

July
1937

The
Fight
AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

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THE COMPANY GUARDS



Announcement

A Congress for Peace and Democracy

WITH THE world facing the most serious crisis since the World War, the American League Against War and Fascism is calling a NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE to take place in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 26-28, 1937.

Reactionary forces, led and encouraged by the Fascist International, are destroying Democracy and making war. Spain is torn by Fascist revolt. The two leading Fascist states, Italy and Germany, are the main instigators of that revolt. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, everywhere, efforts are being made to smash democratic governments. Nation after nation is developing a war economy.

Here in the United States we are confronted by the Industrial Mobilization Bill, another billion-dollar war budget, force and violence against workers and farmers, and widespread attacks on democratic rights. Big employers are working behind the scenes to enact regulatory labor laws that would hamper union organization and destroy recent gains. They want to use the state to cripple labor unions and bring them under employer control.

All organizations working for Democracy and Peace are urged to mark these dates and plan to send delegates to Pittsburgh to this United States People's Congress for Democracy and Peace.

With the Readers



GROWING UP has not changed us in one respect. As far back as we can remember, the printed page held us to the point of driving our best friends and relatives to the madhouse. When we see a new book or magazine, we are a "goner." Not only are we interested in the contents. We want to know how the thing looks, how it is made, the stock, the binding, the engraving and the hundred and one big and little things that go into the making of the printed article.

THE happiest day of the month is when THE FIGHT and we are in the print shop. We are all over the shop, and we envy the workers who are doing things with their hands. They make this magazine. We watch them and talk to them and often (pardon) butt in.

SO when a new magazine is in the air and if we think the effort is a worthwhile one, our interest is greatly aroused. We watch it in the making. We look through the various dummies. We talk to the editors. In our enthusiasm, we encourage our fellow workers. And since our own job does not take up much of our time, we pitch in and give free advice.

FOR three years a magazine was in the making. A new idea was behind this publication. Wherever we went we heard about this new idea. A picture magazine! The idea fascinated us. We knew the trend was in that direction and here at last was someone who could literally pour millions of dollars into this idea and test it for once and all. We waited impatiently for the Big Day.

AND then it came. It is called *Life*. It is a picture magazine, all right. Hundreds of thousands of dollars, if not millions, were poured into it. The best presses, the best paper, the best engraving. Result? Vulgarity that smells to high heaven.

SPACE does not permit us to go into a discussion on the unimaginative make-up and stupid selection of pictures . . . we prefer to discuss another matter. If we were writing a Marxist thesis on the class struggle it would "fit like a glove."

AS we are writing this, we have a copy of the current issue of *Life* on our table. It is a student number. Every page in the magazine is devoted to life in our universities and colleges. *Life* announces that "a new kind of collegian walks the campus." The editors tell us that "both he and she have transferred some of their admiration from the football captain to the campus orator, editor and politician. Both he and she have been aroused by Depression to an interest in outside affairs."

AFTER this introduction, what would you expect? Well, you get nothing of the sort. With the exception of one page devoted to Commonwealth College (which has very little to do with the case) and one small picture discrediting the very new student life, *Life* describes in its introduction, the rest of the ninety odd pages . . . not a word or a picture about that NEW student. Is this what the Bible calls whoring?

WHY does our typewriter remind us that this is the end of the column? We would like to discuss the question why *Life* with its ugliness has given the picture magazine idea a setback.

THE FIGHT, July 1937



Cleveland Mother's Day Parade for Peace and Democracy

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JOSEPH PASS, Editor

CHARLES PRESTON, Assistant Editor

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

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The Contributors



ELEANOR FOWLER writes the timely and up-to-date article on industrial mobilization (Sheppard-Hill bill) which is now before Congress. THE FIGHT prides itself on having been the first national magazine to have carried an article on this dangerous bill (February) and now Miss Fowler, who is the Labor Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, gives what we hope will be the knockout blow to a bill which should never have been introduced.

A. BIRNBAUM got the idea, all right, when he illustrated Miss Fowler's article. For a long time we have been wondering how to appropriately illustrate the Sheppard-Hill bill. And it took an artist to "see" the idea.

ALBERT ALLEN, for five years on the editorial staff of the *American Hebrew* and now connected with another publication, is very well equipped, indeed, to write on Polish pogroms.

ALVAH C. BESSIE, author of *Dwell in the Wilderness*, has been book and drama editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, and writes here the story of a fellow worker of his in the newspaper trade who laid down his life fighting for Spanish Democracy.

HENRY KRAUS, editor of the *Flint Auto Worker* and former managing editor of the *United Automobile Worker*, tells here the story of the people who make our cars.

HUGO GELLERT was our choice to illustrate the auto article. When peace and real Democracy become an established fact, we are confident that the auto workers will present to Mr. Gellert one of their speedy cars.

FRANK SMITH, a native of Mississippi and still living in that state, gives us a realistic picture of conditions there.

HARRISON MOORE, illustrator of the Mississippi article, is a Southerner who has lived in the state he illustrates.

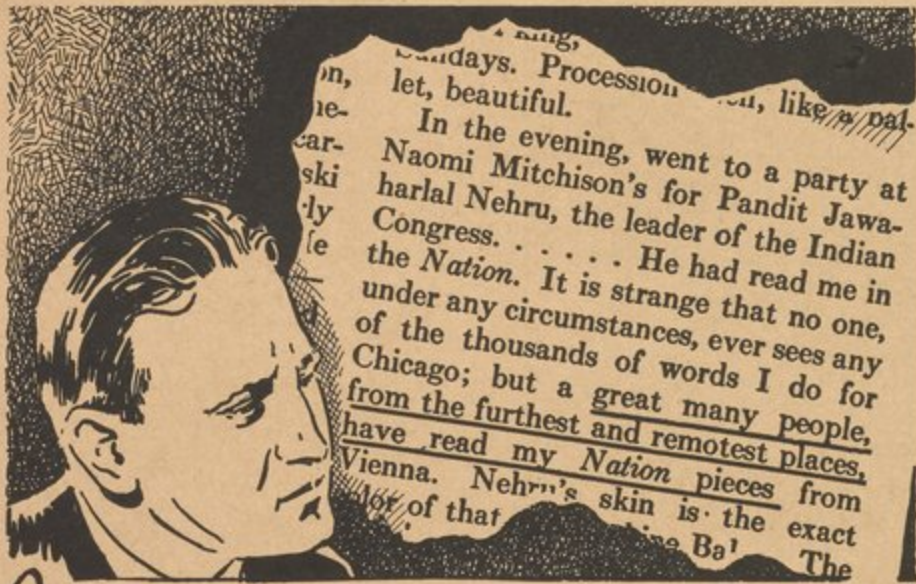
FRANKLIN C. STEWART, a former editor and now a free-lance writer, writes the very timely article on the agricultural worker. Do you know the sharecropper, the farm hand? Do you know his plans for today and for tomorrow? Read this article.

M. B. SCHNAPPER, editor of the very good *Champion of Youth* and formerly in an editorial job with the government in Washington, D. C., gives us "words out of their own mouths" in the Nazis' campaign against Christianity.

HAROLD WARD, formerly on the editorial staff of *Living Age*, celebrates the Fourth of July by telling us who are the builders of America.

THE photographs illustrating the article called *The Farm Worker* appear here through the courtesy of the Resettlement Administration.

THE cover is by Robert W. Ames of Los Angeles. Three years ago he was washing dishes in a San Francisco restaurant, now he's doing murals in wood. In his workshop a sheepskin law diploma is tacked to the wall. In one corner he has scribbled in pencil: Cost—\$5,000. For Sale, A Bargain—\$.25.



From John Gunther's Diary in the "Atlantic"

Wherever progressives congregate, you are likely to hear the current issue of *The Nation* discussed. For throughout the world such people depend on *The Nation* for an accurate account of the news which concerns them most and for authoritative interpretation.

They know we scrutinize every public development to show them why it is a stride forward or a step backward—that we clarify issues, attack shams, help them understand the headlines of today, prepare them for those of tomorrow.

If you have not read *The Nation* regularly for some time, you will be surprised by the force of its attack and the courage of its writers. Outstanding authors whose articles have appeared recently, by way of example, include Thomas Mann on I Accuse the Hitler Régime, Norman Thomas on The Pacifist's Dilemma, Ignazio Silone on Rhetoric—or Life, Paul W. Ward on Should Unions be Incorporated?, Walter Duranty on Hitler's House of Cards, Heywood Broun on Child Labor, Harold J. Laski on Stafford Cripps, Oswald Garrison Villard on Neutrality, Louis Fischer on Spain's "Red" Foreign Legion, Dwight Macdonald on Time, Fortune, and Life, Langdon W. Post on Public Housing, Agnes Smedley on How Chiang was Captured, and André Malraux on Forging Man's Fate in Spain.

Once you read *The Nation* for a few months, we believe you will find it difficult to deprive yourself of it for years to come. That is why we offer *The Nation* to new readers at the reduced rate of 34 weeks for only \$2 (38% discount) for which payment may be postponed 30 days.

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A LETTER from the EDITOR

268 Fourth Avenue
New York City

Dear Reader:

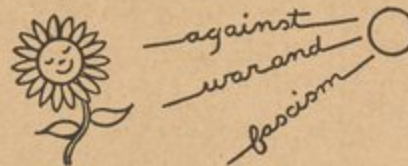
All non-commercial publications begin to worry this time of the year. They know that during the Summer there is a falling off of circulation and fewer new subscriptions come in. Every year, Editors and Business Managers begin to tear their hair, alarmed about finances for bringing out summer issues.

The forces of reaction do not have financial problems. The Fascists do not halt their march when the weather gets warm, and the Summer of 1937 will be a critical Summer. With the situation in Spain, we can take no chances. **THE FIGHT** must come out every month, and we are now soliciting your assistance.



This is not a request for a contribution, but we are asking your cooperation in solving this immediate circulation difficulty in one of the following three ways:—

1. Get two new subscribers for one year. Send us their names and addresses (and your name) together with \$2.00 or
2. If you know two people who should be reading **THE FIGHT**, but who cannot afford to subscribe, send us \$2.00 with their names, or
3. If you don't know two such people, we do. We have a list of people who want to read the magazine, but who haven't the \$1.00 for a year's subscription. Let this be your contribution to the struggle against Fascism and war. Send us \$2.00 and we will see that two people receive **THE FIGHT** for a year.



There must be no gap in our work during this Summer. We must be on the job every minute! We must help defeat the Fascists in Spain, in Germany, as well as in this country. Will you make the publication of **THE FIGHT** during the Summer months, your responsibility as well as ours? We have never appealed to our readers for help before, but we must have it now! Send us \$2.00 for two new subscriptions to be used in any one of the above three ways. This will help solve our financial problem as well as increase our list of subscribers.



May we count on your immediate response?

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH PASS, Editor

The Farm Worker

By Franklin C. Stewart

President Roosevelt's Committee on Farm Tenancy reported: "The extreme poverty of one-fifth to one-fourth of the farm population reflects itself in a standard of living below any level of decency." What to do?

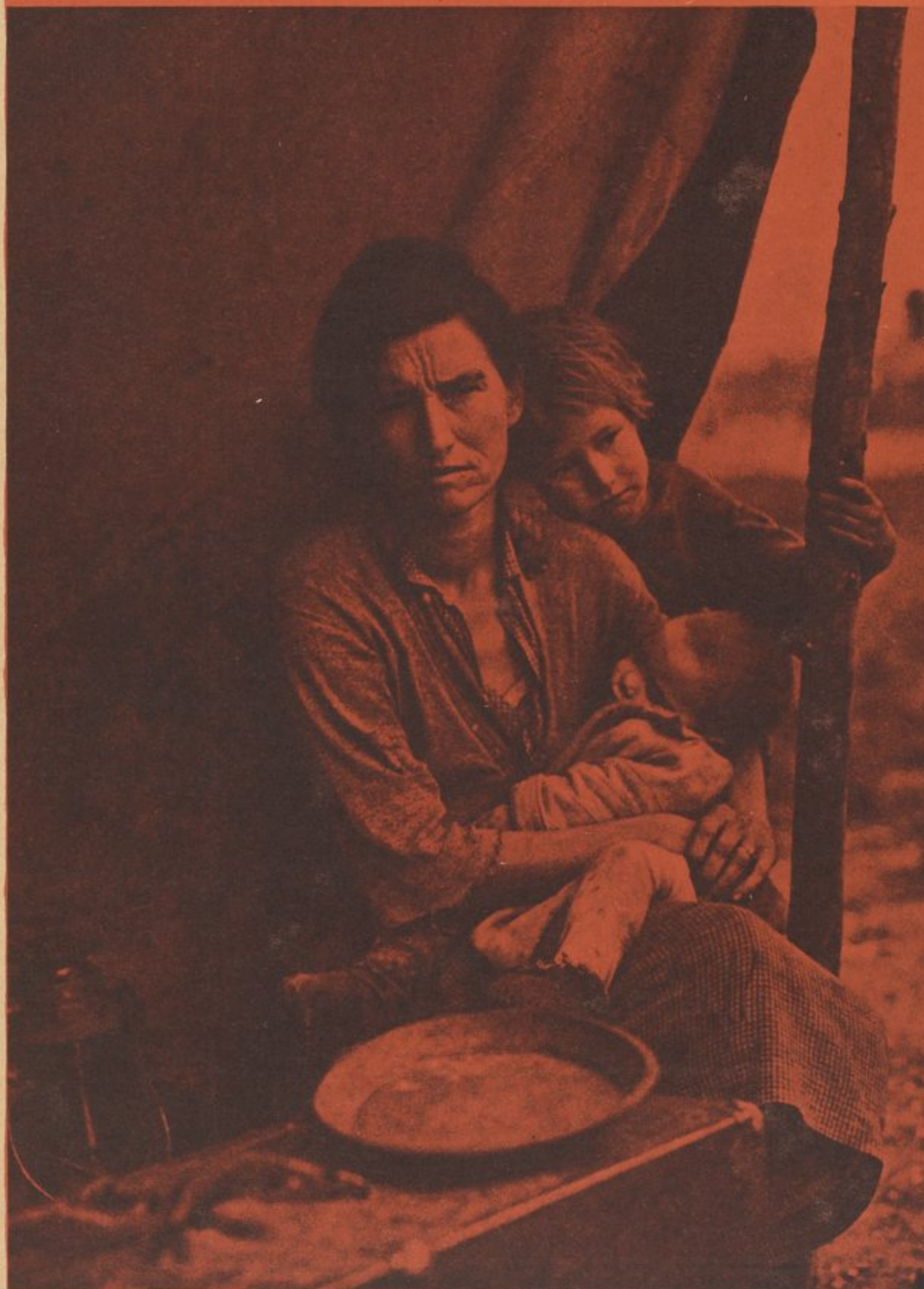
THE MOST impoverished and the most exploited workers in the United States today are the 5,000,000 farm wage-laborers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers, a group without property, with little protection from the law and, on a nation-wide average, the lowest wages of any gainfully employed men and women in the country. Working conditions are extremely severe. In Arkansas, sharecroppers and farm laborers receive as little as 35 cents for a 14-hour day. In Alabama, Mississippi and other states of the cotton South, wages go down to five cents an hour. The story is the same all over the country, where large farming areas are under cultivation. Beet workers in Colorado, onion workers in Michigan, "stoop labor" in California and Arizona, harvest hands and fruit pickers in the Northwest, all receive a pauper's income for long and exhausting labor. In the South, the sharecroppers describe their hours in the phrase: "from kin see to can't see." And when the growing season is over, and hands are no longer needed, the meager income of the working period is cut off entirely. Most farm laborers are fortunate to see a cash income of \$200 per year, which must go around the needs of the whole family.

Below Level of Decency

Obviously such incomes do not go far. Living conditions are almost unbelievably low as a direct result of working conditions. Few people know the degradation to which the average rural worker is brought. The report of President Roosevelt's Committee on Farm Tenancy described it as "an erosion of our society." The report states further:

The extreme poverty of one fifth to one fourth of the farm population reflects itself in a standard of living below any level of decency. Large families of tenants or croppers,

An agricultural worker's wife and her children in California



or hired farm laborers, are living in houses of two or three rooms. . . . Many have no outside toilet, or if available, it is highly unsanitary. Many of these families are chronically undernourished. . . . Clothing is often scarcely sufficient to afford protection to the body, much less to help maintain self-respect.

The report barely does justice to conditions as they exist. Most of the farm workers in the South are not permitted even to spend their limited income beyond the plantation or large corporation farm. Commissaries, charging prices from 50 to 200 per cent higher than those of commercial stores, have a monopoly on sales of necessities and of small luxuries such as tobacco and candy. Interest rates for "furnish"—the grubstake that plantation owners supply to tenants and croppers at the beginning of the season—often exceed 100 per cent. No matter how good the crop, a year's work often finds tenants and laborers heavily in "debt" to the landlord, and bound to the land until the "debt" is paid off.

Childhood Time for Work

Childhood hardly exists in the families of the sharecroppers and farm laborers. It is a time of labor from earliest years to manhood. Cotton, beets, onions, fruit can all be worked by children. In the poorer agricultural areas only the most elementary education is available. Teachers are paid from \$100 to \$400 per year. Unavoidably they are ill-trained, often scarcely less ignorant than their pupils. The school year is short and school is suspended when the children are needed in the fields. Buildings and equipment, according to Government surveys, are the poorest in the nation. In the cotton country, schools for Negro children are even worse than those for the whites. The illiteracy rate is highest in the plantation areas, some of which show a rate as high as 25 per cent among adults. In parts of Alabama the rate rises to 50 per cent among Negro cotton-field workers.

These living and working conditions are reflected in the legal status of the farm laborer, the tenant and the sharecropper. Almost invariably they are discriminated against in social and welfare legislation, both state and Federal. Most child labor in the United States is concentrated in agriculture, particularly in cotton, tobacco and sugar beets. Yet of 29 state laws against child labor, 24 specifically exempt children employed in farm work. Of 16 states with laws for minimum wages for women, nine exempt those employed in farming. In the other seven, the law does not apply because the state legislatures have failed to fix minimum rates for farm working women. Twenty-two states have laws requiring regular payment of wages. In only one of these is the law applied to farm laborers. Only two states apply their safety laws to farm workers. One of these deals solely with horse-powered threshers—a type that has not been used in 30 years. Though the accident rate in farm work is one of the highest in all industry, 26 states specifically exempt agricultural labor from their workmen's compensation laws.

Farm Labor Legislation

Almost all the labor legislation produced by the New Deal has ignored the farm worker. The Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act all omit farm labor from their benefits. The Connery Act to fix minimum wages and working conditions does not include farm labor as at present drawn. The

NRA specifically limited its scope to factory and commercial workers, referring the farm worker to the Department of Agriculture. This Department has functioned throughout its history not for the farm laborer, but for the owning and employing farmer only. A tornado of plantation-owner protest was aroused in 1933 when a few bold spirits in the AAA suggested that benefit checks should be sent directly to the tenants and sharecroppers rather than to the landlords who were found retaining the money for themselves. Scores of thousands of cotton workers were evicted from the land and from their living as the result of this interpretation of the program. Other thousands were driven out of day-by-day employment as the direct result of the curtailment plan. Since they are excluded from unemployment insurance, farm workers have no recourse but relief, and projects in farm areas have a way of closing down when farm labor is needed. More often than not the wages offered are even less than those obtainable from relief, yet workers who refuse such jobs have been summarily thrown off the relief rolls.

Not Forgotten Man

The agricultural worker is not a forgotten man. On the contrary, he has been well remembered by every authority he meets—as a worker to be discriminated against, to be exploited almost to the limit of human endurance. No legislator will touch the farm-labor problem, for it is full of political dynamite. In the South, farm workers do not vote, either because they are Negroes or because they do not have the dollar or two necessary for the poll tax. In the West, especially on the coast, most farm labor—500,000 workers and their families—is migratory and cannot establish residence qualifications for voting. Unable to vote, they can bring no pressure on the authorities that rule over them.

