

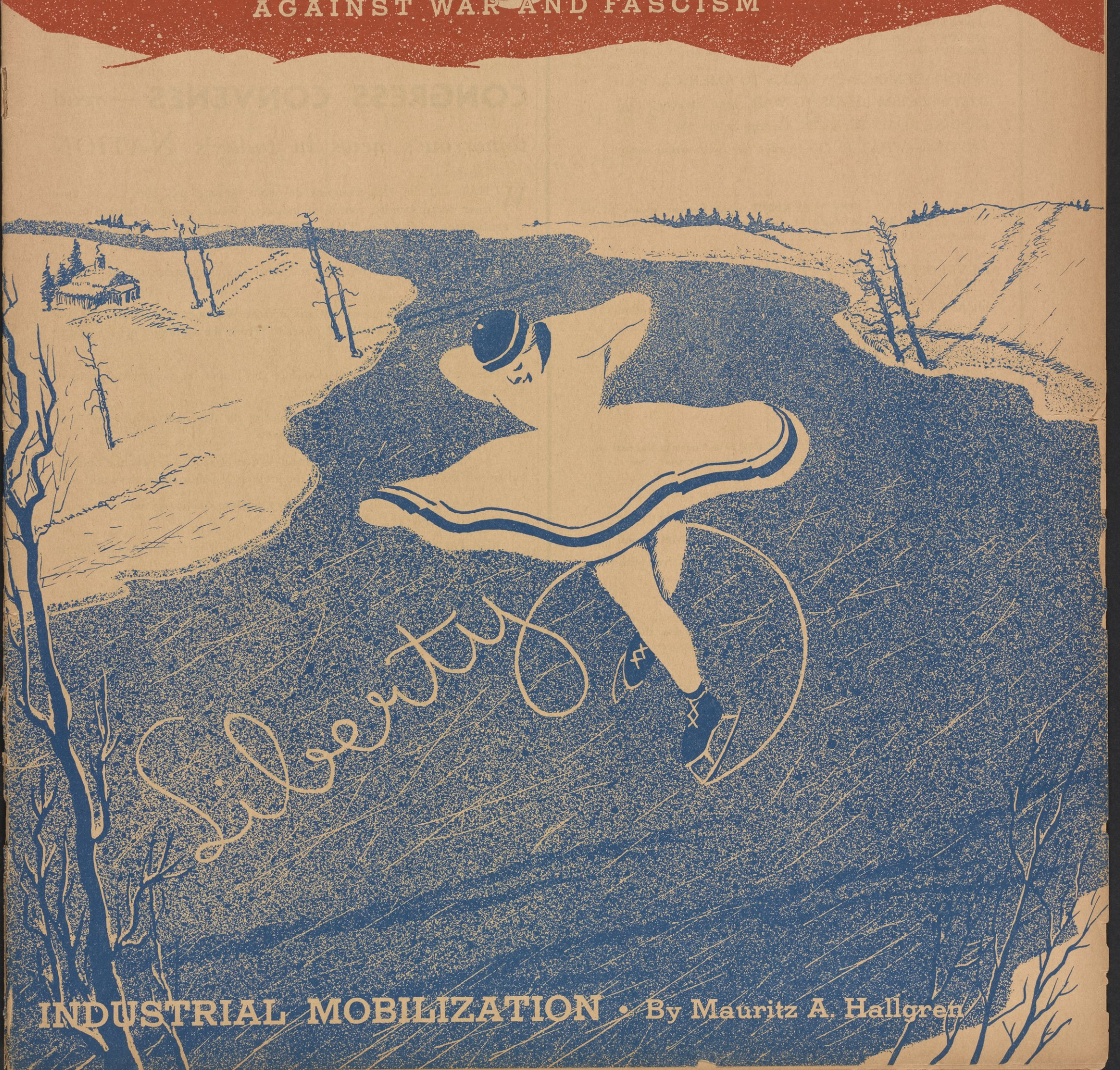
I SAW SPAIN By Sylvia Townsend Warner

February
1937

The Fight

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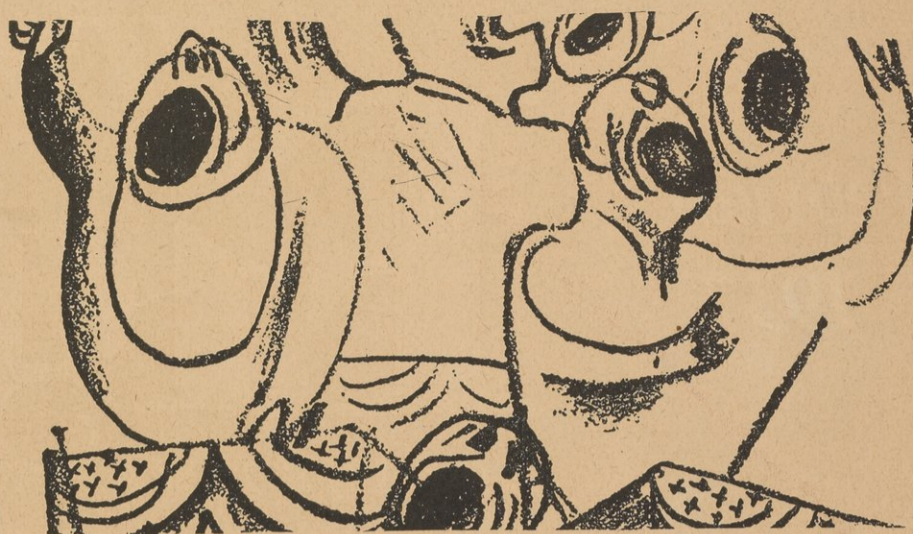
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With the Readers



IF we had our way in life, and why shouldn't we, we would declare February 12th and May 31st national holidays. Each of these days of rejoicing and merry-making would last a week. The lid would be off, for behold, on these days, democracy's greatest sons were born.

WHEN lilacs last in the dooryard bloomed,
And the great star drooped in the western sky at night,
I mourned, and yet shall mourn with ever-returning spring.

THIS was the song of Walt Whitman upon the death of Abraham Lincoln. And these two sons of America who were born in February and May are our finest symbols of Liberty and Democracy. (Yes, on these days we would even give a leave of absence to all the Hearsts in the detention camps on condition, of course, that they kiss the flag three times a day.)

AS time goes on, we find ourselves thinking more often of the great traditions and great heroes of this land. From Washington, Jefferson, Paine, John Brown, Nat Turner, Thoreau, Emerson, Whitman, Lincoln, Debs to Johnny Appleseed and Paul Bunyan. Carriers of Freedom and Messengers of Liberty! Heroes of old, what would you say today to a Congress putting an embargo on life to Spain, to a legitimate government fighting for its democratic life against autocracy?

WOULD you, heroes of old, be boiling mad? What would you say to Congress? What would you say to the men who dare not, for expediency's sake, open their mouths? And what would you say to the press?

YOU Lincolns and Jeffersons and Walt Whitmans remember how, not so long ago, the killjoys tried to stop the march of progress? You remember what they said after you made the Gettysburg address.

"WE pass over the silly remarks of the President; for the credit of the nation we are willing that the veil of oblivion shall be dropped over them and that they shall no more be repeated or thought of." The Harrisburg, Pa., *Patriot and Union* said that. The *Chicago Times*: "The cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly, flat and dishwatery utterances of the man who has to be pointed out to intelligent foreigners as the President of the United States."

SO it has always been and so it is today in the march for freedom. We are a little proud to be part of the American League whose statement on Spain, "In ... our own Civil War, the United States government insisted on its right to purchase freely abroad and on the denial of that right to the Confederacy," so clearly and bravely upheld the loyalists. How can any anti-war group today achieve its purpose without at the same time fighting against the cause of war—Fascism?

WHITMAN made his great song for Lincoln when he died, and the common people throughout the world, in Spain and in America, in this month of February when Lincoln was born, remember, and in remembering continue that song in the factories and on the barricades, on the farm and in the home, in the office, school and mine:

The star, my departing comrade, holds
and detains me.

FIGHT, February 1937



The Spanish youth delegation in America. Left to right: Maria Simarro, Josefina Ramirez, Luis Simarro and Eugenio Imaz

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JOSEPH PASS, Editor

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The Contributors



SYLVIA TOWNSEND WARNER, the English novelist, was in Spain when we asked her to write her impressions of the war there for American readers. Miss Warner's books are well known in this country, as they should be. She is the author of *Summer Will Show*, *Mr. Fortune's Maggot*, *Lolly Willows*, *The True Heart*, *The Salutation*, etc., etc.

H. J. GLINTENKAMP, who illustrates Miss Warner's story on Spain, has been twice to that country and on one occasion spent twelve months on a walking tour there. Mr. Glintenkamp is the author of *A Wanderer in Woodcuts*, has illustrated many books and contributed to a number of publications, including *The London Mercury*, *The Forum*, etc.

MAURITZ A. HALLGREN, formerly with the Associated Press in Chicago, Washington correspondent for the International News Service and the United Press, European correspondent for the U. P. in Berlin, associate editor *The Nation*, since 1934 has been associate editor of the *Baltimore Sun*. Mr. Hallgren is the author of *Seeds of Revolt* and *The Gay Reformer*, and is about to publish a new book.

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL is a recognized and leading authority on constitutional law. He is the author of *The Sacco-Vanzetti Case* and edited *The Curse of Bigness: Miscellaneous Papers of Justice Brandeis*.

MORRIS KAMMAN, who writes the excellent article on Lincoln and Washington, has for many years been journalist and editor.

OSCAR AMERINGER, editor and publisher of the *American Guardian*, gives us here another chapter of his autobiography. Born in Germany in 1870, Mr. Ameringer came to the United States in 1886, and has been active in the labor movement for over four decades since he joined the Knights of Labor the year he arrived here. He has edited many labor papers, including *The Labor World*, *The Oklahoma Pioneer*, and *Milwaukee Leader*.

A. BIRNBAUM, one of our favorite illustrators, contributes to many publications of national standing, including *Harper's Bazaar*, *New Yorker*, *Stage*, etc., etc.

LOUIS LOZOWICK, who writes the introduction to the Goya reproductions in this number, is one of the very few men on the American scene who are both artist and critic. A very rare combination, indeed.

DALE KRAMER, editor of the weekly *Farm Holiday News* and one of the editors of *Midwest—A Review*, writes here the article on Minneapolis, a city he knows very well and a city we like.

RUSSELL T. LIMBACH, hailing from Cleveland, where he worked as newspaper cartoonist, is now living in New York and has up to very recently been art editor of *The New Masses*.

M. PASS made the cover for this issue. More than any other artist, since November, 1933, when the first number of this magazine appeared, he has been a consistent contributor, and has worked to make this publication what it is today.

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February, 1937

I Saw Spain

The distinguished British novelist makes her initial report to American readers on what she saw and heard in a country fighting to cast off its medieval rags

By Sylvia Townsend Warner

ILLUSTRATED BY H. J. GLINTENKAMP

IT WAS our first day in Spain. We were at Port-Bou, in Catalonia, the little frontier fishing town. Our passports had been visaed by the Workers' Committee, we had only to wait for the afternoon train to Barcelona.

We sat drinking coffee and staring at the profound Mediterranean blue of the bay, the pale slopes of the Pyrenees, and trying to read the newspaper in Catalan. One of the members of the Committee, a grave grey-haired man, speaking a slow, very pure French, came to our table, saying that he had a quarter of an hour to himself, and would have his coffee with us. He helped us with the newspaper, and told us of the situation of the town, its fishers and small-holders enrolled in the militia.

He apologized for yawning, saying he had been up all night. There was so much to be done, he said. He looked as though he had been up for many nights. "Do you ever sleep?" I asked him.

"With one eye," he answered.

The Patrol Tug

Just then we heard the hoot of a siren. The children ran to the water's edge, four or five militiamen with old-fashioned muskets or revolvers joined the children, women came out of the houses and stood shading their eyes, looking towards the sea.

"Something abnormal," said our friend. We too got up and walked down to the water's edge. The siren hooted again, a small tug came round the headland.

"She patrols this coast," he said. "She must have something to report, she does not usually come in at this hour."

While we stood watching he pointed to a little hut on the headland. Look-out men were stationed there, day and night. If they saw an enemy ship, or the Italian planes coming from Majorca, they blew a whistle. The alarm would be taken up by other watchers blowing a siren fixed in the church



tower, and at that warning the people of Port-Bou would be ready to take shelter.

"We shelter," he said, smiling rather satirically, pointing to the dark hole in the hillside, the railway track leading into it, "we shelter in the International Tunnel."

"Is there any defense for the town?" I asked. He looked at the handful of militiamen, the children, grave and alert, silently watching the tug coming in.

"What you see."

That group of men and children on the shingle, watchful and resolute, that half-dozen of poor arms, the old tug, hooting like a mother-bird giving its warning note . . . this was our first sight of the Workers' Spain against which the weight of Europe is actively or passively engaged. Our friend, bleached with fatigue, haggard with responsibility, nothing bright about him except his clear eyes and the scarlet of the badge in his buttonhole (PSUC, United Socialist Party of Catalonia), was one of those brutal Marxists who endanger, so we are told, the whole régime of civilization.

2

Ramona, a Militia Girl

Bright-eyed Ramona, militia girl, aged twenty-four, her solid thighs and round bosom filling out her brown dungaree uniform, a revolver in her belt, her quartermaster's badge on her breast, was, when we met her, already a veteran. She had taken part in the ill-fated expedition to Majorca when volunteer troops were landed on an island where they expected to confront only Spanish Fascism, and found instead the superior forces of international Fascism. The position taken in the first rush was held for three weeks, it was hunger at last which forced it to be evacuated. "When we saw a cat . . ." said Ramona. "But at last there was not another cat to be found."

A street scene, Toledo, Spain



The Hill of Piety

Above the bright eyes, which had looked death so steadfastly in the face, were a pair of plucked eyebrows. Ramona the veteran, Ramona who could take a machine gun to pieces and re-assemble it without a bungle, had not been long enough in the army to grow her natural eyebrows again.

"Before I joined the army I was a shop-girl," she said.

"What did you sell?"

"Mothers of God and ice-creams," she replied.

"A religious place," she explained. "A village in the mountains, like a little Lourdes. It belonged, all of it, to

a Fascist, he exploited it, it was his property.

"So were we," she continued. "We girls, who sold at his shop and waited at his restaurant. If a girl was young, that was enough for him, he would seduce her. But she must be young. When she had a baby, then his mother would dismiss her. She was religious, that old mother, she loved just three things, the church, and money and her son. All night she would pray and weep because her son was a sinner. Then in the morning she would hire another young girl."

"Were you seduced, Ramona?"

"Not I! I was in my Trade Union, I was a Socialist, I had ideas. And I was old, too—too old for him. They would not have kept me only I was smart and a good saleswoman, and made money for them.

"I used to talk to the other girls, argue with them, you know, but they were too tired to listen to me, or too much afraid of the boss and the old woman. We slept all in one attic, like in a barracks. At five in the morning she would come in, scolding us for lying so long in bed.

"And they got away," she exclaimed, beating her brown fist on the table. "I ran all the way to the Committee in the town, I said to them, 'This man is a Fascist, the woman is religious, all their money will go to buy arms to kill us if we do not get it now.' And they sent men. But it was too late, they were off, both of them, with their money. Nothing was left but the rosaries and the images, and the girls with their unborn babies."

Proletarian Chivalry

"All that money," she said furiously. "Shooting us down!" She talked as candidly as a bird sings, there was only one subject from which she would flinch aside, become preoccupied and reserved. It did not do to ask her when the Centuria to which she belonged might go

again into the fighting line. For recently the military authorities of loyal Spain had been discountenancing the *milicianas*, no more women were permitted to enlist, those already in the militia were being weeded out. Ramona would need all her prowess and her persuasion, her skill with machine guns, her reputation as a superb quartermaster, if she were to go into the fight again. This unwomaning of the Workers' Militia was given great prominence in the capitalist newspapers of Europe, and attributed by them to one of two causes: that the *milicianas* ran away, or that they spread venereal disease. The actual reason was different, a something unsuspected by the ruling class. It had been found that the sight of a dead or wounded woman tended to set up curious reactions in the men fighting, men, one must remember, untrained in warfare, and for the most part deprived of the rallying effect of being officered by people of the ruling class. These men, seeing their women fellow-soldiers fall dead, or lie writhing, lost their heads. Horror, or furious rage, took possession of them; forgetting caution, forgetting rather that military version of caution which is called discipline, they would rush upon the enemy, calling them Butchers, and Fascists, and get needlessly killed themselves. And since there was no time to train away this working-class chivalry, it was thought best to withdraw the women from the fighting ranks.

So now, though the Fascists have still a good chance of killing Ramona, she is likeliest to be shot in a captured town, or killed as a civilian in an air raid. To the Fascists this will make little difference, a worker dead is a worker dead to them. But it will make a considerable difference to Ramona, so proud in her uniform, wearing her forage cap so jauntily with the tassel dangling above her bright eyes.

3

A Long Walk from Switzerland

I met him at the Department of Strangers, the office which deals with the affairs of all extra-nationals in Barcelona. He was a large rawboned man with small grey eyes, his clothes were shabby, his boots were torn. He was sitting on a small gold chair with a red velvet seat (for the Department of Strangers is housed in what used to be a luxury hotel), grim as a man of stone, and in a furious temper.

As I neared him he said in a rasping voice:

"Do you speak French? Well, listen to this. This place is not business-like."

"They are very busy," I said appeasingly.

"Bah! I came here yesterday, and told them that I want to enlist myself in the International Legion. They told me to come again this morning,

when they would have made my arrangements. I came this morning, half an hour ago, and I am still waiting." Leaning forward, squawking his elegant chair on the parquet, he added, "I find it very irksome."

"Other people are waiting, too," I said. "You must take your turn, even to enlist."

Locking his bony hands, he went on: "I came here to fight, not to wait. I walk here from Switzerland . . ." "From Switzerland?"

The exclamation was startled out of me. I had a ridiculous vision of this angry man stalking out of a chalet, setting out on his walk, saying abruptly over his shoulder, in answer to a question cried from within the chalet, "To Spain."

He strode over my question.

"I Come Here to Fight Them"

"I was unemployed, I had no money for trains, so I walked. We have Fascists in Switzerland too, I know them. I come here to fight them, and I am kept waiting. Thirty-five minutes, now."

My name was called. The man for whom I was translating had been summoned for his interview. As I got up the angry man said, in a tone of even profounder resentment:

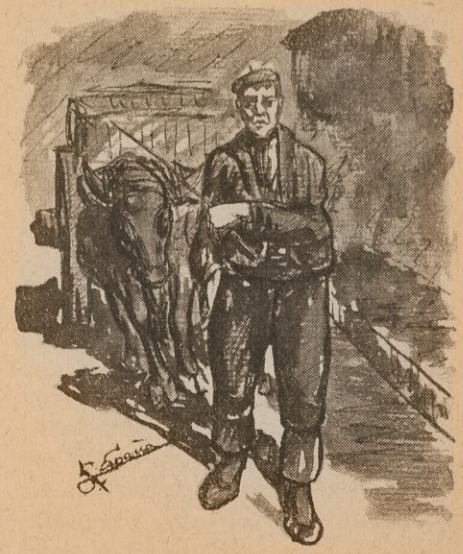
"If you get a chance, you might mention in there that I have come here to fight."

When I came out again into the waiting room I looked round for my angry man, to assure him that the word had been spoken, that his affair was already in hand. But he was gone, my angry man. Instead, I saw a beaming stranger, who had borrowed his boots and his travel-stained clothes, and who was filling out a form and signing his name in a handwriting full of exultant and stately flourishes.

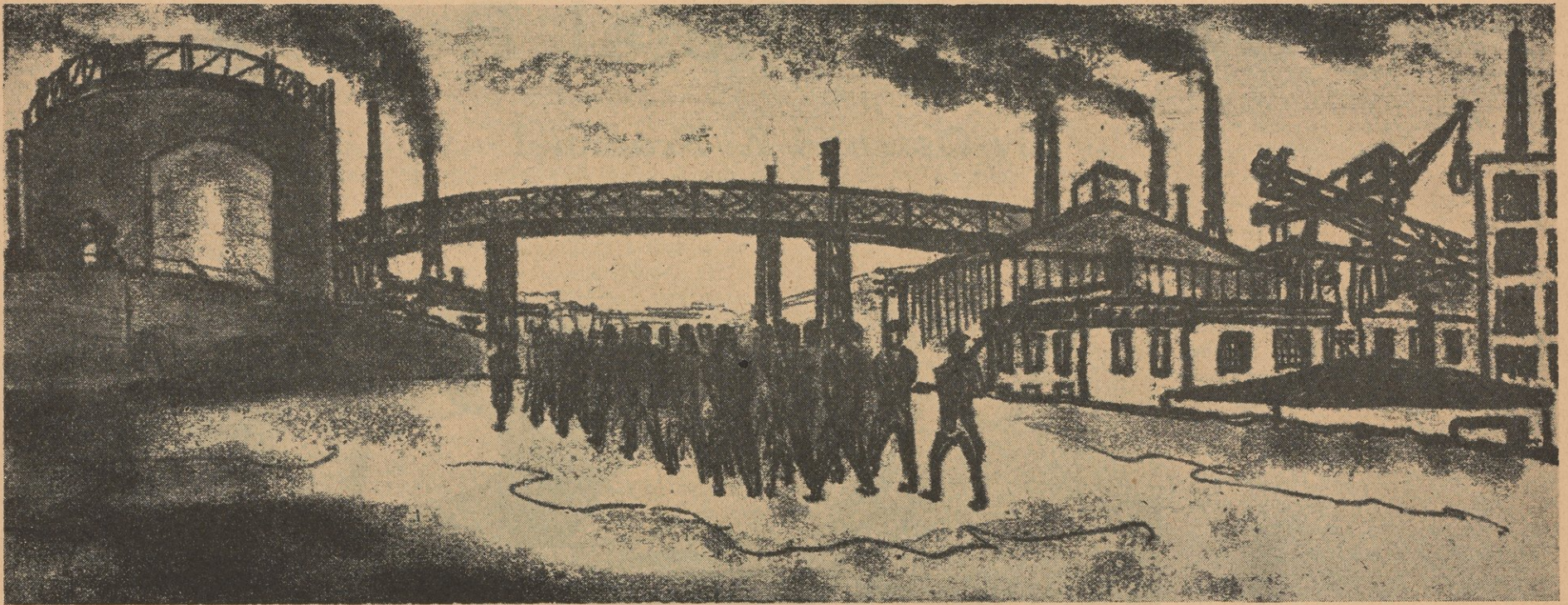
"It's all right," he said, recognizing me vaguely as something recalled from a nightmare. "It's all right. I'm going to the Karl Marx Barracks right away."



