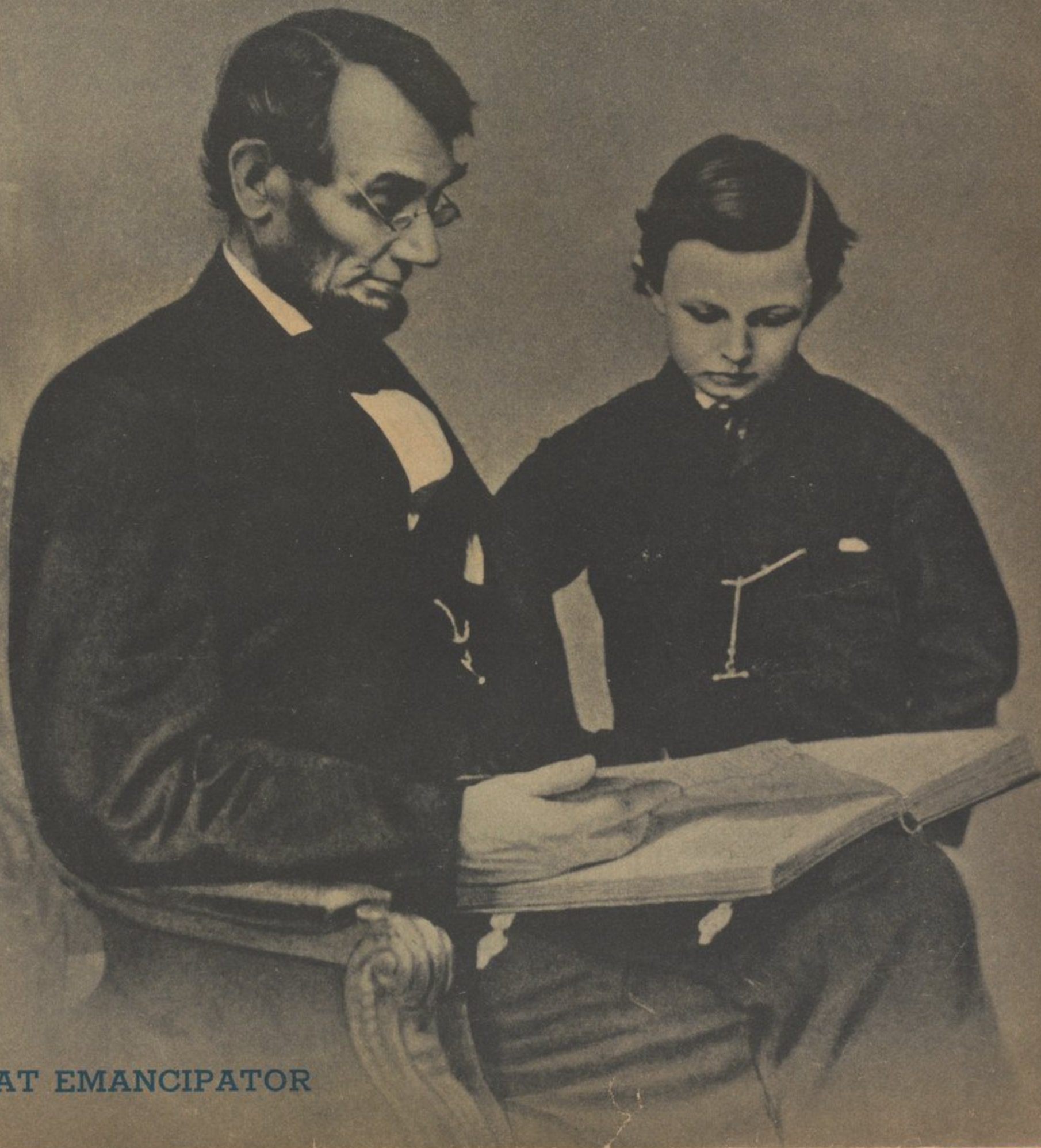


February
1938

The
Fight
FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

10 Cents
a Copy



GREAT EMANCIPATOR

A MILLION PARDONS!



OUR APOLOGY TO THE EMPEROR

Most High and Exalted Son of Heaven, Hon. Hirohito, Tokyo, Japan
Your Divine Highness:

The human imagination can scarce conceive the bitter regret, deep sorrow and profound self-loathing with which we were seized when the above incredibly horrible photograph reached our lowly office. For what is pictured here? Your good-will ambassador, arriving at San Francisco to tell us of the Japanese Peace Plan, is being *picketed* by noisy demonstrators. One can plainly read the signs of mortification, embarrassment and even personal fear on the ambassador's celestial face. One notices that even the chauffeur of his automobile is apprehensive. What a disgraceful incident!

And we must further confess, with inexpressible misery, that this was only the beginning of a long series of blunders committed by our people against the emissaries of the Rising Sun. The good-will delegation was also picketed in New York and other cities. An unforgivable movement is swiftly spreading throughout our country to boycott Japanese-made goods. Subversive speeches are constantly made here, implying that "Japanese militarists" are invading China. Even our President has taken an anti-Japanese tone, over the petty Panay sinking. We beat our breasts! Forgive!

Can we of THE FIGHT absolve ourselves of the blame for these ghastly mistakes? We cannot! Guilty! *Mea culpa!* We have sinned! For we have repeatedly published articles "exposing the Japanese aggression in China." We have even been—horror of horrors—in the very *forefront* of the struggle against the "Japanese war-makers." What is worse, we have month in and month out crusaded against your noble Nazi and Fascist allies. Our policy, viewed in the true Fascist light, has been nothing but one consistent, hard-bitten and unrelenting mistake. *We* are responsible for a great deal of the anti-Fascist sentiment in America! From the depths we cry out: Excuse it, please!

Of course we shall immediately take drastic steps, in the same spirit in which *you* always act, to remedy this deplorable condition. And first of all we are campaigning for many new readers, that we may be able to spread more widely *the truth about the Japanese government*. We are printing (below) a subscription blank, that all those who feel as we do may help to make amends for the present situation.

Believe us, awfully sorry—

THE FIGHT

LINE FORMS HERE →

THE FIGHT, 268 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

I wish to make amends. Here is \$1 for a year's subscription.

Name

Address City and State

With the Readers



WITH our Southern gentlemen and the Senator from Idaho filibustering against the anti-lynching bill, many gems have been spilled on the floor of Congress. But the Senator from Mississippi, our old friend Pat Harrison, did really take the prize. Said Pat: "The next thing in all probability will be a bill . . . to take away from the states the right to say who shall vote in their elections, to say that every colored man in every Southern state should take part in the primaries in the state."

AND we were under the delusion these many years that there was a man named Abraham Lincoln, that the Civil War had been fought and won, and that there was an amendment to the Constitution granting the right to the Negro to cast his ballot on election day. Maybe we were dreaming.

BUT there recently came to our desk a book titled *The Civil War in the United States*, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, which explains Pat Harrison. This book consists of a collection of articles from the *New York Daily Tribune*, the *Vienna Presse*, and a voluminous correspondence between the two authors in the years 1861-1865. After the assassination of Lincoln, when reaction was in the saddle, Engels wrote: "If things go on like this, in six months all the old villains of secession will be sitting in Congress in Washington. Without colored suffrage nothing whatever can be done. . . ."

IT is obvious that Marx and Engels were not pacifists, and supported wholeheartedly the North in its struggle during the war period. Lincoln was fully aware of this support which Marx was bringing him through the First International. In a letter to the International, the American Ambassador to Great Britain—Charles Francis Adams—speaking directly for the President, said in part: ". . . The government of the United States has a clear consciousness that its policy neither is nor could be reactionary. . . . It is in this relation that the United States regard their cause in the present conflict with slavery-maintaining insurgents as the cause of human nature, and they derive new encouragement to persevere from the testimony of the workingmen of Europe that the national attitude is favored with their enlightened approval and earnest sympathies. . . ."

THIS book begs itself to be read and to be quoted. These two "Reds" worked tirelessly for the Northern cause. Marx agitated amongst the workers in Great Britain in support of Lincoln, and the support he was able to rally offset to a great extent the British Tory support of the South. There was a united front for you!

MARX on Lincoln: ". . . Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead the country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world."



A city in ashes. Japanese troops enter Nanking

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JOSEPH PASS, *Editor*

CHARLES PRESTON, *Assistant Editor*

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The Contributors



JACK CHEN, Chinese writer and artist who has lived in many countries, has recently visited his homeland. Mr. Chen is the son of China's former foreign and finance minister and is now visiting the U. S. A.

HENRY ZON has contributed on one other occasion to these pages, when last March he wrote on the findings of the LaFollette Committee. The writer is Washington Correspondent for the Federated Press and was formerly the London manager for the same agency.

MORRIS KAMMAN celebrates February the 12th appropriately—by writing on Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Kamman hails out of Minnesota and has been and is writer and editor. The illustrations for the article are typical drawings which appeared during Lincoln's lifetime.

PHILIP GUSTON exhibited his painting *Bombardment*, reproduced here, at the recent show held under the auspices of the American Artists Congress in New York City.

MALCOLM McK. ROSS, general secretary of the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy, writes on his neck of the woods—and what a neck and what boils on that neck!

DAVID LASSER tackles the problem of the unemployed, a problem which he has handled since the early days of the depression. Mr. Lasser is national president of the Workers Alliance of America, the foremost and practically the only organization formed by the unemployed in an effort to solve the problem of living, as it affects not only themselves but the employed as well.

FLORA STROUSSE contributes a beautiful short story to these pages. We take great pleasure, indeed, in publishing the works of this as yet unknown writer, and we are confident that the future will bear us out in the judgment that Miss Strousse knows how to write and has a story to tell.

JO PAGE, who illustrates Flora Strousse's story, is a young artist now residing in New York City.

JOSEPH CADDEN has recently been to Cuba. The writer is secretary of the American Division of the World Youth Congress, and was formerly secretary of the National Student Federation of America and U. S. secretary of the International Student Service.

THE cover is a photograph of President Lincoln and his son Tad. In looking for an appropriate February cover, we struck upon the idea of reproducing this famous likeness of the Civil War President which was made by Brady, the first celebrated American photographer. But how does one get the original negative? After a little search we found Mr. F. H. Meserve, who was kind enough to make a print from the original which is in his collection. To Mr. Meserve our thanks.

LIGHT IN DARKNESS

By Pam Flett

PROBABLY America suffers not so much from an absence of light, as from too many tricky "lighting effects." One can "do things" with lights—ask any big newspaper publisher. That's why it's so important that a little honest daylight be cast in certain directions. In a pamphlet just off the press, Harry F. Ward turns the spotlight on *The Neutrality Issue*. Were you beginning to think, in this world torn by wars of Fascist aggression, that something was wrong with that ostrich egg, the Neutrality Act? You were right! For this Neutrality Act "does not produce neutrality"; it "has brought war nearer to us"; if applied in the Far East, amid our sinking ships, it would "make the United States an ally of Japan." Dr. Ward's pamphlet is a candle, *costing only 2 cents*, that throws a mighty beam!



SOME of our contemporaries have received the assignment from their bosses to clear the Japanese militarists. Their task is to make it appear that Japan is not conducting an aggressive war against China and world peace, but only something-or-other else. They must create the illusion that at any rate we cannot stop Japan without a war. Well, we don't envy them this difficult assignment. And we're glad that our boss, the people, instructed us to notify you of *Questions and Answers on the Boycott*, a pamphlet now in preparation. Here you will learn how to stop Japan, how to defend peace — *just exactly what you can do about it!* And speaking of what you can do, the national and city offices of the American League have a supply of Boycott Buttons, the *Shopping Guide for Boycotters*, Consumers' Slips (to be given to store clerks and managers), Boycott and China-relief Posters, and Boycott Stamp Books.



FINALLY, the complete *Proceedings of the People's Congress* are out, priced at 10 cents a copy (reduced rates for quantity orders). Enough said!

Rush your orders to

American League for Peace and Democracy
268 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.



MOST of the silk worn by American women is made in Japan. Many of the toys, kitchen accessories, gadgets, electric bulbs, textile products and other articles in American homes are made in Japan.

But this is only half the picture. *Mass murder, also, bears the Japanese label.* War and invasion are made in Japan. Slaughter of civilians, women and children — destruction, fire and ruin — are "made in Japan."

It is said that the bombs falling on neutral vessels, including our own, carry two tickets. One reads, "Excuse it, please." The other — "made in Japan."

Fascism, the sworn foe of Democracy, is being manufactured hourly by the Japanese militarists—for export.

But the peace-loving and democratic ninety per cent of the world's people are roaring their answer. In Britain, in France, in America, in Belgium and many other

QUARANTINE MILITARIST AGGRESSION

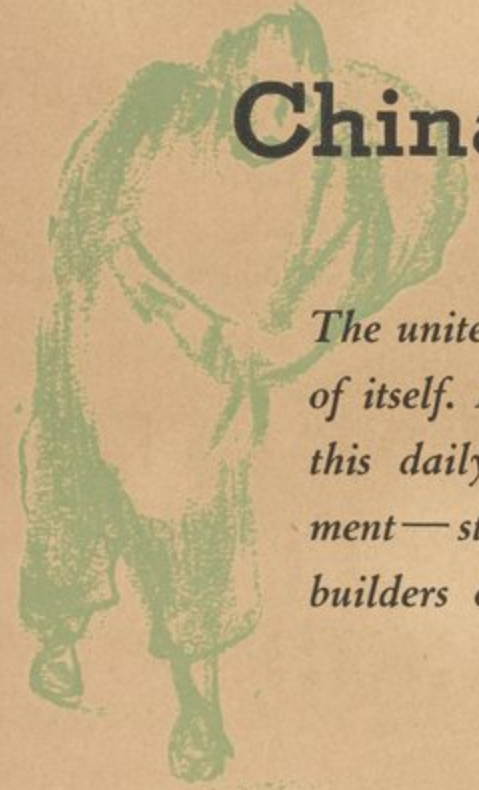
countries the slogan is rising: "Don't buy goods made in Japan." For this economic measure will help bring the Nipponese militarists to their knees.

Quarantine the aggressor with the boycott of Japanese-made goods!

DON'T BUY GOODS MADE IN JAPAN



China's National Salvation



The united front against Japanese aggression did not come about of itself. It was worked for and fought for. In the forefront of this daily struggle for unity was the national-salvation movement—students, writers, organizers—leaders of the millions, builders of New China. The story of a people's coming-of-age

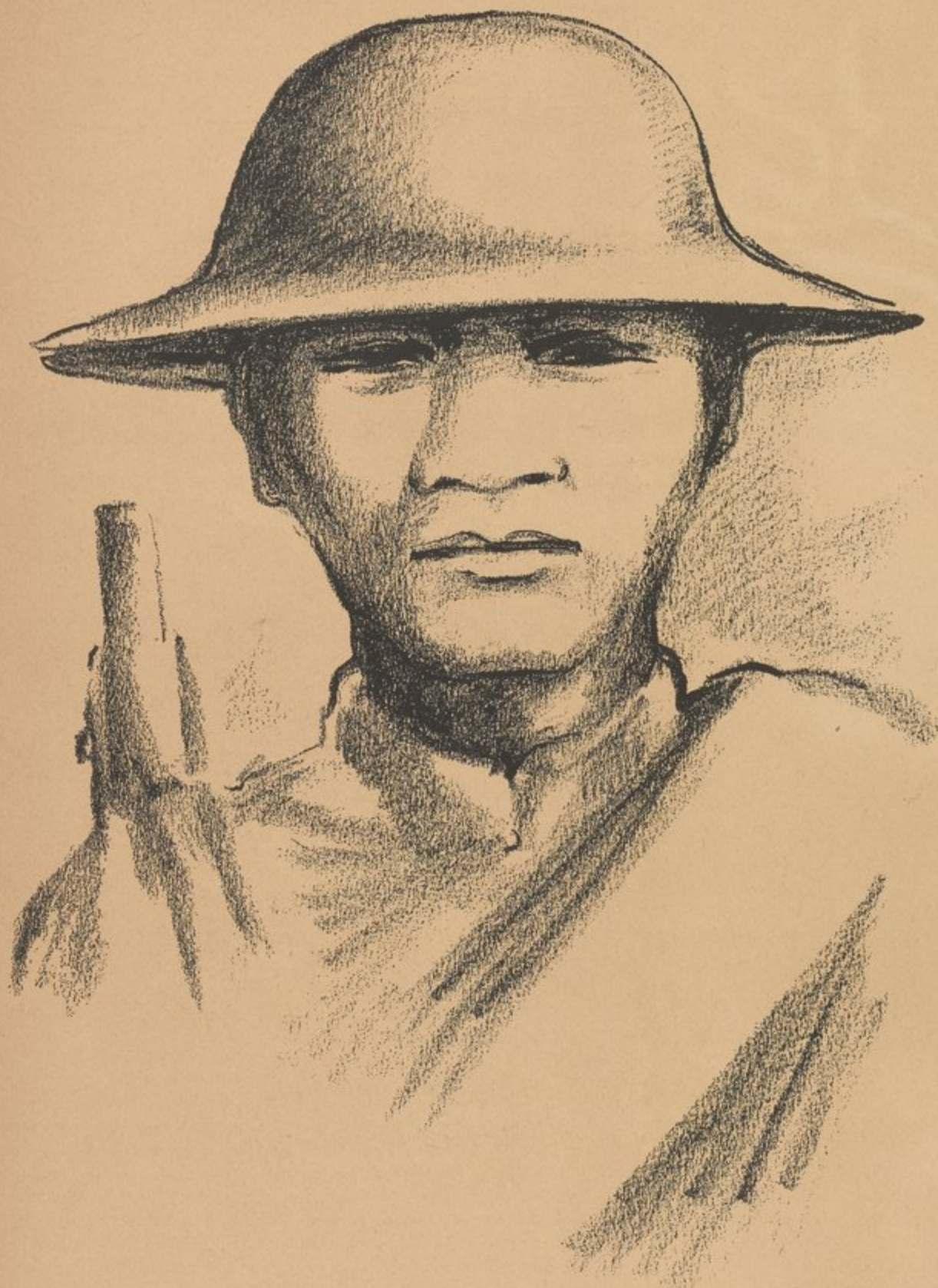
By Jack Chen

ILLUSTRATED BY THE AUTHOR

THERE have appeared in America several accounts of the life and work of the former Chinese Soviets and the Red Army, now the Eighth Route Army. There has been no lack of material in print on the fortunes of the Kuomintang. Even the "old rogues" and old scoundrels, and the deepest-dyed reactionaries in China have had their reporters; but as yet there has been surprisingly little told about the life of the rank and file of Chinese who do not fall into any one of these groups, and yet who have played so big a rôle in the attainment

of the present national unity. I speak of the student unions, the widely spreading National Salvation Associations, the new cultural groups of writers, artists, actors, producers, musicians, teachers, devoted labor-union leaders and volunteer leaders of anti-Japanese forces. Sometimes where the activities of these groups came directly to the notice of the foreigner in China, such as their participation in and organization of the great anti-Japanese strikes of 1936-1937, reports would be sent out. Or again perhaps when events involved such outstand-

ing leaders of the movement as Madame Sun Yat-sen, Madame Liao Chun-kai, or the seven Shanghai leaders who were arrested in 1936 through reactionary pressure, telegrams would fly to Western newspapers. But very little is known abroad of the day-to-day work of these groups who from the first devoted their energies to the carrying out of the united-front plan of national salvation. Yet they have played a tremendous rôle in China's cultural life, in the awakening and organization of national consciousness under conditions of terrible hardship



were crowded with the most attentive pupils in the world. Middle-aged men sat side by side with young apprentices in their teens, studying Chinese writing, arithmetic and English. The library run by the students themselves had a bigger turnover of books than any other library in the city.

Schools for the People

And such a school was paralleled by hundreds of others in the leading cities, and by the Little Teacher movement in which children passed on their school knowledge to their grownup comrades in the national-salvation movement.