Frequently those authorities rule wholly in favor of the landlord and the large employing farmer. In the cotton South the sheriff and the courts act as labor agents for the planters, recruiting workers through arrest on vagrancy charges, and then "permitting" them to work out their fines with a local employer. Only recently a deputy sheriff and planter in Arkansas was convicted of peonage and fined—the first time this has happened since anti-peonage laws were passed. The rôle of the police in the commercial farming areas is well known. In a lettuce worker's strike in California, state police were so determined to stamp out the "Reds" that they destroyed a number of danger flags, placed on the road by the highway department, in a moment taken off from the more effective work of guarding scabs and shooting pickets.

Farm Workers Are Organized

The recourse of the agricultural worker, denied legal protection and excluded from social legislation, has been to union organization. Already more than 200,000 are members of unions, either within the American Federation of Labor or in independent outfits. Strongest in the field are the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Unions, affiliated on a federal union basis with the A. F. of L. Largest of the independents is the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, first organized four years ago in Arkansas. The Alabama Sharecroppers Union, formerly an independent, has merged in part with the Farmers Union and in part with a new organization, the Cotton Field Workers Union. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the former Sharecroppers Union account for about 50,000 members. The

(Continued on page 26)

Destitute Ozark family





Sheep or Men?

THE SHEPPARD-HILL BILL to "prevent profiteering in war, to equalize the burdens of war . . . and promote peace" is the 1937 edition of the universal service bill which the American Legion and the War Department have been pushing for 15 years. While its ostensible purpose is "to take the profits out of war," it represents the culmination of a long struggle to fasten military dictatorship on the nation in time of war. The first of these bills to be introduced was the Capper-Johnson Universal Service Bill of 1922—reintroduced in each session through 1928. It was followed in 1935 by the McSwain Bill "to prevent profiteering in war and to equalize the burdens of war," the immediate predecessor of Sheppard-Hill.

These bills have a hybrid parentage. In the first place they are based on the

In the trenches or at home the next war will turn you into a blind sheep if proposed legislation now before Congress passes

By Eleanor Fowler

ILLUSTRATED BY BIRNBAUM

resentment of the World War veterans, aroused when they found how thoroughly they had been gypped in the World War. In the second place they are based on the desire of the War Department to be assured of priority for war needs in industry, control of labor and of public opinion during an-

other conflict. The War Department plans received the hearty endorsement of the Legion leaders and were sold to the membership as assuring "equal service for all and special profit for none."

The Capper-Johnson Bill—first of the series—had three provisions only: (1) universal draft; (2) dictatorship

over industry and labor; (3) fixing of prices and wages. There was not even an attempt at war-profits taxation, though profiteering was one of the most obvious war abuses. The price-fixing provisions were supposed to take care of that.

Labor Fights the Dictatorship

The rank-and-file of the Legion did not see that the real purpose of this legislation was to set up an effective war-time dictatorship—especially over labor. It is significant that the 1926 Legion pamphlet in support of the Capper-Johnson Bill stresses the approval of the War Department, of the business interests and of the press, and does not mention labor. It lists as opposed the pacifists and the munitions makers. Yet organized labor fought

(Continued on page 24)



An American Flier in Spain

Jimmy Collins and Ben Leider! "Both hated the thing they were doing. Both fought the same forces. Collins by organizing other pilots. Leider by dying in defense of Spain."

By Alvah C. Bessie

ILLUSTRATED BY ZOLTAN HECHT

THERE is a passage in what has come to be known as the "testament" of Jimmy Collins, which is relevant to Ben Leider's death in Spain on February 18th of this year. It is called, significantly, "I Am Dead," and it was written by the militant pilot only a short time before the Grumman pursuit plane he was testing carried him to death from a height of 10,000 feet.

"The ship was beautiful," it reads. "Its silver wings glistened in the sun. Its motor was a strong song that lifted it to high heights.

"And then . . .

"Down.

"Down out of the blue heights we hurtled. Straight down. Faster. Faster and faster. Testing our strength by diving.

"Fear?

"Yes, I had grown older. But grim fear now. The fear of daring and courage. But tempered too with some of the strong power of the old dream now too.

"Down.

"Down.

"A roar of flashing steel and a streak of glinting . . . oh yes, oh yes, now . . . breaking wings. Too frail . . . the wings . . . the dream . . . the evil days.

"The cold but vibrant fuselage was the last thing to feel my warm and living flesh. The long loud diving roar of the motor, rising to the awful crashing crescendo of its impact with the earth, was my death song.

"I am dead now."

They Died in their Planes

Jimmy Collins is dead now, and Ben Leider is dead, and the analogy between their deaths goes further than the mere fact that both were aviators who died in their planes. They were men of much the same pattern; men cut from whole cloth. Ben Leider crashed in Spain after a vain attempt to land his fighting plane safely. He had been reached by Fascist bullets. Eddie Lyons, who returned in April from seven months of flying for the

Loyalists, knew Leider; went over there just before him; went also as a volunteer.

"A tank picked him up later," Lyons said. "He wasn't unconscious when he died. His leg had been shattered by the explosive bullets the Fascists are using, and he'd lost a lot of blood. It must have been very painful.

"But the proof that he wasn't unconscious when he died is the fact that he was seen. Other planes saw him nose his ship over and dive straight for the ground. They saw him. The ship hit flat; he'd tried to flatten out before she hit the ground, but he must have lost too much blood by then. She hit flat and rolled over and over, maybe a quarter of a mile. When they picked him up, the gun-sight that's on the front of the cockpit was jammed right through his head. If he hadn't lost so much blood, he could have landed his ship; he could have landed her."

It's not a pretty picture—"The cold but vibrant fuselage was the last thing to feel my warm and living flesh. The long loud diving roar of the motor, rising to the awful crashing crescendo. . . ." It's no prettier than the picture of Jimmy Collins crashing from 10,000 feet in the beefed-up Grumman he was testing for the Navy, the ship that landed "hot." He did it for a living; he did it to keep his wife and children alive; he would make dozens of these dive-tests, courting certain death each time if the wings should be torn from the fuselage in the pull-out that was part of the test. Or if he could not pull her out. He did it for the munificent sum of \$1,500, the whole series, so that the air forces might possess a perfect death-machine: the sort of machine that could send another working-class pilot to his death in defense of human decency and dignity.

That is the analogy, and it is not strained. Collins and Leider knew what they were doing; they both hated the thing they were doing, and one did it to keep alive and one to keep others alive, and both fought the same forces—Collins by organizing other pilots;

Leider by dying in the defense of the right of the Spanish people to organize their lives in the way they had freely chosen. It was no new thing for either of them.

The Child Remembers

It was no new thing to Leider: fighting Fascism and the forces that make for Fascism, the determined greed of the owners to maintain their hold on the lives of the majority. He had fought it, one way or another, all his life. He had seen those forces at work early in his childhood, and he had not forgotten. In 1905, a child of four in Kishinev, which was then a part of Russia, he saw the Jews, his relatives and friends, massacred by the Czar's Cossacks, was hidden by a Christian friend and lay under a bed for days until the pogrom was past. Perhaps he understood it then no more than the little children of Guernica in Spain understood the death they suffered from the diving German Heinckels late in April. But Leider survived, and if he did not understand at the time, neither did he forget what he had seen.

He carried that memory with him to the new country, this promised land of ours that will some day be achieved, where he went to school in Brooklyn and New York and eventually became a reporter for various newspapers in the city. He was remembering his childhood when, one night in Greenwich Village, he said to a friend, "I'm not such a great talker as some of you guys, and I don't say so much. But listen, I couldn't sleep nights thinking about kids in this country not eating regular. . . . My mother damned near killed herself working so her kids could have schoolbooks and get an education, and I'm not one of those guys who forget where they came from when they get some middle-class job and start eating regular." He did not forget where he came from.

A Dream of Wings

"I had a dream," wrote Jimmy Collins. "Always I had a dream. I

cannot tell you what that dream was. I can only tell you that flying was one of its symbols. Even when I was very young that was true. Even as long as I can remember.

"When I became older, it became even more true.

"So deep a dream, so great a passion, could not be denied.

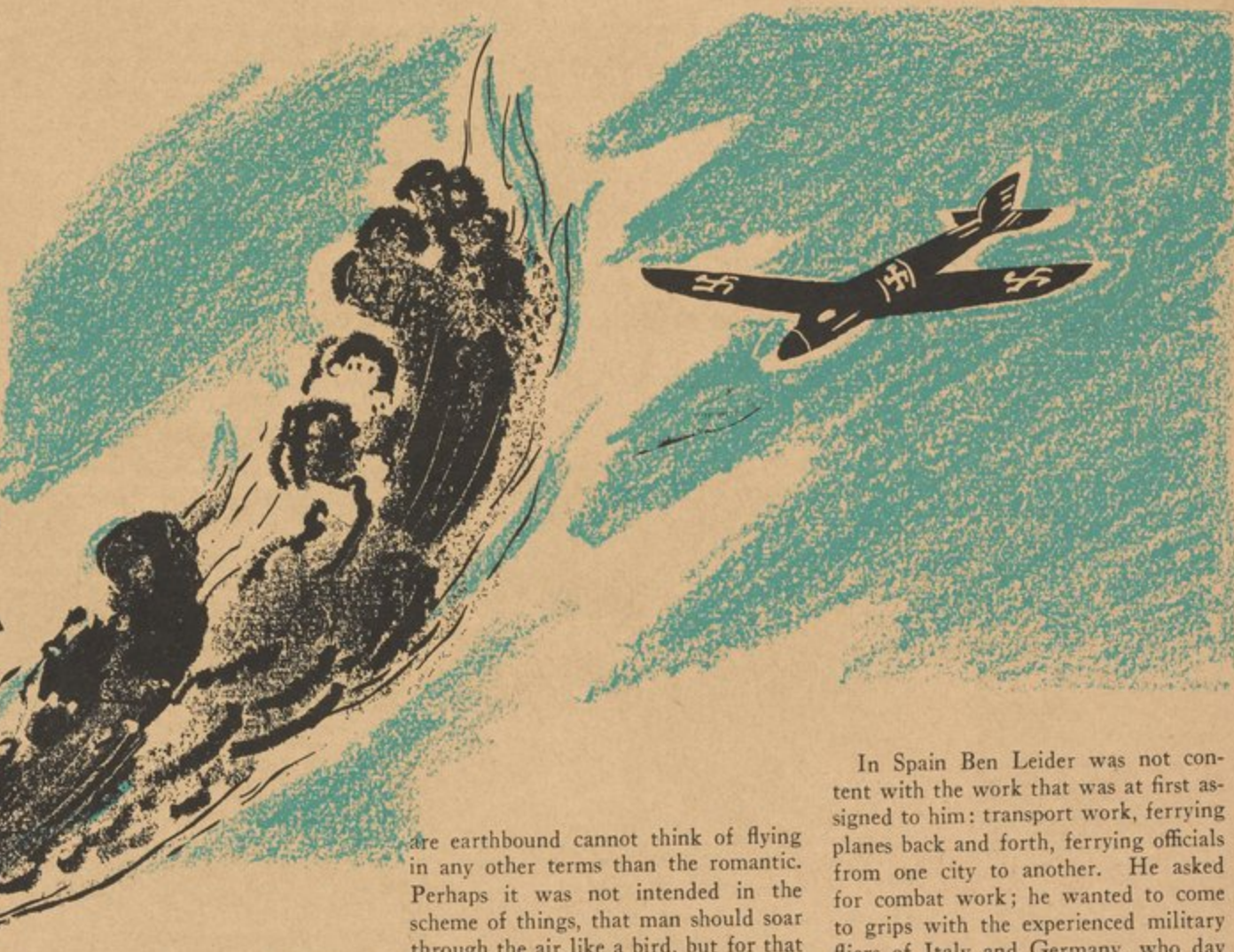
"Finally I did fly."

Ben Leider must have had some ex-



perience of this dream; it is common to a certain type of man, and when it takes possession of him there is little he will not do to realize his dream. Like Collins a poor boy, Leider learned to fly through sacrifice. He stretched his reporter's salary to fantastic lengths, and took instruction. Eddie Lyons too learned to fly that way; a shoe-clerk earning \$15 a week, he learned to fly when instruction cost \$35 an hour.

It was in 1930 that Ben Leider first learned the craft that was to carry him to death and to immortality in the hearts of the Spanish people. In a



speech he made during his recent visit here, André Malraux, another writer turned aviator and defender of Spanish Democracy from the air, told how these simple Spanish people felt about men who had come there to fight for them, strange men, foreigners they had never seen before and whose language they could not speak.

Malraux told how one of the planes of his volunteer squadron fell in the Teruel sector, and crashed high up on a mountain side. He told how the wounded and the dead were brought down the desolate mountain slope over a mule track, and how the peasants gathered at the roadside and followed the procession down into the valley, weeping for strange men who had been "wounded for their sake." He said it was "the greatest demonstration of human solidarity I have ever witnessed in my life."

A Founder of his Union

That solidarity of working people everywhere was a part of Leider's life from his earliest childhood to his early death. Men do not go out and die in "another man's war" unless they feel something about that "other" man. To Leider it was no heroic gesture; he could not have thought of himself as a hero, a man who was deliberately putting aside his own considerations to make a splendid gesture in the face of death. For ever since he had been

old enough to be aware of the world-community of human interest, that community had been as much a part of him as the air he breathed. He was a founder of his union, the American Newspaper Guild, and he had actively participated in its earliest battles for recognition.

Once he had learned to fly, it did not take him long to relate his new accomplishment to the fight in which he was permanently engaged: the fight for better living conditions for all men and women who work for their livelihood. He used his flying ability to make spectacular demonstrations in behalf of his union. He flew out to sea to meet a ship carrying a publisher whose newspaper had been struck by the Guild; with a banner attached to his tail-assembly, he looped and rolled over the incoming ship. On his vacation last summer he flew to Milwaukee to picket the *Wisconsin News* from the air; on a later occasion, he flew to Seattle to picket Hearst's *Post-Intelligencer*. He had always known that his ability to fly would be of use to his fellow-men; it was not a plaything for him.

And therefore it was in no spirit of romantic adventure that he volunteered his services as an aviator to the Spanish Government last September, services for which he expected and demanded no compensation. This is a hard thing for some of us to understand, and the difficulty in understanding is augmented by the still persisting "romance" of the air. Those who

are earthbound cannot think of flying in any other terms than the romantic. Perhaps it was not intended in the scheme of things, that man should soar through the air like a bird, but for that matter neither was it "intended" that he should sail the seas in ships or roar across the face of the earth on four wheels. Yet man has done these things, and if flying is the newest of his many means of transportation, it is now his own and it is time to think of flying as an extension of man's personality, not an esoteric defiance of the laws of being.

"Winged Champ"

Leider could fly, and death came to the women and children of Madrid from the air. It is doubtful if he ever thought of making a decision; his decision had been made long before. In a letter to a friend during his early flying days, he wrote, in a mock-heroic style that was common to him:

What the human race needs is a winged champ of a stature fit to wear the battered but invincible armor of the original Don Quixote—one who would dedicate himself to the task of bringing the old hag, Mother Earth, out of her flat spin, and by giving her a good kick in the rudder direct her toward some intelligent goal.

(Intermission while I gulp.)

And he added, in the same vein:

And so it comes to pass, that I in the same cosmic mood in which my great granddodo mounted his immortal nag Rosinante centuries ago, and set forth to pit his single scrawny arm against the totality of world evil—I, Don Quixote of Space, now clamber into the cockpit of my trusty old crate, "The Mocking Bird," and take off into the blue to carry the battle for the good, the true and the profitable into higher altitudes!

Your dauntless Knight of the Fallen Arches,

Ben

In Spain Ben Leider was not content with the work that was at first assigned to him: transport work, ferrying planes back and forth, ferrying officials from one city to another. He asked for combat work; he wanted to come to grips with the experienced military fliers of Italy and Germany, who day after day soared over Madrid and brought hideous death to children playing in the streets, to women waiting in lines for bread and milk for their children, to working-class homes in the Tetuan section that are now completely razed. He wanted to engage the fliers whose bombing preluded each Fascist attack on the Loyalist trenches, and whose supremacy during the early stages of the rebellion was a cause of worldwide despondency among lovers of democratic government. His wish was granted.

In a "dog-fight" in which 32 Loyalist planes engaged 82 Fascist fliers, and which took place on February 18th of this year, Ben Leider met the consistent end to the consistent life of struggle he had led. He could not have wanted any other death. He was needed by the people of Spain, and he was there, and there are no words to describe the integrity of his life and the integrity of his death. He was 35 years old.

Jimmy Collins wrote (and it can be called an epitaph, if one is needed):

"But there is not only the spoken and the written word. There is also the formless, unbreathed word of mood and dream and passion. This is the word that must have been the spirit of God that brooded over the face of the deep in the beginning. It is the word of life and death.

"It was the word of my life and my death. The dream word that breathed into my nostrils the breath of life and destroyed me, too."

Polish Pogroms

By Albert Allen



A typical poverty-stricken Jewish home in Warsaw

IN NO OTHER country has anti-Semitism been so sustained and devastating as in Poland. The appalling poverty of the Polish Jews reflects in an aggravated form the state of the Polish people as a whole. True to the anti-democratic and Fascist models which it strives to emulate, the government fans the anti-Semitic flames in order to divert attention from the prevailing distress.

Official government sponsorship of anti-Semitism, however, came only a few months ago. In the early days of the Polish republic, the new government inclined toward tolerance of the Jew. Many Jews had fought under Pilsudski and some of the Marshal's trusted advisors were Jews. The government committed itself to the protection of minorities within its borders. It was not until 1935 that the Polish government (the government has remained substantially the same since Pilsudski seized power in 1926) renounced its adherence to the post-war minorities convention to which it had been bound. Even then, however, in order to allay minority feeling, the government stated that "it would continue to respect the equal rights of minorities."

Proclamation of anti-Semitism as an open state policy has come with the establishment of the Camp of National Unity, government Fascist party. "Jews, as Jews," Col. Jan Kowalewski, chief-of-staff of the Party, declared, "are no more entitled than are Tartars or Mohammedans to qualify for membership in an organization which is based on the predominance of Christian principles. It would be as incompatible for Jews to be accepted in the new party as it would be for Poles to join a Zionist organization."

It is clear to the Colonel that there is no future for the Jew in Poland. "The Jewish question," he has stated, "is one of the most important national problems. The Jews are too numerous. The solution is mass emigration first of all and we will seek it in that direction. However, we cannot wait until the problem solves itself by the disappearance of the Jews."

Broken, Corroded, Robbed

The Colonel's statement comes less like a declaration of war than an order to mop up the field of the wounded and bury the dead. If ever a people has been broken, corroded with hopelessness, robbed of all human dignity, it is the Polish Jews. Largely as a result of the government's disastrous economic policies and deliberate discrimination, three million out of Poland's three-and-a-half-million Jews have been reduced to beggary and starvation. "In the Warsaw ghetto," writes Sholem Asch, the distinguished author, recently returned from Poland, "I saw young women, some twenty or thirty years old, who looked old and broken down; dead eyes, swollen bodies, legs like match-sticks, dragging along in rags, breathing asthmatic breath. . . . I saw men going about like ghosts, pale as sheets, living corpses with mad, flaming eyes, continually jabbering to themselves. The slums of Warsaw are the worst, teem with the greatest misery to be found anywhere in Europe."

The story behind the recent Fascist terror against the Jews in Poland

In Lodz, thousands of Jews go without food for days until they collapse in the streets. Spindly children drop in their classrooms of hunger. Tuberculosis and rickets are common among most ghetto children. A family of six, all working sixteen hours a day, cannot make enough money to subsist. Thousands are homeless. The death rate is soaring and anti-suicide clubs have been formed to keep people from taking their own lives.

