny O'Neill, a minor character in the earlier trilogy. *A World I Never Made* is a long novel covering but a few months in the year 1911, and at its close Danny is still a small boy. As the present work is only the first of a contemplated series, the story is incomplete, but in any event Mr. Farrell's greatest ability lies in the creation of characters, rather than in the manipulation of plots.

The present novel has a rich store of living people: the child Danny himself, with his love of baseball and a recurrent interest in the origin of the species; his elder brother Bill, of a very different stamp, and a potential gangster; Danny's mother Lizz, a pathetic slattern, and his father Jim, a struggling wagon driver, and easily the most sympathetic figure in the book; and Danny's grandmother, Mrs. O'Flaherty, a riotous, illiterate, pipesmoking Irishwoman.



Irishman: "I've heard of Shrove Tuesday, Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, but, by gorry, that's a new one on me!" From *The Best of Art Young*

Mr. Farrell describes in minute detail the grey, unadventurous existence of these people, and their relations. The lives of the O'Neills are a struggle with hunger itself; the O'Flahertys, who are better off economically, are naturally more content with their world, and Al, the shoe salesman, is fairly certain of a brighter future—by 1931 at the latest!—for those who will work hard, and follow the conventional virtues. To the author they are all alike the victims of a social system, which debases, or at least vulgarizes, the majority who live under it.

The existence of these church-going Irish-Americans is depicted with a compassion, which raises the book, as a whole, into the category of first-class literature. Mr. Farrell is at his best in his descriptions of the O'Neill family, as in Chapters 12 and 25, and somehow he even invests Al's pathetic strivings after culture with something more than a derisory quality. There is also real Rabelaisian humor in the fights between Margaret O'Flaherty and her mother. But so far as Margaret is concerned, I could have done with a great deal less of her. The illumination of this character could have been effected in much smaller space than Mr. Farrell devotes to her. The piling up of repetitious detail adds nothing, and indeed weakens the novel as a whole. Apart also from Margaret, the work might have been improved by cutting.

The *New York Times*, never loath to accept advertising for Nazi causes such as German shipping or the recent Olympic games, has decided to spare the feelings of its readers by refusing advertising for *A World I Never Made*. Mr. Farrell, it seems, has not only contemplated childish interest in sex, but has even described the human animal in the process of evacuation. There might, it is true, have been less of these matters, but the polite journalists, before attempting to stifle Mr. Farrell's work, might have asked whether or no he has given a true picture of some re-

(Continued on page 29)

EVER since the morning of November 4th, Wall Street has been luxuriating in the strangest post-election honeymoon that has yet developed out of the contradictory welter of big business politics. Repudiated by the most sweeping popular majority in American history, the Street barely took time to shed a crocodile tear over the political corpses of its Liberty Leagues, Landons and Hamiltons before sliding smoothly into a new posture that gave the lie to the official moans and laments of the Wall Street election campaign.

Ever nimble, the boys are now staging a performance entitled, "Sweetness and Light." The sweetness has been nourished by the heaviest rain of dividends in the history of the Street. At no time during the boom of 1928 and 1929 did dividend declarations in any two months' period reach the cloud-burst proportions that have developed since November 4th. Initiated significantly by the \$65,000,000 declaration by du Pont-Morgan controlled General Motors, the wave of extras and special dividends has penetrated into every nook and corner of big business.

On a much smaller scale but with more direct propaganda intent, Wall Street's sweetness has also taken the unaccustomed form of a sudden (and synthetic) interest in the purchasing power of American workers. Wage bonuses and "appreciation funds" (dwarf-like in comparison with the extra dividends), wage rises (offset behind the scenes by the speed-up) and "cost-of-living" boosts in pay testify to the closeness with which the New York financiers and their hired men in the industrial centers have read the labor vote for Roosevelt and the mounting returns from the C.I.O. organization campaign in the steel industry.

On the political front, the quietus has been placed for the time being on open attacks against Roosevelt. In this,



Post-election honeymoon . . . The boys are nimble . . . Sweetness and light . . . The bankers' international

the boys have been playing follow the leader and have hewn close to the line laid down for them since November 4th, in this fashion:

1. Willie Hearst's strategic christening of Roosevelt as "the second Andrew Jackson" and his back-door alliance with Roosevelt via son-in-law John Boettiger in an effort to have the Roosevelt name salvage the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* subsequent to its defeat by the American Newspaper Guild.

2. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s miraculous public discovery of "statesmanship" and "inspiring confidence" in Jim Farley, together with Jim's overweening gratitude at such attention from America's No. 1 capitalist.

3. The fanfare of publicity and heavy "what's in a name" jocularly that accompanied the announcement of the forthcoming nuptials between Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., and Ethel du Pont, heiress to the du Pont munitions fortune and to the Liberty League's pseudo-political organization.

In like manner, the Harper Sibleys

of the chambers of commerce have flocked ingratiatingly to Washington, protesting they always knew Roosevelt was a great man, underneath it all.

But let no one be misled into believing that Wall Street has seen the light, has accepted the verdict of the election and will withdraw its opposition to the wishes of the overwhelming majority for a better living and more equitable distribution of the wealth of America. Instead, there is involved simply a shift in tactics which should have the alert and constant attention and persistent opposition of all those who wish to preserve the progressive gains of the Roosevelt landslide.

The Wall Street boys are simply carrying into practice the traditional adage of practical, reactionary politics: "If you can't lick your enemy, join him." And in their post-November 4th rush to climb on the band-wagon, the boys have known right along that more than just a slim toe-hold has been awaiting them. Always beckoning is Roosevelt's own middle-of-the-road liberalism which, as Wall Street well knows, is capable of a wide swing to the right unless the multitudes who re-elected him make their pressure talk just as potently as their votes did on November 3rd.

Aside from contributing to the prevailing "sweetness and light," the big post-election wave of dividends, and especially the smaller wave of wage boosts, have been part and parcel of the new Wall Street strategy. It was common knowledge in the Street that U. S. Steel, uneasy over C. I. O. unionization gains, had made up its mind to increase pay, but decided to wait till after Election Day. As for the dividends, many that were already on the cards were deliberately postponed until after election in order to avoid lending further momentum to the Roosevelt avalanche; the rest were mainly declared in order to avoid payment of the undistributed profits tax. With the wage increases, tax evasion also was an influence, but even greater was the

desire to weaken the ground under the growing sweep of trade union organization and militancy by partial concessions. The *Wall Street Journal*, pontifical mouthpiece of the New York capitalists, recently commented: "The wage increase movement has assumed proportions too large to be accounted for mainly by reference to the undistributed profits tax. . . . Presumably the employers seek to anticipate and so reduce friction."

Let the Public Pay

SINCE its inception, the steel industry has pursued a policy of exploiting the general public with monopoly prices and the steel workers with starvation wages. Now that the growing union strength of steel labor is beginning to force some rises in pay, the steel magnates are devoting increased attention to gouging the public. As predicted on this page last month, beginning with the first of the year the public will pay for every cent of even the inadequate "cost-of-living" wage increase which the steel industry is now trying to foist on its workers.

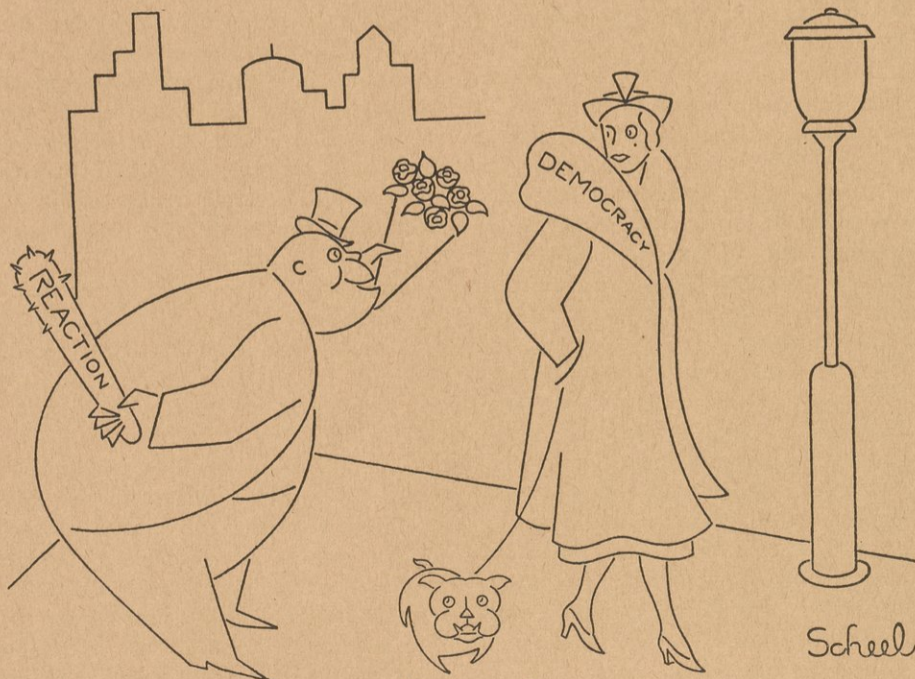
Meanwhile, the discrepancy between depressed steel wages and increasing steel profits and dividends continues unabated. For the U. S. Steel Corp., the cost of the wage increase between its effective date and the end of the year is estimated in Wall Street at \$3,500,000. In October alone, U. S. Steel's net profits were \$4,875,000. Furthermore, within two weeks of the wage increase, U. S. Steel declared another extra preferred dividend, this time amounting to \$25,200,000 and bringing the total for the year to \$46,000,000.

Wall Street International

ON THE international front, Wall Street continues to assert its solidarity with Fascism and war.

When General Franco's horde of mercenaries first reached the outskirts of Madrid, sympathetic speculators, anticipating a rapid Fascist victory, boosted by several points the market price of the stock of the Morgan controlled International Telephone & Telegraph which holds the choice telephone monopoly in Spain. After the rebel advance had been halted by the stubborn defense of Madrid and after the Fascists in desperation had begun dropping bombs indiscriminately on the telephone skyscraper in Madrid, the stock sold off sharply.

Wall Street financiers are understood to be interested in the current revival of efforts to settle the war debts. The reason is that such steps would remove the present ban because of the Johnson Act on new loans to nations now in default to the United States on war obligations, and thus open the way to Wall Street's financing the next war for its own profit and at the peril of millions of lives throughout the world.



Hyah, toots!

If you can't lick your enemy, join him

Shut Up!

Our press has recently played up the new Nazi gag laws on critics of the theatre, books and art. But do you know what has happened to the great German artists? What are they doing? Where are they?