The list of members of the League of Cultural Groups reads like a Blue Book of Chinese culture. It includes every important worker in all fields of culture. Indeed it has completely dominated the development of modern Chinese art, played an incalculable rôle in the development of national democratic consciousness in the country.

This movement has inspired all the arts, brought to them new elements of realism and Democracy, brought them into touch with the demands of a modern China. The mass-singing movement, for instance, is unique today in its influence and power. It has become a true people's art. No meeting or demonstration is held without the singing of the new songs. The mass song is one of the popular leader's chief weapons. Mass-singing concerts of thousands of people spread the slogans of national salvation. Progressive army commanders like Fu Tso-yi invite song leaders to visit and teach their men. Many of these songs are sung to the old folk-tunes that every peasant knows. Newer songs have stimulated the creation of a new music that incorporates Western music theory, and is filled with a sturdy spirit expressive of a scientific age and an epoch of great national awakening. Some of these songs are known from end to end of the country, as popular in China as some musical-comedy hit would be in America. There must be hundreds of thousands who know and sing the song of the Tungpei soldiers yearning for their Manchurian homes:

Fight back to our old home!
Down with Japanese imperialism!
The Northwest is ours!
Yet they kill our people!
They have stolen our land!
Arise, you men of the Northwest!
Or do you want to be slaves?
Fight back to our old home!

and often of direct terror. In such crises as the "Sian incident," their rôle was probably a decisive factor. And in the present crisis a knowledge of their work is imperative for a real understanding of China's strength and confidence in the future.

The Student Unions

And this work is the more fundamental in that it is the result of patient, everyday activity in many fields. Take the student movement. When the Japanese militarists began their new attack on China, over 80 per cent of the students were organized in the students' unions. It was these organizations that demanded and got military training for defense, it was the unions that sent out hundreds of members as propagandists of the united front to cities and villages, as petitioners to Nanking, com-

mandeering trains and engines and—most important—getting themselves heard.

The organized students were also the personnel for the mass-education movement. In Tientsin I met devoted young students living in shabby little shacks, receiving no pay, fed by the workers on the workers' food, passing on their knowledge to the people. In Shanghai, on busy Nanking Road, few foreigners knew that they were passing the headquarters of the biggest mass-education school in the East, the Tsai Lien School with five branches in Shanghai and 5,000 students—workers and apprentices of Shanghai, whose leaders were active in the national-salvation drive.

The rooms in the school were the barest school-rooms I have ever seen. Just a blackboard and backless wooden stools for the students. Yet they



China's masses today are singing of freedom, and no Japanese ban can stop them.

Under the impulse of the national-salvation movement the modern theatre has also developed a new Democracy and vitality. While audiences still drink tea, eat melon seeds and throw steaming towels back at the attendants at the classical performances, the modern theatres are packed with audiences who come not merely to see, but to learn and, where necessary, participate. I saw Shakespeare, Tolstoi, Schiller and Ibsen on the Chinese stage. Russians seeing productions of Gogol and Chekhov by the Shanghai Experimental Theatre compared the acting to that of the famed Moscow Art Theatre. Plays by China's outstanding playwright—Tsao Yu—dealing with burning modern problems, such plays as *Thunder and Rain* and *The Sun Comes Up*, toured the country alongside the classics.

New Chinese Theatre

Japanese imperialism was the hated theme in scores of productions by groups in Tientsin, Nanking, Shanghai, Canton. Every showing of *Home in the Northwest* or *Smugglers* was a political demonstration. *Tsai King Hwa*, showing the Germans during the occupation of Peking in the Boxer days, was the subject of a diplomatic protest. The theatre has ceased to be an intellectuals' theatre or just a place of amusement. It has become an integral part of the people's political and social life, carrying knowledge of reality to ever wider masses, showing them the way to effective action.

The same spirit entered the Chinese motion-picture industry. This young art that produced nearly 50 pictures in the 1936-37 season, works under very difficult conditions. In addition to the disabilities of any industry in a semi-colonial country, it has suffered from a reactionary censorship and the obstruction of Japanese agents and tools in Shanghai, its chief center. Yet it has progressed rapidly from slap-stick comedies and drawing-room romances, to important social drama and national problems. And this change was made because China's leading writers and actors, already active in the national-salvation movement, realized how important the movie art could be for rousing the



Chinese people to the real needs of the new times.

The fine arts have also followed the trend of the times. This has been expressed mainly in the field of graphic art and cartooning, as one would expect: for it is in these mediums of mass reproduction that the widest number of people can be reached through newspapers, magazines and posters. In this field China already leads the East.

A Place in Literature

But perhaps the greatest attainments so far in this new culture have been in the field of literature. The late Lu Hsun—China's "Gorki" and greatest writer—was indeed the leader of the whole Chinese cultural movement. His rooms in Shanghai were a place of pilgrimage to artists, actors, writers, teachers. Though cruelly persecuted—his books were banned and he himself was constantly in danger of arrest—he came out uncompromisingly for the united front of all groups against Japanese aggression. His funeral was one of the most impressive demonstrations Shanghai has ever seen. The whole cultural world, workers, merchants—all came to acclaim his stand for unity.

Lu Hsun's stories and those of Mao Tun, Ting Ling, Pa Chin and many others have established a firm place for themselves in world literature. They

have been translated into German, French, Russian and English. By writing in the ordinary spoken tongue of the people in place of the old Scholar's *Wen Yen* literary language, they have brought their ideas to the ears of the common people, and they have played an outstanding rôle in winning over an absolute majority of the intellectuals of China to a progressive democratic outlook. These writers are the backbone of the national-salvation-movement press that speaks for the organized public opinion of China. Papers and magazines such as the *Life Weekly*, *Modern World*, *Culture* and hundreds of others whose writers and editors are united in the national-salvation and cultural groups are the most widely read in China, and in spite of constant persecution from reactionaries have carried on their work of developing the national consciousness of the country.

Dangerous Work

At some periods this work was both dangerous and hard. In 1932 Fascist gangs were waging campaigns of terrorism and assassination. Until very recently wholesale arrests of national-salvation workers were taking place. Yet this constant building on many fronts went on to success.

(Continued on page 24)

Congress on the Spot

With the fall elections staring them in the face, our Senators and Representatives must do some heavy thinking. A clear analysis of the Washington whirlpool

By Henry Zon

PREDICTING, in these days of oscillating politics, has become a perilous vocation—particularly so when applied to the palace revolution taking place within the New Deal. What this session of Congress will do is a mighty mystery, and yet its actions will have an all-important part in determining the future course of American political history. Will it settle down under the influence of coming elections and follow the course the President and Administration leaders outline for it, or will the rebel Democrats continue their revolt?

Will there be wages-and-hours legislation at this session, or will the Democratic Party have to go to the polls in 1938 with one of its major pledges unfulfilled? What is to be the future rôle of the United States in the face of the growing Fascist menace abroad? Will the New Deal stick to its avowed liberal course, or will the dissident elements within its ranks force it to capitulate to the cry for "business confidence"?

Such are the questions which the political observer must answer by the time the 435 Representatives

and 96 Senators collect their mileage sometime in the middle of the summer, and leave for home to repair their political fences. By then the answers should be fairly clear.

Court Reverberations

Undoubtedly the major event of the Roosevelt Administration has been the battle over the Supreme Court plan. The passions that were aroused during that fight still flare, and it is possible to estimate closely the stand of any Senator on Administration issues by reference to the stand that Senator took regarding the Court Plan. The Court fight marked clearly the difference between the New Deal Democrats and the rebel Democrats—better called "Republicrats"—with the result that, in terms of practical politics, there are three parties the Administration must take into consideration when contemplating the House and the Senate.

In the first place there are the New Deal Democrats, with whom are allied the liberals whose political philosophy is in advance of the New Deal.

These liberals, such as Bernard, Teigan, and O'Connell in the House, and LaFollette and Norris in the Senate, have no choice but to support the Administration. Their desertion of the Administration standards would lead to nothing but a heightening of the conservative revolt which loves to parade under the phoney banner of "liberalism."

In the second place, there are the "Republicrats"—such men as Burke of Nebraska, Wheeler of Montana, Dies of Texas, McReynolds of Tennessee, O'Connor of New York and Sumners of Texas. To these can be added those Southern Democrats who feel positive that President Roosevelt has insulted the flower of Southern manhood, murdered the Democratic Party, and sold out to the Northern industrialists and the Communist Party.

At present this group holds the balance of power in the House and in the Senate. It demonstrated its strength in the Senate during the fight on the Court bill and in the House by defeating the wages-and-hours bill during the special session of Congress.

Maury Maverick of Texas (left), a House progressive, chats with Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York at a Tom Mooney meeting





"I do not propose to let the people down. I am sure the Congress of the United States will not let the people down"

The third group consists of Republican Party cohorts. The Republicans have played their game cannily, for the most part keeping silent and leaving the dirty work to their spiritual party members within the Democratic ranks. So close have grown the spiritual ties between, for instance, Vandenberg—who pictures himself as riding to the White House come 1940—and the smug and pious Bailey of North Carolina, that they recently attempted to legitimize their marriage by a "manifesto" calling for all true representatives of the people to rally round the flag, home, mother and Big Business.

The marriage was frustrated by the shrewder heads in the Republican ranks who promptly saw that union with the renegade Democrats might have the unfortunate effect of throwing back into the arms of the New Deal those who, while disliking the present administration, knew the folks back home still had no stomach for the G.O.P.

Roosevelt's Keynote

According to the President's message to Congress on January 3d, the Administration has but one specific item of legislation on what used to be called the "must" list: that is a measure putting a floor to wages and a ceiling to hours. Already passed by

both houses is the farm bill which forms the second base angle of the triangle which the President discussed.

The keynote of the message was the necessity of raising the national income. This objective, said the President, was to be accomplished by the wages-and-hours bill to boost the income of industrial workers, and the "all weather" farm program which will boost the income of the farm workers. As a result, the income of the third group, those engaged in transportation and distribution, will automatically rise.

This does not mean that other legislation, bad and good, may not be passed. There is ample evidence that strenuous efforts will be made by Girdlerites to amend the National Labor Relations Act into limbo by imposing restrictions upon the type of organization that can be designated as the bargaining agent, and by laying down a line the Board must follow in designating the appropriate bargaining unit. Senator Burke (Democrat, Nebraska) has pending a resolution for an investigation of the three members of the National Labor Relations Board and he will, in all probability, push the measure.

On the other hand, sometime before the end of

the session the Senate Civil Liberties Committee will complete its work and present its final report, probably embodying a recommendation for legislation requiring the licensing of industrial espionage agencies along the lines of the Wisconsin law.

Already passed by both houses are amendments to the National Housing Act designed to encourage private capital to enter the field of housing. This encouragement is in the form of government assumption of risk with the profits going into the pockets of the private builders. There will be little dispute over that measure.

Votes and Taxes

Tax measures must, of necessity, be enacted, probably with few innovations. The dope is that there will be modifications of the undistributed-profits tax and capital-gains tax, but with retention of their basic principles. On the theory that it is impossible to get any more from those in the higher income-tax brackets, a drive will be made to lower the exemptions in the present income-tax rate and increase the rates for those in the middle brackets.

It is almost a certainty that tax legislation will be tackled gingerly, for 1938 is an election year,

(Continued on page 29)

ALTHOUGH in two short years he was to lead the nation in a world-gripping clash between the forces of progress and reaction, Abraham Lincoln, on being defeated for the Senate in 1858 by pro-slavery Douglas, despaired of his political career and wrote to a friend, "... I now sink out of view and shall be forgotten. ..."

The tide of slavery was sweeping victoriously northward. Despite the will of the Founding Fathers, despite the spirit of the Constitution, chattel slavery had burst through the Mason-Dixon Line and threatened to swamp all America.

Yet from the very outset, the American masses hated chattel slavery just as they hate and abhor Fascism today.

Spread of Slavery

Even before Lincoln was born, abolition societies campaigned against the slave system. The Ordinance of 1787, however, prohibiting slavery in the Northwest Territory, and the outlawing, in 1808, of the slave trade, lulled Americans into belief that slavery would gradually disappear. But with the invention of the cotton gin, cotton, grown and harvested by cheap slave labor, leaped into an

The election of 1860 brought to office the great champion of Union and Liberty. He was the candidate of a new progressive political alignment, answering the demands of a new day

The Road to Lincoln

By Morris Kamman

Fremont in 1856 was the first Republican candidate for President. This reactionary cartoon of the day shows how the new party — soon to sweep into power — was greeted with scorn. Note the "Red scare," as well as the attempt to stir religious prejudice — a tactic of the Know-Nothings



immensely profitable business. The law against bringing more slaves to America was violated. More land was also needed. In 1820, the slaveholders succeeded in having enacted the Missouri Compromise, which pushed the Mason-Dixon Line northward so as to include Missouri among the slave states. At that, slavery was thought sufficiently fenced in to strangle of itself.

The slaves knew better. Led by Nat Turner, a self-educated Negro, they revolted but were crushed with shocking brutality. This, and the conquest of Texas in 1836, branded by John Quincy Adams as "a slaveowners' plot" to gain more territory, stirred the anti-slavery movement into new life. Slaveowners took fright and fiercely resisted the fresh surge of abolition. They were not alone.

"An effort was made to stem the (anti-slavery) tide by a Pastoral Letter issued by the Massachusetts Association of Congregational Ministers in 1837," reports Schlessinger in *New Viewpoints in American History*. A conference of presidents and representatives from colleges "unanimously agreed . . . that all anti-slavery agitation should be suppressed." The Associationists of the United States, pledged to the building of a cooperative commonwealth, granted through their organ, *The Phalanx*, that the slave system was "repugnant and dishonorable," but frightened many freedom-loving men and women by crying that the abolition movement would "inevitably lead to violence and revolution." The Associationists' leaders proposed peaceful and tranquil cooperation between the workers and the capitalists in the North. Slavery was to be allowed in the South.

Workers Divided

The New England Workingmen's Convention condemned the system under which "three million of our brethren and sisters are groaning in chains on the Southern plantations," but George H. Evans, editor of the *Workingmen's Advocate*, "did not hesitate to declare himself quite frankly against Negro emancipation" on the idealistic "ground that . . . the blacks would be economically in a worse position under the system of wage labor . . ." (*Lincoln, Labor and Slavery*, by Schlüter). Two other labor leaders, Wilhelm Weitling and Herman Kriege, urged American workers "to oppose abolition with all our might" as a reform that was not sufficiently revolutionary, since the wage system would not be abolished.

In the South, white mechanics were led to protest, not against the slave system itself, but against competition from Negro mechanics farmed out by the slaveholders. Even this backward struggle made *The Standard* of Charleston fume that "most" of the white workers were "pests to society . . . and ever ready to form combinations against the interests of the slaveholders." Leaders of protesting white workers were driven from town.

Meanwhile the slaveholding oligarchy, a small minority like our present capitalists, gained political sway over the country and could justifiably boast, "We nominate Presidents, the North elects them!"

The South In Power

The slaveholding class used political power as a sword with which to slice off large cuts of territory. It needed land not only because slave labor exhausted soil rapidly, but also for carving out more slave states to offset the North's increasing political strength in Congress. The slaveholders precipitated war with Mexico. Their economic greed was later expressed in the Senate by the cynically frank Brown of Mississippi: "I want Cuba; I want Tamaulipas, Potosi, and one or two other Mexican



William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator was agitating for the abolition of slavery as early as 1831. The "vanguard" abolitionists fought bravely for years against the Bourbons of the time, until their program was accepted by the people. Garrison was no isolationist, as one sees by the slogan

states; and I want them all for the same reason: for the planting and the spread of slavery."

Congressman Lincoln condemned the Mexican War as "unjust and unconstitutional."

Kansas-Nebraska Bill

The slaveholders decided on a more daring and much more fruitful conquest, the fertile Territory of Kansas. They sidestepped the Missouri Compromise, which forbade the spread of slavery into that land, by raising a cry that each territory, on admission into the Union, ought to have its "sovereign" right to vote for or against slavery. This cry was repeated by a powerful press and by the slaveholders' political tools. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, granting each territory the right to vote on slavery, was pushed through Congress in 1854. A compliant President Pierce signed it.

When Kansas then voted against slavery, the slaveholders sent in armed gangs, who sacked towns and butchered free settlers, among them women and children, in an attempt to "civilize" them into accepting the slave system.

The heavy boot of the slaveholder now strode deep into Northern soil. Gunfire and whip, which

had crushed Negro slaves, now scourged free white farmers as well.

"Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded," wrote Karl Marx. American workers were coming to that realization. Spurning the influence of Evans, of Kriege and of Weitling, workers in New York under the leadership of Joseph Weydemeyer passed a resolution condemning "as a traitor against the people and their welfare everyone who shall lend" the Kansas-Nebraska Bill his support. Weitling and Kriege retreated into the more comforting arms of the slaveholders' Democratic Party.

At mass meetings held throughout the North by religious groups as well as by workers and farmers, money was collected for aid to the free settlers who, under leaders such as John Brown, were defending themselves against the armed gangs of the slaveholders. Those who shipped guns and ammunition to the settlers were charged with violating peace. "I look upon" the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, said Lincoln in answer, "not as a law, but as a violence from the beginning. . ."

Representing reactionary and slaveholding interests who feared the unity spreading among the people, the two major political parties, the Whig and Democratic, "united in pledging themselves to make the suppression of abolitionism paramount to any question of party allegiance," and organized pro-slavery demonstrations (*Political Recollections*, Julian).

Independent Politics

In various sections of the country a demand arose for a new party which would be independent of the slaveholders' influence. Anti-slavery forces in Wisconsin and Michigan placed state candidates in the field. The pro-slavery forces acted quickly. A "Charlie McCarthy" party, the Native American, better known as the Know-Nothings, sprang into life with a campaign of hatred against radicals, Catholics and foreign-born. In Brooklyn ten thousand workers, Catholic and non-Catholic, formed two hostile armies which battled with stones and guns. In New England and elsewhere, Irish settlements were attacked and the Irish immigrants who had fled British upper-class oppression, were driven from their American homes. The birth of the Know-Nothings, writes a contemporary of that period, "was a well-timed scheme to divide the people of the free states to balk and divert the indignation aroused by the repeal of the Missouri restriction, which else would spend its force upon the aggressions of slavery." "Lincoln opposed Know-Nothingism in all its phases, everywhere, and at all times when it was sweeping over the land like wild-

(Continued on page 26)



The British Tories sided openly with the South. This lampoon of Lincoln appeared in the London Fun. "You have swollen the earth with the blood of my children," Columbia is saying

THE FATE of humanity may, in the last analysis, hang upon an electron—or upon the even more inconsequential voice of a crooner. This is due to the fact that the propaganda war which for years has been raging over the radio between the forces of Democracy and those of Fascism has reached a ferocious—even though ridiculous—climax, the outcome of which may determine whether or not the world is to destroy itself on less ethereal battlefields.

As we predicted last month, England's belated decision to fight Fascist propaganda with fire has stirred up a hornet's nest. The Italians, who had been busily fomenting discontent in the Near East with programs in Arabic, frothed at the mouth when they learned of the British Broadcasting Corporation's plan to broadcast in the same language.

First they announced they were broadening their schedule to appeal to malcontents in India, Australia and New Zealand. Next they tried the old stunt of "jamming" B.B.C.'s first program with artificial static. When that didn't work they finally sat down to listen and discovered that their competitor was interspersing its appeals to the Arabs with classical music selections.

So the Italians rounded up a crooner named Abdul Wahab and rushed him to the microphone. Not long thereafter spies reported to Rome that the simple natives were tuning out the British program in droves.

Shortly before all this happened Franco's radio propaganda from Spain received an awful black eye. After "guaranteeing" last month that all programs from Rebel territory were absolutely true, the Fascist stations first denied the Loyalists were attacking Teruel, then said the drive had collapsed, then that the capture of the city didn't matter anyway and finally that it had been retaken.

In this country the latest radio skirmish now stands: New Deal 3; Economic Royalists 0.