In many sections of the country virtual famine conditions prevail. One third of the 160,000 boys and girls who attend Jewish schools come to school hungry and the schools are attempting to provide meals for them. There is not enough money, however, and many return to their homes hungry. "So great is the need in their homes," reports Dr. Bernhard Kahn, overseas director of the Joint Distribution Committee (Jewish relief organization), "that in many small towns, children who are given cod-liver oil at the child-caring ambulatoriums, surreptitiously carry it home so that it may serve for cooking food for the entire family."

Monopolists of Poverty

Housing conditions are wretched beyond description. One third of the families which apply for direct relief live in the homes of others. Half of all the families live in one room, 12 per cent in attics and cellars. In Lodz, 75 per cent of the children given child care came from families occupying only one room. And what do these one-room homes look like? The American Relief Committee for the Jews of Poland gives a typical example:

We find ourselves in a garret room with a low ceiling sloping nearly to the floor, flooded with rainwater that has



A Jewish tailor in his one-room home in Poland

poured in from a gaping hole in the roof. The family of an unemployed locksmith, deserted by the father who could no longer face the reproach of his starving children, lives there. They are all tubercular. Their household goods are a small iron trundle bed under the eaves, a bench, a table, a rickety stove. Their meal—boiled water masquerading as tea. One child, a girl of twelve, recently home from the hospital, is huddling near the stove, seeking warmth. An older girl is sitting on the bed, holding a basin to catch the water that is dripping from the rain-drenched roof. And they keep silent. They do not complain to anybody and are starving quietly, calmly without weeping and wailing.

This is the people which the Polish government would make war on. These are the people whom the Fascists call monopolists of the earth's goods.

Skinned to the Bone

Under a systematic policy of discrimination, the government has over a period of years purged the government service of Jews. Nationalization of industries in which Jews formed a large percentage of the workers has led to the dismissal of tens of thousands of Jews for whom no jobs were provided in the government monopolies. Laws governing craft guilds were framed to disqualify Jews without making it appear so. Despite the fact that Jews constitute but 10 per cent of the population—with the slightest percentage in the higher brackets—until very recently they were paying 31 per cent of the nation's taxes. On the other hand, Jewish merchants, artisans and traders are discriminated against under numerous pretexts or simply denied the right to ply their trades. Credit funds, which are supposed to be allotted without regard to race or creed, have been so administered as to exclude Jewish applicants from their benefits. To top off its depredations, the government denies ordinary

relief to the Jewish hungry and homeless, throwing them largely on the resources of the all too inadequate Jewish charity agencies.

Jewish representation in the municipal assemblies and parliament has been cut down by one ruse or another to almost nothing. This represents not only a loss of actual political standing but a further blow at the Jewish social position. Shorn of even the pretense of political power, driven lower and lower, economically the Jews become easy prey to the Endeks or National Democrats, an extremist Fascist organization, which knows no restraint in the practice of anti-Semitism. In the last year over one thousand Jews were killed and wounded in Endek pogroms. With the bestiality which characterizes Fascism wherever it appears, the Endeks raze entire towns, burn down Jewish homes with their inhabitants inside, toss bombs into synagogues, stab, shoot and vilify Jews regardless of age or sex.

The government clique, headed by Marshal Smigly-Ridz (formerly Ridz-Smigly), successor to Pilsudski, Foreign Minister Josef Beck and President Miscicki, fights the Endeks principally as a rival group and because their pogrom methods of Jew-baiting attract unfavorable publicity abroad. In such skirmishes the government often appears to casual observers as a defender of the Jews. Actually, however, the government and the Endek Fascists differ only as to methods of persecuting the Jew.

Light Breaks Through

The Polish economic crisis which the anti-Semitic agitation tries to conceal is responsible for growing discontent among the peasants, workers and middle class. An unmistakable trend toward unity *against*

Fascism has appeared. The origins of a Polish Popular Front can be seen in the recent joint political actions of these elements of the people.

The peasants, who form the bulk of Poland's population, have been growing increasingly restive. Organized into the National Peasants' Party under the leadership of Wincenty Witos, former Prime Minister now in exile in Czechoslovakia, they have two principal demands—more land and more political representation. The government, supported as it is by large landowners, cannot grant the peasant demands for agrarian reform, yet is in no position to ignore them. It, therefore, makes demagogic gestures calculated to win the peasants away from the Peasants' Party. Last year it proposed an immediate division of 100,000 acres and is today talking of further division of the landed estates. The more politically astute peasants do not take seriously such government promises, recalling that although agrarian reform laws have been on the books for more than twelve years, little has been done to put them into practice.

The second demand of the peasants presents an equally serious problem for the government. The peasants are bitter over the outright reduction of suffrage in 1933. According to the well informed Warsaw correspondent of the *Christian-Science Monitor*, this works out "so that in a village of 1,200 persons, only 20, of whom two may be the squire and his wife, have the vote."

"This was bad enough," this correspondent continues, "but the acknowledged falsification of the last election was much worse. It touched the peasants to the quick. Add to it land hunger and the

(Continued on page 26)

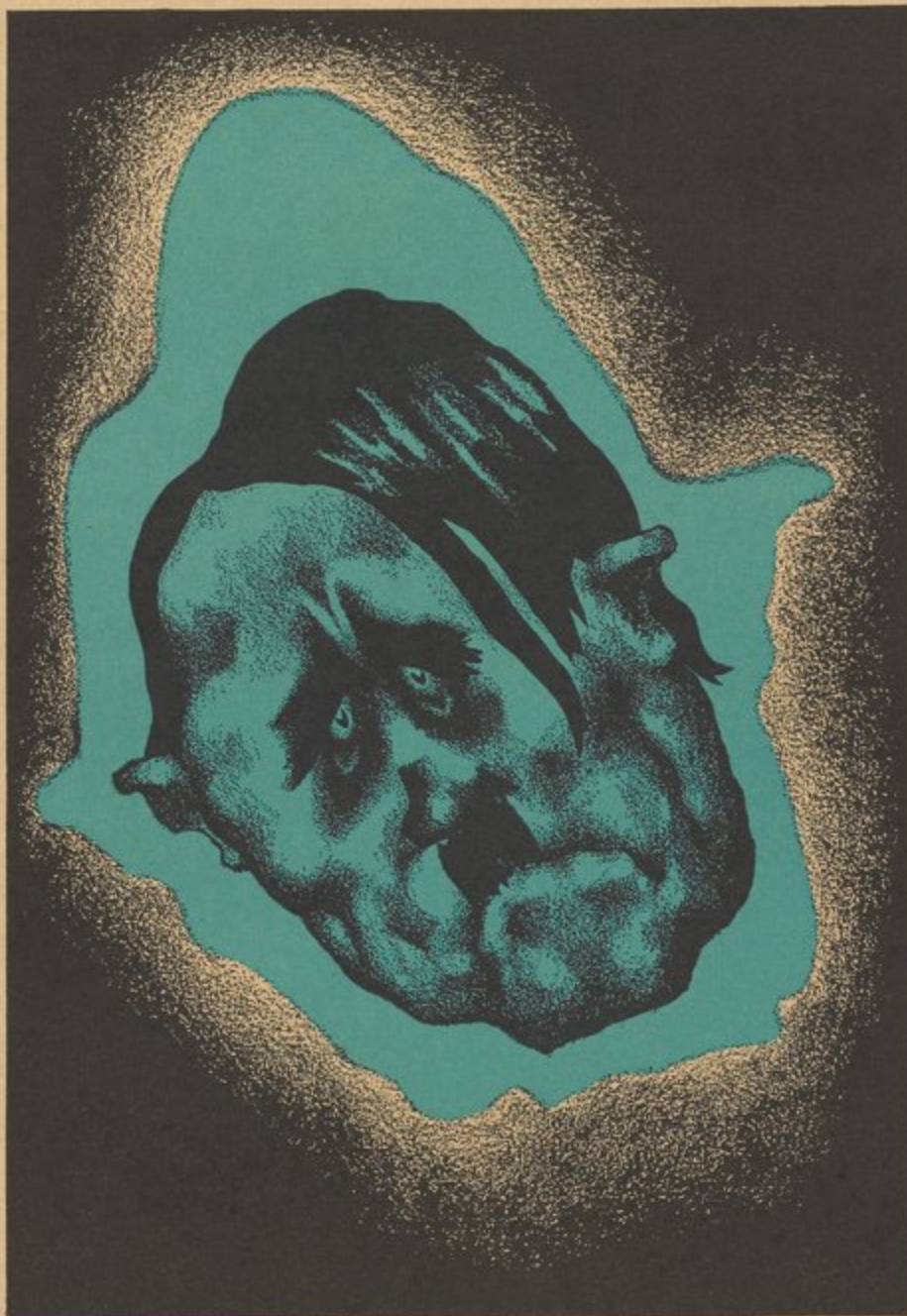
"WON'T YOU please, please help lift the mortgage off poor Ma Zilch's little home?" pleads the honey-voiced announcer on the *Sudsy Sisters* program. "You have just heard how that old miser, Bill Williams, is planning to foreclose on Ma next Monday. Time is precious. Sit down right now and send to this station ten tops from boxes of Sudsy Washing Powder, the world's wonder washer—plus 25 cents in cash or stamps—and you may be able to save your favorite radio character from the poorhouse. In exchange you will receive a handsome package of seeds for your garden."

Does this sound like a radio nightmare? Not if you are accustomed to listening to the serial stories which clog the networks from 9:45 A.M. until 5 P.M. each day. Merchandising schemes and double-profit tie-ups such as the one outlined above are the order of the day on such broadcasts. And they are perpetrated with such brazen skill that thousands of susceptible housewives rush out and buy ten boxes of "Sudsy" or whatever other product sponsors the program and send them, with hard-earned quarters, to help the sobby heroine. Although sponsors guard their correspondence carefully it is a well known fact that those who respond to such appeals often refuse the "premium" offered and ask that its cost be applied on the mortgage.

Serials are called script shows or strip shows by those in the radio business. The first title comes from the fact that actors and actresses read their lines from carefully prepared manuscript. The second name is not a tribute to Gypsy Rose Lee of burlesque fame, but is used because such programs are an adaptation of the technique of so-called comic strips printed each day in the newspapers.

Practically all of these shows are designed to strip the human soul bare so that it may writhe in agony. Tears, heartbreaks, domestic disasters are the unending lot of their characters with occasional gangster sequences thrown in for relief. If Ma Zilch (or one of her contemporaries) is saved from the clutches of Bill Williams on Wednesday she may be allowed one day of happiness. But on Friday Pa Zilch is certain to break his arm unless daughter Mary falls ill of a disease requiring an immediate operation. Ma must under no circumstances be allowed a contented week-end. Otherwise it is presumed that her followers might lose interest during the two-day "hangover."

Among the most successful strip shows now on the networks are *The O'Neills*; *Pepper Young's Family*; *Ma Perkins*; *David Harum*; *Big Sister*; *Follow the Moon*; *John's Other Wife*; *Aunt Jenny's True Life Stories*, and *Backstage Wife*. Twenty-eight others clutter up the ether to such an extent that there are only six periods of 15



LOUIS MYERS

Hitler on the Air

RADIO

minutes each during which one or more of them cannot be tuned in.

Although a few writers of radio serials draw tremendous salaries, *Variety*, the theatrical weekly, recently estimated that the average pay is \$5 per installment. The Blackett-Sample-Hummert Advertising Agency, which specializes in such shows, has, in fact, established a sort of rolling mill for their production in order to keep costs at a minimum. Frank Hummert and his wife, Anne, claim authorship of most of the scripts although they really are written by anonymous hacks who work long hours for subsistence pay. This arrangement allows the Hummerts to own the material and to dictate

to their string of authors exactly the type of cheap tabloid fiction which they have found makes the most money. Any initiative or imagination shown by a writer is quickly destroyed by such a plan, particularly in view of the fact that a successful program pays no more wages than a mediocre one.

Aside from the low artistic level of most of the strip shows now on the air, they are highly objectionable because of the reactionary philosophies which they preach. Jingoism under the guise of patriotism is lifted to throbbing heights. Sex is exploited whenever possible despite the large juvenile audience which such programs have. Negroes and other racial minorities are used for comedy

relief, while the genial old characters who populate this make-believe land seldom lose an opportunity to stress the value of "preparedness," the wickedness of strikes and the proper humility of the working class.

Labor on the Air

THE C. I. O. has thrown the radio industry into another of its frequent quandaries. It seems that John L. Lewis' followers are seriously considering going on the air with an extensive series of network programs. The networks are not so sure that Ford, General Motors, du Pont and the rest of their big advertisers would like such company. Moreover the C. I. O. is now engaged in a drive to organize radio workers. On the other hand union money jingles just like any other kind, and the broadcasters are known for their desire to make an honest dollar now and then.

Both CBS and NBC refuse to accept labor organizations as program sponsors at present, while a large majority of independent stations take the same attitude. But Lewis' men are making good use of the few stations open to them. These include WSPR, Springfield, Mass.; WPRO, Providence, R. I.; WORC, Worcester, Mass.; WGBI, Scranton, Pa.; WEVD, New York; WOL, Washington, D. C.; WELI, New Haven, Conn.; WCOP, Boston, and WRAX and WFIL, Philadelphia.

In announcing the attitude of his station recently, General Manager Donald Withycomb of WFIL, said:

We believe we have selected a wise course at a difficult crossroads of policy. Had we decided negatively and turned our backs on labor because their subject-matter might possibly be laden with dynamite and inimical to industrial interests, we would have broken faith with our listeners.

Although labor hasn't yet found its place on the air, it makes itself heard with a voice like thunder if any commentator or jokester attacks strikers or unionism. Whenever such things happen letters of protest fill the mail immediately. And they almost always result in an apology, for the radio industry lives in abject fear of sharp criticism from listeners.

Notes While Dialing

ALL of which leads me to take off my hat to Bryce Oliver, evening news commentator on WEVD, who didn't need to be informed by his listeners that the bombing of Almeria was one of the great outrages of history. His description of the wanton destruction of that defenseless town by the German navy was enough to make even a rabbit get up on its hind legs and join the International Brigade.

The height of something or other was reached when KOY, Phoenix, Arizona, announced that June 3d, the date

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Refugees from Franco

NOW IS the season of the movie convention, and the voice of the producer is heard in the land. Mighty words are bellowing forth, speaking of millions of dollars in budgets, of hundreds of pictures to be produced, and there is a great gathering of the clans. With fanfare and drum-beating, with flourishes and alarums and excursions, the Hollywood studios are announcing their 1937-38 season plans to the proverbially palpitating public.

At this writing five of the major studios have already been heard from, as well as the three largest "independents." They are Warners, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 20th Century-Fox, Universal, United Artists, Grand National, Republic and Monogram, and by the time these words are read the remaining three plants—Paramount, RKO and Columbia—should have also joined the parade. Making a total of something around half a billion dollars to be spent, something like 500 pictures to be filmed, and Heaven only knows how much tripe to be sorted out and considered carefully as popular entertainment.

A casual inspection of the lists already made public, discloses an astonishing catholicity of taste in Hollywood, a catholicity largely confined to the boy-meets-girl formula for plot, but ranging widely in background, atmosphere and local color. There are such matters as Sam Goldwyn's production of *Hurricane*, a tale of the South Seas, and 20th-Fox's *Kidnapped*, by Robert Louis Stevenson. There are M-G-M's plan for Kipling's *Kim*, and the Warner ventures into the theater for such matters as *Tovarich*, *First Lady*, and *White Horse Inn*. The Dionne quintuplets will make a third appearance for Darryl F. Zanuck, and *The Prisoner of Zenda* will be produced by David O. Selznick. Charlie Chan will continue to utter allegedly Chinese sophistries, and from England will come a remake of *Four Feathers*, in which soldiers are shown as gallant, brave lads always willing to sacrifice everything for country and duty. There will be musicals, and comedies, and historical narratives. There will be tragedy, and social investigation, and bright promises for the future. In short, Hollywood is about to go into its old act once more.

It is also interesting to note how each of the studios will venture into controversial matters with one picture, and then try to redeem itself with another. Metro, for example, plans a "comedy-melodrama" about the Spanish Civil War with Robert Montgomery in the leading role, and in the same breath announces the forthcoming production of Erich Maria Remarque's *Three Comrades*, with Spencer Tracy, James Stewart and Robert Taylor. The United Artists schedule lists both *Four Feathers* and a Charlie Chaplin production, as if the latter entirely

MOVIES

Movie Moguls plan next year's super-colossals

... Hollywood's army ... This month's crop

makes up for the former. Warners, a stronghold of militarism and bang-bang whoopla with the Hearst flavor, will furnish both *The Story of Emile Zola*, with Paul Muni, and Dostoevsky's *The Gamblers*. And 20th-Fox, just completing *Wee Willie Winkie*, by that Great Imperialist, Kipling, will make up for it by inquiries into the past such as *Jesse James, In Old Chicago*, and *The Hudson's Bay Company*. The idea being, of course, that you can't possibly find fault with a studio that serves up such varied fare.

It looks like a big season for Hollywood in 1937 and 1938. The boys would have you believe that it's the biggest and bestest season of them all—but then again, you must remember that's Hollywood talking. What it says and what it does are often enough two regrettably different things.

Hollywood Army

AND now, for your edification, I would like to present a little item that appeared recently in the *New York Morning Telegraph*, under the heading of "Hollywood Has Army!" It speaks for itself:

HOLLYWOOD.—Trained professional soldiers—a new specialized type of movie extra—are setting a good example for the Hollywood bit player.

The usual run-of-the-mine film extra is a difficult person to direct, any director will assert with no little profanity, and the recent organization of a so-called Cinema Troop is believed to foreshadow the happy day (for directors) when extras will be as well-trained as the stars.

The Cinema Troop is the private army of Capt. Von Opel, who came to Hollywood in 1932 as a fencer on the Austrian Olympic team, and stayed on to become an American citizen. He was "shocked into the idea" of organizing the unit, he says, by newspaper reports that 65 men had been injured in making a motion picture featuring spectacular cavalry charges.

He decided to form a corps of professionals, thoroughly trained in cavalry tactics, saber work, manuals of arms and other phases of military education.

It was in "The Prisoner of Zenda," being produced by David O. Selznick, that Von Opel's soldiers impressed with their training. More than 400 extras were used in the picture. Whenever Director John Cromwell called "lunch" a stampede to the restaurants began among all but Von Opel's film fighters. They snapped to attention and marched in perfect formation out the studio's gates and down the street to their eating-place.

Nearly 100 men are enlisted in the army. They are trained to fight as Germans,

Spaniards, British, Italians or Americans, and when drilling, their commands are issued in the language of the nation impersonated. To qualify for the troop, each man must know all the various manuals of arms, must be able to slide a cavalry horse down a 45-degree embankment and be familiar with all military weapons.

They drill four hours a day, three days a week, when not engaged in pictures. Each man must own bridle, saddle and saber. The men range in height from 5 feet 11 to 6 feet 1 inch, and the only thing that detracts from their realistic appearance is that most of them are too handsome for soldiers, many being college graduates and too intelligent for privates.

In "The Prisoner of Zenda" they appear in the coronation sequence in scenes with Ronald Colman, Madeleine Carroll and Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. Garbed in uniforms of polished cuirass of 1-16 inch steel, trimmed in brass, white cartouche, white tunics, high jacket, patent-leather boots and cockaded steel helmets, they look as romantic as a "Join the Army" poster does to a farm boy.

Yeas and Nays

FOR the rest, the month just past brought us a number of distinctive features. There was *Captains Courageous*, a roaring, lively piece of work about the Gloucester fishermen off the Grand Banks, with Freddie Bartholomew as the lad who was regenerated by rough treatment, rough weather, and rough living, and with Spencer Tracy delivering a remarkably vivid performance as the Portuguese Manuel of the

tale. There was Claudette Colbert in *I Met Him in Paris*, a gay, nonsensical triangle which the *New York Times* nominated as the best comedy of the year, with no reservations; there was *The Prince and the Pauper*, in which the Warner studios gave us a preview of the British coronation with the Mauch twins as the two lads of the Mark Twain story; and there were such items as *This Is My Affair*, a German story laid in the days of President McKinley, and *Kid Galahad*, a saga of the prize-fighting business, with Edward G. Robinson and Bette Davis.

