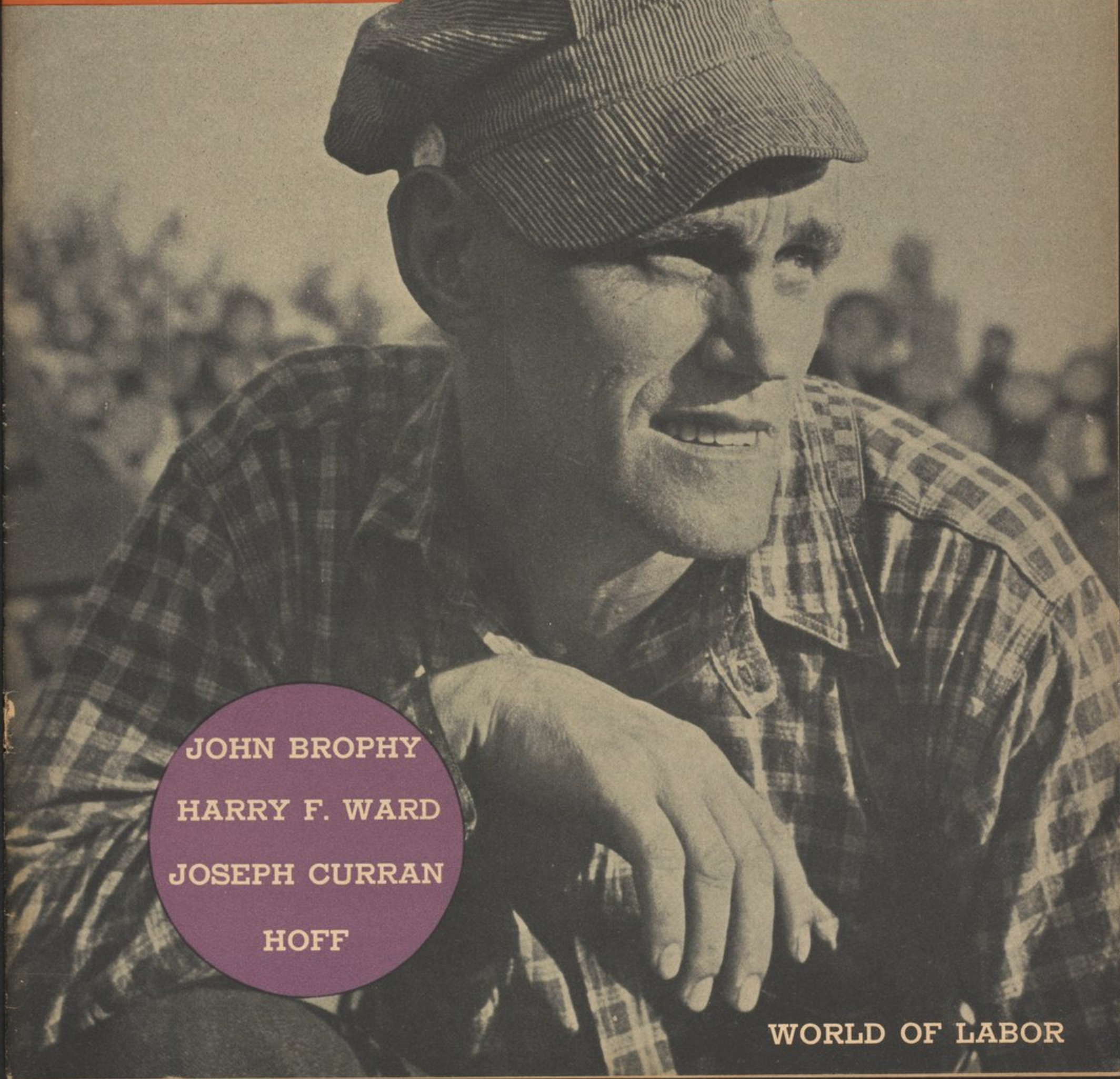


June
1938

The Fight

FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

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WORLD OF LABOR



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to be bombed, if these men and women are not to suffer torture, concentration camps, and all the terrors of Fascism, *these people must unite*. . . . To the task of uniting the peace-loving, democratic people against their common enemies, **THE FIGHT** is dedicated. Subscribe today!

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With the Readers

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THE streets are crowded with tens of thousands of people, and gay colored flags from store fronts, telegraph poles and stone monuments wave in the spring wind. Soldiers by the thousands line the laned avenue, cleared for the procession. Bugles, bands, martial music. The day is clear and sunny. The city is Rome. Guns, tanks, planes, bombs. As the parade draws closer, the soldiers stand at attention. Car after car passes and finally the guest and host come along in their long, streamlined machine escorted by uniformed guards. The sun is still shining and the bands are playing.

HITLER: Your city is beautiful, Benito, beautiful. Rome is Caesar and Il Duce. My Berlin and your Rome. The people are happy and the soldiers worship you. This is all soul, Benito. The people and the axis.

Mussolini: The better I get to know you, Adolf, the more do I marvel at your insight into the hearts and minds of men. But I am distressed that not a single word have I heard from you these many days about our beautiful women. Look at them. Look into their eyes, Adolf, and you will understand the soul of Italy.

HITLER: There you go again. I have never taken great stock in the stories I have heard about you, but . . .

Mussolini: Yes, but they are true. And while I have not taken great stock in the stories I have heard about you, either, still I know that your ways will lead you into disaster. Why don't you visit Freud, it won't cost you anything since you have him now under lock.

Hitler: What, that Jew!

Mussolini: Don't be a fool, Adolf. Go and see him and your dreams about the wheatlands of the Ukraine and Czechoslovakia and South America will have more reality to them. . . . Look at that girl in the balcony, Adolf, look at her eyes, stern and determined.

Hitler: I am not interested in your women, and I did not come to Rome to talk all this poppycock. We are Fascists, Benito! (Both dictators stand up and give the salute.) We are Fascists, Benito! (Both dictators stand up again and give the salute.)

Mussolini: Go easy, Adolf, I am a little tired today.

HITLER: You are afraid of the very beast you have laid low. The foolishness of your youth will down you.

Mussolini: There is the old building of the *Avanti*, there was my window. . . .

Hitler: Foolishness again. You have buried your old friends six feet under ground. You have built an empire. You have conquered Ethiopia. The world is ours, ours. Why this fear?

Mussolini: You don't know the strength of the people. You have not been amongst them as I have. The men and women who do the work of the world, Adolf. And the women . . .

Hitler: We are Fascists, Benito! (Both dictators stand up and give the salute.)

Hitler: The democracies will triumph unless you and I stand solid as a rock. We can bluff them out. We must bluff them out or we are lost.

Mussolini: On that we agree, Adolf. But you don't see what I see. Myriads of people, millions upon millions of them ready to lay down their lives. I know them, once upon a time I was in their ranks . . .

Hitler: We are Fascists, Benito! (Both dictators stand up and give the salute.)



Exhibition screens used in the "Made in Japan" boycott campaign

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The Contributors

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JOHN BROPHY, national director of the Committee for Industrial Organization, who writes the lead article in this labor issue of *THE FIGHT*, is one of America's outstanding leaders in the workers' struggle for better living conditions. Prior to his present position in the C.I.O., Brophy has for many years been active in the United Mine Workers. He went to work as a miner at the age of twelve and held various offices in local unions, then rose to the presidency of District 2 of his union. He is the author of special reports to Bituminous Commission, 1920; U. S. Coal Commission, 1923; *Why the Miners' Program*; *Government of Coal*; *How to Run Coal*; *Compulsory Information in Coal*, etc., etc.

HARRY F. WARD, national chairman of the American League, has for many years been at the side of labor in its struggle for a better world. As chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, Dr. Ward has been the foremost fighter for free speech, free press and the right to organize in the country. He is the author of many books—including *Poverty and Wealth*, *The Labor Movement*, *The New Social Order*, *In Place of Profit*—and is a member of the Teachers Union.

JOSEPH CURRAN, general organizer of the National Maritime Union, has risen rapidly from the ranks to assume leadership in one of the most important unions in the country. His contribution to social progress in our American life is being recognized more and more with the organization of the waterfront.

HOFF is back again in these pages after an absence of almost a year, and we hope he stays here. His drawings have appeared in many nationally known publications including *Collier's* and *Esquire*.

JOHN R. LONGO, secretary of the Holy Name Society of Our Lady of Sorrows' Roman Catholic Church, Jersey City, has recently been framed by Mayor Hague's henchmen, tried and convicted. Back of it all is Longo's fight for civil rights in his home town. His article here was written many weeks before his indictment. Since that time Mayor Hague has tightened his iron ring around civil liberties, but the free Americans in Jersey City are not asleep either.

DONALD HENDERSON, who writes on the rural worker, is general president of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America.

STEVE NELSON, in writing of life in a Spanish town and how the workers think and feel there, knows his subject—for he spent many months fighting against Fascism and finally became the recognized leader among the more than three thousand American men in Spain willing to lay down their lives for the cause of Democracy.

LYDIA GIBSON, well known American artist, has recently been to Spain and her drawings in this issue were sent from that war-torn country.

MARION BURROUGHS is the pseudonym of an American writer who has contributed to *The New Republic*, *The New Yorker*, etc., etc.

BOOKLETS OR BULLETS

—By Pam Flett—

"**B**UT WHY should I join the American League for Peace and Democracy? I know of a dozen clubs and organizations in this town that want peace. Who doesn't want peace? I'm all for it. I belong to the XYZ and the ABC. They talk about peace every once in a while. That's enough, isn't it? I don't see why I should join your organization."

And what did you do when your friend said that to you? Did you try to explain, explain, explain that the League has a practical solid program, that it knows how to work for peace and Democracy? Of course you did. Maybe your friend joined. Maybe he didn't.