For the past several months big-shot industrialists and their stooges have been parading before the microphones nightly and telling fairy stories to the American public. Tom Girdler, Merwin K. Hart, Ham Fish, Sloan, Irvin, Stettinius and a host of lesser lights have had but one theme—that of Little Red Riding Hood (read Big Business) who was tripping through the forest intent on bringing all sorts of wonderful gifts to her poor dear grandmother (read depression-ridden America) when she was waylaid by the Big Bad Wolf of Washington (read Franklin D. Roosevelt).

But the President has learned a lot since the time when he swung the country behind him with one broadcast on revamping the Supreme Court, then sat back silent while the opposition hamstrung the plan. This time he waited until the people were good and tired of Little Red and her troubles. Then the New Deal led off with a smashing attack by Jackson, followed it with an address by Ickes which comes close to being the finest thing ever heard on the air, and rested its case with the Chief Executive's speech to the opening session of Congress.

At this writing the Sixty Families are still dodging in sixty different directions.

Not-So-Free Air

"NOW, FREEDOM of the press, as I understand it, means the right of the publisher or the editor to express any view he happens to hold on any public question and even to refuse to publish the utterances of those who seek to controvert his views."

This amazing statement was made by William

RADIO

What the wild waves are saying . . . Neutrality on the networks . . . Maverick stations

S. Paley, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, while he was trying to prove to the Second National Conference on Educational Broadcasting that any government interference with the private ownership of the radio industry would begin "to destroy liberty in America."

"We (the broadcasters)," he rushed on, "must never have an editorial page, we must never seek to maintain views of our own, on any public question except broadcasting itself. Moreover, we must never try to further either side of any debatable question, regardless of our own private and personal sympathies."

Since that address, which only escaped censure by the attending educators because of the heroic efforts of Prof. Lyman Bryson of Columbia University, who was in the chair, several interesting things have happened at C.B.S.

First, Tom Girdler's labor-baiting address to the National Association of Manufacturers was broadcast but no official of the C.I.O. was invited to answer him.

Then Walmar Falcao, Brazilian minister of labor, industry and commerce, was induced to extend the greetings of Fascist dictator Vargas to the American people. (Not a word in reply was heard from Luis Carlos Prestes or any of those brave men and women who are fighting to keep alive some spark of liberty in Brazil).



Mayor Hague airs his views. Nuff said

And finally Prof. John Dewey was asked to read his defense of Leon Trotsky and his attack upon the Soviet Union over the network. The Friends of the Soviet Union were not caught napping on this occasion. Such a roar of protest went up, such mocking references to Paley's speech were made, that C.B.S. officials were forced to make frantic last-minute appeals to Corliss Lamont of the F.S.U. to answer the venerable professor.

(P.S.: Professor Bryson, who defended Paley's address, has just been made head of an imposing committee which soon will inaugurate a series of adult-education programs over Columbia.)

The Independents

FATHER COUGHLIN bids fair to break the record of his countryman Finnegan. One month he's going on the air, the next he's not, the third he's extending his broadcasts to Europe and Latin America. Then the Pope frowns and he gets cold feet. At last reports he's all set once more to start talking over 29 independent stations.

It's altogether possible that such jerry-built networks will play a larger and larger part in the propaganda battle.

As was pointed out in a recent *Harper's Magazine* article, N.B.C. and C.B.S., despite their growing conservatism, have a wholesome respect for public opinion and the Federal Communications Commission.

The independent stations live up to their name, however, and many of them will broadcast almost anything if they get paid for it. So far, few of them have been reprimanded by Washington. An interesting exception is KFI, Los Angeles, which has just been asked by the F.C.C. why it is carrying programs sponsored by "Neutral Thousands," a labor-hating organization, and refusing to sell time to unions.

And KHJ, another Los Angeles station, seems to be getting in hot water with listeners because of a jingo program entitled "The Marines Tell it to You," which is trying to make capital out of the war in the Orient, apparently at the expense of the Chinese.

On the other hand many of the smaller stations and regional networks are showing decided liberal tendencies. WMCA, New York, deserves another mention in this connection because, unlike Columbia, it ignored Brazil's desperate efforts to sell its Fascism to American business men. Instead, the station invited Rockwell Kent, noted illustrator and author, to discuss with commentator Johannes Steel the things which Kent saw during a recent visit to Brazil.

Another straw in the wind is the announcement of the Yankee Network in New England that it can no longer be neutral on controversial issues and in the future will allow its editor-in-chief, Leland Bickford, to go as far as he likes in exposing rackets and campaigning for law enforcement and good government. The Yankee Network has been pretty reactionary in the past but this seems a step in the right direction.

Which reminds us that when N.B.C. and C.B.S. script writers presented higher-ups with their dramatizations of the most important news events of 1937 only one scene was ordered rewritten before the broadcasts. In each case the sequence dealt with the Chicago Massacre and (also in each case) it was ordered revamped so as to "be fair to the police force."

—GEORGE SCOTT



Bombardment

By Philip Guston



Above and at left, characters from Walt Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. At right, a street scene from *In Old Chicago*



MOVIES

THERE is no more insidious propaganda in the movies than a good picture. In a poorly constructed, badly written and badly directed film, the faults stand out so clearly as to reveal the militaristic message for all it is worth. It is when a picture is well written, superbly acted, and in many cases brilliantly directed—in other words, when it bears the technical sheen and polish of all Grade A productions—that it becomes most effective in planting the seeds of jingoism.

Two pictures released during the past month—just at the time, incidentally, when President Roosevelt asked Congress for a billion-dollar appropriation for rearmament—bear directly on this point. The first was Metro's *Navy Blue and Gold*, detailing the happy life at Annapolis, and the second was Warners' *Submarine D-1*, detailing the life on a submarine.

Both items were originally scheduled as typical Class B pictures, neither of them budgeted very high, as motion-picture budgets go, neither of them expected to do more than the ordinary double-bill business. But when finally filmed, and finally edited, both of these productions emerged as more than mere Class B material, both of them carried terrific emotional suspenses and wallop, both of them rated critical raves from the daily press, and both of them became enormously dangerous weapons of propaganda.

It is precisely because they are so good that these two productions are so powerful in their evil intent. People hear about them, people go to see them, and people come away from them with the feeling that existence in the Navy must be pretty nice, if the Navy can provide Hollywood with material for such thoroughly attractive entertainment. You don't hear people talking, very much, about *The Marines Have Landed* or *Annapolis Salute* or such things. You hear them talk about *Navy Blue and Gold* and *Submarine D-1*. And in pictures like these, one glamour-boy in a brass-buttoned uniform can counteract all the newsreels

of Chinese massacres that have ever been filmed.

The Warner submarine picture, true enough, did not concern itself with war, as it might have done, nor did the Metro Annapolis film concern itself with the training of admirals. In *Submarine D-1* we had naval maneuvers and a routine love story, all of which ended up in a crash between the sub and a surface craft and the eventual rescue of the sailors below. (All of the sailors, you will be happy to know, are rescued in the film; the studio was quite careful to make that very clear.) And in *Navy Blue and Gold* the Metro studios concerned themselves more with the football aspects of the Academy than anything else, contenting themselves with telling us that the naval training instilled in our future admirals makes them very fine backfield players indeed.

But the uniforms are still there, and the sabrerattling, although muffled, can be heard quite distinctly. And as long as pictures like these are turned out by Hollywood, just so long will Hollywood be a fertile feeding-ground for the militarists.

A Poor Bad Picture

THE OTHER side of the picture may be most clearly demonstrated by Metro's *Rosalie*. Here too was a glamour-boy (Nelson Eddy, no less) decked out in a brass-buttoned uniform, here too were snappy salutes, and army discipline, and all the rest of the hoorah associated with matters like these. *Rosalie*, however, was nothing more than a gigantic stinkeroo, if you'll pardon the expression, and its glorifying of West Point and the training of our future generals will be lost just on account of how people won't go to see it. No matter how much money they poured into it, no matter how fancy they contrived the sets, no matter how thrilling they staged the drills and dance steps and musical interludes, Metro still has a very bad picture in *Rosalie*, and you simply cannot cram down militaristic propaganda into the movies with bad pic-

tures. The people, as Elder Hays himself has on more than one occasion pointed out, go to the movies for entertainment. If they are not entertained, they stay away. Whatever messages the movies have for them, good or bad, must be secondary to this prime consideration.

The newsreels of the sinking of the Panay when they were finally brought here and released, fell far below the advance ballyhoo. The public looked for something exciting, shocking and thrilling, which would raise its hair on end. That it wasn't particularly shocked or thrilled, that very few hairs stood on end, may be laid to the fact that the Panay newsreels did not come up to expectations, that the clips themselves were, on the whole, something of a disappointment.

There were shots of the Japanese planes diving down on the vessel, true enough, there were pictures of the return fire, and the bombs exploding, and the burning of the tankers nearby. But none of these shots came up to what the audience expected and there was a general feeling of being let down.

Disney's First Feature

THE REST of the past month was devoted to the showing of such pictures as *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, Walt Disney's first feature-length production, which should immediately go down on your list as an absolute necessity, to the premiere of Darryl Zanuck's *In Old Chicago*, which had a tremendous fire and Alice Brady returned to her senses, and to such things as *Hollywood Hotel*, *Hitting a New High*, *Tovarich*, and Simone Simon in *Love and Hisses*. *Hollywood Hotel* had Louella Parsons, which ought to give you an idea, and Simone Simon, according to the advertising, sings, sings. You can forget all about the others.

—ROBERT SHAW

Challenge to Canada

Repression at home, reaction abroad—such is the record of those who govern Canada's liberty-loving people. But our northern neighbors will not long endure Padlock Laws and aid to aggressor nations. An authoritative account of the Canadian struggle for Democracy

By Malcolm McK. Ross

WITH THE Quebec "Padlock Law" already being enforced against organized labor, and with the rôle of Canada in international affairs clearly revealed as active on the side of Fascist aggression, the recent Third Congress of the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy was confronted with the most urgent challenge to action in the brief but crowded history of our movement. The fraternal delegates from the American League made it abundantly clear that the fight of the progressive forces in the United States against vigilantism closely parallels our own fight against the Padlock Law and other anti-labor developments in Canada.

The situation in Quebec has silenced those critics of the League who have contended that Fascism is a European phenomenon and cannot become a major issue in Canadian politics. The Padlock Law is a sweeping denial of democratic rights invested in the British citizen by Magna Carta, and is a menace not only to Quebec but to Democracy on the North American continent.

If, by an Act of Congress, the Hearst editorial page were substituted for the American Bill of Rights, you in the United States would face a problem similar to the one which we are facing today in Quebec. Labor in Quebec is not being attacked by vigilantism, while the law winks. It is being smashed by the law of the land itself. And perhaps for the first time in the history of Democracy on this continent, a government elected by the people in good faith is working in close coöperation with hirelings of the German Nazis.

The war in the Far East challenges the League movement in Canada almost as sharply as does the Fascist development within our own house. Only four days before our congress opened, Canadian responsibility in the Sino-Japanese crisis was definitely established by Dr. Wellington Koo's report to the Brussels Conference. The world was informed that Canada in 1936 had furnished Japan with 71.7 per cent of her aluminum import for aircraft manufacture, and 97.11 per cent of her enormous copper import for war purposes. When, in addition to this, it is recalled that Canada exports 85 per cent of the world's nickel supply, a metal indispensable in the manufacture of war materials, there can be no sidestepping the challenge which history is making to Canadian Democracy.

Canada is placing her vast mineral resources at the disposal of the Fascist powers. The challenge was squarely before the Congress. A Canadian embargo on shipments of war materials to aggressor nations might be decisive in the world struggle for peace and Democracy.

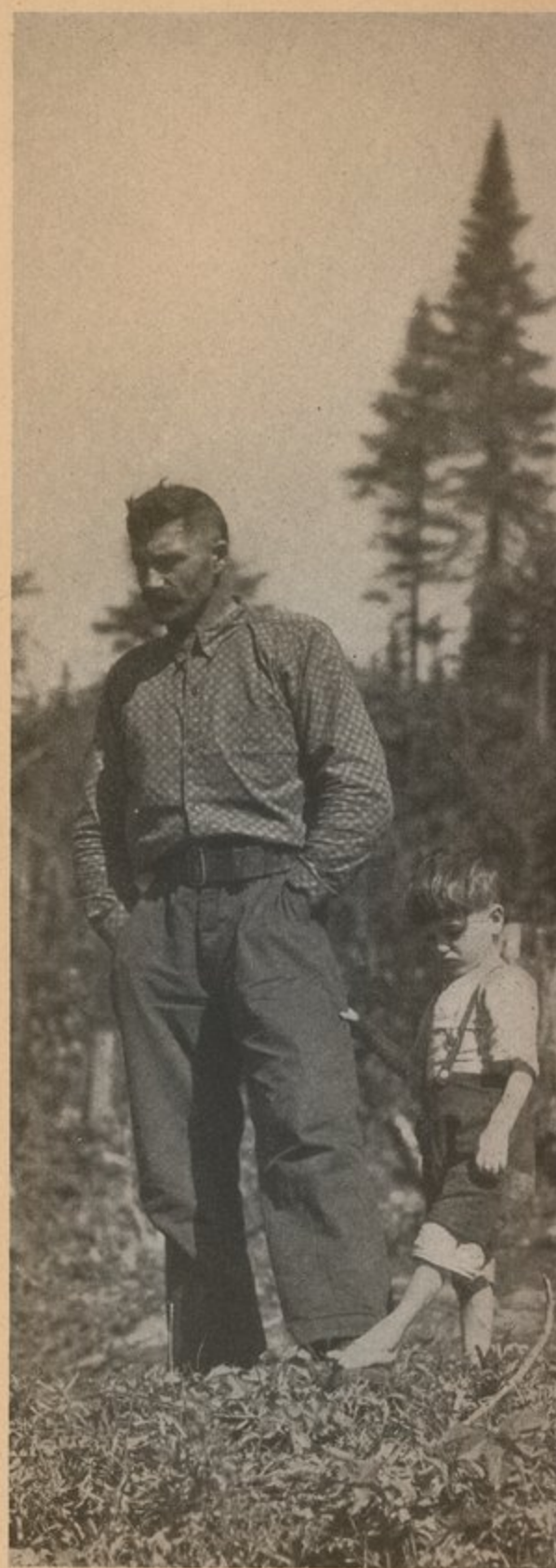
Influence on Britain

As a leading member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada wields great influence on No. 10 Downing Street. The National Government of Great Britain could not long remain partisan to Fascist aggression in Europe if threatened with serious dissension within the Commonwealth. An aroused public opinion in Canada, actively in support of our obligations to the Spanish government under the Covenant of the League of Nations and under international law, could be of key importance in halting the Fascist advance.

Our program of action for the year as determined by the Congress resolutions, is already well under way. Thousands of postcard petitions have been mailed to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, urging an immediate embargo on the shipment of war materials to Japan. Under an amendment to the Customs Act made April 10, 1937, it is possible for the government by Order-in-Council to "prohibit, restrict, or control the exportation, or the carrying coastwise, or by inland navigation, of arms, ammunition, implements or munitions of war, military or naval or air stores, or any articles deemed capable of being converted thereinto or made useful in the production thereof." In other words the machinery for the embargo is legally set up. All that is needed for action is sufficient mass pressure.

The boycott of goods "made in Japan" is broadening rapidly. Printed material and pins bearing the slogan "Do Not Buy Japanese Goods" are being distributed throughout the country, and the demand is outdistancing the supply. Recently members of our Vancouver Council of the League picketed a Canadian Pacific liner loaded with goods from Japan, at the Vancouver docks. Twenty-seven arrests were made, but the incident has attracted public sympathy to the League and has served to intensify our drive on the Coast.

The League is continuing its efforts on behalf of the Spanish people, and calls for the immediate lifting of the embargo against the Republican Govern-



A new colonizer in the province of Quebec

ment and for the cancellation of all agreements, commercial or otherwise, with General Franco. It will be remembered that the visit of the Spanish delegation headed by Father Sarasola was under the joint auspices of the American and Canadian branches of the League. The Canadian League has been more than active within the framework of the Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and has succeeded in raising upwards of \$75,000.

The Padlock Law

On the Dominion scene, our main immediate fight is against the repression in Quebec. To quote R. L. Calder, K.C., of the National Council of the Canadian League, the "Padlock Law is not the fine flowering of French Canadian culture. . . . The act

(Continued on page 29)

SHE LOOKED at the rose-bushes with a shy, strange smile. It was as if she were being introduced to a great personage for the first time. How do you do Mr. President, and how are all of the members of the Supreme Court this fine day? A timid apology for the garden shears too. They seemed competent, oh very, with their sturdy limbs and large eyes to catch hold of. Could they *really* cut through those thorny stems? Too bad she had never learned more about gardening! But then who ever dreamed that she would have a garden of her own? Somehow that gay, informal little place where flowers grew, did not seem her own. Maybe the feel of a *belonging* garden depended on tending it. Like children. My little daughter Marigold, hasn't she lovely hair? My great son Hollyhock, how grand his posture is! Don't blush, now!

The scent of roses started a message somewhere deep down, through layers of thoughts that did not want to be disturbed. What was it about roses, that did not want to be remembered? What indeed? And how could it matter? Guests were coming for dinner, but they would be late, and it would be hours before they arrived. Time to rest, and not think at all. My little daughter Marigold! My great son Hollyhock. But she had no daughter, and she had no son. She did have a house in the country, and a garden, and work, and, oh yes, of course, a husband! Her work was splendid. Her interesting work in the psychiatric clinic. That endless parade of the sick, the poor, the maladjusted.

THE DOCTOR was a young man. Nice too, really very nice indeed. What a capacity he had to identify himself with those strange, forlorn people. Yet with no effort at all, he could turn from their confusion, and become completely *himself*. No hangover from the rôles that he played, but turning from his students he would explain, "McDougal refers to this phenomenon as the exhibition of expression, and repression." Very calmly, like adding up a little sum. And then, back to the act he was so successfully putting on, he listened to the jargon, the silly babbling, as if it were the only language that he understood. It was perfect. Almost too perfect. No woman could do it. Or maybe, some could, but not she.

The Irish boy! She remembered him there in the amphitheatre. His moods fluctuating, one to the other. Ecstasy, joy, sorrow; all the subtle shades of emotion passed over him, at intervals so brief it seemed that he could sustain nothing. His eyes, turned toward heaven when he supplicated his Mother Mary to forgive his sins. His form unleashed to frenzied activity in the throes of fury. His face painted with shadows of sensuous cunning, when he babbled his obscenities. He was the perfect actor, for he did not know that he was playing the parts. Did he truly feel those passing moods, or was his acting rather merely the manifestation of how sane people respond to similar moods? He was going to be a priest. The doctor had told them. But a sense of sin, for nothing at all, made him choose his purgatory here, rather than hereafter. Yet that really wasn't so strange. One likes to think of rest *sometime*. His wasn't the right way though. Digging a cross on his arm and babbling inconsequential words, wasn't the way to rest.