Wings Over Honolulu had a swell idea in its original concept, purporting to tell us of the lonely and distressed ladies who marry Navy officers, but slithered off somewhere along the line into second-rate melodrama. And, of course, *They Gave Him a Gun* had a swell idea all the way through its course, but was developed so slowly and so ponderously as to lose a vast part of the vital message it had to impart. This picture, incidentally, received notable support from liberals and anti-militarists while it was in the making, but its development turned out so weak that it had best be forgotten altogether. It's not the kind of picture that will be any great shakes at the box office anyway.

The past month also brought us Elisabeth Bergner in *Dreaming Lips*, exhibiting one of the world's great actresses in one of the world's greatest pieces of trash. And the Paramount studios gave us *Make Way for Tomorrow*, a deeply sensitive, extraordinarily moving photoplay of two old people and what happens to them when their children find them a burden. For the rest, including such numbers as the Astaire-Rogers *Shall We Dance*, the Viennese *Episode*, the Russian *Paris Commune*, the British *Under the Red Robe*, and the Warner *Call It a Day* and *Mountain Justice*, you can either like 'em or lump 'em. I lump 'em.

—ROBERT SHAW



Spencer Tracy and Gladys George in "They Gave Him a Gun," a picture that might have been a good one



Auto—Model UAW

A labor editor who has fought through the great struggles of 1937 tells something of what victory has meant to the workers of the auto districts — and to America's future

By Henry Kraus

ILLUSTRATED BY HUGO GELLERT

NOT ALL the gains of the auto workers since the great General Motors victory have been tangible ones, though these latter, of course, furnish the most immediate evidence of the tremendous improvement that has already taken place in the workers' lot.

It is estimated, for instance, that the combined wage increases in the industry will total several hundred million dollars for 1937. Sweatshop conditions are being rapidly wiped out, particularly in the parts branch of the industry where wages as low as 30 cents an hour had previously been common, with hours running as high as 91 per week. Ventilation, protection against occupational diseases and accidents, and the numerous other requisites for the normal working life are innovations for tens of thousands of workers who never before enjoyed these benefits.

Ending the Speed-up

Perhaps the most important material gain of all, however, is the reduction of the "speed of the line," insufficient though this has been as yet. In

the great Fisher No. 1 plant at Flint, for example, this has meant cutting down the number of jobs turned out per hour from 450 to 372; a reduction of 17 per cent. Only a worker who is himself tied to the conveyor belt can truly estimate the immense significance of this improvement. Before the union had established itself, in fact, the outstanding grievance had always been the unbearable "speed-up," which so sapped a man's energy that after the day's work he would feel "too tired to eat," throwing himself upon his bed, working clothes and all, hungry only for sleep.

Less demonstrable but equally important as these improvements, have been those that one might term spiritual, for want of a better word. The workers say they can "smell" the difference in the air. They, who had sat inside their plants for 43 days, vowed before leaving that they would never allow conditions to revert to their former status. They had tasted the "freedom" of the plant, they had acquired a certain sense of possession, which had destroyed the power of the foremen

to intimidate and ride them while they were chained to the swiftly moving belt. Gone also was the constant oppression of the insecurity of their jobs, the fear of old age creeping on, and of being "tossed on the ash-heap." These were, indeed, the most precious gains of all.

Political Action

The auto workers learned from the beginning of their struggle the necessity of conducting their battles on the political field as well as the economic. The very character of their strike, with its accompaniment of injunctions, police attacks, National Guards and martial law, arrests and prison sentences and fines, on the one hand; and on the other, mass demonstrations, heroic resistance and political pressure of every kind—has, as it were, forged the interdependence of economics and politics indissolubly in their minds.

Soon after the Flint strike, accordingly, the union decided to run candidates in the school board elections. The issues were not clear, the election

(Continued on page 29)

MISSISSIPPI has long been the very heart of agricultural feudalism in the South. Today it is the state where industrial Fascism is gaining its firmest foothold.

With the official leadership of the Governor and the state administration, the towns and the cities of Mississippi are indulging in a mad rush to attract outside capital, offering free factories, tax exemption, a plentiful supply of cheap labor, and the almost complete absence of labor organization. The merchant class, struggling to gain riches by supplying the needs of the farmers perennially poverty-stricken by the one-crop system of agriculture, looks enviously at payroll totals of other communities, neglecting to ascertain the average annual wage of each worker.

Hugh L. White, a millionaire lumberman, was elected Governor of Mississippi in 1935 with the support of Senator Theodore G. ("The Man") Bilbo. His election was made possible only by a last-minute raising of the time-worn "black domination" scare. White had pushed himself into the state political picture four years before by spending enough money in his unsuccessful campaign for the governorship to finance all the campaigns in

the lifetime of the average Mississippi politician. The chief plank in White's 1935 platform was his "balance industry with agriculture" program.

"Exploiters, This Way!"

In September, 1936, he called a special session of the legislature to enact into law this program. The law that was passed authorizes municipalities and counties to subsidize manufacturing enterprises to the extent of bonding themselves up to ten per cent of their assessed valuation in order to build or acquire manufacturing plants. This may seem to be a means of opening the path to government ownership, but in reality it provides a way in which the manufacturer can have his plant built with the taxes paid by his workers. The legislature also provided for an industrial commission to aid various cities in attracting outside capital, and appropriated \$100,000 to be spent in advertising to the world the unlimited field for exploitation existing in Mississippi.

Most of the factories which have come into the state are garment plants employing chiefly women workers, who are brought in from the surrounding farming country. Workers who get disgusted with the low wages paid them and quit, can always be replaced by other women from the impoverished farms.

The first hitch to the continued growth of Governor White's industrial program came when some of the merchants who had been active in bringing factories into their cities realized that the factories merely brought in another large group of people who were barely existing on starvation wages. Such people do not bring prosperity to the merchants who serve their needs.

The Workers Rebel

Then workers in Vicksburg, West Point, and Tupelo, inspired by the

successful strikes in the auto industry, but acting spontaneously without any form of union organization, revolted against the low wages being paid them. The girls in the Vicksburg plant, who were receiving six and seven dollars a week for their work, threatened to strike when a superintendent who had asked that their wages be increased was fired. The State Administration immediately let it be known that National Guardsmen would forcibly evict the girls within 24 hours if a sitdown strike was called. The panicky Chamber of Commerce, which had raised the money to buy the plant, settled the strike very effectively by closing the factory. In West Point, workers staged a successful strike and were about to sign a contract with the manufacturing company when the Chamber of Commerce, which owned the plant, stepped in and forbade the management to sign any agreement with any union. When Tupelo cotton-mill workers struck, the owners announced that the work contracted for the Tupelo mill would be done in another factory. The workers are still out, and there is no sign that the mill will ever be reopened.

The C.I.O. is launching a drive for the unionization of the textile industry in the South, and organization work is taking place in Mississippi. The struggle will be a hard one. Most of the people of this predominantly rural state are not yet educated to unionism, classing it as another form of "damn Yankee agitation." The voting public will often support local officers and state officials in strike-breaking efforts even if they resort to violence and bloodshed, for Mississippi accepts violence as part of its everyday life.

Slightly more than half of the people of Mississippi are Negroes, practically all of whom are at the very bottom rung of the economic ladder. In the towns the Negro does only the menial

Mississippi

Is "industrial" Fascism gaining hold in Mississippi? A national picture of the economic situation.

By Frank

ILLUSTRATED BY H.A.

and distasteful jobs, serving as house servant, janitor, and day laborer. None of the new factories coming into the state employ Negro workers, and the business-men who bring in the factories specify that the labor is to be white.

The attitude of the average white Mississippian toward the black man is one of slumbering hostility, which can be changed in a minute to blazing lynch-fury. The whites who are educated enough to suppress a show of open hatred toward the Negro justify their exploitation of him on the ground that he is an inferior being incapable of caring for himself, and that the only treatment for him is a paternalistic exploitation. But this class is quite ready to help "show the nigger his place," if a black man tries to assert his rights as a human being.

Negro-White Unity

There is among both the whites and the Negroes of Mississippi a growing class of forward-looking people who recognize the injustice of the treatment of the Negro, but they are handicapped by the accumulated prejudices that the most progressive have difficulty in overcoming, open antagonism toward their efforts from chauvinists and certain Negro leaders, and a lack of understanding between themselves.



Mississippi

...ism gaining its firmest foot-
? A native of that State gives
economic and political set-up

Frank Smith

BY HARRISON MOORE

Despite the recent addition of dozens of small factories, Mississippi remains the most agricultural and most rural state in the nation. The system of raising only one crop, cotton, still curses the state. In the hills and piney woods that make up such a large portion of Mississippi, farming is on a much smaller scale than in the rich land of the Delta country. The farms themselves are much smaller, and there are a great many more small owners who actually do the tilling of the soil themselves. But the depression has seen tenancy, even among the rugged hillmen, or "rednecks," increase by leaps and bounds. The red clay of the hills is barren land, and it is impossible to get much more than a bare living out of it. Each year the soil is eaten away more and more by erosion.

Mississippi contains the spot where feudalism is almost as strong as it was before the Civil War—the Delta. This region is in the northwestern part of the state, a strip of land lying along the Mississippi River from Memphis to Vicksburg. The Delta is the very heart of the plantation and sharecropping system of raising cotton, and cotton is the only crop that is raised. Here exist examples of the best and worst features of the sharecropping system,

but even at its best the system returns a good living only to the big planters and the bankers who finance the yearly gamble with the weather and the price of cotton.

Seven out of every ten people in the Delta are Negroes, who make up the vast majority of the sharecroppers. There are more Negroes on a good-sized Delta plantation than in some of the smaller New England states. When the price of cotton is good, a great deal of money comes into the section, but few even of the great planters are wealthy. When the sharecropper clears two or three hundred dollars in a good year he will probably buy one of the broken-down, second-hand cars that clog the roads of the Delta every fall, and all of his money will be gone by Christmas. The planter will take the several thousands that he has cleared and buy more cotton land, and when a bad year comes along the land will be lost.

Reaction on the Delta

No serious effort has as yet been made to organize the sharecroppers of the Delta. When the effort is made the organizers will find that they are meeting with a determined opposition fierce and violent enough to make Pearl Bergoff seem a piker by comparison. The planters believe that it is their sacred right to control and treat their labor as they please, and they will stop at nothing to enforce this "right."

Two experiments of vital interest to the cotton-raising South are taking place in the Delta. At Stoneville, the state-supported experimental station is raising cotton to be picked with the Rust cotton-picker. It was here that the revolutionary new machine was first demonstrated. At Hillhouse, the cooperative farm founded by Sherwood Eddy and associates is beginning its second year, after a great success in the first. Many students of the plantation system say that the only solution for its evils is the establishment of farms like that at Hillhouse, which will be able to make full use of new developments such as the Rust machine for the benefit of the tenants, instead of using it and other inventions to throw them out of work. If cotton farming is ever to give a decent living to the

people who do the actual tilling of the soil, some mechanical aid must be given them.

Although the Delta is one of the most thickly populated parts of Mississippi, it is given very little voice in the government of the state. The seats in the legislature are apportioned according to the number of voters in the various counties, and the Negro is, as elsewhere in the South, denied the right to vote.

The Press in Mississippi

Three newspapers have state-wide circulation in Mississippi. These are the *Jackson Daily News*, the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, and the *Memphis, Tennessee, Commercial Appeal*. The *Daily News* is one of the few remaining strongholds of personal journalism remaining in the South. Its editor is Major Frederick Sullens, who is a journalistic combination of the most undesirable features of H. L. Mencken and William Randolph Hearst. Sullens takes a side in each state-wide political race and indulges in a campaign of personal and political vilification that would make the old *Denver Post* seem a model of newspaper integrity. He is a close personal and political friend of Governor White, and his statements about state affairs in his column, "The Lower-Down on the Higher-Ups," are accepted as semi-official. The *Clarion-Ledger* is a non-entity so far as news coverage and editorial policy are concerned, but it is consistently a diehard conservative. It has gained its large circulation solely because it is the only morning newspaper published in the state capital, and because it usually maintains a very lively sports page, a feature always popular in Mississippi.

The various local newspapers of the state are either colorless advertising mediums or pale imitators of the *Daily News*. The outstanding exception to this is the *Tupelo Journal*, edited by George McLean. McLean's courageous fight against White's industrial program has gained wide recognition for his paper.

Mississippians living in the north and central part of the state turn to the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* to get their news. The *Commercial*, despite

many obvious shortcomings, is probably the outstanding newspaper in the South from the standpoint of news coverage. Editorially it is strictly conservative, supporting the Roosevelt administration with its tongue in its cheek, as most Southern papers do. The paper is owned by the Scripps-Howard chain, but carries no Scripps features. The other Memphis paper, the *Press-Scimitar*, is also Scripps-Howard owned, and, because of the conservatism of its competitors, has tended to be a little more liberal than the average Scripps sheet. Its Mississippi circulation is comparatively small, however. Both the Memphis papers have contracts with the Newspaper Guild, which is practically unheard of in Mississippi.

Education

Mississippi ranks last among states in respect to the average amount spent for the education of each of her school-children, and the quality of the education they receive probably ranks accordingly. Teachers' salaries are at rock bottom. Only threatened strikes by teachers could force Governor White and the legislature to provide enough money to finance the school term just ended. Higher education is neither terribly bad nor terribly good. The state university is located at Oxford, the town that is the Jefferson of William Faulkner's tales. The brightest spot in Mississippi education is the system of inexpensively attended junior colleges. They are still a long way from fulfilling the proper rôle of the junior college in the ideal system of education, but they have taken a long step in the right direction.

There is only one political party in Mississippi and as a result the state has suffered all the evils of factionalism since the Civil War. Probably the only benefit to be derived from the one-party system is the chance to select local officers on the basis of their abilities, but it cannot be said that the people take advantage of this opportunity very often. Factionalism has kept any single political machine from staying long in control of the state, but it has resulted in the election of state officers purely on the basis of personali-

(Continued on page 30)





Books

Debunking the Court

SUPREME COURT PRIMER, by Ernest Angell; 157 pages; Reynal & Hitchcock; \$1.00.

DEMOCRACY AND THE SUPREME COURT, by Robert K. Carr; 142 pages; University of Oklahoma Press; \$1.50.

THE CONTROVERSY about the Supreme Court has released an astronomical number of words upon the public. The political storm has brought in its wake book after book, defining, explaining and interpreting the historic jurisdiction and power of the Court, and the everlasting conundrum of what is, and whose is, the Constitution.

The two monographs dealing with the subject are complementary and excellent in their scope and size.

Mr. Angell's book is nothing more than it pretends to be, a primer, but one which the layman or high-school student will find comprehensive enough as a source of quick, concise information. Its tenor is pro-New Deal, in the sense that facts and figures about the Supreme Court and its decisions must prove to be on the side of the President's desire for the mildest of reforms of the highest tribunal.

But if Mr. Angell furnishes the skeleton, Professor Carr supplies the needed sinews and flesh in his masterly essay. In little more than one hundred pages he develops enough pertinent data to show that the judges of our high court have not only arrogated power, but have consistently been inconsistent, hypocritical and capricious in their approach to the vital issues which have from time to time confronted the nation. The scholarly restraint adds poignancy to the points Professor Carr makes. In discussing the vagaries of the Court's N.R.A. opinion, he says:

To sustain its decision at this point, the Court fell back upon an old device used by the Supreme Court for more than a century. It proceeded to ask itself what the effect would be of a decision sustaining the N.I.R.A. And answering its own question. . . .

Here the author refers to an apt phrase used by Professor Powell:

The type of logic which has been called "the parade of imaginary horrors."

Again, the author characterizes Jus-

tice Roberts' opinion in the A.A.A. case, in the following manner:

But this was not to be. Having gone thus far along a route favorable to the Government's contention in the case, the majority Justices now pulled in their sails and started off on a new tack. Justice Roberts proceeded to contradict his own statements in about as thorough-going a fashion as any Justice of the Supreme Court has ever done.

Professor Carr's conclusion is that democratic processes demand, in consonance with the English practice in the House of Lords, that not the courts, but our elected Congress, responsible directly to the people, shall be the only proper legislator to deal with the national economic and social issues. No sensible person reading his treatise about the logical-sounding abracadabra of many of the Court's decisions, can have two opinions about such an expedient.

—CHARLES RECHT

France's Man of the Hour

LEON BLUM—FROM POET TO PREMIER, by Richard L. Stokes; 276 pages; Coward-McCann; \$3.00.

SINCE it is safe to say that Léon Blum is the greatest statesman that the Third Republic has so far produced, the first biography of this man deserves special interest. Since also Léon Blum is a figure at least as complicated as Disraeli, as influential as Jaurès, and since his ideas and policies will leave a lasting mark upon French

Léon Blum, Premier of France, addressing a People's Front meeting in Paris



and European history generally, the subject would deserve many years of extensive study. Let it therefore be said at the outset that Mr. Stokes' work is an excellent journalistic job that well fits the contemporary need for data on the Socialist Premier.

Mr. Stokes with great accuracy traces Blum's background, his schooling, his excellent record at the university, his beginnings as a poet of sentimental sonnets. He follows him from his literary peregrinations in such ivory towers as the magazine *The Shell*, through such eclectic moralizing as in his *Du Mariage*, up to his coldly rational *La Réforme Gouvernementale*, which became his guide-book in the construction of his first cabinet.

Although the author quotes at length the works of his subject, there is too little of Blum and too much of the people around him in the first half of the book. To be sure, it is necessary to show the influence of Lucien Herr and Jean Jaurès upon the rising politician and man of letters. However, I could not help feeling that Mr. Stokes has not quite been able to penetrate the mental processes of a statesman and ruler who has and uses, what nine-

tenths of European statesmen neither have nor use, namely an unusual intelligence. Also the author's account of the work of the People's Front and the events that led up to the formation of the Blum cabinet, reads at times like an account in one of the Sunday supplements of our great dailies.

On the whole, however, the book is a valuable source of information for facts about the life of this remarkable man. It is written with an almost touching admiration which the subject is certainly worthy of. Léon Blum the man, the moralist, the philosopher, the poet, and his influence upon our times as a statesman, in terms of historical perspective, would make an absorbing subject for some future historian and biographer who has more time on his hands than a contemporary journalist between assignments.

—JOHANNES STEEL

Jewish People

LOW COMPANY, by Daniel Fuchs; 314 pages; The Vanguard Press; \$2.50.

THERE is a prayer which is said on the Jewish Day of Atonement, which reads, in part:

We have trespassed, we have been faithless, we have robbed, we have spoken basely, we have committed iniquity, we have wrought unrighteousness, we have been presumptuous, we have done violence, we have forged lies, we have counselled evil, we have spoken falsely, we have scoffed, we have revolted, we have blasphemed, we have been rebellious, we have acted perversely, we have transgressed, we have persecuted, we have been stiff-necked, we have done wickedly, we have corrupted ourselves, we have committed abomination, we have gone astray, and we have led astray.

O, Lord our God, forgive us for the sin we have committed in hardening of the heart.

This is the rubric Daniel Fuchs uses as a design for his novel, and it is a criticism of the novel as well. It is rare, in our literature, to find an author who possesses the human compassion and the love—for there is no other word for it—that Fuchs displays in this third novel of lower-middle-class Jewish life in Brooklyn. He has accomplished the astonishing feat of presenting the reader with as unprepossessing a group of characters as he is likely to meet at Coney Island (the Neptune Beach of his book) in a month's visit, and he has made those

characters understandable, pitiable and lovable.