By Elizabeth Noble

CRITICISM is the latest creative activity to fall under the ban in Nazi Germany. According to dispatches in the *New York Times* of November 28th, German critics must in the future confine themselves to description; no expression of opinion will be tolerated. Thus critics follow the Third Reich's writers, actors, painters, sculptors, musicians, architects, designers, publishers, and art dealers into exile.

Yet perhaps it is logical to gag and censor criticism; for art can scarcely be said to exist in Germany. The artists who brought fame to Germany from the end of the War to 1933 are now in exile or silenced; and from the group embracing Nazi principles no work has come comparable in quality to that of pre-Nazi days.

Einstein, Elisabeth Bergner, Alex-

ander Moissi, the Manns (Thomas a Nobel prize-winner in literature), Arnold Zweig, are but a few who fled to other countries when Hitler came into power. Among artists, casualties have been as great. Of the *avant-garde* group, Kandinsky is in Paris; Paul Klee lives in Switzerland, having been dismissed in 1933 from his professorship at Düsseldorf Academy; Moholy-Nagy is in London, Campendonck in Holland. Hartfeld, one of the finest workers in photomontage, is in Czechoslovakia. Keil, a poster man, escaped to the U.S.S.R., where Vogler is also.

Of the Bauhaus group, leader for a decade in industrial design and applied arts, no important figure remains, though Gropius, its head and a world-renowned architect of the functionalist school, is Aryan and Nordic. Josef Albers, another distinguished member, is teaching in North Carolina. Gropius himself is in London, as is Erich Mendelsohn, who built the Einstein Tower and whose books on American and Russian architecture and on modern architecture in Germany are classics.

The "Bund Revolutionär Künstler," with 300 leading artists as members, was wiped out by the Nazis. Occupations connected with art have felt the lash. Max J. Friedlander, long chief director of museums in Berlin, is out of office, though for years every important German art magazine felt honored to print his articles. Kurt Glaser, of the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek*, known for his studies in the graphic arts, is in Switzerland. Exiles in the United States include Georges Schreiber, well-known graphic artist, Kurt Roesch, George Grosz, whose war drawings are powerful social criticism, and Annot and Rudolph Jacobi, Aryans who protested the anti-Semitic trend.

Art dealers also felt the scourge under Hitler. Alfred Flechtheim, whose name appears twenty-seven times in a total of 123 loans of important contemporary German art in the catalogue of the Museum of Modern Art's 1931 exhibition of German painting and sculpture, is a fugitive in London. J. B. Neumann, well known in Berlin and Munich, is living in New York.



From George Grosz's illustrations for Schiller's *The Robbers*

Since Jews are not permitted to deal in art, Jewish dealers have been forced to sell (always at a great loss) or go out of business or move away.

The Best in Art is Dead

The publishing world has been decimated. *Simplicissimus* and *Uhu*, real contributions to popular art, are no longer published. *Querschnitt*, once an organ of advanced schools, has become a publication cheaper and more trivial in appeal even than the stereotyped Hearst-owned American women's magazines. *Der Cicerone*, formerly the best all-round magazine on modern art, was absorbed in 1931 by *Pantheon*, which under Hitler changed editors, becoming more academic until in 1935 it ceased to appear. *Jugend*, another popular magazine, is under new direction.

Museen der Gegenwart: Zeitschrift der deutschen Museen für neuere Kunst is no longer published. *Kunst und Künstler* ceased publication in 1933. *Die Form*, dealing with design and abstract form, was discontinued in 1933. *Der Sturm*, the mouthpiece, from 1910 on, of the experimental artistic group, came to an end in 1932, no doubt sensing imminent Hitlerism.

But magazines like *Die Antike, Antiquitäten Rundschau, Archiv des Verbandes von Museumbeamter, Asia Major, Der Dekorationsmaler, Ipek: Jahrbuch für praehistorische und ethnographische Kunst*, all safely vowed

to the past which Nazi rulers glorify, are printed,—under the "best" Nordic and Aryan auspices.

Likewise, the publishers who put out the best art books and those fine color reproductions which have popularized contemporary painting, are no longer permitted to publish. Three months' notice is the rule with them. The monumental twenty-four volume *Kunstgeschichte* is such a casualty.

Silenced and Persecuted

German artists who remained in their native land are no less casualties than those who fled. Max Liebermann, president of the Academy and co-founder with Corinth of the Berlin Secession, died a year ago, having been forced to resign from the presidency and having been conspicuously ignored in art matters. Otto Dix, whose etchings of the War are bitter and profoundly educational documents, like Grosz's, lives in Germany "coordinated" and paints conventional landscapes. Käthe Kollwitz, like Liebermann a gifted veteran, remains in Germany, silenced and persecuted. All who have seen her powerful etchings, lithographs and woodcuts of starving children in war time and of peasants yoked to the plow, will know what a loss this is.

Early in Hitler's reign, the national galleries, previously world famed, were (according to a Berlin dispatch to the

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Käthe Kollwitz: Self Portrait



The Americas

South America... Two conferences to discuss ways and means to keep peace in the world... The writer here reports on what she witnessed at both conferences and on the streets of Buenos Aires... "Keep your Democracy," the people said, "fight for it. That is the way to peace."

By Dorothy McConnell

ILLUSTRATED BY HARRISON MOORE

Miss Dorothy McConnell, now in South America representing the American League Against War and Fascism, wrote this article in early December, before the closing of the Inter-American Conference.—EDITOR

ON THE day President Roosevelt arrived in Buenos Aires for the opening of the Inter-American Peace Conference, flags hung from every building, business houses were closed and men and women stood massed on the pavements moving intertwined Argentine and United States flags. Military bands and marching soldiers lent the proper touch to the scene. As Roosevelt started on his way down the Avenue, a deafening siren was blown and those not yet on the streets ran from their houses to join the crowd. An American standing in front of the "Pink House," the Argentine White House, turned and spoke for a moment in Spanish. Immediately an Argentine rushed up to him.

"You speak Spanish, eh?" he asked. "Then, please, for my people's sake tell your President that the way to help us is to give us our liberty by standing for more Democracy."

Bing!

A policeman's hand shot out, neatly collared the speaker and he was hustled off.

Fight for Democracy!

Later in the evening, with the houses lighted on every cornice, and the squares so ablaze that you felt as if you were on a great stage, an Argentine woman spoke to me.

"I stood on the street all afternoon and so did my friends," she said. "It was to show our officials that any country which has a president who stands for Democracy will have our love." Then she lowered her voice. "Keep your Democracy. Fight for it. That is the best way to keep peace."

The next afternoon the Conference

was inaugurated. The galleries of the small Congress Hall were packed. Cards had been carefully given out and police were sprinkled throughout the crowd to see that nothing unpleasant happened. After President Justo had finished his opening speech—in the pause that followed Roosevelt's standing before the Conference—a voice rang out from the gallery.

"Avajo con el Imperialismo!" (Down with imperialism!)

There was a moment of panic. The delegates sat stiffly upright in their seats. Then Roosevelt began to speak and the tension relaxed.

Those who understood English leaned forward to hear. Those who did not followed translations placed before them.

The President Speaks

War was renounced. There was tremendous applause. It was suggested that the Americas by working out a system to maintain peace could set an example to the rest of the world. Again there was tremendous applause. Then Roosevelt went on to say:

First, it is our duty by every honorable means to prevent any future wars among ourselves. This can best be done through the strengthening of the process of constitutional democratic government—to make the processes conform to the modern need for unity and efficiency and, at the same time, *preserve the individual liberties of our citizens.* By so doing, the people of our nations, unlike the people of many nations who live under other forms of government, can and will insist on their intention to live in peace. Thus will democratic government be justified throughout the world.

The last sentence was rolled out as an experienced political speaker can roll it. After it Roosevelt hesitated as an actor hesitates for the inevitable applause. The delegates sat perfectly still. There was not one handclap. I leaned over the balcony railing to look at the official delegates. The only one

who seemed completely at his ease (except for the United States delegation who were looking a trifle smug) was Mr. Nejera, the Mexican Ambassador to the United States. He lolled back in his chair, watching the chandelier with a slight smile on his face.

The speech continued. There was much bowing to the church and many worthy sentiments. But a bomb had been thrown and every one knew it.

The bomb was not one carelessly dropped. The night before the Conference a man, close to the President, said he had seen the speech and that Roosevelt was going to "let them have it."

Democracy vs. Fascism

That night on the streets the people pointed out the section on Democracy in the papers. And when you talked to people who were present they were all talking about the "individual liberties of our citizens."

The Latin Americans are realistic. In the sweep toward Fascism that has come over South America and Central America in the last few years the people feel that their only hope is in the preservation of their democratic rights. In the South American Republics, free speech is growing to be more and more of a luxury, to be paid for often by prison sentences. They do not have to be convinced of the closeness of the tie between peace and the struggle for democratic rights.

At the same time the officials, some of whom have openly declared themselves for Fascism, others who are swinging in that direction, realize the dangers of popular peace movements and wish to keep the moves toward peace solely in their own hands.

"Here in Buenos Aires," a newspaper reporter told me, "peace is a very dangerous word in the mouth of a citizen."

And this is not only true in Buenos Aires. In fact it is less true in Buenos Aires than many other places—say Rio de Janeiro where the city is under martial law and many of the progressive citizens are being watched by the police.

To undertake a peace conference in such an atmosphere is a tremendous task. But there can be no doubt that the Conference is seriously attempting to establish some sort of machinery to maintain peace. The reason is simply that there is a fear that war may upset things beyond help at this time.

The Treaties

Before the Conference opened it looked as if the trade treaties might be the central issue. Certainly they were Secretary of State Hull's major concern. But now it seems, although the Conference has barely started and it is hard to predict, that the peace treaties will take the center of the stage.

The United States is proposing a treaty based on its neutrality stand with special regulations concerning the duties and responsibilities of Latin American non-combatant Republics. The treaty will be a general treaty and not solely limited to the Americas.

The Argentine is proposing a reinforcement of the Saavedra Lamas treaty which is based on the Briand-Kellogg peace pact and is also a general treaty.

There is a further proposal which may be made for a North and South American peace treaty with an advisory link with the League of Nations and another, which may never come to the floor of the conference, for a purely South American treaty.

According to the United States delegation, no attempt will be made to push through North American proposals if there is opposition. And, for the first time in many years, the Latin American countries seem to feel the United States means it. Although there is still con-

siderable antagonism to the United States, as the call from the balcony on the first day would indicate, the fact that the official delegation has stood against some of the trade agreements which have led to so much resentment on the part of Latin American countries, has made for better relations.