One of the thousands of beggar women on the streets of old Madrid



A peasant leading his ox cart to the market in Madrid



*Will you be slave or freeman if war comes tomorrow?
Will there be forced labor? There are bills now before
Congress . . . Read what Mr. Hallgren has to say*

Industrial Mobilization

By Mauritz A. Hallgren

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM WESTLEY

THERE was a time when a ruler or government could send the armed forces of a country off to war without unduly disrupting the normal social and economic life of the nation. Then war was fought for limited objectives; the burden of the fighting was confined largely to the armies themselves. That time is no more. Today war is unlimited. It is no longer a matter of simple territorial ambitions or dynastic quarrels. It is now a struggle between rival national economies. Modern war is but the ultimate violent phase of that ceaseless economic conflict in which all of the great imperialist powers are engaged in the so-called years of peace. As this conflict, this "peaceful" struggle for trade and markets, becomes ever sharper, the war that eventually results becomes in fact a war of survival for the national economies that are involved. Witness only Germany's fate as the result of the last war.

For this reason, the imperialist powers can no longer depend solely upon

their armed forces for "defense." They must aim at the total defeat of the enemy. And to attain that end the entire nation in each case must be harnessed to the war machine. Before August, 1914, generals and statesmen still thought exclusively in terms of their "grand armies." No preparations had been made by any of the belligerent governments to establish dictatorial control over economic resources and activities for the sake of assuring victory on the field of battle. Only after the fighting had been under way for some days did it occur to anyone that the nature of war had changed. Significantly enough, it was an industrial capitalist, Walter Rathenau, head of the German electrical equipment trust, who first perceived the necessity for establishing economic control as a means of fortifying the military effort. His proposals with regard to state control of raw materials were at once put into effect by Falkenhayn, the Prussian Minister of War, and thus was laid the foundation for the dictatorship that was

soon erected in Germany. Other powers quickly adopted similar measures, so that before the War was many months old every one of the belligerent nations found itself under a dictatorship of one kind or another. Profiting by Europe's experience, the American Government was ready with several control measures of its own when this country finally entered the War.

Since then plans for "industrial mobilization" have become an integral part of the war preparations of all the great powers. In certain countries, where the economic crisis has gone deepest and which countries are therefore openly contemplating war, these plans have already been put into effect. In Germany, for example, the Nazi economy is frankly called *Wehrwirtschaft* or even *Kriegswirtschaft* (that is, defense economy or war economy). In other countries, similar plans are being held in abeyance, pending the outbreak of actual hostilities. This is true both of England and America. Of course, those responsible for these

preparations never say they are making plans for a dictatorship. They use more pleasant or at least more patriotic terminology in describing their work. But dictatorship is what they are driving toward, for there is no way of carrying out any of these plans except through dictatorial control. (Though they deny it, even the "progressives" who are urging that "profits be taken out of war" are pushing the country toward war-time dictatorship, for there is no possible way of regulating profits without also regulating all of the other elements that enter into the national economy.)

The Army vs. Industry

The only essential difference of opinion on the question lies between the military men on the one hand and the finance capitalists and industrialists on the other. Each group wants to control the dictatorship that is to be set up. They do not disagree as to the character or purpose of the projected

(Continued on page 25)

Power of Judicial Review

By Osmond K. Fraenkel

ILLUSTRATED BY AD REINHARDT

DURING the past few years the Supreme Court of the United States has once again become the subject of criticism. It was no more than natural that the New Deal's experimental legislation should be challenged before that tribunal and it was to be expected that much of it would be declared unconstitutional. The rôle of the Court has usually been to slow down the march of progress. Never before, perhaps, have its activities aroused so much hostility as now. This is due in part to the nature of the issues with which the Court has been confronted, in part to considerations which grow out of the Court's present personnel.

Division of the Court

The Supreme Court today is divided into three groups, perhaps even into four. On the conservative side are Justices Van Devanter, McReynolds, Sutherland and Butler; on the liberal, Justices Brandeis, Stone and Cardozo. Between them stand the Chief Justice and Justice Roberts, and, while they often vote together, in many of the important recent cases they have been on separate sides. The chief results of this alignment has been to give the deciding vote frequently to Justice Roberts, a vote cast oftener with the conservatives than with the liberals.

This conservative predominance is comparatively recent. For a short time before the War a markedly liberal tendency in the Court had led many persons to hope that, mild as they were, the Court had taken on parts of the social philosophies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. The last important decision reflecting this pos-



sible subjective viewpoint was the one which upheld the emergency rent laws of the post-war period. Of the four justices who then dissented, Mr. Van Devanter and Mr. McReynolds are still on the bench. Of the majority, only Justice Brandeis remains. The complexion of the Court changed notably when President Harding appointed Justices Sutherland and Butler in the places of two of the earlier liberal majority. Immediately these appointments resulted in the overthrow of the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia by a vote of five to three, Justice Brandeis for personal reasons having failed to participate. And since then, whereas one of the five judges who composed that majority has been replaced by Justice Stone, the other four have constituted a consistent phalanx opposed to almost every law of forward looking character.

Five to Four Decisions

So, in the past few years, the Court has divided five to four in a long list of significant cases. At first, the conservatives were unable to secure the adherence of a fifth justice to make a majority in support of their position. Accordingly, Minnesota's mortgage moratorium law and New York's milk regulation statute were upheld, though on the narrow ground that they were emergency measures. And the action of the federal government in abrogating

the gold clause in private contracts was likewise approved. But, despite Justice McReynolds' pronouncement on that occasion, that the Constitution was dead, the Court soon gave evidence to the contrary. The first case in which the majority succeeded in winning Justice Roberts to their side was the Railway Pension case. There the Court decided that the subject of pensions for railroad workers was so unrelated to interstate commerce that it was entirely beyond the power of Congress, and also that certain features of the particular law were lacking in "due process," primarily because the solvent roads might be compelled to make good pensions due from insolvent ones. Last year the same line-up resulted in the wholesale destruction of the Guffey Coal Act, the Municipal Bankruptcy Act and New York's Minimum Wage Law. And, while the Chief Justice sided with the conservative majority in the earlier AAA decision, there are many who believe he did so less from conviction than because of a desire that so far-reaching a decision as this be not rendered by a five to four vote.

Public Opinion

Naturally these decisions, and the fact that they were all reached by such slender majorities, aroused a great deal of adverse comment. It was due not only to the resentment engendered because measures which many believed to

be desirable had been destroyed, but also to the general belief that the views the dissenting justices had expressed were correct both on historical and logical grounds. While an unfavorable decision had been expected on the Guffey law, the general opinion had been that the Court would uphold the minimum wage law. In that case there was presented no issue of encroaching federal power, and the Court could not pose, therefore, as the champion of state's rights. In denying the power of New York to pass a minimum wage law, the Court has made it impossible for any governmental agency to enact such a law. Protest arose, immediate and intense. Its force probably startled the judges themselves. Whether it will in any degree affect the Court should be known by the time the present article is in print, because another case involving a similar law of the state of Washington has recently been argued, and may by then have been decided.

It is possible that the Court will be affected by public opinion and will therefore find some way to recede from its earlier position. Over thirty years ago Mr. Dooley made the comment that the Court follows the election returns. How can the tremendous vote cast for President Roosevelt be interpreted other than as support for all the progressive legislation which has been recently enacted? By no mental gymnastics can that vote be interpreted as voicing popular approval of the position of the conservatives on the Court. Only one important decision has so far been made since the election. It was the upholding, without opinion, by a vote of 4 to 4, of New York's Unemployment Insurance Law. The Court

Has the rôle of the Supreme Court been to slow down the march of progress? Has the Court always been like this? And if not, what can we do about it now?

did not announce how the Justices divided. But it has generally been supposed that this was an instance in which Mr. Justice Roberts deserted the group of hardy conservatives. However, 4 to 4 decisions are not considered authoritative. Justice Stone, who has been ill for many months, took no part in the decision. Nor will he participate in the forthcoming one regarding Washington's Minimum Wage Law, nor, possibly, hear argument in the important cases arising under the National Labor Relations Act, due to come before the Court early this year. Therefore, even if Justice Roberts deserts the conservatives, no decisive results can be expected on these issues until Justice Stone returns to the bench. And when he does, it will be Justice Roberts upon whose vote the outcome may depend.

Unanimity on Commerce Clause

This brief glance at important cases in which the Justices have divided sharply should not blind us to the fact that on certain issues of the most far-reaching importance the Court has been unanimous. Especially has this been true of decisions under the commerce clause. In the NRA case the Court set itself against any interpretation of that clause which would broaden the right of the federal government to regulate matters of national scope and importance. And even in the AAA and the Guffey cases, the dissenting judges took no issue with this basis for the majority decisions. It is important that the public understand the nature of the problem involved, which will come before the Court again in some of the cases developing out of the Labor Relations Act. It arises because many industries are carried on without regard for state lines. The activities of some of these industries are nationwide. Raw materials produced in many different places are shipped to factories located in various states; the finished product is sent all over the country. Often these operations are conducted all the way from mine to retail store under a single financial control. Almost always labor relations and price arrangements in these industries affect all commerce.

It seems natural and sensible that the federal government should regulate what needs regulation in such enterprises. In every other civilized country power of this kind is exerted by the central government. Effective regulation by the separate states of our union is practically impossible. Moreover, unfair competition by industries in states having no regulatory laws seriously affects the possibility of regulation in the other states. Lacking federal regulation, a chaos has resulted from which today only the unscrupulous derive any substantial profit. And for that reason in many fields, notably in coal, owners as well as labor lead-

ers and reformers have agreed on the necessity for national supervision of the industry. No legitimate business interest has any real reason for objecting to federal action of this kind. And when industry raises the cry of state's rights to defeat such action, it does so in the hope that thus it will escape regulation entirely. Often the states themselves are desirous that the federal government take over the field. Yet the Supreme Court has set itself against any such result; and this, without dissenting voice.

Narrow Interpretation

Decisions such as these rest upon the narrow ground that interstate commerce refers only to the actual movement of merchandise. What is done to that merchandise before the movement commences and what happens to it afterwards, the Court declares of no consequence. According to its opinions, national interest alone creates no right to national regulation; it justifies this result on the theory that, were it otherwise, the states would be deprived of powers which the people intended to reserve to them at the time the Constitution was adopted. That the states cannot in actual fact exert those theoretical powers, the Court has never considered. And there is much historical evidence in support of a contrary conclusion. Besides, modern conditions are so vastly different from those which existed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution that it is absurd to argue on the basis of what the people would, at a former time, have done, had they then been confronted with the present actual problem. The Court has also been indifferent to the situations created by its decisions, intimating that if the people so desire they can amend the Constitution. Unfortunately, a

small minority of the states could, for purely selfish reasons, block any such amendment.

Yet without some amendment to the Constitution, there is no escape from the impasse which the recent decisions of the Court have created. No permanent results can be expected because, from time to time, Justice Roberts may move from his usual stand or because the replacement of conservative judges by other individuals becomes inevitable in the course of time. Shifts in the Court have often in the past produced temporarily desirable results, but in like measure there has always come back the opposite swing of the pendulum. It is time this problem were faced realistically and the Court deprived of much of what is now its power for harm. There are many ways in which changes might be attempted. And we may as well dismiss at the start suggestions which avoid constitutional amendment. Why should the Court acquiesce in any serious impairment of its powers by ordinary legislation? We must therefore determine not only what objectives are desirable but how best and most simply they can be accomplished.

Curbing the Courts

The first suggestion that comes to mind is, of course, that we abolish entirely the power the courts now exercise of declaring laws unconstitutional. Advocates of this proposal argue that other countries get along without permitting their courts to exercise this power. In so stating they ignore the fact that the courts of other federal governments do exercise that power over the laws of the component states, and that important differences exist between the constitutions of most countries and that of the United States. Scholars in many countries of Europe

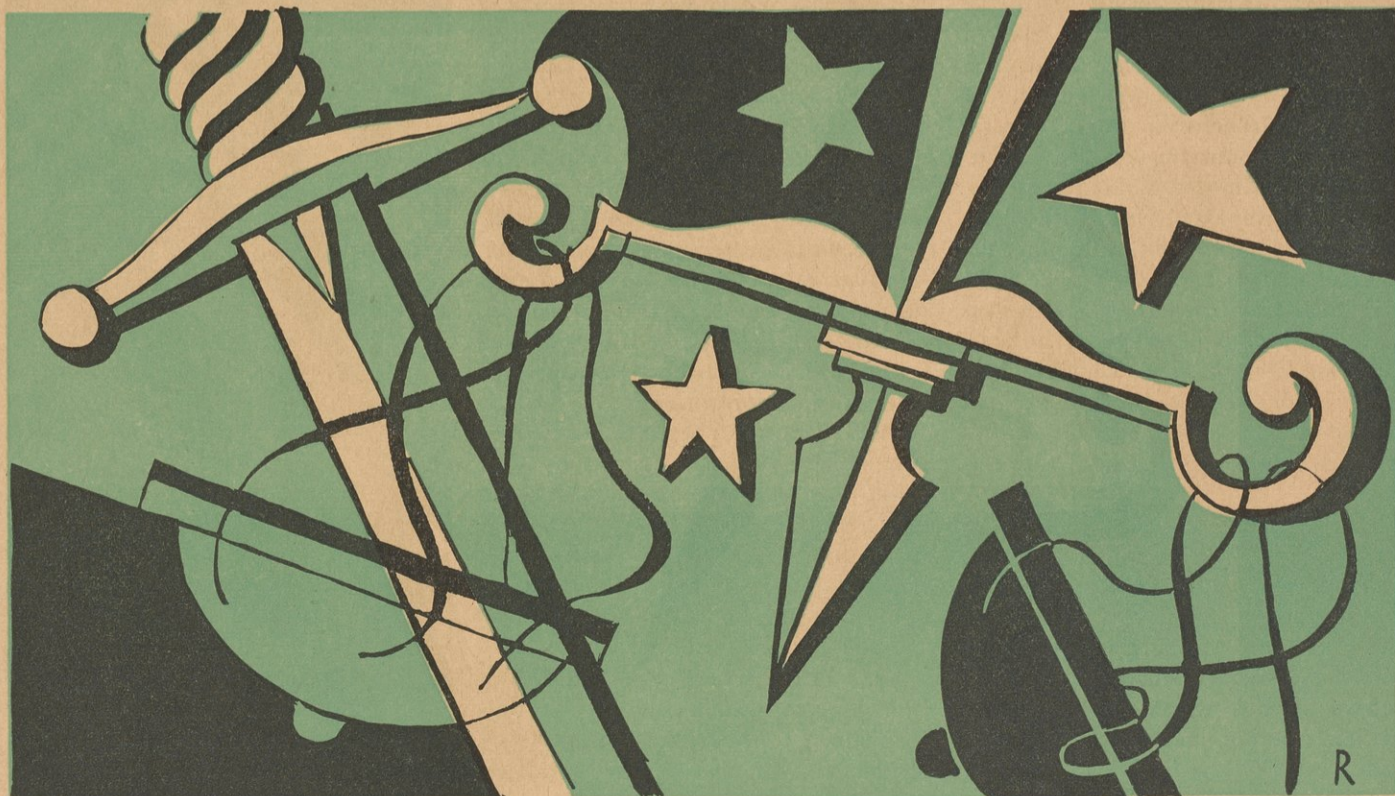
have noted a trend toward the adoption of the American doctrine of judicial review. And in Canada and Australia the courts follow the American precedent. England, of course, having no written constitution, presents a quite different problem. Before forming an opinion on the question of depriving the courts entirely of this power of declaring laws unconstitutional, it is necessary to consider more fully just what subjects are dealt with in constitutional decisions.

A Check on Discrimination

In the main, these embrace two great fields: the federal power and the state power. And in each field decisions affect two spheres of action: the legislative and the administrative (the latter including, of course, the executive). There has been little demand for restriction of the Court's power of review of administrative action. The Supreme Court is generally recognized as the last agency available for the correction of wrongs such as discrimination in law enforcement. This is illustrated in the last Scottsboro decision.

But if it be admitted that the Court must retain the power to review administrative action, it should not then be rendered impotent to pass on the validity of statutes guiding such administrative action. Otherwise discrimination could be accomplished by direct legislative mandate, as has frequently been the case in the past. The same observations apply to other guaranteed rights, such as the right to freedom of speech and of the press. So long as the government is not held supreme over the individual, so long as minorities are entitled to protection in the enjoyment of rights fundamental to a free people, so long must the Court retain its power

(Continued on page 24)



Aryan Duet

Hitler finds something akin to the pure Nordic strain in the Japanese. Now they join in singing international Fascism's hymn of war on Democracy

By E. P. Greene

TO THE Leader of the German Reich, Adolf Hitler, whom we Japanese revere, we give this sword as a symbol of the Japanese spirit, and trust that hereby the friendship between Germany and Japan may be deepened."

Thus the President of the Japanese Guild of Swordsmiths on the occasion of the presentation of a ceremonial sword to the Chargé d'Affaires of the German Embassy in Tokyo. Symbolic of a tender and beautiful love which now binds Berlin to Tokyo is the sharp sword of the warrior. Characteristic the innumerable deeds of heroism by which the rulers of Germany and Japan and their punctilious menials mirror this love. On July 6th, 1936, Lieutenant Colonel Miura, Tokyo Chief of Police, surrounded by smiling photographers, placed a wreath upon the grave of Nazi "hero" Horst Wessel. Thus was consummated the first official foreign demonstration of friendship for the National Socialist Party. At times these attentions take on a more concrete if less sentimental form. Last March a group of noble samurai gathered in an office in Tokyo, wrote out a cheque for 5,000,000 yen, politely handed it to a representative from the Third Reich. In return they received the not ambiguous privilege of making unlimited use of all military patents of Krupp. Earlier still, in January, a German economic mission, led by Dr. Otto Keip, Minister without portfolio, toured Manchoukuo, viewed the pleasant scenery, were enthralled by the sight of culture and civilization, peace and order, implanted by Japanese supermen through the sword of the samurai. From Manchoukuo to Tokyo, where Dr. Keip and his colleagues signed secret commercial agreements with the Imperial Japanese Government.

A Pact for Plunder

Why this sudden pressing interest, why the smiles, the flowers, the toasts, the protestations of undying friendship? Why does Vice-Admiral Matsushita receive such a warm welcome from Hitler, Goering, and Baron von Neurath when he visits Berlin? Why does

Viscount Mushakoji tour Germany in state, accompanied by leading luminaries of the German Government? This mystery, which was, in fact, never obscure, has now been dispelled. For, on November 25th, in Berlin, Viscount Mushakoji, Japanese Ambassador to Germany, and Joachim von Ribbentrop affixed their signatures to an instrument of supreme importance, in *diplomatic* language: "An agreement between Germany and Japan and an attached protocol, providing together for exchange of information and consultation concerning activities of the Communist International and for joint defensive measures against those activities." In phraseology less elegant and diplomatic, a military alliance directed primarily against Russia and all democratic nations, an implement for war, a pact for plunder. The prelude is coming to an end, the curtain is about to rise on the tragedy.

"Contribution to World Peace"

Amid pained and frantic denials from both Wilhelmstrasse and Gaimusho, the Foreign Affairs Commissariat of the U.S.S.R. at once tore the bright wrappings from this parcel and exposed the contents: "The Tass agency is in a position to state that, in spite of conflict among the many versions of such a reported agreement, the description of it as being a pact for joint struggle against Communism is only a blind. Its real nature is that of a military alliance to coordinate action by Germany and Japan in case either country should find itself at war. Germany and Japan have long been trying to reach an accord, and the Soviet Union is the country against which they have been attempting to form an alliance." The formal signing of the Berlin-Tokyo pact, long expected, comes as no surprise. As long ago as January 4th, 1936, the *London Morning Post*, in a report by its Berlin correspondent, announced that secret negotiations were going forward.

Loud the praises of official nightingales. Shrieked Goebbels, Nazi Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment: "The pact is a valuable contribution to world peace, which is



On the move in their war with invading Japan. Chinese troops climbing to the top of box cars

threatened by the Communist International." And Joachim von Ribbentrop, former salesman of champagne, now Hitler's leading diplomatic agent and German Ambassador to London, proud of his work: "The conclusion of today's agreement is an epochal event. It is a turning point in the struggle of all nations that love order and civilization." It is of interest to note that von Ribbentrop himself drafted the pact, before he was appointed Ambassador to London. It has been said that the drafting occupied more than eighteen months. Across the world, in Tokyo, joy was less radiant, more circumspect.

With first news of the pact, consternation broke like a bombshell in the chancelleries of Europe. Reports spread of ominous secret clauses concerning the partition of Europe and the colonial world between Germany, Italy, Poland, Japan. New German moves aimed at Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Memel are momentarily expected. German backing of Japanese aggression in China and Eastern Asia is now an established fact. It is an open secret that the treaty contains clauses relating to eventual partition of the Dutch East Indies, —Java and Sumatra reserved for Germany, Borneo and Celebes for Japan, an arrangement eminently satisfactory to leaders of the Imperial Japanese Navy, who have long been clamoring for a more aggressive policy in the Pacific, jealously eyeing the activities of Army leaders on the continent of Asia. The oil fields of the Dutch East Indies would be a vital necessity for the oil-burning Japanese Fleet in time of war. Hence the increasing anxiety of the United States State Department, which knows, without consulting maps, that only twenty miles of sea separate Borneo from the Philippine Islands.