This compassion is the hall-mark of an artist, for if the writer feels nothing about his people and is content to pass judgment on them, his reader will feel nothing about them and will pass judgment that will be as superficial. Here, in the Neptune Beach of Fuchs' novel, you will find the proprietor of a small candy-store, his bottle-washer, his soda-jerker, his cashier, and the many hangers-on who frequent the store. They are a job-lot. There is Spitzbergen himself, the archetype of the small Jewish merchant, who would like and desire something more than money-making, if there were anything else in life that had been held out to him as a desideratum. There is Shubunka, who makes a living by renting rooms to prostitutes, and with whom Spitzbergen is deeply involved; he rents the rooms to Shubunka. Both these men are masterly creations, and to the triumph of making lovable a Spitzbergen, Fuchs adds the triumph of making understandable and pitiable a Shubunka. You can see what has made him, what keeps him what he is; you understand his beginning and his end, and you hate the thing that has made him what he is.

Fuchs' novel would be a more successful evocation of human character and society, if it proceeded from a more ascertainable and *harder* (in the sense of defined) attitude toward such character and such society. By his selection of details you know that Fuchs can hate the forces that have warped and twisted his potentially decent human beings into something close to monsters. But you also get from his selection of details and the emphasis he chooses to place upon them, a feeling of acceptance, of resignation to an inevitability that does not exist. Fuchs seems to tell you, "This is the way people get to be, and there is nothing you can do about it." He seems to say, "The artist has no obligation to fight for these people; it is enough if he understands them." It is possible to disagree. And it is possible to say that Fuchs will be a finer artist when his narrative assumes a direction instead of presenting a case. For understanding is worthless if it does not lead to action.

—ALVAH C. BESSIE

Founding Our Country

THE FIRST AMERICAN REVOLUTION, by Jack Hardy; 160 pages; International Publishers; 75c.

HERE within a delightfully short compass is a different kind of history of the American Revolution. Frankly Marxian, it presents a concise story in readable style. Due to its compactness, the author is forced at times to use terms that deserve some elaboration for the

average reader who is unfamiliar with economic history and theory.

The best chapters have to do with the successive stupid and unavailing attempts of England to subdue the colonies and the response that these efforts called forth from the American patriots. The organization of the colonists' opposition to English policy is presented with an eye to its value for modern revolutionary technique. Against the statement, "the American Revolution was a thoroughly planned and coördinated social movement", one is inclined to put such questions as, Planned by whom? and With what perspective? Certainly the developments of the Revolution in the field of propaganda, finance and military affairs were not entirely planned and coördinated. Many activities were, like the Committees of Correspondence and Safety, boycott and nonconsumption campaigns. But in other matters the American patriots often profited more (and suffered more) from incidents and events over which they had no control than from planned actions and strategies.

The author's analysis of the personnel of the opposing forces on the American continent provides some interesting parallels to the forces discernible in the social fermentation of today. His treatment of profiteering and the mixed motives of even those who were on the patriots' side is quite revealing.

This book, the first in a series to cover the history of America, opens a new phase of historical writing—and reading.

—PAUL REID

Far East and the Powers

THE FAR EAST IN WORLD POLITICS, by G. F. Hudson; 276 pages; Oxford University Press; \$3.00.

SAID GENERAL DRAGOMIROV of the Russian Army on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War: "Far Eastern affairs are decided in Europe." Modern history of the Far East dates from a hundred years ago, when Victorian England first opened China, with guns, in the Opium War of 1839. Since then the affairs of China have been decided in London, in Washington, in Tokyo. Paradise of foreign exploiters and concession hunters has been China during this past century. Bitter and acute have been the struggles among the Great Powers for this rich prize: Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Japan, the United States. Defeated in the World War, Germany has lost its former strength and prestige in the arena of the Far East. No longer does Russia, now a soviet state, pursue an imperialist policy. Japan has replaced Britain as dominant power in China. Only world power to possess both army and navy of the first class, favored by geographic position, Japan

has, since 1931, been on the march to transform the Far East into its special preserve, has shouted brazenly to the four winds that it intends eventually to rule over all Eastern Asia.

G. F. Hudson, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, has with clarity and



Japanese Fascists in a meeting at their headquarters in Tokyo, where they are working in open collaboration with foreign Fascist states

simplicity described the political background of international relations in the Far East during the past hundred years. Of particular interest are the chapters on the intrigues, maneuvers, antagonisms between Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, in the decade from 1895 to 1905; on the attempt of the United States to strengthen its position in China, during the Taft Administration, through a policy of obtaining railroad concessions in Manchuria and of furnishing loans to the Chinese government, a policy which ended in ignominious failure; on the struggles between leading Chinese warlords from 1918 to 1928. Though maintaining for the most part a position of objectivity, the author, in describing the Chinese Revolution of 1925, forgets his academic calm, points a trembling finger at the "Red Spectre" of Moscow, sees on all sides "outrages," "provocation," "Communist gunmen," "anti-foreign pogrom." Britain's rulers will not thank Mr. Hudson for unconsciously exposing Britain's crafty and calculated policy during this period: "Britain's policy was to win the confidence of the Kuomintang moderates and loosen the party's ties with the Comintern. The opportunity for a decisive move in carrying out this policy came in April, 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek set up his right-wing Kuomintang Government at Nanking. . . ." (p. 225).

The author is one of the few to realize the prime importance of Japan's navy in forcing the submission of China: "As long as . . . the Japanese Navy keeps command of the north-western Pacific, China is cut off from external aid and her coast-line lies at the mercy of her sea-ruling neighbor. By her sea-power Japan can exert pressure on China more effectively and much more discreetly than by a permanent military occupation of territory." (p. 267). As to the future of American policy in the Far East: "One thing is certain: that there can be no

isolationist paradise for the American people as long as Washington has either territorial possession or obligations of protection . . . west of Hawaii. The new American navy programme provides for ships of an unprecedented cruising radius, and is plainly designed to enable the United States to fight a war in the western Pacific." (p. 271).

"Manifest destiny," word of an earlier Roosevelt, has not been forgotten in Washington.

—E. P. GREENE

Outstanding Negroes

THE NEGRO GENIUS, by Benjamin Brawley; 366 pages; Dodd, Mead & Company; \$2.50.

THIS BOOK by Professor Benjamin Brawley, of the Department of English of Howard University, is an attempt at appraisal of Negroes, in the past and in the present, who have become prominent in literature, music and the fine arts.

In the first place, I think it must be mentioned that the title is open to some question. Certainly it cannot be argued that everyone mentioned in his book has any connection with genius. On the other hand, the fact that some Negroes as well as some whites possess genius, goes without question. It may require proof in some quarters but then I would be tempted to ask if effort spent in this direction can ever be justified.

Professor Brawley's book falls into the category of the works of many other writers of minority peoples, who attempt to answer those who restrict and repress them by pointing to those of outstanding merit of their group. Fundamentally this is a weak method, although superficially it does have some merit.

Despite my disagreement with the approach of Brawley, and despite many diametrically opposed opinions on individual persons contained therein, it must be said that he has produced a work of value to students of Negro culture and artistic heritage. However, the real student will have to read it with a discerning eye.

Among the omissions of the book is any reference to Negro journalism. T. Thomas Fortune, the greatest Negro journalist ever to live in America, is mentioned, but only in connection with his literary work apart from his ability as a journalist. No appraisal of "the Negro genius" can be written without some attention being paid to the men who made Negro journalism, such as Fortune and Robert A. Pelham.

The student who reads Brawley will be disturbed also at the casual, indefinite way that he dismisses certain subjects. An illustration is his treatment of Mordecai Wyatt Johnson. He concludes by stating that ". . . he has seemed almost to weave a spell over his audience." This is not a true

(Continued on page 30)

A THOROUGH-GOING case of the jitters has seized the Wall Street gentry and their colleagues in Big Business during the past month.

These shakes can be diagnosed as proceeding from two chief ailments: first, a real fear that the improved wages and working conditions being won by organized labor may check somewhat the tremendous profit boom under which big capital has monopolized most of the economic benefits of the past four years' recovery, and second, the equally terrifying prospect that the Government may effectively plug the leaks whereby the Wall Street boys and their patrons have evaded paying an honest tax on their profit guzzlings of recent years.

The first factor represents a waning of the boom psychology that was enthusiastically embraced by the Street during the early months of this year. Although disturbed by the increasing strength of the labor movement under C. I. O. leadership, the majority of the great minds of the financial world rationalized their forebodings somewhat in this fashion: "Let 'em get increased wages; we'll raise prices all the faster, the public will hold the bag and profits will be bigger than ever."

In some degree, this policy has effectively been carried out, as reflected in the steady rise in the cost of living. In the steel industry especially, the price increases that have been made on the excuse of higher wages have more than offset the larger amounts being paid out to steel workers. But the policy has by no means been a uniform success. Some important profit industries, such as the automobile field, have so far been unable to foist the cost of their wage increases onto the public in the form of higher prices. In these instances, at least a temporary check to further profit expansion is feared in the Street. Even more disturbing to the tranquillity of the Wall Street mind has been the be-

ginning of efforts by labor, as in the case of the United Automobile Workers, to consolidate economic gains won through strike action, or the threat of strike action, by organizing against rising living costs, such as rent increases. And on top of these developments have been the definite indications that the Roosevelt Administration is exerting considerable pressure against continuation of the drastic rise in prices that has occurred during the past six months.

The prospect of having to surrender any part of its monopolistic hold on the wealth of the nation is enough to cause deep gloom in Wall Street. In more tangible terms, the Street's jitters, abetted by partial collapse of the war-commodity price boom in Europe, have been expressed in marked declines in security prices and a drying up of speculative activity in the markets. As a result, the big Wall Street brokerage houses have been laying off large numbers of their clerks, an exploited group which sorely needs the benefits of union organization.

The program of income-tax reform, which the Administration is belatedly pressing, has added no end to the worries of the magnates. With a horde of high-priced lawyers at their elbow to invent new ways of tax evasion, the big capitalists have always taken the position that the income-tax law may read

one way, but that their own income-tax returns will make much cheaper and cheerier reading. As a result, a large part of the takings of the wealthy gentry from the profit boom of the past few years has been entirely immune from the already inadequate tax rates. The wonder is that the Administration has delayed until now to go after devices of evasion that have been practiced for years. These devices include such tricks as the division of family income among 64 trusts in order to escape surtaxes, the establishment of personal holding companies in Canada, the Bahamas, Panama and Newfoundland, phony deals between individuals and their personal holding companies to establish fictitious tax deductions, and the incorporation of yachts and country estates in order to escape paying taxes on the funds required to maintain these luxury establishments.

Liberty à la du Pont

IN ADDITION to these rather ingenious dodges, there is, of course, the time-honored favorite of wash sales of securities to establish tax losses. The classic lesson in how to conduct such a transaction is offered by the evidence in the Government's suit to collect \$1,824,000 in taxes from Pierre S. du Pont, head of the du Pont munitions and chemical trust, and his side-kick, John J. Raskob.

It seems that in November, 1929, Mr. du Pont, who had cleaned up profits of \$35,000,000 by dumping stocks just before the 1929 market crash, wanted to sell about \$14,000,000 in securities in order to establish losses of \$3,120,000 to apply against his profits. So he picked as his customer Mr. Raskob, who at that time was running the Democratic National Committee in the interests of such worthy democrats as Mr. du Pont himself. But by a strange coincidence, Raskob at the very same moment also wanted to sell \$14,000,000 of securities to Mr. du Pont, in order to establish tax losses of \$4,563,000. So they swapped. And in January, 1930, they swapped back again, after having duly charged off their "losses" against their 1929 income taxes.

It was the fertile brain of John J. Raskob that labored and brought forth

the mouse of the American Liberty League in 1934. And it has been the pocket of Pierre S. du Pont which has most liberally sugared the Liberty League since its formation.

The kind of "liberty" which Messrs. Raskob and du Pont are fighting for, as against the interests of the people at large, is the liberty to make deals such as these, to exploit the working people and to tighten their monopoly grip over the wealth of the nation.

Fordism is Fascism

HENRY FORD'S true policies have long and eloquently been expressed in the terrific speed-up and oppression existing in the Ford plants, and in the espionage and terrorism that have been carried into the very homes of Ford workmen. But the truth as to these policies was for long obscured in considerable degree from the people of the country, by the high-powered propaganda of the Ford publicity men that ballyhooed the "high wages" in Ford plants and pictured Henry as the "true friend" of the working man; and by Henry's periodic demagogic rantings against Wall Street.

Events are now catching up with friend Henry and forcing him to show his true colors in unforgettable fashion. A few more incidents of open terrorization and anti-union violence, such as the brutal attack on the United Automobile Workers organizers in May, and the Ford myth will have gone the way of the other myths of the Coolidge-Hoover "full dinner pail," "chicken in every pot," "two cars in every garage" era.

But with union sentiment sweeping through his plants, the sage of Dearborn can think of nothing new to say. His expensive publicity department can only dust off old chestnuts in the form of the "Fordisms" that are being passed out in the Ford plants. Moreover, in demonstration of his basic solidarity with his alleged "enemies" in Wall Street, Henry's more tangible anti-union steps follow the same old pattern of terrorization and intimidation common to Big Business in general. He has even resorted to the rusty device of a "voluntary brotherhood" and "voluntary loyalty pledges" that his compatriots in the automobile and steel industries have long since tried and found wanting as a means of checking the spread of union strength.

Ford's latest dodge is the formation of Father Coughlin's "Workers Council for Social Justice" in the plants.

Henry makes much of his contempt for profits. And to assist him in this pose, the profit figures of the Ford Motor Co., owned by Henry, his wife, and his son Edsel, are closely guarded. But figures recently made public show that in 1936, the profits of the company, after all the dividends paid out to Henry, the Missus and Edsel, were \$19,000,000.

WALL STREET



There is a Wall Street in every city in the country. (Above) Chicago police dragging a steel striker to jail



Hitler vs. Christ

Why is the Nazi régime now persecuting Catholics, Protestants and all followers of Jesus? Is it because Hitler is planning a new world war and the influence of the Prince of Peace on the German youth is not to the liking of the Fuehrer?

By M. B. Schnapper

ILLUSTRATED BY THEODORE SCHEEL

UNTIL the Nazi-Catholic struggle flared into the open in recent months, many believed that Hitler's religious persecution was directed only against the Jews. In the words of the American Committee for Christian German Refugees (among whose members are Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes, and former President Herbert Hoover), there was "no general awareness in America that almost an equal number of Christians in the Third Reich are facing the degradation of social exclusion, the cruelty of the concentration camp, and the threat of penniless exile."

The Papal Encyclical upbraiding the Nazi government for persecution of German Catholics in violation of the Concordat; Cardinal Mundelein's vigorous denunciation of the Hitler régime; these events, plus newspaper accounts of the widespread arrests of priests as well as Protestant ministers in Germany, have opened the eyes of the world. The National Socialist movement is revealed as the enemy not only of the Jewish people, the trade unions, the Communists and Socialists, but as the enemy of the Catholics and Protestants as well! It appears that in Germany, everybody is out of step but Hitler!

Antichrist Hitler

The violent and open oppression by the Nazis of these great independent religious groups undoubtedly reflects the mounting uneasiness of the Brown rulers, and their compelling need to stifle all channels of opposition remaining to the people. Yet while the anti-religious features of Hitlerism have never before been so extreme and so apparent, they have existed ever since the Nazis came to power. National Socialism, with one hand pretending to champion Christianity, has with the other hand carried on a persistent campaign against Christianity from the first.

Particularly among the youth, who make up both the future citizenry and the army, have the Nazis fought religion—fearing that it might have an anti-Fascist influence.

"The Nazi party"—Baldur von Schirach, Hitler Youth *Fuehrer*, tells

us (according to John Gunther)—"has been proved to have better relations with the Lord of the Heavens than had the Christian parties which disappeared."

They Cry "Lord, Lord!"

Strange are the ways by which von Schirach's Hitler Youth has proved its "better relations with the Lord of the Heavens." Attacking Christianity at every turn, denouncing all that is holy and sacred, it has relentlessly harried and persecuted the religious people. It has done this through periodicals, broadcasts, demonstrations, through every means at hand.

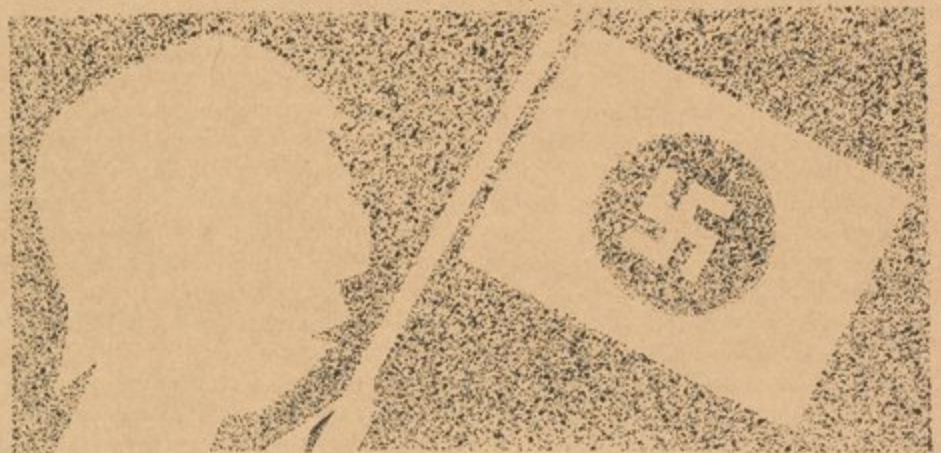
The *Combat Bulletin of the Hitler Youth*, No. 9, 1936, offers a typical example of the Nazi anti-religious outbursts. The Catholic youth press, it asserts, does not contain "one single word which has any relation to the interests and needs of the German people, of its struggle for existence in the past and in the present." Then the Hitler organ cries out: "Can we stand this much longer . . .?"

Desecration of Churches

At the instigation of their leaders, Hitler Youths frequently participate in the desecration of churches and the persecution of clergymen. For example, the International Relief Association *Bulletin* reported that in the Fall of 1933, Hitler Youths created serious disturbances in Duisberg at the Church of St. Joseph; raided the near-by Catholic Fellows' House as well as the headquarters and hall of the Catholic Youth League; and threw a crucifix, theological literature, scriptures, statues and pictures of saints into the courtyard, where they set them on fire. A group of young Nazi women, known as "The Virgins" of the League of German Girls, danced around the flames singing a parody of a hymn dedicated to the Virgin Mary. When several police attempted to intervene, they were set upon, thrown into their own riot-cars and driven off.

In April 1936, states "*Kulturkampf*," a Hitler Youth band stormed the house of Pastor Bungarten of Saarbrücken with the assistance of Storm Troopers and forced him to be placed under "pro-

(Continued on page 29)



Builders of America

By Harold Ward

ILLUSTRATED BY MAXINE SEELBINDER

THOSE snobs, philistines and Liberty League reactionaries who are forever saying that this country was built by, and intended for the sole benefit of, "100 per cent Americans," reveal nothing but a profound ignorance not only of the people but also of the history, of these United States. It seems never to have occurred to these false patriots—logical successors of the "Know-Nothings" who antedated the Ku Klux Klan in attempting to make Race an issue prior to the Civil War—that the 3,000,000 square miles of continental United States were not simply populated out of scattered Indian tribes and Puritan forefathers. For them, and for a disgracefully large number of Americans who have been victimized by chauvinistic education, the inhabitants of this huge country are divided neatly into two groups: "natives" and "foreigners"—with the accent of disapprobation on the latter term.

Well, and who designed the internal steel-work supporting the famed Statue of Liberty planted on a small island in New York Harbor? None other than a *Frenchman*, Gustave Eiffel, the great engineer whose name is perpetuated in the Eiffel Tower at Paris! Was not the statue itself the work of a *French* sculptor, Frederic August Bartholdi? And, for that matter, the very name of the island on which this statue stands—Bedloe's Island—commemorates, in a corrupt form, the name of Isaac Bethloe, who came to America from Calais.