The Popular Conference

The ordinary person of Latin America looks—rather pathetically—to the United States as the great force for freedom in the world. In the Popular Conference, which took place several days before the official conference, one man argued vehemently against a proposal for progressive disarmament, saying that the United States must be “left equipped to fight for Democracy.”

The Popular Conference, called to bring popular pressure on the official conference, was a disappointment to many people. Political issues were introduced which divided the conference

in the conference. It was unfortunate that the resolution, originating from the United States, was worded and carried through in such a way that it split the United States delegation. Although it was designed for the purpose of getting the women's rights question on the agenda of the official conference it looks at the moment as if it will fail.

Women's rights seems to be tied up with Communism in some of the delegates' minds. Delegations who desperately fear anything radical will try to keep it off the conference floor. And the United States delegation is not friendly to the Equal Rights Amendment which is implied in the Resolution.

The Peoples' Mandate

But whether the Popular Conference proposals are taken seriously or not, there has already been one popular expression for peace by the presentation of the Peoples' Mandate To End War

in the Inter-American Peace Conference.

Nor should the feminists feel too bad if their resolution is ignored because—for the first time in the history of Latin American countries—a delegation of women was received on the floor of a conference.

“I am the Police”

Of course, even this popular expression, the greatest by the way ever made in the Western Hemisphere, is under suspicion. One Latin American woman, carried away by the presentation, turned to the man next to her and said:

“This is the way people should work. They should go to their governments and demand peace.”

“Señora,” said the man severely, “I think I should tell you I am from the police.”

It is this constant police surveillance that makes the average, fairly liberal

in such a way that it will work.

For that reason the Conference is unique. Much of the claptrap of the usual peace conference is absent. There is not nearly as much diplomatic politeness as one would expect. The delegates are far too much in earnest. You have the feeling as you sit in their committees that although they want all the economic advantages that can be squeezed out of a peaceful system, nevertheless they will work for peace machinery.

Several weeks before the Inter-American Peace Conference met, a confidential letter went out from Washington. It is a letter that goes regularly to various businesses giving the inside information on government moves. Regarding South America it said that should the United States be put in a position where it could not put through its trade and peace proposals in the Inter-American Peace Conference, it had two other proposals up its sleeve which would keep the prestige of the United States from receiving too severe a blow. One was the proposal for an Inter-American highway, the other was for the extension of Inter-American cultural relations.

Implicit Belief

Judging by the temper of the Conference—a temper which may change I admit—I do not think there will be much time to give to Inter-American highways or cultural relations. The only thing that makes an onlooker from the United States nervous for the prestige of the United States is the implicit belief of the vast majority of the Latin Americas in the existence of the complete freedom and individual liberty of our citizens—and the idea that this move toward establishment of peace in the Americas will bring about such conditions in their own countries.

Buenos Aires
December 4, 1936



so that definite proposals could not be made with the force necessary to focus attention on the people's will for peace. The delegation from the United States was handicapped by the fact that the discussions were carried on entirely in Spanish and also by the fact that most of the delegation did not understand the Latin American problems. The conference received very little attention from the press. Many of the proposals were excellent—such as trade regulations which might help do away with causes of war. In the proposals adopted, a lowering of tariffs was called for beginning with necessary goods and goods exchanged between the Americas. A demand was made that the Latin Americas should not be the field for dumping goods. The abolition of exchange control was asked.

Progressive disarmament and a move toward free trade was asked.

The suffrage question with its equality demands did not occupy much time

at the first plenary session of the Inter-American Conference. Introduced by Mrs. Burton W. Musser, the only official woman delegate from the United States, presented by Mrs. Caroline O'Day of New York and endorsed by Mrs. Miller of Brazil, it created a tremendous impression in the Conference.

Nine women from the United States had flown from Washington to join with women from all the Americas in the presentation of the two million signatures denouncing war as a means to settle economic difficulties. It had its effect. Saavedra Lamas had just made his opening address. Some of the delegation from the Peoples' Mandate felt that, for the sake of publicity, it was no time for the presentation. But there was no choice. This was the only time that could be had. In the papers the headlines across the top of the page read—Women's Demand For Peace—and in small type it was noted that Saavedra Lamas had opened the first plenary ses-

sion of the Inter-American Peace Conference. They, I am not talking of the radicals, seem to make a distinction between the American business man and the United States government—an odd distinction to say the least.

From what I can gather this great stress on Democracy makes many of the Latin American officials nervous and they are anxious to keep it out of the discussions in the conference. But they are in a spot. They must play along with Roosevelt. He represents the most powerful government in the Americas. Some of the more clever ones know that it is due to the economic imperialism of the United States that they are in the desperate situation they are today. There are many conflicts below the surface. But at the same time they are all too frightened by world events not to seek some means of preserving peace in the Western Hemisphere and throughout the world



Undermining Liberty

(Continued from page 6)

another illustration, but I have it on the authority of one of the foremost women of America, a famous journalist, who does not believe it is ethically right to make the disclosures. But the persons are of the same calibre as those in the Theodore Roosevelt case, the Teapot Dome scandal, or the subsidizers of the Liberty League. They include one of the greatest oil men in America, two of the biggest bankers, one of the most important industrialists. It was during a crossing from Le Havre to New York that this group of great corporation heads, sitting daily at a table in the lounge, sought to disillusion my informant about politics and banish her naïve ideas about our Republican - Democratic Olympiades. They explained to her exactly how the big business men of America finance the campaigns of both parties, including the "reform" party, whichever it may be, which promise the dear people they will end the iniquities of Wall Street, bust the trusts, drive the money changers out of the temple, and what not.

"What about Franklin D. Roosevelt?" asked my informant.

"A slight error there," replied the oil king. "Of course we had our money up on him as well as the opposition, and we expected him to make the talks about the money changers but we did not expect much action. He has, however, betrayed his class, and he has fooled us. Well, we had about \$5,000,000 in the Democratic Party in that election and there is no doubt that Franklin Roosevelt has now got a large mass following. I do not think we can defeat him but my friends here do. It will take more than five million, but they say they will do it. They'll do it if it takes twenty million. But make no mistakes about it, Miss —, we buy and control our presidents. And by we, I mean the five men seated right here at this table and a few of our friends back home. We make mistakes sometimes, but usually we win no matter which party wins."

Absolute proof of this startling statement can be found in the testimony, before the Nye-Vandenberg munitions committee, of the members of the du Pont family who admitted they supplied big money to both the Republican and Democratic parties. The Democratic Committee's report for 1935 shows that although many capitalists have switched to the opposition, the following, in addition to the Morgan partner, Gilbert, still continue to provide funds:

A. P. Giannini, California banker, friend of Hearst and of ex-Commander Belgrano of the American Legion; J. Fletcher Farrell of Consolidated Oil of the Sinclair-Blair-Rockefeller interests; P. A. S. Franklin and Basil Harris of the subsidized International Mercan-

tile Marine, which the House of Morgan controls; Sidney J. Weinberg of Goldman, Sachs and Co., while other leading Roosevelt backers include Walter P. Chrysler, Fred. J. Fisher of General Motors, officials of Worthington Pump, International Harvester and Union Carbon and Carbide, the corporation involved in the most notorious silicosis death scandal in our history.

Liberty League Associates

The financial tie-up of the Republican Party, the corporations, the Liberty League, the super-patriotic organizations and the American Fascists, is more apparent. The list of contributors to the Republican National Committee and the Liberty League is almost identical.

Money for the Republican campaign was raised by a committee of sixteen of which William Bell, president of the American Cyanamid Company, was chairman. Among his colleagues were Sewell Avery, Liberty League contributor, member of its national executive committee, chairman of Montgomery, Ward & Co., and director of U. S. Steel Corp.; Ernest T. Weir, head of National Steel Corp., member of the Liberty League's national advisory committee and one of its big money givers; Joseph N. Pew, Jr., vice-president of Sun Oil Co., whose family gave Republican Party \$20,000 in 1935; J. F. Lincoln, of Lincoln Electric Co.; Herbert L. Pratt, former chairman, Standard Oil Co. of N. Y.; A. W. Robertson, chairman, Westinghouse Electric & Mfg. Co.; E. L. Ryerson, president, J. T. Ryerson & Son, steel; and Silas H. Strawn, former head of Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

In 1935 heavy Republican contributors included the Pew family (Sun Oil), \$20,000; John D. Rockefeller, \$5,000; E. T. Weir (National Steel), \$5,000; and Sewell F. Avery of Montgomery, Ward and U. S. Steel, \$5,000.

In September, 1936, with the presidential campaign drawing to a close, the Special Senate Committee to Investigate Lobbying Activities made public a Digest of Data from its files, including a list of contributors to the Liberty League and such similar or affiliated organizations as the American Federation of Utility Investors, American Taxpayers League, Crusaders, Farmers' Independence Council, League for Industrial Rights (sic), Minute Men and Women of Today, National Economy League, Sentinels of the Republic and Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution.

Although the committee's record is incomplete, it found that in the 18 months ending in the Spring of 1936 the sum of \$1,086,604.62 had been donated to these organizations by the financial-economic group which in America parallels the subsidizers of Euro-

pean Fascism. Of the million dollars almost the whole amount, \$924,974 or 90 per cent, was spent by the subsidizers of reaction, the following groups:

Du Pont family, \$204,045; du Pont associates, \$152,622; Pitcairn family, \$100,250; J. P. Morgan associates; \$68,226; Mellon associates, \$60,752; Rockefeller associates, \$49,852; Hutton associates, \$40,671; Sun Oil associates, \$37,260; banks and brokers, \$184,224; utility companies, \$27,069.

All these names and prices, (and because of space limitations an incomplete list is here presented), are important for many reasons. They prove first of all that big business subsidizes both major parties as well as the Liberty League, and they warrant the presumption that the same interests will subsidize whatever new organization is produced by the same interests to take the place of the Liberty League in a pure Fascist movement.

Class Betrayal

The charges of the Democrats against the Republicans, and vice versa, have been in the past and are at present largely academic and wholly buncombe. Before the Civil War, of course, there were vital issues between them, but not too vital inasmuch as the growing industrial capital early in its history began exercising control of both parties so that it stood to profit no matter which won. Without ever acknowledging the fact that two parties which obtained the votes of the millions became the representatives of a class, just as surely as the Hitler and Mussolini parties, with their overwhelming popular support they were actually the property of the enemies of the people. In fact, the political behavior of President Roosevelt II in 1935 and 1936, which aroused more personal hatred than any leader in our time, has been explained by Marquis Child as being interpreted as betrayal of class by the big business men who form that class which owns both parties. If Wilson, a college president, or any lawyer, editor, business man or politician in the White House had persisted in reforms for the benefit of the masses and at the cost of the rich, that would have been forgiven, but Roosevelt came from the well-to-do, the *rentier* or coupon-cutting, landowning, baronial, aristocratic class, and therefore it was class betrayal.