She could not get them out of her mind as the doctor did. Long after clinic had closed, even here in the garden where the flowers grew and the sun shone, their pain followed her, sharpening her awareness of people and their problems. Why should their suffering be so keen that it drives them

Rus

*The Catholic, the Jew, the old
God at night . . . The woman
was it about roses that wou*

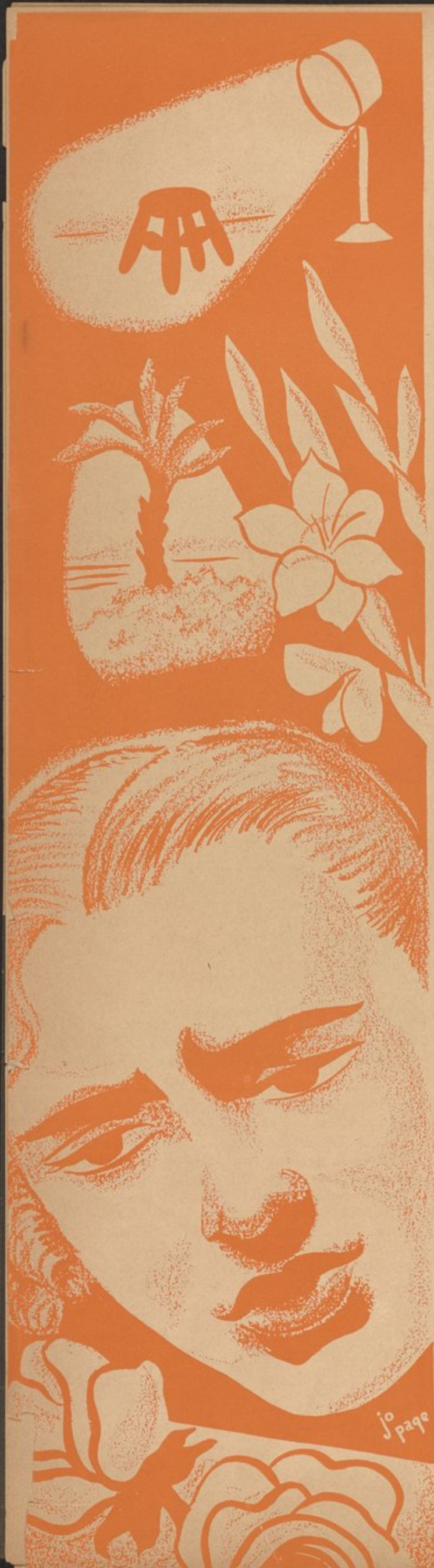
By Flora S
ILLUSTRATED B

into a world of unreality? Why should some have so little that they are forced to live in a land of illusion and phantasy?

Sometime, everyone wished to go away. Everyone! "If I could only see the ocean! Oh for the solitude of a desert, vast, and dome-topped with shining stars! A shack in the woods, with no furniture, no worldly things! Nothing to own, nothing to belong to. Some place where palm trees raise their giraffe necks, green ears drooping, and cocoanut eyes. Cocoanut milk for lunch, and dinner too. No guests. No shoes. Sandals, lovely woven, loose-laced of phanx straw. A tune hummed in her head. "*Dost thou know that sweet land.*" A bee buzzed somewhere near the roses. "*Where the flowers grow?*" An ant crawled on the outside of her hand. She lay still, so as not to disturb it. "*'Tis there my heart desires to be, To live, to love and to die.*" There, there.

That's what they did, those people in clinic. They went there, and could not tell the real from the illusion. Clever of them, in a way. But not *really*. One's got to find out, here and now. Not there, and sometime. Oh dear, what was it all about anyhow? Roses again, stirring a caustic ingredient into the batter of sunlit gardens, and dinner parties, and work. Nothing about roses to send a twinge of fear into her heart, and send her face down deep in the grass. What was it about roses?

SHE WAS such a coward to pull back from the idea that the drama in clinic was a little cruel. Students have to learn about diseases of the mind too. It was her own imagination, and nothing more, that produced a sense of the theatre. Looking down from the hard bench in the amphitheatre, to a circle of light, concentrating the figures into an intense focal point, it did seem somehow like an arena planned for entertainment. Yet—"Causation, symptoms, treatment and prognosis." And note-books and pencils to take the notes down. That's what it was like—not at all an arena.



ust

the old Negro who talked with
man cutting flowers . . . What
would not be remembered?

ra Strousse

ED BY JO PAGE

Those people would not be so miserable if their lives were not so empty. For loneliness seemed to be in back of it all, the sort of loneliness that becomes more acute with other human beings than without them. The great mass of humanity wall-flowers. Flowers. Maybe they did not like the scent of roses any more than she did. *What a damn silly thing to think!*

The doctor was very kind to them. They were not compelled to come to clinic. Usually it did not matter to them that they were on exhibition. Why should it? They lived in a land of strange fabrics. Fabrics embroidered in bizarre patterns. Loosely woven stuff where warp and woof were put together with no logical foundation. Make-believe, make-believe! Not the ordinary day-dreams. My little daughter Marigold. No, this was very different.

All sorts marched through the long white hall of the clinic. The Negro, the Jew, the Irishman. Caricatures, distorted beyond the limits of their type. That little old Jew, poor old man, in a depressive stage of melancholia, mute and inarticulate. She would rather he had rushed to the wall and wailed loud, Semitic lamentations. But he just sat there, hunched up with woe. He was humble then, making no effort to establish himself in the face of prejudice. "You will pardon me for living until day after tomorrow, please Mr. Nordic." But he could become annoyingly arrogant, the most successful with a capital "S," as if no one in all the before, not counting Moses, ever had such rare thoughts. Cringing, then proud, cultured, then vulgar.

Really, very much like Sam Stern himself. Sam would be coming for dinner. He would bring a lovely gift. Sam's gifts had become more and more lavish. As if to bribe his gentile friends against fears from his inner glancing-back. The ghetto, the Jewish concentration camps. Not in this fair land. Well, maybe not. But near enough to hear the echoes and lamentations of his people. But he need not bring his friends gifts. They liked Sam,

really. He was a good guy. But Sam could not quite manage to believe it.

THE SUN was not so high any more. But the guests never came on time. The later, the more fashionable. It was a little cold though, there on the grass. If Pearl saw her, she'd think it quite mad. "Pearl." Great big, black woman. Of course there were black pearls! Bet that Pearl's mother thought of a white one though, when she named her baby. Being black. That was something you could not rub off with a cloth. Pretty straight, direct folk, close to music and rhythm and nature. Even in madness, they seemed less mad. That was, unless their problems became identified with those of the masters.

The doctor reminded them, "These people, no matter what the causation of the disease, usually retain a childlike simplicity. Their hallucinosis is most often simple and direct. It is well to remember that in their ritual normally, they often reach a state of excitement and motion that approaches frenzy." Motion! Frenzy! Harlem! *Copper-colored gal o' mine.* Saxes moanin' low! Trumpets shrieking high! Brasses booming! Moaning, shrieking, booming; dance, dance, *dance!* Trucking. Doin' the Susie Q.

She wished that she could dance. Not there on the grass, of course. Not with guests coming, and flowers to cut. But in Harlem. Ah baby! Doing the Something-or-other, with Bobbie Storm. Bobbie's enthusiasm was catching. "Wasn't that fun?" And she, "Yes wasn't it? I don't do so badly for an old married woman." One simply *had* to remind Bobbie. But he did not stay reminded. Not a bit easy to manage. "Oh you, cut that stuff!" And then he held you much tighter. "Bobbie, please!" And he, pretending not to understand, "Please what?" He was right about that too! Nonsense. If Bobbie were a little younger he would make a grand son—Hollyhock, that was all. Nice that he was coming to dinner. Bobbie was a dear. If he were a little—older. But what *was* it about the old colored man in clinic that had made her so sad? Oh yes, it was simplicity. The doctor had said that they were simple people.

"Jim," the doctor would say gently, "will you speak to the boys and tell them about yourself?" Then in a tone of apology, "You see they are young students, and what you say will be very helpful to them."

"Yes suh, certainly suh." The old man bowed obsequiously.

"Have you seen your wife lately, Jim?"

"'Bout a mounf ago, suh."

"How long has she been dead, Jim?"

"'Bout a year."

"Will you tell us how she comes to you, Jim?"

"She comes in the night, suh. She done come many times. An' angels done come wif her. But she allus comes first. An' she done say, 'Jim, is you being good to the chillun?' And I done say, 'Honey, ain't I told you I'se goin' t' be good to the chillun?' An' I is. Yes suh, she done allus come first. And wearin' a white dress, all shinin.' Glory be! My goodness how that dress done shine." The old man laughed when he remembered. The doctor interrupted his brief interlude of ecstasy.

"Did anyone else come with her, Jim?" he asked.

Now the old man looked solemn. The hospital uniform hung on him like rags on a scarecrow. A frightened dejected scarecrow. Suppose it could not keep the birds away from the seeds! "Yes suh. *Someone Else* done come." Hesitating, afraid, the

(Continued on page 25)





Books

Justice to Stevens

GREAT LEVELER: THE LIFE OF THADDEUS STEVENS, by Thomas Frederick Woodley; 474 pages; Stackpole Sons; \$3.50.

THIS BIOGRAPHY of Thaddeus Stevens is timely. He was a fighting American democrat in a period like ours of storm and stress. The standard of equalitarianism under which he battled is rising again—with the new slogans of a new age beside it, but not outdated for that. More than any other Civil War statesman, he had the correct program for the Civil War problems and the political capacity almost to carry it through. His ultimate defeat was the defeat of the people by the alliance of Wall Street with the Southern landlords—a defeat that has not yet been wiped out.

Shortly before his death Stevens discovered that the burial plot he owned was in a Jim Crow cemetery. He sold it and bought one free from this discrimination, that he might "illustrate in death the principles which I advocated through a long life, Equality of man before his Creator." The epitaph was no exaggeration, for this uncompromising egalitarian is hard to match in our history. His early Anti-Masonic career, blurred as the issues appear to us, was grounded in a deep hatred of the spirit of aristocracy. He pioneered for universal public education, going directly to the people in spite of their momentary hostility to the idea—and won. Time and again he appealed thus from the narrow calculations of politicians to the great progressive temper of the age.

It was Stevens who first hurled back in the teeth of the Southern Bourbons, then in control of the government, their blackmail threats of secession; who first proclaimed the great power of the progressive North; who pushed Lincoln implacably to Emancipation; who fought the banker war-profiteers; who, expressing the will of the people, turned back Johnson's program of counter-revolution. He fathered the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments; and his demand for confiscation of the great Southern estates and the distribution of land to the freed slaves, had it been carried out

thoroughly, would have changed the course of our history. And we learn significantly that "he consistently encouraged the Republicans of Mexico, and with characteristic generosity, was willing to run the risk of endorsing their bonds to assist them in their struggle for free government."

This book is complete, clear and sympathetic. The biographer is, however, at times too much on the defensive before the slanderers of Stevens and Reconstruction. No apology is needed for the man who pointed out bluntly that the framers of the Constitution in countenancing slavery had fallen from the ideals of the Declaration of Independence: in his words, that they had "bartered away for the time being, some of those rights, and instigated by the hellish institution of slavery, suspended one of the muniments of liberty."

"But," Stevens added, the legislators had "now reached the point which our fathers did not reach and could not reach."

We have only begun to appreciate this "Old Commoner."

—CHARLES PRESTON

Keyhole on the Balkans

PLOT AND COUNTERPLOT IN CENTRAL EUROPE: CONDITIONS SOUTH OF HITLER, by M. W. Fodor; 317 pages; Houghton Mifflin Company; \$3.50.

THIS IS a "keyhole" book. M. W. Fodor, brilliant Vienna correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, probably knows more inside stuff on the men and events of post-War Central Europe than any other liberal journalist of our time. He is also a born story-teller, a fact which accounts for the enormous respect in which he is held by John Gunther—who writes an introduction to *Plot and Counterplot*—and by Dorothy Thompson, for much of whose "education" Mr. Fodor, it seems, is responsible.

Undeniably, this book makes fascinating armchair reading. From time immemorial the Balkans have been the central problem of Europe; their political, cultural and ethnic contradictions have successfully resisted every attempt at permanent solution. Today,

seething with discontent, subject to every form of terror and demagogy, a perfect "culture medium" for the virus of Fascism, the eight countries making up the Balkan States have an extraordinary significance for the destiny of Europe and of the world.

Mr. Fodor shows us some of the whys and wherefores of this significance. His method—familiar to those who have thrilled to the gossipy pages of Gunther's *Inside Europe*—is episodic and anecdotal, a merging of the vast impersonal forces of contemporary history with the lives of heroes and villains who appear on the stage; gesticulate, posture, declaim, intrigue, kill, and fade out, to die or reappear in other rôles. Better informed than Gunther, however, Fodor is able to trace many of the long-term political factors which, radiating from Germany, Italy and Austria, have made a social shambles of Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece and Bulgaria. Particularly noticeable is the enormous influence of Germany—although it is unfortunate that Fodor's thorough dislike of Fascism should be paralleled by a disposition to regard Communism as equally menacing to human liberty. Nor will the author's reputation as a political analyst gain much from his

remarkable suggestion that events in the Soviet Union may be leading to a kind of National Socialism "such as Gregor Strasser once contemplated developing in Germany."

—HAROLD WARD

An Italian on Fascism

GOLIATH, THE MARCH OF FASCISM, by G. A. Borgese; 483 pages; The Viking Press; \$3.00.

MR. BORGESE attempts to reveal: the roots of Italian Fascism, how the Fascists seized power, the present form of Fascism, the Fascists' treatment of their enemies. The approach to these problems is indicated by the author:

The opinion underlying this book was expressed long ago by Leibnitz when he said that men are ruled by passions rather than by interests. Its purpose is to outline the characters of some of the personalities and the course of some of the passions which have carried us where we are.

This approach leads Mr. Borgese into an extended discussion of Italian personalities and passions. Dante and Machiavelli receive considerable attention as does the *risorgimento*. This is brilliant history and literary criticism, but its connection with the advent of Fascism seems a bit remote. The historical background is of little use when coupled with such observations as, "Fascism remains what it is: an outburst of emotionalism and pseudo-intellectualism, thoroughly irrational in its nature."

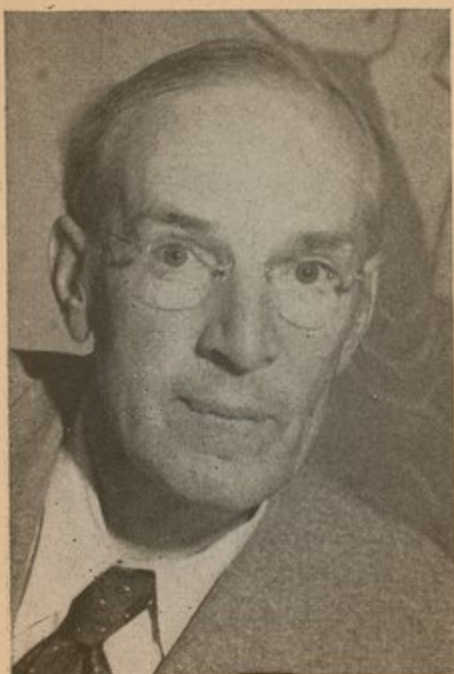
Whatever the shortcomings of Mr. Borgese in explaining the development of Fascism, his portrayal of its leaders and the actual operation of the régime are invaluable for an understanding of the Italian variety. The author shows that the conception of Fascism as a movement to forestall Bolshevism is nonsense. By 1920 Bolshevism offered no serious threat to the Italian government.

Mussolini, it seems, had no convictions on the subject of either socialism or nationalism.

There has never been socialism and there never was nationalism in him. There was consistently the anarchist. But he finally realized that no anarchist can triumph over the state unless he captures it and becomes himself the state. This personal inspiration



From the W.P.A. Almanac for New Yorkers 1938, published by Modern Age Books



Upton Sinclair presents . . .

was the decisive element in the new history of Italy and the world.

After Mussolini and his confederates seized power, their exercise of that power was terrifying not only in its ruthlessness in exterminating opponents but in the destruction of culture itself. In so far as Fascism offers little benefits to the bulk of the people, this ruthlessness grows and even extends to foreign conquest in order to justify itself. The section of the book on "The Faces of Tyranny" is required reading for anyone interested in life under Fascist control.

Mr. Borgese's personal experiences have given this book a wealth of detail which is difficult to get elsewhere. But we still await an analysis of how Fascism acquires power and what support enables it to hold power.

DONALD MCCONNELL

The Kaiser Whitewashed

THE KAISER ON TRIAL, by George Sylvester Viereck; 514 pages; The Greystone Press; \$3.50.

WELL, WELL. You don't say. The Kaiser was a nice man after all, and the only things that can be held against him are that he was incompetent and that he surrounded himself with fools and knaves.

Through more than 500 pages the author labors this point. Hardly anyone would disagree, except perhaps to quote Machiavelli's remark that in politics nothing is as criminal as stupidity and incompetence coupled with good intentions.

The Kaiser on Trial purports to be a dramatization of all the evidence for and against Wilhelm II. In reality it is a very badly written Graustarkian farce, through which move in great abundance men who are either dark villains or *gentilhommes sans peur et sans reproche*. An excellent scenario

for a super-colossal and terrific spectacle by Cecil B. De Mille, it is worthless as a historical document or as biographical literature.

Viereck makes a particular virtue of his ability to penetrate the Kaiser's subconscious. Not only can he inform us of the many things that the Kaiser told him or wrote to him, but he also knows what Wilhelm thought in great moments of stress. Thus we get a free look into the Kaiser's soul, in addition to the findings in his case before the "High Court of History."

If the book reveals anything at all, it is Wilhelm's incredible ignorance, when he assumed the throne at the age of 28, of the most fundamental political facts. As to his psychological makeup, there is an interesting parallel between the Kaiser's private life and that of Germany's present dictator. It was Prince Eulenberg who soothed Wilhelm's feverish brow with music and poetry. With Hitler it was first Hanfstangel and his piano, and now Herr Hess has assumed the position of favorite.

What kind of a world is this—one might exclaim—in which such men as these play with the destiny of nations like children with matches?

In a word, *The Kaiser on Trial* shows that subject and biographer are equally incompetent in their respective crafts.

—JOHANNES STEEL

Sinclair Presents Ford

THE FLIVVER KING, by Upton Sinclair; 119 pages; published by the United Automobile Workers of America and also by Upton Sinclair; 25 cents.

THIS UNAUTHORIZED biography of Henry Ford is timely and competent. Ford represents first of all American genius in the modern world—the perfection of industrial technique. Upton Sinclair, who also represents American genius, has wisely given full credit to the super-mechanic who organized the tremendous productive forces.

But there are two Henry Fords. The second is the Emperor of Dearborn ("king" is hardly the word). This great capitalist has less concern for his workers than his machines; he applies rationalization systematically to human beings, resulting in the world's worst speed-up; he resists every attempt by government and labor to preserve and improve his own market through raising wages; his social views are those of Hitler. This Mr. Hyde Ford is a titanic menace to American life, and he is the menace which the United Automobile Workers are challenging.

Sinclair tells the story of both Fords and of a family of Ford workers—the whole story of technique and social relations—in the form of a breezy

novelette. While Mr. Ford is turning out millions of cars and making billions of dollars, Abner Shutt's clan is going mainly from bad to worse—and making Fords. The lives of the Shutt family are dominated by Mr. Ford, from the day Abner gets a job in the two-story shop to the night Tom Shutt is beaten up by thugs for his union activities. And as the Shutts move toward unionism, Henry Ford is moving toward Fascism. His connections with Fritz Kuhn and other Nazi agents, his alliance with American Fascist-like organizations—all the features of the latest model Fordism—are convincingly shown.

The book is simple, easy to read, and priced correctly. While not so ambitious an undertaking as *The Jungle*, it carries on the tradition of the earlier work. One hopes for it an equally wide circulation.

—JOSEPH BRIDGES

Everybody's Europa

EUROPA IN LIMBO, by Robert Briffault; 476 pages; Charles Scribner's Sons; \$2.75.

"MRS. DOUGLAS, after perusing my manuscript, pulled a wry face and bluntly told me I should never make a novelist . . . I had committed every possible error in construction, mingled the method of personal narrative with that of omniscience, and offended against every standard and principle of fiction . . ."

This is the criticism offered by the founder of a writers' club of Laurence Foster's first novel. Laurence Foster, who appears unexpectedly for the first time on page 83 of *Europa In Limbo*, is the narrator of Robert Briffault's second novel, and most unfortunately the passage quoted above is a fair, if incomplete, estimate of Briffault's work itself. It is incomplete, because it omits any reference to the creation of character, in which important matter Briffault is almost entirely deficient. The main characters in this book are without exception incredible, and all types at that. The style of the writing is reminiscent of a thousand "popular novelists," save only that it is constantly peppered with obscure words, the meaning of which has usually to be sought in Webster below the line. In short, *Europa In Limbo* is an artistic failure.

