

December
1937

The Fight

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

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JANUARY · 1938

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AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR & FASCISM



1938 SEPTEMBER 1938

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BOOKLETS TO TASTE

—By Pam Flett—

AUTHORS of books, most of them, are too polite, said Grandfather Book Worm, who in his own way was trying to give the young squirts the low-down on the choice of books. All fluff, he said, nodding his head from side to side. Looks impressive and fills you up like a vegetable salad, but when it's all over, what do you have? Roughage. It doesn't last. The largest part of most books is just roughage, filler, padding.



NOW take these pamphlets—or rather, look at this announcement from the American League Against War and Fascism of the three new pamphlets which are now in process of preparation. One will be on *The Japanese Boycott and the Far East*. You can bet—I mean wager—that will be something. Probably eight pages, a huge edition, selling for two cents. No padding there. Every word counts. Sink your teeth into that one when it comes out.



LOOK at this one. *Neutrality and an American Peace Policy*. Probably eight or 16 pages. Two or three cents. And here's *Labor's Civil Rights*. All of these pamphlets are what we've been waiting for. No surplus wordage. All of it solid stuff. Because, you see, these pamphlets are written to be read and digested. And they have a strictly fresh viewpoint.



AH, smart aleck, you want to know how I know? I've been feeding on American League pamphlets all my life, and a good life it's been. I'll wager you young squirts—pardon me, young gentlemen—never even heard of *A Blueprint for Fascism* or *A Program Against War and Fascism* or *Women, War and Fascism* or *Youth Demands Peace* or *Why Fascism Leads to War* or *The Fascist International?* Oh, you have, eh? Then you'll know what to expect when these three new pamphlets come out. All right, school's out, don't bother me any more. Hey, you, don't let me catch you with a copy of a Hearst paper again! Hard on the stomach!

A CALENDAR FOR 1938 . . .

WE FEEL that we don't need to boast about our calendar for 1938. If you've seen the American League calendars for 1936 and 1937, you'll be sure to want the 1938 one. For this calendar which brings 12 drawings by America's outstanding artists, each on an anti-war, anti-Fascist theme, speaks for itself. The combination of beauty, utility and "message" is hard to surpass.

BUT PERHAPS you've forgotten that the calendar comes to you for only 25 cents. That it makes an excellent Christmas gift. And that we give reduced prices on quantity orders.

THE ARTISTS who contribute to the 1938 calendar are Charles Bateman, A. Birnbaum, Wanda Gág, Hugo Gellert, Harry Gottlieb, William Gropper, Zoltan Hecht, Louis Lozowick, M. Pass, Georges Schreiber, Lynd Ward and Howard Baer.

Rush your order to

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

268 Fourth Avenue

New York, N. Y.

With the Readers



WE are writing this column almost three weeks before the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace assembles in Pittsburgh. Old and new friends will gather for the fourth time in four years to discuss and formulate a program of action. This program of action, unlike most peace programs, is a positive one—Democracy, peace and freedom.

THIS is the great contribution the American League has made to American life: Fascism means war, to stop war we must preserve and develop our Democracy, to preserve and develop Democracy we must struggle for the rights of labor, free speech, free press and the right of assemblage. For four years the American League has in militant fashion been to the forefront in the fight against war and Fascism and pointed to a better life.

ONE other thing distinguished the League from all other peace groups. It projected the idea that there must be unity in the ranks of the common people, a unity which expressed itself in the adoption of a minimum program on war and Fascism and at the same time left the various groups freedom to work for their own programs within their own organizations. The doors of the American League have always been and we hope will always be open to all people and their organizations, be they Republican or Communist, A. F. of L. or C. I. O., Protestant, Catholic or Jew, white or Negro, worker, farmer or middle class.

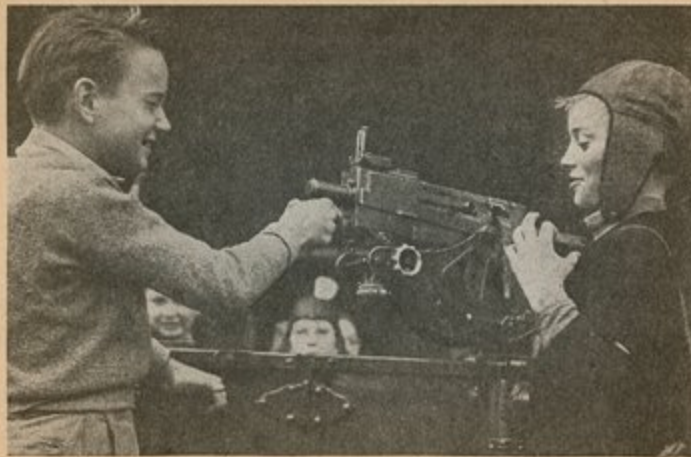
WE just thought, isn't it strange that the American League, which our friends have always dubbed the "left" anti-war organization, has been more flexible in adapting itself to the realities of the day and more open-minded and friendly to the other fellow's program than the so-called "right" peace groups?

A FEW months after Hitler came into power, the American League was formed. The danger of war gave birth to the idea of an organization to struggle against the roots of the present war danger—Fascism. And to fight against Fascism meant to fight for Democracy. The American League was a natural.

FROM the first Congress in New York to the fourth Congress in Pittsburgh is a span of four years. In this short period we saw Ethiopia, Spain, China, C.I.O., the People's Front in France, American Labor Party, Neutrality Act, Roosevelt's Chicago peace speech, Fascist International. It is more than a probability that between the fourth and fifth Congresses the fate of progress and civilization will come to a head.

OUR road is clear. The sign-post points two ways: *Fascism—Democracy*. Will the schemes of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists triumph or will the long, lanky figure and the spirit of Abraham Lincoln and the common people everywhere win out?

THE answer seems to us a simple one. The answer is within ourselves. We have the right to life, liberty and happiness. We built the world and we have the right to its fruits. We have the numbers. We ask for no more than is ours but for *that* which is ours—the right to live a fruitful full life and the right to happiness—for *that* we will struggle until victory is won. And it will be.



Toys for Boys?

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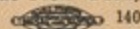
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The Contributors



ROBERT MORSS LOVETT in writing on civil rights knows whereof he speaks. Not only has he participated in the battle for civil liberties for a good many years but he was chairman of the panel in the recent Pittsburgh hearings on vigilante activities. Mr. Lovett is Professor of English at the University of Chicago and is the author of *Preface to Fiction*, *Edith Wharton: A Criticism*, *Richard Gresham*, *A Winged Victory*.

HARRY ARCHER is the pseudonym of an American writer and an authority in the field of economics. His article on the Japanese boycott points out a major factor we have failed to see covered anywhere else—the shipment of gold from Japan to the U. S. A.

HOWARD BAER, well known artist and contributor to many nationally known publications, makes his debut in THE FIGHT. We hope to see him here often.

DOROTHY PARKER is America's best-known satirical poet. Her many books, *Not So Deep As A Well*, *Enough Rope*, *Close Harmony*, *Death and Taxes*, etc., etc., have an audience of many tens of thousands. Her article here was delivered as a radio address while she was in Spain.

DALE KRAMER, editor of a weekly farm newspaper in the Northwest, has had many years experience as an organizer and writer of farmers and farm life.

CHARLES RECHT, attorney, contributor to many nationally known publications and author of a number of books, has recently investigated the subject of illegal warfare, and here are the results.

ANTONIO MACHADO is a Spanish writer. His poem in this number is dedicated to Spain's outstanding poet, Federico Garcia Lorca, who was executed by the Fascists at Granada in the autumn of 1936. It was translated by Rolfe Humphries and appeared in . . . and *Spain Sings*, issued by The Vanguard Press.

GEORGES SCHREIBER, who made the full-page illustration for the Machado poem, is a regular contributor to *Pictorial Review*, *New Yorker*, *The Nation*, *Fortune* and other magazines. He has illustrated many books and Houghton Mifflin recently published his *Portraits and Self Portraits*.

JAMES WATERMAN WISE, who wrote the song published here, dedicates it to the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace. Mr. Wise is editor, writer, orator, lecturer, but this is the first time to our knowledge that he has taken to composing. *Democracy and Peace* is a mighty good inspiration.

GEORGE LEIGH is an American newspaperman who recently spent seven or eight months in Mexico.

LYND WARD made the woodcut for our cover, a cover we have been looking forward to for a good many months. Mr. Ward is the author of many books in woodcuts, including *Vertigo*, *God's Man*, *Wild Pilgrimage*, and Random House is about to publish his new book to be called *Song Without Words*.

A Footnote to History

AND ALTHOUGH the great majority of the people of the earth (90 per cent. according to Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President of the United States) were opposed to the Fascist war alliance, nevertheless the struggle to check its advance was extremely difficult. The Fascists employed in the international arena the same tactics by which they had taken power in their respective countries: division of the democratic parties, terror and blackmail. Shifting from demagogic to "gangster" methods, they penetrated with anti-democratic



agitation into the very centers of the strongest democratic countries.

But not only the Fascists were active.

Those who would soon halt their march for good, had also profited by the lessons of Germany, Ethiopia, Spain and China. Associations of democratic groups with the program of anti-Fascist and anti-war unity had arisen — for example, the American League Against War and Fascism in the United States. These associations organized the sentiments of the "90 per cent" through meetings, demonstrations and educational publications.⁽¹⁾ In the face of active and passive resistance by the backward elements of the population—in general, the big capitalists and those whom they influenced—the anti-Fascists were at length able to unite . . .

(1) The publication of the American League Against War and Fascism was a monthly magazine, THE FIGHT, files of which can be found in the Barbusse Museum at Washington and in other museums. The use of a variety of colors, the work of well known artists, and many excellent photographs equipped it to rival the commercial magazines of the day in public interest. Leading writers of the various schools in the anti-Fascist camp — many of them experts in their fields — contributed articles and fiction. THE FIGHT was an outstanding educator and organizer in the struggle to preserve Democracy. It sold at \$1 for a year's subscription — a low and popular price when we consider that most publications sold at from \$3 to \$5. Incidentally, the columns of the magazine throw light on an interesting "human element" of the day. We have the word of the editors that a great many democratic people who were interested in the subjects presented, "forgot" or "neglected" to subscribe. Modern students will find this puzzling, but such is the fact. We must remember that these people did not have our advantage of the perspective of history.

THE FIGHT

268 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

I enclose \$1 for a year's subscription.

Name

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City and State.....

Don't Buy "Made in Japan"

Our own peace is linked with China's integrity . . . Yet our people and our government are supplying the sinews of war to her invaders . . . What we can do to stop Nippon's mad drive

By Harry Archer

ILLUSTRATED BY HOWARD BAER

IF YOUR own country were being invaded by an aggressor, your home bombed and burned to ashes, the entrails of your kith and kin and friends scattered on the highways and byways of the countryside, would you find it a solace to have the hand of "a good neighbor" extended to you? If in addition your neighbor—in declarations dating years back—had pledged himself that when just such misfortune befell you, he would come to your moral and physical assistance and would use his power to stop the slaughter of your people and the destruction of your homes—would you not look with justified expectation for the help so pledged?

That is just about the way the Chinese people look toward America.

How We Can Help

In answer, our government has taken certain steps toward restraining the Japanese aggressors. We have done this not only for humanitarian reasons, but because, as President Roosevelt pointed out at Chicago, our own peace and prosperity are indissolubly linked with the peace of other nations—in this case, of China. If we are to prevent a second World War into which we would inevitably be drawn, we must join with the other peace-loving countries of the world to "quarantine" the international lawbreakers while there is yet time.

Unfortunately, the U.S. government's action has not been sufficient as yet to halt the invaders. Indeed, certain of our policies—whatever their intent—have actually worked out to the benefit of Japan.

Weighing all these things in the balance, do you not feel—as a good American with a conscience, intelligence and foresight—an urge to help in some way? First, you will probably grab for your St. Peter's pence and let them trickle across the sea to assuage the horrible wounds of an outraged nation. Perhaps in some such petty self-denial you can help a little to quiet your reproachful conscience. But though the relief that you alone can render will help, it will be infinitesimal. Your knowledge of

geography will tell you that before a bottle of carbolic acid can reach a remote, inaccessible Chinese village now subject to Japanese bombardment, gangrene may have already silenced the moans of the wounded, and starvation may have quieted the homeless exiles.

Yet there is a form of assistance you can give to China which calls for very little self-denial, and has the virtue of continuous activity on your part. It is so simple: *Under no circumstances buy goods made in Japan.*

Boycott Japanese Gold!

The slogan of boycott against aggressor Fascist powers has been heard in our country before. But its efficacy has never been so great as it can be in the case of Japan. Japan's entire foreign trade is based on war preparations. Statistics as a rule are tedious. But it is a fact that almost all the raw material now being used for shrapnel is made from scrap iron purchased by Japan in the United States. These purchases of scrap iron are effected in two ways: by the export of manufactured merchandise and by the shipment of Japanese gold to this country. We as a nation are indirectly responsible for the killing of Chinese civilians, and by a sardonic juxtaposition of events, it is American shrapnel which has been used by the Japanese in shelling the

HOW TO QUARANTINE JAPAN'S WAR-MAKERS

1. Write the President, urging that we stop buying Japanese gold.
2. Don't buy silk—substitute rayon.
3. Buy toys, kitchen accessories, gadgets, electric bulbs, textiles and other doubtful articles only when they are labelled as made in a country other than Japan.
4. Urge store-managers to stop selling Japanese-made merchandise.

American warship *Augusta* and American citizens in Shanghai.

You as an American citizen can do something to help end this situation. You can exercise pressure on your government through its Treasury Department, to stop the purchase of Japanese gold. Let me illustrate why this is vitally important. Our government, for reasons which are hard to fathom, has embarked upon the policy of acquiring large quantities of gold throughout the world, and burying it in an underground fastness in the State of Kentucky. The logic or lack of logic in this procedure we can leave to economists. But when these purchases begin to threaten the peace of the world, we must wonder at the reasons for such a policy.

Sinews of War

Between the middle of March and the 1st of October of this year, the United States Treasury purchased \$170,800,000 of Japanese gold. Japan has announced that she intends to spend her entire reserve gold supply of \$312,000,000, and that sum, so the Japanese militarists say, will be sufficient to pay for her war requirements for the next six months.

What are the consequences of this? As long as the United States continues the purchase of Japanese gold, that gold retains its value for exports not only from this country but from other countries as well. And yet we have not always been so gold-hungry. There was a time, shortly after the Wilson Administration, when the United States declared that she would not buy, or permit the entry of, any gold from the Soviet Union. And this at a time when the Soviet Union was not engaged in any war nor violating any international treaties to which the United States was a party.

That these shipments of Japanese gold have continued long after the invasion is evident from the fact that during the first week of October an additional purchase of \$25,000,000 of Japanese gold was made by the United States Treasury.

What becomes of the credits which are established by this gold? Very simply, they are converted into the raw material needed for the Japanese war of aggression, for oppression, slaughter and destruction. The Japanese gold sent here means shrapnel for the guns of the Japanese militarists; it means gasoline and bombs for their planes; it means acids used for their poison gas; it means cotton for their explosives and soldiers' uniforms; it means lumber for their soldiers' barracks, pontoon bridges, fuselage for their planes. It means trade for some of our capitalists—but a gory kind of trade which under civilized conditions a conscientious seller would abhor.

You can help by raising your voice against the continuation of these practices, and it will not be a voice in the wilderness. The peace-loving people of the world, as our President has said, will echo your appeal; and if the United States stops buying Japanese gold, that gold will find no market elsewhere, for most of the countries of the world are now themselves in need of raw materials for their own war preparations.

You can slow down the murderous Japanese war machine, even if you cannot stop it. And if this machine is slowed down, the heroic defenders of China will undoubtedly do the rest to stop this war.

Don't Buy Silk

That is what you can press your government to do. But there are things you can do yourself. The slogan is simple: it consists of three words—*Don't Buy Silk*. Silk is Japan's chief export and the United States with Great Britain take practically 80 per



cent of the Japanese raw silk. In the United States 97 per cent of the raw silk consumed comes from Japan. Perhaps you cannot get your government to declare an official boycott of Japanese goods. But a people's boycott is quite effective. Do not let anyone dissuade you on that score. As a result of the beginnings of a people's boycott in the United States, many orders to Japanese manufacturers have already been cancelled. Several chain stores have announced that they will discontinue buying Japanese products. Even this feeble beginning will soon make itself effective and perceptible in the Japanese war economy. So do not buy silk. Everything made of silk is made of Japanese silk, and where silk has been mixed with other material the product is also very likely of Japanese make. Most rayon fabrics are made in the United States. Substitute rayon for silk.

The Five-and-Dimes

When you enter a 5-and-10-cent store, or a department store, or a shop selling toys, kitchen accessories and any number of fragile celluloid gadgets, be sure that these articles are not made in Japan. Japanese electric bulbs are notoriously inferior. It has been proved that they consume much more current and last about one third the time as American Mazda lamps. Do not buy Japanese bulbs. Be sure, when you buy toys, gadgets and textiles, that they are made in the United States. If you must purchase imported articles, there are still a few democratic countries which manufacture such goods of a quality superior to the Japanese. Czechoslovakia is one of these. But you can purchase better American toys and gadgets, at slightly higher prices.

The 5-10-and-25-cent store in your neighborhood is filled with Japanese goods. Talk to the manager. Ask him why he does not substitute American merchandise for the Japanese. In most cases you will find him cooperative; and if you, particularly the housewives, register your wish with the management of most of the American shops you will find them very willing to cooperate with you.

The boycott has much more than an immediate material value. It is a moral stimulation. It is a way to what the President calls America's will to peace and America's abhorrence of war. It is your most effective vote for peace and Democracy. Do not let the timid ones scare you with the idea that Japan will go to war with our country on account of a people's boycott. Students of Japanese internal economy know that such a suggestion is, under the present conditions, extremely far-fetched. One of the reasons why Japan has embarked upon the Chinese war is the need to overcome the discontent at home of its workers, peasants and intellectuals, a discontent caused by militaristic oppression and impoverishment of the people by high taxation for military purposes. Japan has her hands full. She can barely support her home economy and her far-flung armies which are oppressing alien peoples. It is as likely that Japan will make war on the United States now as that she will declare war on the moon.

Power for Peace

For the sake of the peace-loving Chinese people, for the sake of your conscience, for the sake of world Democracy, go out, advocate and vigorously exercise the power that lies in your boycott of Japanese goods. Join with the labor movement of the world and with the other forces of progress in the boycott of Japanese silk and Japanese merchandise of every kind. And let Washington hear your voice, calling upon the Treasury to stop the purchase of Japanese gold.