Now if you'd had a copy of the neat new pamphlet *People's Program for Peace and Democracy* in your pocket you could have left it with him, after he'd left one nickel with you, and he could have found answers to all his questions. He could have read and reread the program, the constitution, the story of the origin and growth of the American League. He could have studied not only what we're aiming at but how we're getting there. He could have figured out the phase of our work that interested him most.

And in a couple of weeks, and a few more visits from you to discuss parts of the booklet with him, he'd be visiting his friends—and leaving *People's Program for Peace and Democracy* in their pockets.



THE Japanese militarists are feeling the pinch of the boycott. The *New York Times* reports the sharp drop in exports of Japanese goods. But slowing down American purchases of Japanese goods is not sufficient. The boycott can squeeze that river of gold to a midsummer trickle, to a dry river-bed from which no machine guns flow to the Japanese army.

How and Why to Boycott Japanese Goods is a handy little five-cent tool for cultivating the boycott. The pamphlet answers the questions of women who still wear silk hose and aren't ashamed of it. It helps to remove the fence from under the fence-sitters in such a way that they land squarely on your side.



SHADOWS OVER CHINA . . .

THE ominous shadows of the Japanese invaders, the would-be conquerors of China, fall over the great land, but especially on the very young and the very old. Weary, footsore, hungry and sick, the procession of women, children and old men flees before the mechanized army of Nippon. This man-made plague is worse than the afflictions of Nature that have ravaged the good earth.

WE in America cannot forget the victims of Fascist-Japanese aggression. At the request of the Chinese Red Cross, the American League for Peace and Democracy has set up a 300-bed field hospital near Hankow. Working in collaboration with the Anti-Epidemic Commission of the League of Nations, the hospital treats those civilians and wounded soldiers who are found to be suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis and other contagious diseases.

THE hospital operates on \$1500 a month. Help to supply it with the "ammunition" to fight epidemics—with the materials that mean life to China's millions.

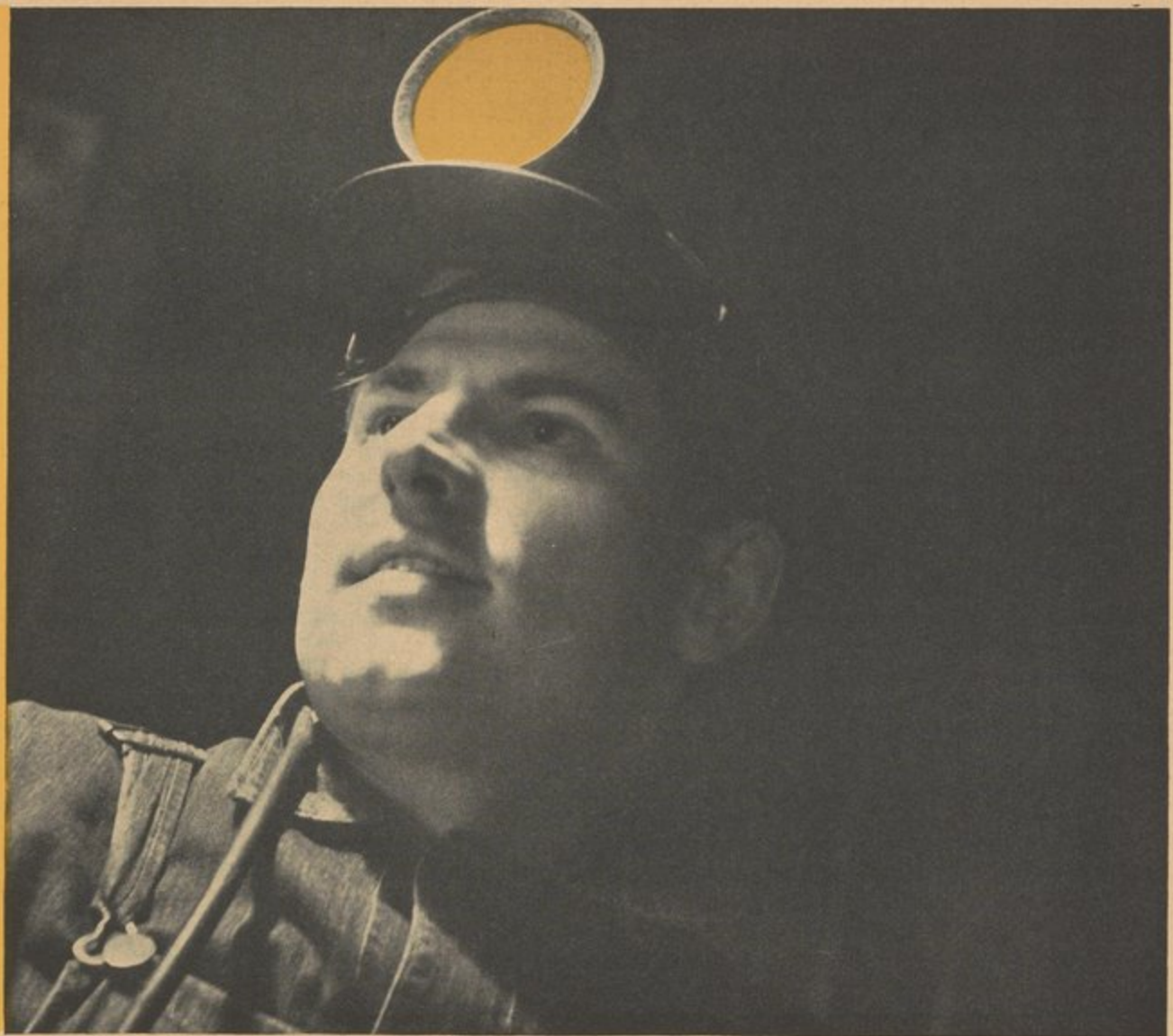
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268 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The
Fight
FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

June, 1938



Our Struggle for Democracy

One of America's foremost labor leaders recounts the workers' long fight for freedom in this country, and calls for broad unity of the people against Fascism to maintain and extend that hard-won freedom

By John Brophy

THE LABOR movement is the front fighter in the struggle for Democracy in America today. In the economic field, and in the political field, organized labor bears the greatest of all social responsibilities in our country—the responsibility for the maintenance and extension of democratic rights.

This is an accepted fact. Every progressive, every liberal, every fair-minded person knows it to be so. The American people look to the labor movement to defend their democratic rights from the increasing attacks of all anti-democratic, Fascist forces in the nation. In every place where the struggle goes on—whether it is against the open Fascism of our few alien Nazis,

or against the subtler but no less effective methods of anti-labor business and big corporations—the labor movement is in the front ranks, carrying on and extending the traditions of American freedom, fighting to preserve the freedom the people of America won for themselves in the struggles of generations ago.

Labor's rôle in achieving and maintaining Democracy is not a new thing. It is in the American tradition. Workers and farmers made the American Revolution. When the war against the English was won, workers and farmers returned to their towns and their villages to carry on the battle for Democracy with the Tories and reactionaries who remained. They fought for, and won, the Bill of Rights. They fought against the elements that would have

made the new republic another autocracy, not very much different from the English autocracy that had been defeated in revolution. Workers and farmers, together, made our country a democracy—with a constitution that democracies a century and a half later accepted as a model.

Three generations after the Revolutionary War against England, American workers and farmers fought another great battle for Democracy. The history of the anti-slavery movement in the United States is a story of labor support and labor effort to abolish the greatest stronghold that feudalism possessed—the institution of slavery. The war against slavery in the United States was the most serious armed struggle of history up to that time. American workers and American farmers gave it their fullest support. They knew what they were fighting for. They were fighting for the maintenance and extension of Democracy.

After the Civil War, the workers of America took up the struggle on the economic field with renewed vigor. The labor movement, as an organized mass force, began to grow at a tremendous pace. Before that time, there had been few trade-union organizations, composed of small groups of craftsmen, isolated from each other in widely separated communities. As early as the eighteenth century, there had been strikes against intolerable living and working conditions. There was nothing that could be described as a labor movement. Labor was not conscious of itself as a force—though labor knew how hard it had had to fight and to

work to achieve the democratic rights written into the American Constitution.

Now, under the impetus of the rapid industrialization of the nation, labor realized that mass organization of the labor movement was the necessary answer to its problem of making the promises of Democracy become realities. Labor learned that no other force would help it to make Democracy a reality.

Toward Economic Democracy

With the end of the Civil War, bringing the abolition of the last open vestige of feudalism in this country, labor moved on to a higher task in the evolution of Democracy. It moved on to the struggle for economic and social Democracy in the new society that industrialization was creating.

Immediately labor met with fierce opposition from the social descendants of the Tories it had fought a hundred years before. The story of the fight that the new giant monopolies then being formed put up against the people of America does not need repeating. For many years it was a steady and unremitting warfare. Openly it took the form of ruthless slaughter of working men and women in the steel industry and in the coal fields of forty and fifty years ago. More covertly, with the full blessing of the law of the time, it took the form of the blacklist, the injunction, evictions, mass frame-ups and wholesale execution of working-class leaders.

The workers knew what they were struggling

for. They knew they were struggling to bring the principles their ancestors had put into the American Constitution in two revolutionary wars down to date, to make them apply to a new situation where industrial slavery was taking the place of the feudal bonds they had once thrown off. They knew too that they were fighting the battles of all the people in America when they fought for economic and social freedom in industry. The words and actions of every trade-union leader of this earlier time bristle with this knowledge. They knew then, as they know now, that the burden of maintaining and extending Democracy in the United States was on their shoulders.