On the base of this monument anyone who takes the trouble may read the inspiring but now somewhat ironic inscription: "Give me your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free": words directly quoted from a writer with the far-from-"native" name of Emma Lazarus. Commenting on this little-known fact Dwight C. Morgan, in his illuminating pamphlet *The Foreign-Born in the United States*, writes: "Never did a country extend so democratic an invitation to great masses of people. The settling and building of America was a drama of human migration unparalleled for its scope and speed. Tens of millions of immigrants poured in from the Old World on promises of bread to the starving, free

land to the poor, and freedom to victims of political or religious oppression."

Our Alien Forefathers

Let us, with the aid of concrete factual data, clear the air of a few misconceptions as to what, and who, are the Americans. In the first place, we know that shortly prior to the Revolution there were, in all thirteen colonies, not many more than 1,000,000 white inhabitants, all "alien" to this continent—and another 200,000 Negro slaves, from whose labor the Southern planter-aristocrats were to extract the leisure enabling them to pose as the creators of a glamorous and chivalric "culture." At about this time, in Maryland alone, there were forcibly settled from England some 20,000 felons: a fact which suggested to Benjamin Franklin the idea of retaliating in kind.

Subsequent to the Revolution, and continuing in a succession of waves only recently arrested by American immigration laws and quota assignments, and the world depression, immigrants poured into the country from every corner of Europe and—with the industrial development of the Pacific territory—from China and the Far East. A migration movement with few parallels in all human history set in: according to one recent authority, Maurice B. Davie, nearly 62,000,000 men, women and children left their native homes for others in a period of little more than a century ending with 1930. Of this colossal number, 90 per cent came to the Americas, and 60 per cent to the United States alone. In other words, during the hundred years of this country's most intensive agricultural, commercial and industrial development, 38,000,000 "foreigners" landed on our shores, of whom more than two-thirds, or 26,000,000, settled here permanently, to assist in creating the wealth, strengthening the Democracy and refining the culture today summarized in the frequently manhandled word, "Americanism."

260,000 permanent immigrants per year, representing from 40 to 50 different nationalities, speaking perhaps double that number of languages and local dialects—and the vast majority


of them workers in the most literal sense of the word, eager to forget a harsh past in a country where, it seemed, everything would come to those who worked. Small wonder that, of the total population of the United States in 1930, 35.6 per cent can be ranked as of recent immigrant stock: either themselves foreign-born (12.3 per cent), native-born of foreign parentage (15.6 per cent), or mixed native and foreign parentage (7.7 per cent). Is it strange that these voluntary exiles from many lands should take to heart the words which Thomas Jefferson—so one authority tells us—adapted almost literally from an article written in Italian by one of America's most distinguished Revolutionary "foreigners," the scholar-patriot Filippo Mazzei, who wrote, "All men are by nature created free and independent"?

Who Are the Producers?

Leaving out the Negro (who represents a colonial rather than an immigrant stock), what share of America's physical and economic wealth—its mines, railroads, farms, factories and workshops—has come from the direct labor of our so-called "aliens"? On this question certain figures presented by Jenks and Lauck in their classic study of American immigration are well worth pondering. Based on a Federal inquiry covering more than 600,000 industrial workers in the years 1908-1909 (a period of rapid development, with an insistent demand for "cheap, docile labor") we find "that only one-fifth of the total number of wage-earners in twenty-one of the principal branches of industries were native white Americans." In all but six of these industries the foreign-born workers were more than half the total employed, and these workers represented 56 distinct nationality groups, of which 37 were from Southern and Eastern Europe and from the Orient. At that time the American labor pattern went something like this:

French-Canadians in textiles, copper mining and smelting and the shoe trade; Cubans and Spaniards in tobacco and cigars; the Danes in collars and cuffs, the Dutch in furniture, silk dyeing and fabrication. Finns, Magyars, Hungarians, Poles and Slovaks jostled one an-





Will our Fourth of July orators remember that the three million square miles of continental United States were not simply populated out of scattered Indian tribes? The Irish, Hungarians, English, Africans, Dutch, Russians, Germans, French, Chinese, Austrians and other "foreigners" built the nation

other in the mines, smelters and steel mills; Rumanians and Italians sweated on railroad construction gangs; Jews from Russia and Central Europe made up the immense bulk of New York's clothing and garment industry. In the Far West, Mexicans were supplanting the thrifty and overworked Orientals, of whom the Chinese railroad gangs on Collis Huntington's Southern Pacific will be remembered, to say nothing of the fabulously efficient Japanese market-gardeners. Germans, Irish, Lithuanians, Scotch, Austrians were to be found in almost all industries, and in the great lumber camps of the Northwest Scandinavians were plentiful.

The extraordinary vigor and productivity of these foreign stocks are illustrated in John R. Commons' figures, showing that more than 80 per cent of American immigrants at the turn of the century (1906) were in the prime of life: that is, between the ages of 14 and 45. Furthermore, the great majority of our immigrants were adult males who came here alone, thus materially lessening the cost of upkeep due to large families. "If," writes Commons, "we consider alone that which produces the wealth of this country and not that which consumes it, the immigrants add more to the country than does the same number of natives of equal ability."

That was a generation ago. Since then the Federal government has cracked down on unrestricted immigration, ostensibly in order to provide more economic "opportunities" for the existing population—actually (since opportunities in a genuinely free society are endless) to buffer the ruling groups against an unmanageable excess of poverty, unemployment and labor troubles. But, in the War years 1914-1918, the "Americans" in charge of the lucky "war orders industries" were very happy to accept the services of aliens: thus, in firearms manufacture, 40 per cent of the workers were foreign-born; in foundries and machine shops, 55 per cent; in cutlery and tool making, 63 per cent, and in the vitally essential coal-mining industry we were exploiting the labor of Slovaks, Poles, Italians and Croatians. All of which provided an excellent foundation for the develop-

ment of our American munitions industries.

Still the Melting-Pot

By 1930, according to the occupation statistics of the 15th census, the percentage of white foreign-born among those gainfully employed had fallen from the 58 per cent estimated for 1910 to a paltry 15.2 per cent. This, however, does not mean that we are arriving at a "pure" American stock, but simply that the lessening of immigration, plus the increasing percentage of naturalized citizens and those born here of foreign stock, is making for a greater homogeneity in the general population. That we still have a long way to go before the American people are anything like so uniform in ethnic characteristics as, say, the French or Italian (who are themselves mixtures of various "alien" groups) should be clear from the fact—cited by T. J. Woofter, Jr., in his report to Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends, published in 1933—that in 1920 two thousand American counties (two-thirds of the total number) were ranked as heterogeneous because each of them contained more than 1,000 inhabitants belonging to races other than white.

What is the situation today as regards the foreign-born in American industry? The 1930 census figures above referred to, give percentages ranging from 23.6 per cent in mining down to 7.5 per cent in clerical occupations. In general, all the hard, exacting jobs still draw the greatest number of husky, vigorous but too often ignorant foreign-born—many of whom fall foul of our unjust immigrant laws the moment they begin to struggle actively for their elementary rights. Specific data on particular industries, as found in various volumes of the *Labor and Industry Series* sponsored by the Labor Research Association, show that:

In *Steel* the foreign-born in the mills are (1930) 31.3 per cent of the total employed. The distribution of stocks is very uneven: there are Greeks at Weirton, Finns at Newcastle, Mexicans in Colorado, and Central Europeans scattered everywhere.

In *Automobiles* some 30 per cent of the workers are foreign-born. Detroit

alone can boast of representatives of almost 60 nationalities in its plants; Ford has been able to dominate his labor problem largely because of the 58 minority groups—including 3,000 Mexicans—which he was known to employ in 1919. The Hamtranck district is virtually a Polish colony.

In *Coal*, the mining districts of Pennsylvania, Colorado, Illinois, etc., are crowded with foreign-born from a score of countries, while in *Textiles* they form a veritable ethnic museum of Portuguese, Irish, Greeks, Italians, Hungarians, Syrians, Poles, Armenians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians. New Hampshire and Massachusetts, sacred to the ideals of the Puritan Fathers, number 29 nationalities among their workers, and in entire communities within the Lodge-Lowell-Cabot orbit one may hear nothing but a foreign tongue spoken on the streets. In the *Clothing and Garment* industry the Jews and Italians constitute about 90 per cent of the labor force, and union officials report that, in the men's clothing field alone, operatives come from no less than 20 different nationalities.

Americans All

How many New Yorkers know that nearly seven out of ten people whom they meet on the streets of the huge city have recent foreign blood in their veins? And how many of those listed in *Who's Who in America* know that, among the thousands of names there entered as having contributed significantly to this country's economic, social, cultural and political achievements, are enough of our foreign-born to make up at least eight per cent of the total? With such facts as these—and thousands of others easily culled from an impressive literature on immigration—fixed firmly in our minds, there should be no further quibbling on the question as to whom honors are due for the actual sweat-and-blood building of America. The only true Americans are those—native and foreign—who are here to work with honesty of purpose, with faith in the stupendous possibilities of our country, and with courage to struggle for the democratic ideals of which they are the true heirs and defenders.

AS TO WOMEN

*The Civil War, the Church and the Negro
... And then we look into Washington*

THIS month we are saluting the women of the Methodist Episcopal Church South—and for a very good reason.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is the largest Protestant Church in the United States, but it would be almost twice as large if it were united with its sister, the Methodist Church South. The two bodies have been separated since 1848, when they split on the slavery question. Since that time the two churches have gone along with the same creed, the same protestations of faith, and the same program except for one difference. In the Methodist Church North, Negroes are members of the church body. In the Methodist Church South, no Negroes are members.

Last year the two branches of the Church presented a plan by which the two bodies could be united. It was a compromise plan. Arguments were made to the Church North, by Northern members who desired unification, that the only way any degree of unity could be achieved was by putting the Negroes into a regional conference of their own, with their own Bishops, their own officers and their own representatives on the Church Boards. Southern white people, particularly Southern white women, would protest unification on any other basis, the Northern white church members were told. Northern conference after Northern conference voted the plan of unification through. "The Civil War is a long time over," they said. "We have to make some compromises."

THE only group who raised their voices as an organized body were members of the women missionary societies of the Church South. They were women who had worked for ten years for better racial conditions with Negro women societies. For the past five years they had invited members of the missionary societies of the African Methodist Episcopal Church to meet with them at their annual meetings, and in addition, had insisted that these members should be entertained at the same hotels where the white women

were entertained. I am not talking of New York hotels. I am talking of hotels in the Deep South. In every case they carried their request. When one entertaining city protested, the women said, "We have been operating on this plan for five years. You know our policy. If you cannot meet our requirements we will go to another city." They won their point.

Now they find that the plan for unification of these two great bodies will put the Negroes off to one side. They are not content to criticize the provision—made, mind you, for the chief purpose of "bringing Southerners along"—but suggest what to do if the plan is adopted. They say: "There remains the question, what we can do to set in motion forces that will build up a desire for coöperation between white and colored Methodist churches in our own communities. We think we have already found the answer in our increasing fellowship with the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. It was about ten years ago, we began working together as missionary women in leadership schools. Many of us, through participation in these schools, have grown in a broader and more satisfying Christian fellowship than we have ever known before."

After all the stories we Northerners have heard about the attitude of Southern white women toward the Negro we think this is worthy of note.

A FEW weeks ago a friend of the American League went with four trade-union girls to Washington. While there, they attended a tea where they met a Congressman. They fell to talking of the Sheppard-Hill Bill and amazed the Congressman with their feeling against it. They were so strongly against it that he followed them to the door and took their addresses. A few days later he wrote to them telling them that the bill had been revised and he was interested in knowing what they thought of the revision before he took his stand. Now they are busy writing him their objections to the revised bill. It sounds like good work to us.

—DOROTHY McCONNELL

Radio

(Continued from page 12)

of the marriage of the Duke of Windsor, would be observed as "All Lovers' Day" by the station.

William Randolph Hearst's radio octopus continues to expand. His network has just made a deal with the Transamerican Broadcasting & Television Corporation by which the latter will peddle Hearst programs to advertisers. Transamerican has the superpower, super-reactionary WLW in Cincinnati as its key station. . . . And Louella Parsons, Willie's best stooge out in the movie capital, has joined the Benton & Bowles advertising agency, the better to serve her boss' interests.

Radio hams, attention! General J. G. Harbord, chairman of RCA, has announced that as soon as America enters the next war 46,850 licensed amateur operators will be mobilized. In an address before the Army Ordnance Association, Harbord added that due to this country's immunity from air attack, it would not be necessary to build underground studios and transmitters as the British Broadcasting Corporation is planning to do.

—GEORGE SCOTT

Sheep or Men?

(Continued from page 7)

the bill consistently and most Legion members belong in labor's ranks.

The Capper-Johnson Bill, in spite of the practically unanimous support claimed for it by the Legion, was not reported out of committee in either the Senate or the House. In 1931, however, a resolution was finally adopted which provided for the creation of a War Policies Commission "to study . . . methods of equalizing the burdens and removing the profits of war." It considered the two chief means of accomplishing these ends that have been employed, taxation and price control. The findings of the War Policies Commission, though never formally printed, were in turn reviewed by the Senate Munitions Investigating Committee in 1934 and 1935.

Sabotage by du Pont

The findings published by the Nye Committee in 1935 were frank. They revealed the inadequacy of the Legion and War Department bills—for the purpose they presumably were seeking to accomplish. The Munitions Committee made it clear that only to the extent that industry agrees to limit its profits, can war profits be limited. They listed three constitutional amendments, which with certain additional legislation, would give the government sufficient power to fix prices and finance a war on a pay-as-you-go basis, but concluded that it was very doubtful if "these powers would be so used

by the officials of the Government as to eliminate all profiteering."

They reached this conclusion for two reasons. In the first place the main interest in war-time is not in saving money but in winning the war—at almost any expense. Testimony before the Committee revealed that during the World War the copper and steel industries refused to fill government orders until their demands for profits were met. As Judge Gary put it to the Price Fixing Committee: "Manufacturers must have reasonable profits in order to do their duty." Or as Pierre du Pont explained: "We cannot assent to allowing our own patriotism to interfere with our duties as trustees."

If, under those circumstances, the government should attempt to take over industry, it would cause so much sabotage from the industrialists that production would be delayed. Modern war requires uninterrupted production. It is most doubtful, therefore, if the government would find it "practical" to use its power over industry.

The Nye Committee also doubted that the people in charge of the administration of these powers would wish to invoke them. The Committee report says:

The administration of prices and procurement is inevitably put into the hands of people who have been industrially trained and who are sympathetic to private industry's demands. During the last war the interests of the administrative officials were definitely close to the interests of the regulated industries. Mr. Brookings told the nickel industry: "We are not in an attitude of envying you your profits; we are more in the attitude of justifying them if we can. That is the way we approach these things." The experience of such men must be used by the Government and yet their attitude toward the contentions of industry is inevitably favorable. Such men will not use theoretically full powers to eliminate profiteering even if they have them.

The Nye Committee, on the other hand, had no doubt that the War Department could and would deal effectively with any labor objections to war-time dictates:

It will be entirely within the power of the Government, under these bills, to require men to work where they are told and to select any leaders of a labor strike and draft them into the military service the moment any strike is threatened. With these powers, and with a whole labor pool to draw on in the form of a conscript army, there is no question that the Army can break any labor strike.

A New Bottle—the Old Poison

It is amazing that in the face of the very full and clear explanation of the limitations, shortcomings and even positive harmfulness of many of the provisions of the Legion-War Department legislation, we should find it before Congress again in 1937. The Sheppard-Hill Bill is called a bill "to prevent profiteering in war and to equalize the burdens of war," and under that magic slogan it brings forward the

same old proposals which have been so effectively torn to shreds by the Nye Committee.

How does it attempt to take the profits out of war? It tries to do so by price-fixing in both the Senate and the House bills, through the provision that gives the President authority to put a ceiling on prices above which they may not rise. In addition, in the original bill, as introduced, and at this writing still a part of the Sheppard bill, is a 95 per cent tax on all earnings above the average income in the three years immediately before the war.

The Nye Committee after a thorough study of the 95 per cent tax felt that so many exceptions would have to be made to cover companies running at a deficit immediately before the war, new companies, and expansion of existing companies, that this tax would really become "merely an alternative tax base to be chosen by the taxpayer when it is in his interest to do so." In addition the Committee pointed out that the plan was open to the "fundamental objection" that "it is based upon the theory that only profits allocable exclusively to the increase of industrial activity due to war should be taxed. . . . Ordinary peace-time earnings cannot be left untaxed in time of war, much less the unduly enhanced earnings that may occur in a period immediately preceding a war. Consequently, with or without its necessary exceptions, the pre-war earnings standard cannot furnish a complete war-time taxation plan. It would have to be supplemented with some other plan to raise the needed additional revenue. The complexity of administration which would result from the use of two conjunctive taxes, one of which would have lost most of its purpose through exceptions, makes the pre-war income standard an undesirable base for war-time taxation."

After ruling out the 95 per cent tax the Nye Committee went on to consider price-fixing. As a result of its deliberations two main reasons appeared that invalidated price-fixing as an effective method of controlling war profits. The first was the varying cost of production in industry, the second the emphasis on production rather than economy in war-time.

Who Made the Money

Even in normal times costs vary among concerns engaged in producing one product. In war-time the spread becomes even greater as marginal producers are drawn in because of the high demand. Any price-set which will allow high-cost producers to exist will, of course, give enormous profits to low-cost producers. During the World War the Committee found that the lowest-cost producers made 104 per cent on beehive coke, 76 per cent on basic pig iron, 139 per cent on open hearth ingots, etc. Even the average



A Spanish artist pictures the Fascist terror on the southern front

producer secured extra-large profits:

For 60 per cent of the companies producing beehive coke, the fixed price constituted a profit margin of at least 35 per cent. Computed percentages for the same proportion of the other industries follow: Basic pig iron, 45 per cent; open-hearth ingots, 118 per cent; structural shapes, 48 per cent; sheared plates, 28 per cent; and merchant bar, 62 per cent.

Bernard Baruch, who is the author of the pre-war price-ceiling proposal as embodied in the Sheppard-Hill Bill, admitted in testimony before the Nye Committee that the only way to bring into the field the marginal producer, whose production is needed in war-time, is to raise the price of the product. In each case, therefore, in which an industry had to expand during a war, exceptions to the price ceiling would have to be made. In all probability the price ceiling would vanish altogether in the multiple exceptions.

In addition to the normal spread of production costs, that would leave large profits to the low-cost producers under any system of fixing prices, the need for increased production in war-time necessitates war-time price increases. This is true not only of the

industries that are most obviously essential in a military sense, but also of fairly distantly related industries on which we depend for raw materials, etc. In fact, we would need increased production in most industries for effective conduct of the war, and the way to insure increased production is by increasing prices. As Mr. Brookings, Chairman of the World War Price Fixing Committee, stated:

Take the cost of producing ore, assemble it, and follow it around through the production of the different grades of steel. I find it difficult to justify in my mind the prices that exist today, but we have not that sort of a problem. We believe it necessary to stimulate production.

There seems to be no question, therefore, that price-fixing will do very little to keep war profits down, and yet that is the only provision in the Hill bill, as reported by the House Military Affairs Committee, which attempts to take the profits out of war.

Their Profits and our Lives

The idea of equalizing the burdens of war between those who are forced to fight and those who stay home to

make profits is fantastic. The assumption of all the Legion bills is that profits are on a par with life, and that if you deprive a business man of his war profits you have forced him to make an equal sacrifice with the boy who is forced to lose his life. What more vivid testimony could there be to the hold which property psychology has over those who sponsor these bills? As the Nye Committee said:

There are large profits and there is inequality in peace-time. The strain and stress of war is not conducive to the adoption of fundamental reforms which cannot secure acceptance even in time of peace. We must guard against a blind belief that all profiteering can be ended by proposals for war-time taxes and industrial control.