THE SPARKS and smoke of political friction in Washington, which are rising in quickened tempo now that Congress has begun its special session, have a heightened significance for the American labor-progressive movement in this late fall of 1937. They are signals, it appears, of the most crucial political test which has yet confronted the progressive movement in its upswing of the past five years.

In their advance during that period, the socially-activated forces of the nation have, it is true, met and at least partially mastered numerous critical situations. The attempt by the Supreme Court to overthrow all progressive legislation single-handed, the massing of the reactionary groups in the national campaign of 1936, and the continual pressure of big capital to throttle the labor movement by restrictive laws, have each represented a crucial phase of the basic struggle for ascendancy between progressives and reactionaries. But the special importance of the present situation rests in its being a culmination of those previous crises and a considerable advance towards the maturity of that basic struggle. In fact, without undue exaggeration it can be said

People's Choice

Labor and farm bills in the special session of Congress

By W. L. Barnes

ILLUSTRATED BY
ZOLTAN HECHT

Nebraska—have returned to Washington flaunting much bravado, apparently unchastened and shouting their defiance of the New Deal.

Of even greater immediate portent, however, is the fact that Congress has assembled against a national background of sharply receding industrial activity, increasing unemployment and general business gloom. To progressive forces, this means that still greater pressure must be exerted to hold the New Deal to its liberal course against a type of pressure from the right which liberalism, unaided, is least able to withstand. For it must be remembered that the New Deal, although liberal in its policies, is wedded to capitalism and that the New Deal reforms have thus far been carried out in a cycle of economic recovery, even though that recovery has been irregular and severely limited in its effect on a large part of the population. And Big Business is striving to wring every last drop of advantage from these forebodings of economic decline. With all the pressure at its command, moreover, it is trying to create a crisis psychology whereby to bludgeon from the Administration through fear,

(Continued on page 24)



that upon the ability or inability of the progressive movement to control the legislative output of the present session of Congress hinges the issue of whether the gains of the past five years will be consolidated and strengthened, or whether a "pause" of indefinite duration will ensue.

There are two reasons why the exertion of maximum pressure on Congress by progressive forces is of extra importance at this time. For one, the very advance of the labor and progressive movement has speeded the inevitable split between the conservative and liberal wings of the Democratic party and thus endangered the enactment of an adequate legislative program. This split was, of course, responsible for the fiasco of the last session of Congress, which produced the ludicrous spectacle of an Administration, returned to office by the biggest landslide in history, being unable to carry out a single important clause of its reelection platform. But the ringleaders of the conservative opposition in the Democratic party—such "loyal" Democrats, for example, as Senators King of Utah and Burke of



Vigilantes Indicted

The chairman of the panel reports its findings concerning the attack on labor's rights, as revealed in the recent People's Hearings at Pittsburgh

By
Robert Morss Lovett

ILLUSTRATED BY
DARRYL FREDERICK



THE PRESUMPTION that under democratic institutions persons whose legal rights are invaded have a remedy in the courts is today subject to certain limitations. The increasing tendency on the part of judicial authorities, especially district attorneys, to deflect and delay the cause of judicial procedure to the detriment of the workers, employed and unemployed, is obvious.

In these circumstances a new form of tactics has been evolved—public hearings at which those whose rights have been infringed, especially the victims of violence, have an opportunity to appeal to public opinion in their own behalf. An example of the use of this method was the immense public meeting in the Civic Opera House at Chicago, to consider the conduct of the police on Memorial Day in firing upon a parade of unarmed strikers at the Republic Steel Works, killing ten men and wounding more than a hundred. Such prompt mobilization of public sympathy and registering of public interest make more difficult the usual device of the state's attorney in fixing blame and punishment upon the victims.

A People's Hearing

A variant of this prompt and salutary procedure is the assembling of a panel of persons commanding public confidence for an open hearing, at which grievances can be stated and questions asked. The great amount of violence which accompanied the strike of the C.I.O. against the steel companies earlier this year caused the American League Against War and Fascism to call such a panel at Pittsburgh. Those sitting were Rose Stein, author of *M-Day*; Dr. Marion Hathway of the University of Pittsburgh; Margaret Forsyth of Teachers College, Columbia University; Dorothy McConnell, secretary of the Women's Committee, American League; Dr. Bernard Claussen, chairman of the Pittsburgh Forum and pastor of the Oakland Baptist Church; Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Professor Robert Morss Lovett

of the University of Chicago, president of the League for Industrial Democracy and vice-president of the American League. Before this panel appeared 16 persons to testify as to conditions in eight cities in the states of Michigan, Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. An audience varying from 50 to 100 listened to the proceedings, which were terminated by a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall in the evening.

The hearing was directed in particular to expose the development of vigilante groups in connection with the recent strikes. The panel defined vigilantism as the illegal assumption of power and its violent exercise, under the guise of preserving law and order. It appeared that three types of vigilantism are to be distinguished. First, organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Legion and the Silver Shirts which declare themselves self-appointed guardians of public order and morals. Second, permanent bodies of men, sometimes furnished by detective agencies, sometimes recruited among employees, with the object of enforcing by espionage or violence the policy of the employer to prevent the organization of workers in unions of their own choosing. Ford's Service Department and the Weirton Security League are examples. Third, organizations of citizens dependent upon employers for business or social favors, or suffering from industrial disturbance, who bring the power and prestige of the middle class into the field against the workers. The Citizens Committee of Johnstown, Pennsylvania; the Law and Order Leagues of Canton, Ohio, Flint, Michigan, and Massillon, Ohio; and the John Q. Public League of Warren, Ohio are examples.

It is obvious that the "citizen" type, because of apparent disinterestedness and the standing of its members in the community, constitutes the most dangerous vigilantism in its threat to the rights of the workers, and to those democratic institutions which its supporters profess to defend. Vigilantes of the last two classes tend to work closely with the police and sheriffs, often securing recognition as spe-



cial officers or deputies, and tending to deflect these constituted authorities from the strict impartiality which is their duty.

Associated Rackets

The first witness heard was Miss Barbara Baker, who, inspired by the pseudo-patriotic appeals of vigilante groups of the first class, acted as volunteer stenographer in the office of the Association of Leagues in Cleveland, Ohio. This association is an attempt to coördinate the activities of such admittedly vigilante organizations as the Klan and the Silver Shirts. These groups are prodigal in offers of help to corporations involved in difficulties with labor, but it would appear that their actual intervention is unimportant. They collect funds by disseminating the ideology of Fascism, and lately have shown a disposition to cultivate the Nazi movement in the United States. A racket pure and simple, according to Miss Baker's testimony, the Association of Leagues nevertheless succeeded in gaining contributions from officials of Republic Steel.

Next appeared Joe Morton, president of the Massillon Steel Workers' Lodge. His testimony brought out the peaceful early character of the strike at Massillon, where the Chief of Police repeatedly asserted his ability to handle the situation without help from outside. Under constant pressure from the Massillon Law and Order League he finally consented to give badges to over a hundred special officers. He and his assistant were induced to take a leave of absence, whereupon the augmented police force, led by one Major Curley, provoked a riot on a Sunday evening, outside the Steel Workers' headquarters—resulting in the death of two workers and the wounding and arrest of many. Morton's graphic description of the provocative tactics used by the vigilantes and their merciless violence toward women and children was repeated at the mass meeting in the evening.

Then appeared Miss Caroline Stearn, president

of the Federation of Teachers of Flint, Michigan. Miss Stearn, with the aid of a blackboard, presented a chart showing the ramifications in civic activities of a group of citizens united in the Flint Law and Order League. The domination of the public schools is shown by the fact that the teachers' federation, which had adopted a pro-labor attitude, was disciplined by having contracts withheld from prominent members. A student who circulated a petition in behalf of Miss Stearn was threatened with the dismissal of his father, a foreman in the Buick Company. Miss Stearn brought out the interlocking directorate by virtue of which the cultural interests of the city, recreational projects, Library Fund, Community Association, Institute of Art, Flint Institute of Planning and Research, are controlled by leading citizens whose material interests are bound up in the General Motors Corporation. Although Miss Stearn's testimony did not reveal vigilantism as defined by the panel in the form of physical violence, it exposed a type of moral and social pressure which is equally effective and more insidious.

Terror at Canton

The next witness identified himself as Martin J. Beckner, vice-president of the All Nations Lodge of the Republic Steel Corporation, in Canton, Ohio. He testified to the peaceful character of the strike at Canton, until the organization of a back-to-work movement by the officials of Republic Steel, with the help of clergymen and other leading citizens. Under the usual title of Law and Order League a vigilante corps of 150 was deputized—and equipped, paid and fed by Republic Steel. Some of these men were sent in armored cars at a cost of \$560 to participate in the attack on C.I.O. headquarters at Massillon on July 11th. An advertising campaign against the C.I.O. by radio and printed matter was carried on. Meanwhile, the local strikers were obliged to discontinue mass meetings in their own building under threats of violence similar to that at Massillon. The

police force, normally of about 60 men, remains at the swollen figure of 200, the additional men commonly referred to as vigilantes and paid in part by Republic Steel.

Hatchet Gang

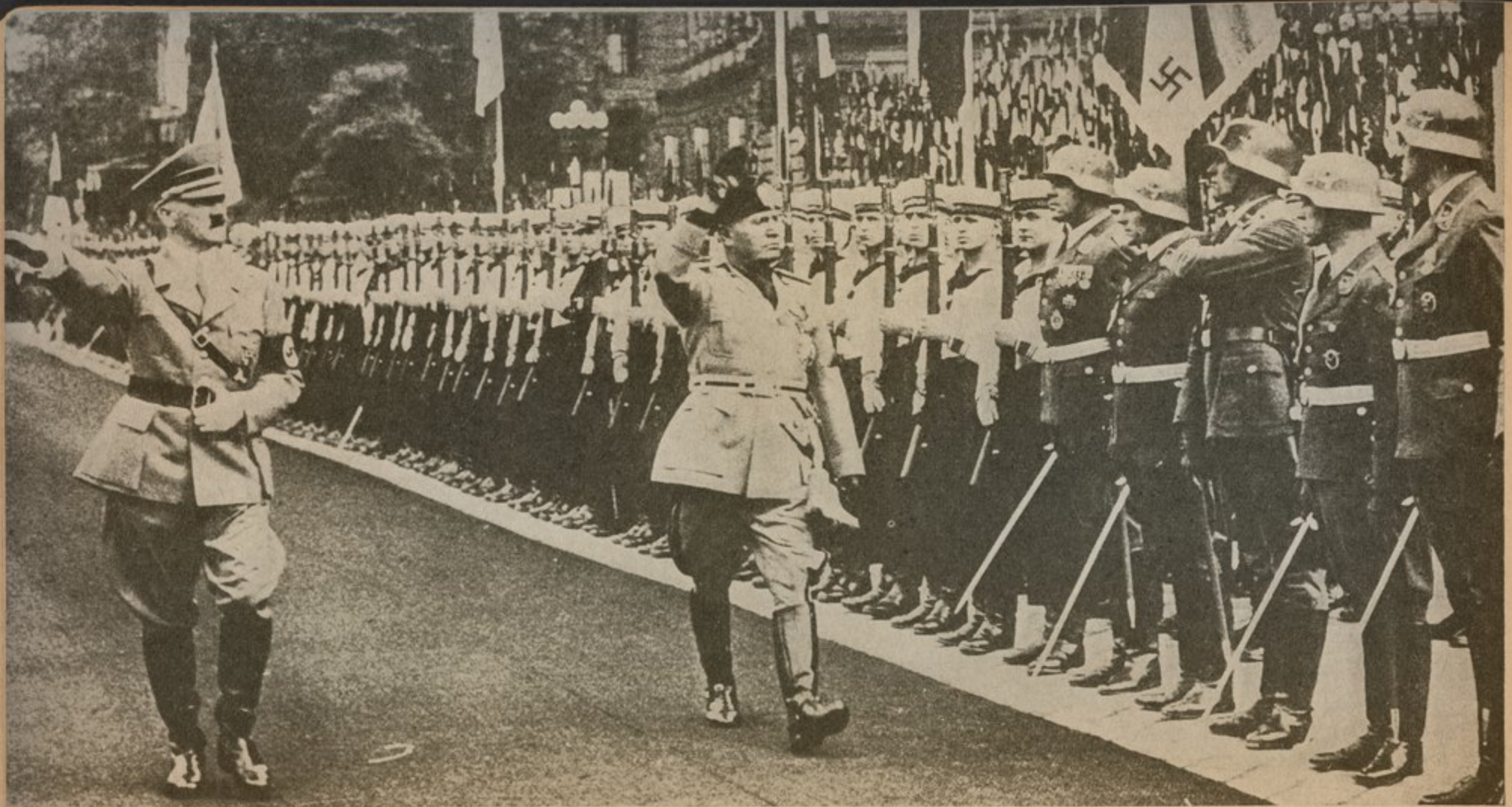
At the afternoon session the first to testify was Sherlie Cox of Wheeling, West Virginia, who told of conditions at Weirton. There the company has organized an Employees Security League among its workers. A special group known as the Hatchet Gang deals with workers who seek to join a union of their own. Those who refuse to take the anti-union pledge of the Security League are dismissed, and if they attempt to organize others they are beaten up by the Hatchet Gang. Violence outside the plant, however, has practically ceased since the workers elected candidates for sheriff and constable.

The exposure of conditions at Weirton was continued by several witnesses. Nick Moulakis explained how he was induced to sign an application for membership in the Security League under the pretext of voting for a six-hour day. In response to questions he described the efforts of the Chamber of Commerce to form a Community Security League to endorse the Employees Security League.

Edgar Wright told of proposals made to him by Claude Conway to join the Hatchet Gang to keep C.I.O. organizers out of Weirton. When he asked how it was proposed to do this the reply was: "The first time we will beat hell out of them and chase them. If they don't stay out we'll use other methods." When Wright became an officer of the local C.I.O. he was offered the choice between "going out peaceful or they would beat hell out of me, and they would kill me if they had to." He went peaceful.

Julius Mahonzeck of Weirton told of being urged by the Hatchet Gang to abandon the C.I.O. because it was a "Communist" organization, and on refusal

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It's military weather when aggressors get together. Here Hitler and Mussolini inspect an "honor" guard during their reunion in Munich

War Axis

By Lucien Zacharoff

FROM Rome to Munich roared the armored train, heralding Mussolini's call on Hitler. According to the newspapers of the two countries, the train was a forerunner and symbol of a new era of peace and good will. Even some foreign writers seemed impressed. In the words of one ecstatic American correspondent: "The population of Berlin is awaiting the arrival of the Italian Premier with undisguised joy, and enthusiasm will be overflowing in this great city during these festive days."

The population certainly was overflowing with something, if the Associated Press report is any criterion:

Strict precautions were being taken to insure the safety of Hitler and Mussolini. Thousands of guards took stations along the 700-mile stretch from the Austro-German border to the Mecklenburg area where they will attend secret army maneuvers.

Suspicious characters all through Germany were understood to have been placed in "protective custody" for the duration of the five-day Mussolini visit. Photographers were warned to stay away from Munich and every newsman must submit fifteen photographs of himself. No foreign correspondent will be

allowed to follow the pair to army maneuvers. Where Hitler and Mussolini will remain overnight in this district is being kept secret.

Separate Trains

The twain must have been aware of their public's devotion to them, for they traveled on separate trains during Mussolini's stay in the Nazi paradise, lest the same fate overtake them at the same time. Additional touches to this aspect of the triumphant tour are provided in Wallace Deuel's dispatch to the *Chicago Daily News*, wherein it is revealed that police measures were taken on a truly fantastic scale. Rarely if ever before has the world seen protection plans as elaborate as those described by Mr. Deuel:

Almost 5,000 Italian secret police agents have already arrived in Germany. . . . (It was still two days before Beloved Benito was due—L. Z.) They will be "disguised" as uniformed members of the S.S. When Hitler and Mussolini ride through the streets together it is understood there will be double ranks of S.S. men. Also large numbers of secret police in plain clothes will be distributed among the crowds and in and on the tops of buildings along the route, precautions

seldom taken in Germany on anything like the present scale. An elaborate card-index system of every Italian living in Germany was prepared several weeks ago. Ethiopians also are included.

German police cautioned the adoring multitudes not to throw flowers or anything else while the pair passed through the specially decorated streets flanked with "solid lines of *Schutzstaffeln* (Hitler Elite Guards)," as the *New York Times'* correspondent reported. Nevertheless, we learn from the same writer, Mussolini did not leave without presents. The curator of the Berlin Zoological Gardens gave him three crates of choice geese. Some of our readers may be puzzled as to the significance of the gift, but others will recall that ancient Rome was once saved from the barbarians by a flock of geese, and hope accordingly.

What They Did Not Say

In their public speeches, the Fascist heads stressed not only their common viewpoints but also the fact that they act in concert. However, the world

was particularly concerned with what they said to each other in private. Commentators agree that *Il Duce* must have failed to report to *Der Fuehrer* that on the very day they were insuring the peace of the world, those ungrateful wretches, the Northern Ethiopians, had wiped out the entire Italian garrison and Italian civil population of Roman officials at Makale.

It is reliably rumored that Mussolini remained oddly silent also on the quickly growing desertions among the Italian regiments reluctant to go to Spain. Nor did he quote Frank Knox, Republican nominee for Vice-President in 1936 and Chicago publisher, who earlier this year, on a trip through Italy, discovered extreme poverty. Military desertions have a counterpart in mass discontent pregnant with serious disorders in the near future. Since no one would accuse Colonel Knox of pro-labor bias, his comment is especially conducive to reflection:

Summarized, what has happened to the labor movement in Italy since it became dependent on Fascism has been the complete



The French fleet maneuvers in the Mediterranean storm-center. At right, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and Anthony Eden (with cane)

Der Fuehrer and Il Duce, leaders in the West of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo pact against mankind, celebrated a heavily guarded love-fest. Despite a difference of opinion as to who was the greater, they formed a "united rear." What now, world?

loss of its independent status, the loss of the right to strike, an institution of arbitrary control by politicians of both wages and hours and, finally, a steady drop in living standards which has gone on for years.