Future Political Alignments

Coming events may prove that this recognition of classes was an important development in our history. The Marxians have spoken of classes for almost a hundred years, and the War Department, under General Douglas MacArthur, recognized the war of labor and capital when it wrote its book of instructions to federal and national guard troops, and now plain politicians, who have been the loudest in spreading the steel and coal corporation philosophy of big brotherhood and no classes

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in America, are speaking of presidents as being mis-representatives of the ruling class.

Future, distant, and therefore more objective, historians will probably recognize that a major issue was born when Roosevelt II ran for re-election against Governor Landon of Kansas in the Autumn of 1936. Apparently the president, the son of inherited wealth and the likely man for the Fascisti, was in the opposite camp, championing the poor against the rich, labor against capital, the have-nots against the haves, the exploited against the exploiters, and although the real leaders of the former groups called the Roosevelt reforms mere palliatives by an astute politician, and his program lacking in sincerity, it began to appear as if the country would some day divide between these two groups, between Right and Left, between Conservatives and Liberals and eventually between Fascists and a coalition of libertarians, because in 1936 the beginnings of such a movement were apparent. All the forces of reaction, of super-patriotism, of corruption, of entrenched wealth, of what the great Henry George first called "the vested interests," broke through party lines and took their place behind the black flag of reaction which they covered up with the founding father's red, white and blue. All the mean little men who lived on raising hatreds and prejudices found themselves in one camp. All the future Fascisti were in that camp. Between eighty and ninety per cent of the American press, an even larger percentage than had been bought by the \$25,000,000 a year corruption fund of the public utilities, were in that camp while their spokesmen, Hearst and McCormick, yelled louder than ever before about a free press.

On the other hand, conventions were held and plans discussed for the formation of a Farmer-Labor party for the campaign year of 1940.

Everyone in the latter movement believed that the time had come for a coalition of all men and women of good will. Everyone saw that all barriers between the Republican and Democratic parties were being razed, and the future would find America divided between the special interests and the people.

When the special interests organize themselves they will not be known as Fascists, but that is exactly what they will be.

Hitler's War Cry

(Continued from page 15)

for, in the last analysis, the Polish capitalists do not care who protects their property, whether it be German or Polish bayonets, as long as their property is protected. They know only too well that once the Red Army should cross Poland their investments would



Peace on Earth

be lost. It is this pressure group that is opposing the present pro-French orientation of Polish foreign policy.

The most important single strategic counterpoise to the Fascist combination in Southeastern Europe, today, is Yugoslavia which is threatened by the ever-increasing aggression of its Italian neighbor. Economically speaking, Yugoslavia is, at present, a British colony and Prince Regent Paul is taking his orders from Downing Street. The British influence in Southeastern Europe extends itself from Yugoslavia into Greece, as exemplified by the restoration of the monarchy in that country with the help of British warships. The Greek ports have been turned into British naval bases as a partial answer to the Italian threat to British imperial communications through the Mediterranean.

But the repercussions of the German expansionist policies, under the guise of the anti-Communist drive, are also felt in Northern Europe. In Lithuania and Latvia and Esthonia, the three states that dominate the Baltic Sea, the Nazi organizations that were created in 1934-5 had, by the end of 1936, assumed such importance that they were able to influence the foreign policies of their respective countries. This has led to a state of affairs where in case Germany should attempt an attack upon these three countries, both with

her rebuilt fleet from the Baltic and by land, she would find enough internal support in those countries to incapacitate all resistance to German aggression. The German strategy in the Baltic has the support of Finland, which has a formal military alliance with Germany. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the German strategy consists of a plan to telescope the German armies through Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia and drive by land into Leningrad, said drive to be supported by a Finnish attack along the railroad line from Viborg to Leningrad, and a simultaneous naval attack upon Kronstadt.

Repetition of 1914

In other words, the big poker game has started. Many trumps seem to be in Germany's hands, yet it can be said that Hitler has severely overplayed his hand. I think it can safely be said that he has alienated and annoyed Great Britain to such an extent that he cannot count any more upon British benevolent neutrality. The mission of the ex-champagne dealer, Von Ribbentrop, Hitler's special representative in London, has failed so far. When Von Ribbentrop returned during the end of November to Berlin in order to sign the German-Japanese military alliance, he told Hitler that Germany could count upon British neutrality. In other words, he repeated precisely the same

blunder that Von Bethmann-Hollweg, German ambassador to London in August, 1914, committed when he informed the German emperor two days before England's entrance into the War that England would not fight.

It is true that there still exists in Great Britain a powerful pressure group which is working for a pro-Nazi orientation of the British foreign policy. This pressure group is exemplified by such personages as Sir Henri Deterding, the British oil king, Mr. Garvin, the editor of the powerful *Observer*, Montagu Norman, the director of the Bank of England and friend of Dr. Schacht, the German economics dictator. This group, however, is opposed by the imperialist politicians, the most powerful spokesman of whom is the irascible Winston Churchill, war-time chief of the British admiralty.

Hitler Steps on Britain's Toes

In other words, when Germany concluded the military alliance with Japan, she entered upon a policy that threatens British imperial interests to such an extent that Britain has to sit up and take notice. In addition to that, both Hitler and Mussolini overplayed their hands in Spain. In spite of the ample support to Francisco Franco with arms and men, it became clear in the last week of November that the Fascists will never be able to win in Spain if they do not get the assistance of several German and Italian army corps and naval units.

The loss of prestige to Hitler and Mussolini that accumulated from the Fascist debacle in Spain was so considerable that the government-controlled German and Italian press finally stopped reporting the Spanish events entirely. By that time, the beginning of December, 1936, the British were so impressed by the heroic stand of the Spanish Loyalists that Downing Street gave the City of London to understand that the British financial interests in Spain ought better prepare themselves for the eventuality that they had to come to an understanding with the United Front government in Madrid.

France, of course, in particular Léon Blum as the head of a coalition government which includes such bourgeois elements as the Radical Socialist Party, until the end of November found itself in the most embarrassing position as a result of the situation in Spain. Blum was being severely attacked by the left for his ostensible policy of non-intervention in Spain, while the Fascists were giving open support to the rebels. It can well be understood that Blum hesitated to intervene, although his sympathies lie clearly with the United Front government in Spain. This is so because during the first six months of his administration he achieved so many substantial successes in the way of economic and political progress in France that he didn't want to jeopardize

dize them by a foreign policy that would have cost the support of the Radical Socialist Party and consequently brought down his cabinet. When, however, by the beginning of December, it became clear that the military support that Hitler had given to Franco was not sufficient in order to make the Spanish people submit to Fascism, Blum took a stronger line in the form of a clear pronouncement that the French army was ready to resist all German aggressions.

In other words, while Germany's strategic military position received a considerable fillip through the German-Japanese-Italian triple alliance concluded in the last week of November, she also received a profound diplomatic defeat in the re-orientation of the British foreign policy and the resultant detachment of Great Britain from Germany and a renewed English critical attitude towards Germany. For one thing is clear, that Germany can win no war without the support or the benevolent neutrality of Great Britain.

Golden Gate City

(Continued from page 11)

new and a greater San Francisco.

A dozen men, perhaps, of the hierarchy of wealth control the destinies of the city. Without the endorsement of a limited group of well-known citizens no important undertaking seems possible. The city officials seem to be popularly elected; but their selection, in major instances at least, is socially conditioned. When there is a scandal some poor devil is made the goat, as in the graft scandal of a score of years ago, when Abe Ruef was clapped into jail, but the arch wrongdoers got off scot free. It will probably be the same with the present police investigation. A few officers may land in prison; but there seems little chance of getting the higher ups, who are popularly supposed to live in style on the proceeds of slum property, the dope traffic and commercialized immorality.

Rulers of the City

Our mayor is necessarily a yea-sayer to the power of big business. "Sunny Jim" Rolph, prince of glad-handers, set the example. His successor, Angelo Rossi, a kindly soul, who would not willingly hurt anybody, did not want to give the police orders to fire on the longshoremen in the strike of a couple of years ago. "It will ruin my political career," he wept. "You won't have any political career if you don't," was the grim retort. John Francis Neylan, the lawyer who carries out the behests of William Randolph Hearst, dra-gooned the newspapers into a united front against the strikers, and a record was made in journalistic lying.

The supervisors, for the most part, are safe, middle-of-the-road men, who kowtow to labor, but keep a keen eye on Midas. But they are amenable to

eloquence. On one occasion, to raise money, they imposed a tax on musicians. Victor Herbert happened to be in town; he invaded their sanctum and raked them fore and aft with his oratory. The supervisors immediately rescinded the tax. At the instance of the Art Commission, they set an example for all America by granting an annual subsidy of \$30,000, and thereby saved the Symphony from disbanding. They may also be counted on to vote money to make the Symphony worthy of the exposition to be held in 1939, to celebrate the opening of the two great bridges.

San Franciscans Hate Militarism

A mercurial people, our San Franciscans, but capable of grave thought. Our working class would fight fiercely to defend America against the invader, but, for the most part, they are strongly of the opinion that the decision to undertake a war of offense should be made by the whole people by means of a referendum. Militarism the majority of them abhor. When General Smedley Butler spoke here, an audience of some eight or nine thousand was solidly with him. Not so the newspapers, however. Some of them adopted the tactics of silent conspiracy. The attitude of the Hearst papers was what might be expected of them. The *Chronicle* trembles in the balance between Chester Rowell's timorous Liberalism and the more American Republicanism of Paul Smith. But, if a choice had to be made, the *Chronicle* would probably go Fascist. The *News* makes a brave pretense of being pro-labor, but, when the test comes, it falls in line with the employers.

The reception given to the delegates from the Spanish government was enthusiastic and the audience raised \$3,000 to help the embattled republic in its fight against Fascists, Moors and foreigners. But our well-to-do folk are against the Spanish government for the same reason that they oppose the United Front in France. They are irreconcilably against any government which is not against labor. They talk about loyalty to the Constitution of the United States; but they rarely quote the Declaration of Independence and they greatly deplore Lincoln's reference to the "constitutional" and the "revolutionary" right of the people.