And let us add, we must guard against the possibility that legislation that sets up a purpose which its originators know cannot be achieved by its provisions, hides its real purpose behind a mask. The War Department is not particularly interested in economizing on war, but it is anxious to have legislation on the books that will make possible efficient war under its dictatorship. The War Department does not want to be hampered by procurement laws, restrictions on hours and conditions of work, bars to employment of women and minors, union contracts—or any such inconveniences.

The Chains for Labor

The Sheppard-Hill Bill is not specific in its anti-labor provisions, except that it permits fixing of compensation, which can mean nothing but wages. That in itself is a tremendous weapon, which can be used to negate union agreements and undermine collective bargaining. However, there is no doubt that the Sheppard-Hill Bill would be used as the legal basis for even more serious labor regimentation. The provisions of this bill will be carried out by special boards and agencies created at the discretion of the President. For "the President" in war-time read "the War Department," and for a fairly concrete idea of the machinery to carry out the Fascist implications of these bills see the Industrial Mobilization Plan.

There the War Department stands revealed. The Plan calls for a War Labor Administration to supervise "the assurance to industry of an adequate labor supply, the prevention of unethical competition for labor by war industries, suspension for the period of the actual emergency and a reasonable adjustment thereafter of restrictive regulations not having the force of law which unreasonably limit production." Prices and "fair wages" are to be fixed by a Price Control Commission on which is *not one* representative of labor. These are the plans which the War Department has ready and it is in terms of these plans that the Sheppard-Hill Bill must be read.

Although a storm of liberal pres-



Youngstown, Ohio, steel strikers watching the spent furnace of the Republic steel plant

sure during 1935 has caused the temporary removal from the Industrial Mobilization Plan of the section on the Administration of Public Relations, which is still "being revised by appropriate agencies," we may be sure that here too, the War Department is ready for dictatorship. Under the original Sheppard-Hill Bill, as approved by the Department, licensing offered a perfect, simple, muzzling device. Pressure has already succeeded in adding a proviso in the House bill that the press shall not be licensed. That, however, will not guarantee a free press. As the minority report of Senators Nye and Lundeen points out, the priorities section of the bill offers an equally effective opportunity for control. Uncoöperative newspapers are likely to find that paper, ink, etc., is desperately needed elsewhere.

The danger of the Sheppard-Hill Bill is that it appears harmless. It is hard to make people see its dangerous implications. No one, as many Representatives point out, wants to be in the position of opposing legislation to take the profits out of war. But strip off the pretense and this bill is in fact the authorization of war-time Fascism in the United States.

The Farm Worker

(Continued from page 6)

remainder are in the A. F. of L. groups. The chief difficulty in the way of organization of the farm workers is poverty. Incomes are too low to furnish cash for union dues, no matter how small. Consequently organization cannot be financed from within, even after the initial organization has begun. It involves very hard work and many sacrifices on the part of those who take it up. A portion of the organization accomplished to date has

been supported by contributions from city people. In New York, Washington, San Francisco, Baltimore and Philadelphia committees have been set up to raise money and to arouse interest in agricultural-worker organization.

Sudden Death in Farm Country

Terror is perhaps next to poverty as an obstacle in the way of farm-worker unionization. In the cotton country, murder and assault are recognized weapons against organization. In parts of the deep South scores of Negro organizers and union members have disappeared in this way. No indictments are brought against those responsible. The case of the Arkansas planter fined for peonage is unique. It was the result of long continued union pressure. Violence of course is not confined to the South. New Jersey, Michigan, Colorado have also seen murder and attempted lynchings in sections where farm-worker unions have been set up. Men and women have been hunted with dogs, just as escaping slaves were hunted a century ago for the offense of organizing their fellow workers.

But in spite of obstacles the work of organizing the farm laborer, the sharecropper and the poor tenant farmer has gone on. Successes have been reported from many areas. As a result of strikes in cotton-picking time and at packing time in many canneries, wages have risen from the starvation level to something approaching a living standard. Union demands seem modest enough. In the cotton country the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the Cotton Field Workers Union have asked for \$1.50 for a 10-hour working day, in place of the customary 50 cents and 75 cents. In the truck-garden sections wage de-

mands of 35 cents per hour, equal pay for equal work and decent housing for migratory workers have been raised—in a few places successfully.

One of the prime aims of the unions has been to enlist the small farmer in the struggle against the large corporation farms, which tend to oppress him through severe competition as well as to exploit their own employees. Large farmers meet this situation with vigilante groups and with official and unofficial terrorism, yet the small grower is learning that his interests do not lie with his powerful competitors, but rather with the workers seeking a decent wage.

Federal Legislation Touches Surface

The Federal Government's share in attempting to relieve the problem of underpaid and underfed farm laborers and sharecroppers has been small. The Farm Tenancy Bill, at present more or less moribund in Congress, would appropriate \$10,000,000 for the purchase and resale of small holdings. The attempt here is to create a system of petty ownership, already proved economically out of date. The program touches only on the problems of the tenant, leaving the 3,000,000 farm wage-workers and their families uncared for. Yet farming continues to be the country's largest industry, and continues to receive enormous subsidies from the public tax-receipts. No other subsidized industry returns so little for the money it receives. Even the steamship lines are required to perform some service, if only carrying the mail. Agriculture is in a state of economic decline and requires government intervention to survive. A Federal program that would exact a social return in the form of human living standards for its workers, that would give to these workers the benefits of existing social legislation, and afford some protection to their exercise of civil rights, is a primary need.

Ripe for Unionization

In spite of the difficulties and risks involved no field is more ripe for union organization than that of the farm workers. Generations of exploitation have brought them to the point where they have nothing to lose, and where no other solution than collective action is available. Rural people have been made the prey of Fascist demagogues before, and today, if not reached first by democratic and progressive forces, they may easily fall into the same traps laid for their fellow workers in Germany and Italy. Huey Long had his strongest backing from the impoverished farmers and farm workers of his constituencies. Father Coughlin appealed strongly to the dissatisfied rural worker, previously unapproached by anyone with a message of hope and encouragement. City workers are more fortunate. Because

of their background they can see more easily through the false mirages conjured up by political adventurers. The rural worker must be helped to the same understanding.

Already in those sections where organization has begun he is learning the need for a strong, progressive union movement. If in the next few months the lesson can be spread, the rural worker will prove as valuable an ally of Democracy in this country as his peasant brother is in Spain. We have many of the same conditions here that exist in Spain and other parts of Europe,—exploitation approaching feudalism, and suppression of civil rights—with this advantage, that there is still time to organize.

Polish Pogroms

(Continued from page 11)

position is serious. Dissatisfaction has manifested itself in militant actions in Chrubizow and Galicia which brought the peasantry into sharp conflict with the government."

Some Gains

A signal triumph for the idea of peasant-labor unity was achieved in Lodz last year. Candidates of the P.P.S. and the trade unions, supported by the left-wing groups, received 95,000 votes and gained 34 seats in the municipal assembly. Together with six seats held by the Jewish Bund, this made 40 labor seats or a clear majority of the total of 72. How great a victory this represents may be gathered from the fact that in 1934 the Endeks had 39 seats and the government party 10.

Entering the campaign with seven distinct lists competing one against the other, the government came off very badly in this election. The combined total for all its candidates was only 17,000 and it was unable to win a single seat.

The government had evidently miscalculated the strength of labor and its own weaknesses. To meet the new situation it has set up the Camp of National Unity and is grooming Smigly-Ridz for the role of "savior." The new party platform calls for drastic limitation of the power of Parliament and extension of the powers of the president; recognition of the army and its leaders as "the nation's great uniting forces"; preferential status and particular protection for the Catholic Church; recognition of the right of the government to "regulate production" for the sake of "national defense" and "reemployment" and to "control relations between employer and employee." It has declared war on "Communism" and has made rather vague promises to the peasants and middle classes with a view to drawing them into the Camp of National Unity.

(Continued on page 29)

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid



CHICAGO—"I was in the front rank of the parade to open the picket line through the cordon of police at the Republic Steel plant in South Chicago on Decoration Day," writes a staff member of the American League. "Motion pictures and stills show that the workers were unarmed and were attacked by the police. Most of the wounded were shot from behind while running away, rifles and possibly machine guns firing from the roof of the company plant. Police dragged wounded out of hospitals and took them to jail. They refused to let physicians into jails to treat the wounded." The Rev. William Bailey Waltmire, pastor of the Humboldt Park Community Methodist Episcopal Church, conducted the funeral services for three of the eight workers killed in this massacre. The Rev. Waltmire is chairman of the Religious Commission of the Chicago American League. A mass meeting on June 8th, called by the Chicago Citizens Rights Committee to expose and protest this brutal attack, was strongly supported by the Chicago League and its affiliates. Chicago Leaguers further experienced the violent tactics of law officers when they picketed the Italian and German consulates on June 5th in protest against Fascist intervention in Spain. One of the forty League pickets—a

woman—reports, "Without any warning, without even a policeman nearer than 150 feet, six plain-clothes men descended on the group beating every one they could. One woman had her two children with her and of course could not leave them. The plain-clothes men tore her picket signs off, hurting her, and then one of them hit her eight-year-old girl with his club (this seemed to be a sawed-off broomstick), all the time cursing the woman. One thousand leaflets were distributed to watchers, many of whom asked for the leaflets." The circulars called for an embargo on war supplies to Germany and Italy and open American markets to the recognized and democratically elected government of Spain. The Chicago League is also supporting the drive for the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism law of Illinois. New affiliations cooperating with the League in its active program include Locals No. 1135, 1007 and 1053 of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; Local No. 637 of the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers; Northwest Women's Study Club and Latvian Benevolent Society.

SEATTLE—Representatives John M. Coffee and Warren G. Magnusson, Mayor John F. Dore, Howard G.

Costigan of the Commonwealth Federation and Matt Meehan, district secretary of the International Longshoremen's Association, were among those signing the call to the Third Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism. Delegates attended from several surrounding states and took a spirited part in developing a program of active work for peace and Democracy in this area. Councilman Hugh DeLacy delivered the keynote address. Other speakers were Father O'Flanagan of Ireland, Rabbi Philip Langh, Guy Williams, state director of the Federal Theater Project and Erich Rix, former German labor editor, now an exile. Many trade unions sent delegates to this stirring conference.



OHIO—Cleveland Leaguers demonstrated against scrap-iron shipments to Italy by means of a picket line at the Hungarian Consulate on May 22nd. Learning that the Hungarian ship *Alba* was due to carry a load of scrap-iron for armaments production to Italy, the Leaguers took steps to reveal this fact to the community and to protest such aid to a Fascist nation. League members are also selling **THE FIGHT** at the picket lines before the Corrigan-McKinney factory. The League will also support a coming giant mass meeting in defense of the democratic rights of the steel strikers. The Toledo League has launched a membership drive and is also busy in work supporting Democracy in Spain. Reactionary and pro-Fascist interests of the city have been conducting a vicious campaign against the struggle of the Spanish loyalists.

NEW ENGLAND—Interest in the League and extension of its organization are on the upswing in New England. During the past few weeks Mrs. Marian Pollard Burrows—League organizer—has visited Branches in Fall River, Springfield, Cambridge, Maynard, Providence and Northampton, Mass., and in New Haven and Hartford, Conn. These Branches are protesting Harvard's action in termi-

nating the contracts of Dr. J. Raymond Walsh and Dr. Alan R. Sweezy of the economics department. Both men are recognized as very capable teachers and both have been active on liberal and labor issues in the community. On May 23rd delegates from a number of New England Branches met in Boston for an organizational conference. Prof. Oliver Larkin, of Smith College, presided and was elected permanent chairman for the New England area. Mrs. Burrows reported on recent activities of the Branches and Paul Reid led an organizational symposium. Greetings were sent by the conference to Powers Hapgood and the other labor leaders imprisoned in Maine for union activities. Resolutions were adopted in protest against the repressive actions of Maine authorities and also in opposition to the Sheppard-Hill Bill in Congress. During Youth Peace Week—May 24th to 31st—League Branches in the Greater Boston area supported the program of the Emergency Peace Campaign. At one meeting, Mrs. Paul Sweezy of the Cambridge Branch, spoke and led a discussion on the question, "Does Fascism Lead to War?" Dorchester recently held a very interesting bazaar and as a result made a contribution of \$25 to the cause of Democracy in Spain. Prof. Horace Davis addressed the Fall River Branch at its first anniversary celebration on June 4th. Stamford, Conn., held an open membership meeting on May 11th with Paul Reid as speaker.

BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON—Rep. John T. Bernard spoke at an open-air meeting of the Baltimore League, on May 22nd in Highlandtown, steel and auto district of the city. The unions took an active part in advertising this meeting, distributing thousands of leaflets. The union men were much impressed by the meeting, a number of them—including officials—promptly joining the League. An intensive membership campaign is bringing new members into the organization each week. The Washington Branch staged a mass meeting in support of Spanish Democracy on June 8th at the Typographical Temple. Speakers were Senator Gerald P. Nye, General Victor A. Yakhontoff and Thomas Bennett, recently returned



Basque refugee children in London

from Spain. Willard R. Espy, Washington representative of the League, acted as chairman of the meeting.

NEW JERSEY—The Newark Professional Branch recently turned out over 500 people to hear James Waterman Wise, member of the National Bureau, on the menace of the Sheppard-Hill Bill. A high school peace leader and Abraham Isserman, labor lawyer, also addressed the meeting. Newark has recently secured the re-affiliation of Local No. 49, American Federation of Hosiery Workers. Trenton Branch is protesting the arbitrary ruling of the city manager forbidding the showing of the movie "Spain in Flames." A June outing has been planned for the Branch as a special money-raising affair. Union City Branch in the past month has held a dance, an educational meeting with John McCarthy as speaker and a lawn party at the home of William Monaghan. On May 25th Plainfield Leaguers celebrated the second anniversary of their Branch with a special meeting. Mr. John M. Jacobsen, member of the staff of Brookwood Labor School, spoke on "Fascism, American Brand," and Paul Reid talked on "A Program for Peace and Democracy." Isabelle Newmark, secretary of the Branch, gave a résumé of the League's activities in Plainfield during the past year. Jersey City members of the League held a dance and entertainment on May 22nd and an open membership meeting on the 26th.



PENNSYLVANIA—Erie recently took an active part in supporting a benefit movie with the proceeds going to the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. This Branch is one of the few in the country that has already paid its 1937 assessment to the National Office of the League. Our members in New Castle are conducting a weekly discussion group and developing a broader membership in the community. Pittsburgh made the largest percentage of gain in membership during our special campaign ending May 15th. They rounded out the local drive with a member-bring-a-member party that netted 39 new members, 7 renewals and 4 subscriptions to *THE FIGHT*. A musical and dramatic program for the evening provided excellent entertainment. In addition to sending a stream of protests to Congress in regard to the Sheppard-Hill Bill, Pittsburgh

Leaguers have also opposed a bill in the state legislature which is designed to bar minority parties from the ballot. They also picketed the Italian and German consulates on June 5th in protest against armed Fascist intervention in Spain and calling for an embargo on war supplies to these two nations. On June 11th the League sponsored an inter-racial conference with speakers representing the Urban League, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

NEW YORK—A tour by Sam Swerdloff of the National Staff through northern New York state has given great stimulation to the League work there. Meetings were held in Rochester, Utica and Buffalo and organizational plans drawn up for much more intensive work in the next few weeks. Dorothy McConnell, national secretary of the Women's Section of the League, is to address a series of League meetings in Buffalo and Rochester during the month. The Crompond Branch of the League recently ran two benefit parties, one for *THE FIGHT* and the other for the National Office. In addition, its members have been exceedingly active in raising funds for the support of Spanish Democracy. The Youth of '76, junior branch of the New York City League, marched in the May Day parade along with other groups from their settlement house. Recently these active youngsters had the best booth at the settlement carnival. Throwing baseballs at effigies of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco accounted for this success. League literature was also sold at the carnival by the juniors.

CALIFORNIA—Los Angeles has played an important part in the fight against the Sheppard-Hill Bill and the Industrial Mobilization Plan. Letters, telegrams and resolutions have poured into Washington in protest against this pro-Fascist measure due to the effective and widespread work of the League in Southern California.

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE—New York City won the banner for securing the largest number of new members during the period of Feb. 15th to May 15th. Philadelphia was also awarded a banner for its work in securing a large number of new members. Pittsburgh was awarded first prize among the larger cities for the largest percentage of gain, while Great Falls, Mont., received the award among the smaller cities. Great Falls won a second prize for making the largest numerical gain among the smaller cities. Plainfield, N. J.; St. Louis; Norwalk, Conn.; and Santa Barbara, Cal., were awarded prizes for making gains of 50% or more in membership.



By
James Lerner

EDUCATION carried on in a vital and interesting fashion is one of the most important weapons in the struggle for the maintenance of peace and Democracy. The National Youth Committee is now engaged in developing educational ammunition for this phase of the battle.

The committee is headed by Harold Patch, Youth Educational Director of the League, and includes Miss Martha Marine, a member of the staff of a national research organization; Mr. Robert Spivack, International Student Secretary of the National Student Federation and former editor of one of the leading college newspapers, the University of Cincinnati *Bearcat*; Herb Rosen, a young journalist, and Miss Molly Chernow.

The committee is especially interested in devising new methods of bringing the message of the American League to young people. To date they have already prepared some excellent examples; these should prove especially useful in bringing our program before new groups. Among them are: a dramatic presentation of the causes of the World War, a gam-airre based on the pamphlet, *Billions for Bullets*, a dramatic interpretation of the Youth Peace Ballot, and a manual of different methods of arranging an educational program. The committee also contemplates issuing a monthly series of studies of important youth issues together with outlines based on these studies. The educational work of the League will be much strengthened if you inform the committee of your needs and suggestions.



THE bill making the Civilian Conservation Corps permanent has been passed by Congress. At present the camps still remain under the rule of the War Department. However, even without the passage of the Bernard Bill, which would have made removal of the Army from the camps mandatory, the President has the power to make any changes in personnel that he

YOUTH NOTES

may see fit. This means that the camps can still be wrested from military control and returned to civil authorities. A sufficiently powerful campaign, developed within the next few months, can involve literally hundreds of organizations who are opposed to military control over so large a section of our young people. For no matter what opinion most responsible educators may have on the subject of the camps' usefulness, they are almost unanimous in their condemnation of War Department control over them. For further information consult Number 3 of the Critical Issues series published by the League.



THE Model Congress of the United States which will be staged in Milwaukee on July 2-5 by the American Youth Congress, bids fair to be one of the most exciting youth conferences ever called together. The list of sponsors reads like the best pages of Who's Who in America. Senators, Representatives and youth leaders galore have joined in endorsing the congress which will demonstrate to our legislators what youth would do to make America "the land of opportunity, the land of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

THE amazing interest displayed in the Peace Poll has made it necessary to extend the time for balloting through the summer. You still have the chance to determine the nature of peace sentiment among the young people in your community. Get the ballot into their hands at once, and of course, don't forget to cast your own vote.

THE United Youth Committee to Aid Spain has established a home for children in Catalonia. This is the first home established with American funds and is being called the Thomas Jefferson Home. There is still room for several more Spanish children in the home if the necessary funds come through.

Polish Pogroms

(Continued from page 26)

The program, designed in the interests of Polish big business and the landowners, was drawn up, significantly enough, by Col. Adam Koc, who retired from the presidency of the Bank of Poland last May. The new government, Koc makes clear, must take the form of "the corporate state."

If the Lodz elections taught the Fascists the necessity of "unity," they had a corresponding lesson for labor and other Democratic forces. Although the top leadership of Polish Social Democracy remains aloof from the Popular Front, the idea is gaining ground rapidly in the labor and peasant movements. Local and even national leaders are openly espousing a united resistance to Fascism and many have gone to jail for doing so. In Warsaw, Cracow and Lvov, a united front on specific issues of all working-class parties has been achieved. Although realization of a Popular Front is still a long way off, its mere consideration frightens the Fascists. The reactionary press rarely misses an opportunity to attack the Popular Front.