As for Hitler, when he and Mussolini had retreated for the night to that unnamed spot, his bedtime stories to his guest certainly did not include excerpts from the article in the London monthly, *Banker*, which summed up "The Results of Four Years of National Socialism." Said the *Banker*, known for its restraint and conservatism:

During the last few years there has been considerable unrest in German factories. It is true that the dissident workers have been ruthlessly repressed, but the strain caused to the German people by their Government policy must eventually prove unbearable.

It may be added that Nazi laws practically forbid salary raises in many industries although the cost of living is steadily going up and has been estimated to be 25 per cent higher in April, 1937, than in April, 1933. Butter is beyond the means of the average

German family, which is urged to sacrifice it for the sake of building more guns. Indeed, the latest reports are that publication of photographs of butter has been forbidden.

Who Took a Ride?

It would seem, on the basis of the foregoing, that the viewpoints and the activities of the Fascist dictators in respect to their more or less loyal subjects do coincide. Nevertheless, as we contemplate the published photos of the two seated side by side in an automobile, reviewing the Nazi troops, we wonder which of the pair was being taken for a ride. For the network of intrigue, blackmail and double-crossing woven between Germany and Italy, and also embracing other powers, every now and then shows through the screen of professed friendship.

While Mussolini and his suite watched the German detachments goose-step, they might have been thrilled at the potential assistance they would receive in saving Spain and civilization in general. Then again, their

observations might stand in good stead if the international highwaymen and pirates ever fall out. Did not Silex, the well known semi-official spokesman, write in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* that Germany is not particularly disposed to welcome Mussolini as an opponent of Britain?

The fact is that Hitler, not wanting to challenge Britain openly, is known to be opposed to Mussolini's strivings for an honest-to-goodness Italo-German military alliance.

Mussolini, for his part, was torn by a variety of emotions. If he paused for an examination of his talking-points on the eve of meeting Hitler, he must have been jolted to realize that he was traveling with empty hands. Spain's resistance was taxing him to the limit. Before leaving Rome, he must have approved that hasty additional mobilization of reinforcements to Franco, with the troops ready to sail from Milan alone estimated at 30,000, and an entire division made ready at Toscana. Did he then have anything substantial to offer Hitler in return for assistance

in continuing the Spanish adventure—and in event of the ripening of the crisis in the Mediterranean between Italy on one side and Britain and France on the other?

Thieves Over Austria

For assistance against London and Paris, Mussolini is willing to allow Hitler a free hand in Central and Southeastern Europe, and especially in Austria. But as we shall presently show, Hitler, while hatching a scheme for gobbling up Austria in the near future, thinks he can do what he pleases there without fear of Italian opposition anyway.

Under the circumstances, Mussolini—Europe's most notorious blackmailer—resorted to his time-honored method of bargaining. The Nyon anti-piracy conference, however inadequate it may have been, had somewhat sobered him into the realization that Europe is capable of uniting effectively against Fascist depredations. So, partly to placate France and England and partly

(Continued on page 29)

MAYBE crime doesn't pay the criminal. But there is no doubt that it pays huge dividends to the sponsors of such radio programs as *Warden Lawes* and *Gangbusters*.

Both of these broadcasts are highly sensational, as are scores of their imitators throughout the country, and both have huge and devoted audiences which consist, to an amazing extent, of children.

This preference of juveniles for such blood-and-thunder stuff is understandable enough when one considers the twaddle which is dished out to the little darlings on the early evening hours. In this connection it is interesting to note that *Buck Rogers*, one of the most popular juvenile programs, went off the air some time ago because the author revolted at its complete emasculation. The Columbia network had insisted that the villain, "Killer Kane," was too realistic, and demanded that "animal menaces" be substituted.

But "Killer Kane" was an angel of light compared with the criminal characters who swagger before the microphones of many so-called "adult educational programs." Machine guns rattle, crooks who receive their just deserts scream in mortal agony as they bite the dust, blood flows by buckets as America is made safe by an ex-hymn-singer and a mentor of Sing Sing Penitentiary.

When confronted with these facts, the networks contend that all good children should be in bed at the late hour when such programs are broadcast. But they conveniently forget that that hour grows steadily earlier as the shows travel farther west, until they can serve as bedtime stories in Chicago or on the Pacific coast.

A seven-year-old nephew of mine visited in New York City recently and nagged his parents until they took him to a radio theater where *Gangbusters* is presented each week to a large and enthusiastic audience. His disappointment was pitiful.

"Gee whiz!" complained the blood-thirsty little devil. "It wasn't any fun. They don't really kill those old gangsters at all."

Aaron Stein, columnist on the *New York Post*, summed up the situation recently as follows:

"Such cold facts as turn up in Dewey investigations . . . indicate that crime has been paying quite well in some quarters. Possibly taking the profit out of crime might be of more educational value than keeping up a pretense that there is no profit. . . . Confronted with the choice between equipping the listeners' spines with chills and supplying their heads with an idea, the broadcasters seem to have chosen the chills."

A good argument for government ownership of American radio might be worked out by comparing the sponsored programs mentioned above with sustaining programs on the same subject. Columbia's recent *Fighting Crime* series, presenting the views of prominent criminologists on the situation, was well thought out and effective.

Squeezing the Air

VARIETY'S plaintive wail that radio programs are going stale—the trade paper lists only five novel ideas among the new fall programs, three of which are Dale Carnegie's *Hobby Lobby*, a mental telepathy show from Chicago and the acidulous commentaries of General Hugh Johnson—can most probably be traced to the fact that broadcasters are steadily increasing their grosses by the use of the old standbys and have little or no interest in experiments.

N.B.C. grossed \$28,290,599 for the first nine months of 1937, an increase of 18.9 per cent over

RADIO

Crime pays the program sponsors . . . Pity the destitute chains . . . They come and go

a similar period last year, while C.B.S. took in \$20,800,118, an increase of 33.6 per cent.

Despite these tremendous receipts, both networks are dissatisfied with their profits and both have instituted "down-holding" campaigns to save money.

Columbia, whose net profit was "only" \$3,054,610 for the first six months of this year (more than 16 per cent of its gross, or an earning of \$1.48 on each share of \$2.50 par-value stock), has let it be known that employees will receive no raises on January 1st and that operating expenses must be cut to the bone. N.B.C. has put through a wholesale slash of personnel payroll which is expected to reach 30 per cent of the total, and has fired 46 employees in New York and 15 in its Chicago office.

Rumor has it that Columbia is trying to pass onto the shoulders of its employees the \$2,000,000 it has laid aside for its new television station, while N.B.C. is doing the same thing with the huge salaries it has started paying Dr. James R. Angell and Arturo Toscanini.

As the result of all this "down-holding," rumblings of discontent are increasing throughout the industry and union organization is going on apace.

Governor Cone of Florida was given a hot (or cold) reception when he went to New York to inaugurate Emily Post's series of broadcasts entitled *How to Get the Most out of Life* and sponsored by the Florida Citrus Commission.

Members of the Workers Defense League



picketed the Columbia Building while Cone was there, with placards headed "Blood in the Orange Groves" and demanding whether the governor's idea of getting the most out of life was to allow the Florida Ku Klux Klan to go scotfree after beating and murdering such labor organizers as Joseph Shoemaker.

After that harrowing experience the governor went down to City Hall to visit Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia. He was kept waiting for two hours in an ante-room, after which a secretary reported that the mayor was "not in."

Departures and Arrivals

WE HAD just heaved a sigh of relief upon learning that Father Coughlin was not going on the air this fall due to the disapproval of his bishop, when along came the announcement that the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, national chairman of the Committee of One Million, was going to substitute for him. Smith has signed a 26-week contract for an independent nation-wide network of more than 75 stations (including 38 stations given up by Father Coughlin) and started disseminating his Fascist poison on the eve of the special session of Congress. Smith, who considers himself the heir of Huey Long, describes his committee as a "political Red Cross." Double-cross is the word, Jerry.

C.B.S. is losing one of its most talented employees in the person of Irving Reis, director of the "Columbia Workshop," who has just signed a motion-picture contract.

Reis, who by the way had a lot to do with the film *The Spanish Earth*, has upset a lot of apple carts and done much to advance the art of radio drama during his year with the "Workshop." One of his latest presentations, Mark Blitzstein's *I've Got the Tune*, created a veritable sensation by exposing reactionary and Fascist tendencies now at work in America.

Blitzstein, whose *The Cradle Will Rock* was banned by the W.P.A. Federal Theater last spring, wrote this first radio operetta around the figure of Mr. Musiker, who composes the tune for a splendid marching song and starts looking for words to go with it. He gets some dizzy suggestions from the decadent Mrs. Arbutus of Park Avenue, then visits a Nazi camp in New Jersey where the "Purple Shirts" compose lyrics for his song beginning:

You've gotta, 'cause Captain says you've gotta,
You've gotta . . . bow . . . down.

Finally he runs into a student demonstration. The youngsters stop singing "Pie in the Sky" long enough to give him the right words.

Reis' place at Columbia probably will be taken by William N. Robson, who directed the "Workshop" during Reis' recent trip to Europe. Robson at present is making quite a name for himself as director of the W.P.A.'s *Tish* series. The first of these dramatizations of famous stories by Mary Roberts Rinehart was an awful flop, but Robson has since done wonders with the program.

Johannes Steel, author of *Escape to the Present*, has taken to the air as a commentator on world events for WMCA in New York and the Inter-city Network. Steel is widely known for predicting the big Nazi "purge" of 1934, and contributed *From Munich to Johnstown* to our September issue. He can be heard on Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday from 7:45 to 8 P.M.

—GEORGE SCOTT



They Want Life

"The Spanish people are fighting for a chance to live, for a chance for their children, for the decency and peace of the future." Read a noted American writer's account

By Dorothy Parker

ILLUSTRATED BY JO PAGE



I WANT to say first that I came to Spain without any axe to grind. I didn't bring messages from anybody nor greetings to anybody. I am not a member of any political party. The only group I have ever been affiliated with is that not especially brave little band that hid its nakedness of heart and mind under the garment of a sense of humor.

I was puzzled, as you may have been, about Spain. I read in our larger newspapers that here was a civil war, with the opposing factions neatly divided into Reds and Whites—rather as if they were chessmen. Even I could figure out that if it were so uncomplicated as that it would have been over long ago. I heard people say that it is a religious war. Even I could figure out that there is something not quite right when Moors are employed to defend Christianity. Since I have been here I have heard what the people in the streets say. Not many of them call it the "war." They speak of the "invasion." Theirs is the better word.

There cannot be, in all the world, any place like the city of Madrid today. It has been under siege for more than a year. You read about besieged cities in medieval history, and, you say, how awful things must have been, thank goodness they don't happen now. It has happened in Madrid, and it goes on happening, in a city as big and as beautiful and as modern as Washington.

Besieged Madrid

The dispatches say that there is not much doing in the Madrid front now—there is very little activity. It is what is called a lull. But all day long, you hear the guns—the dull boom of the big guns, and the irritable crackle of machine guns. And you know that the gunners no longer need to shoot just for practice. When there is firing, that means there is blood and blindness and death.

And the streets are crowded, and the shops are open, and the people go about their daily living. It isn't tense, and it isn't hysterical. They have the sure, steady spirit of those who know what the fight is about, and know they must win.

In spite of all the evacuation, there are still nearly a million people here. Some of them—you may be like that, yourself—won't leave their homes and their possessions, all the things they have gathered together through the years. They are not at all dramatic about it. It is simply that anything else than the life they have made for themselves is inconceivable to them. Yesterday I saw a woman who lives in the poorest quarter of Madrid. It has been bombed twice by the Fascists: her house is one of the few left standing. She has seven children. It has often been suggested to her that she and the children leave Madrid for a safer place. She dismisses such ideas easily and firmly. Every six weeks, she says, her husband has 48 hours leave from the front. Naturally, he wants to come home to see her and the children. She, and each one of the seven, are calm and strong and smiling. It is a typical Madrid family.

Food for the Children

There are 50,000 babies still here. All food is scarce, and dairy products almost memories. But the Republican Government has set up, all over the city, stations where a mother may get milk and eggs and cereals for her baby, regularly and without delay. If she has any money, she may buy them at cost. If she hasn't any, she is given them. Doctors say that the little children of Madrid are better nourished than they ever were in the old days.

The bigger children play in the streets, just as happily and just as noisily as the children in America. That is, they play after school hours. For during siege and under shell fire, education in

Republican Spain goes on. I do not know where you can see a finer thing.

Six years ago when that royal romp, Alphonso, left his racing-cars and his racing-stables and also left, by popular request, his country, there remained 28,000,000 people. Of them, 12,000,000 were completely illiterate. It is said that Alphonso himself had been taught to read and write, but he had not troubled to bend those accomplishments to the reading of statistics nor the signing of appropriations for schools.

Schools for All

Six years ago, almost half the population of this country was illiterate. The first thing the Republican Government did was to recognize the hunger, the starvation of the people for education. Now there are schools even in the tiniest, poorest villages; more schools in a year than ever were in all the years of the reigning kings. And still more are being established every day. I have seen a city bombed by night, and the next morning the people rose and went on with the completion of their schools. Here in Madrid, as well as in Valencia, a workers' institute is ready to open. It is a college, but not a college where rich young men may go to make friends with other rich young men who will be valuable to them in business later. It is a college where workers, forced to start work as children in fields and factories, may study to be teachers or doctors or lawyers or scientists, according to their gifts. Their intensive university course takes two years. And while they are studying, the government pays their families the money they would have been earning.

In the schools for young children, there is none of the dread thing you have heard so much about—"depersonalization." Each child has, at the expense

(Continued on page 29)

THE PROFIT-CRAZED bosses of America's screen capital did not take kindly to the cool reception accorded Vittorio Mussolini by the Motion Picture Artists Committee. Their reaction was voiced by Columnist Frank Pope, writing on behalf of the all-sacred Industry in the "Tradeview" column of the *Hollywood Reporter*. Said Pope: "The private opinions and beliefs held by picture-players are their own and no one has the right to say that they shall not hold such opinions. But when they make those opinions public, to the detriment of their own screen-value and therefore to the detriment of the company that employs them, that is something else again. In such cases, we believe, the industry has the right to object."

"Ambulances, autographed by 100 players and driven across the country on their way to Spain, are not likely to increase admiration for the signers in the minds of those in the opposite camp. Nor are public advertisements, denouncing Vittorio Mussolini, calling for a carload of medical supplies to be sent to Spanish loyalists and signed 'Motion Picture Artists Committee,' liable to help the grosses of Hollywood pictures in Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany."

The actors made a quick reply, which was printed in Pope's column. It read:

"The Motion Picture Artists Committee does not believe that the industry has either the right or the desire to object to the exercise by Hollywood stars of their constitutional right of free speech, because of the possible effect in countries where free speech is denied."

"The markets in those countries are already negligible, due to quota restriction. Profits made in those countries must remain in those countries. Boycott of stars is in effect for other than political reasons: viz, the Dionne quintuplets and Shirley Temple banned in Germany. Those markets are incapable of expansion, and the immediate future of the industry lies in expansion in the domestic market, England, the British Dominions, and all democratic countries."

"The President of the United States was aware of the sentiment of the country when, in Chicago, on October 5, he recommended a quarantine of aggressor nations. The A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., in convention, went on record as favoring a boycott of Japan. The nation is not concerned with the possible loss of those markets. It is of more importance to the industry to maintain the goodwill of the people of the United States, than to court the favor of Herr Hitler or Signor Mussolini."

"By making their sympathies for anti-Nazism, anti-Fascism, and other antis, public, the stars are identifying themselves with the great mass of the American people and the democratic peoples throughout the world. We cannot believe that creative artists are injuring themselves, or the industry in



Garbo as Countess Walewska and Charles Boyer as Napoleon in "Conquest"

MOVIES

Speed the parting guest . . . A so-so
Hollywood month . . . New foreign
pictures . . . The social theater

which they are a part, if they join with the President of the United States and all organized labor in 'active endeavors for peace.' By their sincerity as human beings they are achieving greater respect and greater popularity in 90 per cent of the world's markets."

Hollywood Output

AMONG the new items of the month was *Ali Baba Goes To Town*, which provided Eddie Cantor with another opportunity to go to sleep and wake up in a strange land and era. Eddie woke up in Rome once: they called it *Roman Scandals*. It wasn't much good, but it was far and above a more entertaining film than *Ali Baba*. We mention it mainly because of some heavy-handed attempts at political satire, as Eddie tries to solve the problems of Bagdad by installing a W.P.A. and higher taxation.

A pallid carbon-copy of *Black Legion*, called *Nation Aflame*, tried to link up vigilante movements with agitation for higher wages—by showing a racketeer who controlled a black nightgown movement and levied tribute on business men through threats of strike trouble. The Warners brought forth *West of Shanghai*, a yarn about a Chinese bandit general which seemed

very silly in comparison with the newsreels which accompanied it.

The Warners also came through with another hot-from-the-headlines story, *Alcatraz Island*, picturing an industrial racketeer in a sympathetic light while New York's new District Attorney, Thomas E. Dewey, was doing all he could to jail the real-life counterparts of such characters.

Among the bright spots of the month were *Music for Madame*, with Nino Martini and one of the cleverest plots devised since Hollywood began importing opera singers; the very entertaining *The Great Garrick*, with Brian Aherne enacting the rôle of the noted English actor; *Life Begins in College*, an amusing football picture with the Ritz Brothers, one of whom catches his own forward pass; *The Perfect Specimen*, with Joan Blondell, a film in the same vein as *Theodora Goes Wild* and *It Happened One Night* which did much to raise the Warner average for the month; and *Fit for a King*, an innocuous but not too annoying trifle with Joe E. Brown.

Under the disappointing column you might list also *The Bride Wore Red*, with Joan Crawford, Franchot Tone and Robert Young, all of whom were pleasant enough but unable to bolster a weak story; *Wife, Doctor and Nurse*,

one of the new lows of the season, and *Over the Goal*, which also had something to do with football.

From England and France

THE REALLY outstanding films to be shown recently were both foreign imports, *Queen Victoria* and *Club des Femmes*.

Queen Victoria was produced in England by Herbert Wilcox, and starred Anna Neagle in the title role. It was an almost documentary "official" biography which placed due stress on the social reforms in England during Victoria's reign and on the Trent incident, whereby Victoria and Albert averted a war with the Federal government of the United States after two Confederate agents had been seized aboard a British vessel. Being an "official" biography, it naturally treated the monarch with more loving protection than was shown in *Victoria Regina* on the stage last season. And it limited mention of Britain's imperialist expansion during Victoria's reign to a Technicolor shot of some richly garbed Indian princes paying homage to the Widow of Windsor. The picture contains a moral for today's Empire, for the aged queen appeals to her countrymen to adhere to those principles of "Democracy, tolerance and freedom which may well mould the destiny of the whole world." London papers please copy.