Our middle class is largely averse to any civic cleaning up; they prefer a corrupt city to a liberal one. They dread reform because they fear it will bring radicalism in its train. The attitude of our appointive Board of Education is typical. A few weeks ago there was a debate in one of the sections of the Commonwealth Club about the discussion of controversial subjects, meaning Fascism and Communism, in the public schools. The president of the board held that such subjects should have no place in the curriculum. But the decision of the club, as represented by its section, was overwhelmingly in favor of free discussion of such subjects

as Fascism and Communism, etc.

On this same question of tabooed subjects it is encouraging to note that the posts of the American Legion in San Jose favor the teaching of the issues involved in Fascism and Communism in the public schools. In San Francisco, on the other hand, the officials of the Legion are reactionary.

A World Metropolis

The idea of forming a committee of one thousand, whose members may be called on in time of emergency, has been debated by the supervisors; but so far no action has been taken. Labor contends that, if such a body is formed, it should be composed of representatives of the working class as well as of the employers. Meanwhile, bodies like the American Civil Liberties Union, the Inter-Professional Association, and other democratic bodies are planning legislation to guard against incipient vigilanteism. They cannot forget the terrible conditions in Imperial Valley, the Santa Rosa tar-and-feather party, and the law breaking by the employers at Salinas.

So the battle for a decently governed city goes on. The superstition that the existing oligarchy of wealth is too firmly rooted to be changed is giving place to a more hopeful temper. Innumerable groups are studying economics; the longshoremen are being addressed by liberal minded professors. It is dawning on the working man that he has as good a brain as the merchant, and he means to use it.

But whatever may be the political and economic complexion of the times, every San Franciscan believes with a passionate conviction that his city is destined to be a world metropolis.

Fascist International

(Continued from page 9)

ultimately they must destroy each other because they have no solution for the basic economic problem, does not avail to prevent the present destruction of Democracy.

If the issue is now carried to the field of arms, there is no guarantee that more Fascism will not come out of the next world war than came out of the last. In this country the beginning of war certainly involves the attempt to set up Fascist controls, with every possibility of success. The only way to avoid this doubtful conflict is for the "democratic" countries to withdraw all economic support from the Fascist powers—no loans, no supplies. Obviously this will not be attempted except by People's Front governments. Plainly these cannot be established without first exposing and outvoting the internal Fascist and potentially Fascist forces. The defeat of Fascism abroad requires the defeat of reaction at home. The defeat of reaction at home brings the defeat of the Fascists abroad. It cuts off their base of supplies. If, in des-

peration, they attempt war it cannot last long. Their own combined economic resources are not sufficient.

Peace and Freedom a Reality

But Democracy cannot win by a defensive campaign. Its hidden strength is that it provides the people with a method through which they can solve the economic problem before which the Fascist forces are helpless. Reaction can be stopped from controlling the next period of history if the democratic forces will take the economic offensive in time. Unless the People's Front forces can extend peoples' control swiftly to the economic field, and start to provide jobs and security for all, they lose. The slogan of Democracy, "All Power to the People," means that the people must take over and run the economic machine upon which their lives depend. When the "democratic" countries do this, and do it successfully, they will detach the deceived followers from the Fascist leaders. They will then be in a position to offer economic security, through economic Democracy on a world scale, to all peoples. Then both war and tyranny can be ended. Collective security can become a reality. Peace and freedom can be established.

No Pasaran!

(Continued from page 7)

The constitution becomes a mere joke. The clergy once more collects its fees from the state funds.

There is a revolt in Catalonia.

The famous rebellion of the Asturian miners dates back to this period. But the army stands ready, and the people's desire for Democracy is drowned in blood. Three thousand Asturian miners have to be massacred before they subject themselves to the whip of the despots.

The people vow that the Republic shall live again.

The Popular Front

Former enemies, who have long fought each other bitterly, now join hands. Spain's trade unions, the C. N. T. and the G. T. U., met and discussed a plan of action. They invited all the forces of liberalism to work with them in a common plan. There was, no doubt, much discrimination at the start. Every party wished to see its own program carried out. Gradually they discovered points which they all had in common. They all wanted education for the people, wages and food, hospitals and clinics. They made a program accepted by all. This program was within the bounds of the constitution. Then they prepared for the 1936 elections.

During all this time the "right" continued its reign of terror.

It is in the preparation of this great election that the Church makes a false

(Continued on page 29)

Building the League

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid

NEW JERSEY—The Jersey City League held a rally for Spanish Democracy on December 3rd and collected \$132 for the loyal defenders of democratic government in Spain. Speakers included Eugene Shackner, a



recent foreign correspondent in Madrid, Alfred Chakin of the American People's Olympic team that went to Barcelona and Dr. Lawrence Lefleur, a professor at Brooklyn College. The professional Branch of the Newark League conducted a large meeting for Spain last month and on Armistice Day held a memorial service, with Donald Lester of the New School for Social Research, New York, as main speaker. An anti-war dance was presented on this occasion by Miss Catherine Bjorksen of Montclair. Dr. Solomon Diamond of New York City addressed the Passaic Branch of the League, November 21st, speaking on the Spanish situation from first hand experiences. A sum of over \$80 was collected from an audience of 200 and was sent to aid the Spanish people. At Paterson, the League has been working in a broad united front of organizations which are supporting Spanish Democracy. This broad committee, representing 26 local organizations, has collected over \$1,500 for Spain in addition to several truckloads of clothing and food. Perth Amboy held a public meeting for General Smedley Butler on November 19th, and in spite of the fears of the School Board, which denied the League the use of the high school auditorium, there was no riot! Instead, General Butler delivered a powerful anti-war talk. Over 700 people attended the meeting and gave the general an enthusiastic response. The Reverend Jay Wright of Bloomfield also addressed the meeting. The League is considering what action to take on the ruling of the State Commissioner of Education refusing the League the use of school buildings in the city. Trenton Leaguers recently went from house to house with material against Hearst, securing signatures for a petition to the manager of the local theatre asking him to refuse to show the Hearst news reels. They

raised \$25 for Spain at a Harvest Party on November 18th. Union City has also been active in behalf of Spanish Democracy. A mass meeting in October netted over \$250. On November 21st an "old clothes" party brought a large supply of clothing and food for the Spanish people. A raffle for further funds for Spain is being conducted at the present.

MASSACHUSETTS—A panel discussion arranged by the Northampton League on November 22nd was devoted to the subject of the Spanish civil war. The local Branch issues a monthly news letter to its members, keeping them informed of current developments in the fight against war and Fascism and serving as a coordinator for League activities. The Dorchester Branch held its second annual dance on November 11th and raised a substantial sum of money for organizational purposes and for the Spanish people.

MINNESOTA—With the help of League members, a strong resolution in support of the Spanish people's fight for Democracy was adopted at the recent state convention of the Farm Holiday Association. Many wires and letters of protest to Italian and German ambassadors and consuls decrying recognition of the Franco rebel junta of Spain have been sent from several



Hester G. Huntington, Secretary, Norwalk, Conn., American League Against War and Fascism

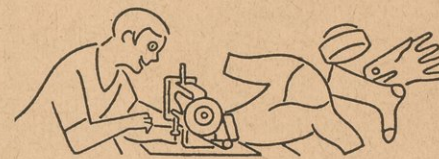
cities and organizations of this state. In Minneapolis the trade unions have been involved in this activity and have also protested the murderous bombardment of Madrid by the Fascist forces.

TEXAS—This lusty Branch of the League in Houston is developing strongly. It took part on Armistice eve in a united peace meeting that aroused considerable interest and support in the community. Henry Lee, a youth speaker of the Emergency Peace Campaign, and Rabbi Sol Russlander addressed the meeting. "Uncle Sam Needs You," a one act play, was presented by the WPA theatre group, while an octette from Houston College for Negroes contributed songs to the program. The meeting adopted a resolution of protest to the superintendent of schools and president of the school board, objecting to the denial of civil rights involved in closing the schools to certain community groups.

NEW YORK—The Albany *Evening News* recently published a photograph of Carl von Ossietzky, winner of the 1935 Nobel Peace Prize, with Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, who spoke for the League in Albany last year. A letter from Dr. Rosenfeld, recalling the occasion of the taking of the picture, was later published in the paper. The Kingston League has also been very active on the Spanish situation. At a recent meeting where Dr. S. Diamond of New York was speaker, over \$35 was raised for Spain by means of a collection and the sale of some pictures given by the Woodstock Artists' Union. Professor J. Moreno-Lacalle recently spoke at Utica and Rome, making a powerful plea for the support of the anti-Fascist forces in Spain. A sum of over \$90 for Spain was raised in these two meetings. New York City now has four Junior Branches of the League according to the report of Joseph Jankowitz, the leader of the Junior Section. The names of these organizations of youngsters have a real tang—"Youth of '76," "Young Progressives," "The Go-Getters," and "Hunt's Point Juniors." Recently the boys have been collecting funds, food and clothing for Spain. One of the Branches has arranged a series of lectures for the winter. Several members took part in the Children's Peace Festival on Armistice Day. The New



York City Youth Section has taken a leading part in work for Spain among youth organizations of the city. The members participated in a city-wide youth conference for Spain that unified the work of many organizations and started a campaign for funds and supplies. In addition, the Youth Section maintains a receiving station for supplies. The Trade Union Committee of the New York City League helped to organize a very significant undertaking for Spain in the city. Several of the unions have embarked on a project of making clothing for the defenders of Spanish Democracy. A sum



of \$1,300 was raised at the outset for the purchase of cloth, the trade unionists contributing their time and the shop owners their equipment for this project. The United Cloakmakers' Branch held a large mass meeting of trade unionists on December 3rd with Joseph Breslau of the I. L. G. W. U., Kurt Rosenfeld, former German minister and recently in Spain, and Melach Epstein of the *Morning Freiheit*, also a recent visitor to Spain, as the speakers. The Finance Committee has just ended a very interesting "clock drawing" raffle. Six prizes were awarded to members who did especially fine work on this project. Aaron Lass of the Bensonhurst Branch, Brooklyn, received first prize—a hundred dollars worth of merchandise. Consolation prizes—copies of *Imperial Hearst* by Ferdinand Lundberg—were given to Sonia Peer, Sunnyside Branch; Blanche Brien, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; G. Walker, Reservoir Branch; N. Naidus, Inwood Branch, and Rudolph Gleisner of the Brooklyn Women's Anti-War League. Westchester County held a peace conference on November 14th, involving nearly all of the peace and anti-war organizations of the district. Speakers included Harvey Steinberg of Yonkers, head of the Typographical Union; the Reverend Frank Hutchins of St. John's Episcopal Church, Yonkers; Rabbi Max MacCoby of Mount Vernon; Mrs. Olive

Libermann and David Bogdanoff, county organizer of the League.