Proof of this can be found in the record of the American labor movement in every progressive cause of the time. The campaign for the eight-hour day was a working-class campaign. Seven men in Chicago paid for it with their lives in the Haymarket frame-up of 1886—just as fifty-one years later ten men paid with their lives in Chicago's Memorial Day Massacre for their belief in the right of assembly and free speech. The campaign for safety laws and inspection service in dangerous industries was a workers' campaign. The campaign for free, universal education, something as yet peculiar to America among western democracies, was a working-class campaign. The campaigns for the extension of political Democracy, as in the direct election of senators, women's suffrage, and the like, received their greatest support from the working people of this country. The cam-

Professionals and white-collar workers are at last taking their rightful place in the dynamic labor movement of today





The men who built our country, who flung up skyscrapers and giant bridges, are adding their voices in national affairs

paign against child labor, still going on, has been a working-class campaign.

For the most part, the early struggles of the labor movement for Democracy in this country were carried on alone. Labor throughout its history had few allies and many enemies. Labor-hating employers of an earlier time were able to play one group and one class against another to their enormous profit. Liberal forces outside the labor movement were weak and divided. It is historically true that the early attempts at labor organization in the United States were met with opposition from almost every quarter. Labor did not have the allies drawn from the middle class, from the white-collar and professional groups, that it has today. Labor's battles were fought alone, with the artillery on the other side. You have only to glance at the newspapers and periodicals of the time, grandfathers of today's *Chicago Tribune* and Hearst press, to see with what distrust and hatred almost every group was persuaded to regard labor.

The Struggle for Unity

Labor had its own internal weaknesses to hamper its progress too. From the beginning the labor movement has had a long uphill climb towards unity. Many cross-currents of policy and method divided its forces and seemingly wasted its efforts toward a realization of its democratic needs. A number of attempts at national unity were made, one group forming with much hope and considerable promise to be succeeded by another. Factionalism

and personal ambition tore great holes in labor's ranks through which the enemy was easily able to penetrate.

Yet despite its internal weaknesses and despite the opposition of all its opponents, the labor movement in America today has grown toward a unity in the fight for social and industrial Democracy unknown in previous American history. That unity has been found in the growth and achievements of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Today, the C.I.O. has four million enrolled members—a greater number than any national labor movement has ever before enrolled in the history of our country. Through the C.I.O., the American labor movement has been able to achieve more progress in two and a half years than it had achieved in fifty years of previous history. American workers have won greater concessions from their employers—some of them once among the bitterest enemies of labor—than have ever been won before.

What are some of these achievements? In the steel industry, once the stronghold of industrial feudalism, 525,000 workers are under contract with five hundred steel companies, securing for them increases in wages, shortening of hours, a measure of job security, decent working and living conditions. In the automobile industry, from its beginning completely open shop, a union of four hundred thousand exists, with contracts covering every important motor-car producer except one. In glass, in cement, in the maritime industry, once a floating industrial slum, in aluminum, in electrical manu-

facturing, in close to two-score industrial fields, the C.I.O. has built powerful national and international unions, has improved living and working conditions for all of its members and for countless thousands yet outside the C.I.O. whose employers have gone along with the tide in the realization that there is no other sensible course.

Political Progress

With this growth in the economic strength of the American labor movement, the C.I.O. has added political strength to the progressive forces in our country. Before the C.I.O., the steel towns of Allegheny County and other sections of industrial Pennsylvania and elsewhere were political deserts, so far as Democracy was concerned. Workers not only took their working and living conditions at the command of their employers, but their political lives as well. A free labor vote was unknown. Today, under the banner of the C.I.O., the working population has its own men elected and serving in municipal and county offices. Under the guidance of Labor's Non-Partisan League and the C.I.O. the great mass of people in this country who earn their living by working for it are beginning to take their share in the running of their country.

And everywhere that the wage-earning men and women of this country are participating in their government, there is a greatly sharpened growth of Democracy and of progressive achievement. The

(Continued on page 30)

The passage of the Wagner Act marks a turning-point in our history. The right to organize and to bargain collectively without restraint or coercion is written into the law of the land . . . Here a lifelong champion of civil liberties reviews the story of the Act and points out open and camouflaged attempts to destroy it

Labor's Bill of Rights

By Harry F. Ward

ILLUSTRATED BY M. PASS

AMERICAN labor has had to fight harder than its fellow-workers in Europe for the right to organize. American employers insisted on refusing that right long after it was written into law and custom in Europe as a social necessity. Two factors united to delay this development here. One of them was our pioneer individualism, the heritage of the frontier, where each man hewed and plowed his own livelihood. The other, the result of unequalled opportunities for money-making, was the rapid and extreme development of the monopoly stage of capitalism. Our big trustified corporations have used the tradition of individual rights, long after they had taken away most of them, to get public sympathy in their fight on labor organization—just as they have used the plea of states' rights in the courts to prevent restrictions on their profit-making long after they became powerful enough to dictate the economic life of the states. Thus Republic Steel, operating through the Citizens Committee, directed the violence of the vigilantes and paid the officials of Johnstown to carry out its will under the slogan of "the right to work," a freedom which exists in Johnstown only at the will of the corporation.

A Turning-point

Now we are struggling to enter another stage in our development. At last the right to organize and be represented in negotiations over conditions of work is recognized by the law of the land. The passage of the Wagner Act marks a turning-point in our history. The New Deal gave new life to the principle of collective bargaining by its affirmation in connection with the N.R.A codes. The National Labor Relations Act gives this principle legal form and authority. The people have spoken. They have declared for Democracy in industry as well as in government, in economics as well as in politics. They have commenced the extension of democratic rights and the forms of democratic control to that part of their life upon which all the rest depends, the getting of their livelihood.

The Wagner Act does more than assert the right of the workers to form and join labor organizations, and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. It declares it to be an unfair labor practice for the employer to interfere with, restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of the rights set forth in the Act. It outlaws the company union by telling the employer that he may not dominate or interfere with the

formation or administration of any labor organization, or contribute financial or other support. It tells him that he cannot exercise discrimination in hiring and firing in order to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization, but nothing in the Act or any other federal statute is to preclude the making of a closed-shop agreement with a labor organization not dominated by the employer. Furthermore, the employer may not discriminate against employees for giving testimony under the Act, and he may not refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives of these employees. The Act also provides that representatives designated by a majority of the employees shall be the exclusive representatives of all the employees in the appropriate unit. A Board of three members, the N.L.R.B., is given power to investigate, order elections, certify representatives, and prevent the forbidden, unfair labor practices by issuing "cease and desist" orders, and petitioning the circuit court for enforcement.

As fast as labor in the mass production industries

has taken advantage of the Wagner Act and organized itself, the N.L.R.B. has upheld it, and provided legal sanctions for further advance. Hearings are scheduled at the rate of ten to twenty a day throughout the country, and hundreds of elections have been held. Ruling after ruling has knocked the underpinning away from the resistance of the reactionary employers to the right of their workers to organize, and has outlawed their old tactics. While the union forces were capturing many of the company unions with which the employers thought they could fool the public into the belief that they had adopted New Deal collective bargaining, the N.L.R.B.—supported by the investigations, hearings, and reports of the LaFollette Committee—was leading the rest to legal execution.

Upholding Labor's Right

When both direct and indirect control of the workers through discrimination, coercion, or the company union had been ruled out, the Board proceeded to take the last trick of the employers by





M. Pass

requiring that when an agreement is made a written contract must be signed. This is responsible collective bargaining in reality. It is a long way ahead from the *early* New Deal proclamation of collective bargaining, followed by interpretations in the Associated Press and motor-industry cases that left the employers free to discharge union men at will. The workers in the steel and textile towns and in many small industries have indeed come into a new day. If the Wagner Act stands, the power of our industrial dictators has been broken, and one of the Fascist trends in the United States is checked. The way is open to make an end of economic tyranny by extending the democratic principle and method to the citadel of power, the ownership and control of the economic machine and the financial mechanism upon which its operation depends.