Club des Femmes was written and directed by Jacques Deval, noted French playwright, and the cast included Danielle Darrieux, who will soon appear in *The Rage of Paris* (sic) for Universal, and Else Argal, who is Mrs. Deval in private life. To this corner's way of thinking, this story of the residents of a Parisian hotel for girls rates as one of the artistic highlights of the season.

While Hollywood continued at an uninspiring level, the social theater appeared to be preparing to take a new lease on life. Marc Blitzstein's controversial steel-strike opera, which was given a unique fortnight's showing under private auspices last spring after the Federal Theater officials refused to permit it to open, opened a series of Sunday performances at the Mercury Theatre in New York that may run well into the spring. The Mercury Theatre, incidentally, is a newcomer to the Broadway scene, having been organized for the production of classical repertory in a modern manner by Orson Welles and John Houseman, who produced *The Cradle Will Rock* for the government.

Another event of interest to the social theater was the return of the Group Theatre to Broadway with *Golden Boy*, a new play by Clifford Odets. Frances Farmer, the screen actress, joined the Group's stalwarts in the cast.

Schreiber

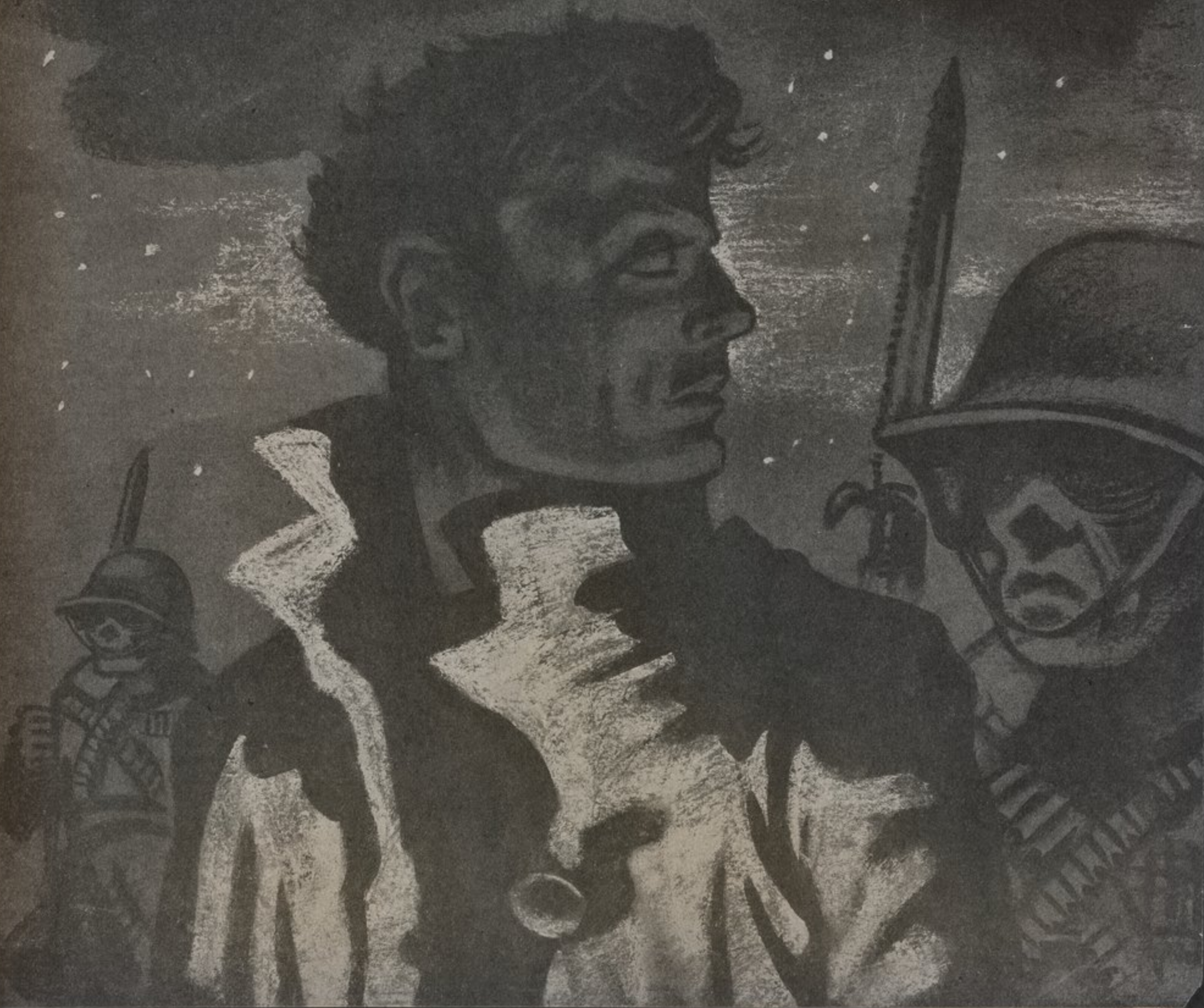
The Crime Took Place At Granada!...

(For Federico Garcia Lorca)

By Antonio Machado

ILLUSTRATED BY GEORGES SCHREIBER

WE SAW him go, rifles on either side,
Down the long avenue to dawn's cold plain,
Quiet beneath the stars.
There, as the light took aim, they shot him down.
The firing squad all shut their eyes and prayed,
Afraid to look him in the face, they prayed:
"Not even God himself will save you now."
Blood on the brow, lead in the heart, he fell.
The crime took place at Granada,
You know—poor Granada—his Granada.



A Farmer and His Friend

Mort Goeldner, who worked every day of his life, couldn't pay the interest on his mortgage. He took his problem to Greer the money-lender, who had an answer. A story of farm debt.

By Dale Kramer

IT WAS not later than 10 o'clock but the office of Greer the money-lender was full of farmers waiting their turns. The Goeldners nodded at the girl at her typewriter, and sat down in a double chair.

"He's busy but you can see him pretty soon," the girl said.

It looked as if it would be a long time. Goeldner, who had a speaking acquaintanceship with several of the farmers, nodded to them. Occasionally there were attempts to enter into conversation, but they invariably failed. No one wanted to talk about farming and there wasn't much else to talk about. So they sat and waited.

Goeldner was thinking that in the fall things might be better. Surely this couldn't go on forever. Maybe prices would start on the upgrade and a man could make something on his hogs. Supposing the price could even come back to where it was before Hoover. A man could at least pay the interest and whittle down the principle a little. In a case of that kind Mort figured he could go to the bank—if not to Groves' bank then to the other one—and get money to pay off Greer. He made a mental resolve to take his loan away from Groves at the first opportunity. The banker was in the saddle now, but times could change. And when they did John Groves was going to be sorry for some of the things he had done the last year or two. Of course, the other bank was about as bad. Young White was more hard-boiled, but he at least talked with a man who couldn't pay his loan. And it would be something to take it away from Groves even though it didn't get into better hands.

HALF an hour later Greer ushered a farmer out of his private room, slapped him on the back and looked around the room. The farmer didn't seem to appreciate the lawyer's genial gesture, for his face wore an anxious appearance as he pulled

down the ear-tabs of his cap, stuck it on his head and padded through the door, his high overshoes rattling.

The lawyer looked around the room, his eyes alighting on Goeldner and his wife.

"Hello, Mort," Greer greeted him. "Glad to see you. Come in."

Goeldner and his wife got up. None of the farmers said anything, but their eyes had the looks of a dog whose feelings have been injured. They had come early in hope of seeing Greer and getting back home. Now here he was letting late comers in ahead of them.

"Sorry, folks," Greer lied. "The Goeldners had an appointment." He ushered Mort and Ella through the door, closing it after them.

"Just sit here," he said, pointing to two straight chairs in front of his desk. Greer had a large, flat-topped desk with an easy chair behind it. He sat down in it, leaning back and putting his arm behind his head.

"Land of living!" he exploded. "I never saw such times in my life. Never saw so many people needing money. Something has to be done one of these days or things are going to crack wide open. I can't see for the life of me how things can go along like this much longer."

He tapped on the desk with his forefinger to emphasize the seriousness of the situation.

"I've had four farmers in here to see me already this morning—same thing the matter with every one of them. Mortgage at the bank and they can't get more time unless they pay the interest. One man already has action started against him—one of these crooked insurance companies, those big Eastern concerns squeezing the very life-blood out of farmers.

"Wanted me to let him have some money. Wasn't a thing I could do. I've known George for twenty years. As square a shooter as a man could ever want and a good farmer to boot."

Greer took a drink of ice water from the pitcher

which, winter or summer, he always kept on his desk.

"I tell you, folks, it wrung my heart to see this man sit right where you're sitting, Mrs. Goeldner, and tell me he was going to lose his farm and me knowing all the time that there wasn't anything on God's earth I could do for him. If I had the money I'd take it out of my pocket and give it to him without note or mortgage. But I'm like everyone else. To the wall.

"When you see as much of this thing as I do, there's only one thing a man feels like doing and that's sitting right back and having a good cry. I can only thank the Good Lord Above that He has allowed me to be in a position to help some of them. When these—these blasted bankers—I nearly said something a sight worse—take after the farmers, they can come to me and get some help, just all the help I can give even though it breaks me in the long run.

"After a farmer has gone to these bankers and insurance companies and are told to pack up and get off the farm I thank God they can come into this office for help. When things are blackest and I don't know which way to turn I can always get a little better feeling by looking down into my own heart and knowing that I have helped good, honest, hard-working people when the wolves were after them."

Greer had become a little excited and took his hand from in back of his head to pound on the table. Mort and Ella sat uncomfortably on their straight chairs, listening to the outburst. They knew that the farmers who waited in the outer room hoped for an extension on their loans from Greer. They knew that those farmers must pay and pay dearly, sometimes up to one third of the loan, to get it extended and then in two or three months there would be the same thing to do over again.

(Continued on page 30)



mortgage.
arm lebt





Books

A Military View

IF WAR COMES, by R. Ernest Dupuy and George Fielding Eliot; 368 pages; The Macmillan Company; \$3.00.

SEVERAL months ago we had the pleasure of reviewing a book entitled *How to Run a War* and written by a professor of economics. Here we have a book on the same subject but treated quite differently. These two majors are concerned solely with military aspects of modern armed conflict. They write as professional warriors with a background both of experience and historical perspective.

In treating war without regard to its political and economic aspects the authors are not quite able to present the total picture of the generation and impact of war. For instance, they maintain that every major power of Europe needs Spain primarily for military purposes. No mention is made of the rich ore deposits and other economic factors. However, they are quick to admit that the initial moves of another world war are taking place on the soil of Spain.

The first part of the book deals with what war—if it comes—will be like in the air, on land and on the sea, with some attention to the effects of gas both on military forces and the civilian population. They conclude that the trend must be toward small highly professional armies rather than conscript masses, but hint that civilians must also be mobilized for industrial support of war. At one point these military technicians do admit the political factor—propaganda. They are especially concerned about anti-war sentiment behind the lines and its effect on the discipline of the industrial army necessary to support the armed forces.

Naval policy is the major factor in the protection of the United States, and the authors support the thesis that naval policy limits and even formulates the diplomatic, political and economic policy of a nation. This has been too much of the pattern followed in recent years when the Navy Department has to some degree usurped the functions of the Department of State. However, the authors seem to feel that this is necessary.

The second section of the book deals with the possible moves toward war or

in defense that might be made by the major and many minor powers. The analyses and suggested following actions make the map of the world look like an area of smoldering volcanoes. Regarding the position of the United States, the authors conclude that except for the weak outpost in the Philippines, our position on both coasts is highly satisfactory. They also feel that the Regular Army and National Guard are sufficient to repel any attempt to invade the United States. The country is prepared to defend herself—there is no need to be prepared for aggression against another power, unless offensive action is necessary for self-defense. This qualification is a familiar strategy urged by both football quarterbacks and army generals—the best defense is an offense. But football players are throwing only footballs.

—PAUL REID

The Life of Brisbane

BRISBANE: A CANDID BIOGRAPHY, by Oliver Carlson; 373 pages; Stackpole Sons; \$3.00.

FROM HIS second excursion to the Hearstian jungle for biographical material, Oliver Carlson has brought back the cleverest chimpanzee of them all—Arthur Brisbane.

Brisbane was an unprincipled opportunist who combined banality as an editor with shrewdness as a real-estate operator. He fell in with William Randolph Hearst when the latter had just left Harvard at the request of the authorities and was preparing to copy the ideas of Joseph Pulitzer. A study of the circulation figures of Pulitzer's *New York World* had revealed that this course was likely to be profitable.

Hearst provided Brisbane with a paper and told him that this paper must be made to appeal to the masses of poor people who read the *World*. Brisbane, with a talent for superficiality, created a newspaper which pandered to greed and wish-fulfillment in words of one and two syllables, generously illustrated. He carried Pulitzer's tactics one step further by playing on the lowest impulses in foot-high, two-color headlines. Hearst and Brisbane taught their generation that the principles of journalism, as well as of advertising, are: "First, it must be seen; second, it must be read; third, it must be understood; fourth, it must be believed, and fifth, it must cause the reader to want the thing advertised."

Big bold face type, leg art, sensational news, scandals, divorces, murders and sex stories continued to dominate the pages of the papers which Brisbane edited. The jazz age wanted no introspection. It craved ac-

tion, spice and pep. The Hearst-Brisbane combination was ideal for this.

As for Arthur Brisbane "himself," he inherited nothing of the brilliance or integrity of his father, Albert Brisbane—the philosopher and Socialist economist who deeply influenced his generation before the turn of the century. Carlson describes Arthur as "an outstanding reporter of the commonplace." His columns will be happily forgotten, even his popularizations of science, which David Starr Jordan once dubbed "sciosophy," or "systematized ignorance, the most delightful science in the world because it is acquired without labor or pain and keeps the mind from melancholy."

Brisbane: A Candid Biography adds little of profit so far as yellow journalism is concerned. Once you have noted that the cash-register is the hub of the Hearst papers, there is not a great deal more to say. The book apparently includes the pages that were left over after *Hearst: Lord of San Simeon* was edited. Carlson has certainly proved that Brisbane was the ideal other half of the Hearst team; and he has compiled an entertaining volume. Incidentally, he deserved a better designed book from his publisher.

—FRANK B. BLUMENFIELD

Unity in China

WHEN CHINA UNITES, by Harry Gannes; 293 pages; Alfred A. Knopf; \$2.50.

THIS SUMMARY of the history of China from the first efforts of Occidental nations to open her markets and exploit her resources to the last stage of the imperialist drive, the Japanese war of conquest, is a fine introduction to an understanding of the present crisis and the world issues involved.

At the present stage it is to the interest of all non-Japanese and democratic nations to unite in opposition to such barbarous invasion and ruthless destruction as is taking place. The issues involved are the same essentially as those which still have to be faced by candid and honest democratic nations in Spain, although the theatre of war is on a much grander scale. Mr. Gannes does not attempt to make predictions of what the stand of various



"From anywhere within each circle bombers CAN reach the center, drop bombs and return"—from "If War Comes," by R. Ernest Dupuy and George Fielding Eliot. The map serves as frontispiece to the book

nations will be on the China crisis; but he does clearly indicate what they should be. He is most interested in the development of Chinese unity and what it can accomplish in turning back the Fascist-Japanese hordes. Any assistance and coöperation which the brave people of China receive will strengthen their resistance, but will not fundamentally reshape the direction of events.

This book was published several weeks before President Roosevelt's momentous speech at Chicago, in which he denounced aggressors and all but named the three Fascist terrorists as the disturbers of the world's peace. If the President sincerely wishes to implement his ideals as expressed in his speech—the immediate restoration of international law, respect for treaties and collective action—he should lay down a concrete program which will unite all defenders of freedom before it is too late. Along these lines the various democratic forces in China have been uniting and are continuing to do so; it remains for those outside to follow their example.

—WILLIAM E. DODD, JR.

A Study of Labor

WHEN LABOR ORGANIZES, by Robert R. Brooks; 361 pages; Yale University Press; \$3.00.

THIS COMPREHENSIVE study of the American labor movement invites the attention of those who have "picked up" their knowledge of organized labor, as well as those who are uninformed on the subject. The author, who is Assistant Professor of Economics at Williams College, presents a careful and systematic description of trade unionism (and industrial unionism), somewhat in the manner of a lecture course. After dealing with Organizing a Union, The Evolution of the Labor Movement, Anti-unionism, The Strike, Breaking Strikes, The Unions, his chapters take up The Business Policies of Labor; The Benefit and Welfare Policies of Unionism; Union Finances, Administration and Leadership; The Labor Movement and Political Action, and The Labor Movement in an Evolving Society. The book is liberally documented with examples from the actual scene, as well as with union songs, good photographs, and a list of American unions with their memberships. Typical of the author's method is the chapter on "Breaking Strikes," which reconstructs the use of the "Mohawk Valley Formula" by Remington-Rand, Inc., at Middletown, Connecticut.

When Labor Organizes contains a wealth of valuable material, compiled in an honest and fair spirit. One must note, however, that an academic viewpoint tends to blur over the dynamics of the labor struggle. While current developments are treated adequately enough so far as the organizational



When labor assembles—just before the Chicago police shot to kill in the Memorial Day massacre

—and even political—direction of the movement are concerned, there is little mention of the Fascist menace or of the threat of war, and the impression is given that labor is "evolving" more or less in a vacuum. Or when these subjects are mentioned, it is in shall we say "weasel words"—terms which, while perhaps technically correct, do not carry the full significance they should. This reviewer had the distinct impression that the author was trying to tell the truth in as quiet a voice as possible, unwilling to lie, but in hopes he would not be very widely heard. But perhaps this is the effect of too great a straining after "impartiality." Whatever the cause, it is an unfortunate quality.

If the reader will keep before him the picture of the Chicago steel massacre as he reads, he will find the book worth while.

—CHARLES PRESTON

Humane and Rugged

INTEGRITY, THE LIFE OF GEORGE W. NORRIS, by Richard L. Neuberger and Stephen B. Kahn; 389 pages; The Vanguard Press; \$3.00.

THE CAREER of Senator George W. Norris is a record of achievement and one of the brighter pages of our contemporary history. Time has given proof to the justice of the reforms he has advocated and has demonstrated the iniquity of many of the measures he opposed. Among his achievements are the struggle against the public utility trusts, the creation of the Norris Dam, the T.V.A., and the "Lame Duck" Amendment to the Constitution. One of the steps he tried to prevent was our entry into the World War.