CALIFORNIA—The attention and efforts of the local Leagues in this state are being concentrated jointly on activities for Spain and the State Conference Against War and Fascism taking place in San Francisco, Dec. 11 and 12. The visit of the Spanish delegation touring America to the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas was warmly received. Thousands attended the meetings and a great deal of money was raised. The State Conference was supported by a number of trade unions, including American Radio Telegraphers' Association, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, three locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, District Council No. 2 of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and the Ship Scalers' Union, I.L.A., 38-100. Detailed reports of the Conference are still to come. At Los Angeles the campaign against Hearst is gaining momentum. The entire November 9th issue of "Peace and Freedom," semi-monthly bulletin of



the Los Angeles League, is devoted to the fight against this notorious reactionary. Chock full of vital information and containing definite directions as to things to do to defeat Hearst's Fascist and war-making efforts, this bulletin spreads the campaign into new quarters. The Women's Committee is playing a very active part.

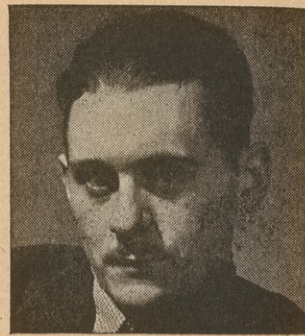
HERE AND THERE—Dr. Harry F. Ward, national chairman of the League, addressed a League meeting on the Spanish situation at Madison, Wisconsin, on November 21st. A



R. N. McKibben, Secretary, Pittsburgh American League Against War and Fascism

large audience of university and town people gave a very warm response to his setting of the issue of Democracy against Fascism. The mid-western regional conference of the League, to take place in Chicago, January 8-10, will be addressed by Bishop Edgar Blake of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Van A. Bittner, head of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in the Great Lakes area and Dr. Harry F. Ward. Our regional organizer, Ralph M. Compere, is in charge of arrangements. The Pittsburgh League had Clinton S. Golden, regional director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, as speaker at a meeting on November 18th. His subject was, "A Strong Labor Movement as a Bulwark Against Fascism."

TOUR OF SPANISH DELEGATION—The delegation of distinguished Spaniards, who toured the United States under the auspices of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, have now completed their itinerary. In every city of their tour, the American League took a most active part in arranging for their visit, advertising the meetings, and getting out crowds of people to hear them. Everywhere they went the American people gave them a tremendous welcome and reached deep into their pockets to help the cause of Democracy in Spain. Speaking seven or eight times in a four-day visit to California, their audiences responded with over \$10,300 to their efforts. In Denver they addressed the most successful anti-war and anti-Fascist meeting ever held in the city. Over 4,000 people packed the Milwaukee auditorium where they spoke. Thus it went everywhere on the tour, with one exception! Reactionary forces, political and religious, at Davenport and Rock Island, laid down a hall blockade, and even though a small meeting place was finally secured, the delegation declined to speak under such repressive conditions. Nevertheless, the crowd that gathered at the small hall was tremendously enthusiastic and over \$300 was collected for the Spanish people. Action is planned, through the courts and through publicity, to defend the right of free speech and assembly in Rock Island. Señora Isabella de Palencia addressed a huge open-air mass meeting in Tampa, Florida, at the time of the A. F. of L. convention and aroused a widespread interest in the cause of her people, despite the fact that she was not permitted to speak on the floor of the convention. The cities visited by this inspiring delegation included Seattle, Washington; Portland, Oregon; San Francisco, East Bay, Redwood, Sunnyvale, and Los Angeles, California; Denver, St. Louis, Tampa, Rock Island, Illinois; Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and New York City.



By James Lerner

Youth Notes

LAST month we warned you, this month it has come true. The youth delegation from Spain has arrived in



the United States and has had its first meetings. Forty-five cities, as well as numerous colleges, have been included in the scheduled tour.

THE representatives of the Youth Front are: Josefina Ramirez, member of the Executive Committee of the Youth Federation of the Republican Union Party (neither sunflower Republican or Coughlin Union) and director of a military hospital; Ygnaz Eugenie, writer, student of Louvain Catholic University and director of the Catholic newspaper, Cruz Y Raya; and Louis Simarro of the Unified Young Socialist League, commander of the government militia. Simarro has been wounded and is accompanied by his wife who acts as nurse. She directs a children's home.

THE tour is being sponsored by the Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, with which the Youth Section is cooperating. Colleges or cities desirous of arranging meetings for the delegation are requested to get in touch with the office immediately.

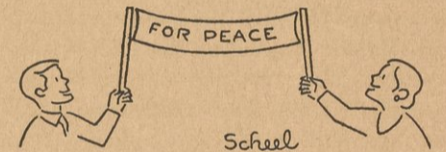
We are making special efforts to bring the delegation to the smaller cities and those not included in the tour just completed by Señora de Palencia and her delegation. This will give the adult branches of the League, who missed out on the first delegation, the opportunity to work for this group. Although meetings should be sponsored by the youth organizations in each city, adults are urged to join forces.

IN NEW YORK youth has raised the cry, "An ambulance from the youth of New York to the youth of Madrid." They're rapidly realizing the slogan and are now working on a "Milk for Spain" week. We heard of one girl who spent a Saturday afternoon visiting doctors in her neighborhood, and remarkable, the doctors gave her

twenty dollars' worth of medical supplies for Spain. At New York University they've run a "Defend Democracy Drag."

MT. VERNON, N. Y. youth branch had a meeting on Spain which brought in \$26. The Englewood youth branch has been reorganized and has begun to boom. In one afternoon we received fourteen new memberships from secretary George Newbald. Now George writes, "We will have new memberships for you within the next week." Englewood is also preparing a tag day for Spain. Good work!

IN RECENT years, youth has become a very popular subject. Youth movements, sincere, worth while and otherwise, surround us on all sides. But these all cover young people over 16 years of age. Now the United Student Peace Committee has established a high



school sub-committee which is to develop an educational program on peace for this age group. Peace polls, essay contests, discussion outlines are being considered. And those of you who've attempted to work with high school age youth or children know how much this is needed.

IN NEW YORK CITY we are told that there are six junior branches, and more being organized. Joseph Jankowitz writes of these: "I think that you will find that some of the junior branches are as active and even more active than some of the youth branches. These active junior branches were organized without the assistance of any adult branches." Plenty of digs in these lines and maybe some hints to "whom it may concern." Two of these branches participated in the children's Armistice Day festival in New York.

AS WE write this column, word comes from San Francisco that a number of youth organizations have already submitted their credentials for the State Conference of the American League. Plans are to rebuild the Youth Section.

Books

(Continued from page 19)

sults of the present economic system. And so far as Mr. Farrell himself is concerned, they have overlooked the fact that although he is aware of the outside toilet, he never fails to see the stars through its broken roof.

—LESLIE READE

A Love Story

(Continued from page 17)

"But all the people . . ."

"Yeh, when all the people . . . That's the reason I hate to see everybody's heart so set on these here lights goin' out. What they gotta know is that even if the lights don't go out things ain't lost. The strike's gotta go on anyway. I been through and seen a lot of these kind of troubles in and out of Chi. The end, I'm sure about now. In the end the workin' people's gotta win, cause it's the only right there is. But it ain't easy. We're gonna take many a lickin' between now and then, but we'll give them plenty a lickin' too, don't worry. But either way baby, we stick around here now, and then we stick together. See."

She looked straight ahead, to the dark row of cottages across the street.

"Look, Jim. It must be about time. The Godwins just turned their lights on."

"Yeh . . . wish we could be surer of the power men."

She slipped her arm through his and moved closer. Together . . . tonight . . . me, and Jim, and all the people.

"Let's watch, Jim. Let's watch the lights go out."

No Pasaran!

(Continued from page 26)

step. It unites itself undeniably with the arch-enemies of the free Republic. It backs the reactionaries in their fight against the demands of the people for an agrarian reform law and for Catalonia's independence. They form a block, not only with the monarchists, but with the Fascists as well. This is hard to understand when we think of the words of Hitler's aide, Rosenberg: "The doctrine of Fascism is irreconcilable with that of the Catholic Church. It knows but the Swastika, incompatible with the Christian cross."

This group, representing aristocratic Spain, goes to the election battle with slogans of "Vote Spanish" and "God Needs Us."

They now hold power in their hands and don't wish to relinquish it. Here is Gil Robles as War Minister. General Fanjul, who later becomes the chief of the Madrid revolt, is undersecretary to this ministry. General Franco holds the most important military position. General Mola also holds

a key position. These are the people who later promise a military dictatorship (Mola, July 29th, 1936), the suppression of all trade unions, abolition of parliament and the revocation of all civil liberties (Franco, August 28th, 1936). The people of Spain go to the polls.

More than half of the total population of 24 million Spanish people voted to determine the future of their country. Of these 13 million voters, ten million reached a verdict against oppression. Close to 75 per cent of the total voted against reaction, against the very tyrants who control the government, against their agonizing cry of "God Needs Us." Thousands of Catholics are aghast at the dictatorial position taken by the autocratic body of the Church.

The Republic Wins

After the election, the most important thing in relation to coming events is probably the division of the Cortes, the Spanish congress. The Cortes is composed of 470 deputies. Of these, 286 represent the Popular Front, while 184 stand for the late government's policies. The division of seats amongst the Popular Front representatives is interesting. There are 16 Communists, 3 Anarcho-Syndicalists, and 90 Social Democrats (an extremely conservative group of socialists). This only accounts for 109 deputies out of a Popular Front representation of 286. The balance of 177 seats went to the mild Republicans (constitutionalists), who can be likened in a sense to our progressive Democrats. The Popular Front stood far too strong with its majority of 102 seats to give the reactionaries any hope of legal interference. To them, only one way was open: The use of the army, which was the uncontested tool of the ruling class. But they are not prepared to act in open revolt immediately after the February elections. They confine themselves to undermining all progressive moves on the part of the government.

During all this time, the government of Azana, who again becomes the President of the Republic, continues the work it started in 1931 after it has restored to the people their constitutional rights which had been usurped during the reactionary period of 1933-1936.

The Rebellion

On Sunday, July 12th, 1936, the beloved leader of Madrid's shock police, José de Costillo, is assassinated in the streets of Madrid. The anger of his men knows no bounds. They seem to be able to identify one of his murderers very definitely, for that same night they arrest the monarchist and ex-finance leader, Colvo Sotelo. They are too impatient to await the due processes of law; Sotelo is delivered at the gates of a Madrid cemetery, with

a bullet hole through his head.