Over-Zealous Haste

Nevertheless, in spite of paeans of victory in Fascist lands, there are also deep currents of fear and anxiety. Their plans so unexpectedly discovered and exposed by the prompt and vigorous protests of the Soviet Union, the Fascists find themselves at once in difficulties, are at a loss as to what should

be the next maneuver. Italy and Poland, which were formerly engaged in negotiations with Germany and Japan for joining the alliance, have for the time postponed further action, fearful of the cold light of publicity. In Germany, even more in Japan, powerful elements have covertly and openly expressed contempt for the lack of finesse, the diplomatic bungling, which make too self-evident the real aims, the thrust toward war, the desires for the re-division of the world. It is known that Baron von Neurath, German Foreign Minister, is strongly opposed to this military pact, fearing that it will antagonize Great Britain and the United States. In Japan a government crisis has been precipitated. On December 9th, in Tokyo, there occurred a meeting of the Privy Council, power behind the throne, at which was present divine, heaven-descended Hirohito, august Emperor. Called in to face the Privy Council were Premier Koki Hirota and Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita, the two leaders of the Cabinet. For an hour and a half they were examined, attacked, insulted, threatened with dismissal for their over-zealous haste to conclude the German alliance. Next day, leaders of the two major political parties, Minseito and Seiyukai, unleashed a violent attack on the Cabinet, which will, in all probability, soon be forced to resign.

Conclusion of the Berlin-Tokyo pact was preceded by unusual efforts on the part of German diplomats and military men in Japan last summer. Dr. Herbert von Dirksen, German Ambassador at Tokyo, was present in August at the eighth annual congress of the Nazi Party in Nuremberg, where he held long conferences with von Ribbentrop and Werner von der Schulenburg, German Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. He remained in Germany until the middle of October. Meanwhile, General Walter von Rathenau, commander of the German 7th Army Corps area, visited Japan, conferred with high Japanese staff officers. These were the most important of the many conversations between German and Japanese military men during the past two years. Cool, however, to alliance with Japan are many German Army leaders, not least among whom is General Werner von Fritsch, Chief of Staff, exceeded in influence only by War Minister General von Blomberg himself. Von Fritsch, astute observer of military affairs, has, upon occasion, expressed open contempt for Japan's overrated war-machine. None in Germany more impressed than he by the strength and morale of the defense forces of the Soviet Union.

Hitler on Japan

Not always did Hitler chant songs of love, gaze with fond eyes upon the Japanese. In 1924, in *Mein Kampf*, sacred book of German Fascism, he looked upon the Japanese and found

Nazi Germany preparing for world war. Fuehrer Hitler reviewing his goose-step troops

them a race degenerate and sterile: "Yet this Japanese culture is no longer the basis of the real life of Japan. . . . The real basis is the tremendous scientific technical work of the Aryan peoples of Europe and America. It is their achievements only which make it possible for the East to follow the way of general human progress. If today every further influence of the Aryans in Japan should cease,—e.g., if Europe and America should perish, the present level of science and technique in Japan could continue for a short while; however, in a few years the well would dry up, the Japanese originality would stiffen and fall into the same sleep from which it was awakened years ago by the Aryan cultural wave. The development of modern Japan owes its life to the Aryan origin; it was the same in the dim past—Japanese culture was awakened by foreign influence and foreign spirit. The proof of it is the later stiffness and numbness of Japanese culture. . . . Such a race could be called 'carrier of culture' but never 'creator of culture!'"

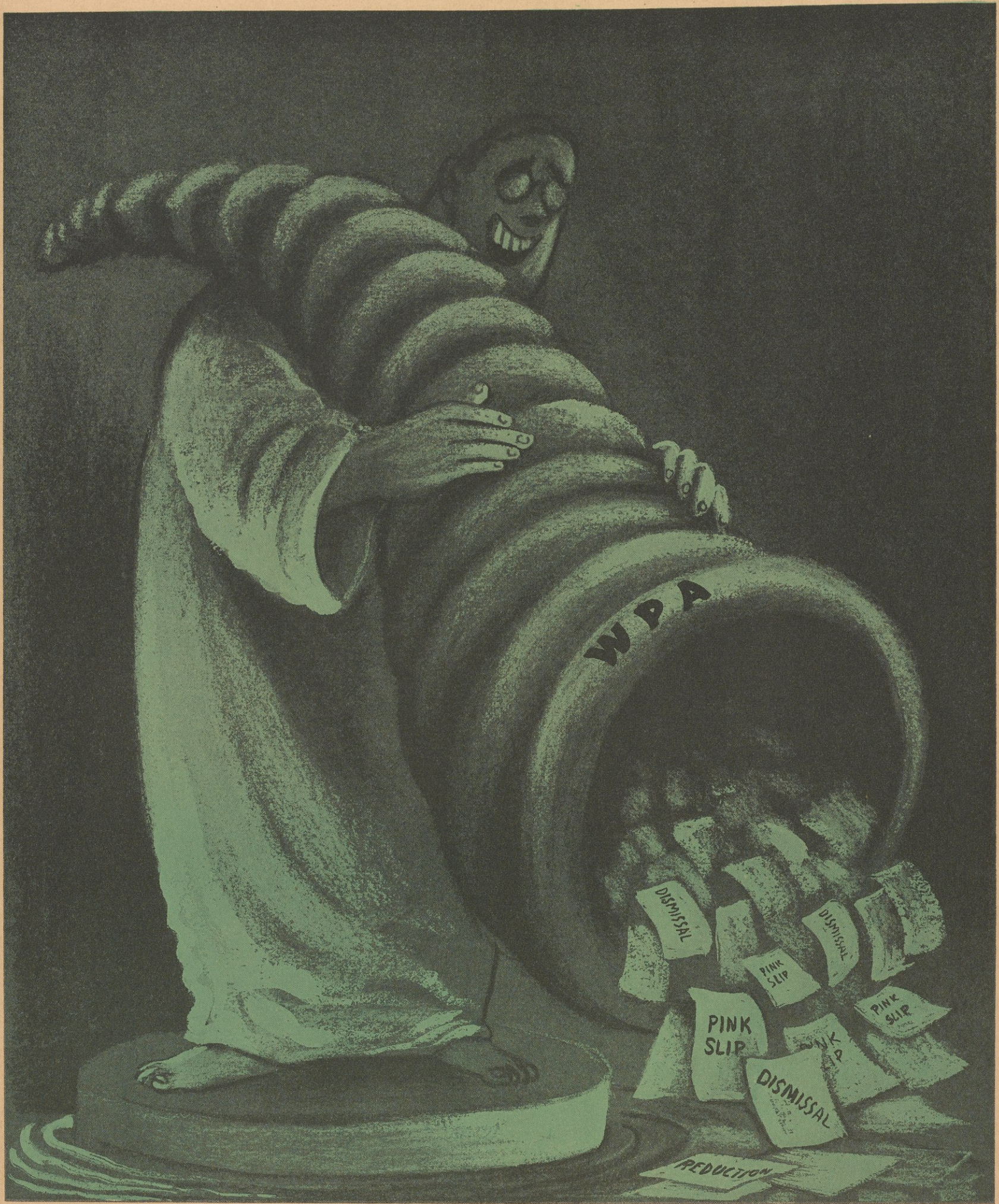
The Pure Nordic Strain

But today it is considered neither wise nor tactful to refer to these precious pearls of the *Fuehrer*. This vicious nonsense has disappeared, to be replaced by a new nonsense. Berlin's Bureau for Race Investigation has devoted long hours of meditation to this delicate subject, has at last achieved a major triumph: "The blood of Dai Nippon contains within itself virtues closely akin to the pure Nordic strain." Suave Foreign Minister von Neurath thus delivers himself before an official gathering: "Our veto against German marriages with non-Aryans does not apply to the Japanese." And to this racial concession of grace Mazuso Nagai replies with appreciation: "This national effort in the Reich is nowhere so well understood as in Japan." Fascist Germany goes wild with jubilation when Vice-Admiral Matsushita, carried away by wine and enthusiasm, shouts across the festal board in Berlin: "We Germans and Japanese know how to battle for that peace which is the *Gleichberechtigung* of equal rights." Shinto and Emperor Worship are now the fashion among "intellectual" circles. It is whispered that Divinity is being considered for the Leader of the German Reich.

The German-Japanese Alliance, a political development of momentous significance, heralds a new stage in the

(Continued on page 30)





The Horn of Plenty

By Russell T. Limbach

Movies

Hollywood makes a film of social import . . . *Plough, stars and revolution* . . . *Spain and screen*

EVER seeking inspiration from the newspaper headlines, the Warner Brothers found the activities of the Black Legion terrorists quite suitable to the demands of screen melodrama and an apt vehicle for the talents of Humphrey Bogart, who gives a dramatic character study of an American worker who becomes enmeshed by a hoodlum shirt organization and finally murders his best friend.

The film is socially important because it discredits this brand of Fascist crime against those among us who were born in other lands, and because it will portray to American movie audiences the sinister, avaricious leadership which profits from this type of organization.

But not withstanding even *Fury*, which condemned lynch law, the film has yet to be made which will indict the kind of Fascism engendered by employer groups to combat a labor union.

That may be asking too much for the present, however. Right now we heartily commend *Black Legion* for the ground that it does cover. And it is not often that we hear on the American screen such a well considered definition of Americanism and such a ringing ex-ceriation of the false patriots who prey on prejudice as the charge of the judge when he sentences the gang to prison. He says, in part:

"... furthermore your idea of patriotism and Americanism is hideous to all decent citizens. It violates every protection guaranteed them by the Bill of Rights contained in our Constitution. The Bill of Rights, assuring to us all freedom of religious opinion and security of person and property against the attack of illegal or extra-legal forces, is the cornerstone of true Americanism and must be jealously guarded if we are to remain a free people. We cannot permit racial or religious hatreds to be stirred up so that innocent citizens become the victims of accusations brought in secrecy. We cannot permit unknown tribunals to pass judgments or punishments to be inflicted by a band of hooded terrorists. Unless all these illegal and extra-legal forces are ruthlessly wiped out, this nation may as well abandon its Constitution, forget its Bill of Rights, tear down its courts of justice, and revert to the barbarity

of government by primitive violence. This would mean relinquishing everything that civilized man has won, by the most prodigious effort, over a course of the past five centuries.

"The American people made their choice long ago. Their blood and their sacrifices secured for us the basic human rights. It is our duty to guard them zealously if we are to remain a nation of free men.

"As Abraham Lincoln said: 'Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands, everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors.'"

Two stories of Ireland's fight against British imperialism have reached the screen recently, and are to be numbered among the better films of the past month. These are *The Plough and the Stars*, made at the RKO studios by the same group which produced *The Informer*, and *Beloved Enemy*, a Samuel Goldwyn production.

In dramatic power and inherent Irish feeling neither picture came up to *The Informer*. One reason might have been that they accented the romantic rather than the political values. This was especially true of *Beloved Enemy*, which starred Merle Oberon and Brian Aherne, despite the fact that it eschewed the usual happy ending.

When first produced in play form

THE FIGHT RECOMMENDS:

Black Legion—An excellent Warner Brothers production of Fascist terror in America.

The Plough and the Stars—RKO's transcription of the play by Sean O'Casey.

Beloved Enemy—Another story of the Irish strife.

One in a Million—For Sonja Henie's skating and the Ritz Brothers' madcap antics.

After the Thin Man—Although not up to the original.

Revolutionists—A story of the struggle of Russian workers and intellectuals from 1896 to 1907.

That Girl from Paris—For Lily Pons' singing and slapstick.

Great Guy—Cagney's first picture for Grand National.



Humphrey Bogart in Warner Brothers' "Black Legion"

at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, *The Plough and the Stars* caused riots because of its uncomplimentary portrayal of the actions and attitudes of Dublin citizens during the famous Easter rebellion. The film does not concern itself with as many characters, telling the story as it concerns Dan Clitheroe, Republican officer, and his wife, Nora (Preston Foster and Barbara Stanwyck). Although members of the Abbey company were brought over for several rôles, it is understood that the voices heard on the screen have been doubled by actors whose diction is more easily understood by American audiences.

In neither of these films was it ever quite clear just why the Irish people were sacrificing their lives for their cause, although independence and freedom were vaguely mentioned.

In contrast to these noncommittal studies of human struggle, a Russian film, *Revolutionists*, gave you to understand quite definitely that the Russian masses were being oppressed and starved by the Czar's government, as well as portraying in an engrossing and almost documentary manner the background of the development of the roots of the Russian revolution.

Newsreel

SOME day we would like to make a thorough and searching survey of the foreign coverage of American newsreel companies, particularly in relation to the impression given the American public of world affairs. It seems to this department that the newsreels are not quite fair in their portrayal of crucial European issues. The civil war in Spain might be taken as an example. While we have not been able to see every inch of celluloid released in this country about the Spanish situation, it is our impression that the rebel cause

has been unduly favored in certain instances. There was the picture of an allegedly Russian shell and tank captured from the loyalist forces, which General Franco "permitted" one company to photograph. More recently Fox depicted a ceremony in which Litvinov, Russia's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, was decorated. The commentator said that the award was made because of the government's approval of his policy in regard to Spain. Both were calculated to show that Russia has been aiding the Spanish government. Although we do not know of any record of shells and tanks having been sent by Russia to Spain since the outbreak of hostilities, the Russian government has made no secret of its sympathy for the Madrid cause, and the newsreels have every right to show any pictorial evidence of this feeling that they can get.

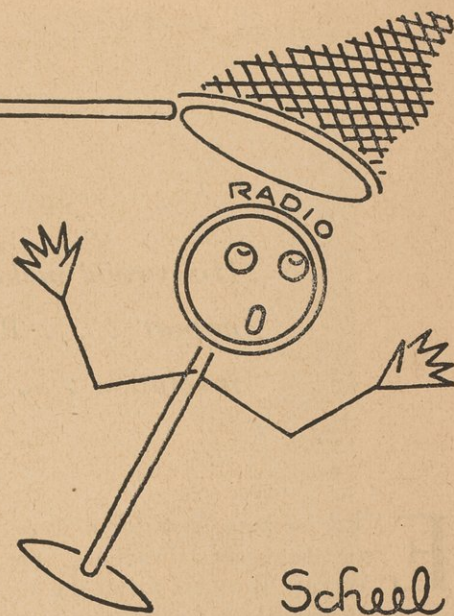
But what about the other side of the picture? The same program of newsreels which showed the Litvinov incident also had a picture of Mussolini giving prizes to peasants who had reclaimed swamp land. If the newsreel companies were attempting to be scrupulously fair, why did they not show pictures of Italian and German "volunteers" sailing for Spain with rifles on their shoulders? Thus far we have not seen one clip of this nature.

It is undoubtedly true that the activity of newsreel cameramen is censored by European governments more drastically than in this country. If their European coverage is limited by official interference, if they are only showing one side of a story, American newsreel viewers have the right to know it. The least the film companies can do is to acknowledge which reels are censored and which are made by official "invitation."

—ROBERT SHAW



Radio



WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST'S unsuccessful effort to get publicity for his newspapers by means of the inauguration speech of his bitterest enemy, President Roosevelt, is still causing merriment in editorial circles.

Willie's idea was to donate free radio sets to every school in California, then buy time on all of the state's broadcasting stations just prior to the inaugural. During this period an announcer was to pat the so-called publisher on the back for his generosity in donating the sets and add that Roosevelt's speech would be heard by the kiddies "through the courtesy of the Hearst newspapers."

The stations naturally turned this proposition down. They pointed out that the Chief Executive's address was being carried free by every station in the nation and made bold to add that California boards of education had not yet accepted Hearst's gifts.

For a time the gnashing of teeth at San Simeon was audible all the length of the Pacific Coast. Then silence reigned for a time, after which publicity men whispered that Willie had invited the Duke of Windsor and Mrs. Wallis Simpson to spend their honeymoon on his ranch. *Variety* remarks that if the invitation is accepted, "San Simeon would thus finally have a guest who would fit the furniture"—and, we might venture to add, one who would thus openly admit the Fascist sympathies of which his enemies have accused him.

Which brings us from the ridiculous to the sublime—and the best program ever heard over the air. For Edward Windsor's farewell address to the Empire was a masterpiece of writing, of delivery and of evasion.

According to Crossley's Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting, 45 per cent of radio set owners in the United States heard the message, thus establishing an all-time high for daytime audiences. Daventry, the English short wave transmitter, of course sent the talk to all parts of the world so it is

certain more persons tuned in than had ever done so on a single program.

Although strong men sobbed and feminine hearts stood still as *The Man Who Wouldn't Be King* paid tribute to *The Woman I Love*, it is only fair to point out that Eddie sounded more like a stage juvenile than an abdicating monarch of forty-two. There was little of ham in the performance, but neither was there any indication of maturity nor any analysis of the basic reasons for the abdication. That, perhaps, is what made it all so touching.

And that, perhaps, makes it just a little more comprehensible why a manufacturer of soap—soft and otherwise—was the biggest air advertiser during 1936. Procter & Gamble spent \$3,299,000 for radio time, topping its nearest rival by more than a million dollars.

The best radio news of the past several months is the elimination of *Good Will Court* from the NBC network. *THE FIGHT* is mighty proud to have been among the first publications to attack that vicious program which exploited human misery in a fashion to make even Major Bowes envious.

Although *Good Will Court* attracted a large audience of sensation-seeking morons, the general reaction was so bitterly unfavorable that Bar Associations throughout the country finally insisted that their members stop acting as advisors to the unfortunates whom director A. L. Alexander roped into telling their troubles over the air.

WMCA, New York station which originally developed the program, is threatening to revive it on a local basis, but at this writing nothing has happened. At the same time, imitators all over the country have suddenly seen the light and run for cover. KYA in San Francisco has cancelled its "Night Court" program and KGA, Spokane, has stopped publicizing Police Judge Frank Yuse who, in the past, has used the microphone to broadcast his freak sentences for drunkards and traffic violators.

The *Court* mixup gives added point to the rebellion of Neal W. Hopkins, author of scripts for "Your Unseen Friend." When M. H. H. Joachim, its director, ordered Hopkins to write

for audiences with a six-year-old intellect the latter resigned, saying the program would sound even sillier than it does now, and that he had his reputation to consider.

"Your Unseen Friend," which took the place of "The Voice of Experience" over CBS, has been in hot water with the network censor recently because of its stupid situations. Recently Joachim tried to present a story about a child cured of infantile paralysis in one treatment, but the whole sequence was rejected by the network on the ground that it was an insult to the intelligence of listeners. On another occasion Joachim, as the "Voice of Conscience," was supposed to whisper to a woman while she was lying ill in her bedroom. Columbia ruled that a man's voice should not be heard in a woman's bedroom, so the invalid had to get up and walk up and down the hall while her conscience lectured her.

This man Boake Carter is a menace. After getting himself picketed for attacking the maritime strike, he now has turned his guns on Norman Thomas because the latter advocates the sending of arms from the United States to the legitimate Spanish government.

By completely distorting the issues and ignoring the fact that under international law a regularly constituted government is entitled to every aid from foreign nations in putting down a rebellion, Boake insists that Thomas has traduced all of his pacifist principles by urging President Roosevelt to aid the loyalists.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Spanish War was considered the most important news event of the year by 130 editors who answered a questionnaire sent out by CBS in preparing its annual "Twelve Crowded Months" dramatization of the outstanding happenings of 1936. Even the re-election of President Roosevelt played second-fiddle to the events in Spain, according to results of the final poll.

The curious thing was, however, that after doing a splendid job on "Twelve Crowded Months," Columbia found it necessary to call on William Randolph Hearst to help it prepare another year-end broadcast entitled, "Fore-

casting 1937." Hubert Renfro Knickerbocker, whose lying reports from Spain have caused all decent foreign correspondents to cut his acquaintance, was the leading Hearst stooge to be interviewed on this program, while lesser lights of the International News Service and Universal Service got in three cheers and a tiger for Hitler, Mussolini and Marion Davies.

This seems to be the period of the year for expansion in radio broadcasting. And no wonder. The income of National Broadcasting was \$30,935,248 for the last twelve months, an increase of 10 per cent over 1935; that of CBS was \$20,788,535, an increase of 32 per cent and the first full year of operation for the Mutual Broadcasting System grossed \$1,794,076.

So Mutual is extending its network to the Pacific Coast, National is plunging ahead with its experiments in television and Columbia is doing likewise with its South American broadcasts. The latter, which begin some time in February with the opening of a new and powerful transmitter by W2XE in New York, will be on an experimental basis at first, due to governmental restrictions. But that's gold in them thar Andes and Columbia intends to get it eventually by means of a commercial network extending to Buenos Aires.

A worthwhile radio series is that entitled "What Do You Think?" heard over CBS each Monday under the auspices of Northwestern University and the University Broadcasting Council of Chicago. College professors, students and the ubiquitous "Man in the Street" have discussed such questions recently as "Should College Professors Keep Out of Politics"; "Would You Benefit from Fascism in America"; and "Can the United States Keep Out of the Next World War?" If the series is still running by the time this appears in print, tune in and don't fail to join the discussion via the mails as you will be requested to do.

—GEORGE SCOTT

Tooting for Glory

America's foremost labor editor tells, in this the second chapter of his autobiography, of his boyhood in imperial Germany

By Oscar Ameringer

ILLUSTRATED BY BIRNBAUM

ACCORDING to the background and rearing described in the foregoing chapter, I was destined to become a soldier. And this was indeed the ambition of my early youth. My ideal was an officer, of course. However, in those days officers were almost exclusively recruited from the "vons" and rich burghers. Later, even the sons of rich Jews might aspire to become officers by attending officer training schools. These, however, were beyond the reach of my class. Fortunately, there was one opening between private and officer, through which I might squeeze into the army. And that was the position of army musician.

Besides being a highly skilled cabinet maker, my father also was a musician. Among the instruments he played were the flute, clarinet and French horn. Back of him was a maternal great-grandfather who had played the oboe. As for myself, I had manipulated a boxwood F flute when my fingers were still too short to cover all six of its holes. Moreover, I passionately loved music. So why not contribute my share to military glory by tooting an instrument in an army band? And that's how I received my introduction into military life.