The volume under review is very aptly entitled *Integrity*, for that is the essential quality of Senator Norris' life.

The authors, however, would have been well advised to mind the old English adage that "good wine needs no bush." They have not served the Senator by making his biography a continuous eulogy from the cradle to the present day. Equally perhaps, they might have been reminded of Cromwell's famous precept for portraiture: "Paint me with the wart on my face." A little shadow here and there would have made the outline sharper and taken nothing from clarification. The one adverse reference to Norris' career, to balance somewhat the sweetness and light with which the authors suffuse their pages, is found in a statement which they quote from Howard Y. Williams, national organizer for the American Commonwealth Federation.

Of this remarkable interview (in 1932) with the old man from Nebraska, Williams has written: "It was the sympathetic, humane position of the rugged individualist who would do anything he could to bring justice, but had not a sufficient economic understanding of the whole problem to see the need of a new social order that would substitute for the profit system, with its monopolies and monopoly prices placing the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, a new society based upon national social planning."

That single paragraph is a truer, though less comprehensive, summary of the Senator's career, than the authors have written. And it detracts nothing from the old warrior's sterling qualities: honesty, humanity, integrity.

—CHARLES RECHT

Good for Walter

THE GOOD SOCIETY, by Walter Lippmann; 402 pages; Little, Brown and Company; \$3.00.

"FOR MORE than twenty years," says Walter Lippmann in the introduction to this book, "I have found myself writing about critical events with no better guide to their meaning than the hastily improvised generalizations of a rather bewildered man."

So Mr. Lippmann, as an avid seeker after truth, stopped writing, enlarged his already considerable store of knowledge, and finally came to the comforting conclusion that men want to be free. Freedom can be attained only through a revival of "liberalism"—that is, Landon liberalism. A planning for abundance is a "meaningless conception." Having attained this degree of understanding it is natural that Mr. Lippmann should still be fundamentally a pessimist.

The "good society" which Walter Lippmann envisages is one which might exist only in an ideal world. Even then it would not be quite so "good" as the society which can be attained here on the earth we know, but which Mr. Lippmann rejects.

This is a long book, written with all its author's customary fluency, but it is

about as helpful and comforting to the enslaved masses as W. E. Henley's *Invictus*, or the guide to the Island of Formosa. The "liberals" of the Liberty League, however, will quote it with relish, understanding, and—irrelevancy.

—LESLIE READE

Problems of Youth

FOUR RECENTLY issued pamphlets play the searchlight on youth's problems. Morris Schnapper, who has appeared in the pages of *THE FIGHT* many times, is the author of *Youth Betrayed*. It is a detailed, factual listing of Nazism's gifts to the world. Here are the songs that inspire the Hitler youth, the labor camps for women, the control of teachers and finally the long list of names of young fellows and girls who have died or been sentenced to prison terms for their stand in behalf of Democracy. This is really a fine pamphlet for those who want more than rhetoric in denunciations of Fascism.

With war actually being waged in several parts of the world, the youth peace movement must have a program suitable to the situation. The proposals offered are legion. In a pamphlet *We Want to Live*, by Leonard J. Mason, the Young Communist League presents its position. While there is a clear appeal for socialism, for a social system which will abolish the causes of war, there is also the presentation of a "short-term" program in the form of collective security forced by collective action of the people. In a very lively, interesting manner the author takes up most of the controversial peace issues of the day such as "economic appeasement" of countries like Germany, the Oxford Pledge, neutrality and sanctions.

The two other pamphlets under consideration cover domestic rather than international issues. These are *Youngville, U.S.A.*, by A. M. Sirkin of the American Youth Congress, and *Youth in Action*, issued by the Social Action Committee of the Congregational Church. *Youngville* takes a "youth" community and analyzes the conditions of its inhabitants. "Youth's part in crime is now costing the nation over \$3,500,000,000 each year," says Mr. Sirkin. In New York City it has been estimated that each criminal costs the state \$5,000 until he is put into jail. An Associate Superintendent of Schools declared that at that price "it would be cheaper to send them to Harvard."

Youth in Action is not so long as the previously discussed booklet, but it considers most of the matters affecting youth—including peace, education, unemployment, health and recreation. There are charts to make it all more digestible. Its pages are eloquent with facts. The four pamphlets are of high quality.

—JAMES LERNER

THE BLUE funk in Wall Street, which was described in this column a month ago, has since progressed into a full-fledged and violent case of the jitters. The culmination of the stock-market decline of the past few months in a collapse which paralleled in severity of decline the panic of 1929 has shaken the Street from top to bottom.

From the standpoint of the American people as a whole, however, the significant change in the financial atmosphere is not the deterioration of Wall Street's morale. Rather, it is the campaign by the Street and its financial allies to use the uncertainty and fear that have grown out of the market crash and the accompanying slump in business, as a lever to force drastic concessions to capital from the Washington administration. In other words, the strategy of Big Business interests is to secure, by exploitation of national economic distress, the same reactionary objectives which they have been unable to obtain in recent years through open conflict with progressive political forces.

This campaign already has reached a relatively advanced stage. Its opening gun was a speech in mid-October by Winthrop W. Aldrich, financial spokesman for the Rockefeller interests and head of the Rockefeller-controlled Chase National Bank, the largest in the country. Aldrich, working in close collaboration with the stock-exchange interests, directed his main attack against federal regulation of stock-market operations. He attempted, by fatuous arguments too complicated to examine in detail here, to lay entire responsibility for the break in prices upon the "thin market" caused by federal legislation; he demanded, in effect, restoration of full freedom of action for big-time stock-gambling operations as the price of a stable market less unsettling to general economic conditions. The implication in his attack supported the view, which is also substantiated by actual events in the market, that the panic in the exchange—as distinct from the more normal downward trend of prices—was fostered by Wall Street in a direct effort to discredit government regulation of its activities.

A Broad Campaign

BUT THE attack on the Securities and Exchange Commission covers only one sector of Wall Street's current campaign. Other objectives, which in fact are considered more important by many of the industrial interests, include the repeal or drastic amendment of the undistributed-profits tax, which is designed to compel big stockholders to pay full taxes on all the earnings of their corporate holdings, and the similar mutilation of the capital-gains tax in order to make the stock-market winnings of the big capitalists tax-free. Another object is to prevent

WALL STREET

Big Business tries to stampede the course of progress . . . The Administration yields to Tory pressure . . . What the people must do

passage of the socially vital wages-and-hours bill, or at least to assure its emasculation. In fact, no existing legislation of real social value—such as the Wagner Labor Act—will be immune from attack and defeat if the progressive forces of the country permit the Wall Street campaign to steam-roller the Administration into submission.

The strategy of Wall Street in this campaign is to seize this moment of uncertainty, declining business and increasing unemployment to threaten that all capital will retrench unless "confidence" is restored by sweeping legislative concessions and restraint of labor. In other words, business will refuse to expand, to buy more equipment, to build new buildings or make similar

commitments essential for the operation of the strategic heavy industries unless Washington capitulates. As early as mid-October, this threat was openly expressed—although of course in ambiguous, distorted language—by Walter Lippmann, the reformed "liberal" who has become one of the economic royalists' most unctious spokesmen. "If they"—meaning the New Deal—"want a prosperous capitalism, they will have to give business the security under which it can prosper; if they want collectivism, they must be prepared to face the grim fact that, once they have made the choice, capitalism will not go on imperturbably producing wealth for them, but will become paralyzed and will stagnate. They can move into col-

lectivism only through a severe depression and a great social crisis." For Lippmann's "collectivism," simply read the New Deal's program of social legislation—incomplete as it is from any far-reaching progressive point of view. For Lippmann's "security" necessary for business prosperity, read the elimination of any check upon Big Business's complete throttlehold of the national economy and of any restraint upon its profits which already have recovered almost to 1929 levels.

Call the Bluff!

ALTHOUGH there is much in this campaign of coercion which is sheer bluff, it is a bluff which has perilous implications and which already has had dangerous repercussions within the Administration. Winthrop Aldrich's demand for relaxed stock-market regulation already has borne fruit in the Federal Reserve Board's reduction of margin requirements in order to relieve the suffering stock-gamblers. The Tory pressure for tax "reform" already has caused reactions in Washington pointing to possible weakening of the undistributed-profits tax and the capital-gains tax. If all the progressive gains won at the cost of such effort during the past few years are not to be jeopardized, the pressure of Wall Street upon the Administration must be overcome by a still greater united pressure from labor and the progressive movement generally.

A way is open, moreover, to call Wall Street's bluff and to continue the nation on its progressive path. There are two clear causes of the present decline in business activity, which in turn is responsible for whatever power of intimidation Wall Street can exert in Washington. One cause is the drastic price-increases by which Big Business foisted all and more of its increased costs upon the public, a policy which led to over-stocking of inventories in order to beat the price trend, and which eventually curtailed public consumption. The second was the Administration's ill-advised sharp curtailment of W.P.A. and relief expenditures, which reduced public purchasing power.

These causes could be eliminated if popular pressure forces the Administration to increase rather than curtail the essential W.P.A. and relief expenditures, to increase rather than decrease taxation upon Big Business and the wealthy, to strengthen rather than weaken the position of labor, to increase employment and relieve social distress by launching a broad, low-cost housing program and to establish effective control over industrial prices. That would be a campaign which would attack Wall Street where it is most vulnerable, and which would thwart the Street's present dream of recapturing unchallenged power through intensified privation and suffering for the nation as a whole.



These pickets demonstrated against the Japanese "good will" delegation before the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City

We March

Words by
James Waterman Wise

Arranged from
Brahms' First Symphony

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: "From farm and from foundry, from mine and mill and sea the people are marching to conquer tyranny. We march for Peace and Freedom and for Democracy." The piano accompaniment features a steady, rhythmic pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand.

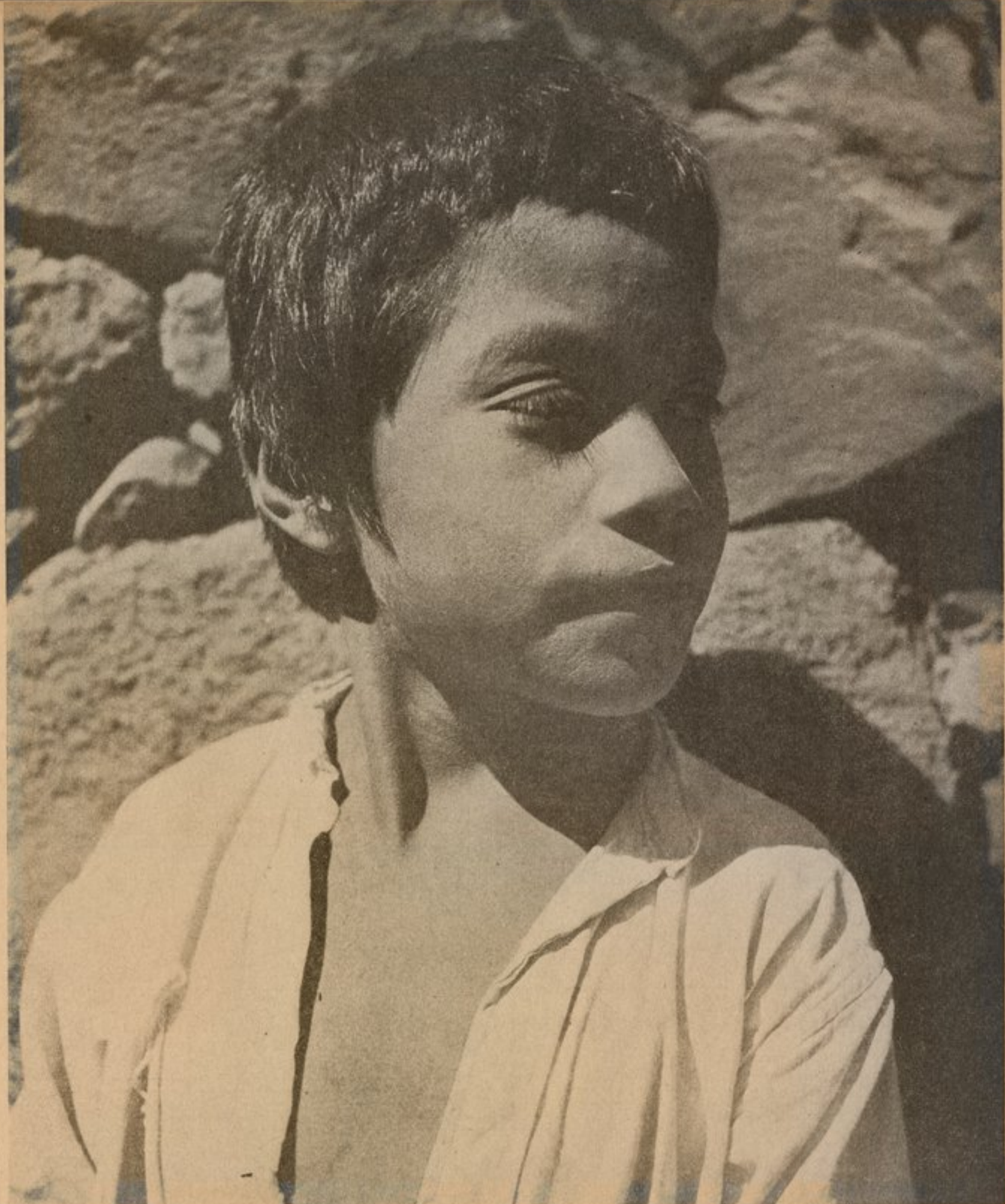
2. Our ranks undivided
By race and creed shall be,
Toward justice advancing
In solidarity—
*We march for Peace and Freedom
And for Democracy!*

3. To war-lords and Fascists
We shall not bend the knee,
United the people
Will keep our country free—
*We march for Peace and Freedom
And for Democracy!*

Keep Your Eye on Mexico

Beneath the picturesque veneer seen by the tourist, our democratic neighbor to the south is locked in a life-and-death struggle with the dark forces of feudalism and reaction

By George Leigh



THREE MILLION American tourists went to Mexico during the last 12 months, and not one in a hundred of them realized the speed with which that romantic country is on her way—to peace, progress and plenty—or to Fascism and civil war.

Tourism is big business, with a special department of government to smooth its way, and with a gentlemen's agreement between all contending forces not to wreck the country's most remunerative industry. For instance, the two most reactionary daily morning papers in the capital, *El Universal* (secretly friendly to Fascism) and *Excelsior* (not so secretly friendly to Fascism) print each of them an English section. Whole days go by without one article of news about Mexico in that English section. And nobody in the hotel will tell the enquiring tourist, with a command only of English, what is happening in the country, beyond the most outward and obvious commonplaces.

Signs of Struggle

But the Spanish-speaking tourist, or the one who comes with an interest in the labor or peasant—or Fascist—movement, will feel the strain as soon as

he crosses the border. The dingiest little railroad-station town will have a big sign on one of the best adobe buildings: "School No. — Secretariat of Education." And the teacher in that school is imparting social education to the people. That is, he is a center of anti-imperialism, he is boosting labor organization and peasant unions, is patiently substituting modern science and hygiene for clerical obscurantism and witch-doctor medicine, is telling men that wives have the same rights that husbands have. And he tells them that bloated trusts, even those owned by Yankee capital, should be nationalized (as the whole railroad system was nationalized this year). He tells them that the land which from the time of Cortez on down for the last 400 years has been owned in feudal estates, should be distributed to the peasants.

And, mostly within the last two and a half years, since the coming to power of the reformed National Revolutionary Party and President Lazaro Cardenas, over a quarter of the landed estates have been distributed.

Very soon after entering Mexico, the curious traveller will see a strike and a picket line. A picket line consists usually of one boy, sitting on a box on

the sidewalk, reading up on his next lesson at the Workers University. But back of him, tied right square across the entrance to the plant, is a big black-and-red flag, with the name of the union on it.

Nobody, not even the owner of the plant, can walk past that flag.

Labor Laws

First, all the workers in the neighborhood would come on a dead run and make certain that he retraced his steps. But besides that, it's against the law. Article 123 of the Constitution provides that when a strike is legally declared by the workers in a plant, and their flag is tied across the gate, it is a crime to walk past the flag without consent of the union.

When you get to the capital city you will find one of the main streets named *Articulo 123*.

The law provides other things—pay for the time while on strike, police protection for the strikers, and so forth.

The law is not new, any more than the law providing for the distribution of the land is new. *The new thing is that now both these laws are being enforced.*

Most of the strikes in Mexico today are won. Labor unions are practically 100 per cent organized.

The howl going up in certain quarters of the U.S.A. against "confiscation of American oil properties," is really based on opposition to wage raises. American oil companies, as a result of the short petroleum-workers' general strike this year and the subsequent labor-court decision, are now expected to pay wages at least 65 per cent of those paid to oil workers in the United States. This, plus the fact that 10,000 hectares of land in four plantations belonging to the American Jenkins family have been distributed, is back of the recent soft-voiced but very definite protest by U.S. Ambassador Daniels. The protest was soft because the Roosevelt administration doesn't want any reputation for imperialist sword-rattling just when it is trying out a "good neighbor" policy. But it was a dangerous threat just the same: for the United States has over 125,000,000 population, and Mexico has only 16,500,000. The United States has the world's biggest iron and steel, machine-building industry (the basis of modern war), and Mexico has practically none. Mexico counts its airplanes by tens, and the U.S.A. by thousands. Mexico has no tanks, no heavy artillery, no mechanized transport.

Mexico would defend herself bravely—there is no more chivalrous and heroic people in the world. But the real defense of Mexico lies in the aroused public conscience of the United States, in our refusal to permit Mexico to be crushed for the profit of the Standard Oil Company and other such interests.

It is necessary to be always on guard to keep that conscience aroused.

A Poor Country

Mexico is a poor, desperately poor, colonial country, with a standard of living for the general masses so low that it is difficult for the American unemployed to realize it. Millions live on beans and tortillas (corn-meal pancakes) day after day after day, all the days of their lives. Nothing else—except the ever-present cheap and necessary chile pepper,

with which they season the beans and which they spread on their tortillas, in order to choke them down.