At Sotelo's grave, the monarchists swore that they would avenge him. Gil Robles, leader of the so-called "Catholic Party," in a speech to the Cortes on July 14th, warns the government that "responsibility" would overtake the "highest" therein. "Our wrath will fall upon the parties which support you in the Popular Front coalition and will spatter the whole régime with mud, with misery and with blood," he yells. Having spoken, he rushed off to Portugal.

Four days after this speech, on July 18th, there was unchained in Spain the most horrible, the most devastating invasion of armed hordes, that has few parallels in the history of the world.

Franco and Mola and all those others are guilty of a crime that cannot be met with forgiveness. They have not only broken their oath of loyalty to the Republic, they mean to force the people of Spain to reject their vote. But it is this very vote which has proved that they shall never rule the people of Spain again. With that as their objective, they are licked before they start. They can only hope to rule a devastated country in which the majority of the population must be annihilated. In just that manner they tried to subdue the revolt of the Asturian miners in 1934. They shot 3,000 of them, yet for every man that fell three are standing up today. They are standing up, willing to die for liberty.

This is the story of the carnage in Spain today, in which already 100,000 human beings are known to have been slaughtered.

We can let the press of the world speak freely. Those who know what freedom means will be able to draw their own conclusions.

Spain in Blood

The rebels' task is a simple one. They need but to murder, pillage and burn as they advance. The government must protect the women and children; they must save the art treasures of Spain from destruction. Even as they attack, they must spare the lives of non-combatants who may be in the line of their fire.

"The Church is our stronghold," said rebel headquarters. Indeed, they use most of them as machine gun nests and fortifications. Authoritative sources have stated that some priests have flung their cassocks aside to defend Spanish autocracy.

A few weeks ago, a priest stood on the pulpit of the church in Santiago de Calzia and urged all the men to go to war, to fight in the ranks of the rebels. Suddenly the voice of the archbishop broke the hushed silence of the congregation: "Slay no more sons of men; slay no more of your brothers in Christ!" This noble attitude is a truly Catholic and truly Christian one. Spain

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can still count many men like this one.

They know that the Roman Catholic Church recognizes but one moral law: "Rebellion against the legitimate civil authorities has always been condemned by the Church. Today, a more efficacious method to throw off tyranny is given by the suffrage of citizens." (From a volume on Moral Theology, an abstract exposition of the Roman Catholic doctrine, approved by the Holy See.)

We read in the German press: "100,000 have lost their lives in Spain. No doubt most of these have become the martyrs of the Bolshevik blood-bath. Daily more and more of the government militia are going over to the Nationals. (Fascist name for Franco's hordes—Editor.) The balance of the militia are only waiting to join Franco as soon as they can escape. Russia's (sic) assistance to Madrid only prolongs this civil war."

This and no more is told to the people of Germany, who suffer under the most tyrannic form of government in existence.

In every country in Europe we find a well-developed Fascist press. They often sell for less than any other paper in town. Their methods invariably are the same. They promise a superior form of dictatorship, always reminding their adherents that it will be better than those Fascist dictatorships which now exist. Always their reports of the Spanish situation resemble each other.

Always they speak of the glorious victories of the Fascists.

Some, no doubt, read these papers. Yet the people of Europe are little influenced by this campaign of vilification against Democracy.

World Sympathy

The people of Europe stand united in their defense of the real Spain.

Their action bespeaks their sympathy with the heroic fight for freedom. Not only Europe, but the whole world continues to prove its solidarity with the Spanish people.

In France, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Britain, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Mexico and the United States, workers, intellectuals and members of the middle class have collected food, clothing and money for the aid of the fighters for Democracy in Spain. In Yugoslavia, despite a government ban, funds have been raised for the children of the Spanish militiamen. Even in Japan are heard words of encouragement. From a Tokyo newspaper: "Can our proletarian organization undertake something to help the Republican exponents?"

The fight for Democracy in Spain is the fight for Democracy of the whole world. Everywhere, as we have seen, the people stand against the horrors of Fascism and war. In helping Spain, we are helping our own struggle for liberty.

Shut Up!

(Continued from page 21)

New York Times) rearranged by races, with Nordics preferred. The Berlin Secession has been closed to non-Aryans. Pictures by Oskar Koschka and Karl Hofer have been removed from the museums. Of the painters and sculptors considered the foremost living German artists when the Museum of Modern Art arranged its 1931 exhibition, not one is listed in the exhibitions held in 1934 at Munich by the "Munich Secession" and in Berlin in 1935 by the "Ausstellung Berliner Kunst," though before Hitler they were constantly exhibited, for example at the "Künstlerbund" exhibition at Essen in 1931 and at the Prussian Academy in Berlin in 1932. Similarly, nine of the artists included in this museum's abstract show last year are in exile, states a footnote in the catalogue.

The Camel Is Semitic

This is how Hitler has accomplished art's "rebirth" in Germany. Some excesses may be noted. In typography the ugly and illegible black letter has been revived, though the type faces designed in Germany after the War were notable contributions to the printer's art and though the sans-serif letter has established itself everywhere as a modern style. Generally, Gothic and medieval styles are promoted and the tendency to hark back to Charlemagne is indicative of the régime's cultural obscurantism. *The Krupps, on the other hand, do not hark back to bows and arrows.*

In architecture, functionalism, the joint gift of France and Germany to the world, with the American Frank Lloyd Wright as its spiritual father, is looked at askance, and flat roofs are regarded as "Jewish-Oriental." It is said that the Bauhaus, denuded of its leaders, now boasts a pitched roof, symbol of its new allegiance to old ideas.

An account in the New York Times relates that "Nordic" painters were advised not to use Indian-yellow, a pigment derived from a by-product of the camel, as this animal was not considered to be in harmony with purist Nordic aims. In general, "cultural bolshevistic" tendencies are opposed.

The Nazi hostility to modern art does not stem from a sincere albeit prejudiced and mistaken dislike of present-day trends in art; it is a calculated policy of racial and political subjugation, based on a shrewd understanding of the relation between social and political democratic movements and democratic esthetic movements. Devoted to reaction in politics, the Nazi régime dares not permit any ferment of ideas in art. It follows, therefore, that often an art program has been dictated by the most blatant political considerations, as

the reconstruction of the destroyed Munich Crystal Palace was a move to conciliate estranged Bavarian sentiment. The political nature of the regimentation of art in Germany today is indicated in *Weltkunst*, which almost every week publishes in the last page's right-hand column governmental rules and regulations for artists.

The Reaction Speaks

Hitler (who aspired to be an artist only to be refused by the art schools, and who recently exhibited his water colors at the Leipzig Museum) on the occasion of the laying, in 1933, of the cornerstone of the Munich "Temple of German Art" insisted there is no room in Germany for "cultural bolshevism." Adolf Wagner, then Bavarian Minister of the Interior, said, "Blood and soil are the roots from which grow life and development."

Goebbels, who holds power of life and death over all German cultural activities, even to critics, in 1933 stated that the artist cannot be unpolitical and that he *must* not be international, adding that Jews would be eliminated not by legislative action but by the German people! Wagner, harking back to the past, called Munich the soul of Germany and said the new "Temple of Art" would be no "drab modernistic" affair. Alfred Rosenberg, author of *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, an extraordinary revelation of ruling class mentality, regrets *both* modern experimental art and the pseudo-baroque of recent imperial periods. Again Goebbels runs counter to world critical opinion when he says in 1934, "Especially in the graphic arts, Republican Germany went along such ghastly wrong paths." Yet everywhere in the civilized world, Dix's, Grosz's and Kollwitz's anti-war prints have been hailed as great masterpieces of our age.

"Leader" of the German people, Hitler aspires to be leader of German artists, when he says in 1934, "The genuine artists would join us quite spontaneously, because we are constructive ourselves." The constructiveness exemplified in concentration camps is not apparently to the liking of reputable creative workers, however, to judge from the list of exiles.

The Munich "Temple of Art" typifies Hitler's artistic standards. A booklet, distributed in this country in 1934 to raise funds for the building, begins thus: "We call upon our artists to wield the noblest weapon in defense of the German people: German art!" At the seventh Nazi Congress at Nuremberg in September, 1935, Hitler said: "In the midst of everything we found time to lay the foundations for a new Temple of Art. . . . We resolved that on no account would we allow the dadaist or futurist or intimist or objectivist babblers to take part in this new cultural movement." This attitude may be understood in the light

of the Hitlerian vocabulary in which constantly recur words beginning with "re," "restore," "reawaken," "revive," "rebirth," "renascence." Nothing new is to be born in the Nazi culture; only the old is to be made over.

Related to this psychology are the statements made in *Völkischer Beobachter* by Florentine Hamm: "Once the German soul found its complete expression in stone and wood—Gothic art. The thirteenth century was a Gothic century." Yet an authority like Prof. Talbot Hamlin of Columbia University states that "It was in France that the basis of Gothic was first developed. In Germany, Gothic was largely an imported style."

"Folk Soul" by Decree

With such an ideological background for regimentation, Goebbels, chief of the Bureau of Propaganda and Enlightenment, is creating a "folk soul" by decree. In Decrees XXX to XXXIII of the Third Reich, he was given jurisdiction over intelligence reports and publicity in other countries, art, art exhibitions, films and sports affairs in foreign countries, music, theatre, radio, etc., etc. A chamber of culture was set up, with subsidiary chambers for writers, press, radio, theatre, music, painting, sculpture and films. All German cultural creation emanates from these bodies. One cannot exhibit a painting or sculpture unless one belongs to the proper chamber; and no one can belong unless approved by the Ministry of Propaganda. Naturally, no unpopular political views get by.

As a result, creative life is dead. Rosenberg speaks of the "smooth monumental style of the National Socialist Way of Life." (Capitals his.) But this is the architecture of mausoleums, not of life. Unprejudiced observers report that a calm like death exists in cultural Germany. There is no flux of ideas evolving new forms. Pseudo-classicism and "academicism" are the sole harvest of blood and soil. In consequence, the dramatic critic of the *London Times*, trying desperately to say the kindest word for Nazi culture, can do no more than, "The new Germany is as yet artistically barren."