And it is a pity. Briffault's subject is a tremendous one, and he understands the structure of capitalist society so well, and hopes so ardently for its replacement by a saner and juster collective system, that again and again one regrets that his creative ability is so inferior to his erudition.

There are, it is true, some memorable passages: the description of the political views of British officers during the War, the meeting with Lenin, the account of White outrages in Russia



. . . Henry Ford

during the Civil War, and, above all, the very moving and powerful account at the end of the book of the ceremony at the *Mur des Fédérés* in Paris on May Day. But these are oases in a literary desert.

Properly, *Europa In Limbo* belongs in that category of fiction which the Sunday papers review under the heading of "Popular Novels." And to those who read Kathleen Norris and the like, *Europa In Limbo* can be recommended sincerely and without reservation. They will find it equally easy to read, as fast in tempo, much more lubricious ("lu'bri-cous. Lascivious; wanton; lewd. Rare."—Webster.) and, above all, a valuable, if elementary, lesson on the realities of capitalism.

—LESLIE READE

The Defense of Spain

VOLUNTEER IN SPAIN, by John Sommerfield; 155 pages; Alfred A. Knopf; \$1.50.

"I HAVE always hated war, and I seen no virtue in it whatever." So writes the author of this lean, clean, even sparse book about the International Brigade and its part in the defense of Madrid. His view was shared by most of his fellows, who had "marched through the streets of their towns in demonstrations against war."

Accordingly, John Sommerfield's story does not glorify war. Neither, on the other hand, does the writer dwell on scenes of horror. War is for these men a very dirty and extremely necessary task.

Thus the volunteer in Spain gives us the story of night-long marches, of days of waiting in miserable trenches, of endurance and patience. "I have tried to write of the ordinary routine of our war rather than of heroism." The result is like an unpretentious, truly heroic letter from the front.

—ALBERT DICKSON

THREATS of war and preparations for war, with their promise of lucrative contracts for munitions manufacturers, have afforded a pleasant diversion for Wall Street recently from the gloom created by general depression in industrial activity.

Being immunized by practice and habit from any consideration for the social factors involved in the world drift toward war, the financial gentry have warmly welcomed the recent accumulation of war scares as a choice opportunity for a stock-market killing. The result has been a violent upsurge in the so-called war securities which has contrasted with the continued doldrums of the stock market as a whole.

The Street has displayed special relish for the stocks of the aviation-manufacturing concerns. The reason for this predilection is that more than 60 per cent of the business of this industry is directly in military orders, thus making these companies immediately responsive to an increase in war appropriations. During 1937 the sales of the airplane and engine manufacturers, of which a majority represented military equipment, amounted to \$115,000,000, the largest for any year on record and comparing with \$76,000,000 in 1936. And profits doubled to about \$12,000,000 from 1936. At the moment, moreover, the unfilled orders of the aviation manufacturers amount to \$125,000,000, thus assuring an even more profitable year in 1938. These orders represent principally the increased contracts placed by the United States Army and Navy. And the intensification of war rumors recently has convinced Wall Street that still larger military orders are in the offing.

Translated into stock-market terms, this situation has caused an increase of about 100 per cent in the market price of aviation stocks since the low point last fall. During the same period the stock market as a whole has shown almost no advance in price since the bottom of the recent market panic.

Although the aviation stocks have been the most spectacular performers in the war boom now progressing in the Street, they have not monopolized the favors of the stock-gambling fraternity. The Roosevelt Administration's utilization of the Panay bombing to further its big-navy program was the signal for large-scale speculation in issues which presumably would profit from additional navy orders. Electric Boat, which has a monopoly on submarine production for the Navy, and New York Shipbuilding, which makes war-ships, have both tripled in market price recently. Even Bethlehem Steel, which is suffering from a severe depression in most of its steel-manufacturing lines, has risen 40 per cent in market price on the strength of its position as a battleship producer. Colt's Fire Arms, which makes all the machine guns used by the Army and

WALL STREET

The Street gambles on war . . . Capital's sit-down strike . . . Progressive pressure and forthcoming elections

Navy, has jumped 35 per cent in price. And, as usual, the Street's enthusiasm for war securities has spread into the shares of the copper, nickel and lead producers, because of the essential position of these materials in war.

Wall Street's Strike

EVEN though there have been fat profits in this gambling on the preparations for warfare, the resulting partial appeasement of the Street's craving for the big money has been of small proportions in relation to its lusty appetite for full exploitation of the national economy. The point that is giving the financiers a budding frustration-complex is that their high-powered campaign to extort sweeping

concessions from the New Deal on the strength of their own Wall-Street-made depression has been barren of positive results, even if it did have the negative success of stalemating the entire special session of Congress.

Inasmuch as the big capitalists had entertained high hopes of immediately overturning the progressive trend of affairs through aggravating the depression, the boys in the Street are very considerably disheartened that their minority program has not yet been thrust upon the shoulders of the majority. They are realizing that they have been outsmarted by the Rooseveltian strategy of withdrawal, which lured them into overplaying their hand and exerting their maximum strength before the battle was fully under way. This



Babs Hutton gave up her American citizenship but kept her American money

does not mean, under any circumstances, that Wall Street will abandon its efforts to liquidate the New Deal, but it may mean that the maximum danger of that threat has been passed for the time being. Nevertheless, if Big Business can continue even to block further progressive legislation in Congress, this in itself would be tantamount to a substantial victory for the forces of reaction—since it would mean that an Administration reelected by the largest landslide in history has been unable to enact a single important segment of its program.

It should be apparent by now that positive, progressive action is required to check the course of the prevailing depression. There can be no blinking the fact that the alarming decrease in production, payrolls and employment is not purely and simply a white rabbit that Big Business has pulled out of its hat. Although Big Business has attempted to gain maximum political advantage out of the present crisis at the cost of heightening its severity, the fact remains that the Administration itself played an important part in producing the crisis by its policy of sharp reductions in government expenditures without seeing to it that corresponding increases in public purchasing-power were provided.

Congress Must Liberalize

NOW THAT the Administration has regained the initiative in its struggle with Big Business, the progressive forces of the nation should make it unmistakably clear that further sabotage of progressive legislation by a supposedly New Deal Congress will not be tolerated. With the Congressional elections coming this fall, progressive pressure can compel enactment of adequate labor-standards legislation as a protection against Big Business' propaganda for wage-cuts, assure a free hand for labor in its struggle to obtain increased purchasing-power for the working population, bring adequate protection for the small farmers, and force the inauguration of a government low-cost housing program which would increase employment and meet one of the most crucial social requirements of the nation.

The urgent need for such progressive pressure at this time is accentuated by the imminence of the 1938 Congressional elections. If the New Deal enters next fall's campaign without having taken effective measures to restore economic activity and to stamp out Big Business sabotage of production and employment, a dangerous political situation might well develop which would strengthen the existing reactionary bloc in Congress. The 1938 campaign must bring more adequate political representation of the preponderant progressive majority in the nation and not further dilution of progressive strength.



JOHAN BIGGERS, Unemployment Census Director, reports to President Roosevelt: 10,800,000 unemployed on November 20th. Leon Henderson, W.P.A. economist, adds: 1,000,000 made jobless between that date and January 1st; an additional 1,000,000 to lose their jobs by February 1st. Nearly 13,000,000 unemployed.

With threats of war and Fascism looming like thunderclouds, it is well to consider the part that these millions of desperate men and women may play in the coming struggle.

The dilemma of our economic order today revolves squarely about the unemployed. The fierce struggle over the balancing of the budget is a struggle over relief appropriations. The fierce struggle around taxation—whom to tax and how much—is a struggle over who is to pay for relief. The struggle over regulation of wages and hours is intensified by the problem of the tremendous reservoir of unused labor.

The solution of this dilemma, which is dividing the nation more and more into hostile camps, reactionary *vs.* progressive, cannot be long delayed. Overhanging the legislatures and congresses, the business men's councils, the labor unions, is the question mark: "What to do about the unemployed?"

Those who ask the question pose a second one: "What will the unemployed themselves do?" And then a third question: "Who will gain ascendancy among the unemployed to determine what they will do?"

A Social Force

These are not academic questions. With capitalism in crisis, with mass unemployment assuming permanency, the millions of unemployed constitute a social and political force of considerable leverage.

As the battle lines tighten, as the camps of reaction and progress seek for allies, the millions of unemployed will seem a worthy prize. Socially and psychologically, the unemployed can be won. In the hearts of the unemployed men and women is the sting of social injustice. Torn from their accustomed occupations; barely existing on miser-

Out of a Job

The national president of the Workers Alliance of America tells how the unemployed fight reaction

By David Lasser

able relief, with its consequent humiliations, or a low-paid W.P.A. job; in many cases denied even relief "benefits," they feel a justifiable resentment against the existing order.

A low standard of living often means the breaking of social morale. Torn from their accustomed moorings, the unemployed are socially adrift.

What if the economic depression does not lift? What if unemployment increases? What if the rising political power of the masses, centered about the unions, presses for a solution in terms of further regulation of business cupidity and stupidity? Might not the retaliating "business strike" of today become the Fascist bid for power tomorrow?

In 1934, the unemployed were being supported at least in part, by a federal works program plus federal grants to state relief. Millions of workers, therefore, were out of the labor market, and the unions were making great advances. This situation did not please Big Business, so it set about undermining the relief and work-relief program.

Crying, "Relief is a local problem," the economic royalists induced President Roosevelt to abandon federal relief aid to the states. As a result relief standards slumped drastically. This "gain" was twofold. It not only forced the unemployed to compete desperately for jobs, but transferred the burden of

relief from federal to local taxation. The farmer and the householder began paying for relief through real-estate taxes, or the general consumer paid it through the sales tax: a good method of splitting the masses into conflicting groups.

Then the Tories turned their guns on W.P.A. Organized labor was absorbed in winning masses of recruits and historic concessions. The public was feeling secure in view of an increasing national income. Valiantly the Workers Alliance, through national marches, testimony before Congressional committees, mass job-hunts, pierced the tissue of the propaganda of Big Business. But in the main the money power won out. The W.P.A. rolls went down, down, down—from 3,000,000 in March 1936 to 1,500,000 in October 1937.

Then, with the field prepared, capital struck this fall. Several millions of workers were discharged in a few months. The big club of financial power threatened a timid Congress.

The strategy of Big Business is clear. Low relief and liquidation of W.P.A. intensifies job competition. Mix these together with a business recession and millions of union men discharged, and you have the nicely baked pie of "Union Busting."

The unemployed are now told the unions provoked the recession and kept them from going back to work.

I have tried to indicate in brief the part that the unemployed and relief appropriations have played in the developing strategy of the reactionaries. Their aim is to put progressives on the defensive and keep them there. It must be admitted that to date they have been successful.

The indications are that, with some variations, the present strategy of Big Business will be continued until the people in the 1938 elections and through the next Congress answer the challenge. With an intermixture of coyness and threats, reaction will woo the President and Congress to curtail still further W.P.A. and relief, so as to make the position of labor precarious.

Wall Street's Dark Plan

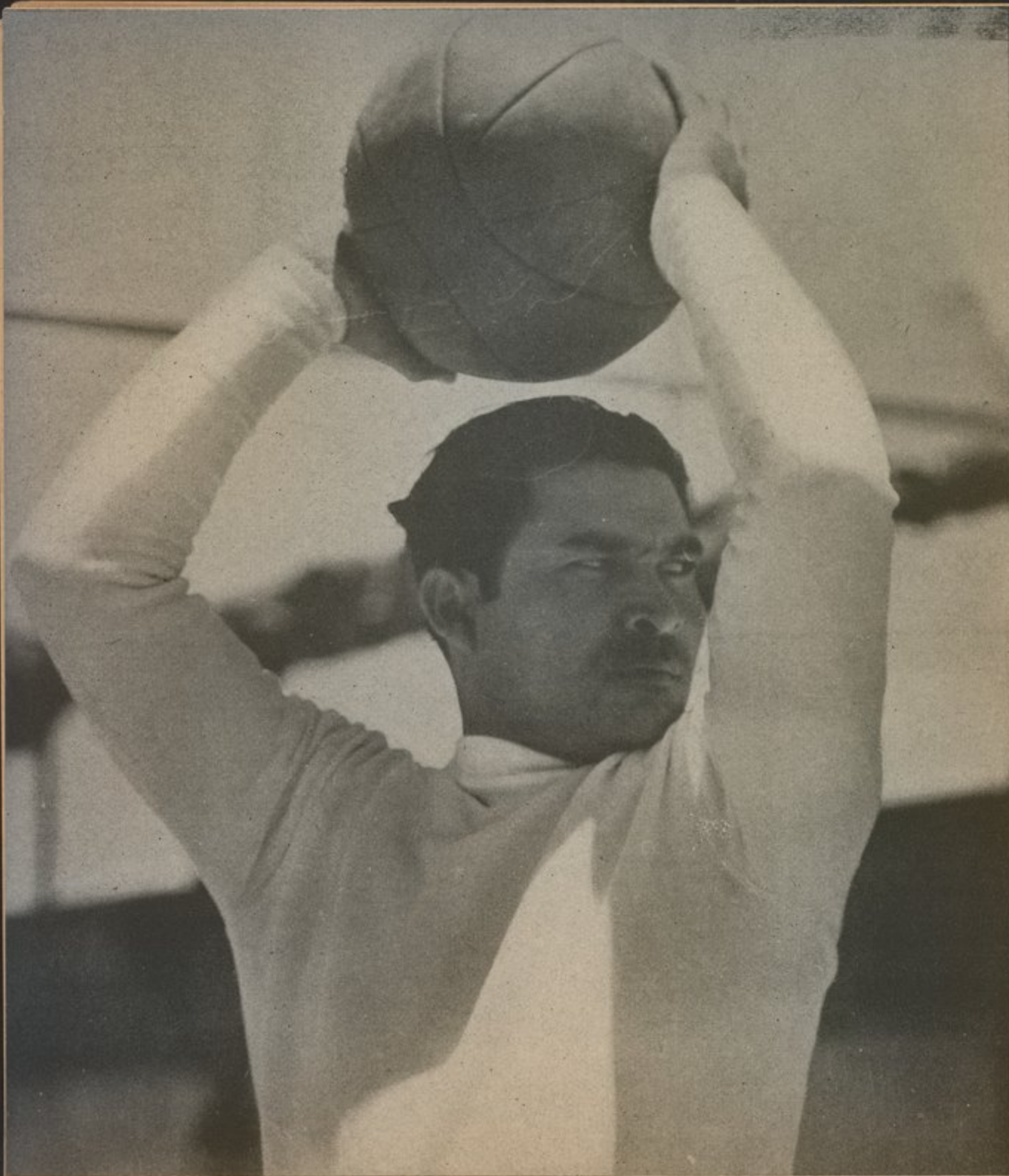
If the people of this nation do not allow reaction to turn the clock back, the next phase of Wall Street's program will go into effect.

Here is where the unemployed come in. Here is where our embryo Fascists make use of the lesson learned in the European schools of Fascism. Germany, oppressed by the economic crisis, had its millions of unemployed. The unions neglected them; Hitler wooed them. One must realize the effect upon a worker jobless and without hope, crushed by economic misery and social isolation, when a man on horseback says, "Follow me and you will be redeemed." Unless this pull is counteracted it becomes irresistible.

Hitler's students ape him. In England, Oswald Mosley cultivates the unemployed assiduously; in France, Doriot seeks his base among the jobless. In America we had Huey Long, who promised to the disinherited "Every Man a King," vying with Father Coughlin's glowing promise of "Social Justice."

What has been done abroad can be done here. For here we have not only the millions of discontented, but also the amalgam of racial and religious hatred for the Fascists to play upon. What seems possible, therefore—should the masses demand a solution of the crisis in terms of more economic freedom

(Continued on page 24)



Cuba's would-be "strong man" builds muscle with a medicine ball

An American youth leader who recently visited the island reports the present stage of the Cuban people's long battle for self-rule. They are forming a popular front against the present régime, he states. The story of a small-scale King Canute who fights a fast-rising democratic tide

Batista Over Cuba

By Joseph Cadden

DURING the early 1800's, the Spanish planters brought ferrets to Cuba. Field-mice were eating the sugar-cane, destroying the crops. Ferrets are mice-eaters and were given the task of protecting the cane.

But the ferrets turned out to be traitors. Instead of exterminating the mice, they joined with them and feasted on the cane. The ferrets went even further. They invaded barnyards and sucked dry the eggs. In some cases, they went so far as to eat the hens.

During the days of Machado, a network of "revolutionary" parties grew up in Cuba. They carried on terrorist activities in behalf of the Cuban people and finally overthrew Machado in August, 1933. The A.B.C., the leading "revolutionary" group organized from a nucleus of students and intellectuals, formed a provisional government, the Student Directorate. But immediately upon coming to power, the A.B.C. split into many factions.

Sergeant Fulgencio Batista led a faction of the A.B.C. He saw that the United States Government was not going to recognize the provisional government. Our ambassador, Sumner Welles, made it clear that no government of irresponsible students and half-baked intellectuals would do. Only a strong, stable government would be able to protect United States interests.

Batista felt that the army was the key. On September 4th, he led the enlisted men to the officers' quarters and informed the latter that they had resigned.

The Ferret in the Cane

Now Batista is a colonel and Chief of Staff of the Cuban armed forces. These include the police and the Civic-Military Institutes through which sergeants are sent all over the island to man the schools.

Waiting in Batista's outer office at Camp Columbia on any day of the week is a pleasure. Everyone of any importance is there. Mayors, Senators, Representatives, prominent business men wait upon the man whom the Secretary of State has dubbed "the Son of the Soul of the Fatherland," "the Reality of Cuba."

And it is interesting to find among those in the anteroom a large number of citizens formerly prominent in the Liberal Party, the party of Machado. Apparently a pleasant relationship has been established between the ferret and field-mice.

But the Cuban people have learned a great lesson from this colonel with whom they compromised in 1933. They have abandoned their old tactics of insurrection and terror. They are building a solid foundation for the next change of régime.

Even Batista feels this. He is on the defensive, spending huge sums for propaganda in the New York *Herald Tribune* and over the Mutual Broadcasting System to convince American capital that his is a stable régime of long tenure. In particular, he is trying to prove his stability to the Chase National Bank, with which he is negotiating a loan. Part of this loan is necessary to make a partial repayment to Chase for past loans; part is necessary to bolster the army Batista commands.

Publicly the Colonel claims that the loan is to carry out the Three Year Plan which he says will cure the ills of Cuba and further stabilize his government. In his Mutual broadcast on December 11th he said that the majority of Cubans were for the Three Year Plan and were actively cooperating to make it successful. "In fact, there is no reason why they should not."



Cuban students are active and militant. Here thousands at the University of Havana form an honor guard for a slain comrade, a victim of the reaction

That sentence is a reflection of his uneasiness, apparent daily in his actions. For there is no indication that the people are behind him.

On September 12th of last year, Marcello Domingo brought the message of the Spanish government to 60,000 Cubans in the Polar Stadium of Havana. The largest crowd in Cuban history cheered his description of the struggle of the Spanish people against Fascism.

Batista thought it would be a good idea to have at least as many Cubans cheer his Three Year Plan. He announced a meeting in the same stadium but did not speak there because only a handful—about 500—turned up.

Determined to prove his popularity to himself and the Chase Bank, he announced a second Three Year Plan meeting for Saturday afternoon, November 20th. All business was ordered to stop. Trade unions were told to send all of their members. With such preparations this meeting could not fail.

Trouble in Paradise

By three o'clock on November 20th more than 30,000 people had arrived at the Polar Stadium. Batista waited at Camp Columbia until he was sure of a good-sized audience. The crowd was entertained by a band until his arrival at about four o'clock. When he appeared, there were some cheers. At the same time, the audience learned that the buses which had brought them to the stadium were about to return to the city and the suburbs. As Batista began to speak, half of the listeners left to catch their buses.