The connection was indirect. Musically gifted boys received their instruction at a greatly reduced rate by pledging themselves to enter the army after passing the age of sixteen. The term of service was twelve years. After which, they were entitled to such civil service positions as letter carriers, policemen, railway employees, etc. Having served in these positions for another forty years or so, they were pensioned. The pension, as the saying went, was "too much to die on, and not enough to live on." The initial pay in the army was five cents a day, rising as high as twenty-five cents per day toward the end of the twelfth year. Besides this, the government supplied its budding heroes with breakfast consisting of black coffee, a noonday meal consisting of soup, meat, and one vege-

table, and three pounds of very palatable rye bread every second day. The evening repast depended upon the financial condition of the parents of the warrior, his sex appeal, or both.

If the parents were able, they occasionally sent him a box containing sausages, ham, cheese, kuchen, preserves, and similar delicacies. If he had "it," cooks and kitchen maids "mouched" sufficient calories and vitamins from the larder of their employers to feed the fire of his love.

Music from the Ground Up

My instructors were ex-army band men. To them music was a trade that had to be learned from the ground up. The ground in my case was a blank note book containing sets of five lines called a staff. On this staff I was told to draw a sort of a cross-breed between a German capital "Z" and "G." This was the violin clef. Why the first was the staff and the second the violin clef was for me to discover. Next step was to draw the whole note C under the staff. A whole note, I was told, contained four quarter notes or beats. If I made it more or less than four beats, the wayward beat became a box on my ears. For if these ex-military band men believed in anything, it was strict discipline as expressed in cuss, box, and cuff.

Having learned the nature of scales, I was told to construct my own scales. I constructed every scale under the sun and some that never existed. I worked from middle C up and down until I hit high E above the two high C's above the staff and low G below the staff. Clarinet players know what I mean.

After scales and broken chords varied by more scales and broken chords came finger exercises. The worst of them were designed to develop the dexterity of the thumb and index finger of the left hand. When the creator shaped Adam, he certainly never dreamed of clarinet players, for these particular members of the human body are the nightmare of every clarinet player. In the first place, they are

charged with the responsibility of manipulating the weaker tones of that instrument. In the second place, they have more chores than any two fingers should be burdened with.

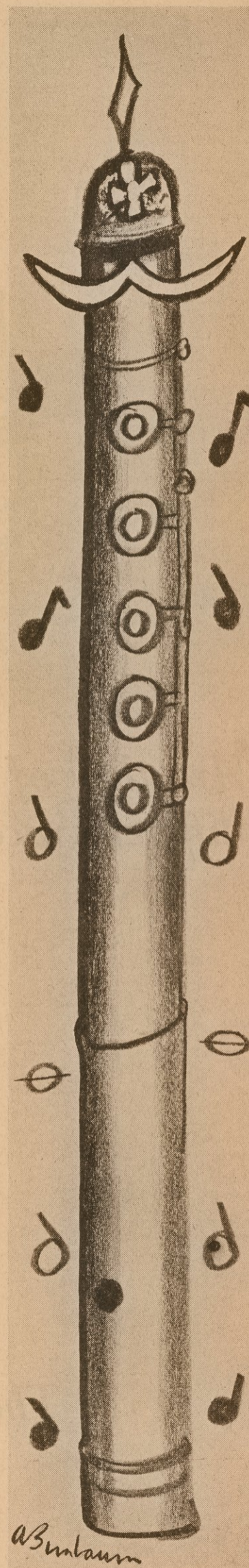
These left hand exercises usually embraced only a few bars on not many more notes. They were labeled "play twenty times not counting repeat marks." Some of them I must have played at least 20,000 times. I played them with and without wind. I played them silently and sonorously. I played them dreaming of swimming holes and fishing poles, and I still play them bathed in perspiration whenever I wake up in the night after a repast of Welsh rarebit, or combinations of beer, ice cream and sauerkraut!

For God, Kaiser, and Fatherland

They did a first-class job, these half-paid ex-army band men. Oh, I forgot I had three of them. To qualify for army musician, one had to manipulate wood, string, and brass.

If ever a boy had music cussed, cuffed, and pounded into him, it was poor me. They came close to knocking my natural love of music out of me, which, had they succeeded, would have been just too bad. For it was they who turned my youthful yearning for soldiering into a violent hatred of everything connected with militarism and eventually drove me to America, where for many years I made a more or less honorable living in the capacity of musician, band master, and music teacher. Anyhow, before the fatal day dawned when I was to start tooting for God, kaiser, and Fatherland, Castle Garden was a good thousand miles behind me. My tutor-torturers had even wrought better than they could have dreamed in their wildest imagination. For it was through my connection with music that I became connected with the organized labor movement, first as member of the Musicians' Union, later as agitator, spokesman and labor editor, which, in the course of time, brought me to the study of history and economics, and

(Continued on page 24)



Goya and

FRANCISCO DE GO



Courtesy of The Hispanic Society of America

THE timeliness of certain among Francisco de Goya's prints, such as "Women and Children First" sounds almost prophetic in the light of the events on Madrid. And "May Second," representing the Mamelukes in butchering the Spanish people, offers a parallel of the invasion by Nazi "volunteers" and their actions in darkness, despite some excellent studies of his darkest, most venal, obscurantist absolutisms in the Inquisition. Sometime his titles are deliberately evasive. His titles are more frankly insurgent than the print based on the knowledge of the man, there can be no doubt at all. Of Llorente, the caustic historian of the Inquisition, Rousseau's *Social Contract*, and of many other of Goya's associations, we have the subjective witness of the peasant fighter for the Constitution, Juan Martín, and of slow torture. His is a face full of native nobility, this with Goya's portraits of the royal family, the rapacious, stupid, corrupt royal whore. Still more in his prints, particularly "Disasters of War"—not anti-militarist, anti-clerical, (note the part of the priest and executioner; the same gesture of priestly blessing all that cramps man in his free development. An artist's menage mar the quality of his performance. A placed ideologue, or reformer, following a line of profound personality; he lived with all the intensity precisely because of that he succeeded in concentration. That is why his voice echoes across the century and on the barricades of democratic Madrid—and even

*Are they of a
different race?*

The Prisoner



Courtesy of Weyhe Gallery

and Spain

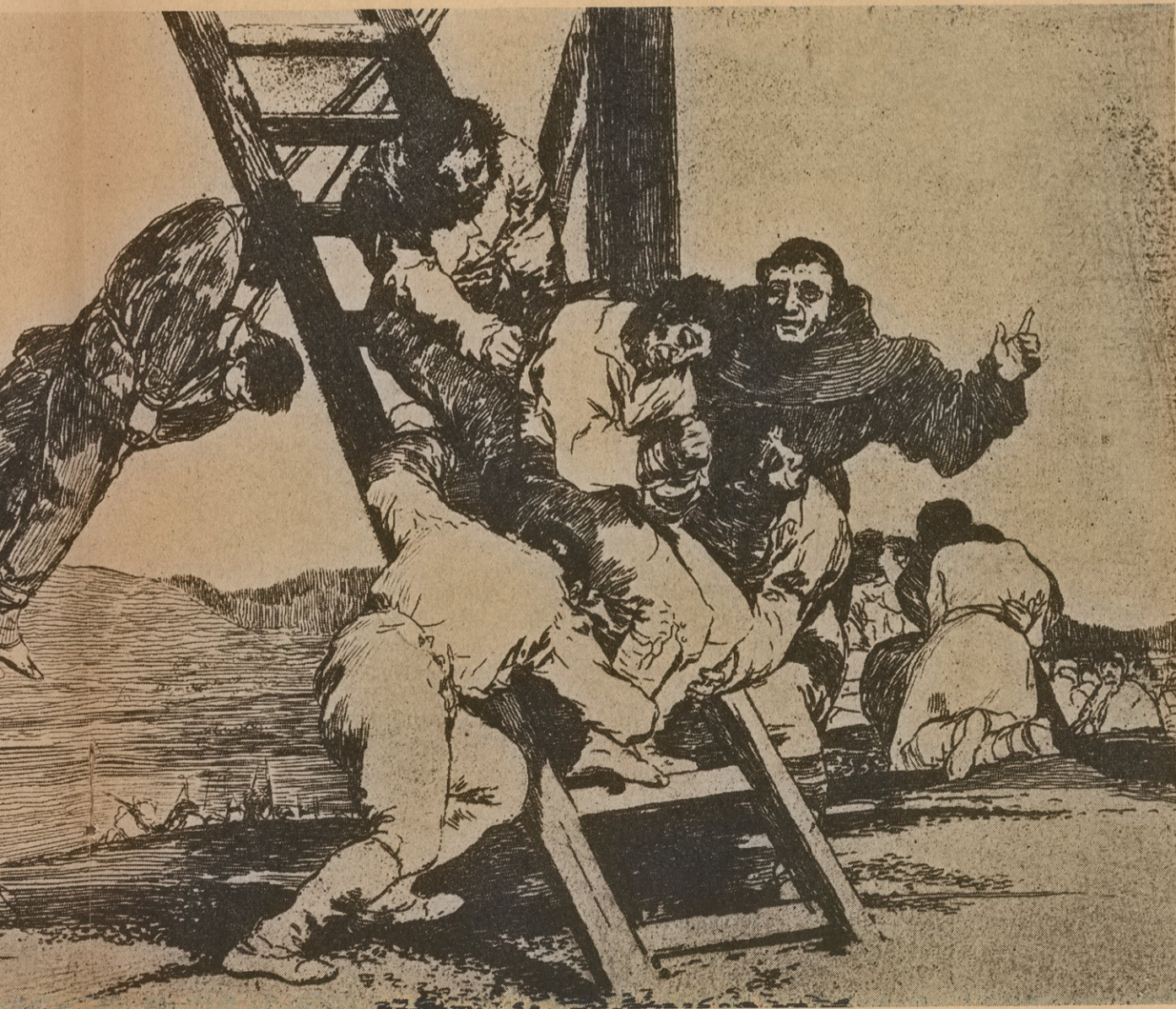
DE GOYA (1746-1828)

Francisco de Goya's paintings and prints is startling. It sounds almost like a newspaper report of Franco's raid representing the French Imperial Guard assisted by the Spanish people on its own territory—is this not an exact parallel to the "Luncheon of the Pharo" and "The Moors"? Much about Goya is still veiled in the studies of his life and work. Living under one of the most tyrannical absolutisms in history, in the constant shadow of the Inquisition, he was a man of voluntary censorship, as protective coloration against the French. He was deliberately misleading; sometime the original sketch was printed based on it. But whatever the deficiencies in our knowledge, there is no doubt at all about his sympathies. He was a friend of the Inquisition, of Jovellanos, exiled for introducing many other dissidents. Besides this objective fact of his life, there is the subjective witness of his work. Look at his portrait of Juan Martin, who refused to recant despite months of imprisonment, of native nobility and strength of character. Compare Goya's portrait of the Queen Maria Luisa J. E., a sensual, voluptuous woman. Still more obvious are Goya's sympathies revealed in his "War of the Bulls"—murder, rapine, hunger, disease. Goya is the part of the priest in "Hard Going," blessing the victim of the priestly blessing buries *Truth* in another print), against the Inquisition. And in no instance does the weight of the subject matter detract from his performance. Of course, Goya is in no sense a straight-talking man of a line of conduct without deviation. His was a rich, varied life, in all the interests—petty and noble—of his time, and he succeeded in concentrating the rebellious energies of his age. He sent to the century a message of courage to his true inheritors everywhere.

—LOUIS LOZOWICK



Courtesy of The Hispanic Society of America



Courtesy of The Hispanic Society of America

*Women and
Children First*

Hard Going!

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it.

—Thomas Paine

Books

And, best beloved of men, liberty,
Free lives and lips, free hands of men
free-born.

—Swinburne

Understanding Liberty

THE FUTURE OF LIBERTY, by George Soule; 187 pages; The Macmillan Company; \$2.00.

IN THIS little volume George Soule pleads the necessity of abandoning our traditional attitude toward liberty and of formulating a concept of liberty in keeping with present circumstances and needs. Serious concern with liberty has fallen somewhat out of fashion. Unhappily, the flag of liberty is now most excitedly waved by groups which are willing to curtail democratic liberties of speech and assemblage in order to preserve the "American system," and by those whose economic status gives them too much liberty for the well-being of their fellow men.

If liberty and Democracy are on the defensive today, it is in part due to the fact that they have not been sufficiently sensitive to the changing economy of the western world. This is true not only of their practical application, but also, though to a lesser degree, of their theoretical character. Current conceptions of the nature and function of liberty and Democracy still stem largely from eighteenth and early nineteenth century attitudes, and not from a twentieth century environment. "By and large," Veblen remarked in *The Vested Interests*, "in its formal vindication of personal liberty and equality before the law, the modern point of view has with singular consistency remained intact in the shape in which its principles were stabilized in the eighteenth century, in spite of changing circumstances."

This earlier liberty, primarily concerned with the freedom of the individual, especially in economic enterprise, and with private property, was expressed in terms of "the absence of restraint upon the individual." This negative view of liberty, says Mr. Soule, has outlived its time and purpose. Its persistence makes a farce of equality and Democracy with which it is intimately related, and, ultimately, in fundamental contradiction under a capitalist economy. Liberty as absence of restraint reduces equality to a pointless legal formalism. The legal equality "which forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges or to beg

on the street corners" is not sufficient today.

If liberty is to mean anything, says Mr. Soule, "it must be organized about specific purposes. It must be incorporated in a social order, designed to serve those purposes." Today two opposed "liberties" are in conflict. "On the one hand," writes Mr. Soule, "is liberty to amass wealth and power through private ownership of industry, trade and finance. On the other is liberty of the wage-earners and recipients of small salaries, the farmers, professional classes, to have jobs and security, to express themselves through organization and political control of government, to seek a higher standard of material well-being and culture." The author is convinced that these purposes, sought by the majority of the people, cannot be attained under capitalism. They can only be achieved where an economy is socially directed, and he concludes that solely under Socialism can liberty have a meaningful future. He insists, moreover, that this solution to the problem of liberty should be regarded, not as "alien," but as "an effort to realize American aspirations in a way appropriate to the needs of today and the existing means of satisfying them." His picture of socialized liberty ably answers the old charge that a collectivist system "must deprive us of liberty altogether."

The Future of Liberty is marred by several historical errors, some unsound generalizations, inadequate stress upon the "business" character of the whole philosophy of liberalism, occasional looseness of definition (especially marked in the use of the word "freedom"), and an oversimplification of the problem of transition from a capitalist to a Socialist society. But these weaknesses are not of sufficiently great moment to obscure the essential worthwhileness of the volume.

—HENRY DAVID

A Scientist Speaks Up

REASONS FOR ANGER, by Robert Briffault; 265 pages; Simon & Schuster; \$2.50.

EVERY time a man who has earned a reputation in any particular field of human activity ventures outside that field, he is likely

to incur the condemnation and derision of his less versatile fellows. This condemnation and derision was meted out to Dr. Briffault when he published, at the age of 59, a first novel, *Europa*.

Many people are agreed that it was a bad novel; certainly it was old-fashioned, verbose, scandalous in the narrower sense of the word, clumsy in motivation and in execution. It was, nevertheless, an unusual achievement if only for the atmosphere of moral decay which Dr. Briffault (surgeon, doctor of medicine, anthropologist and essayist turned novelist) managed to evoke; the atmosphere of Europe just before the World War. In the succeeding volume, which will appear this year, Dr. Briffault will bring this long narrative to a conclusion with a novel of the war years themselves. And whatever his shortcomings as a novelist (and he would be the last to claim that was his primary job as a writer), it will be fruitful in more than one sense: it will be well-observed, bitterly commentative, scandalous (in the larger sense of the word) and productive of light upon the motives that operated during that last war.

These essays, which draw their apt title from a published remark by Harold Nicolson, who chided Dr. Briffault for his anger, fall roughly into two categories: *Homo Stultus*, which hurls some sharp barbs at man's stupidity, and *Homo Sapiens*, which affirms the potentialities of the race, toward progress, peace and human fulfillment. The anger which Mr. Nicolson complained of is here in good measure and there are many readers who will draw a keen satisfaction from Dr. Briffault's somewhat old-fashioned but incisive expression of it. On the uses of democratic procedure to settle arguments, he has this to say; and the events in Spain offer a living exemplar:

"Argument can pluck the scales from duped eyes only that have begun to open. It has no place where interested prejudice is at bay. That is also why the reasons adduced to restrain argument are specious. I have frequently been told by liberals that an inopportune endeavor to make my meaning clear alienates those who might otherwise be persuaded. Might they? There is not the slightest likelihood that I, or anyone else, will ever persuade a Fas-

cist. . . . The sole use of words is to clarify ideas. There is thus an inevitable limit to it, beyond which the specious pretenses of democratic argumentativeness must give place, for a time, to the dictatorship of the abused and oppressed. Disputation must then yield to the armed defense of humanity."

—ALVAH C. BESSIE

Indochina

FRENCH POLICY AND DEVELOPMENTS IN INDOCHINA, by Thomas E. Ennis; 230 pages; The University of Chicago Press; \$3.00.

TO THE leisured tourist who surveys the world from the deck of a liner, Indochina is a land of golden Buddhas and white pagodas, of glamour and mystery, of the celebrated temple of Angkor Wat. But in reality Indochina—like China, India, Burma, and Siam—is a colony of that great and populous Asiatic empire of imperialism, that empire whence, for more than half a century, a rich and uninterrupted stream has flown in the direction of London, Paris, New York, and Tokyo.

Endowed with an ancient and fertile culture, closely allied to that of China, Indochina first experienced the blessings of Western civilization when, in 1858, a fleet and army sent by Napoleon III bombarded and seized Tourane; but stubborn resistance on the part of the inhabitants of the country impeded all efforts of the invaders for almost forty years. Not until 1897 did France become nominal master of Indochina.

In the five regions which constitute Indochina—Annam, Tonking, Cambodia, Cochinchina, and Taos—twenty millions toil on rice field and rubber plantation for foreign overlord and native parasite. Monocultural to a high degree, with an economy based on the production and export of rice, Indochina was ravaged by the world crisis as no other land in Asia. In 1930, with a force greater than that of the typhoon, the wind of revolt swept Tonking and Annam. French officials trembled; tens of thousands of peasants and coolies marched through villages, demanding land and protesting the rising burden of taxes. Today the name of Yen Bay is famous throughout the East. Here, on February 9th,

1930, two companies of Tonkinese troops mutinied and killed their officers. For thirty years the struggle for independence has been going on. The French, less adept and subtle than the British in their "civilizing mission" in Asia, unable to mobilize as large quantities of capital for export because of a relatively weak industrial foundation, have in this period faced crisis after crisis in Indochina.

The present work is one of the very few in the English language dealing with fundamental economic and political questions in this colonial country. The history of the French invasion, colonial administration, industry and commerce receive due attention; unfortunately there is almost nothing concerning foreign capital and its importance in the economic life of the country. The author is exceedingly critical of French imperialism but believes, unlike this reviewer, that reform rather than independence for Indochina is the solution. Sober and scholarly in his treatment of other questions, Mr. Ennis, in describing the liberation movement, paints a lurid and false picture. He sees everywhere "the hand of Moscow," not realizing that revolution is, unlike capital, incapable of being exported. He relies implicitly on accounts by reactionaries, such as Jean Dorsenne, who are openly hostile to the cause of liberation, and on official and semi-official sources.

Said Alexandre Varenne, Governor-General of Indochina (1925-1928):

The French are in Indochina. This is a fact. They are here by virtue of treaties, most of which were imposed by force. Preceded by an advance guard of marines, missionaries, and merchants, the French came, harmed the people, and installed themselves in a forceful and violent manner. The French have, unquestionably, worked for themselves in Indochina.

In July, 1848, Tu-duc, Emperor of Annam, declared in a proclamation directed against the French, then preparing for the conquest of his land:

These men, akin to sheep and dogs in their manners, cannot be persuaded by the language of reason; reason to them is the voice of the cannon.

As the coolies bend over the rubber trees on the broad plantations of M. Michelin, perhaps they are thinking, not of the ecstatic vacuum of Nirvana, but of the words of the Emperor Tu-duc.

—E. P. GREENE

For Justice and Human Dignity

AND FEAR CAME, by John T. Whitaker; 273 pages; *The Macmillan Company*; \$2.50.

THIS foreign correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune* has written with a pleasing combination of introspection and objectivity of his five years in Europe. In a sense the book is the record of a quest, a search "for a pattern in the political behaviour

of man." The path followed starts from a small Southern town, through New York and Washington, Geneva and Moscow, Berlin and Vienna, and finally ends in Ethiopia. The record he lays before us, however, greatly modifies his conclusions. Whitaker decides, "Modern politics is the effort of man to feed and clothe himself and live at peace in an orderly, organized community," but the story he tells reveals groups, classes and nations of men that seek quite different and less humanitarian objectives.

The economic drives that lie behind modern politics obtrude themselves in almost every chapter of the book. France fears Germany's great industrial plants more than the actual Nazi armaments. Russia fears Japan's credit facilities in England and America more than her military power. Japan fears America's civil aviation—easily convertible for war purposes—more than she fears our battleships. The governments do not want disarmament because armaments are a necessity in the pistol-point bargaining that characterizes the economic relationships of nations today. Hence we do not believe in disarmament

but in disarmament conferences.

Whitaker went to Geneva in 1931 with respect for the League of Nations and faith in its desire and power to settle disputes in peace and justice. He remained to see Japan, Germany and Italy successfully defy the League, Great Britain betray it, and the United States disdain it after one sally of co-operation. The net result of all this was the adoption by Great Britain (and other nations) of the essential policies of the very dictators they abhorred—rearmament and war scare. The League was "a fool's paradise of liberalism"; it arose "out of a Democracy of arrested development."