Seen for What It Is

It was inevitable that the trend toward unity against Fascism should go a long way toward exposing the repressive purpose which anti-Semitism serves. When Jewish trade unions downed tools a year ago in a general strike against pogrom outbreaks, the executive of the All-Polish Federation of Labor adopted a resolution of sympathy with the strike. Though it is to be regretted that they did not see fit to join the strike officially—local trade unions did take part, however—the resolution of sympathy is a step forward and indicates that labor is beginning to see that anti-Semitism and Fascism are inextricably interwoven. Several instances have also been reported during the last year of peasants organizing to defend Jews facing attack.

When the true nature and cause of Fascism have penetrated more fully the consciousness of the workers, peasants and many middle-class people, through day-to-day experience, the demagogic cry against minorities—in this case it is Jews—will be recognized for what it is: a blind against the economic, national, and cultural ills of our times.

Hitler vs. Christ

(Continued from page 21)

tective arrest"; a burning torch thrown at the pastor by Hitler Youth leader Ewartz seriously scarred the right side of his face.

The Nazi youth did not, however, come off quite so successfully when several months later they staged a demonstration against Michael Cardinal

Faulhauber, Archbishop of Munich, in front of the Holy Cross Church in Greisen, shouting "Down with Faulhauber!" and "Down with the Cardinal!" According to the New York *Herald-Tribune*, when they attempted to prevent the Cardinal from entering his car after the service, a small but highly indignant crowd standing outside the church set upon the Hitler Youth demonstrators and gave them a sound thrashing before the police could rescue them. Many persons were arrested but all were released the same day. Nazi authorities were averse to publicity about the matter, which would only have served to arouse more public indignation.

Paganizing the Youth

In keeping with these tendencies, Paul F. Douglas reveals in *God Among the Germans*, members of the Hitler Youth are not permitted to join genuine religious organizations. This ruling was made necessary, explained Baldur von Schirach upon its introduction in the summer of 1933, because the churches "did not limit their activities to the circle of their own churchly tasks."

Somewhat less ambiguous was the explanation reported by the New York *Times* when Nazi party officials of or above the rank of "community group leader" were forbidden to hold office in any church body or religious organization because "Hitler Youth and Student League leaders make no secret of their convictions that the time has come when the church must be disestablished."

In the same month (May 1936), came evidence indicating that these restrictions of religious actions and activities hold as strictly for the female membership of the organization as for the male. Ostensibly expressing the national policy of the League of German Girls, a Breslau official announced early in May, "From now on I forbid not only women leaders but also all girls to lend their aid in any form to confessional work."

Nazi "Christianity"

For all its anti-Christian propaganda and activities, however, the Hitler Youth has not been able to keep its members from attending church. In the spring of 1936 it was found necessary to order all members to wear the regulation uniform upon being confirmed during Easter.

If all this does not conclusively show that the Hitler Youth "has been proved to have better relations with the Lord of the Heavens" than had Christian youth, then Hitler's close proximity to God and Nazism's special brand of Christianity will perhaps do so—at least so the Nazis hope.

Through Hitler the youth has, it would seem, direct contact with the Almighty. Speaking on Hitler's birth-

day in April 1936, Herr von Schirach was reported in the *Volkischer Beobachter* as saying of the members of his organization, "If they love the *Fuehrer*, whom God has given to the German people, and serve him faithfully, and courageously, then they will be fulfilling an inner task set them by eternity." It's all quite simple: Hitler is God's gift and emissary to the German people and they serve the Lord who serve the *Fuehrer*. Riveted into the heads of the young constantly—speech in, speech out—the deification of Hitler has taken on the significance of a new religion. Hitler is indeed the Aryan Allah of the neo-pagan faith which the Hitler Youth has all but adopted as its official religion.

Wavering tongues of flame lick the black night as a group of Hitler Youths form a circle around a great bonfire and, half marching, half dancing, chant words such as these:

I am a branch of your stock, a flame of your fire.

I am a seed ripening in your earth, a leaf caressed by you.

In every hour I am one with you, deeply bound to you.

You are in me and I in you, my German Folk, my German Land.

As the ritualistic chant melts into the night, Baldur von Schirach steps close to the fire and, mystic in words as in manner, delivers the "flame oration":

As the pure flame extends itself in a struggle against the darkness of the night, so must you German youth be a pure flame and, free from all self-seeking, carry the light of your belief in Germany through the night and the darkness. When people will not understand the light flame of truth which you carry and embody, nevertheless let it express itself!

Make plain, beyond the religious confessions and classes, the eternal truth of your belief in the Leader sent from God, and his holy flag.

A flaming youth greets the Leader, from the mountains to the sea, and out of the night into the morning.

Adolf Hitler! Heil: Victory! Heil: Victory! Sieg-Heil! (*Friends of Europe*, August 1935).

A "prayer" issued by the Hitler Youth Commissioner of the Department of National Socialist Doctrine for District 13, Hessen-Nassau, contains the essence of the organization's neo-pagan philosophy:

We believe in ourselves as a part of eternity, as being equal and near to God.

We believe in ourselves as the destined links in the eternal chain of the generations.

We believe in the eternity of the German people and in an eternal Germany.

We believe in the truth of the National Socialist Weltanschauung.

We believe in the truth of our idea.

We believe in Adolf Hitler, our eternal *Fuehrer*!

As should perhaps be expected of a religion concocted to serve the purposes of the Nazi régime, military morale is extolled and war glorified.

Several hundred Hitler Youths, assembled in a Westphalian town for the unveiling of a monument appropriate-

ly enough to the archangel Michael, were addressed by one of their officers (says Leland Stowe in *Nazi Means War*) in the following words:

The ancient march order, which is protected by our fallen heroes, reads: "In the decision for bloody sacrificing." This archangel is leading the front of comrades and this front is formed by the warriors of the Reich who have only one enemy—the opponent of the Reich and its rulership.

We do not want to speak the warm words of peace here. Our words are dictated by the terrible appeal of war. Young crew, raise the hand of oath before the monument which is dedicated to the sublimity of bloodshedding.

Up shot hundreds of taut young hands.

Saint Mars and Saint Death

It was altogether fitting that, in a speech before a gathering of Hitler Youth leaders in the Cathedral of Braunschweig, Herr von Schirach called special attention to the religious qualities not of noted statesmen but of two outstanding military figures. "Both Henry the Lion and Frederick the Great," he said, "are revelations to our people of religious doing, and in their consciousness of their mission and destiny are examples of a faith such as are honored and admired by the German youth." In a speech on April 19, 1936, he declared, "The piety of youth cannot be judged by whether it belongs to a church sports club, but it can by the way it acts in the face of death."

Auto—Model UAW

(Continued from page 15)

work fragmentary, and yet the results were remarkable, though the union-backed candidates did not win. Far from discouraging the workers from similar ventures in the future, however, the experience has merely roused their eagerness for further opportunities.

A Vigorous Union

Other instances of political action are numerous: the splendid conference on progressive legislation held recently in the state capitol at Lansing, for example; or the rent strike that was launched by the 15,000 union members of Pontiac, starting June 1; or the 15-minute general strike to mark the opening of the trial of Victor Reuther, one of the heroes of the Flint strike, who is being charged with "unlawful assembly and malicious destruction of property," in connection with his rôle at the famous "Battle of Bull's Run."

These activities are second-nature to the ebullient young auto union. The workers attribute all their new-found power and freedom to the C.I.O.

"It's the C.I.O. in me talking!" one of the fellows explained to a friend, to account for his passion in a purely personal matter.

Their loyalty to the cause is vast. Their interest embraces all those who

Underground Literature

SEVERAL WEEKS AGO a book was published in America, which so far not one of the great dailies of New York or the organs of literary opinion has so much as mentioned. In the meantime, the following has happened abroad:

Column reviews in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, Moscow, with several million circulation.

Serial publication starting in *Le Populaire*, organ of Premier Blum's party, circulation 300,000.

Book publication under way by Werner Laurie, London.

Translations for book publication under way in *Spanish* and *Catalan* by Department of Propaganda, Barcelona; *Spanish* by Editorial Masas, Mexico City; *German* by Malik Verlag, Prague; *Norwegian* by Tiden Norsk, Oslo; *Swedish* by Holmstrom, Stockholm; *Dutch* by Servire, s'Gravenhage; *Danish* by Socialdemokraten, Copenhagen; *Hungarian* by Eugen Praeger, Prague, and Alexander Benamy, Budapest

Serial publication in *Clarion*, Toronto; *Standard*, Wellington N. Z.; in Yiddish, *Freiheit*, New York, also *Jewish World*, Philadelphia; Bohemian, *Oxford*, Michigan; Italian, *Il Martello*, New York; Spanish, *Izquierdas*, Mexico City; Swedish, *Socialdemokraten*, Stockholm; German, *Volksecho*, New York; French, *Le Soir*, Brussels, Belgium; serial publication in Roumania and Switzerland arranged by Operamundi of Paris.

The title of this book is:

NO PASARAN!

(They Shall Not Pass)

A Story of the Battle of Madrid

By UPTON SINCLAIR

Fernando de los Rios, Spanish Ambassador, wired: "My deepest gratitude for your book, 'No Pasaran,' in the name of my government, of my people, and of the women and children who prefer death to indignity."

Helen Woodward: "'No Pasaran' is magnificent propaganda. I wish every workingman in the world could read it."

Jack Couroy: "Shrewdly exciting story with clear and simple delineation of the issues involved."

Conrad Berkovici: "A powerful and moving story. Should have a large sale in many countries. The battle scenes are magnificent—I know, because I have seen battles."

Margaret I. Lamont: "The International Brigade will have many memorials in stone, in bronze, in prose and in poetry. One of these, when the permanent record of the Herculean struggle against Fascism is made, will be Sinclair's book."

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toil, and they are now going out, rank-and-file and leaders alike, to complete the work of organization, whether it be among hospital employees or rag-pickers, department-store clerks or grave-diggers. Union consciousness has swept these feudal industrial towns of Michigan. The old controlling powers are in a state of rout. The demagogues are seeking to replace them. But labor is developing a fine eye and a wonderful skepticism.

There is no question, the industrial-union movement is a great progressive force, a power against Fascism—and war. Not so long ago, the hundreds of thousands of Michigan's auto workers were heavily drugged by the insidious drool of the Fascist-minded radio priest, Father Coughlin. Little more than a year ago, before the advent of the C.I.O., one looked with despair upon the millions of unorganized workers in the basic industries throughout the country, seeing in them the ready recruits of Fascism and war.

A Force Against Fascism

What a difference today since the coming of the union, with the workers swiftly drawing the logical conclusions of their new-found powers! The danger of the rise of the destructive forces of modern civilization is by no means permanently allayed, but no one can doubt that the events of the past few months in Michigan and the other great industrial states have considerably lessened the likelihood of that eventuality.

Books

(Continued from page 19)

evaluation of the man who is today one of the foremost pulpit orators of this country, white or black. The essential worth of Johnson is that his oratory is not devoid of content and that his oratory, far from being an end, is an effective method of bringing force to his valid pleas.

Brawley has not understood the new Negroes, most of whom are to some degree on the left side of the literary fence. He has attempted to be fair, but has failed due to his fundamental lack of understanding of this type of literature. This is shown in his conclusion on Claude McKay: "... one cannot help thinking what Mr. McKay might do if he would take a little vacation from the slums and waterfronts, see life somewhat more as a whole, and conceive the really great novel of which he is capable." Or when, speaking of a book by Langston Hughes, he reveals his metaphysical approach by saying: "... if the author had been willing to let his work reveal itself simply as art, without too much complication from the subjective element, the book might have risen to an even higher plane."

The Negro Genius fills a place

not already occupied. As such, it is a welcome addition to the literature produced by and about Negroes, but some day the persons in the book are going to be again appraised. I have no doubt that the appraisals will differ from the ones Brawley offers.

—MAURICE GATES

France and Europe

WHICH WAY FRANCE?, by Alexander Werth; 414 pages; Harper & Brothers; \$3.00.

I HAVE always suspected that Alexander Werth, the Manchester *Guardian's* correspondent in Paris, is one of the half dozen correspondents of international reputation who know what they write about. His latest book not only confirms this suspicion but makes it possible to say that Mr. Werth knows more about French politics, history and culture than any other contemporary foreign writer.

In the preface to *Which Way France?* the author says, "If we stopped feeling self-conscious at the mention of the words 'freedom' and 'democracy'—and we do!—and if we stopped feeling inferior to the Fascist countries, we might yet pull through. For the Fascist countries have physical strength, supported by the crudest kind of bluffing . . . but nothing else . . ." Mr. Werth knows something about the Fascist methods of bluffing. His account of Laval's abject prostrations before Mussolini—until Mussolini sold out Laval after he had got what he wanted in the Ethiopian affair—and Laval's naïve resentful outburst when he left office, "*Mussolini c'est un salaud tout de même*" ("Mussolini is a sloven all the same"), is told with supreme skill and insight. Here is one correspondent who is not impressed by the white-shirted galaxy of "eminent" statesmen whose important miens hide nothing but empty brains. He sees behind the scenes and what is more, he tells about it.

Which Way France? is far too modest a title. Through the projection of internal French political developments against the background of European affairs generally, Mr. Werth gives an eminently competent picture not only of the French developments during the past ten years, but of how they affected the rest of Europe.

I have not enough space to do justice to the wealth of information and detail the book contains. The last ten chapters tell of how the Popular Front government came about, of the leadership of Léon Blum and what the workers gained through him, the genesis of the sitdown strikes, the cleaning up of politics and the press. The subjection of the Bank of France to the people's will, the nationalization of the armament industry, are told with great perspective and with absolute mastery and

understanding. The first half of the book is concerned with French and foreign political developments from Versailles to the days of the Popular Front and serves as a compact introduction to present-day history.

The book is written in an easy and witty style that makes fast and entertaining reading. It is the best book on French affairs available today.

—JOHANNES STEEL

Mississippi

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ties, with the resulting misgovernment. The absence of intelligent, progressive thinkers in the state legislature is accepted without thought. It might be said that Mississippi has not had a progressive, or even efficient, state administration within the past fifty years.

The state's chief contribution to the national political scene is Pat Harrison, the veteran Democratic work-horse of the Senate. Harrison has voted regularly for all of Roosevelt's program, and has served valiantly as one of F.D.R.'s floor leaders, but he is at heart just another shrewder-than-average politician, with no social vision. He is firmly entrenched as a power in Mississippi, for even those who do not think much of his ability are secretly proud that a Mississippian could have gained such a high place in the councils of state. Harrison's colleague in the Senate is the out-and-out demagogue Bilbo. Bilbo is not so popular in his home state right now, but by 1940, when he comes up for reelection, he may be again the dominant figure in state politics.

Of the Mississippi members of the House of Representatives, only two, Rankin and Collins, have gained recognition as capable men. Both are more liberal in their political views than the average congressman, but neither has proved himself of a statesmanlike stature.

The only real liberal holding office in the state is Justice Virgil A. Griffith of the Supreme Court. His opinions rank as the outstanding examples of liberal legal thought in the South in recent years.

Waiting for Lefty

No radical or progressive political movement exists in Mississippi today, but that does not mean that a large group in the state would not welcome one. The people who have shown their dislike of the present set-up time and again by supporting shysters like Bilbo are searching for a leader. They have never had a chance to pass judgment on a realistic progressive with a realistic program. If such a movement, headed by a man with natural ability as a leader, would put itself forward in Mississippi, its success would probably surprise its most partisan followers.

Spain

THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT has submitted to the League of Nations Assembly a White Book on Italy which is the most complete proof of aggression ever to be laid before that body by a member nation. After the shelling of Almeria by six German vessels on May 31, the Spanish government presented more facts showing Nazi intervention and charging that the Fascist governments are conducting a military campaign with armies of occupation in Spain.

Any practical plan to end the invasion of Spain must take into consideration the fact that the Fascist International is not in it only for Fascist prestige and military advantage. It is also in the nature of a piratical expedition. Instead of Spanish doubloons the modern raiders want control of the rich natural resources of the Iberian peninsula. Bilbao and Spanish Morocco are the richest sources of iron ore in Europe; Barcelona is rich in potash; in the Almaden area are the largest mercury deposits in the world; in Huelva there is copper, pyrites and sulphur. Italy wants iron and a monopoly on mercury, and Germany needs copper and other raw materials for its rearmament program.

Italy and Germany will withdraw if they are convinced the price is too high. The democratic nations of the world can still raise the price of conquest through peaceful means. Our task in the United States is to show our legislators that it is the will of the people to maintain peace and preserve Democracy. We can do it by demanding the State Department recognize what the whole world already knows—that Germany and Italy are aggressor nations and therefore subject to the mandatory embargo stipulations in the Neutrality Act.

People's action can force the democratic nations to act. Now is the time for the peoples of the world to join themselves in a world movement for peace and Democracy.—F.B.B.

Women and Jobs

IN THE June 7 issue of the *United States News* there is a report that the permanent unemployed, even if prosperity reaches the 1929 level, will be about four million. It adds that increase in women's employment between 1880 and 1930 is three and one half million. These figures have come up from time to time ever since the depression, leaving you to draw the conclusion that



A wounded Loyalist soldier being helped by a comrade to get from a first-aid station to a base hospital

women's employment has thrown three and one half million men out of work. They are the reason for the bills against employment of married women, the "give a man a job" movements and the growing resentment toward women in industry. Putting aside for the moment the falsity and unjustness of such conclusions, the danger to workers for peace and Democracy must be apparent at once.

In Europe for the first time since the World War women are finding doors of work open to them because of Europe's preparation for war. In all wars, particularly those touching the United States, women have found new opportunities for gainful employment.

The truth of the matter is, women do not work for the joy of work. *They work because they have to live.* It is exceedingly hard, then, to carry on any sort of peace propaganda among women who see in the United States this bitter resentment against women with jobs and who see abroad a lifting of that resentment. Should war come closer to this country it will be even more difficult to swing these women toward peace.

Working women form the largest group who benefit materially from the preparation for war. Unless they can be assured opportunity and working rights during peace times we are in deadliest peril. Two ways might be suggested as first steps. One is to support the drive to organize women with men in trade unions. The other is to set up educational machinery against the attitude prevalent toward the working woman.—D.McC.

Dearborn and Chicago

THERE is blood on the map of the U.S.A.—the blood of workers. Dearborn, Michigan, and Chicago, Illinois—mark these spots well—here occurred the crimes against the people.

Henry Ford and the corrupt Kelly-Nash-Courtney administration of Chicago—their are the bloody hands. And all the perfumes of Arabia will not wash them clean.

Violence against labor is no new thing, either in the past of our country or in recent years. Yet some of us have felt lately that we were coming into a day when American working men and women would be able to carry on their affairs as free citizens of this Democracy. With the right to union organization written into the law of the land, we believed that perhaps the enemies of labor would bend to the popular will.

It took Henry Ford to shock us out of this belief. When his thugs and gangsters brutally beat up the Auto Workers' organizers—and with cynical contempt for public opinion, in broad daylight—it became clear that this old billionaire "does not recognize" the Wagner Act.

Henry Ford "did not recognize" the N.R.A., "does not recognize" the Wagner Act, and "will not recognize" the union. But the people are beginning to recognize Henry Ford.

And a few days later came the second and even greater outrage—the murder of eight unarmed steel pickets and the shooting of a hundred more by Chicago police; followed by a reign of terror against the wounded and the relatives of the dead. And now the city officials are trying desperately to frame up some of the victims in order to escape the responsibility for this heinous crime. Having murdered workers, they plot to murder *Justice*.

Defeated at every turn since the election of 1936, the "American Rebels" are employing more and more the last weapon of all enemies of human progress—violence and bloodshed. This is the weapon of Fascism, and the people must throw against it every resource at their command. Democracy, mobilized for action, can and will wipe the blood off the map of America!—C.P.



Fighting for Democracy

Chicago steel workers jailed but not discouraged