While the Colonel explained the Three Year Plan to those remaining, games of leap-frog began to develop throughout the stadium. A few small groups took to singing songs. Before the Colonel finished, almost the entire audience was busy with some distraction.

In another attempt to prove his power, Batista called a national trade-union congress. At the present time there is a widespread movement to

unify all workers in a national federation. Sectional unification has already been accomplished in several provinces. The Colonel wanted to help.

Only a handful of unions elected delegates. The congress received the Colonel's suggestions but unfortunately most of those attending were not bona fide union representatives. Those who were delegates pointed out the weaknesses of the Colonel's proposals, voted against them and went home.

The Ungrateful People

To date, the Colonel has had difficulty in winning popular support for this Three Year Plan. He cannot understand this, because, as he said in his December 11th broadcast, "My plan is a summary of the programs and platforms of all political parties, except that it is no longer a hope or a theory, but a practical reality." Besides, the purpose of the Three Year Plan is to raise the living standard, help the common people, make Cuba more Cuban. Why should it not be popular?

First of all, the Three Year Plan has not yet been completely formulated. Some say its name signifies that it will take three years to write. For many months a group of lawyers have been struggling with it, drawing on the platforms of opposition parties for ideas. Secretary of Agriculture Amadeo Lopez Castro, shrewdest of the Colonel's advisers, has contributed some New Deal phrases especially on the subjects of social security and sugar-crop control.

Those parts of the Three Year Plan which have been published to date are simply vague statements of policy. "The wage of workers will be increased." "Agricultural workers dependent on seasonal employment will receive governmental subsidies." The plan does not say how or how much.

But the most sinister proposition made is that the administration of the plan should be in the hands of the army—of which Batista is Chief of Staff. There is at present a Congress and a President. The adoption of the Plan would legalize Batista as

dictator, and completely suppress Democracy.

Although opposition to both the Plan and the Colonel is almost unanimous, it has not yet been completely integrated. Cuban political parties have been built around personalities rather than programs. Only now, after years of political chaos, is there a concerted effort being made to unite the opposition on the basis of a constructive program.

A united front has already been reached by three groups, the *Union Revolucionaria*, *Organizacion Antentica* and *Partido Agrario Nacional*. These are working for a Democratic Front with the *Partido Revolucionario Cubana* (the largest opposition group, headed by the ex-president Grau San Martin), the *Accion Republicana* (headed by the ex-President Miguel Mariano Gomez), *Partido Democratica Republicana* (headed by ex-President Menocal), a rejuvenated A.B.C. and other groups. Current conversations concerning a program for the Democratic Front indicate that it will soon be an accomplished fact. All are in agreement on the major issue, the holding of a constituent assembly to write an up-to-date constitution by which the status of the now so-called "Constitutional" army and President would be determined. (The word *Revolucionaria* is used indiscriminately in Cuba, and in the case of the above-mentioned parties indicates a position relatively as left as Roosevelt.)

The Amnesty Struggle

Another important popular issue on which all opposition parties are agreed is the amnesty for 400 political prisoners, most of them students and intellectuals. The majority were jailed by Machado while terrorism was still the chief tactic of the opposition. The popularity of this issue is apparent in the daily appeals of the opposition press and in the events of last November 27th.

On that day it is the custom of the students to stage a parade in memory of eight medical students of the University of Havana, advocates of Cuban

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AS TO WOMEN

*Letters from the land of war . . . America
boycotts Japan . . . Militarist "order"*

IT HAS been my privilege during recent weeks to read letters from a woman in Japan. The first letters that she wrote were filled with a horror of war. "Intellectuals everywhere," she wrote, "are saddened by the war. All of the ones I know are not talking about the war. It is too terrible to talk about." But as the war has gone on, her letters have changed, until in the last one she had turned toward bitterness against America. "We hear," she writes, "that even American-born Japanese children are being turned against their parents because of the hatred against Japan that is being fostered by the United States. We cannot understand it." She is now certain that Japan had to go to war with China. War propaganda has reached her and under its steady pressure she has been affected by it—peace-loving though she is.

The first week in March is Women's Peace Week. I say this right after the report on the letters from Japan for a reason. During that week all the women close to the American League for Peace and Democracy will be intensifying their efforts for the relief of China and for the pushing of the Japanese boycott. Here is an opportunity to show again and again, through the meetings that will be taking place in that week, that the peace-loving people are not fostering hate for the people of Japan. They are actually helping the people of Japan, by standing against a ruthless war that even the Japanese people had no sympathy with until they were touched by the propaganda that a war-minded government can handle so skillfully. It is the duty of American women to stand against the war policies of Japan *because* of our feeling for the Japanese women, who carry such a terrible burden in the war.

MANY women have felt that the boycott cannot be carried on to any great extent by them. They live in isolated communities. They are alone. During the Christmas vacation I visited a tiny little town far away from the railroad. The postmistress in that town was practicing the boycott. She was

asking every woman who came in to mail her Christmas packages to be sure that those gifts were not from Japan. She had in the corner a display of lisle hose so that the townspeople could see for themselves what lisle hose looked like. I even saw one of the women of that town poring over a mail-order catalogue for silk substitutes. A whole country community was affected by one woman's belief that a boycott on Japanese silk would help stop the war.

And remember, it is still the small town in the United States that makes the public opinion of the country.

WOMEN must be alert to the propaganda that is already being spread in this country, to the effect that once the Japanese conquer a Chinese city that city is "put into order." Only the other night I heard Lowell Thomas commenting on the difference between Peiping—the pictures showed an orderly city under the control of Japanese—and Shanghai. The battle was then raging in Shanghai. When women hear such things in the newsreels they should protest at once, bringing home the fact again and again that Shanghai looked like a shambles because of the invasion of the Japanese. Even in some missionary circles, the idea is gaining that the Japanese may bring order to a country now desolated by war. You have only to see the pictures of the wandering, homeless women and children over the barren countryside of China to know the real truth. And those pictures you can see in the same newsreels. We cannot be too quick to protest whenever such a tendency to "make the best of things" appears.

OUR latest news from the occupied territory in China is that the repression is already in full swing. No student associations of any sort are permitted. Even religious programs must be submitted to the Japanese censor. Programs of some organizations are being revised so that there is one program for occupied territory—another for sections which have not been conquered.

—DOROTHY MCCONNELL

China's Salvation

(Continued from page 7)

The national-salvation movement is more than cultural. It has been constantly spreading its organization to include ever wider and wider circles. In the beginning of 1936 women's groups were formed, workers and apprentices, merchants, clerks were organized and affiliated. When in 1936 Mei, a worker in a Shanghai Japanese factory, was killed by thugs for possession of national-salvation leaflets, workers went on strike until nearly 100,000 were out, crippling Japanese production in China. It was their support of this anti-Japanese strike movement that led to the arrest of the seven National Salvation leaders.

Chinese Public Opinion

It has often been said that there is no public opinion in China. Nothing could be further from the truth. Public opinion in a country that until recently did not know a free press, expresses itself in unorthodox ways. The National Salvation Associations, cultural groups and student unions are not political parties, in the strict sense of the term: they organize and are organized by public opinion. If decided protest or affirmation of a slogan is needed, the National Salvation Associations can mobilize tens of thousands for immediate demonstration at short notice, in Shanghai or Peiping or Tientsin. And this solid force of organized opinion has become more and more important as the situation in the East became more threatening. This was amply demonstrated during the Sian crisis, when the discipline of the students, national-salvation bodies and the organized intellectuals was a decisive factor in bringing about a peaceful solution to a dangerous situation.

Facing the Invader

The National Salvation Associations rose heroically to the crisis of the new Japanese invasion. Intellectuals and artists placed their talent wholeheartedly at the disposal of national defense. In the first month of war, five battlefront educational brigades were organized. The artists mobilized themselves in the propaganda corps. Student boys and girls joined the armies or enrolled in the Red Cross groups, supervised refugee camps. The popular organizations of the national-salvation movement were the core of the civilian national defense.

These popular organizations are real schools of Chinese Democracy in Shanghai, Tientsin, Peiping, Sian, Canton or Hankow. They embrace members of all parties, of all professions. The leadership is one of ability, democratically elected. Workers, bankers, lawyers, journalists, students, while carrying on their ordinary pri-

vate tasks, take their share of political responsibility as part of their duty as citizens.

As one would expect, the Japanese have not let these facts escape them. In all occupied territory they take particular pains to uproot centers of the new Chinese culture and Democracy along with military objectives. But history has proved over and over again the difficulty of uprooting ideas. Songs and plays and pictures are banned by the conquerors. The books of China's greatest writers are banned under pain of death in Manchuria. But there can be no banning of the thoughts and feelings that they once aroused, as the invader is already learning to his cost.

Out of a Job

(Continued from page 21)

and of increased abundance—is that reaction will turn swiftly to the demagogic thesis: "Fascism not Communism."

The unemployed will then be told that their misery comes from the unions, from too much taxation, from the Jews, the Negroes and foreign-born "agitators." A new leader of the type of General Hugh Johnson will come forward to forge a mass appeal which will promise the unemployed jobs, security, power. Like bait, a share in the spoils will be dangled before the eyes of hungry millions.

What, then, can be done in this deepening economic crisis to swing millions of unemployed away from the dangerous Fascist shoals? Can they play a progressive rôle in the coming struggles?

Unemployed and Labor

The history of the past five years gives the answer. Since the formation of the Workers Alliance, one of its cardinal principles has been coöperation with the labor movement. The hundreds of thousands organized through the Workers Alliance become union-conscious. As they fight their daily battle for bread and W.P.A. jobs, they fight also for labor legislation and generally progressive measures. Every strike of labor finds the organized unemployed on the picket line, obtaining relief for the strikers. When the great organizing campaign of the C.I.O. opened, hundreds of Workers Alliance leaders became C.I.O. organizers in steel, rubber, auto, textiles. The Workers Alliance, although realizing that this temporarily weakened the unemployed fight, gave willingly of their manpower to the cause of unionism.

The Concern of All

The job of upholding relief appropriations, fighting for prevailing wages on W.P.A., has been the fight almost

exclusively of the organized unemployed. But it has been waged for the benefit of all labor.

Experience has proven it is possible to swing the unemployed into action on the progressive and labor front, and to direct their fire *at reaction*. The defeat of reaction today and tomorrow depends upon the mobilization and organization of the increasing millions of unemployed, solidly aligning them with the labor movement and other progressive forces. It means that those who want the support of the jobless must fight for their economic interests more intensely and more sincerely than the Fascists.

The question of a program for the unemployed boils down to the need for jobs or relief. The industrial plants must be reopened, or the millions of jobless must be provided with work by the federal government. The Workers Alliance has proposed an immediate expansion of W.P.A. to 3,000,000 jobs. This is modest in view of the rapidly mounting need.

For Adequate Relief

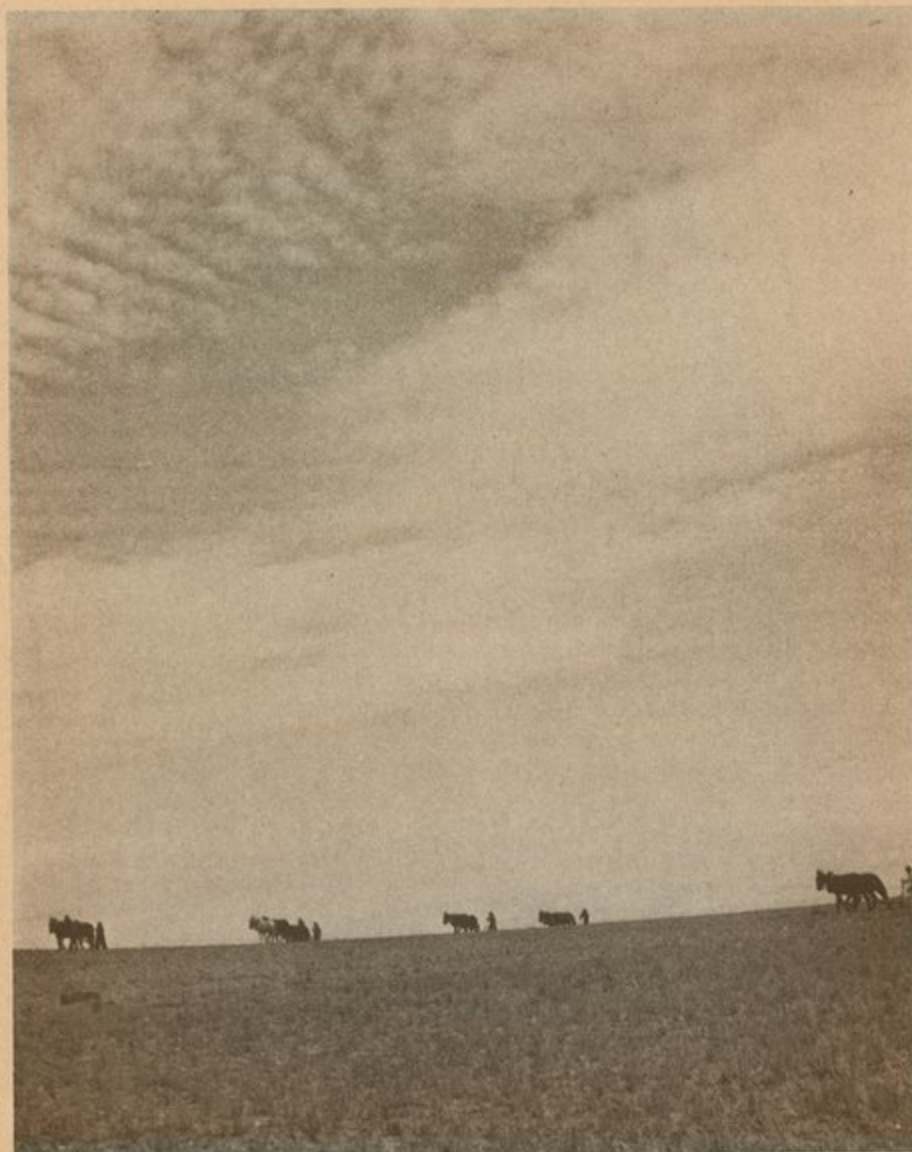
Those not receiving W.P.A. jobs must have an adequate standard of relief. The center of advanced reaction, the South, has been most skillful in starving its unemployed and preventing them from organizing. Relief standards as low as \$3 a month per family bloom in Dixie. The Workers Alliance proposes that, in addition to expansion of W.P.A., the federal government come to the aid of the states with an average \$15-a-month relief grant for those remaining on relief.

Making effective such a program as this will improve the position of all anti-Fascist forces. It will not only keep the unemployed out of reactionary hands, but will strengthen the unions, the farmers, the small business men. It will checkmate whatever plans Big Business has to take advantage of economic collapse.

However, it is not enough to have a relief and works program. The unemployed must be given such rights under these programs as will prevent reactionary control. After all, one basic difference between a progressive relief program and the Hitler labor battalion is the rights the unemployed enjoy. Even here, semi-Fascist groups have in many centers attempted to establish a base for themselves in the works program.

Unfortunately, the relief and W.P.A. officials in many cases have adopted policies which tend to narrow the difference between the United States program and Hitler's. Forced labor in many sections has been required to receive even the miserable food-baskets. Rights of the unemployed to organize and present their program as citizens have been denied.

This has assumed particularly alarm-



Plowing the Spanish earth

ing proportions on the W.P.A. program. Here we have the contradiction of presumably liberal national regulations with regard to workers' rights being negated with impunity by local and state W.P.A. officials. Efforts to clear up nests of reactionary labor-hating W.P.A. officials have met the obstacle of timidity or indifference on the part of the national W.P.A. headquarters. Engineers, foremen, supervisors, are free to countermand in effect the Washington orders that W.P.A. workers have the right to organize. Cases of serious discrimination and discharge drag along for months. Company unionism on W.P.A. flourishes.

Constructive proposals by the Workers Alliance for a better labor-relations set-up on W.P.A. have been hanging fire for six months; even the demand that local W.P.A. officials be required to live up to the national W.P.A. regulations fails to have effect.

The answer given by W.P.A. nationally is that any real improvement in the situation would be followed by the resignation of many W.P.A. officials. To permit this situation to exist is to permit a sitdown strike of reactionaries *within* the federal government against the federal government.

Unless the relief and W.P.A. labor

relations are improved to clean out the reactionaries (and some plain Fascists), and workers are given at least the same rights that they enjoy in private industry, the money spent on these programs will go in part to finance reactionary cliques.

Organized labor must take a new perspective about the unemployed. The traditional trade-union attitude is that it organizes the employed worker. But a situation in which millions of union members are unemployed, *and in which the total number of unemployed in the country is greater than the total number of unionists*, requires a new and courageous treatment.

True to its fundamentally progressive rôle and purpose, the C.I.O. has responded quickly to the new needs. Unemployment committees are being set up by C.I.O. unions to grapple with the new and confusing problems of relief and W.P.A. Aggressive campaigns are being planned by Labor's Non-partisan League.

These initial steps, splendid as they are, must be reinforced by further ones. Today the problem of labor is not only to preserve what it has won, but to organize further millions as a protection to its present structure and gains.

There is growing within the con-

sciousness of enlightened labor leaders, such as John L. Lewis, the conviction that unemployment and the unemployed must become a major responsibility of the unions. And in this rests one of the strongest hopes for a successful fight against reaction.

Reservoir of Progress

The task of the unions is to link the unemployed to them with "hooks of steel." By struggle for their rights, by education, by organizational relationships, the unions can make of the unemployed a reservoir of unionism.

To sum up: 13,000,000 unemployed are a prize which the contending camps of reaction and progress will struggle over. To win them to progress requires a program that will provide work and/or relief; that will organize them under progressive pro-labor leadership; that will educate and mobilize them into pro-labor and progressive political action.

Those who hate Fascism and war must consider it a cardinal point in their campaign for peace and Democracy to win the unemployed.

Rust

(Continued from page 17)

old man looked at the doctor.

"Go on, Jim," he smiled approval.

"God done come. He said to me, 'Hello Jim,' and I said, 'Hello, God.' And He said, 'How is you, Jim?' And I said, 'Not so good, God.'" The old man's voice shook. He would have liked to tell God that his health was excellent. Or maybe—how could anyone know? To divert him a little, the doctor said, "What did God look like, Jim?"

Jim smiled, pleased again. Ready to become expansive for the advancement of science. But of course, it *was* helpful. No use being so sentimental about it.

"He had on a long white dress. Way down to His feet. An' on His head was a big straw hat."

This naïve description of a halo had amused the students. The boys laughed, breaking the flow of the old man's thoughts.

"Gentlemen," the doctor said coldly, "I will have to ask you to refrain from laughing." He meant it! She had liked him then. Very, very much indeed. Then to the old man, kindly, oh very kindly, "Did you like talking with God, Jim?"

Now the old black face was filled with terror. Somehow, suddenly, it seemed an awful, terrible thing, that he, old Jim in a hospital uniform, should have spoken to God.

"No suh, I doan' like to talk to God. I'se scared. I'se scared." His body was shaken by broad tremors. The old man wept.

"That's all right, Jim. No one is going to hurt you." The doctor put

his kindly hand on the old man's arm. He wasn't so frightened then. Someone led Jim away. Poor frightened old man! Why had he created a God that he needed to fear? But then, many do.

Yes, those people in clinic tried to make the world over in their heads. Tried to create a world without pain. But she was not like that. Of course, Bobbie Storm always said that she was playing a part. What did he mean by that? Everyone's life was a compromise, to a certain extent. And she had more than most people. She had a house and a garden, and—but why go into all of that again?

All right, then, she was lonesome. And so was the mother of Pearl, who pretended that if she called her baby Pearl, it would make her seem white. She pretended too. And Sam pretended. He stifled the echoes of prejudices by giving away lovely gifts. Even Bobbie Storm pretended. Tried to lose himself in the blatant rhythmic beat of a Harlem jam session. As if he weren't just an ordinary young man pretending that he did not think and rationalize like the rest of them. Just the fact that he danced beautifully and could manage a good imitation of the dark-skinned fellows strutting their stuff, did not make him abandoned! Yes, they all indulged in make-believe. She, and her daughter Marigold, and her son Hollyhock! They all did what those people in clinic did. Every single one of them. But one must not do it too often. She must not do it too often. Must admit that she substituted shadows for those little children that she's never had. More, more. Must admit that her own loneliness was not so different from that of the patients in the clinic. *What was it about roses that did not want to be remembered?* Of course!