The author fails to give full value to the place and the power of the Soviet Union in seeking and maintaining peace. To evaluate her membership in the League of Nations as an attempt to gain respectability with American, French and British bankers and munition makers is to underestimate the influence Russia's membership has had not only on Europe but upon the whole world scene. Likewise, to omit all references to people's pressure and action for peace is to leave out a very vital

factor among the forces for peace today.

The book ends with an affirmation and a wistful hope. Whitaker affirms his faith in Democracy, a kind of Democracy that is not "too squeamish to meet the violence of capitalistic Fascism with equally effective violence." He voices a wistful hope for a world "where there is justice for all, and peace, and human dignity."

—PAUL REID

The Challenge of Marxism

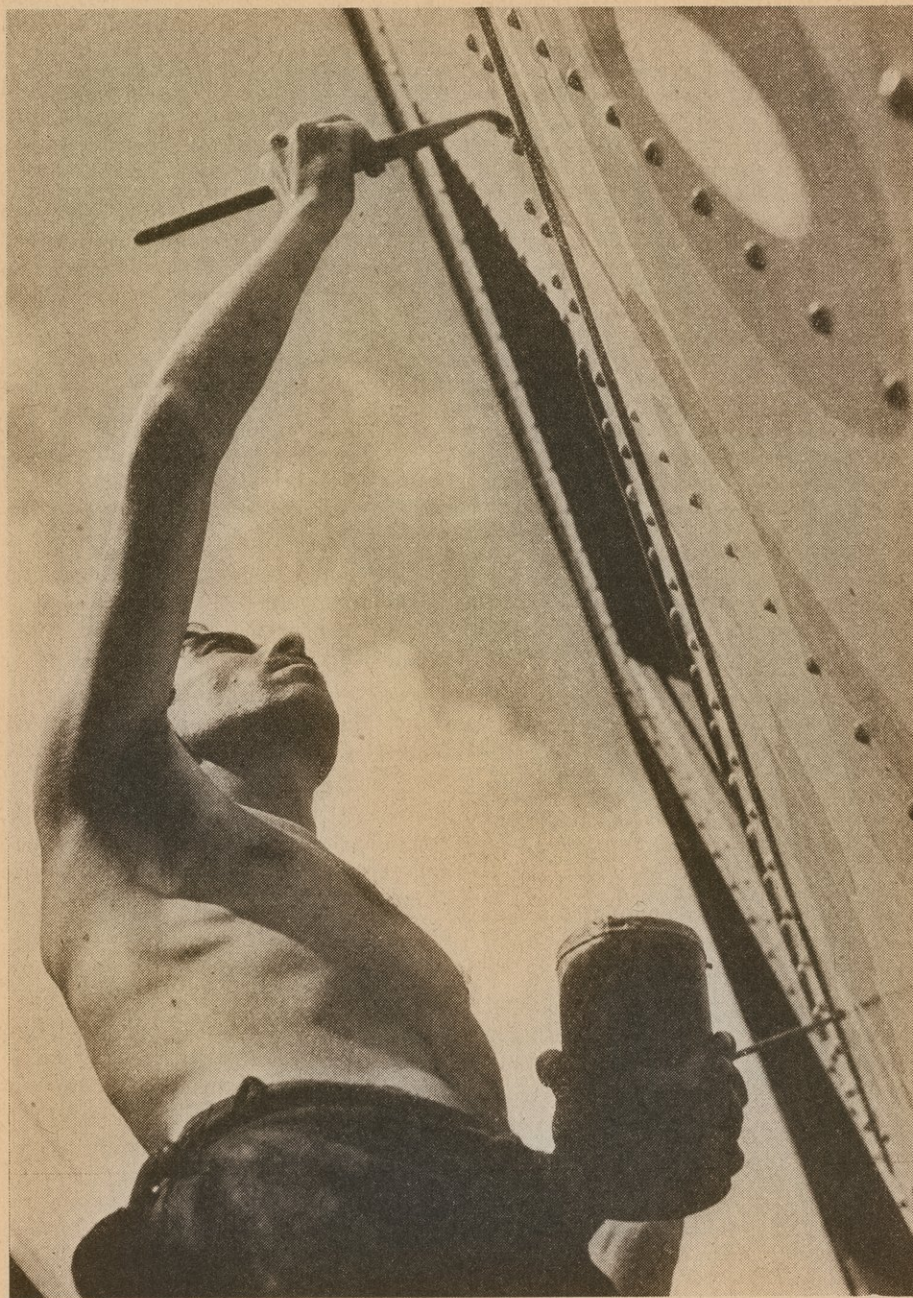
THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM, by John Strachey; 512 pages; *Random House*; \$3.00.

PERHAPS you are one of the many who have recently been asking about for a single popular volume on Marxism. You wanted it to be readable, clear, up-to-date, and comprehensive; to explain the difference between Socialism and Communism; to define concepts like "class struggle," "dictatorship of the proletariat," "materialist conception of history," "dialectical materialism"; to show the relationship between Adam Smith and Karl Marx, between Marx and Lenin and Stalin; to give the Communists' attitude toward violence, toward Democracy; to sum up the aims and achievements of the Soviet Union; and, finally, to do all these things not in textbook language but in terms of American conditions.

Or perhaps you are one of those who have been approached to recommend such a book, and have had to admit that there was no published work that quite fitted the particulars of this bill. Had a vote been taken this last year, among the seekers and the advisers, on the question: "Who would seem best fitted to write such an exposition for the American public?" the choice would very likely have fallen on John Strachey. It is good news, therefore, that Strachey has actually written just that book, probably in response to questions asked him during his lecture tours of the United States and England.

For whatever one may think of this writer's point of view, which is frankly Marxist, there must be very few who will not admit the charm of his style and his almost incredible ability to turn even an economic discussion into an enjoyable experience for the ordinary mind. This book, however, is not as striking for its witty phrases as was *The Coming Struggle for Power*. It gains all the more, on the other hand, in its appeal to the general reader, by its serious assumption of the task of answering his fundamental bread-and-butter questions: What will be the income of the average family under Communism? Why would there be no war and no unemployment under Socialism? How can society plan its production and consumption? What about incentives under such a system? Will religion

(Continued on page 26)



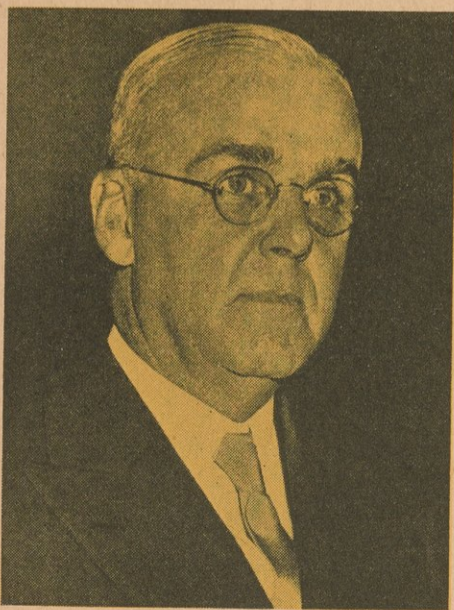
An artist in Madrid decorating a loyalist troop train

WALL STREET has a new hero. Its new man of the hour is Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., of General Motors who stepped so gallantly into the breach in order to rescue automobile workers from the "labor dictators" who are trying to lure them into demands for adequate wages, decent working conditions and freedom of organization.

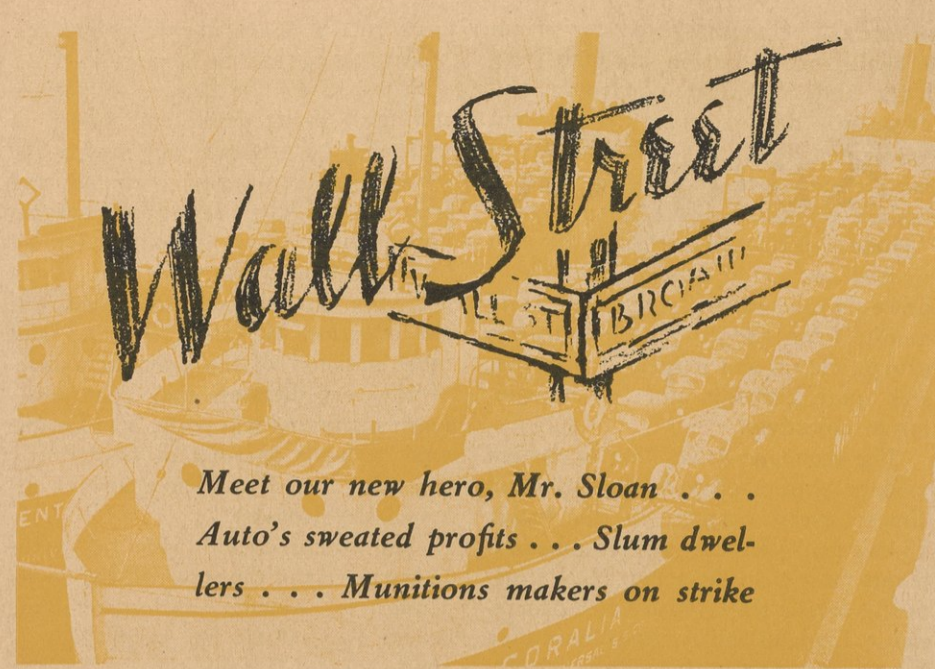
There is no industry dearer to Wall Street's heart than the automobile with its tremendous profits. The reason for this affection is not difficult to isolate. Between 1932 and 1936, the stock market rise in General Motors and Chrysler alone lined the pockets of capitalists and speculators with three and one-half billion dollars in added market value. The sweeping, militant union campaign in the motors plants is thus a direct threat against Wall Street's golden pets; within a few weeks the auto strike situation had clipped \$800,000,000 from the market value of General Motors and Chrysler.

And so, there were loud hosannahs downtown when the doughty Mr. Sloan stepped forward to try to protect his fellow-workers in General Motors from the snare of a better living. (Sloan's salary and bonus were \$374,505 in 1935 and probably reached \$500,000 in 1936. Those General Motors workers who had steady work throughout 1936 made \$1,490.)

Actually, Wall Street realizes that the real issues of last fall's national election campaign are being fought out on the labor front in the automobile, steel and other mass production industries. Stripped of the verbiage, compromises and confusion of the electioneering, the two forces are now lined up for the real bread and butter fight. On the one side are the strengthening ranks of militant labor, grouped around the C.I.O. and supported by the entire progressive, social strength of the nation. On the other side stand the reactionary forces of finance-capital, led by Morgan, Rockefeller and the du Ponts. General Motors, in fact,



E. T. (Tear Gas) Weir, National Steel



is the arch-type of the latter alignment. The du Ponts control it through 23% ownership of stock bought for \$80,000,000 in 1921 and now worth about \$650,000,000; two Morgan partners sit on its board of directors, and Messrs. Sloan, Knudsen, Brown et al who manage it are among the largest contributors to the American Liberty League, the Crusaders and the Landon-Hearst anti-labor campaign funds.

Encouraged by the Roosevelt Administration's steady drift to the right since Election Day, Wall Street has, temporarily at least, abandoned its frontal attack on the White House and is concentrating all fire on the labor movement. The financial press has worked itself into a frenzy over the "menace of labor." A headline in *Barron's Financial Weekly* screams "Labor's Threat to Recovery" over an article which explains with complete dead pan why some workers are so deluded as to strike, viz: "Many of them go on strike because they want to be good fellows and dislike to go against their fellow-workers, and because they can't think of the answers to the union leader's arguments."

In its duel with General Motors, the labor movement has challenged the real mastodon of American big business, the most profitable industrial concern in the world. In its 27-year history, General Motors has sweated profits of \$2,256,000,000 from the labor of its workers, has paid out \$1,640,000,000 in dividends and has accumulated a cash reserve of \$285,000,000, larger than that of any but the biggest banks.

So vast are its profits that General Motors could, right now, establish the six-hour day with eight-hours' pay and still earn better than 10% on its capital investment. In 1936, General Motors' net profits were about \$225,000,000 or 24% on its capital. Its payroll was \$360,000,000. If hourly wage rates throughout its plants were increased by one-third, net profits would still be almost \$100,000,000 or better than 10% on the investment.

But this would be "revolution" in the eyes of Wall Street. General Motors would find better use for the approximate \$200,000 yearly it now spends for labor espionage.

The Pipe of Peace

LABOR has been the only force capable of disturbing Wall Street's deep brown study on its major post-election technique of sweetness and light. As was pointed out in this column last month, Wall Street's strategy is to try the back door to the White House now that the front door has been barred to its candidate by the overwhelming vote of the nation. The main outlines of this flank attack against the American people were formed at the annual Congress of American Industry. Amid much bowing and scraping in the direction of Roosevelt, business moguls such as E. T. (Tear Gas) Weir of National Steel forgot their hysterical red scare of the recent campaign and pledged "cooperation with the government in social and economic progress."

The "cooperation" is already paying dividends. The slashes in the W.P.A. rolls, with promise of more cuts to come, the emphasis on the balanced budget with no increase in taxation on the rich, the increasing deference shown by the Administration to the reactionaries in the Democratic party, and the constant refrain that "recovery is here"—with 10,000,000 still unemployed—are all indices of the Administration's growing affection for many of the policies of its recent enemies. Roosevelt's message to Congress, and especially its endorsement of the status quo on the Constitution, with no amendment to break the throttlehold of the Supreme Court, was more soothing syrup for the Street.

Merry Xmas from the Bankers

THE Christmas spirit reached into Wall Street banking circles and resulted in orders for wholesale evic-

tions of poverty-stricken families unfortunate enough to live in slum tenements owned by the most respectable savings banks and mortgage companies of New York City. In explanation of this singular demonstration of holiday cheer, the banks explained that they could not afford to comply with the new tenement laws and thus were compelled to close the buildings. The law would require a separate lavatory for each tenement family and improved fire-retarding in hallways. But these minimum standards of decency are too expensive for the wealthy New York banks.

Actually, the maneuver had every earmark of a publicity stunt timed to compel the State Legislature to repeal the laws. Just a Wall Street prank, at the cost only of added misery for the exploited slum-dwellers of New York.

The War Makers Stage a Strike

THE munitions makers have gone on strike against the fat orders from the Army and Navy Departments which have played such a large part in swelling industrial earnings this year. The answer is not that the munitions trust has miraculously lost taste for profiting from weapons of war. The answer is the Walsh-Healey Act which requires that government contracts in excess of \$10,000 be awarded only to firms that have a 40-hour week, with overtime pay for hours in excess of 40, and that do not employ child labor. To the dismay of the Navy Department, which lobbied unsuccessfully against this bill, these terms are too stringent for the steel and copper trusts that are supplying its new battleships. The concerted refusal to bid on new contracts is obviously designed to force repeal of the Act by Congress. But the Navy Department, ever valiant, arranged exemptions from the act for orders for 200,000 pounds of copper from Kennecott Copper and from Calumet and Hecla, which have complied with none of the provisions.



Alfred P. Sloan, General Motors

February 1937, FIGHT

King George and King Cotton

"Anarchy, riot, bloodshed, mean, sneaking, disreputable." No, this is not Hearst attacking progressives today. It's what the Hearsts of '76 and '61 said about Washington and Lincoln

By Morris Kamman

ON A FEBRUARY day, in 1777, the *New York Gazette*, a leading publication of its time, informed its readers that George Washington, Commander of the American Revolutionary forces, was one of the "unprincipled impostors" who "would spread anarchy, riot and bloodshed."

Some eighty years later, another American publication, the *Chicago Times*, eulogized Washington much as the press does today, but described Abraham Lincoln, alive then and fighting the slaveholders, as "mean, sneaking and disreputable."

A similar reason prompted the attacks on both Washington and Lincoln. They were leaders of the masses of American people in a life and death struggle against a wealthy class that was fastening its stranglehold on American economic life.

Monopoly in the Colonies

The land in the thirteen colonies was largely owned by the English aristocracy. About thirty individuals had three-quarters of all the available land in the colony of New York, one estate alone measuring two million acres. Four families controlled 200 square miles of the best soil on Long Island. More than half of the land in Westchester County was within the bounds of six manorial estates. In Virginia, an Englishman possessed 54,000 acres. Washington, like other colonials, did not own his Virginia land outright, but had to pay "quit-rents."

To land monopoly, the English ruling class added trade monopoly. The colonists could export their main products such as tobacco, hemp, furs, rice, pig iron only to Great Britain. Anti-manufacturing laws forced the colonists to import their plows, muskets and other necessary finished products from Great Britain. Rich British merchants paid the colonists lowest prices, but charged highest prices for goods sent to them. At one time George Washington wrote his London agents that

he could not pay what he owed them and asked for an extension of time. The circumstances of the farmers, mechanics and laborers, who formed five-sixths of the colonial population of over two million, were even worse. The workers already were tasting the bitterness of unemployment; the farmers obtained a wretched livelihood from the rocky, exhausted soil they had access to. "By the middle of the 18th century, opportunity (in America) appeared to . . . have been monopolized by the rich and influential."—James Truslow Adams.

"Poltroons" and "Cowards"

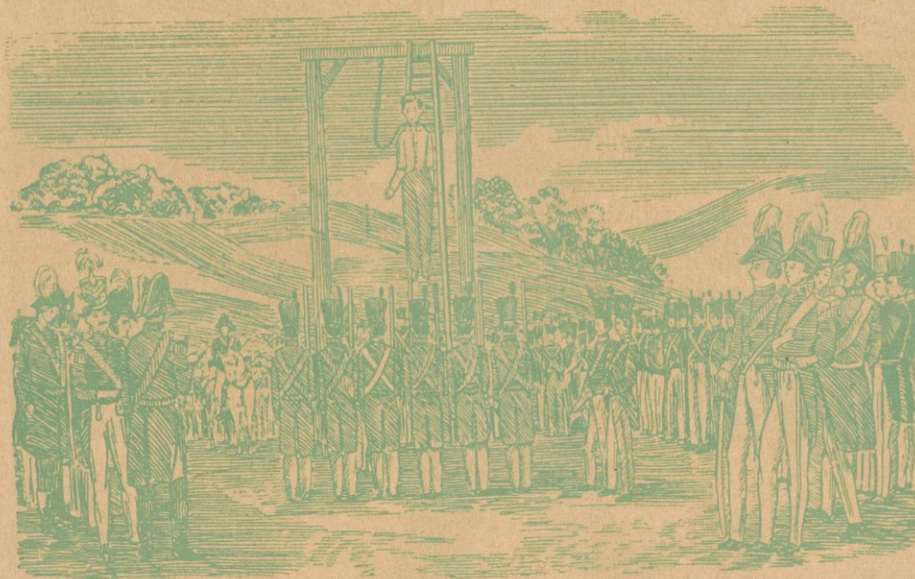
Snobbery buttressed economic power. Even after his heroic leadership during the Braddock campaign, the crown rejected Washington's request for a royal officer's commission, because he was a colonial. "Poltroons" and "cowards," the British said contemptuously of the colonists.

Twenty-five thousand "poltroons" and "cowards" fought in the British-French war, which ended in a victory for Britain, and in the surrender by France of the territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi River. There was a rich fur trade in this ter-

ritory, and vast stretches of virgin fertile soil. Colonial planters, farmers, merchants and workers hungered for this land much as many today hunger for jobs and food. But the British ruling class issued a Proclamation which reserved this territory and its trade for King George. This meant that the land and its trade, like that on the seaboard, would fall into the hands of the British upper class. Protests to the King and to the "Lords of Trade and Plantations" who controlled colonial affairs brought the reply that the Proclamation was in strict accordance with the British Constitution. The *Narrative and Critical History of America* states, "the strength of (the British ruling class) was in legal and constitutional principles, as they were then interpreted by judicial tribunals."

Such constitutional principles did not appeal to the colonists at all.

Alexander Hamilton retorted, "The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records." With others in America, he insisted that the "natural rights" of mankind are superior to constitutional rights claimed



The Fate of the Rail Splitter—Abe Lincoln. A wood engraving made in Richmond, 1861



How Lincoln was pictured by the reactionaries of his day. A cartoon from "Harper's Weekly," January 31, 1863

by an oppressing British ruling clan.

King George and his nobles not only fastened their hold on the new land as on the old, but also levied taxes on the colonists to raise revenue for paying the large debt incurred during the war with France, although this very war had enriched neither the colonists nor the masses of England, but only the already wealthy minority in Great Britain.

Indignantly, Washington wrote about "maintaining the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors," against "our lordly masters of Great Britain. . . ."

Sons of Liberty

Boycotts against British merchants and their goods spread from colony to colony, Washington joined the boycotters. In New England, artisans and mechanics, some of them out of work, organized the "Sons of Liberty" to make the boycotts effective. Imports from Great Britain, amounting at one time to over four million pounds sterling, sank to 55,415 pounds sterling.

"Committees of Correspondence" were formed along colonial and inter-colonial lines to map united action against the oppressive laws. By the end of 1774, Dunmore, Royal Governor of Virginia, complained that the militia, of which Washington was one of the leaders, refused to take orders from him, but obeyed instead orders from the "Correspondence Committee."

"The Americans will be lions while we are lambs," General Gage, Royal Governor of Massachusetts, wrote the King, "but if we take the resolute part, they will . . . prove very meek." The British government thought so, too, and dispatched additional troops to Boston, the hotbed of discontent. Workers in Boston refused to build quarters for the "ministerial troops" as Washington termed the Red-Coats, and in crowds derided the governmental soldiers as workers today deride strike breakers. Their loaded muskets tipped by bayonets, the British soldiers marched to Concord to arrest revolutionary leaders, among them Samuel

(Continued on page 29)

Minneapolis

Up in the Northwest they used to call it Jim Hill's empire. But that was a long time ago. Now the Pillsburys, Washburns, Crosbys, Heffelfingers and Daytons have to contend with the sons and daughters of the pioneers who built the Northwest

By Dale Kramer

MINNEAPOLIS is famous as the home of two groups which seldom suffer defeat. They are football players and union labor. Husky sons of laboring men are noted for their stubborn resistance to the attack of opponents, and their own powerful, indomitable drive for the goal. Their fathers on picket lines play the same cool, intelligent game. Often the opposition is composed of finks, thugs and "first citizens," clubs and guns are equipment and rules are catch as catch can, but almost invariably they come out on top.