The Wagner Act Stands

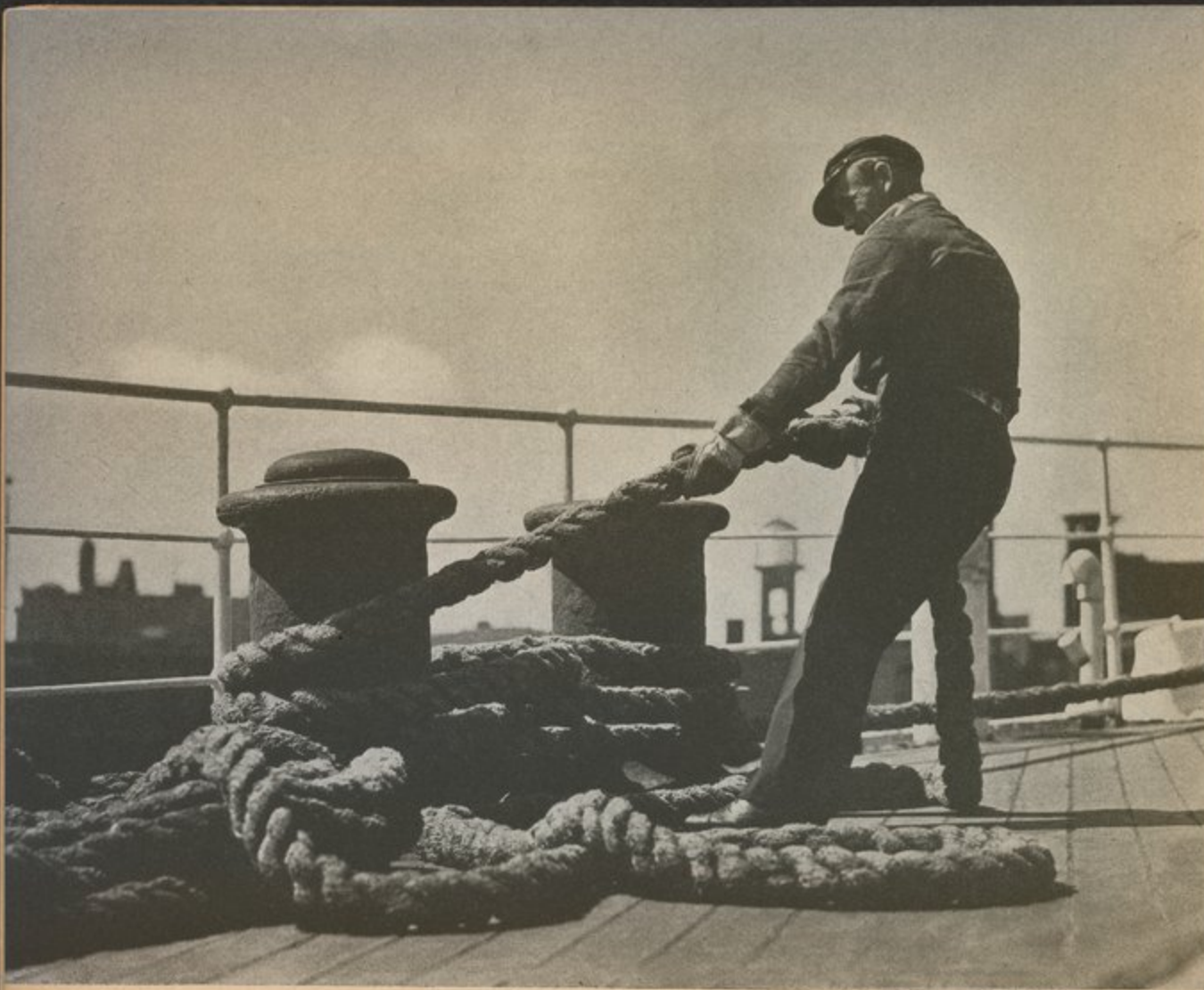
So far, the main points of the Wagner Act, enforced by orders of the N.L.R.B., do stand. They are the law of the land, affirmed by a chastened Supreme Court. In the Jones and Laughlin case and four others, the Court held on April 12, 1937, that the N.L.R.B. had power to stop the employer from discharging workers for union activity. In the Associated Press case, by the scant margin of a five-to-four decision, the Court rejected the false plea of "freedom of the press." The argument was that union employees would give bias and prejudice to the news. The Court held that the Wagner Act, in requiring the employer to deal with a union representing a majority of the employees, did not abridge freedom of speech or of the press—because the Act did not compel the employer to retain any person who failed faithfully to edit the news or reflect the facts without bias or prejudice. It declared that the Act permits discharge for any reason other than union activity or agitation for collective bargaining. It added that publishers of newspapers have no special immunity from the general laws.

In all these cases the Court rejected the plea that these businesses should not be regulated because they were not engaged in interstate commerce. In so doing, the Court broadened the definition of interstate commerce, making it apply to a business organized on a national scale, despite the fact that its products are locally manufactured. Another result followed from the decision in the case of the Santa Cruz Fruit Packing Company, March 28, 1938. The argument was that there could be no federal control because the product was delivered to warehouses within the state where it was grown and packed. But the Court decided this fact did not exempt the company from federal regulation. It pointed out in detail the results to interstate commerce from locking out the warehousemen who loaded the cars and trucks—the teamsters refused to haul, the warehousemen at the docks to handle, and the stevedores to load this "hot cargo." Thus this decision opens the way to validate the picketing of stores selling products manufactured in plants where unfair labor practices prevail.

Passing of the Company Union

On February 28, 1938, the Supreme Court decreed the passing of the company union—by upholding the order of the N.L.R.B. to the Pennsylvania Greyhound Bus Line and the Pacific Greyhound, to withdraw all recognition of the company union and post notices to that effect, as well as to "cease and desist" from supporting it. In a later decision, the Court also upheld a ruling of the N.L.R.B. that an employer who makes an

(Continued on page 29)



Steering for Peace

Our active search for peace means international unity of democracies to put the war-makers in quarantine, says a leader of seagoing workers

By Joseph Curran



A WRITER in a Washington newspaper, dealing recently with the attitude of the seamen toward the Japanese invasion of China, said: "They (the seamen) have lighted a fuse which leads right up to the door of the Secretary of State. For the first time in history, organized labor threatens to take a hand in forcing a change in the nation's foreign policy."

The fellow was plainly distressed. Here was something new—and alarming. Here was organized labor, wrapped up in a struggle over hours and wages, calmly casting its profane eye in the direction of the State Department. Not only that, but actually appraising the nation's foreign policy and deciding that it was not a good policy. He was stumped.

Labor Takes a Hand

This man's attitude, of course, is typical of that which prevails in many circles. It is an attitude that has been fostered by industrialists, by bankers, and by diplomats in this and other countries. It is

an attitude which holds that the foreign policy of the government is none of the worker's business—that the worker's job is to do as he is told and leave such high matters as politics and diplomacy to his betters.

Fortunately for the democratic people of the world, this attitude is no longer shared by labor. The trade unions are beginning to take a broader view of this question of government. They have seen what happened to the trade unions of Italy and Germany under Fascism. They have seen what happened to wages and working conditions in countries where governments are not responsive to labor's wishes. They have seen what happens when the workers of various countries are kept divided by the employing interests of these countries. And, finally, they are beginning to realize that a threat to democratic rights anywhere in the world is a threat to those same rights at home.

At a conference in Washington, some time ago, certain shipowners took the position that the danger of sailing ships in war time was no greater

than in times of peace. It was pointed out to them that they had jacked up their freight and cargo rates and were paying higher insurance premiums. One of them, then, agreed that while ships might well be kept out of Chinese ports, there was no reason for keeping them out of Japanese ports. In other words, an embargo on China but no embargo on Japan.

The United States Maritime Commission, we found, was willing to back up the shipowners. In direct opposition to the obligations of this country as a signatory to the Nine-Power and Kellogg-Briand pacts, the Maritime Commission, a government agency, was willing to continue to supply arms and ammunition to Japan and let the Chinese shift for themselves. So we find, a few weeks later, a government-owned ship—the *City of Rayville*—tied up at a pier in Brooklyn taking on 5,000 tons of scrap-iron for delivery to the Japanese.

Whose Business Is It?

Thus we see that the shipowners are quite willing to help shape the nation's foreign policy. Yet the seamen, the workers, the organized trade-unionists are not supposed to say or do anything about it. These things are not supposed to be any of our business. It makes one wonder just whose foreign policy it is anyway. If the foreign policy of the federal government is not the business of some 35,000,000 wage-earners, whose very safety may depend on a good and clear policy, then I don't know whose business it is.

Our problem, as I see it, is simply an extension of the old problem of organization. If the workers can organize to improve their working conditions, why can't the remaining democracies organize on a larger scale to protect themselves against war? In the early days of labor organization, workers in a single craft banded together for mutual betterment—particularly to prevent wage cuts. Naturally, if they could prevent wage cuts by organizing, they could force wage increases by the same method. Later, workers in various crafts in a single industry organized into industrial unions or federations for the added protection which numbers afforded. Political action was bound to follow—and did. If organization could boost wages and cut hours, it could also protect the workers' civil rights.

So we find trade unions coming more and more to demand favorable labor legislation, additional guarantees of their civil rights, and progressive economic policies. *This is true in all democratic countries.*

International Unionism

Now, if people in various sections of one country can act in concert to protect the rights of all, why can't peoples in various parts of the world act in concert to protect democratic rights equally valuable to every nationality? If we apply the principles of trade-unionism to the international situation, the lesson is obvious. In the face of a rising threat to our democratic institutions (institutions which it behooves every worker to defend) democratic peoples will combine in their defense. As industrial unionism brought added protection to trade-unionists, so will the "international unionism" of democratic peoples bring added protection to their institutions.

But we don't have much time. Recent events show how fast the danger from Fascism is growing. Brazen invasions of peaceful countries, threats of war against harassed neighbors, scornful defiance of international law, of solemn treaties, and of ordinary humanity—all show increasing boldness on the part of these international bandits represent-

ing Fascism. This is natural, of course. Fascism is based on a series of economic contradictions—contradictions that can only be perpetuated by force. One of them is that the operation of economic laws can be suspended and the status quo maintained indefinitely. Meanwhile, the inequalities of distribution which necessitate change continue to pile up and threaten the status quo still further. More force is then needed to maintain the status quo. And so on—in an ever narrowing circle. It's like riding a tiger. You've got to stay on his back and keep him galloping—else he will gobble you up. That's the fix the Fascists are in now. They've got to expand—at the expense of democratic countries—or their "subjects" at home will put an end to their rule.