Ostrich Tactics

To conceal the sterility of the Nazi program is plainly the purpose of the latest Goebbels edict, banning criticism of the drama, films, literature, painting, sculpture and other art works. Critics are neither to praise or blame a work of art, only to describe it. Plainly a synopsis of the plot of a novel or an account of the composition of a painting will not give any idea as to whether it is a good or bad production. Thus the barrenness of the arts in Germany today will be concealed from the world, as well as from the German people. Fortunately, ostrich tactics never long prevail in hiding the truth.

Oh Say, Can You See?

“WHY ARE the American League and other anti-Fascist organizations raising funds to purchase medical supplies, food and clothing for the Spanish loyalists when the bank vaults of Madrid hold one of Continental Europe’s largest gold reserves?” a number of Doubting Thomases have asked.

Well, does the money in your pocket or even your bank account last very long when you lose your job and at the same time have to meet a big hospital bill? Don’t forget, too, that nations operate on a credit basis. Even the United States couldn’t pay cash for long. And with Spain in a turmoil, the government’s normal revenues have been curtailed alarmingly at a time when it has to meet the tremendous expense of a modern war.

The truth is that the rebels banked on the belief that by sabotaging Spain’s credit they could bring her to her knees. But the millions of dollars which came pouring in from anti-Fascist sympathizers all over the world have prevented this. In the meantime, Franco is discovering that Germany and Italy, upon whom he depended for unlimited funds and munitions, are none too flush themselves and may not extend credit indefinitely unless the



democratic forces are defeated soon. After borrowing all they could, the rebels now have moved their financial headquarters to Amsterdam, the world’s diamond center, in order to sell their jewelry and church treasures more advantageously.

There is another answer to the question which is even more valid than the first. That is that folks who contribute their nickels, dimes and quarters to the Spanish aid fund obtain a tremendous sense of kinship with the volunteers on Madrid’s barricades. People who have “never bothered much” about the situation in Europe begin to root for their side after giving away their hard-earned cash. Such a feeling of solidarity is a splendid development and, in the months and years to come, may do more than anything else to halt the ravages of Fascism.

Germany’s Dumb Dora diplomacy, the blunders of which were in large

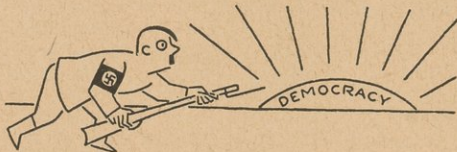
measure responsible for the defeat of the Central Powers in the World War, has stubbed its toe once more, this time upon the Nazi-Japanese military alliance. Even Hitler seems appalled by the uproar of protest aroused in all democratic nations, including hitherto friendly Great Britain and the aloof United States.

So Beautiful Adolf tries to smooth things over by releasing Lawrence Simpson, falsely imprisoned American seaman, and saying that, after all, Carl von Ossietzky may go to Norway to collect the Nobel Peace Prize. It had previously been announced that von Ossietzky, also just released from prison, would “contribute” his \$40,000 award to a fund for fighting Communism in Norway.

THE FIGHT, by the way, is mighty proud of the fact that it was the only American magazine which carried a full story on von Ossietzky a month before he received the Nobel prize.

And did you notice how the U. S. State Department, which had done practically nothing to obtain Simpson’s release, rose to Hitler’s bait and claimed the credit rightly belonging to the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, which publicized the case throughout the world.

But Hitler’s friendly gestures do not alter the fact that Berlin and Tokyo have signed a treaty which is aimed not only at the Soviet Union but also at all the democratic nations. Their talk of “preserving cultural standards by destroying Communism” would be funny if it were not so disgusting. It does seem strange, though, that Hitler didn’t realize the old red herring had been pretty badly shopworn by his friend Willie Hearst during the American Presidential campaign.



Some funny things are going on in the field of education these days. State Senator John J. McNaboe has discovered that Cornell University is a hotbed of Communism. Hitler’s “historians” have proved that Columbus didn’t discover America after all. The not so Very Rev. Robert I. Gannon, S. J., president of Fordham University, praises Mussolini and says the Spanish rebels are “glorious outlaws

like George Washington and the Irish saints.” The Rockefeller Foundation has granted \$655,000 to the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Germany. A proposal has been made that all New York pupils be fingerprinted upon leaving elementary school. And scientific research by strikers at the Berkshire Knitting Mills in Reading, Pa., has disclosed that tear gas will not touch pickets if they lie on the pavement while blocking plant entrances to strike-breakers.

Have you a little chain gang on your farm? Paul D. Peacher, Earle, Ark., planter, thought he had solved his labor problems when he got himself appointed town marshal in order to arrest Negroes on trumped-up



charges and make them work for nothing on his plantation.

The Southern Tenant Farmers Union thought otherwise, so Peacher (or should it be Poacher) was tried and sentenced to two years in prison and fined \$3,500 for violating the state’s anti-slavery statute.

This is a victory for Negro workers surpassed only by the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court to rehear Angelo Herndon’s case. Herndon was given a long sentence on a real chain gang because he led an unemployed demonstration in Georgia some years ago.

If Peacher had followed the example set by Japan in Manchukuo, he might have got away with his scheme without protest from his slaves. The Japanese imported 73 tons of opium into their puppet empire last year in order to stupefy unwilling subjects.

But the Nipponese are having plenty of trouble in sections out of reach of their narcotics. Latest reports are that they have been driven out of Suiyuan Province by a Chinese army which is now planning to thrust on into Chahar and other northern provinces stolen by Japan.

Chile is a paradox among nations and developments there will bear watching in the near future. In one week, the government recognized the Italian con-

quest of Ethiopia, arrested 150 members of Nazi groups operating in the country and established a minimum wage for women employees at a level 20 per cent below that fixed for men.

The splendid response given by French and other seamen of Europe to pleas for support from their striking American brothers is almost unprecedented in labor history. Port after port has refused to unload ships from the U. S. unless they are manned by union crews. This solidarity is extremely significant because it shows that in time of war the world’s seamen could effectively block shipment of munitions.

The American Federation of Labor seems bent on emulating the Knights of Labor, which attained great power and millions of members in the 1880’s and then collapsed when it refused to join the A. F. of L. in the fight for the eight-hour day. Now it is the Federation which has become reactionary and refuses to support John L. Lewis and his Committee for Industrial Organization of the steel industry. To the average worker the organization of strong industrial unions is as important as was the attainment of the eight-hour day back in the Nineties. And it is a safe guess that unless William Green changes his policies he will live to see his organization swallowed up by the C. I. O.

How would you feel if Gerald K. Smith succeeded in organizing his young Fascist army in Louisiana and, with the aid of several regiments of hard-bitten soldiers of fortune, made a surprise attack up the Mississippi, captured America’s gold reserves, which are all buried in the Kentucky mountains, continued on and took Chicago, thus cutting the nation in two and cutting off food supplies from the West?

And what would you do if the Fascist nations sent hordes of battleships and planes to help Smith attack New



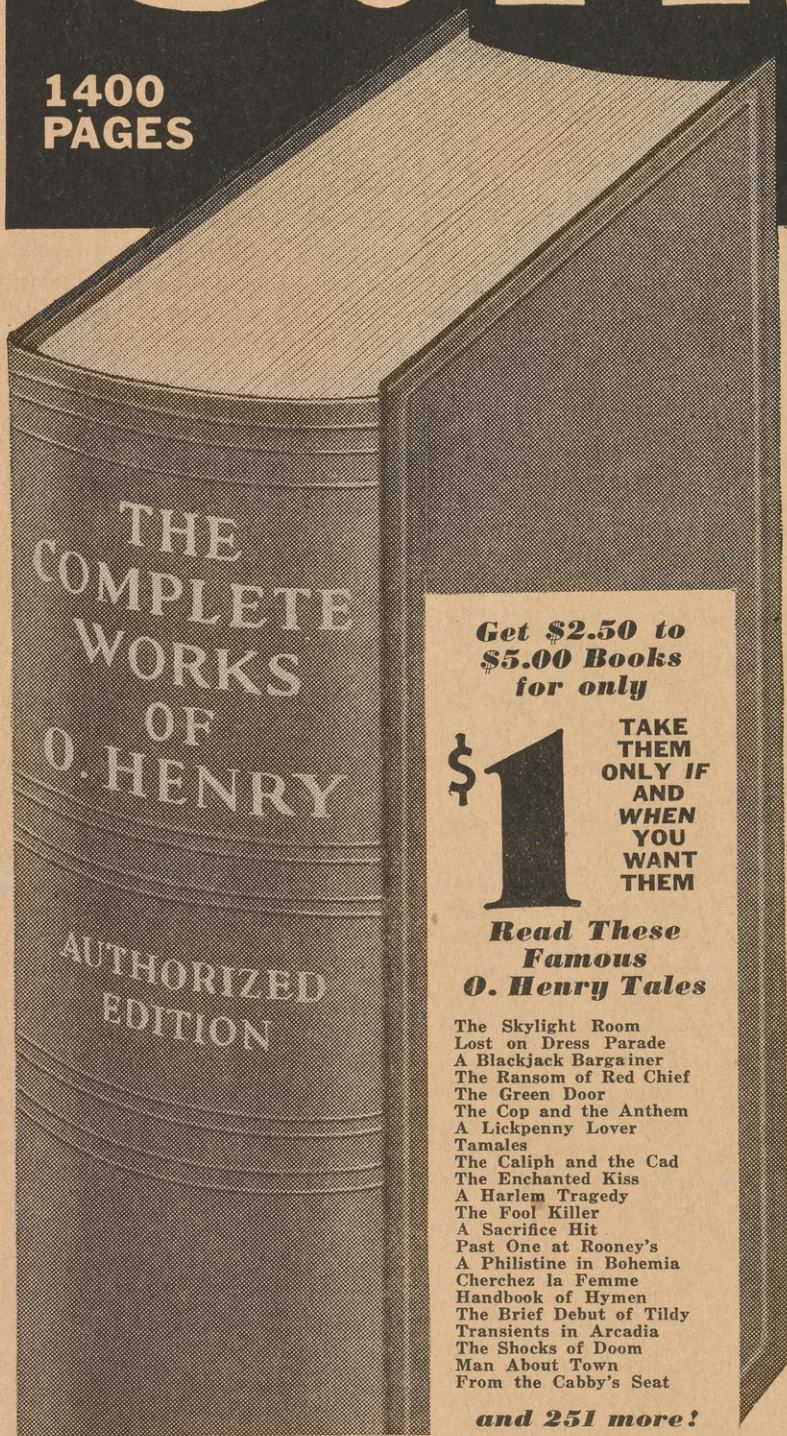
York and Washington while democratic countries refused to lend the U. S. money or sell it munitions and food for fear the Fascists might declare war on them?

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