Minneapolis had champion football teams before it had champion labor unions. Not until the famous "Battle of Deputy Run," during the first truck drivers' strike of 1934, did the Minneapolis labor movement really gather strength in this period. Cheap labor sweeping in from the wheat fields, coupled with tyrannical tactics by employers against the stubborn but patient Scandinavians, had prevented anything but the most elementary organization of highly skilled craft unions. Even the printing trades were forced to put up with a killing "piece work" mode of operation. Machinists struck early in the nineteen hundreds, but the workers lost and, as A. W. Strong, employer of machinists himself and passionate head of the labor-hating Citizens' Alliance, put it, "We won and established the principle of the open shop in Minneapolis which prevailed up until the disturbances at the beginning of 1934." Or, in the usual parlance of the Citizens' Alliance, until the revolution came.

An Empire Is Launched

The placid Swedes, Norwegians, Danes and incredibly stolid Finns had been pushed too far. They built Jim Hill's empire and they were reasonably quiet under his yoke, but the breaking point came. Knowing that with the lumber cut, railroads would have nothing to haul, Hill decided to build his empire as he went along. After getting a hand in the St. Paul & Pacific railroad in 1878 and launching the

Great Northern toward the Rocky Mountains, he began importing Swedes and Norwegians and Danes and a sprinkling of Irish and Germans. Scandinavians were best suited, he found, and his recruiters were sent directly to those countries. Once the railroad was laid, he settled them on the land, told them what to do and refused to take no for an answer.

Hill was emperor. "Hill was the most even-tempered man I ever knew—always bad," a St. Paul newspaper man said. The naturally independent workers and farmers stirred fitfully, but their efforts were in vain. Meanwhile others arrived in Minneapolis to carve out a piece of empire. There were the Washburns, Crosbys, Pillsburys (flour), Heffelfingers (shoes and grain), Daytons (merchandise) and others. Lowly laborers must maintain their place, not talk back to the great satraps.

Truck Drivers' Strike

But the revolution came. The ruling forces termed the truck drivers' strike revolution and in a sense they were right. The royal guards—the police—backed by an army of princes and potentates marched to battle, determined to quell the rebellion, in blood if necessary.



A young worker walking home from the mills in Minneapolis

The day was May 22nd, 1934. Truck drivers had tied up the market place, bringing freight moving to a standstill. The domineering Citizens' Alliance, fat and confident with three decades of victory, were crying "Communist" and "revolution." Minneapolis was to be made a soviet, the big dailies said. It was the tried and true method. A Farmer-Labor party had been in power four years, a fact worrying the rulers a good deal, but still there had been little labor trouble. Really it might turn out to be good sport. Some of the young bloods had a nice time of it, striding up and down Citizens' Alliance headquarters, booted and spurred and ready to ride. Perhaps there would come an opportunity to use the six-shooters strapped to their belts. Ready, fire. The rabble fleeing pell-mell, except a few left on the ground for a lesson. Seventeen hundred men—police, regular deputies and deputized princes—pledged themselves to move the stalled trucks.

Everyone knew what was going to happen that Tuesday. Thousands of workers—strikers, sympathizers and on-lookers—crowded the market place to await the royalist army. Soon its vanguard approached, clubs jauntily swinging. An hour later the army had fled, leaving behind the dead body of C.

Arthur Lyman, young manufacturer and a vice-president of American Ball Co.

According to the magazine *Fortune*, "that night members of many of the first families of Minneapolis met in houses on Lowry hill and hysterically talked of fleeing the city." (*Fortune's* article was entitled "Revolt in the Northwest" and appeared in the April, 1936, issue. Because it treated the great of Minneapolis without proper respect and painted a dark picture of the city's economic future, so many hysterical letters were sent in from the upper crust that the magazine later took notice of them in an article defending itself. Reported result of the whole thing to swank, dollar-a-copy *Fortune*, organ of the biggest business, was loss of \$50,000 worth of advertising.)

Troops Protect Workers

Gov. Floyd B. Olson called out the national guard, established order and secured a settlement. But two months later the strike broke out again, police killed two men and again the troops came. Gov. Olson prevented trucks from moving except under military convoy, and finally the strike was settled. Workers won a big victory, particularly important because it was the first time troops had been called to protect workers rather than crush them.

The truck drivers had lighted the fuse which touched off the seething unrest gathered in the breasts of Minneapolis workers since the city's settlement. Election of Farmer-Labor candidates had shown the desire of labor to fight for its rights, but it took this decisive battle to set the slow-moving but powerful dynamo in action. Since that battle less than three years ago dozens of labor victories have been won, with no real setbacks.

Last summer the great flour mills were closed. One attempt was made to open them, but trainloads of strike breakers were surrounded, stoned and beaten back. Individual terrorism has also failed. Several labor leaders have been beaten up by gangsters within the

past year and only recently the killer "Bugs" Moran was reported in town, brought here by the Citizens' Alliance. But the unions go ahead, organizing and winning victories, ready to fight it out in whatever manner appears necessary.

But, then, Minneapolis has always been a lusty town. Now, with iron men like Jim Hill gone, another of the old rulers in Leavenworth, others with their empires hanging around their ears, power is centered in labor halls, Farmer-Labor clubs and taverns frequented by workers.

The Gateway

In the Gateway district, between Washington Avenue and the river, are the workingmen, former workingmen and would-be workers. In summer the little triangular park wedged between Nicollet and Hennepin as they meet is filled with hundreds of men, some who have jobs, some looking for jobs. In the missions are those once sturdy workers who furnished the brawn of empire.

Winter and summer, Washington and Hennepin Avenues are full. But most colorful is Washington. East Hennepin, extending to the river and mill district, is strung with second-hand stores, small bars and restaurants, typical of any city. But Washington combines the eating-house-merchandising atmosphere of the steady laborer with the hell-roaring of a frontier town. A couple of blocks from the Family Store is the Gayety, a burlesque able to hold its own with the Minskys around Broadway. Probably there are less strip acts—say six to the Minskys' dozen—but the girls are as pretty and usually sprightlier.

After Work Hours

Down the street, past the Family Store, the big working-class bars commence. Here great cash boxes hold enough for payroll cashing and the enormous bars, manned by a dozen bartenders, are usually packed. Bars are divided. There are the sane, and the rowdy. Usually the rowdy bars serve only beer, sport a two-piece orchestra and hope for the best. It is none too good. There are few girls on Washington Avenue; that is, few girls in the taverns. Signs herald "Dancing," but there is little of it. No hostesses exhort customers to buy drinks, as say in Kansas City, nor do young girls and boys hold out in stag lines, as in most cities.

The most popular tavern on the street, the Stockholm, has an orchestra, but prohibits dancing. To this huge combination bar and restaurant, capable of accommodating nearly a thousand persons for food and drink, come the workingmen and their families. Here they sit at night, drinking beer or stout, and listen to rousing Scandihoovian tunes. All day and until closing time the 100-foot bar is crowded, while sit-



A view of the city of Minneapolis

ting at an equally long counter with their backs to the drinkers are a long row of hungry workingmen eating Swedish sausages, beans, head cheese and great slices of meat cut from huge joints of beef. A wall divides the bar and lunch counter from a table-filled space equally as large, while opening at the rear is a huge hall-like room the width of them both. In the middle of this, on a raised platform with a railing around it, stands the orchestra. It works happily. A middle-aged woman used to sing Scandinavian songs there; you could not tell whether she was hired to do it or merely sang because she liked to. The drinkers at their green tables clapped and clapped for more, as though they were at a party.

The street is full of the other kind of life, of course, the behind-the-shutter, small hotel type; enough that the call to editors of "exposure" newspapers is great despite the deaths of Howard Guilford and Walter Liggett.

Up Hennepin and Nicollet the store fronts become brighter. Nicollet is most

crowded in the afternoon, Hennepin at night. The big department stores, flanked by fur, shoe and women's apparel shops, line the latter from Fifth to Eleventh Street. Biggest is Dayton's, owned by the pious, goat-bearded gentleman after whom it was named. But his righteous fury, no less in volume than the prophets of old, is harnessed to the Citizens' Alliance. *Midwest, A Review*, liberal organ of mid-western writers and artists, remained in Dayton's book department but a day. The thunderbolt, rumor has it, came from the eagle-eyed god of knickknacks himself.

Grocery Stores, Honky-tonks

Hennepin is life and vegetables. Shows, night clubs, grocery stores and a couple of honky-tonks. In Spud's basement the polo-shirted boys and limber girls dance at a reckless pace; men and women weave and stumble until early hours of the morning. Only in Spud's do you feel a sense of abandon. Curley's, half a block up Fifth Street, tries to

capture the feeling on a little higher plane, but doesn't quite make it. Waitresses move around in dresses which expose their Percheron thighs. The cigarette girl proudly takes the only shapely limbs in the place from table to table, but it isn't enough. Lindy's, up the street a little on Hennepin, is glittering but cold. At Cocoanut Grove and the Radisson things aren't much better. Scandihoovians hold their liquor. Then come the shows, eight or ten of them. First a show, then a couple of grocery stores, a bar, and a Chinese restaurant. You eat in one of the two big cafeterias, or you eat in a Chinese restaurant—unless you want a hamburger shop. The cafeterias keep in business only by keeping great supplies of chow mein on hand. Swedish sausage is not advertised above Third Street.

Beyond Eighth and Hennepin you are lost. Hennepin begins a half circle, streets honeycomb between Nicollet and you get nowhere. The library, a vast old structure, is near-by and on LaSalle, lodged somewhere between Hennepin and Nicollet, is the Progressive Book Shop, a swank, modernistic little place which sells everything from Lenin to the *New Yorker*. A few blocks further all the avenues drop into a vast basin filled with apartment houses. Streets and numbers are a maze; only trained Minneapolitians get around with ease. In them, like machine-gun nests, are the Farmer-Labor clubs, fortifying, educating, building.

Reactionaries Turn to Fascism

But if the Farmer-Labor Party holds the state capital, if labor halls are packed and the radical parties rapidly gain recruits, it does not mean that reaction has for a moment admitted defeat. Martin Nelson, Republican candidate for governor in the recent elections, was not engaging in wild rhetoric when he told a group of business men that if his opponent, Elmer A. Benson, meant what he said he should be run out of the state with guns. Benson defeated him by an overwhelming majority, of course, but to expect Minnesota's reactionaries to abide by that decision any more than the Fascists and monarchists of Spain accepted the people's decision would be engaging in no less than an orgy of optimism.

Already, sharpening of the struggle has resulted in definitely Fascist organizations. In a secret Silvershirt meeting I heard a candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination call for the American Hitler. Sitting excited and agitated in the back of the room was young William Kelty, who heads a patriotic youth organization called the Student Patriot League. Its officers are in American Legion headquarters, and has strong backing from Supt. Schoonmaker of West High School. Kelty's work was greeted with cheers from the

(Continued on page 26)

Letters

Century old superstitions . . . It's Spain everywhere, from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon . . . Señora de Palencia

Mexico and Spain

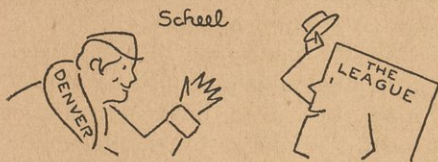
FATHER LUIS SARASOLA'S article in the December issue of THE FIGHT interested me a great deal and moved me considerably, since I was born and raised in the Church. While I have lived most of my life in the U. S. A., I have never forgotten the rôle played by the reactionary forces in Mexico during the last 25 years while my country was awakening and growing up. The same is happening today in Spain. The people there are shaking off century old superstitions and exploitations.

But one thing we must not forget. The Church may be reactionary in its outlook, but the majority of Catholic workers, peasants and many middle class people want progress and liberty. They are shaking off, as in Mexico, the people who are on their backs. We must remember that in our own Civil War in Lincoln's day, the Church in the South (in this case I am referring to the Protestant Church) was on the side of slavery. It has always been thus. I am confident that my Catholic people in Spain, the common people, will be victorious in their struggle for Democracy.—C. B. S. G., Chicago, Ill.

Señora de Palencia in Denver

RECENTLY when Señora Isabella de Palencia visited and spoke in Denver, I had the pleasure of hearing her.

I was so inspired by her talk that I have felt that I must take an active



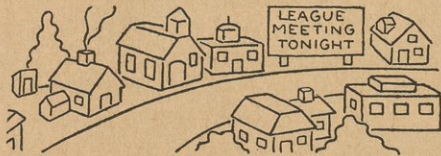
part in spreading the truth about Spain and about Fascism in whatever way I could . . . I should be very pleased if, when you next contact Señora Isabella de Palencia, you would tell her that her talk here will bear fruit for a long time to come and that as many of us as are able will carry on her fight here.

Thank you for making Denver one of her stopping places. And as a citi-

zen who hates war and Fascism, may I also take this opportunity of thanking you for your part in the war against these menaces to humanity.—H. DARRELL SMITH, Denver, Colo.

Everywhere It's Spain

WE ARE trying our best to get together money and clothes, etc., for Spain. One of our members has given us this check which we will send to you. . . . Our last meeting was con-



cerned with Spain and the plea. There will be a meeting at a church next week, and we will make a plea there. At the next meeting of our League we will discuss the seamen's strike. . . . —HESTER DALY, Saranac Lake, N. Y.

Tooting for Glory

(Continued from page 15)

finally landed me in the Socialist anti-war camp, where I still am.

Music the Pawn

However, let no one think that the effects of my early rearing were easily eradicated. "The thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts," said Longfellow. And so they are. For many years I could not listen to a snappy military march without feeling the martial spirit stirring in the depths of my being.

Even today, knowing that they are mere pawns in a game in which they have neither stake nor understanding, I cannot perceive a company or battalion of uniformed young men swinging past me without experiencing some strange emotions. Beneath the fife and drum is the shell and tom-tom of generations of savages. Beneath the thin layer of civilization are vast deposits of emotions that reach down, down through Neanderthal and Piltdown man to ape and tiger.

Wide reading, much traveling, con-

tact with all sorts of people, many races, and nationalities, an insight into the thing called culture, to which all the tribes of man have contributed their share, eventually permitted me to see men in their true light as members of the great family sharing all the family's heirlooms of vice and virtue.

One Great Family

Today the Frenchman is no longer the cowardly, treacherous brute of my youth. He is a member of the highly cultured tribe that has given the world Pasteur, Anatole France, Romain Rolland and Madame Curie.

England is no longer *perfidie Albion*, a nation of peddlers. It is the homeland of Milton, Shakespeare, Byron and Keats, of Bacon, Darwin, Spencer, and Huxley, one of the birthplaces and experimental laboratories of Democracy.

The Jew is not a "sheeny." He is a member of the race that gave us Moses, the prophets, Christ, and the conception of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

The roots of our arts and sciences reach down into the very heart of Asia and Africa, using Spain and Arabia as a bridge to migrate northward.

China and Japan were highly cultured countries, when our Teutonic ancestors still dreamed of a heaven whose bliss consisted of eternal warfare and drinking the blood of slain enemies out of their very skulls.

"There is a Reason"

In the course of time, I even ceased to blame German militarists for what they are. There is a reason for all things and the reason why German militarism developed first in the South is that for centuries that was the gate through which Roman slave hunters invaded the territory north of the Alps to catch field hands for noble Roman landlords. The reason it developed on the border land of Prussia and Russia is that from the vast plains eastward came the hordes of Huns who robbed and raped the whole of central Europe for centuries. And even the Huns did not conduct these raids out of inborn depravity, but, as we know now, because devastating droughts that robbed them of grass and water for their herds of goats, horses, cows, and sheep on which they lived, had driven them westward. As a further proof that these Huns were not devils incarnate, but human beings, it is only necessary to point out that Finland is largely populated by that tribe and that Finland is one of the most highly civilized, cultured and progressive countries of this day and age.

No, there are no inferior and superior races. There are no bad nations and good nations. Like the individual man, they are all mixtures of good and bad, wisdom, and stupidity, brutality and generosity. To understand this is

the first step to world peace, for as the French say, "To understand is to forgive." And it is this very point that is so frequently overlooked by the school that sees the cause of war exclusively in human greed. No doubt, this factor is at the bottom of all modern war. But if the peoples of the earth knew their true history as well as their own nature, and the shabby trick education and environment play, they would treat the war mongers for what they are, that is, more dangerous than hydrophobia smitten dogs. And it is exactly at this point where school, press, and church become accessories to the most brainless, heartless, stupid and 100 per cent futile of all human enterprises—war.

Judicial Review

(Continued from page 9)

of review over both administrative action and laws, whether these be enacted by Congress or by the states.

Due Process

Before modifying the Court's power of judicial veto it is necessary, therefore, to consider just what activities of the Court are really objectionable. Perhaps we may approach the problem by revaluing the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Are all these rights still worth preserving? Have not some of them, such as the right to "due process," been so interpreted out of their original meaning that a re-formulation of them may, by now, have become necessary? Should it be possible, under the color of the phrase "due process," for the Court to void a regulatory law or tax, merely because the Court does not like the purpose of the law or tax and can express its dislike by the formula that the law is "arbitrary?" For, on this score alone, the Court has condemned laws establishing minimum wages, laws regulating employment agencies, laws prohibiting discrimination against union labor, and innumerable laws imposing taxes. It is largely interference such as this with public policy as declared by legislatures, which has provoked the greatest storm of popular criticism against the Supreme Court; an interference the less justified, in that it is not based upon any express mandate of the Constitution. And the "usurpation" cannot be remedied adequately, merely by depriving the Court of the right to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional. Much of the objection to the Court's action of this kind has been caused by its decisions involving state, rather than federal statutes.

The Amendment Process

It has therefore been suggested that the due process clause be rewritten so as to restore its original, purely procedural, meaning. It will be necessary, as we have seen, also to consider an

amendment which would extend federal power so that it might be exerted in all situations truly national in extent and influence. Yet the difficulties which confront the drafters of such general amendments are tremendous. Opposition is certain to develop to any particular form they may suggest. Besides, no one can foretell what a particular new amendment will actually accomplish, even if adopted, until it has undergone prolonged interpretation by the Supreme Court. On the whole, this method of shearing the Court of its present powers is very likely to prove illusory. Therefore some of us believe the only satisfactory remedy lies elsewhere: in a liberalization of the amendment process itself. A general amendment to this effect would be relatively simple to draw. It would lend itself to no serious misinterpretation and it would be extremely flexible in its operation.

Why should not the people have the right at any time to express their disapproval of a decision of the Supreme Court, by voting on a specific amendment designed to undo its effect? In most of the separate states the people have such power over the state courts today. In New York it was exercised many years ago to undo the effect of the decision declaring void the first workmen's compensation law. With a federal provision such as this in force, the people could quickly have removed the bar created by the Supreme Court against minimum wage laws. To accomplish it would necessitate the change of a few words in the existing amendment clause, no more. We would take away the requirement of approval by three-fourths of the states and substitute approval by a majority of those voting at an election specially called for the particular purpose. This is the most effective and satisfactory way to take the sting out of what is now the much abused power of judicial review.

Industrial Mobilization

(Continued from page 7)

"industrial mobilization." In fact, the industrialists, much to the dismay of the "progressives," are quite ready to accept a severe limitation upon their war profits, realizing as they do that the war will be fought almost wholly in their interest and realizing also that modern war has become essentially a struggle for economic survival. But they insist that a certain margin of profit, however small, be guaranteed them. The military men also deem it necessary that war profits be rigidly restricted for the sake of victory, while at the same time they contend that industry must be assured of some profit in order to induce it to put forth its best effort. They want, nevertheless, to keep control in their own hands, for they hold that the task will be primarily a military one. The industrial-



ART YOUNG

Theseus and the Minotaur
(A Modern Interpretation)

ists argue, on the other hand, that they themselves should sit at the controls as they did in the last war, for they have the "experience," and they are afraid, moreover, that an exclusively military dictatorship might not be so eager to restore control to the financial and industrial overlords once the fighting is done.

Plans for Dictatorship

The military men are likely to win this tug-of-war, for they alone have plans for a dictatorship ready. Almost immediately after the armistice in 1918, legislation was enacted by Congress authorizing the military men to put together a framework for a more effective and complete dictatorship in the event of another war. The General Staff was empowered "to prepare plans . . . for the mobilization of the manhood of the nation and its material resources in an emergency. . . ." The Assistant Secretary of War was "charged with supervision of the procurement of all military supplies and other business of the War Department pertaining thereto and the assurance of adequate provision for the mobilization of *materiel* and industrial organizations essential to war-time needs." A War Council was created to lay down general policies covering the preparation of blueprints for this "mobilization" of resources and industrial organizations.

Through the next decade the military men devoted themselves mainly to the task of gathering information and passing out "sample" contracts to some thousands of manufacturers. In 1931 the War Policies Commission was organized under a Congressional resolution (ironically entitled: "A Resolution to Promote Peace and to Equalize the Burdens and to Remove the Profits of War"). Thirteen of the fourteen members of this body were ardent nationalists, if not outright militarists.

Ignoring the reference to the promotion of peace, they proceeded to take testimony from scores of military lobbyists, professional patriots and industrialists on suggested ways and means of conducting the next war more efficiently. When the hearings were concluded, the commission recommended that the War and Navy Departments keep up to date their plans for a war-time dictatorship (although, of course, the blunt word "dictatorship" was not actually used).

Today, therefore, the military men have ready for introduction in Congress a series of bills laying the groundwork for what they call their "industrial mobilization plan." It was originally intended that these bills should be introduced on the day that war was declared, but it is now reported in the press that some of them will be offered at the present session, which would seem to imply that the approaching war is much nearer at hand than most of us had supposed. Copies of the bills that are available have been recently revised, but these revisions have not affected them in any fundamental particular. If anything, the changes look toward a strengthening of the projected dictatorship.