The Workers Go First

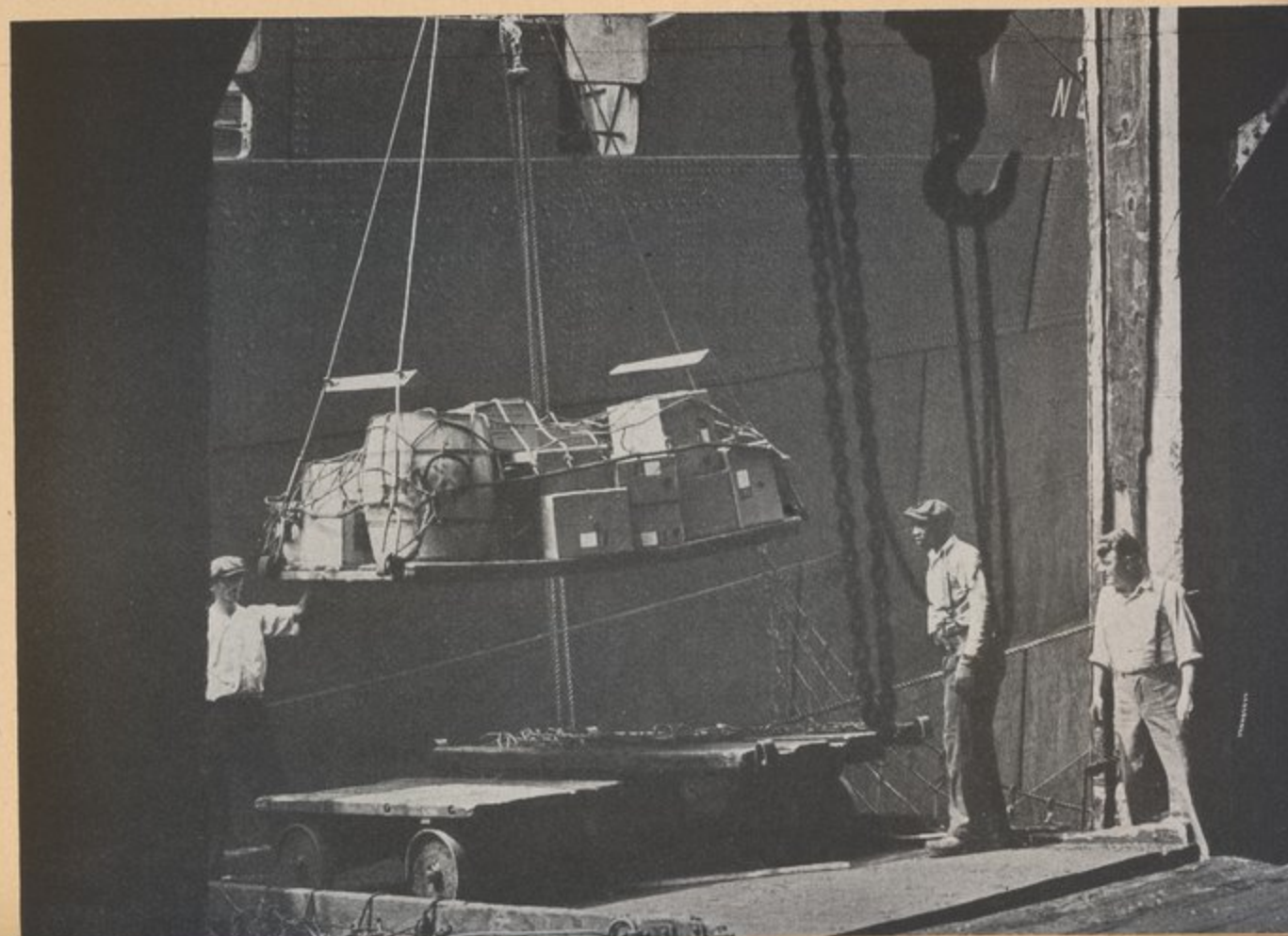
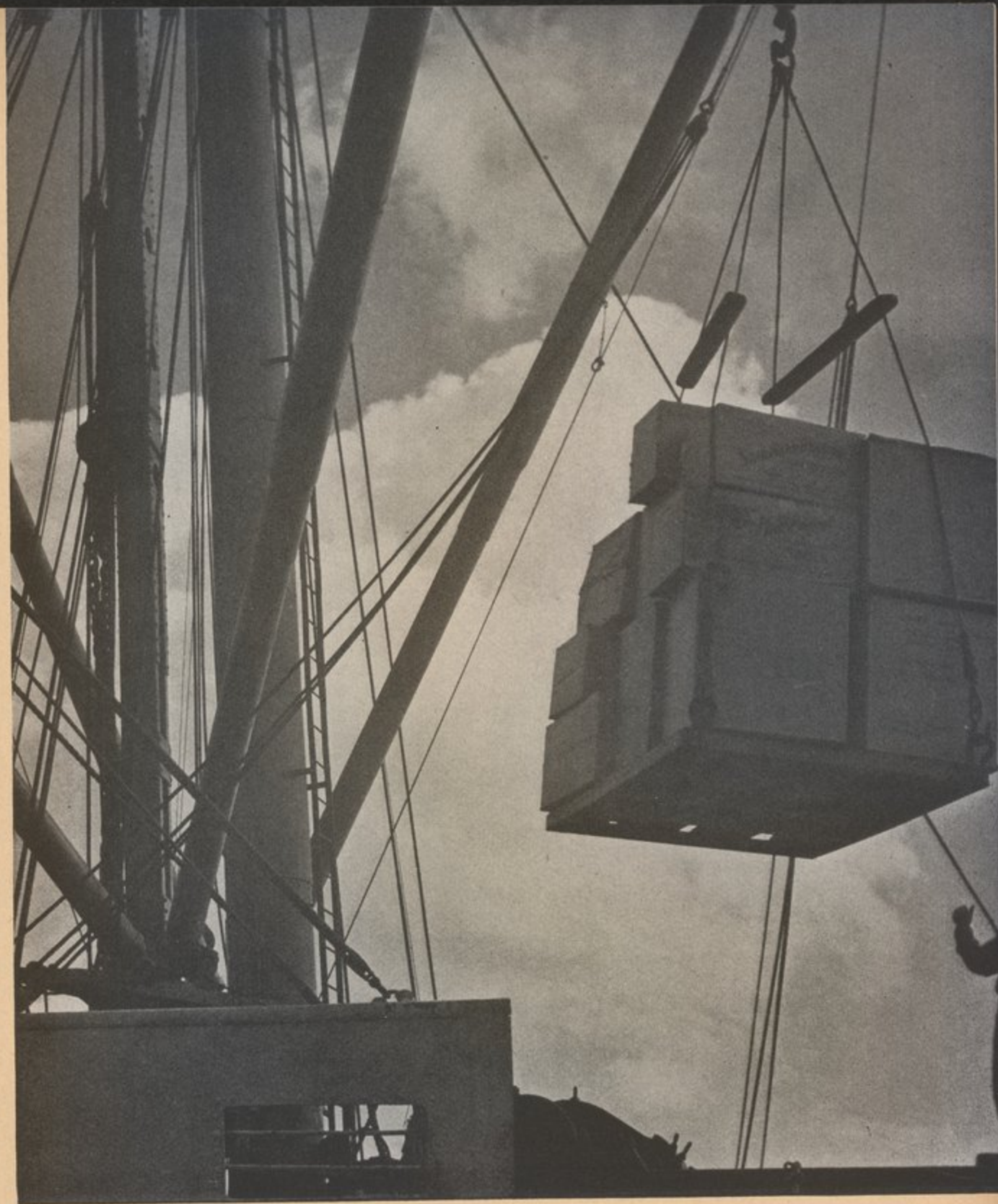
It is only common sense, as I see it, for democratic peoples all over the world to unite against this rising menace. Trade-unionists are always the first to feel the crunch of the oppressor's heel. The first groups to be wiped out by Fascist dictatorships in Italy, Germany and Austria were the trade-unions and organizations for the advancement of civil liberties. It couldn't be otherwise, of course. That is what Fascism is for—to halt the rising political organization of the common people. Behind Fascist movements, both here and abroad, are to be found those forces which have, they believe, the most to lose from continued organization of employees. You find manufacturers of the type recently exposed by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee. You find stockholders and industrialists who see threats to their beloved dividends. You find mine-owners, large scale landowners, bankers and lenders, leaders in the nation's commerce, and speculators. Trailing these prime movers is a small army of politicians, army officers, career diplomats, professional people who fatten on the status quo. This is the core of the Fascist movement, whether in the United States, Spain, Germany, Japan, or Italy.

So long as the Fascists can keep democratic peoples divided, so long as they can prevent the workers of democratic countries from uniting in defense of their institutions, so long as diplomats are not forced by their people to take action against these bandits, just so long will the fate of Democracy all over the world hang in the balance. The minute, however, that trade-unionists and all progressive-minded people in the three or four outstanding democracies can achieve unity of purpose and action and can convince their governments to take collective steps to defend our institutions, then will begin the doom of Fascism. I am convinced of that. Labor, with its allies, can stop Fascism.

The People Should Dictate

But it must be united labor. It must be labor in every democratic country united in purpose and united in action. Pressure must be brought on our international organizations and on our governments. Fascist forces in our own country must be stopped from aiding Germany, Italy and Japan in their invasions of Spain and China. The British people must be encouraged to halt the growing Fascist alliances of the Chamberlain Government. The French trade-unionists must be assured of our sympathetic coöperation in their struggle against Fascist encirclement. Every government which signed the Kellogg-Briand and Nine-Power pacts should be compelled by its people to carry out the treaty provisions. In other words the people, and not the money-manipulators, should dictate the foreign

(Continued on page 26)



WHAT amounts to a united front of all unions in the radio field has been developed in the last few months. Jurisdictional squabbles, which for a time threatened to delay organization of the industry, have been ironed out to a great degree, and today the various A.F. of L. and C.I.O. groups are working harmoniously together.

The latest example of this coöperation occurred in Montreal, where the American Federation of Radio Artists and the American Federation of Musicians signed a local agreement for a joint struggle for higher wages and better working conditions. This is expected to form the basis for an international agreement of similar character.

In the United States the American Communications Association (C.I.O.) and the American Guild of Radio Announcers and Producers (independent), have a tacit understanding that they will not compete for members as they continue rapid organizational drives, and are giving every encouragement to the A.F.R.A. in its negotiations with the National and Columbia networks for a nation-wide wages-and-hours agreement.