Back of one of the main hotels of Mexico City, but in an alley where tourists seldom go, is a feeding-place for *cargadores*, the men who carry burdens—for centuries Mexico's solution of the trucking problem. (There was in the Sixteenth Century an enlightened king of Spain who denounced the "unchristian practise of making beasts of burden out of men created in God's own image"—but that's all the good that did. Instead of a moving-van in Mexico people hire a *cargadore* to carry the tables and stoves through the streets.)

These burden-bearers sit on the curb in a long line, and a man comes out of the kitchen of the hotel with a coal-oil can full of stew, all the leftovers from the tables, bought coöperatively by the *cargadores*. Each worker takes three ladles-full on a piece of newspaper and eats it with his fingers. He throws out what he considers absolutely inedible.

After they have gone, lean, mangy street dogs come and eat what they can of the rejected fragments.

After the dogs have gone, beggars arrive, and eat what the dogs won't eat.

Homeless Millions

Millions have no home, and live wholly on the streets or fields.

Millions have no other garb than one homespun blouse, cotton drawers, and sandals made of old auto tires.

Strikes are won and wages go up, but a rapacious, trust-dominated national economy raises the prices. This year the government had to hit back to prevent a famine. It decreed a fixed price for beans and tortillas.

Almost all manufactured articles are imported, and prices are higher than in the United States or Germany. A great deal of the retail trade is German-owned—on March 3d you see Nazi flags until you think you are in Berlin.

But this country is poor, was illiterate, still is underfed, because of imperialist exactions, and be-

cause of landlordism and former military-capitalist despotism.

Now the country, by its own unaided efforts, has got a government that is trying to break the imperialist bondage, is trying to create a Democracy, is trying to give the people education, culture, and an adequate economic base for life—living wages to the worker, and land for the peasant. It is not either a Socialist or a Communist government. It is just a progressive, nationalist, anti-imperialist government.

A Rising Hurricane

But this bare fact, that Cardenas is honestly trying to carry out the laws for which the revolutions of 1910-1920 were fought, has plunged Mexico into the path of a rapidly rising Fascist hurricane. You can't expect Don Hidalgo, descendant of a *conquistador*, lord of 10,000 acres and master of life and death on his lands for generations—to look kindly on the land-distribution program. Don Hidalgo nowadays hires a band of from a dozen to 1,200 cutthroats, arms them heavily, and sends them to kill peasant leaders. - Only a few months ago the peasant union of the State of Vera Cruz complained to Cardenas that over 1,000 of their members, mostly local leaders, had been murdered by these landlords' bands in the last three years. Cardenas answered by decreeing that estates on which peasants were murdered should be distributed next, and no land left to the landlord—whereas normally the Don keeps the house and a quarter of the estate.

Incidentally, these landlord bands call themselves *Guardias Blancas* (White Guards).

The Gold Shirts, Fascist organization nominally suppressed, still commit murders throughout the country. There are whole areas of Indian villages, away from the roads, where the peasants are dominated by the most backward and corrupt priests, and kill all school teachers sent into their vicinity. There are such black spots as the State of Sonora with its Garvanza pea industry (big capitalist agriculture) and its rich mines, where General Yucopecio maintains himself as governor by force of his

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AS TO WOMEN

*A letter from Japan telling of the many
people there who oppose the militarists*

THIS column has received a letter from a woman in Japan. The writer is a teacher in China and had gone to Japan for her vacation when the hostilities broke out. She settled down to wait for the time when she could return to China, and while she waited she talked to the people around her and watched them as they went about the business of war.

She writes: "On the surface there is apparent unity. In every railway station I could see evidences of the building of a strong war-psychology. In even the small towns one can see enthusiastic demonstrations over the departure of soldiers for the front. I watched the faces of the crowd at one of these demonstrations. Some were carried off their feet by mob psychology. But there were always others. Their immobile faces showed a tense self-control. There was no public demonstration of feeling contrary to the war spirit, but there was something that looked strained and unnatural.

"One friend said to me, 'I dare not say what I think but I am sure I feel worse than you do over this situation. You love China and it is hard for you to see China suffer. I love my own country, Japan, but I cannot stand for what the militarists of my country are doing. Feelings of anger and shame fill my heart. Please do not think that the militarists and their policy represent Japan at her best.'

"THE newspapers of Japan would have you think that there is only one opinion here," our correspondent continues. "The paper *Nichi Nichi* said the other day in an editorial, 'The national support for the government since the outbreak has been remarkable. Through the coöperation between the government and the entire people the Japanese troops in China have been well supported. The people's support assures them that the final victory will be in their hands. That the people quickly unite solidly against the odds of the international situation is a proud tradition.'

"But actions speak louder than words, when the time of real testing comes. Some of the youth of Japan

are faced with a tremendous problem. The other day three boys in Osaka 'settled' the problem for themselves by committing suicide together on a public street, leaving a note which said that they could not conscientiously go to the fighting in China. Their bodies were contemptuously refused burial for a whole day by an infuriated official. That only gave more publicity to the act, for crowds of people gathered around and read the note pinned to the dead bodies.

"A certain college student called a family council and announced his decision. 'I have thought this thing through,' he told his parents. 'Before I was drafted I had already made up my mind what I could do. I do not believe in war—particularly this war. To refuse to go means death. I have decided to go to China. During the time that remains for me to live I will make my ideas known to my fellow soldiers, but when the order comes to fight I will refuse to do so. Then I know I shall be shot by one of my own people. When the news comes of my death you know exactly what happened.'

"In a few weeks' time, word of his death was received by his family."

THIS letter is an answer to those women who have been saying that to denounce Japan as an aggressor will stir up feelings of hatred against the Japanese people and lead to a war on our own part. When you read of the heroism of the Japanese who believe in peace, it would be a betrayal of them and the lovers of peace all over the world to keep quiet in the face of the Japanese militarist policy. That policy is not only a policy directed against the people of China. It is a policy directed against the people of Japan.

We are glad that we could have one of the missionary women at the Congress in Pittsburgh, to tell the women there how she thinks we can help defeat that militaristic policy.

When the women of all countries, who hate and despise war, get together—there will be a powerful force for peace.

—DOROTHY McCONNELL

People's Choice

(Continued from page 7)

those dangerous concessions which have been denied it at the polls.

In forestalling economic royalism's attempt to seize the reins in Congress, the progressive movement must concentrate its forces on three major legislative goals. Two of these are positive: an adequate bill enforcing decent minimum standards of wages and hours in industry, and an adequate bill assuring the welfare of farmers. The third is defensive: not the slightest weakening can be countenanced in the National Labor Relations Act, since this law is the keystone of labor's strengthened legal position under the New Deal.

Fireworks a-plenty will be witnessed before an adequate wages-and-hours bill becomes law. At the last session of Congress, such a bill passed the Senate in greatly weakened form and probably would have passed the House if the reactionary Rules Committee, dominated by "loyal" Democrats such as the labor-baiting Dies of Texas and the Tammanyite O'Connor of New York, had allowed a vote to be taken. In this brazen frustration of all democratic procedure, the Rules Committee doubtless has shot its bolt so far as this measure is concerned; it is doubtful that even this group of die-hards would choose to expose its neck so hazardously twice in succession. But there is great hazard that the change in business conditions since last spring and the consequent increased pressure from Wall Street and Big Business will strengthen the opposition to such legislation in any form. This opposition has had its focal point among the reactionary Southern Democrats who are striving valiantly to protect the sweat-shop conditions of Southern industry. Already these champions of runaway business in the South are borrowing from big capital's portfolio a slogan that "confidence" must not be impaired by requiring employers to pay a sustenance wage to their workers.

For an Adequate Bill

Even if this die-hard opposition to any regulation of wages and hours is overridden, the danger remains that an inadequate bill will be railroaded through Congress. In fact, the form in which the law passed the Senate at the last session, and which still stands as the Senate's position in this legislation, falls far short of assuring the needed minimum relief for the most exploited labor groups. Under the Senate's version of the law, the proposed Labor Standards Board would be prevented from fixing the maximum working week in any industry or region at *less than* 40 hours or the minimum wage at *more than* 40 cents an hour. In other words, in most basic industry, except textiles and tobacco processing, the

greater part of labor automatically would get no wage benefit at all and in the sub-standard industries, the way would be open for exemptions which could nullify the basic intent of the legislation. Certainly, a maximum work-week of 40 hours and a minimum wage of 40 cents an hour should be the rock-bottom standards in the law and the flexibility should be towards higher standards than these and not towards lower. In the South, for example, even the Southern States Industrial Council, which is controlled by Big Business, concedes that the *average* wage in Southern industrial plants is 47.5 cents an hour and the lowest-pay groups are naturally far under this average.

In the field of farm legislation, progressives should insist on three basic requirements: ample government credit for farmers, assurance that these funds will reach the small farmers who need help the most, and elimination of speculative price-manipulation of farm commodities, which hurts the consumer as well as the producer. At least a partial approach to these problems is offered by the legislation now taking form in Washington which, in addition to continuing the monetary and social benefits of the soil-conservation program, would seek to increase farmers' purchasing power and level off excessive price fluctuations by the so-called "ever normal granary" plan. Under this plan, production of principal crops would be controlled so that the annual supply would not exceed normal domestic and export requirements plus a specified annual carryover to prevent shortages. Ample commodity loans would be granted.

Big-Business Farmers

The conflict on this bill is centered now between the Administration, which favors compulsory control of farm production in order to prevent the accumulation of excessive surpluses under the "ever normal granary" plan, and Congressional spokesmen for the large farming interests who seek only cash benefits from processing taxes and other levies on the consumer without control by the government. But over and beyond this dispute, progressive pressure is required to make sure that the benefits of the plan are derived through stabilization of production and provision of ample cheap credit, and not through excessive price advances which penalize consumers; that these benefits reach the great mass of small farmers, with safeguards against exploitation again by the "Big Business" farmers; and that sharp restriction of production and destruction of crops, such as marred the original A.A.A., be scrupulously avoided.

On the essential question of preserving intact the basic guarantees of the National Labor Relations Act, the only

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International Crime

By Charles Recht

THE TERRORIZATION of civilian populations during war time and reprisals against non-combatants, have been condemned by international usage since the Middle Ages. When the First Crusade was inaugurated, the Church Councils enjoined the warriors against attacking women, priests and unarmed farm workers. This was a reiteration of Christian Church law and chivalry, and not a novel institution. Semi-enlightened and barbarous states had respected the immunity of civilians and noncombatants. Ruthlessness and terror were the practices pursued by the Attilas and Genghis Khans. It is, however, true that in those twilight times the precepts were honored more in the breach than the observance, and that the religious wars and invasions took an enormous toll of innocent victims in their wake.

The Growth of Law

In the Middle Ages it was perhaps a matter of indifference, at worst, or of righteous indignation, at best, if cruelties were perpetrated by invading tribes upon civilian populations. Humane modification in the rules of warfare owes its growth not so much to ethical considerations as to the requirements of the law of self-preservation. Facilities of intercommunication increased the danger to civilian populations from unrestricted warfare, and the horror and suffering gave growth to the establishment of a body of express and implied international law prohibiting inhuman and cruel practices against noncombatants.

Grotius mentions that the growth of these modifications was considerable in the Seventeenth Century, but it was in the century following that all civilized states adopted the rule that private enemy individuals shall not be wantonly killed or attacked during war time.

During the halcyon days of the Hague Conventions, prior to the World War, the nations covenanted among themselves in no uncertain terms that if war broke out it should be "civilized and humanized."



Geneva — one present-day center of international law

Today's aggressors have degraded even "the art of war." In attacking noncombatants, they break the law of nations and violate modern ethics

The World War brought into its arena two fully developed and terrible weapons: the aerial attack and gas. Nevertheless, compared with present-day wars the holocaust was relatively free of punishments and cruelties inflicted upon civilian noncombatant populations. This was due not alone to the fact that these methods of warfare had then not fully developed, but more to the fact that international compacts had left some vestiges of morality among the warring nations.

The conflict in Spain and the invasion of China by Japan occur in an

era when the moral scruples and standards laid down by the Crusaders have been worn threadbare by dalliance with offenders by opportunist politicians, and during perilous times when it seems as though the entire body of international law is about to go the way of political treaties. Not since the Hundred Years War has the civilized world stood so close to the brink of anarchy.

To the people of America this moral breakdown and the violence resulting from it are not matters of mere altruistic concern. The truism that the world has grown smaller and geograph-

ic borders have shrunk is exemplified by the appearance of German submarines on our Atlantic seaboard during the World War; by the China Clipper making its scheduled trips across the Pacific; by the flight of the Soviet aviators from Moscow to California. Even if physical isolation were still a protective element against what President Roosevelt has called the contagion of war, the breach of international morality and law is a danger which no isolation can protect against, no matter how remote one is from the actual contemporary theatre of war. The bombing of villages in Hunan Province, the slaughter of the Chinese civilian population, are of immediate concern to the small towns of North Dakota. The shelling of Almeria in Spain should give immediate consideration to the citizens of Baltimore. The torpedoing of junks and sampans in the China Sea off Canton has a pertinent connection with the safety of fishing smacks off Newfoundland.

Precedents in piracy, the killing of civilians, do more than actually inflict death and hardship on the noncombatants involved. They contribute to the crumbling away of the tottering foundations of civilized order, and invite repetition in the not too distant future. Perhaps the citation of an example is in point. In the year 1919 the British Colonial Forces slaughtered unarmed and unprotected citizens of Amritsar in India. In 1937 Japan, in attempted justification of its aerial attacks on hamlets in the interior of China, has cited the British precedent.

Duty of Our Government

The American government, not only as a moral leader of the conscience of the world, but as signatory to conventions and from the necessity of protecting its own citizens, is charged with the duty of protesting against violations and enforcing the rights and immunities of noncombatant civilians in war time. The body of international law, as expressed in the texts and codifications, states clearly that—independently of the Hague Convention on Naval Bombardments—indiscriminate

bombardment from aerial craft of the noncombatant civilians is in any event an unlawful measure as contrary to the general law of nations. This principle has been enforced in some cases which have reached Mixed Tribunals. The principle is likewise laid down in international law that a third state is charged with the duty of interfering under the Hague regulations, when gross or abhorrent breaches of international usage have occurred.

Our contemporary history, furthermore, teaches that diplomatic notes are not enough. It must be obvious to anyone who dodges or will dodge aerial bombs, that if international morality and law are to be resuscitated from the wreckage of hypocrisy and mockery, they must be given the essential vitality of enforcement. A state does not save itself from gangsterism merely by consultations, pacts and conferences with the public enemy. Nor is the situation made less tragic and ludicrous if the offender, prior to or after violation of its pledges, states before the public forum that it is withdrawing from the compacts it has previously made.

Breaking the Rules

Following the Washington Disarmament Conference, a committee of the leading jurists of the world met at the Hague in 1923 and prepared rules of aerial warfare. Among the powers represented was Japan. If the restrictions had been applied to the present Sino-Japanese conflict, it would be clear that Japan has violated at least two articles of the rules to which her jurists have assented. One is Article 22, which provides:

Aerial bombardment for the purpose of terrorizing civilian populations, or destroying or damaging private property not of military character, or of injuring noncombatants, is prohibited.

And the other is Article 24:

1. Aerial bombardment is legal only when directed at military objectives, that is to say, an object of which the destruction or injury would constitute a distinct military advantage to the belligerent.

2. Such bombardment is legal only when directed exclusively to the following objectives: military works, military establishments. . . .

3. In cases where the objectives specified in paragraph 2 are so situated that there cannot be bombardment without the indiscriminate bombardment of the civilian population, the aircraft must abstain from bombardment.

Lest chaos follow the present confusion, it should be made clear that the provisions of the Kellogg-Briand Pact do not weaken the principles of accepted rules of warfare. The Pact in no way diminishes the obligations and rights of its signatories with respect to violation of the principles of civilized usage, but implies that the contracting states are charged with at least the maintenance of the moral status-quo of international law.

Furthermore, the Nine-Power Treaty

for the preservation of Chinese territorial integrity infers that China is not a mere geographical concept, but logically embraces the living mass of its people.

Japan Indicted

It must be apparent from the foregoing, if the matter is to be considered with the candor and honesty which has been so sadly absent from most of our contemporary dealings in foreign affairs, that Japan stands indicted before the forum of the world conscience of having violated the most elementary principles of humane and civilized conduct against the Chinese people, and further, that the United States has a moral and practical duty to voice its disapproval and dissent against that violation. It follows likewise that there is—within the already existing body of international law, compacts, treaties and conventions—sufficient machinery for reassertion and preservation of the rights and immunities of noncombatant civilians. The duty of our government is incidental toward the Chinese, it is direct and imperative toward its own citizens, to stop these barbarous and inhuman practices by such application of moral and economic pressure as lies within its great power.

People's Choice

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policy for progressives is one of eternal vigilance. For tactical reasons the tory groups, who cherish above all else the hope of overthrowing or emasculating this fundamental charter of labor, have been chary of exposing their hand as to their specific plan of attack in this session of Congress. But, with their propaganda for "reassurance" of Wall Street and restoration of Big Business "confidence" rapidly approaching a climax, there is no doubt that the mutilation of the Wagner Act will be advanced as a prime requisite for avoiding another economic depression. And the front men in Congress for such a program doubtless will be the same liberals, such as Senator Nye and Representative Rankin, who led the attack on the "communistic" Labor Board and C.I.O. during the last session of Congress. The strategy, it is certain, will be to seek not repeal of the act, but amendments to make it "workable," to establish union "responsibility" through compulsory incorporation or similar restrictive rules and devices destroying freedom of action, and to establish "equal rights" for employers which will strengthen their hand in stifling organization. And in combatting this strategy, the rank and file of labor above all must stamp out the sniping at the law from within its own ranks which has been carried on by the reactionary "labor leaders."

These three legislative objectives represent the minimum program for the

domestic conditions under which the progressive movement can continue to grow in strength and numbers. But since American labor and American progressives do not live in a vacuum, cut off from the rest of the world, their voice should also be heard in Congress in support of measures to check the headlong rush to world war, which in itself would strike a blow of incalculable consequence at the progressive movement everywhere. The essential first step in this direction is the repeal of those provisions of the Neutrality Act which have operated to support Fascism in Spain and Japanese aggression in China. President Roosevelt's Chicago speech was a clear signal that, given popular support, he would align the great international strength of this nation on the side of Democracy and peace, and against Fascist aggression and international terrorism. Only the strong pressure of the progressives of the country can transform the President's tentative exploration in this direction into tangible action for world peace.