Conscription of Labor

The first bill (which will almost certainly not be introduced at the present session, or until the day that the war begins, for it would in all probability be defeated at this time) provides for conscription for the fighting services. Under this measure every male citizen will be required to enroll for military duty. There will be no exemptions. Even if a man be a member of a "well recognized religious sect whose creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form," he will have to serve, though he may not be required actually to bear arms. How-

ever, the President may at his discretion "defer service in the public armed forces" of registrants whose continued employment in certain occupations "he deems essential to the public interest." Put into plain English, that means that the President, or rather the dictatorship, will have the power to conscript labor as well as soldiers. The men whose service is "deferred" will all be technically enrolled in the armed forces. They will hold their jobs only upon sufferance, at the pleasure of the dictatorship. It inevitably follows that if the dictatorship has the power to remove a man from his "essential" job, it has also the power to assign another to that job. (It has been reported by *The Nation* and others that this provision for the conscription of labor has been eliminated in the latest revisions of the "industrial mobilization plan." That is not the case. Indeed, conscription of labor is and must be an integral part of that plan, for it would be impossible to control all of the other elements that enter into the national economy while leaving the all-important labor supply uncontrolled.)

Dictatorial Grip

The second bill—the heart of the dictatorship—would make available "to the President the material resources of the nation." Here the dictatorship is to be endowed with virtually blanket authority to fix prices not only for goods and services sold to the Government, but also for such goods and services as pass "between persons of the civilian population." The President (read dictatorship) is further empowered to "fix and establish just and reasonable rates of profit or compensation" for the production and marketing of all goods and services, including labor, of course. He may also, *inter alia*, establish priorities in production and marketing of goods and, when he considers it necessary, prohibit the production and distribution of other commodities and services. And he may license companies and individuals engaged in any economic activity, and revoke the licenses of individuals or firms who fail "to comply with any contract, requisition or requirement of the Government of the United States." Withdrawal of the license will naturally put the offending corporation or person out of business. It needs no special prescience to understand what all-inclusive power this provision will give the dictatorship. Indeed, by this measure the President and his subordinates will have absolute power over the entire economic life of the nation.

Under another bill, the dictatorship will be authorized to commandeer whatever personal and real property it believes necessary to its purposes. Naturally compensation will be provided, for it would not be in keeping with the nature of the dictatorship, whose primary aim will be to defend the exist-

ing economic system, to violate the rights of private ownership. A fourth bill will create a Bureau of Marine War Risk Insurance, while a fifth will establish an Administration of War Trade, whose primary duty it will be to control the country's foreign commerce and regulate trade with the enemy. In addition, there will be organized under the "industrial mobilization plan" a War Finance Corporation, to establish complete control over commercial and industrial credits, and a Capital Issues Committee, which will do the same for the capital market. It is a curious fact that no public officer is to be permitted to serve on the latter committee, which means that its three members will be drawn from among the finance capitalists, for they alone will have the requisite training to fill such jobs. In a word, three already powerful bankers will here be given what will practically amount to the power of life and death over industrial corporations and others who must go into the capital market in search of funds.

More Rigid than Nazi Germany

There would be little point in stressing the implications of this far-reaching "industrial mobilization plan." Let it merely be said that it calls for the erection of a dictatorship more rigid and complete than that which exists in Nazi Germany today. It is true that no direct provision has been made in this plan for the guidance and control of public opinion or for the suppression of criticism. But none is necessary. The plan itself carries power enough to crush anyone and everyone who dares criticize either the war effort or the dictatorship. Anyone convicted of "obstructing" any of the laws to be enacted can be sent to jail and heavily fined to boot. If he is guilty of "obstructing" the draft law by any gesture or statement, he may even be tried by court martial and, upon conviction, "suffer such punishment as a court martial may direct." Nor is that all, for there already exist a number of statutes that can be used to "coordinate" public opinion and get rid of dissenters. The President has the authority under the 1934 Communications Act, for example, to take over the entire radio system of the country. And there can be not the slightest doubt that other agencies will be promptly set up to "mold" public sentiment. Then, for those who will not yield to such treatment, there is the Espionage Act of 1917, which is still on the law books and will automatically come into force again when the country goes to war; Title 18 of the United States Code, which has several sections dealing with "seditious conspiracy" and the like; and other statutes that can be applied with no difficulty to conscientious objectors, critics and others who either do not like the way

the war is being run or do not like the war itself.

If We Don't Resist

This is the meaning of "industrial mobilization." No doubt many of the military men look upon it as absolutely necessary to the successful conduct of the coming war. But to the vast majority of Americans it will mean that they are having set over them a dictatorship complete in every detail. They will trust that the dictatorship will voluntarily dissolve itself at the conclusion of the fighting, but this time they cannot be sure that that will follow. For after the next great war there will certainly be widespread unrest at home and violent revolution abroad. The dictatorship will doubtless find plenty of reasons for keeping itself in power on the excuse that it must maintain "law and order."

Minneapolis

(Continued from page 23)

Silvershirts as the chairman proudly asked him to take a bow.

Support of Kelty by West High School authorities is indicative of the whole educational system. Gov. Olson once spoke to a student anti-war meeting from the steps of a hall. University officials wouldn't let him in. Only a few months ago Dean Nickolson confiscated notices of an anti-Fascist book burning from the university post office. Students are still protesting to postal authorities.

Facing Industrial Decline

Social service work is handled largely through the university and consequently it is reactionary. Degrees mean everything and most of the radical Farmer-Laborites do not have degrees. Republicans or Democrats are in positions of power, with the result that relief is more reactionary than in reactionary states. Farmer-Laborites are now carefully laying dynamite under this semi-Fascist citadel, but its holders will not give an inch without a vicious and desperate battle.

The fight will become increasingly bitter. Certain economic factors make cheap labor necessary for profitable operation by the economic royalty. For Minneapolis has outgrown the northwest—the lumber is cut, the Panama Canal takes away traffic, and the Dakotas are broke. Flour milling is going to Buffalo and chain stores ship direct, making great warehouses unnecessary. The Employment Stabilization Research Institute, in findings published by the University of Minnesota Press, says:

Barring some unforeseen fortuitous circumstances, Minnesota faces the prospect of a decline in industry, bringing in its trail a decline in the standard of living both of rural and urban workers and an increasing tax

burden on industry to support a growing unemployed population.

Industry will not want to carry the unemployed burden; perhaps it cannot. Answer of the Farmer-Laborites is the cooperative commonwealth, a goal which was placed in the 1934 platform. For the first time a Farmer-Labor controlled legislature is in power and already it has moved sharply ahead by relieving Minnesota workers of the state's share of President Roosevelt's social insurance act. The dynamic Olson is greatly missed, of course, but his death may mean increased power for labor unions and farm organizations.

No one can doubt that labor is definitely in the saddle. Hopeful critics look for a crack in farmer and labor unity, but it has not appeared. Others believe internecine warfare will weaken the Farmer-Labor structure. That is unlikely because the leadership sees the danger to the whole country of a loss in Minnesota; besides, the hard-headed rank and file would not stand for it. More hopefuls see trouble between the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. Not much chance; again the workers are too well educated.

The Advance

To say that farmers and workers are prosperous and happy, or even that victory is within their grasp, would be, of course, an unpardonable exaggeration. But only war or Fascism can stop the advance of the people. And Fascism cannot come to Minnesota without a long siege from an outside army.

Books

(Continued from page 19)

be suppressed in the Socialist state?

Strachey's technique of explanation throughout the first part of the book is, first, to describe the present economic and political scene in England and America, to analyze its driving forces, and to project these into a hopeless future; secondly, to contrast the situation in Soviet Russia; and, thirdly, to show how the Socialist system, if applied to western resources, would make for peace, liberty, and plenty. The reader will see that this is already an application of Marxist logic. Then the author gives a short history of pre-Marxist Socialist thought and finally an outline of the main tenets of the Marxian philosophy with an estimate of their importance as scientific guides to working-class movements. The book closes with a bibliographical note on the Socialist classics together with useful recommendations as to the order in which they should be read and other pertinent comments.

Altogether a book which should earn Mr. Strachey the gratitude of any honest searcher, no matter what his political complexion.

—DANIEL BROUSE

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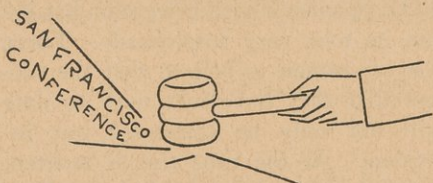
A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid

CALIFORNIA—Complete reports from the State Conference held in San Francisco, December 12 and 13, indicate that it was a strong demonstration of the unity and activity of broad parts of the population against war dangers and growing Fascism. Delegates numbered 225 and came from twenty cities and towns. Official representatives from 39 trade unions, including several central labor unions and district councils, took active part. The work of seven important commissions formed a vital part of the Conference. The Trade Union Commission was led by Mr. Rathbourne, secretary of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, District Council No. 2. Mrs. Etta Durning was leader of the Women's Commission, while Dorothy Gray of the National Negro Congress led the Youth Commission. The other Commissions—National Minorities, Church, Professional, Program and Tactics—were presided over by Dr. Matt Crawford of the National Negro Congress, the Reverend Donald M. Chase of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, Dr. Bernard Strauss, chairman of the Professional Branch of the League in San Francisco, and Ray Studt of New America, respectively. Bert Leech, California organizer of the League, gave the keynote address and was one of the outstanding leaders of the Conference.

The East Bay section of the League is already busy with follow-up work of the Conference, organizing five Com-

missions for year-around activity. A monthly bulletin will be published to direct the activities of the League in this



area. Los Angeles is carrying on the program of the Conference with a special drive among the trade unions. Seventeen unions are at present supporting the program of the League in this city, with special emphasis on defending Spanish Democracy and fighting vigilanteism and anti-labor laws. A regional conference for the month of April is being organized to extend and strengthen the movement against Fascism and war.

NEW ENGLAND—Northampton, Massachusetts, helped organize a concert on January 13th as a benefit for Spain. A quartette, string orchestra and piano numbers composed the program. Artists from the music department of Smith College contributed their talents. The Norwalk, Connecticut, Branch recently held a mass meeting on the Spanish situation with the Reverend Herman F. Reissig as the speaker. Over 100 people contributed a total of \$40 for aid to Spain. Fall River, Massachusetts, organized a "little social affair" of 80 people, with Mariano Joaquin Lorente of Boston speaking on Spain, and collected a tidy little sum to help the defenders of Democracy in Spain. New Haven, also busy for Spain, helped organize a local branch of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and by means of a tag day, solicitation and special parties raised \$250, in addition to a quantity of clothes and canned goods. A League Conference will take place at Springfield, Massachusetts, on January 31st, with Harry F. Ward and other speakers and delegates attending from the surrounding area.

Our Portland Branch is on the job! They are particularly involved, just like the rest of our organization, in the major issue, Spain. At their last meeting, they adopted resolutions protesting the dismissal of Prof. Jerome Davis from Yale University and also the appointment of Harry Woodring as Secretary of War. In cooperation with the Emergency Peace Campaign, our

Portland Branch is sponsoring General Butler as speaker at a meeting. The Church Federation is cooperating too, and announcements of the meetings have been broadcast over the radio. It has been arranged that the navy reserves are to meet General Butler at the station and parade him through the city. Keep up the good work Portland!

OHIO—Cleveland Leaguers helped make the visit of the Spanish delegation on December 8th a great success. Almost \$5,000 was raised in cash and pledges at an overflow mass meeting with 3,000 people in attendance. A tag day for Spain is now being organized. Cincinnati will be host to the youth delegation from Spain that is now touring the United States and is busy helping with the local preparations.

CHICAGO—The League in this city has made remarkable progress in the last three months. Four new Branches have been organized under the direction of the new secretary, Frank G. Spencer. The central office has been re-organized and committee work greatly strengthened. In the midst of preparations for the Regional Conference, to which the Chicago League was host on January 8, 9 and 10, there

Scheel



was time to promote a lecture on "Spain and the Future of Europe" by Scott Nearing and to plan a Peace and Democracy Bazaar for early in March. A detailed report of the Regional Conference will be made in the March issue of THE FIGHT. Bishop Edgar Blake, Van A. Bittner of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Mrs. Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, Paul Reid and Harry F. Ward, national chairman of the American League, spoke at the opening mass meeting on the night of January 8th. Delegates from eight states attended the sessions of the Conference.

PENNSYLVANIA—The visit of the Spanish delegation to Pittsburgh on December 9th was warmly received. Over \$2,200 for Spain was raised at the mass meeting where Señor Domingo, Señora de Palencia and Father

Sarasola spoke. The Pittsburgh Branch took a leading part in arranging for this excellent meeting. Members of the League have also been rendering valuable extension service in several near-by communities. Dr. R. H. Valinsky, the chairman, recently spoke at New Castle and helped set up a Branch there. R. N. McKibben, organization secretary, gave helpful service in organizing a Branch in New Kensington. Lancaster recently held a very good meeting on Spain with Dr. Barrows Dunham, professor of English at F. and M. College, as speaker.

Philadelphia reports one more branch. This time in Wynnefield, Pa. According to a communication from the Branch, their possibilities for real live activity are many, and in the very near future too.

NEW JERSEY—The Newark League picketed the Italian consulate on January 9th, protesting Fascist intervention in Spain. A mass meeting on the Spanish situation and a conference early in February are planned. Jersey City ran a mass meeting for Spain, a party and two membership meetings during the month of December. Union City is cooperating with Jersey City on an anti-Hearst drive. Calls to over 200 organizations and individuals were sent out for the organization of this campaign. The Union City Branch also helped organize the reception of the Spanish Youth delegation on December 18th. Over 600 people attended the meeting and contributed \$375 for Spanish Democracy.

We have just learned from our Hackensack Branch that they are laying plans for re-organization and the strengthening of their leadership. Preparations are under way for a Conference to be held the latter part of January or early in February and the National Office has been called upon for assistance in that direction.

Our New Brunswick Committee is very busy around the Spanish campaign and has reported that a Conference is under way to further develop the work around the Spanish situation so as to draw in more organizations and to gain their support in collecting food, clothing, medical supplies and funds.

NEW YORK—One of the outstanding pieces of work for Spain in the whole country has been started by the



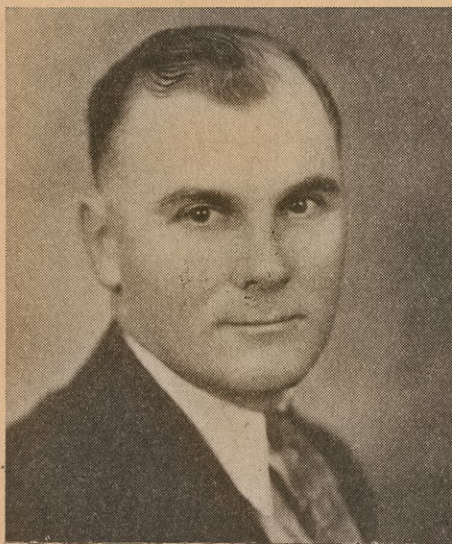
Mrs. M. B. Zverow, of the Kansas City, Mo., American League Against War and Fascism

initiative of the Trade Union Department of the New York City League. With the objective of manufacturing 100,000 garments for Spain, a Trade Union Committee for the Manufacture of Clothing for Spain has been organized. This Committee is national in scope and is directly affiliated with the North American Committee. Already 15,000 garments have been turned out by the members of the various New York unions. Headquarters are in the offices of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union Local No. 10, and national officers consist of Francis J. Gorman, Isadore Sorkin, Charles S.



Zimmerman and S. R. Solomonick. Various ILGWU, Amalgamated, and Cap and Millinery Workers' unions are participating in this most helpful work for Spain. Twenty shops have been producing coats, the workers spending time after hours on this project and the owners contributing the use of their machinery. About \$12,500 has been expended to date on this enterprise for the cloth and materials necessary to produce these garments. One shipment of garments has already been made and another will soon be ready. The City Committee of the League has recently secured the affiliation of nine additional trade unions, among them Local No. 8 of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Union, Locals No. 79 and No. 164 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, and Local No. 905 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America. The Fourth Annual Conference of the New York City League will take place January 29th and 30th.

While our Buffalo Committee is conscious of the fact that it needs strengthening, in leadership and organizationally, and does not hesitate to call upon



James Sepesy, Secretary, Perth Amboy, N. J., American League Against War and Fascism

the National Office for assistance in that direction, they are very much involved around the Spanish Campaign and have just reported the following: "The net results of the League members' activities for Spanish Democracy here seem to be: The shipment of almost two tons of food, clothing and medical supplies; the collection of more than \$2,000 in cash; and the enhancing of the prestige of the local league leadership to the extent of gaining cooperation from sources never before tapped."

HERE AND THERE—The Seattle, Washington, League has continued work with the local North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and recently took part in a successful tag day for Spain. The first two contributors were Mayor Dore and Commissioner Nash of the city administration. Houston, Texas, has continued its fine work by securing the affiliation of Local No. 214 of the ILGWU. The League members gave their earnest support to a meeting of the Open Forum where José Gibernau spoke most effectively on the Spanish situation. Phelps, Wisconsin, is re-organizing the League work in this community through the activities of several local clubs and organizations. Great Falls, Montana, informs us that the building of a Branch is in process. Waldo McNutt requested to be released from the American League as he is undertaking youth work in another field. The National Bureau granted the request. Good luck, Waldo!



A couple of months ago, in the city of Buenos Aires, a peace meeting was called for women. It was the first time in the history of the country that such a thing had happened. Women in South America do not attend meetings, much less run them. It was an event. Seven hundred women were represented at that meeting and the police became nervous. They attended in full force. The chairman, frightened at the sight of the police force, resigned the chairmanship and tried to close the meeting but the women would have none of it. "If we let the police frighten us now we are beaten from the beginning," they said. One woman, who had never stood before an audience before, volunteered to chair the meeting and it was carried through to a successful finish. In telling the Secretary of the Women's Committee of the American League about it, the volunteer chairman said: "Of course we do not know how to fight for peace the way you North American women do but we are learning." The chairman was too humble. North American women can well be inspired at the example set by these women and may draw courage from their example.



By James Lerner

Mouth Notes

THE Spanish Youth delegation has begun its tour very auspiciously. There is every reason to believe that the success that they have met with to date will not only be continued but increased. At the time this is written, meetings have been held from New York as far west as Toledo, Ohio. These meetings, at which the people of America are informed as to the true issues in Spain, have resulted in the col-



lection of large sums of money to be used in the purchase of food, clothing and medical supplies for the beleaguered defenders of Democracy on the Iberian Peninsula.

ONE outstanding and noteworthy fact concerning the tour of the delegation is the broad character of the committees which have sponsored these meetings. It can be truly said that the Spanish issue is not one which belongs to any one group, but is a broad issue affecting all groups. The degree that this is realized can be clearly shown by the splendid manner in which so many representative groups and individuals have rallied to the cause of Spain and aided the youth delegation.

TO illustrate this point, I quote from a letter from Rochester: "The Central Trades and Labor Council endorsed the meeting. Almost all progressive ministers assented to giving their names. Well-to-do women in the community contributed funds to get the meeting started. The chairman of the meeting is president of the Federation of Churches."

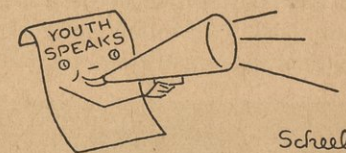
EXCELLENTLY done Rochester. More power to you and your committee. May your efforts be duplicated from coast to coast. I must raise, however, one more point and it is simply that the meeting of the delegation should not be and must not be the end of our work. Rather it should spur us on to greater work and greater efforts. Spain continues to stand in need of the

things with which we are in a position to supply to her valiant defenders.

THE United Youth Committee to aid Spanish Democracy, of which Tom Jones, editor of the *Columbia Spectator*, is chairman, in its seven week existence at this date has succeeded in raising in excess of \$9,000 for Spain. On a tag day, through collections on the streets, organizations affiliated to the United Youth Committee collected the very fine sum of \$1,597.68.

AN attempt was made to introduce the Reserve Officers Training Corps into the School of Medicine, New York University. The American League Branch at the school of about 160 members opposed the proposal and rallied the students in opposition to the measure. So overwhelming was the opposition that there will not be an R.O.T.C. at the school.

OUT in Cincinnati the youth branch has started publication of a bulletin. From 250 copies of the first issue, sales have risen to 1,000 for the second and the third bids fair to surpass that. There is a mark for others to shoot at. So my best sincere wishes to "Youth



Scheel

Speaks" and to the young men and young women who are working to make it a successful undertaking.

THE Youth Section is engaged in preparing for distribution a mass of information concerning militarization of youth in Germany and Italy. The material has been collected and annotated by Morris B. Schnapper of the staff of the *Champion of Youth*. Branches and individuals desiring copies of this extensive material should inform us so that we may have an accurate idea of the required number to be prepared.

THE youth delegation which went to Spain in September has given its impressions in a pamphlet, "Spain 1936." Order from our office.

King George

(Continued from page 21)

Adams who was the organizer of the discontented fishermen, farmers and workers. This march, during which the soldiers fired on Americans, led to the Battle of Bunker Hill, where farmers and workers, Negroes as well as whites, withstood the trained and better armed troops, and gave way only when their ammunition was exhausted.

The struggle for freedom which now flared up into open war divided America into two camps. "They (Tories) were made up of the English officials and their dependents, of many of the richer merchants in the North and the planters in the South, of the clergy of the Church of England . . . the strength of the Revolution came from the mass of the people, farmers, artisans, mechanics. . . ."—Ernest Ludlow Bogart, Professor of Economics at the University of Illinois, in his *Economic History of the American People*.

Support from European People

Following the Battle of Bunker Hill, the "Committee of Correspondence" called the Continental Congress, which defied British law and considered itself the law-making body for the colonies. Washington represented Virginia, as did Patrick Henry. Offered the military leadership of the American Revolutionary forces, which had withstood the Red-Coats in Boston, Washington accepted and departed for New England to take command. Like Jefferson, Franklin and others, Washington, occupying rather a middle position in the colonial economic stratafication, risked his property and his life without hesitation: he sided with the poor against the very rich.