C.B.S. won what it considered a great victory over the A.C.A. when the National Labor Relations Board ruled that that group could not demand negotiation of a contract at WABC, Columbia's New York station, but that such a contract would have to be made on a national basis. Much to the network's chagrin, the union replied that it believed it had enrolled a majority of all the technical workers in Columbia's owned and operated stations throughout the country, and asked for an election on the company's own terms.

If the A.C.A. wins at Columbia—and this seems very likely at the present writing—that union will immediately become the strongest in radio, and will occupy much the same position that it does in the Postal Telegraph Company and among marine radio-operators. And if that happens, its drive to organize all broadcast employees who are not eligible for membership in other established unions should take a tremendous spurt.

All of which reminds us that the A.F.R.A. recently suggested that it was ready to negotiate a closed-shop agreement for Major Bowes' professional "Amateurs." Although the proposal was made as a joke it shows how well those in radio know that the Gongbuster is recruiting his "aspiring youngsters" from the vaudeville stage, and paying them starvation wages to boot.



Modern organ studio at WMCA, New York City

RADIO

Union harmony in the radio industry . . . What's fit to hear . . . Let us have peace programs

Another group which is badly in need of organization is the hungry clan of radio script-writers. The seriousness of their plight is indicated by the contract each of them is required to sign by the Blackett-Sample-Hummert Agency, which grinds out most of America's so-called dramatic serials. Under its provisions authors will receive only twenty-five dollars per script and in addition must remain anonymous, allowing Frank and Anne Hummert, heads of the agency, to claim personal credit for each program.

P.S. The British Broadcasting Corporation (government-owned, incidentally) has assured the National Federation of Professional Workers that it has absolutely no objection to members of the B.B.C. staff joining their appropriate labor unions. They do things differently in England, it seems.

Public Servants

THE WAR between radio and the press, which had died down somewhat in recent years, has flared up again with great bitterness—due to the fact that newspaper and magazine advertising is dropping off rapidly while the broadcasters are raking in more money than ever before.

The new attack is being led by *Liberty*, *Collier's*, *The Saturday Evening Post* and the Los Angeles newspapers. The magazines recently have broken out with a rash of short stories and articles intended to show that all persons connected with radio are slightly crazy, while their salesmen are telling advertisers that there is no real proof that ether advertising ever sold a dime's worth of merchandise. The Los Angeles press, which for years has been a dumping-ground for film and radio publicity, has suddenly become self-righteous about the latter and refuses to carry anything but the listings of programs.

The whole thing is extremely silly and we don't rightly know why we brought it up.

Several months ago we mentioned that Columbia had refused to rebroadcast programs from Loyalist Spain. Now it develops that all three major networks have taken such action. Their argument is that such programs would "present only one side of the picture."

Yet these same networks all made elaborate plans to cover the United States Army war games which took place late in May.

Which again raises the question: Is, or is not radio a public service? What right has it to refuse to let the listening audience know what is going on in Spain while whooping it up for militarism at home? All persons who believe in fair play

should write to Columbia, N.B.C. and Mutual, demanding that programs from Loyalist Spain be heard frequently in this country.

Of course the networks carried descriptions of Hitler's parade through Rome. These were absolutely unprejudiced—of course—in addition to being very, very dull. And that old square-shooter, Mussolini, forbade (get that word) the American networks to present their broadcasts simultaneously. Mutual opened from Rome, N.B.C. followed, and C.B.S. closed—so that the quarter-hour broadcast originally bargained for became, in effect, a 45-minute program.

Of Social Interest

AS WE predicted some time ago, "advice to the consumer" programs are popping up like mushrooms. Most of them are downright phonies, such as one entitled *The Consumer Has the Right to Know* over WOKO, Albany, New York.

There is one notable exception, Coöperative Distributors' *Consumer Commentator* over WNYC, New York, every Tuesday from 6:00 to 6:30 P.M. The "Commentator" is a hard hitter and has a fine radio personality, as well as an arsenal of facts of interest to every American consumer. Unfortunately this station can only be heard locally.

Peace programs also are coming into their own in a small way at last. There's our own splendid *Voices for Peace* on WMCA, New York; Columbia's network series on *International Economic Coöperation* ("peace" seems to be a horrid word to C.B.S., but the programs themselves are well worth while); and the World Peaceways program on WQXR, New York. The new series on WQXR sponsored by the American Union for Democracy almost falls into the same category. Of course there are a few phonies in this field too—vide "Don Winslow of the Navy's" *Squadron of Peace* stunt over N.B.C. But on the whole it can be said that such programs have been arranged in response to the rapidly awakening interest of the American people in the war danger which today threatens the whole world. None of these programs is perfect and some of them have been pretty badly muddled. But their collective value is great and will become tremendously greater as time goes on. More power to them.

And now we will close with the remark of New York's Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia when he faced a battery of microphones while on a recent visit to St. Louis.

"Those things," he sighed, "have ruined more politicians than liquor."

—GEORGE SCOTT

RADIO RECORDS

VOICES FOR PEACE, a weekly broadcast from WMCA, New York, which was sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy, has now been recorded and is available for general distribution. The following transcriptions are ready: China, Spain, Trade Unions under Fascism and Dr. Harry F. Ward's speech on the Program and Work of the American League. These transcriptions can be had for \$4.50 each and can be utilized for an air program in your city or—with a small attachment for any radio or victrola—can be used to present a short drama at parties, meetings and outdoor affairs. The first three programs are sketches with the best writers, actors and directors from the professional ranks of radio networks. Write to THE FIGHT or the American League for further information.



“Well, mama, thank God for neutrality”

By Hoff

A HOLLYWOOD columnist recently complained that "there is an unfortunate tendency among progressives to use the term 'Hollywood' as a synonym for all that is stupid, corrupt and anti-social in American films." The complaint has a basis and the writer is for the most part justified. Despite the fact that the majority of the films produced in Hollywood today are infantile, insulting to the average intelligence, vulgar and crude, the past few years have seen a definite increase in the number of progressive films—an increase that has been identical with the growth of progressive and serious artists and craftsmen in the American motion-picture industry. This is only one of the many factors responsible for this change in the Hollywood film. Times change and so does the audience as well as the artist. The slow but steady growth of trade-union consciousness and the rising resentment against the gangster leadership of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes is also partly responsible for the enlighten-



Aunt Jo from the film, "People of the Cumberland"

ment of Hollywood. But the greatest single factor in the coming of age of the American movie is the writer. Many of these men and women are novelists and playwrights. The world situation has left its mark on them too. The League of American Writers is the living testimony to that. Playwrights were schooled in the traditions of the progressive and labor stage, and the sound film created a demand for directors, actors and actresses from the same school.

There is the constant struggle for decent working conditions, for the right to unionize, the struggle against insecurity. This feeling of insecurity persists in Hollywood as strongly as it does any other place in the world. If anything, it is more intense. The Studio Unemployment Conference reveals that more than 41 per cent of the members of various crafts and guilds are unemployed and less than 20 per cent are steadily employed. Then there are the real czars of the industry, the Zanucks, the Goldwyns and the Mayers, who are still violently reactionary and anti-union as ever. But they're scared (to a certain extent) of the local

MOVIES

Hollywood screen workers are organizing and the films show progress . . . New documentary

and international political situation. All these things contribute to the development of the film.

The Future Is Bright

WHAT is the future? Is there a limit to the type of progressive film we'll get from Hollywood? The future is bright. The audience, growing more and more union-conscious, is getting more exacting in its demands. Stories will undoubtedly improve as more writers decide to get serious about film-making; as more directors insist on making decent films; and as more actors and actresses refuse to waste their talents on junk. All of these forces will contribute to the maturity (both formally and in content) of the Hollywood film.

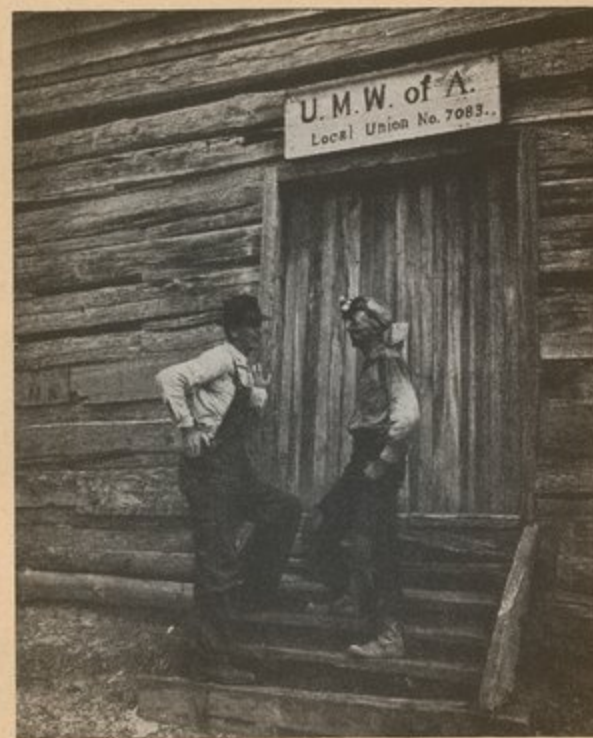
The ultimate goal is films that are vital reflections of American life: films that are vigorous, really dramatic and thoroughly realistic. Of realistic themes we've had plenty: *Black Legion*, *Dead End*, *They Won't Forget*, *Make Way For Tomorrow* and *Fury*. These are all fine films that have been made despite all obstacles that tended to prevent their execution. But they all were produced under the handicap of a reactionary aesthetic ideology, which is the major obstacle in the way of the possible emergence of a realistic film from Hollywood. The only film that approached realism was Fritz Lang's *Fury*. A group of progressive artists in Hollywood were compelled to go outside the studio to make the memorable *Millions of Us*. Other artists have deserted the studio and have made two fine documentary films, one on the migrant worker in California and the other on the Modesto frame-up involving West Coast longshoremen. It isn't that these people feel that the story film is outside of the scope of realism and that the documentary is the only answer. But the story film as it is conceived in Hollywood is far from being a true picture, a realistic portrayal. The documentary is the answer to the artists' immediate needs and to the unions' immediate needs.