Although the present session of Congress offers the most crucial challenge that the progressive movement has yet faced in its recent period of advance, never has the American progressive movement been in a stronger position to force through the minimum legislative program necessary for its existence and growth. The question is simply one of forcing Congress to obey the dictates of the voters who elected it and not to fly in the face of democratic procedure, as in the last session of Congress, by brazenly violating those dictates. The rapid rise of progressive movements such as the American Labor Party in New York has given the people a new weapon which can force Congress to toe the line. Its use in Washington now is imperative.

Vigilantes Indicted

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of being dismissed by his foreman. "They told me if I don't resign the C.I.O. they going to kill me, so I go out and stay since that time." Everett Snodgrass reported his persecution inside the plant, and eventual dismissal. Kenneth Koch stated that as an organizer for the C.I.O. he was beaten up on the street, but although there were 50 witnesses the Hancock County grand jury found no indictment.

Next to appear before the panel was John Stevenson of Youngstown, Ohio. He reported that there had been no vigilante violence in Youngstown during the recent strike—because the police and National Guard acted to the fullest extent in support of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, which supplied deputies, tear gas, ammunition, and the like. The police made unlawful arrests, raids on workers' homes, and prevented meetings. The tendency

to cover up misbehavior on the part of the authorities by framing the victims thereof, was shown in the fact that some 200 strikers were indicted and now face trial. Of these Stevenson is one, charged with tearing up railroad tracks, criminal syndicalism and inciting to riot. Two workers were killed on June 19th by company police.

John Q. Strikebreaker

In Youngstown, the Citizens Committee restricted itself to paid advertising, advising men to go back to work—but in Warren, Ohio, as indicated by John W. Grajciar, a John Q. Public League assumed a very militant attitude. When refused deputization by the sheriff, this group proceeded to collect arms. The mobilization was interrupted by the advent of the National Guard, under whose auspices the back-to-work movement became a strike-breaking activity.

The next witness, A. B. Martin of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, gave an account of the employment of vigilantes to provoke violence by interference with picket lines. Fortunately, before serious trouble started, martial law was declared and the mills shut down. The witness graphically described a kind of economic vigilantism, practiced by the Citizens Committee. The circumstances of every striker were known, and tradesmen were notified to refuse credit, sales agencies were instructed to warn customers that no time would be granted for delinquent payments on automobiles, refrigerators, furniture or homes. In Martin's opinion, this pressure was a big factor in breaking the strike. His testimony was confirmed by George Spencer and John M. Ze-man.

The last witness was the Reverend Howard D. Curtis, on the staff of the S.W.O.C. He gave an illuminating inside story of the way in which the Johnstown Citizens Committee was organized, the lead being taken by the Reverend John H. Stanton. The chairman of the board of trustees of Rev. Mr. Stanton's church is Sidney Evans, Management Representative of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in Johnstown. Rev. Mr. Stanton denies any collusion with Evans. The latter, however, turned over to the chairman of the Citizens Committee—a Mr. Martin, who is cashier of the U. S. National Bank—\$30,000 to be given to Mayor Shields for strike-breaking purposes. Evidently the world, the flesh and the church were here in agreeable communion.

Altogether, the panel proved to be a most valuable survey of the dark side of American industrial life. Those present at the hearing were profoundly impressed with the truth of the testimony, with the witnesses' intelligent grasp of the situation—and with their courage in making this contribution to a wider knowledge of the menacing forces at large in the Republic.

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid



THE month of November was harried and hectic for all the people who worked almost night and day to make the People's Congress a success. In city and countryside hundreds of meetings and conferences were held, several thousand delegates were elected, ways-and-means committees were scurrying to raise the travel expenses for their representatives. Telegrams and letters of greetings were drafted, resolutions on critical issues were adopted, farewell parties and send-offs were staged for the delegates to the Congress. All this has meant a great rallying of the people. The crucial state of world affairs, tense national problems, the extraordinary session of the United States Congress—all these factors contributed both to the timeliness and the great need of this mammoth assembly of the people. All these activities and issues have been building the movement and forging the organization of the struggle for Democracy and peace. In mine and mill, factory and field, office and school the people of this great country are facing as never before the job of securing peace and defending their democratic system of government. Their will for Democracy and peace and their program to secure these great human goals are expressed in the People's Congress.

DON'T buy goods "made in Japan"! By this slogan people all over the land are voicing their opposition to the ruthless invasion of China by Japanese militarists. Organized labor in national convention and in local union meetings has been taking a full share in this campaign. The American League was the first national organization—so far as we can discover—that adopted the boycott as a means of thwarting Japan's war-lords. Since the huge mass-meeting in Madison Square Garden, New York City, the campaign has been growing. The League has already issued 35,000 special buttons (bearing the slogan: "Don't buy Japanese goods. 'Quarantine' the aggressor") and stamps, posters and customers' slips for use in this drive. Funds for relief are also being collected and an especially attractive relief poster has been prepared. As a result of the collection at the Garden meeting, the League and the American Friends of the Chinese People have forwarded a check for \$1000 for relief to Mme. Chang Kai-shek and Mme. Sun

Yat-Sen in Shanghai. League branches in St. Louis and Baltimore have published special boycott leaflets, while the National Office has reprinted the "Shopping Guide for Boycotters" published in *The Nation*. The demand for speakers made upon the various League offices is so great that there are not enough to cover the organizations that want to hear how they can help China and stop the Japanese aggressors. San Francisco and New York City staged vigilant welcomes to the representatives of the Japanese government who have come to this country to "explain" Japan's position in China. Their boat was met at the docks in San Francisco with a demonstration and a large picket line. Longshoremen staged a 15-minute strike in protest against five arrests of picketers made on this occasion. In New York City a delegation representing the American Friends of the Chinese People and the American League called upon Mr. Takaishi, member of the so-called "good-will mission," and entered strong protest against Japan's invasion of China and murder of her citizens. Stenographers and movie actresses, housewives and business women are increasingly reported to refuse to wear hose made of Japanese silk in favor of lisle and rayon. Chain

and department stores have been persuaded to take Japanese products off their shelves because of the refusal of thousands of people to patronize stores that sell Japanese products. The President's suggestion of a "quarantine" for aggressors is being taken in earnest!

THE children of Spain have not been forgotten in the midst of the tragic turmoil in the Far East. Funds for three of the five homes we pledged for Spanish children have been forwarded to the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Our Los Angeles committee led off in August with money for the first home. Since then small contributions totalling nearly \$800 have come from a number of our Branches, while Pittsburgh—host city for the People's Congress—has raised over \$300 for a home. Cleveland Leaguers have raised part of the funds for the Tom Johnson Home and New York City is completing its drive to found two homes. The American League is pressing the special session of the Congress of the United States to reconsider the unjust Neutrality Act in the interests of opening our economic resources to both the Spanish Loyalist government and the Chinese government. The return from a visit to Spain

of Representatives John T. Bernard of Minnesota and Jerry O'Connell of Montana heralds a stiff fight in the House to lift the embargo on Spanish Democracy.

PHILADELPHIA members organized a Citizens Anti-Nazi Committee as a part of the American League of the city in order to carry on an aggressive campaign against local Nazis and other anti-democratic forces. These Leaguers had found the city infested with Nazi stickers and leaflets on store windows and private homes, subways and doorposts. Nazi meetings were taking place in various parts of the community, while a Nazi newspaper spread race hatred and made attacks on prominent Americans. The work of the committee took two forms. First, a drive was conducted against the Nazi paper—*Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*. This hate sheet carried on its last page a "D.K.V." (*Deutscher Konsum-Verband*) directory which listed the advertisements of all merchants who belonged to the Nazi marketing organization and directed Nazis to buy at these stores. Delegates of the Citizens Anti-Nazi Committee called on proprietors of these stores and urged them to remove their names from the paper. Letters and leaflets also formed a part of this campaign of exposure. Result—the "D.K.V." section of the Nazi paper was discontinued, due to the fact that the majority of the merchants refused to use it. An educational drive constitutes the second part of the campaign. Meetings and activities of the local Nazi groups have been repeatedly exposed. Recently when Fritz Kuhn, American Nazi leader, was scheduled to address a meeting at the statue of Pastorius, the Citizens Committee through the press, leaflets and letters protested the prostitution of the name and statue of this great historic leader against Negro slavery. Such a small crowd turned out that *Fuehrer* Kuhn refused to speak. A series of radio broadcasts has been arranged as a further part of this educational campaign. The first address of this series was delivered by William E. Dodd, Jr., of the National Office of the American League. Dr. Dodd's speech on "The Dangers of Naziism" received a warm hearing and gave an excellent impetus to this vital form of



A children's home in Loyalist Spain, established and supported by American dimes and dollars

education. Additional addresses will be made on Thursday evenings over station WIP, Philadelphia. A monthly four-page newspaper is being printed by the Citizens Anti-Nazi Committee to keep the community informed of Nazi issues and the campaign for Democracy. On November 5th, Dr. Harry F. Ward addressed a luncheon of Philadelphia citizens and in the evening spoke before a large mass-meeting organized by the League.

IN NEW JERSEY, League activities are increasing as issues become sharper. Plainfield has protested the employment and activities of detectives for the Condenser Corporation as a violation of the rights of organized labor. Major Frederick Lord and his wife recently addressed a League meeting on Spain where funds were raised for Children's Homes. Other League meetings have been addressed by William E. Dodd, Jr., and attorney George Slaff of New York. The local Branch has raised over \$80 through the medium of a barn



dance. The Japanese boycott campaign is being organized on a community-wide basis. Newark Branch heard J. H. Lin discuss the Far Eastern situation at a recent meeting, and is also undertaking a boycott of Japanese goods. Englewood held a China-aid meeting with Dr. Y. T. Wu and Dr. Randolph Sailer as speakers, and adopted a resolution calling upon Secretary of State Hull to ask for a complete boycott of Japan at the Brussels Conference. A fund of \$26 was collected at this meeting for relief to China.

IN THE Middle West, Congress preparations and the China-aid campaign have been the major features of League activities. Chicago arranged a China meeting addressed by Dr. H. C. Tao and is busy spreading the boycott. Delegates for the Congress were secured from trade unions, women's groups, religious organizations and other community bodies. Cincinnati League has formed a Joint Boycott Council and is working for a 100-percent-effective campaign in that city. Recent meetings of the League have been addressed by the Rev. William B. Spofford, executive secretary of the Church League for Industrial Democracy, and Leo Huberman, author of important labor books. The Cleveland League has taken responsibility for advertising the People's Congress in their section of Ohio. Calls have been sent out to various cities and groups and several regional endorsements have been secured. On November 11th the League organized an Armistice Day

Rally with Gung Hsing Wang, Chinese consul at Chicago, as the major speaker.

NEW YORK CITY DIVISION held a most successful International Peace Bazaar in conjunction with the National Office recently. In addition to many attractive booths crammed full of excellent articles for sale, special buffet luncheons and dinners were held. Hundreds of merchants contributed material for this affair, while many of the city Branches built and decorated the sale booths. A radio raffle was one of the major features. Almost every scrap of merchandise was sold. To the city staff and Branch leaders goes the vast share of the credit for this successful enterprise that netted over \$3000 for the two offices. In spite of the huge amount of work entailed by this bazaar, the New York City Leaguers have been working hard on the China campaign as well as the People's Congress. The response of trade unions to the Pittsburgh gathering has been most encouraging.

HERE AND THERE—Down in Houston, Texas, our League Branch criticized Governor Allred for his acceptance of an award from Fascist Italy at the hands of Marquis Gian G. Chiavari, Italian consul to the Southwest. Their protest read, "It is a sorry spectacle when a governor of a democratic state sees fit to hobnob with the representative of a Fascist dictator who has flouted Democracy in terms leaving no excuse for a lack of knowledge of what he stands for." The Houston Branch tendered a farewell party to Dr. Frances R. Vanzant, a League member, who left recently for Spain to perform medical service for the Loyalists. At Birmingham, Alabama, a Branch of the League has been or-



ganized with the China campaign and the Pittsburgh Congress as the chief activities. Recent events in the work of the Washington, D. C., Branch were a demonstration at the Japanese consulate, a Congress dinner-rally, a Halloween party, and League endorsement given to the Baltimore Federation of Labor's stand condemning the Duke of Windsor's visit to Nazi Germany and his sponsorship in this country by Charles E. Bedaux. Many delegates from Washington to the People's Congress are expected from trade unions, civic and community groups. The Los Angeles Leaguers are engaged in an intensive boycott campaign against goods made in Japan. They also took part in "receiving" the son of Mussolini when he visited the film center.



By
James Lerner

LAST month we said that the boycott of Japanese goods should sweep the campus like wildfire. Well, it is, and as a matter of fact each day brings new reports of its increasing momentum, not only on the campus but among a wide variety of youth organizations. And taking the initiative in this campaign, is America's young womanhood, wearing lisle instead of Japanese silk.

Speaking of the boycott, an indication of how much American sentiment must exist for it is seen in an experience which a member of our national staff had recently. The American



League, together with many other organizations, was sponsoring a picket line outside the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. The reason for the picket line was the presence of an official Japanese delegation whose function it is to justify to America and the world, the invasion of China by Japanese military despotism. On the sidewalk, a police officer approached our representative to inquire about the why and wherefore of the demonstration. When all had been explained to him, he replied, "It's perfectly O.K. . . . I saw the terrible scenes in the newsreels. They deserve to be boycotted."

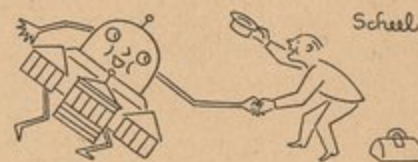
FROM Marion Briggs, youth director of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, comes news which cannot but seize the imagination and enlist the energies of America's youth. Plans are under way to make Christmas in Spain a happy occasion. These plans take on a variety of forms, including a tag week from December 6th to 12th, during which time our young people will bedeck themselves as Santa Clauses and take to the streets with collection cans. Christmas stockings are also ready for use. These have been made in sizes which can adequately hold three or four items such as a can of milk, a pair of woolen stockings. Not to be forgotten either are the beautiful Christmas cards which are ready for distribution. Remember,

YOUTH NOTES

if you are going to send Yuletide greetings—and you are—help bring Yuletide greetings to the children of Spain by using these cards.

WE ACCLAIM the participation of the greatest youth delegation ever in the People's Congress for Peace and Democracy. Not only from the point of view of numbers, but from the wide variety of organizational composition, youth's part stands out. Delegates from settlement house and campus, Y. M. H. A. and Y. W. C. A., religious and Negro youth organizations, and a whole host of others prove the point. It becomes increasingly apparent that youth understands the issues of the day. Young people have learned that Fascism breeds war and are determined to do something effective about it. And that something effective comes out of the Congress—not only intense passion, but concrete organizational devices and plans that will involve youth everywhere, every day, doing something for peace and democracy.

WHILE corpulent super-patriots were shedding false tears as they laid wreaths on the graves of the boys killed in the World War, November 11th witnessed an emphatic and not-to-be-misunderstood answer from the students throughout the land. Millions in the high schools and colleges participated in the Armistice Day Peace Rallies, sponsored by the United Student Peace Commit-



tee. But there was more than simply speeches indicating the danger and proximity of another World War. Concrete financial aid was solicited for the Chinese victims of aggression, and on very many campuses, we venture to say, although the Armistice Day Call did not mention giving aid to the Spanish Loyalists, funds were collected for the latter as well.

YOUNG people will greet the news that the American Youth Congress is holding state assemblies of youth to correspond with their Model Congress.

War Axis

(Continued from page 11)

to show his pal in Berlin that he can always reach an understanding with those two nations, Mussolini authorized his representative, Bova Scoppa, to make certain promises at Geneva to French Foreign Minister Delbos. Let us hope for *Il Duce's* sake that Hitler does not know these promises to be as worthless as the *Fuehrer's* own numerous broken international obligations.

Just before the Hitler-Mussolini meeting, France and England threw another monkey-wrench into Rome's aspirations by offering a joint plan for recalling the Italian troops from Spain, and for genuine cessation of dispatch of Italian troops and munitions to the Rebels. This had the effect of telling Hitler that in reality no agreement had been arrived at between Mussolini and the democratic nations.

While this move might have robbed Mussolini momentarily of his trump card in the game with Hitler, its effect on the course of events in Spain should not be overestimated. It is one thing to set forth a really valuable program of non-intervention, and quite another thing for England and France to be sufficiently firm to see that Mussolini complies. At this writing, reports are circulating that London and Paris may be appeased by a "symbolic" withdrawal from Spain of 5,000 out of more than 100,000 Italian troops there—to the extent of reciprocating to the Fascists by granting a belligerent's status to Franco.

Double Blackmail

Consequently, the Anglo-French failure to carry through their tactics of creating a rupture in the Rome-Berlin axis, encourages Mussolini's blackmail schemes. The ironic part of the transaction is that it is double blackmail, designed in part against the British and French, as shown above.

In the forefront of Nazi plans in connection with the alleged strengthening of the Rome-Berlin axis was the intensification of their aggression in Southeast Europe, and especially the Hitlerization of Austria. Working feverishly just before Mussolini's trip, Hitlerites of Vienna addressed to him an "open letter," asserting that there can be no security or order in Europe till Germans in Austria are "freed."

Preceding *Il Duce*, Austria's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Guido Schmidt, visited with Goering in Berlin and, French newspapers reported, was asked to take back to his Chancellor Schuschnigg a threefold demand—for Austria to consult Germany before undertaking any foreign policy; a widening of the Austro-German agreements to embrace Hungary and Yugoslavia; and establishment in Vienna of a government of Hitlerites alone or at least in a majority.

Obviously seeking Germany's support in her struggle with Britain, Italy has already made imposing concessions to Hitler in Austria and throughout the Danubian Basin. The increased collaboration of the Rome-Berlin axis, which is promised with annoying persistence by the coordinated Italian press, signifies that Mussolini is growing more dependent and is definitely re-treating on the Austrian question.

Insatiable Fascism

Austria is the gateway to the Danubian territories, and it is well known that the Nazis' appetite grows with eating. After devouring Austria, the most logical step for them is to go after Czechoslovakia and the whole Little Entente.

Such a course of events cannot but threaten the interests of France and Britain, the guarantors of Austrian independence. Thus, with all the contradictions in the axis, and despite its protestations of "willingness to cooperate" in peace moves, it carries within it additional provocations which are ready to assume brazen forms of aggression at the slightest signs of compromise in London and Paris. The near future will furnish an acid test for British Foreign Secretary Eden's frequently voiced determination not to permit the swallowing up of Austria.