OF COURSE. The most beautiful roses that ever grew in a hothouse. They came in a box. An enormous box. Came to the grey house, like every other house in the block, where fingers were worn to the bone—like all of the other fingers. Her mother did everything to scrimp and save. Everything. "Such beautiful roses! I never have seen anything like them, except in a window." Always seeing what she liked in windows. Poor old woman! She fondled the flowers and dug her nose into their crimson fragrance as if to keep their scent in her head forever. "He must be very rich. Does he want to marry you?" He did. "But not unless you love—" *Hopeful cautioning!* What hypocrites we are! Love! That word always coming up. No one knowing what it meant, except at certain times and then, even then, what does it mean to him? "Could you?" Why not? "But not unless you wish. Such roses!" Why not?

Child in me hush. Do not call me

a whore. What is so different, a love or a living-together? Happiness, silly word. If there had been no roses she might never have remembered!

Up with you! Snip off their heads. What matter, the second or third joint? The table must look festive. Wear the blue dress—no, the green one. Bobbie likes the green one. If Bobbie were a little older—he is not so young, *really*. One, two, three, now a yellow one, and a—ouch, that thorn!

The Road to Lincoln

(Continued from page 11)

fire," we learn from *The Hidden Lincoln*, edited by Emanuel Hertz.

In the election of 1856, Fillmore, the Know-Nothing candidate, while claiming to oppose slavery, directed his main attack not on Buchanan, but on Fremont, the first Presidential candidate of the newly-formed anti-slavery Republican Party. By splitting the people's vote, he made possible the election of Buchanan—an election which was hailed by the *Richmond Enquirer* as "a striking evidence of the growing popularity of negro slavery." Furthermore, the *Enquirer* claimed "Northern free society is . . . burdened with a servile class of mechanics and laborers, unfit for self-government . . . and the Northern States will yet have to introduce it (white slavery)."

Buchanan elected, the "impartial" Supreme Court yielded to pressure from the slaveowners and handed down its Dred Scott Decision. The historian Rhodes apologizes, "Of course the pressure was adroit," but history proved that the decision itself was far from adroit. The Dred Scott Decision, Lincoln said, turned "free states into slave states." It actually swept all laws restricting slavery aside and gave the slaveholder the right to spread his plantation-slave-system to all states in the Union. Meanwhile, demands by impoverished farmers and workers for free homesteads had been consistently rejected in Congress.

John Brown's Raid

A panic in 1857 threw tens of thousands out of work. Labor shook off the deteriorating influence of the Know-Nothings. The jobless united and marched into Wall Street, demanding work. The cry for free land grew more insistent. Despairing that political power could be wrested from slaveholders and their tools, John Brown and his followers took matters into their own hands and attempted to set free the Negro slaves. Brown's execution by the slaveholders stirred the nation into a new high pitch of anger.

The fast-moving events united the masses against the Southern reactionaries. Lincoln pointed out, "All of us who did not vote for Mr. Buchanan, taken together are a majority. . .

But in the late contest (we) were divided between Fremont and Fillmore. Can we not come together. . .?"

Delegates to the Republican Convention in 1860, several months after Brown's execution, represented extreme abolitionists as well as anti-slavery groups in the slave states of Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, Missouri and Delaware. Farmers, workers and business men were represented. Leading intellectuals, among them Emerson, Whittier, Longfellow and Bryant, supported the new people's party. The Republican Party, ancestor of the present-day Tories, became an amalgamation of the progressive movements that had sprung up in the West and in the East. "The Republican Party (was) built up in six short years out of the conscious desire of a multitude of people to destroy slavery," comments Emerson David Fite in *The Presidential Campaign of 1860*.

The Black Republican

The former rail-splitter, charged by the reactionary press with "lacking culture," with being an "ignorant pretender," a "Black Republican," a "horrible looking wretch"—and who two years ago had feared he would sink out of view and be forgotten—was nominated by the convention in preference to Seward, highly cultured but accused of connections with Wall Street.

Lincoln's immediate aim was not the abolition of slavery. He wished to check its spread into Northern territory. Nevertheless, a slaveholder's representative shouted in Congress, "We will never submit to the inauguration of a Black Republican!" *The Charleston Courier* moaned, "The ruin of the South, by the emancipation of her slaves . . . is the loss of liberty, property, home, country—everything that makes life worth having." *The Southern Confederacy* of Atlanta published an article: "Let the consequences be what they may, whether the Potomac is crimsoned with human gore, and Pennsylvania Avenue (Washington) is paved ten fathoms deep with mangled bodies, the South, the loyal South, the Constitutional South will never submit to . . . the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln."

Threatening Rebellion

Conventions called by slaveholders in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana, defeated proposals to let the Southern people vote on secession. While the slaveholders threatened with the sword, their Northern supporters initiated an immense campaign to force Lincoln to acquiesce to the spread of slavery for the sake of peace. Some leading opponents of slavery, such as Greeley, were cowed and urged Lincoln to let the slaveholders triumph. Greeley's talk of peace-at-any-price "gave powerful aid and com-

fort to their (slaveholders') movement," says Julian. Relying on the support of the wealthy class in the North, on the timidity of such leaders as Greeley and upon intervention by the reactionary governments of France and England, the slaveholders, flouting broad anti-secession sentiment in the South, opened cannon-fire on government soldiers in Fort Sumter and plunged the nation into Civil War. Like Franco at Madrid, the slaveholders' Secretary of War boasted, "the (slave) flag . . . will float over the dome of the Old Capitol at Washington before the First of May."

But the common people felt otherwise. Massing in battalions, they rallied to defend their heritage, the free American soil. Officers rose from their ranks to replace those who, like Lee, deserted to the slaveholders. From foreign shores, men with military experience came to aid the Union army. In the Southern army itself, white workers and farmers, conscripted by the slaveholders, deserted in large numbers. The Negroes gave fifty fighting regiments to the people's army.

Aid from Europe

The hope of the slaveholders for intervention from abroad was shattered by the European workers. They demanded aid for the North and stopped reactionary governments from rendering armed help to the South.

To the First International's message pledging the European workers' support to the cause of freedom in America, Lincoln replied: "The United States regard their cause in the present conflict with slavery-maintaining insurgents as the cause of human nature." We "derive new encouragement to persevere from the testimony of the workingmen of Europe, (from) their enlightened approval and earnest sympathies. . . The Government of the United States has a clear consciousness that its policy neither is nor could be reactionary." The slaveholders learned this well. The war they had precipitated in order to spread slavery, was transformed by the American people into a war that expunged it.

Again, as in 1860, reaction threatens us.

While we are still divided and irresolute, ravaging Fascism creeps into our continent. Boundary lines cannot check its spread, no more than the Mason-Dixon Line could stop chattel slavery. The unity of the American people for peace and Democracy is needed if we are to stop the reactionaries both without and within our borders from attempting to thrust Fascism upon us. Today, when masses in Europe and in Asia have already united to check and to expunge Fascism, Lincoln's words to the American people, "Can we not come together . . .?", ring again in our ears.

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid



JERSEY CITY has become a storm-center in the struggle for labor's democratic rights. Mayor Frank Hague's Fascist-like suppression of civil liberties and his vicious Red-baiting have stirred a strong response from democratic groups in many sections of the country. A large number of the trade unions represented at the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace have followed up the resolution adopted by that assembly by sending resolutions of protest to Mayor Hague and Governor Harold J. Hoffman, and have also requested a prompt investigation by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee. Likewise, numerous religious delegates to the Congress have taken a firm stand against the repressive tactics of Jersey City's would-be *Fuehrer*. Local branches of the American League have been active in this fight through the Hudson County Conference for Civil Liberties, of which they are a part.

BOYCOTT Japanese Goods; Save Lives in China—this slogan on thousands of stickers produced by the American League, is aiding the spread of the boycott campaign all over the country. City after city is organizing for more effective aid to the Chinese people. At Pittsburgh a boycott conference on Jan. 14th was addressed by Representative John M. Coffee of

Washington and local leaders. On February 5th, representatives of many and varied community organizations in the area of Greater New York will assemble for a well-planned boycott conference. In Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Los Angeles and San Francisco, delegations, picket lines, meetings, posters, stickers and boycott buttons are having good results.

WITH the month of January being spent in intensive preparation, the great drive for a mass membership in the American League for Peace and Democracy will get under way early in February. A new staff member—Steve Nelson—will direct this national campaign, which is expected in the course of the next few months to reach out into hundreds of American communities. The first period of this drive will center in organizations—fraternal, trade union, religious, farm, etc. A national committee has preliminary plans largely in order, while local committees are being organized in the various League cities to carry through this vital expansion for peace and Democracy. Frances Fink, new director of League publicity, will give assistance in publicizing the campaign.

THE Houston Branch of the American League is calling a Texas State

Conference for Peace and Democracy on March 5th and 6th. Stirred by the success and appeal of the People's Congress at Pittsburgh, the delegates from Texas returned home determined that their state should also be organized in the struggle for peace and Democracy at home and abroad. Meantime, in eight states new branches of the League are rapidly being organized, largely as a result of the impetus given by the Congress. These new League organizations are growing up in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Hampshire, Indiana, North Dakota, Virginia, Michigan and New York. Paralleling these developments, the executive board of the American League has added two new members in the persons of Katherine Barbour, well-known youth leader, and Dr. Max Yergen, one of the outstanding leaders of the Negro people.

PENNSYLVANIA—In Philadelphia, the League is carrying on its anti-Nazi work with renewed vigor since the People's Congress. Two broadcasts over Station WIP were arranged recently by the Anti-Nazi Committee of the League: the speakers were Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld and Francis Gorman, president of the United Textile Workers of America. Both addresses were heard by wide audiences and brought forth favorable comment in the local newspapers. The Committee has also printed the second issue of its *Anti-Nazi News*, which is receiving considerable attention in the city. On Jan. 9th, delegates to the People's Congress from the Pittsburgh region assembled in that city to lay preliminary plans for a regional council of the American League. The establishment of peace committees in unions and other local organizations, and organization of local boycott campaigns were two chief items of attention at this meeting.

OHIO—Cleveland Leaguers are busy these days gaining new affiliations for their organization. Several fraternal and language groups have already voted to join the League. A Christmas dance arranged by the Cincinnati League brought in \$75 for the support of the American League's homes for children in Spain. At Toledo progress is being made toward the extension of

the local branch of the League, and several new affiliations have been secured.

CALIFORNIA—San Francisco has a new secretary in the person of R. N. McKibben, formerly of Pittsburgh. Boycott of Japanese goods is a major campaign for the League in this city these days. In cooperation with the United Boycott Committee of trade unions, the League is pushing this campaign into every neighborhood. A spirited mass meeting on January 30th was planned by the groups, centering on the removal of Baron von Killinger, notorious Nazi consul at Frisco. Bert Leech, state organizer, is located in Los Angeles for a time, reorganizing and extending League work there. The Japanese-boycott campaign is gaining momentum in this area, too. At San Jose and Alameda the central labor councils (A. F. of L.) have passed resolutions in support of the campaign. The League has distributed many thousand stickers and buttons throughout the city of Los Angeles. The League also opposed before the city council the proposed enactment of an anti-picketing ordinance, which was ultimately vetoed by the mayor.

CHICAGO—A large meeting at the Chicago Auditorium under the auspices of a number of women's clubs of the city was addressed by Dr. Harry F. Ward and Senator Gerald P. Nye. The neutrality issue was the subject under discussion, and the audience gave close attention as the two speakers presented their respective points of view. Dr. Ward urged a people's boycott of goods made in Japan and amendment of the present Neutrality Act so as to stop all aid to aggressor nations, while Senator Nye maintained that the present act should be immediately applied. At Hull House, Amy Woods—a delegate to the People's Congress and veteran leader in the peace movement—is giving a series of six luncheon seminars on issues of Democracy and peace. These broad meetings have been arranged by the American League, and promise to draw unusual interest. The Chicago League has also organized a class for People's Congress delegates in which the new League program is being studied point



The American League home for Spanish children at Sueca, near Valencia

by point, and organizational and extension problems are considered. Picket lines for the Japanese boycott have appeared in various parts of the city while local neighborhood committees have been organized to further the refusal to buy Japan-made goods. Recently a League picket-line appeared before the Japanese consulate, and a delegation presented a protest to the consul regarding Japanese invasion of China and the sinking of the Panay. A protest meeting on Jan. 5th on civil-rights issues was addressed by Robert Morss Lovett, Ira Latimer of the American Civil Liberties Union and Lew Goldstein of the Furriers Union.

NEW ENGLAND—The Dorchester Branch in Massachusetts has launched an extensive campaign for membership and affiliations to the League. A conference is being planned for early in February to further this campaign. Fall River is beginning its membership drive with a mass meeting to be addressed by the Rev. Donald Lothrop of the Community Church, Boston. On Jan. 12th, William E. Dodd, Jr., director of the League's China Aid Council, spoke before the Kavodians, a large Jewish organization of the city.

DR. HARRY F. WARD left New York City on Jan. 6th for a month's tour of the country all the way to the west coast. This trip is under the joint auspices of the American League, the Methodist Federation for Social Service and the American Civil Liberties Union. At Detroit, on Jan. 7th, Dr. Ward addressed a meeting of the Civil Rights Federation. On Jan. 12th he spoke before a large mass-meeting at Denver in the Grace Community Church, having addressed a banquet meeting on the previous evening. At Los Angeles, Dr. Ward addressed a huge mass-meeting at the Philharmonic Auditorium on Jan. 18th. His subject was "Democracy in Danger." Other speakers for this meeting included Jack Tenney, president of the local American Federation of Musicians, and Al Wirin, counsel for the local American Civil Liberties Union.

Dr. Ward spoke on Jan. 19th at Los Angeles under the joint auspices of the American League and the United Boycott Committee. Harry Bridges of the National Maritime Union also addressed this meeting in the Dreamland Auditorium. Other cities on Dr. Ward's schedule were Portland, Oregon, on Jan. 24th-25th; Seattle, Jan. 27th-28th; Minneapolis, Jan. 31st and Feb. 1st, and Milwaukee, Feb. 3d-5th.

NEW JERSEY—Work on the membership drive and the boycott of Japanese-made goods occupies the attention of the Plainfield League. A dramatic

group has been started and an anti-war play will soon be presented. Newark Leaguers are taking an active part in the struggle for democratic rights for labor in Hudson County. Letters of protest have been sent to Mayor Hague, Governor Hoffman and the local papers. The Newark Branch has active committees on labor relations, the Japanese boycott and Negro relations busy at work. New Brunswick has been working since the People's Congress on the boycott campaign and extension of the League. Scott Nearing addressed a recent League meeting held in the Workmen's Circle Hall. Delegations have visited stores in the interests of the boycott, and leaflets are being distributed in the community. William E. Dodd, Jr., recently addressed a large meeting of the Perth Amboy League. Cheng Pao Nan, member of the Chinese consulate, spoke at the League meeting in this city on Jan. 19th on the subject, "Japan and What She Is Doing in China." The Paterson League heard Paul Reid at a recent meeting; the Far Eastern situation and the new program of the League were discussed.

NEW YORK STATE—Kingston Leaguers greeted the return of their delegate at Pittsburgh—Dr. Henry L. Bibby—with an enthusiastic meeting, and heard his report of the People's Congress with close attention. The new branch at Poughkeepsie recently participated in a meeting where *Heart of Spain* was presented, and raised more than \$200 for Spanish Loyalist medical aid. A city forum recently organized by a broad group in the city has created considerable interest. The Utica Branch of the League also presented the movie *Heart of Spain*, with over 400 people in attendance.

HERE AND THERE—Birmingham Leaguers have been publicizing the results of the People's Congress before labor and religious bodies and other community groups. Negro organizations have shown a particular interest, due to the points of the League's program that apply specifically to their problems and struggles. St. Louis is planning a delegate conference for February and is already at work on the membership drive. The League has taken part in the McLaughlin case, demanding justice to this A. F. of L. organizer who was beaten by the police. Pontiac, Michigan, Branch held a meeting with Major Frederick Lord as speaker on the subject of Spain's fight for Democracy. Washington, D. C., Leaguers are pressing the campaign to boycott Japanese products with good results. One local gift shop has already responded to the visit of a joint delegation by taking all Japanese, German and Italian goods from its shelves.



By
James Lerner

YOUTH NOTES

COLLEGE winter holidays, traditionally a time for a dizzy whirl of dances, parties, and socializing, this year served for some 2,000 students as an occasion for serious conferences to discuss national and international affairs.

Most active, vocal and militant was of course the convention of the American Student Union, held this year on the campus of Number 1 American Girls' College, Vassar. Over 600 students gathered from all parts of the country to discuss a variety of problems facing the student of today. The chief point of discussion was the problem of what A.S.U.'s peace program would be for the following year: the chief division being between those who demanded that the Oxford Pledge be kept in the program and that the traditional pacifist isolationist position be maintained, and those who supported elimination of the pledge and passed by an overwhelming majority the resolution calling on America to become a force for peace by taking economic actions against the aggressor. United, however, were the A.S.U.'ers in their support of the boycott of Japanese products—good-looking co-eds even going to the length of stripping off their silk stockings and throwing them into the campfire flaring on Vassar's staid campus. They were also united in support of the campaign for aid to Spanish Democracy, as well as in opposition to Boss I-am-the-law Hague of Jersey City.

NOT as vocal or militant, but more numerous, were the over 1,200 students who assembled at Miami University and Western College in Oxford, Ohio, for the National Assembly of Student Christian Associations. In a conference dealing with problems ranging from "Students and the Christian Faith" to "Economics and Labor," it was significant that the questions of peace and labor's rights received a great portion of the time and energy of the assembled youth. While not coming to any definite decisions on the best methods of maintaining peace—but instead outlining a number of possibilities—the Assembly did take several very important actions, including endorsement of the Student Strike in

April, the pilgrimage to Washington for Peace and Security, and the Second World Youth Congress. The Assembly also voted to condemn the anti-labor stand of Henry Ford and to support the anti-lynching bill in Congress.

THE most conservative of the winter conferences was that held under the auspices of the National Student Federation at Albuquerque, New Mexico, where 123 students gathered to formulate their policies for the coming year. However, this conference also stressed the importance of peace education, and endorsed the proposal for universal student coöperation in a mass peace effort sometime in the spring.

The splendid interest displayed in the important questions of the day by all three organizations, and their sincere efforts to place the questions of the maintenance of peace and Democracy squarely before the students of the nation, are encouraging and heartening signs. The indications of the confusion and lack of information rife among a great many students call for serious educational efforts by the American League in the coming months.

ALSO active during the past month has been the newly organized National Youth Committee of the American League. Those present at the first meeting were: Katherine Barbour, member of the staff of the National Young Women's Christian Association; Joseph Cadden, chairman of the United States Section of the World Youth Congress; Samuel Freedman, chairman of the Committee on Coöperation, Young People's League of the United Synagogues of America; John Gill of Union Theological Seminary; Barrington Dunbar of the Harlem Church Youth Conference; Gordon Sloane, New York City youth director of the American League, and Harold Patch, youth educational director of the New York League. The committee drew up plans for a national organizational and educational campaign designed to draw young people into the American League, and to reach various youth groups with the educational material of the League.

Challenge to Canada

(Continued from page 15)

falls upon an unconsulted people without notice."