"People of the Cumberland"

AND BACK East a group of film-makers with a similar idea founded Frontier Films. To many of us *Heart of Spain* and *China Strikes Back* are familiar. Their latest film, *People of the Cumberland*, is about the American people. It is the story of a bad land, ruined houses and ruined people, and how, with the aid of the Highlander Folk School and the unions, they found themselves. It also tells a tale of terror, of organized gangsterism inspired by those who oppose the union—A.F. of L. or C.I.O. The film shows us the town of La Follette, Tennessee, which shut down on July 4th

for a labor rally, to celebrate "a new kind of Independence Day," no more terror, no more insecurity, no more gangsters, no more fear in the streets.

People of the Cumberland is a film by Robert Stebbins and Eugene Hill. Combining the best qualities of the American film, a fine sense of humor, vigor and dynamic action, with a healthy, progressive and realistic point of view they have made a film of which they can be very proud—of which every progressive film-maker can be proud. It is only a two-reel documentary, yet it says all that I've described and more. They have done things no other documentary film-maker has succeeded in doing: the incorporation of a thoroughly reenacted and dramatized incident concerning the murder of a union organizer. The March of Time uses reenacted material, but always with the view of supplementing their documentary evidence. They try to make a reenactment look like the real thing and it always succeeds in looking false. This is a



From the Frontier Film, "People of the Cumberland"

deliberate dramatization that is entirely truthful and realistic. Erskine Caldwell's and David Wolff's splendid commentary helped to put this over in no small degree. On the whole the commentary, which is poetic as well as forceful, has been designed with a great deal of skill and precision to meet the demands of the film. To this end Alex North's and Earl Robinson's splendid score is a brilliant contribution to music in the film.

"The unions are the people and the people are the unions" is the spine of this film. And it is up to the unions and the people to support *People of the Cumberland*; to ask that it be shown in their neighborhood and their union hall.

The Fight for Peace, an anti-war film by Warwick Productions, is showing currently on Broadway. Based on a story of the last three decades by Hendrik Willem Van Loon, the picture portrays unmistakably the work of the builders of the road to war. Its scenes of Fascist invasion and civilian-bombing will make the most indifferent come away thoughtful.



Virginia Reel by members of Local 267, I.L.G.W.U., Memphis, Tennessee

Pins and Progress

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has shown what organization can do by cleaning up a sweatshop industry and bringing its workers a better life

By Marion Burroughs

FOR MORE than thirty years the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been in the vanguard of American unions, battling for decent working-conditions and evolving meanwhile an attitude of responsibility toward the entire community. With 8,550 agreements with firms in the United States and Canada, the Union is aware that there is little point in seeking help from an industry which itself is on an unsteady footing. So its program, never confined merely to the surface struggle for "wages and hours," has pressed ahead in research into the evils attending "free" competition, in attempts to inject stability into the structure of the industry, and, finally, in the intelligent promotion of social consciousness among its members. Its service to these members has increased proportionately with the radius of its base.

Before the Union

Any appraisal of the International is impossible without an understanding of what preceded it. By 1890 the garment industry was a thriving one, and exploitation of the workers accompanied rapid expansion. Faced by the necessity for training new labor forces, manufacturers often found it easier to send their work out to contracting shops. It was a simple matter to take on contractors during the busy season, and dismiss them abruptly when production eased off. Because the initial capital required by a contractor rarely exceeded fifty dollars, these little shops—the workers dubbed them "Coney Island" shops—increased with the speed of mosquitoes in a swamp. With their growth and the steady waves of cheap, immigrant labor, working-conditions sank

to an intolerable level. Wages varied between five and nine dollars a week for the average working-day of *fifteen to sixteen hours*. The pay-envelope was then further riddled by innumerable fines: workers paid for electricity to run the machines, for thread, for chairs to sit on; they were penalized for looking out the window, for misplacing spools, for coming one minute late, and, in one shop, for smiling during work. To "borrow time from tomorrow" they slept at night on bundles in the ill-smelling tenement that served both as workshop and home for the contractor. Plumbing was prehistoric, dirt was abundant, and ventilation was nonexistent.

Out of this morass of poverty and humiliation, sporadic protests developed. As far back as 1883 the so-called Emigrant Strike gained a \$2.50 minimum for a day that stretched from eight in the morning to six in the evening. From the Anti-Sweating League in 1886 there followed an endless chain of unions, as changeable and elusive as the

shifting outlines of an amoeba. Most of these unions traced their ancestry to the Knights of Labor, and most of their strikes petered out.

The Uphill Years

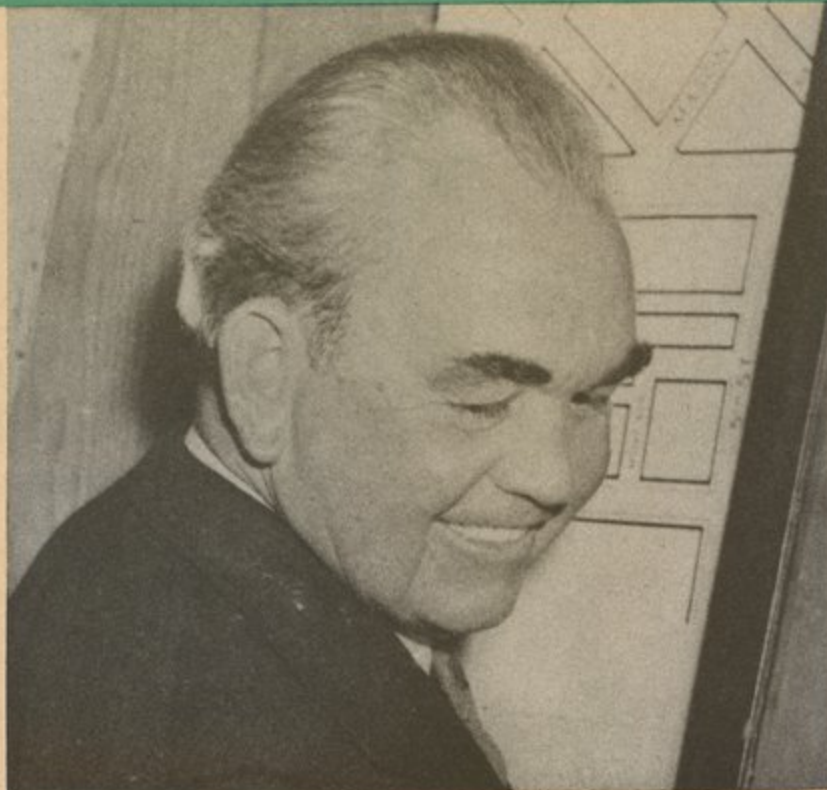
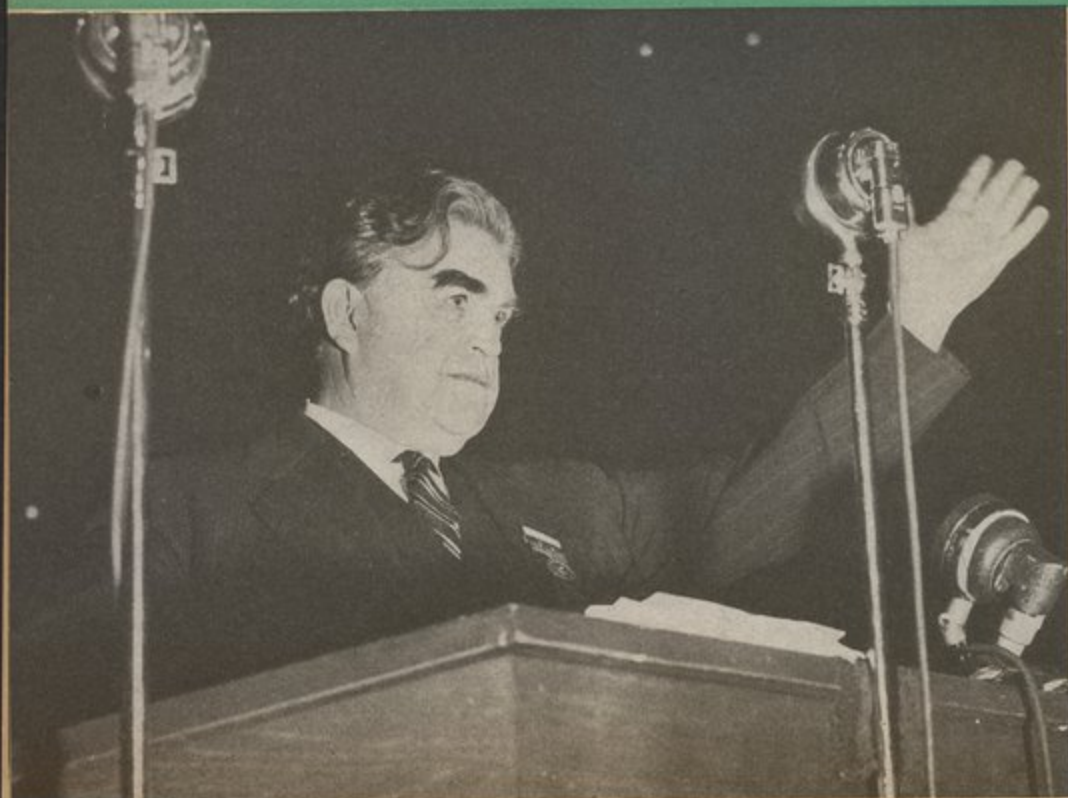
In 1900 eleven delegates, representing some two thousand cloak makers and pressers from four cities, met at the Labor Lyceum in New York City to form the I.L.G.W.U. After paying for their charter from the A.F. of L. they had enough money left for a ledger, stationery, ink, and desk-set, all of which the volunteer-secretary eagerly carted to his lower East Side tenement. From its inception, the union was permeated with strong social consciousness; but its militancy in this early period was rarely supplemented by practical strategy. For nine years it progressed in hit-and-miss fashion, with occasional minor strikes. Its first mass protest came in 1909, when the shirt-waist makers conducted what