The struggle of the American people for freedom stirred the European masses. Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen refused to answer the King's call for volunteers. They had no love for the British upper class, which was exploiting them as well as their brothers across the sea. The King had to hire 20,000 mercenary Hessians to augment his professional troops in America.

Badly armed, the colonials suffered defeats. New York and Philadelphia, the latter the seat of the Continental Congress, fell to the British. Benjamin Franklin, son of a candle-maker, went to France for military aid. The French upper class hated the British for past defeats, but it feared Franklin and the American revolution still more. Turgot, advisor to King Louis, opposed giving aid to the Americans because he believed that victory by the colonists would cause a great revolution the world over. "Neither the King nor the Ministers, nor the mass of the nobility had any heart in the American cause," states the historian, McMaster. His (Franklin's) sole support was pub-



THEODORE SCHEEL

A Valentine for Mr. Sloan and his associates

lic opinion. The French people forced the French government to aid the Americans. This aid was a decisive factor in the war; in turn the victory of the American Revolutionary forces proved decisive in the struggle of the French people against their own oppressors. "In undertaking their great political revolt, the French had been encouraged by the outcome of the American Revolution."—Beard.

After the Bastille was stormed, the main key to it was sent to Washington, and accepted as "a token of victory gained by liberty."

Founding Fathers and Slavery

To the people in this country and abroad, the Revolutionary victory under Washington was best expressed by the Declaration of Independence which, without reservation, proclaimed to the world that all men are created equal and have a right to life and to happiness.

The existence of chattel slavery in America troubled the Founding Fathers. "They cast blame upon the British King for having permitted its introduction," Lincoln pointed out in one of his speeches against Douglas. Washington, under whom Negroes fought for American freedom, wrote in 1786, ". . . it (is) among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law." In his will he emancipated his slaves. Jefferson proposed an abolition measure. Defeated by the threat of some of the Southern colonies that they would not federate into the Republic, measures were adopted which, the Founding Fathers hoped, would lead to gradual and peaceful abolition. The Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory. While Jefferson was President, importation of slaves was forbidden. In 1820, the Missouri Compromise confined slavery to the then existent slave-states.

The fathers of the Republic had not

foreseen an economic force that was to transform cotton growing from an insignificant business into a tremendously profitable one. Invention of the cotton gin and textile weaving machines skyrocketed the demand for American cotton. Production of about two million pounds of cotton in 1791 soared to over two billions of pounds by 1860. "Cotton is King!" the planters shouted exultantly as slavery was attacked. By piracy and intensified, cattle-like breeding, they increased their slaves as rapidly as they could, and began to demand the removal of the ban against the importation of slaves. From about half a million before the Revolution, the number of slaves rose to nearly four million at the outbreak of the Civil War.

No Chance for Free Labor

Every slave, every acre of land meant money and luxury to the slaveholders. Slaves were worked eighteen hours a day, and were fed on as little as three cents worth of food per day. Overseers on Louisiana plantations worked their slaves to death and replaced them every seven years, by a fresh batch. Overseers, like efficiency experts, were hired to produce profits.

Against such conditions, the poor whites in the South had no chance. "Driven off the fertile lands by the encroachments of the planters, or prevented from occupying the virgin soil by the outbidding of the wealthy, they (poor whites) farmed the wornout lands and gained a miserable-precarious subsistence. Compared with laborers . . . of the North . . . they were . . . abjectly poor. . . ."—James Ford Rhodes, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in his *History of the United States*. Lincoln's father left Kentucky, partly because of slavery. Immigrants from abroad, workers and farmers, avoided the enslaved South and settled in the free states and territories.

The slaveholders needed new land to maintain their slave-derived wealth.

Slave labor and intensive cultivation exhausted old plantations rapidly.

Like our present ruling class, the slaveholders formed a small minority, 350,000 out of a free population of about twenty-six millions in 1860. In the slave states, less than five per cent of a population of eight million owned the 3,950,000 slaves, according to Professor Ernest Ludlow Bogart, in his *Economic History of the American People*. By heavy contributions to the dominant Democratic Party, the slaveholders controlled its political policies in office. Each slave counted for three-fifths of a vote, and at election time the slaveholders voted their slaves in blocks for candidates who favored the extension of slavery. The churches in the South and some in the North were under their influence. They controlled a powerful press in the South and in the North. Industrialists helped them. Cyrus H. McCormick, manufacturer of harvesting machines, contributed \$100,000 to a religious college, with a provision that its anti-slavery president be ousted. The Supreme Court was under the influence of the slaveholders. William H. Seward, anti-slavery Senator from New York, charged that "the opinions and bias of each of them (Justices of the Supreme Court) were carefully considered . . . when he was appointed. Not one of them was found wanting in soundness of politics, according to the slaveholders' exposition of the Constitution."

Slaveholders Fight Abolition

Using their political influence, the slaveholders had laws passed which closed the United States mails to abolition literature sent to the South. It was unlawful even to discuss slavery in the South. It was a crime to teach slaves to read and write, for knowledge might make them dangerous. Revolts of the slaves, such as the one led by Nat Turner in 1831, were crushed with fire and the gallows.

The slaveholders, foreshadowing Hearst, fomented plots for the annexation of Cuba. They forced America into war with Mexico. "Unjust and unconstitutional," Lincoln said of this war. But the slaveholders were determined to get new land to carve new slave states out of it for exploitation by slave labor, and for offsetting the larger number of free states, which were beginning to elect anti-slavery men to Congress.

"No more slave states, and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domain be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our land and the oppressed and banished of other lands," a Convention of Free Soilers, held in Buffalo in 1848, demanded. With others, Lincoln opposed turning the territory taken from Mexico into slave states.

The slaveholders answered by pushing a law through Congress which

revoked the Missouri Compromise, and caused the defeat of a Homestead Bill giving free land to workers and farmers, a Bill which labor organizations had been demanding.

The revocation of the Missouri Compromise supposedly gave each new territory in the South or North the choice to vote slavery or freedom into its constitution when applying for admission into the Union. Kansas voted against slavery. Gangs, armed by the slaveholders, invaded Kansas, sacked the town of Lawrence, and massacred free white settlers. The free settlers organized under leaders such as John Brown, to resist the armed slaveholders' gangs. The slaveholders as a class applauded the attack on Kansas. "Free Society!" an Alabama newspaper shrieked, "We sicken of the name. What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small fisted farmers and moonstruck theorists?"

Rise of Secret Orders

The revocation of the Missouri Compromise and the attack on Kansas increased anti-slavery sentiment in the North and also the dissatisfaction with the two major political parties, the slave-favoring Democratic Party, and the industrialist-controlled Whig Party. Workers, discontented with their economic conditions, long hours and low pay in the growing industrial plants, were incited against each other by secret orders that sprang into existence and out of which grew the Know-Nothing Party. It agitated against Catholics and the foreign-born. In New England, a settlement of Irish immigrants was attacked and its inhabitants driven out. Battles raged in New York streets between Protestant and Catholic workers. The Know-Nothing Party drew Lincoln's uncompromising opposition. "When the Know-Nothings get control," he predicted, "it (the Declaration of Independence) will read, 'All men are created equal except Negroes, foreigners and Catholics.'"

The financial panic of 1857 threw thousands of workers out of jobs. Thousands of men, women and children marched through the city streets throughout the North, demanding not only work, but "free labor and free land," believing they could escape industrial slavery by settling as free farmers on the land.

The cry for free labor and free land was answered by the Supreme Court in its Dred Scott Decision, which declared that, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, a slaveholder could take his slaves into any state or territory, and was entitled to Federal protection of his "property." A slaveholder could buy land in a free state and settle on it with his slaves, even though the state's constitution prohibited slavery within its boundaries.

Free farmers and workers would have their choice of leaving the state, or remaining and competing with lash-driven slave labor.

Lincoln cried out that this decision turned "free states into slave states." He called the slaveholders' attention to the Declaration of Independence. Their representatives in Congress and out of Congress retorted that the Declaration of Independence was "a self-evident lie," and "a string of glittering generalities."

United Front of 1860

As the election of 1860 approached, workers, farmers and small business men deserted the major political parties,



The vicious attacks on Lincoln were not confined to the American press—both North and South. The above cartoon is from *Fun*, a London periodical

and united around a new third party, the Republican, organized in 1854 at Ripon, Wisconsin, on a platform that declared slavery "a great moral, social and political evil." Abraham Lincoln, called by the New York *Herald*, "a fourth class lecturer who can't speak good grammar," was nominated for the Presidency by this party at the Chicago Convention in 1860, on a platform that called for free homesteads and that affirmed the principles of the Declaration of Independence. In New York City, William B. Astor and wealthy merchants contributed two million dollars, it was estimated, to defeat Lincoln.

Their strides toward conquering the whole nation for slavery halted by the ballot, the slaveholders, like the modern Fascists, resorted to the bullet. They organized armed troops, and like the ruling class of Spain, "rebelled" against Lincoln and the government elected by the American people. The slaveholders' Charleston *Courier* announced, "We now stand . . . a glori-

ous example for the brave and the free."

"This is essentially a people's contest," Lincoln said to the nation. "On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men." "While . . . large numbers of (officers) in the army and navy . . . resigned and proved false . . . not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted. . . ." Lincoln praised the soldiers and sailors for refusing to obey commands of those officers who, favoring slavery, ordered them to aim their guns at the people.

"The Struggle of Today . . ."

In Europe, the British and French governments, prompted by the upper classes, sent arms and ammunition to the slaveholders. England built battleships for the South. But in both countries, the broad masses sided with those struggling for freedom. Led by Karl Marx and others, workers and small business men in England held mass meetings and forced the British government to cease giving aid to the slave states. The French government also had to retreat. Aided by the masses abroad, the American people, under the leadership of Lincoln, pushed the slaveholders' troops back from the gates of Washington, shattered them at Gettysburg, and wiped chattel slavery off the American soil.

But, as Lincoln said, while the War was still on, "The struggle of today is not altogether for today—it is for the vast future also."

The struggles for freedom by the American people under the leadership of Washington and Lincoln are significant signposts in our fight for Democracy in America—against those who would fasten on us their oppressive power and deny us the right to life and happiness.

Aryan Duet

(Continued from page 11)

drive toward war of the most aggressive states. In Fascist Germany and militarist Japan the fires of crisis are burning underground with hot intensity. Hat in hand, Hitler's agents are applying for loans to the money-lenders, in exchange for which they are prepared to underwrite insurance against social progress. These gentlemen now possess *bona fide* credentials—the new pact—which they hope will open to them all doors. No longer will unpalatable visions of non-aggression pacts disturb the dreams of Japan's militarists. Showers of sparks, fanned by the eager breath of Fascist and militarist, are being directed toward the powder-barrel. The German-Japanese Alliance is a document of war which should and does alarm the world.

A Statement on Spain

IN THE name of neutrality the President and Congress have denied the democratically constituted government of Spain the opportunity to buy here the things it needs to defend its life against Fascist attack. What are the consequences?

The Spanish Democracy is weakened; the Fascist powers are encouraged. They continue their aid to the Spanish rebels with more assurance of success. This is not neutrality. In effect it is intervention on the side of the Fascists. The American people have been rushed into the position of helping the destroyers of the basic democratic principle—the right of the people to govern themselves in ways of their own choosing. The country gave the President and Congress no mandate for this policy.

Congress literally knew not what it did. It thought it was helping to keep the country out of war. There is not the remotest danger of Spanish government purchases here, carried in Spanish vessels, involving us in risk of war. The passing of a billion dollar budget in preparation for war outside our borders is infinitely more dangerous.

The administration knew what it was doing. And it dared not have that discussed on the floor of Congress. It wanted to cooperate with Great Britain and France in preventing the conflict in Spain from spreading. In this policy France has to follow Britain. But the British government has another interest. It prefers a Franco dictatorship in Spain to a People's Front government. So do all the reactionaries here who are now working to shut off all aid to the Spanish government from this country. Will Franco's victory, with German and Italian aid, prevent the conflict from spreading? Does anybody imagine that the Fascist tactic of planning and supporting revolt, then preventing supplies to the democratic government attacked, will not be repeated elsewhere?

It is time for the American nation to make its own policy, based solely upon the joint necessity of stopping Fascism and ending war. That joint objective requires the furnishing of supplies to democratic governments attacked by Fascist powers, in such ways as will not bring us into war, because that means Fascist controls here; and the withholding of supplies from the Fascist powers. At present Germany and Italy are free to buy materials of war in this country.

All Americans who are against war and Fascism should now demand of Congress that it rescind the joint resolution concerning Spain; that it order that no purchases of the Spanish government here shall be carried in American vessels; that no materials of war can be purchased here by Germany or Italy.

—HARRY F. WARD

Oh Say, Can You See?

ONE OF the most significant items to come out of the welter of conflicting news reports from Europe, during the last few weeks, reported that the influenza epidemic which is sweeping the Continent, the British Isles and, to a lesser extent, the United States, got its start in Germany.

The flu first made its appearance this fall at about the time when food rationing cards were first issued, when Goering advocated meatless and butterless meals and when a Nazi editor—who since has been fired—admitted that the Reich was facing a two million bushel grain shortage.

Any doctor will tell you that influenza seldom if ever becomes epidemic except when a nation is suffering from malnutrition and intolerable living con-



ditions—remember World War days when the disease started in the trenches and took heavy toll of a weary and hungry earth.

It is also significant that Sir Henri Deterding, chairman of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company, and one of Europe's leading Fascist backers, has announced his intention of purchasing 10,000,000 guilders' worth of cattle and agricultural products from Holland and giving them free of charge to the German government.

It is amusing to note that the Nazis themselves are not any too happy about Deterding's action. If they accept, they admit to the world that a large section of Germany is starving and thus weaken their bargaining power with England and France. If they refuse, they weaken themselves on the day when their bluff is called and they have to fight or forever hold their peace.

In the meantime they continue their armaments race at what is literally a breakneck pace. This is proved by a report in the November 6th issue of the *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift*, leading German medical journal, which discusses another near epidemic called, "Shovelers' Disease."

According to Dr. Liesel Debuch, of the Mannheim hospital, workers on the great network of military highways, now being built on both the French and Czechoslovakian frontiers, are forced

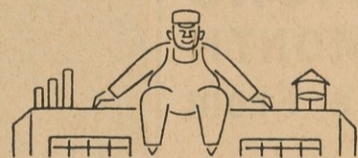
to toil at such tremendous speed and for such long hours that a moment comes when their shoulder muscles cramp, fracturing vertebrae in their necks. The workers, who suffer tremendous pain from the break, are not treated at hospitals, the good doctor explains, but are told they have merely wrenched muscles in their backs and sent home to become semi-invalids.

The maddening part about writing for a monthly magazine these days is that things happen so fast that a daily newspaper is needed to keep abreast of the times. By the time this appears in print Europe may be at war, the seamen's strike may be settled or general strikes may be called in the automobile, steel or coal industries.

The marine strike received a tremendous boost from Lawrence Simpson, militant American seaman recently released from a Nazi prison, who refused to work out his passage on board the S.S. President Roosevelt, which brought him back from Germany, because such action would have been "unfair to other sailors who are on strike."

Simpson was given a tremendous reception in New York under the joint auspices of several liberal organizations.

The desperation of the automobile manufacturers in the face of the rising demand of their workers for better



wages and working conditions is shown by the injunction against sit-down strikes obtained in Flint, Michigan. The sit-down, which was first developed several years ago by Polish miners who went down in the pits and starved rather than work under intolerable conditions, has been one of the most important developments in recent labor struggles. WPA workers throughout the country have employed sit-down strikes with great success in preventing the government from curtailing relief work, and police have been completely baffled by the tactic. Now it remains to be seen whether, on the basis of Circuit Judge Edward S. Black's vicious injunction, the bosses can oust strikers from their plants with the aid of gas bombs, nightsticks and riot guns.

If successful it will be a mighty expensive victory.

Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hsueh-liang played a grand game of poker with the Japanese imperialists, ran a bluff such as the world has seldom seen—and won.

More and more it begins to look as though Chiang had himself kidnapped



so that Chang, as his mouthpiece, could express views which wouldn't have been healthy coming officially from Nanking. Anyway, Chang's demand for a united China to resist Japan, and including an alliance with the powerful Red Army, has not been repudiated by Nanking, while Tokyo withdrew her demands for recognition of the autonomy of North China and joint opposition to Labor when settlement was made of the Chengtu and Pakhoi incidents involving the alleged murders of Japanese by Chinese mobs.

Not content with having hamstrung academic freedom at Yale by forcing the dismissal of Prof. Jerome Davis, and by similar actions at Harvard, Columbia, New York U., Duke and a host of other American institutions of learning, the Economic Royalists are now gunning for Commonwealth College, the only working-class university in the country.

A so-called Citizens' Committee of Polk County, Arkansas, has announced its intention of closing the school in a "legal way" and has asked for a federal investigation of its "reactionary activities." Just what they want investigated isn't quite clear but apparently it is the fact that Commonwealth helps students to earn a living while studying and presents courses in Labor Orientation, Labor History, Organization of the Unemployed, Farm Problems, Trade Union Problems, Current Events, Political Economy, Journalism and Graphic Methods of Propaganda.

Every liberty-loving citizen should rally to the aid of Commonwealth before we have a situation in this country similar to that which developed in Cuba when Col. Fulgencio Batista, the island's semi-Fascist dictator, had President Gomez impeached when the latter

threatened to veto a bill providing that all schools be militarized.

At this writing it is impossible to say whether the Nazis will continue to support Franco's tottering régime by sending in 60,000 troops which the latter has asked for, or whether they will compromise with France and England by accepting a big loan and the return of some pre-war colonies.

While they are hesitating, at all events, General Kleber's famous International Column is growing steadily and supplies and arms are pouring in to the Loyalists from all over the world.

Left, Right! Left, Right! Congress is in session and, as usual, is marking time while waiting to find out whether the President is becoming more liberal, more conservative or just continuing to play one side against the other.

Seldom has a poor Congressman been called upon to make so many decisions. Shall the United States jump into the present armaments race with both feet, or try to negotiate separate treaties with Japan and other countries? Shall the neutrality law be tightened up—in violation of international law—so there can be no more shipments of planes for Spain? And as if those problems didn't cause enough headaches, there's the vicious Industrial Mobilization bill which in time of war would put everyone in the army and abrogate all the rights of organized labor; the O'Mahoney Federal Incorporation Bill which tries to outlaw child labor by dodging recent adverse decisions of the Supreme Court; the Black 30-hour week bill, which is winning tremendous support throughout the country despite the distressed screams of the bosses, and the Guffey Coal Bill which endeavors to salvage the dying coal industry. Worst of all, perhaps—what about those pesky un-



employed who refuse to starve and who still insist that there are no jobs when everyone knows this country is going through one of its biggest booms . . . didn't 41 millionaires pay income taxes last year?

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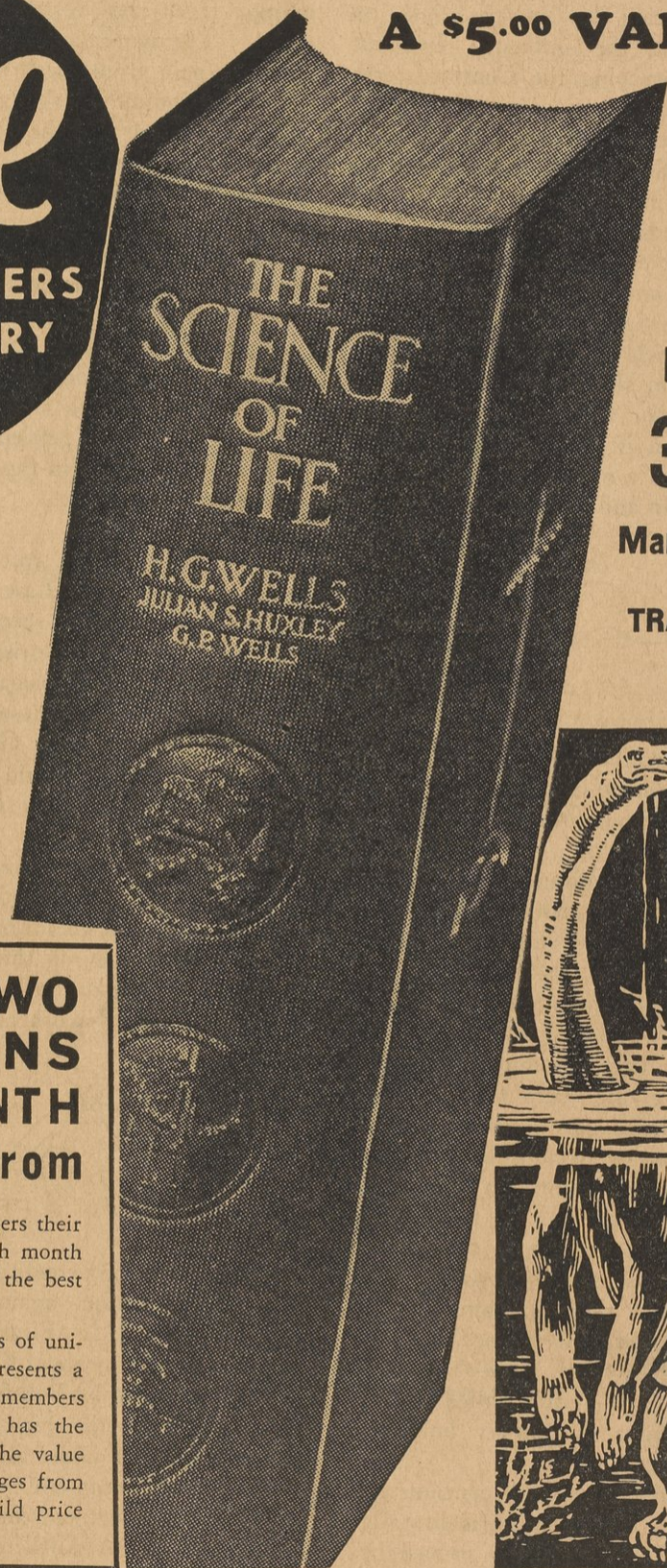
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