The present Duplessis Government, responsible for the Act, was elected on a wave of revulsion against the bureaucratic tendencies of the Taschereau Government. Under Taschereau's régime civil liberties had already dwindled. The Taschereau Liquor Act had abolished the six prerogative writs which gave the citizen mastery over the Civil Service. As enacted, this abolition of the writs "applied only to the bootleggers." But in "19 George V., Chapter 79, Code of Civil Liberties Procedure," the following was enacted:

Section 87A. No proceeding by way of injunction, mandamus, or other special or provisional measure, shall lie against the government of this province or against any minister thereof or against any officer acting under the instruction of such ministers for anything done or omitted in the exercise of the duties thereof, including the exercise of any authority conferred or purporting to be conferred upon the same by any act of this legislature.

This means that if a civil servant, acting under any act of the legislature, commits any illegality, you cannot bring action against him by any process known to law.

What a paradise for legalized vigilantism! And the Padlock Law might be called just that. With this law the repressive character of Quebec legislation was directed specifically against the labor movement. A wave of labor militancy in the province had rendered good old Section 87A vague and inadequate. Once again the red herring had to be drawn across the path of labor advance.

The Act, although ostensibly directed against "Communism," fails to define it. And so: "The Attorney-General upon satisfactory proof that an infringement of Section 3 has been committed ('Communist propaganda'—M.R.) may order the closing of the house against its use for any purpose whatsoever for a period of not more than one year." (All italics are ours.) The insistence on "satisfactory proof" is merely nominal. A written charge is not required. A whisper in the Attorney-General's ear constitutes a charge, and the question of "satisfactory proof" rests entirely with the Attorney-General, who happens to be Duplessis himself.

You May Plead Guilty

The person who comes home one night to find his house padlocked and his belongings seized, may plead ignorant of the fact that Communist propaganda has been "committed" in his house, or plead that to his knowledge it had not been committed during the previous year. But he cannot plead not guilty to the charge of "Communism," because the term is not de-

fined, and his guilt is assumed from the outset.

Another section of the act makes it unlawful to print, publish or distribute literature, periodicals or other material "which propagates or tends to propagate communism." In Quebec, then, one is liable to a six-months jail sentence for possessing a copy of the *New Republic* or the *Christian Century*.

Under Section 87A one has no recourse against the brutality of any civil servant in the performance of his "duty." One man recently caught distributing the labor paper *Clarion* was severely beaten by the police. He has no legal ground left on which to protest.

In the city of Montreal there is a Fascist organization of many thousand strong, headed by Adrien Arcand. Under the smoke-screen of anti-Semitism and anti-Communism, Arcand is attacking the trade unions, the principles of Democracy, and collective security. Due largely to the efforts of his group, free speech has been abolished in Montreal. For example, a meeting at which M. Costes, a French Deputy, was to speak on the *Front Populaire*, was banned because the Fascist elements in the University of Montreal threatened a riot. The same thing happened to the meeting scheduled for Father Sarasola, a meeting arranged under the auspices of the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy.

Birds of a Feather

Adrien Arcand, President of the Canadian National Social Christian Party, a German Nazi organization, is a trusted adviser to Maurice Duplessis, premier of Quebec. Another of Duplessis' advisers is Cardinal Villeneuve, who pursues a vigorous anti-labor "crusade" despite the protest of the more enlightened members of his own flock. And to complete and support this unholy alliance against the people, the Big Business interests of Saint James Street, alarmed at the growing militancy of organized labor in Quebec, are anxious to uphold any repressive measure devised by Duplessis' Fascist brain-trusters.

Not one word of protest against the un-British nature of the Padlock Law has come from the lips of the English Canadians who control the economic life of Quebec. Obviously, the French Canadian worker is not to blame for this law. It was framed to halt him in his rapid advance towards labor unionism.

In fighting this law we must be most careful not to provide Duplessis with political ammunition. If we attempted to force disallowance of the Act by the Dominion government, Duplessis could appeal to the French Canadian on sectional grounds. "Here is English Canada interfering with our French Canadian rights to frame our own laws." Fortunately, a strong

movement for repeal is developing within Quebec, and it is expected that the Federal Liberal Party will give their assistance to this movement. The Canadian League for Peace and Democracy hopes to forward a petition of one million Canadian signatures to Duplessis, urging repeal of the Act, and thereby to demonstrate the solidarity of English-speaking Canadians with the progressive forces in Quebec. If this fails, the appeal for disallowance by the Dominion government will proceed from the unification of progressive forces within and without the province.

In the process we hope to do more than smash the Padlock Law. We hope, by driving home to the Canadian people the real implications of the law, to vaccinate them against the Fascist menace in this country.

Congress on the Spot

(Continued from page 9)

and elections and taxes can produce worse nightmares for Congressmen than ice cream and dill pickles. There will be many who will follow the time-honored custom of voting for all appropriations and against all taxes.

Government reorganization, including the creation of a new department to deal with public welfare and embodying the recognition that relief is a permanent problem, is another measure which leers at this Congress to remind it of the work it left undone last session. The biggest fight will likely come on that portion of the government-reorganization plan which contemplates the incorporation of the numerous independent agencies into the departmental structure. Essentially it is a goo-goo measure, with its immediate passage a matter of relative unimportance.

Other measures, bills to relieve John Jones, bills to memorialize Ab Jenkins' excursion across Snake Creek and bills to amend the Constitution will, of course, come up and be passed, laid over or defeated. Attention, however, must be centered chiefly on the wages-and-hours bill, for it was upon that issue that the House revolted and it was that issue that the President chose to throw back at Congress in his opening message.

The Dissolving Donkey

Analysis of the 216-to-198 vote by which the House at the end of the special session returned the wages-and-hours measure to the House Labor Committee, reveals how completely sectional lines have rent the Democratic Party. Of 80 representatives from the Old South, those states which have always been Democratic and maintained the Democratic Party through the lean years, only eight voted for the measure. Of 108 Democrats from Southern states including Texas, only

15 had enough courage to vote against recommitment of the bill.

The chief pretexts for the votes against the bill were that it was "ill-considered," that its parentage was dubious, that the single-administrator feature made it dictatorial, and that "labor is against it."

Labor lobbyists who worked for the passage of the measure are convinced that it was the single-administrator feature, more than anything else, that turned the tide against the bill. Had the five-man board, with adequate representation for the South, been retained as the administering agency (as provided in the Senate version), the bill would have passed despite the opposition of the American Federation of Labor executive council, it is contended.

Thus it seems clear that new wages-and-hours legislation to be presented this session will be along the lines of the bill already passed by the Senate, providing for a five-man agency independent of departments, rather than along the lines of the defeated bill in the House. At the opening of the session plans regarding the measure were vague, but the President's message left no doubt that such legislation will be presented and pushed with all the vigor that an administration under the necessity of recapturing lost prestige can muster.

New Deal's Program

The legislative outlines, therefore, of the Congressional session are fairly clear. They consist of passage of the wages-and-hours bill (together with the farm bill, which is already in the last stages of passage) to reconstitute the Administration with its habiliments of solidarity, and to enable a showing at the 1938 election that the Democrats are capable of carrying out campaign pledges.

What is less clear is the fate of New Deal liberalism in the face of the onslaught of those who lost the 1936 election. As the Congressional session opened, the President and the Administration were on the defensive. Monopolistic price advances far in excess of wage raises cut down purchasing power and piled up stocks in warehouses and on merchants' shelves. Anticipating price rises, purchasers of heavy industrial goods laid in an advance supply of stocks such as steel and similar commodities. Topping that was the growing refusal of capital to invest in productive enterprise unless assured of a profit.

The combination threw thousands of men out of work, led to a demand for lowered wages, and made it appear as if the New Deal was responsible for it all.

That the business recession was intensified for political reasons seemed fairly obvious. Anaconda Copper laid off 6,000 men because they "didn't know what the President was going to

do." General Motors laid off 30,000 men and put 250,000 others on a three-day, 24-hour week because of "uncertainty." A feature of the General Motors layoff was that William Knudsen, G. M.'s president, took pains to announce the layoff twice, with approximately a month between the two occasions.

A Capitalist Strike

These industries and industrial overlords tried to make it appear that business developed goose-pimples despite tremendous profits during the year 1936. As Assistant U. S. Attorney-General Robert Jackson pointed out at Philadelphia, these firms with the profound fears for the future had just emerged from a period in which profits far outstripped those of previous years and nearly equalled those of the fabulous 1929 era.

Business cried that it had "lost confidence" and the President replied with a speech to Congress in which he took pains to assure business that only a wicked minority was meant by Jackson and, later, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, when they lambasted the strike of capital and the monopolists. He did not add that the minority which was meant and directly referred to by Ickes is that minority which sets the tone of the industrial world and which, through its power, controls and directs the destinies of thousands of other industries.

Instead there was the unwelcome, and heretofore absent, thesis that both business and labor must be "responsible"—implying that labor is as irresponsible as the wicked business minority—and the complaint that labor had not cooperated with the Administration.

How far the President will carry his "plague o' both your houses" theme is, at this writing, unindicated; and, as previously ventured, predicting is a business for stout hearts and reckless heads in these times.

The People United

Heartening has been the growing acceptance of the doctrine that between farmers and workers there is a close economic and therefore political bond. Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace stressed the relation between farm income and industrial production in his annual report, and the President has called upon representatives of agricultural districts to render such support to the wages-and-hours bill as representatives of industrial areas rendered to the farm bill.

The demonstration of strength by labor in the elections of 1937 was by no means unnoticed among the 435 House members and 32 Senators who face the electorate in November of this year. It is entirely probable the election prospect will temper their actions during the coming session.

It would seem logical to believe that

the threat of combined farmer and worker action on the political front will act as a brake on any drift to the right. It must be remembered that the threat is counteracted by the exceedingly vocal and powerful losers of 1936. It would seem that the best means of bringing victory would be the conversion of the threat into reality.

Batista Over Cuba

(Continued from page 23)

freedom who were executed by order of the King of Spain. This year the students received a message from the Spanish government indicating the sympathy of the present régime with the cause of the martyrs. This made the day an occasion for popular demonstration of Cuban love of liberty, and the student parade was swelled by the trade unions and the people in general. It was a demonstration of Cuban solidarity with the people of Spain struggling against Fascism. It was also a protest against the continued imprisonment of political prisoners. People from all parts of the island joined the parade in Havana and asked for the amnesty.

Although his name was not mentioned, Colonel Batista considered the parade a demonstration against him. (He is a slightly self-conscious person.) And he decided that the people could not get away with it.

A Blow to Spain

His first blow was at the organizations mobilizing aid to Loyalist Spain. On the evening of December 2d, police closed the offices and meeting rooms of the *Circulo Republicana Español*, *Izquierda Republicana Español*, *Circulo Español Socialista* and *Centre Catala*. Members who were present were beaten up and thrown into the street. The good office equipment was confiscated; the rest was smashed. On the next day the President signed a decree banning organizations aiding foreign governments. A Franco organization in an office next to the German consulate is still open.

The axe fell then on the Brotherhood of Cuban Youth (*Hermandad de Jovenes Cubanos*), a sport and cultural organization whose first national congress was to open on December 4th. A permit had been granted but was not to become effective until countersigned by the police on the day of the meeting. The permit was not countersigned, and when the 700 delegates who had come to Havana for the congress asked the reason, they were answered with shrugs of shoulders and informed that perhaps "Columbia" could tell them.

A week later the officers of the Brotherhood were received at Camp Columbia by the Colonel's chief aide, (*Commandante* Jaime Mariné, chief

of the secret police, owner of a bus line and a chain of movie theatres). In the meantime the delegates had of course gone home, and the press had devoted considerable attention to the suppression of their congress.

Mariné explained that the Colonel thought it a terrible mistake for the police to have refused the permit. They probably had not known the real nature of the Brotherhood. In the press campaign the Colonel had noticed many errors, particularly in attributing the action of the police to "Columbia." And there had been many telegrams of protest from youth organizations in the United States and Mexico, some of them "viciously attacking the Colonel." Of course, it was a mistake which would have to be adjusted.

Mariné, asked when the congress could be held, said the permit would be granted and that the Colonel should be shown the plans for the meeting. That same evening, permits for meetings at several cultural clubs affiliated to the Brotherhood were denied. (In Cuba there must be a permit issued for every meeting of more than three people.)

Brawn Over Brains

Of course, one trouble is that the Brotherhood includes student members, and since November 27th the Colonel has taken a particular dislike to students. An indication of his distaste was experienced during the night of December 9th when Julio Ayllon Morgan, a prominent leader in the normal school of the University of Havana, was taken out and "castor-oiled." Actually, the army no longer uses castor-oil. Morgan was filled with crude oil, and barely recovered. A few weeks before, the vice-rector of the University, Professor Rodolpho Mendez Peñates, once Secretary of Labor and now an officer of the *Partido Revolucionaria Cubana*, had been oiled within an inch of his life by the navy. He had slighted a naval officer at a university function.

Batista has made the University of Havana a better place to study by placing armed guards all over the campus. This precaution must be taken, of course, to safeguard the University's "autonomy," and protect it from attacks of the army. Dr. Cardenas, the Rector, can be counted on and is attracting attention to the University by planning new buildings. The students, once the heart of the "revolutionary" movement, are under control—at least for the moment.

Batista is anxious to have a youth following. About 90,000 young people are now attending the schools of the Civic-Military Institutes. Although dressed in sergeants' uniforms, the teachers are, of course, civilians. But somehow, this great contribution to popular education is not fully appreciated by the public. There should be

a youth organization to popularize the Colonel's good efforts in behalf of young people—but nothing like the youth organizations in Italy or Germany, the Colonel will always add hastily.

A Shady Scoutmaster

The Colonel's anxiety for a youth organization has been goaded on by W. Ekins Birch, who tells him stories about the Boy Scouts and boys' clubs in the States. Mr. Birch has been working for the Colonel for some time. At the same time, he was chief of the Associated Press bureau in Havana. He resigned on December 15th from the A.P. to put all of his time into youth work. Birch first came to Cuba in 1907 as an officer in the U. S. Army. His talents will be doubly useful to the Colonel, since he has also had experience with the Boy Scouts in Mobile. And the Colonel's interest in the Brotherhood of Cuban Youth was evidenced when Mr. Birch offered his professional services and experience at youth work "for a very small salary."

The Colonel's interest in the Brotherhood is not without reason. Delegates who arrived for the congress which was not held represented 154,000 young Cubans. The Brotherhood has established 26 schools, held more than 200 educational conferences throughout the island, sponsored a three-month radio course in Cuban history, and has distributed the published programs. Through its campaign for recreational facilities, it is responsible for a Municipal Stadium in Havana, a Municipal Field in Santiago and a free beach at Manzanillo. In Camaguey, an art school has been established. Four libraries have been opened to the public, in cooperation with the Catholic Church. The Brotherhood has conducted trials for the Panama Central-American Olympics to be held in February. These and other activities have given it prestige and popularity.

In addition there is the *Jovenes del Pueblo*, an organization of young people with 7,000 members behind the Democratic Front. This political youth group has further whetted the Colonel's appetite.

When Cuba Unites

All of these events and tendencies put together, indicate the reason for and the strength of the Cuban people's feeling that they have a ferret on their hands. Except for the field mice who are profiting, the people's economic situation is at least as bad as under Machado. In the effort to unite their forces in a Democratic Front, the Cuban people have indicated their desire for a new régime of greater Democracy. In their refusal to swallow the Colonel's demagoguery, they have indicated their determination to get rid of both the ferret and the mice.

The Peace Act

THE REALIZATION that the present Neutrality Act is un-neutral in character, and in effect aids the aggressors, has been driven home to many sections of the American people by events in Europe and Asia. We see on the one hand Japan, Germany and Italy, month after month, loading war supplies at our docks. We note on the other hand that the recognized Spanish government is denied such supplies, and that Federal ships are forbidden to carry the means of defense to China. The Peace Act introduced by Representative Jerry J. O'Connell of Montana (H.J. Res. 527) is designed to amend the present Act drastically so as to stop American aid to these aggressor nations and open our markets to their victims. The genius of this amendment lies in the definition of an aggressor and the provision for cessation of commerce between the United States and invader nations. Simply stated, the "aggressor" is (a) the nation which declares war, invades without declaring war, bombards, blockades or introduces armed forces within the territory of another nation, or (b) the civil band or faction within a state which seeks to overthrow the democratic government of that state. Proclamation by the President of any such act of aggression leads at once to the denial of all arms, ammunition and implements of war to the offending nation or civil faction. Further, the O'Connell measure allows for cutting off economic intercourse—both exports and imports—between the United States and the aggressor.

Not only does this proposed law square with the points in the American League program relating to aggressors and their victims and with the principles of the President's Chicago speech, but it also makes use of the most feasible method of stopping war—economic action. The withdrawal of the means to make war from the treaty-breaking invader nations is the only possible substitute for war. This means people's boycott of goods made by invader nations and labor's refusal to handle war supplies for the aggressors as well as government embargoes and economic non-intercourse with war-making states.

The O'Connell resolution is now in the House Foreign Affairs Committee—Representative Sam D. McReynolds, Chairman. A companion measure is expected soon in the Senate. Both deserve the active support of every earnest American citizen who desires to implement peace and stop war.—P.M.R.

Inside Japan

THE 370 arrests made recently in Tokyo brought to light what was known for a long time—that the common people of Japan are not wholeheartedly, to say the least, behind the Fascist invasion of China. In making these arrests, the police charged the leaders of the Labor-Farmer Party, the Proletarian Party and the All-Japan Council of Labor-Farmer Unions with organizing and supporting the anti-war and anti-Fascist movement. With these labor leaders were jailed a number of university professors, members of parliament and other forward-looking



DAVID BURKE

men and women in various fields of social activity. Many Americans will remember one of the men in jail, Kanju Kato, chairman of the Proletarian Party executive committee who toured the U.S.A. in 1935. His party made extensive gains in the elections of a year ago, which may account for his present domicile.

The interests of the people of Japan are not with the imperial government. The socially conscious people of Japan are doing their bit and more than their bit in solidarity with the democratic and peace forces throughout the world. Let us extend our hand to the Japanese people and their true leaders. Wire and write to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington asking for the release of these people from a living death.—G.D.

The Lesson of Teruel

ONE SWALLOW does not make a summer, nor one battle a war. It would be a mistake to think that the splendid Loyalist victory at Teruel marks the end of the Fascist rebellion. The Spanish Loyalists themselves do not think this, for they know that what may have been at first a rebellion has become almost completely an invasion—by Italian and German Fascism.

The significance of Teruel, besides its important military gains, lies in the demonstration that *Democracy can win*. Spain has shown that it is not necessary for the people's forces forever to retreat, to fight rear-guard actions, to win merely moral victories from the great Fascist bullies. The lesson of Teruel is that Democracy, fully organized, can take the initiative, *attack* successfully, and hold the prize against all the power Fascism can muster. The people's army is potentially the victorious army.

This success at Teruel must have profound

reverberations throughout the world. Practically since the World War, Democracy has steadily retreated. Fascism's seizure of power in Italy, Germany, Brazil, its rise in Japan, Rumania and where not, its conquest of Manchuria, Ethiopia, half of Spain and China—Democracy has got the votes, Fascism the territories. Weak-souled prophets of gloom have arisen in all lands to proclaim a universal Nightshirt triumph inevitable. Even some of the leading democratic spokesmen have been handicapped by this political inferiority complex.

Now the legend of Democracy's weakness is exploded. The Spanish and international fighters at Teruel have proved it false. Those who from this date on "fear" to move against Fascism are exposed as Democracy's false friends.

The Spanish War is not ended. Mussolini and Hitler are today preparing to send more hundreds of thousands of troops. But what if the world's millions were to strike *first* by cutting off all munitions to the Fascist International and allowing them to be sent instead to the government of Spain?

How about it, democratic powers? —C.P.

The Shame of Jersey City

NO DOUBT America will soon slap a mosquito. We refer, of course, to Mayor Frank Hague. The self-proclaimed "law" of Jersey City put on a show that was for a time amusing and even instructive. It will be hard in these serious days to go without the laughs furnished by the Mayor's antics. And who else has done so much to show the tie-up between political corruption and political reaction, as this liberty-hating object lesson in Bad Government? He should be kept . . . in a straight-jacket.—C.P.

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