After the Munich meeting the Vienna correspondent of the Swiss newspaper, *Nachrichten* of Basle, wrote of stubborn rumors that Hitler secured Mussolini's consent to an Austro-German customs "alliance," which is seen by the Berlin diplomats as a more or less masked annexation of Austria to Germany. A number of Czechoslovakian newspapers reported that Mussolini has virtually assumed the role of the Nazi Propaganda Ministry's agent, obligating himself to support the impending campaign against Austria.

So far as Berlin is concerned, the campaign is already under way. The excuse for opening it was the recent encounter between Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg and Czechoslovakian Premier Hodza. The Nazi press is accusing Schuschnigg of weakening his orientation toward the Rome-Berlin axis. For once, the Nazi press does not lie. From Schuschnigg's standpoint, what is the sense of orienting himself toward the notorious axis, when such a policy holds but one outcome, that of seeing Austria sold out by Rome to Berlin? As noted, with this sellout Mussolini pays for the "right" to count on support in the war on the Spanish people.

Parallel to the Hitler-Mussolini meeting, so touchingly harmonious on the surface and so seething with poisonous implications, there has developed the extreme probability of a secret military alliance between Italy and Japan. Since such a pact is already in exist-

ence between Germany and Japan, the new combination would result in a triple aggressor threat to the unstable peace already violently disturbed in Ethiopia, Spain and China, and would hasten the explosion of a full-fledged world war.

However incomplete the Nyon anti-Fascist piracy conference was, its united action brought Mussolini to a humble acknowledgment that the Mediterranean, now patrolled by nearly a hundred foreign ships protecting trade routes, is not an inner lake of the Roman Empire. A firmer continuation of the Nyon sentiment, plus the all-important cooperation of the United States, would counterpose to the Germany-Italy-Japan front of war a powerful, universal, inviolable front of peace.

They Want Life

(Continued from page 13)

of the government, an education as modern and as personal as a privileged American school child has at an accredited progressive school. What the Spanish Republication Government has done for education would be a magnificent achievement, even in days of peace, when money is easy and supplies are endless. But these people are doing it under fire.

The government has taken care, too, of the unfortunates of war. There are a million refugee children in Spain. A million is an easy number to say. But can you grasp what it means? Three hundred thousand of them are placed in the homes of families, and 700,000 are in children's colonies. When it can, the government will have all in colonies. I hope that will happen soon because I have seen some of the colonies. There is no dreadful orphan-asylum quality about them. I never saw finer children—free and growing and happy. One colony was in a seaside resort, near Valencia. There were 60 children, from four to 14, who had been going to a school in Madrid. And the Fascist planes had bombed the school.

It was amazing to see how many of these children could draw, and draw well—and it was heartening to see how their talent was encouraged by the teachers. When they first came to the colony, the children drew the things that were nearest and deepest to them—they drew planes and bursting bombs and houses in flames. You could see by the dreadful perfection of the detail, how well they knew their subjects. Now they are drawing flowers and apples and sailboats and little houses with smoke coming out of the chimneys. They are well children now.

And in Valencia, a few miles away, the Fascist planes come over and the bombs drop, and so there will be more children who will draw planes and flames and fragments of bodies blowing

in the air. That is, if there are any children left.

The men who fight for Republican Spain, the men who in less than a year have come from a mob wearing overalls and carrying sticks to a formidable disciplined army, are fighting for more than their lives. They are fighting for the chance to live them, for a chance for their children, for the decency and peace of the future. I do not think there will be any lost generation after this war.

But as an onlooker I am bewildered. While I was in Valencia the Fascists raided it four times. If you are going to be in an air raid at all, it is better for you if it happens at night. Then it is unreal, it is almost beautiful, it is like a ballet with the scurrying figures and the great white shafts of the searchlights. But when a raid comes in the daytime, then you see the faces of the people, and it isn't unreal any longer. You see the terrible resignation on the faces of old women, and you see little children wild with terror.

In Valencia last Sunday morning—a pretty, bright Sunday morning—five German planes came over and bombed the quarter down by the port. It is a poor quarter, the place where the men who work on the docks live, and it is, like all poor quarters, congested. After the planes had dropped their bombs, there wasn't much left of the places where so many families had been living. There was an old old man who went up to everyone he saw and asked, please, had they seen his wife, please would they tell him where his wife was. There were two little girls who saw their father killed in front of them, and were trying to get past the guards, back to the still crumbling, crashing houses to find their mother. There was a great pile of rubble, and on the top of it a broken doll and a dead kitten. It was a good job to get these. They were ruthless enemies to Fascism.

What the People Want

I have seen the farms outside Valencia—the lovely green quiet farms. There is soil so fertile, since the government has irrigated it, that it yields three harvests a year, so hospitable that oranges and beans and potatoes and corn and pomegranates all grow in one field. I have seen the people in the country and in the cities, wanting only to go about their lives, only to secure the future of their children. They ask only as much as you have, because they are people like you, they want to get up from their tables and go to their beds, to wake to a quiet morning, and the sending of their children off to school. They don't think of accumulated money. They want to do their own work in self-respect and peace. They want the same thing that you have—they want to live in a Democracy. And they will fight for it and they will win.

A Farmer

(Continued from page 17)

"Yes," Mort said, "things sure are in a hell of a mess. I don't know what a man's to do these days, unless he just lays down and gives up."

"No, Mort, you're wrong there," Greer cried, a righteous ring in his voice. "We've got to fight them. We farmers have to fight with all our power against the banks and the Eastern insurance companies."

"Mort, we have to give everything we've got. No quarter, no giving up, no laying down—we got to fight until there's not a drop of blood left in us. Mort, I say we farmers must remember our forefathers of '76 and '61. With the immortal courage of Abraham Lincoln we must carry on!"

He rose from his chair and finished with his arm raised above his head.

"Yes," Mort said, "we've got to fight them. No giving up."

GREER sat down and the excitement died out of his face. A smile curling his round lips replaced it.

"I suppose you're coming along all right, Mort? I was glad to make your loan. One like that I know will be paid on the nail. It's not due for another month, but I reckon it will save you some interest to take it up now. That's the way a man has to do business—pay off his loan when he gets the cash and save money."

"No," Mort said. "I guess I'm not any too well off. I guess the same thing's hit me as it has the rest of them. You know I got a mortgage at the bank. I've paid on that mortgage for many a year, and raked and scraped every place I could for the money these last few times, but the best I could do was pay the interest. Now I've not even got the money for that."

"Groves'll let it ride all right, won't he?"

"No, Groves says I got to pay the interest at least this time or get out. I was to see him this morning."

Greer leaped to his feet.

"The rat! The—the damned rat! Yes, I'll say it—the damned rat! That's the way he treats a man who's been fair and square all his life, a man who's worked like a horse to pay him interest so he can live down in that big house! Any man who'll eat off the interest of another man for years and then close him out when times get bad is a dog."

"No, he's worse than a dog. A dog's got a sense of honor. He's a rat! I've said it and I won't take it back no matter if he sues me in a court of law and takes every cent of money I've got and puts me into jail to boot. A rat's a rat and all the courts in the land won't prove any different."

"Well," Mort said, "I thought it was a little funny, especially that he

wouldn't even talk to me about it."

Greer leaned forward and let his hands fall flat on the desk in heavy rage and despair.

"Wouldn't talk to you?" he cried incredulously. "Wouldn't talk to you? Is the man inhuman? Has he so little of God in his heart that he will not listen to an honest, hard-working, fair-and-square farmer who has come to him with a tale of woe? A banker who is the big gun in the Presbyterian Church! Oh, why have we forgotten Christ's command that we drive the money-changers from the temple?" He fell back helplessly in his chair, his face stricken.

"He said I had to have the interest money or get off."

THE MONEY-LENDER was out of his chair again. "Missus Berry, Missus Berry," he yelled. The stricken expression on his face had changed to one of indignation. "Missus Berry, bring me my check book," he yelled again despite the woman's appearance inside the door. "Bring my check book at once. I'm going to write out a check and give it to these people here. No crooked, godless banker is going to put them off their farm as long as I'm able to stand on my two feet and fight. Abraham Lincoln suffered and died that the black slaves of America might walk the earth in freedom and I intend to do my little share in freeing the white slaves of this county and this state!"

Mrs. Berry nodded and hurried out. Greer sat down majestically and put his head in his hands. Upon his shoulders seemed to rest the cares of the world.

Mort sat silently, his skin hot and burning, as if it were pricked by a hair shirt.

Mrs. Berry came back with a check book and some paraphernalia. Greer snatched the checks from her hand.

"Three hundred do it, won't it, Mort?" he asked.

"That'll do it."

Greer wrote with set face. He signed with a flourish, ripped the check off the pad and handed it to Mort, his face lighted. Mort held it loosely between his fingers, staring at the black ink-scrrawl for nothing better to do.

"Thank you," he said, his voice not fitting the atmosphere.

GREER gazed at him, disappointed. But in a moment he looked up, seeming to notice Mrs. Berry, who had taken a chair and opened her notebook, for the first time.

"Yes," he said, "I suppose we had just as well make out some papers. I had forgotten such things. Didn't even think about a note when I offered Mort the money, but I suppose we'd just as well be businesslike. If Mort can pay it, all right. He'll do it gladly if things get so he can get the money."

"If he can't pay it, then I reckon he won't have to worry. It'll just go in the safe with plenty of others who I've helped out of the mouth of that wolf down there. I may lose a little sleep and I may go on the county, but I'll help these people down to my last penny."

Mrs. Berry sat with her pencil poised.

"All right, Mrs. Berry, guess you can just use the same mortgage-form we always do and fix up the note for ninety days. I'll just do it that way, Mort, because it's the usual time. Of course it's understood between us we'll extend it at the end of that time, automatically, so to speak. You can just drop in or call up, either way."

"Now let's see, is there something out there—something besides what's on that other little note—we can stick on this thing for security, just for form? Your word's good enough for me, but I always like to keep some kind of a record. Just the usual stuff, I suppose—stock and machinery of some kind, along with household goods. Usually stick in the car just for the sake of looks."

"You don't have to bother about that now. Just get up that list and send it to me in a day or two. Sign the note now and we'll have the mortgage fixed up by then. I guess, Mrs. Berry, you can just fix up that note and let Mr. and Mrs. Goeldner sign it out in the other room. Those fellows have been waiting to see me quite a while and I don't like to keep anyone waiting if I can help it."

Mort and Ella got up.

"You can go home and not worry about one thing, now," Greer said, escorting them to the door. "Always remember that Greer's with you no matter what comes. You fight for me and I'll fight for you. That way we'll win."

They passed the door and the farmers looked up hopefully. Greer slapped Mort on the back and bowed slightly to Mrs. Goeldner. "Good luck to you," he said, smiling.

IN A MOMENT Greer's nod had brought a farmer to his feet and they went into his office. Mort put on his felt cap after signing the note and Ella and he went out the door, Mort folding the check and sticking it in his pocket before putting on his cotton mittens.

They did not speak until they had reached the sidewalk.

"I better get a few things at the grocery," Ella said. "I'll meet you at the car in a few minutes. You going to the bank?"

Mort nodded.

Ella watched him walk down the street. She would have to tell him about his shoulders. He would have to carry them straighter. It was getting to be a habit.

Mexico

(Continued from page 23)

own state troops, and smashes labor organization. When the Confederation of Labor of Mexico (C.T.M.) tried to hold a state convention in Sonora, the governor just arrested all the delegates, kept them in jail several weeks and then kicked them over the state boundary. That was this year.

There is the very black storm-center in the State of San Luis Potosi, where ex-Secretary of Agriculture Saturnino Cedillo sits on his fortified hacienda *La Paloma* ("The Dove," by some jest of fate!) and has assembled around him—some say 12,000, some 15,000, some 20,000 private troops. He has five airplanes, and is buying more. He resigned this summer from Cardenas' cabinet to make a bid for leadership of all Fascist and reactionary forces in the country. What has prevented an attempt to imitate Franco so far, is that the reactionaries are divided.

While about it, the enquiring tourist might wonder why, out of seven daily newspapers in Mexico City, all but one, *El Nacional*, the organ of the government party, are pro-Franco in their Spanish news. He might wonder why nearly half the army officers are friendly with Franco agents. He might wonder how there come to be such swarms of Nazi, Italian Fascist, and Franco agents roaming the country, anyway. Thousands turned out a couple of months ago in Mexico City to celebrate a mass for the soul of the butcher General Mola, of Franco's army. There was a reaction to that, though. While the crowd was singing Fascist songs in front of a union hall, several hundred workers waded into the Fascists and sent them flying.

Cardenas' Peaceful Policy

Cardenas' policy is to avoid civil war if possible. He races about the country seeking to win over peasants, especially the Indians of the deep backwoods, and to secure the allegiance of the army. The support of the entire mass of workers, Cardenas has already.

Cardenas seeks to placate the United States. He is desperately afraid of the "Colossus of the North." It is the task of the progressive people of the United States to see that he has less reason to fear.

And Cardenas tries to carry through the minimum requirements of the law, the result of the revolution. That is, he tries to free the country from its landlord rule, and from imperialist domination, to raise the horribly low standard of living by giving workers economic and political rights. He tries to make the people proud of their Indian blood and heritage.

One hopes it can be done without civil war, without Fascist uprisings.

But anti-Fascists had better be vigilant.



DAVID BURKE

Berlin-Rome-Tokyo

THE ANNOUNCEMENT flashed across the world of a treaty signed by Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese government supposedly against "communism" did not surprise or mislead even the most conservative observers in democratic countries. The alliance was many months old, if not two or three years, and the talk of "communism" was the old story of the red herring. The *New York Times* said editorially: "It is plainly more than a coincidence that Italy has chosen to ally herself with Japan and Germany, in their 'anti-Communist' entente, precisely at a time when an attempt is being made at Brussels to persuade Japan to recognize her responsibilities under the Nine-Power Treaty . . . the real significance of the tripartite agreement does not lie in what it says but rather . . . in what it does not say . . . there is ample justification for the concern expressed by our own Government officials that the consummation of this three-cornered alliance will tend still further to divide the nations of the world into separate camps . . ."

The alliance of the Fascist countries against the democracies, even if it does contain some economic contradictions, is a natural one. Fascism cannot survive many years unless it sticks its paw into everybody's bread-basket. The totalitarian economy cannot feed its own people and is climbing into all back yards with a gun in its hand, murdering innocent men, women and children by the hundreds of thousands. We must say what we have said many times before, two years ago it was Ethiopia, one year ago Spain, five months ago China. And today we read: "The government of Brazil declared the nation a corporate state, the first in the Western Hemisphere . . . the new developments came impressively close upon word from Berlin and Rome last week that the so-called Fascist Internationale, in which Japan has also become a member, would

next extend its activities to South America." (*New York World-Telegram*.)

Have our policies made us safe from war and Fascism? Obviously, no. Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese government are attempting "something" in the Western Hemisphere. They will attempt that "something" wherever Democracy is still a living force. And it is a living force in the United States. The fighting democratic sentiment—the democratic energy—of the people of the United States testify to that.

Slowly but surely the democratic people are moving to safeguard their lives and liberties against the Fascist aggressors and their reactionary bed-fellows at home. President Roosevelt's Chicago speech was a promise that the democratic governments are cognizant of a danger that may throw the world into a bloody slaughterhouse. But it seems that Great Britain may be up to its old game. (John Bull's reputation is not exactly of the type that would lead one to trust him with the key to the house.) British diplomats are old-timers at two-timing. Are Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Eden selling out the democratic people of the world?

There is only one guarantee that Democracy will not perish from the face of the earth, and that is the militant will of the people to safeguard and protect it from the Fascist aggressors. It is a hopeful sign of the times that the peace forces of the world are rallying to a program which has a base of reality. Maybe we in America, far removed from the Fascist countries, were a little slow to perceive the danger to our lives and liberties. But in Europe, because of Hitler and Mussolini, the peace forces realized more quickly that to stop war, we must fight Fascism and isolate the aggressor. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom recommended to its various national sections among other mea-

asures: "to place an embargo on war material to the aggressor, refuse to import Japanese goods, prevent the extension of official, and possibly also private, loans and credits to the Japanese Government, and individual action boycotting Japanese-made goods." This is a good *beginning* which we are confident will be followed by all American peace societies.

The people of the United States and the people of all democratic countries can uphold the banner of Democracy and peace, and can yet delay and stop war, by making a common front against civilization's enemy—the Hitler-Mussolini-Japanese military machine.—J.P.

The Special Session

THE CONGRESS of the United States is meeting in special session upon proclamation and declaration by the President that an "extraordinary occasion" requires such an assembly. After visits at home and abroad our national legislators have come back to Washington. Jerry O'Connell and John Bernard have returned from Spain to fight for a removal of the unjust embargo against the recognized government of that country. Representative Lister Hill of Alabama, has returned from Europe where he served on a commission to study battlefield monuments. His concern in Congress will no doubt be passage of the Sheppard-Hill bill, notorious instrument of the Industrial Mobilization Plan. Senator A. H. Vandenberg has returned from Michigan, having kept up his opposition to labor's rights in the Wagner Act during the vacation period.

In his fireside address the President asserted that Congress is an "essential instrument of democratic government." That means it should serve as the voice and express the will of the people. Today as never before the people of this land are demanding the protection and furtherance of their rights. It was not their will that wrote and adopted the patently unjust and unworkable Neutrality Act. They have given their moral support and hundreds of thousands of dollars for aid to the Loyalists of Spain and today give the same kind of support to the Chinese people. They want embargo legislation that cuts off the aggressor from economic aid and helps instead of handicaps the victim nation.

The people by their individual and organized pressure made the Wagner Act into law. They are not willing that an iota of right granted to labor in this legislation be yielded to the economic royalists and political Tories. All sections of the population have their eyes on the wages-and-hours bill. Woe be to the party or the Congressmen who try to slip over new restraints on labor's rights in this measure. Neither delayed action on farm legislation nor jokers in such legislation will be countenanced by the folks who feed the nation. Popular pressure pushed the anti-lynching bill through the House and now demands that the Senate act quickly and in good faith on the Wagner-Van Nuys bill.

Again, it was the voice of the people from factory and farm, home and office, school and college that put the Sheppard-Hill bill on the spot. They are doubly determined that this pro-Fascist piece of legislation shall not pass.

In other lands government of the people, by the people and for the people has perished. In this country the people are demanding that their elected representatives shall obey the will and further the interests of the millions who sent them to Congress for that purpose.—P.M.R.

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