(Continued on page 24)

In a typical needle shop



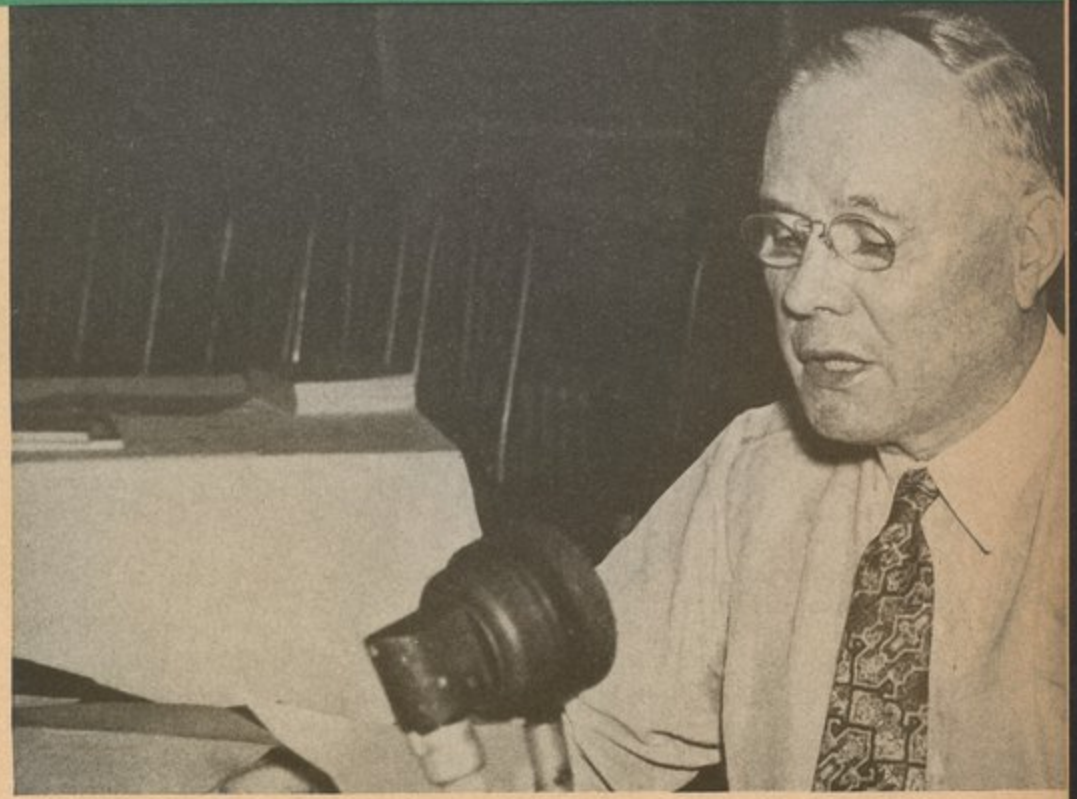
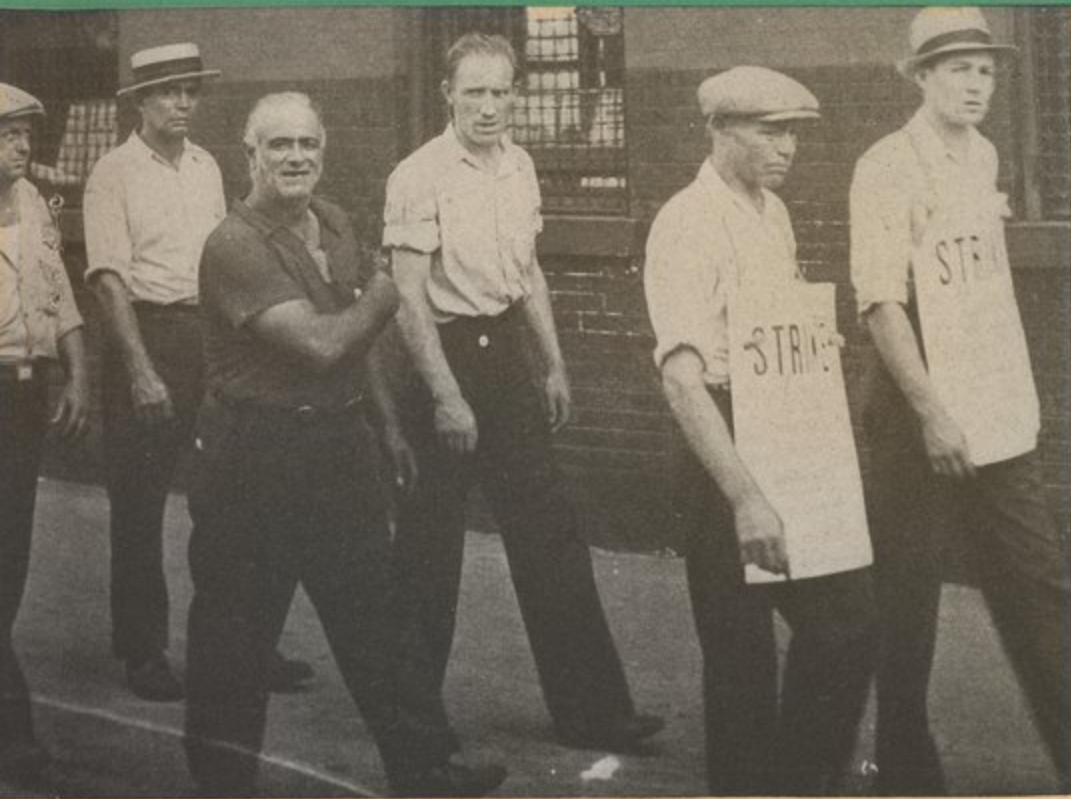
LABOR: THE BULWARK OF



THIS is the world of labor. This is America. Above we see, left to right, John L. Lewis, chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization; Tom Mooney, labor's imprisoned champion, who has become the world's most powerful symbol of injustice and oppression; a group of striking workers swinging along "the line"; and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. Below them is pictured a large refinery, typical of the vast industry of America.

These represent the American labor movement—the working people of our country, organized to defend and better their conditions of life. They stand for the people's rule, that Democracy which the embattled colonists wrested from the royalists of 1776 and which has ever since derived its main support from the workers and farmers. And because

OF PEACE AND FREEDOM



they have no interest in conquest and aggression, they view war—the modern black plague—with the simple abhorrence of human beings. And they stand firm for peace and Democracy against war and Fascism.

Yes, American labor is coming into its own. Let the Fascists who would enslave mankind tremble! Let the ten per cent who would plunge the ninety per cent into slaughter and destruction, beware! Let those who invade Spain and China think over this fact.

The peace-loving, liberty-loving people of the world will rejoice that organized labor in America, with fully twice the numbers it has ever had before, is on the march to stop Fascism and hurl back the war-makers—to build a nation and help build a world where a worker can live, and breathe, and be free.



Books

Sweet Land of Liberty

YOU CAN'T DO THAT, by George Seldes; 307 pages; Modern Age Books; 50 cents.

DEMOCRACY: A government of the masses. Authority derived through mass meeting or other form of direct expression. Results in mobocracy. Attitude toward property is communistic—negating property rights. Attitude toward law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice, and impulse, without restraint or regard for consequences. Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy."

The definition occurs not in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, nor in the writings of Mussolini, but in Training Manual No. 2000—25 of the United States Army.

It is one of the hundreds and hundreds of facts, events, quotations, plans and plottings which George Seldes has dug up for presentation in *You Can't Do That*, the story of civil liberties in the United States. Seldes' survey of the subject is the first of its kind, and it covers the field thoroughly. Yet the book is not heavy reading. It is light, racy and journalistic in tone. Its author has performed a notable service in bringing civil liberties out of the purely intellectual sphere and down to the street-corner forum. He has written a book not necessarily to be admired by purists and literary savants, but to be read by the workers in the offices and the fields and the factories.

If you neglect to read this little volume you will be doing yourself a disservice: your education will suffer. And having read it, you will feel it your duty to bring *You Can't Do That* to the attention of as many people as you possibly can. One thing is certain: the regular review sections of newspapers and magazines aren't going to give this volume the wide attention it deserves and requires. The facts in it are too unpleasant. Especially for newspaper publishers. Seldes pulls no punches in telling the story of the press, which he knows so intimately. He titles this chapter "The Press vs. The People."

Seldes believes, on the other hand, that given a truly free press, everything is possible. "It has always been my belief," he writes, "that everything vile . . . and detestable in our national life can be cured by a free press."

Those who own the press are related by close ties to those others—"The Chambers of Commercial Patriots," "The League Against American Liberty," "The Merchants of Patriotism and Death," "The Distant Daughters of the American Revolution," "The 100% American Legion" (these are magnificent appellations)—who extort the civil rights from the American people. These groups do not cavil at a bit of unpleasantness in performing their assumed tasks. Torture and murder are accepted modes of procedure in the guidebook of industrial organizations. Law is utilized lawlessly to defend profits. Judges are bought, and legal decisions perverted. Seldes gives the dope. He reviews the Chicago massacre, the murder of Shoemaker in Tampa, the use of industrial spies—and he does it vividly, with strong strokes. He names names. He gives places and dates.

In a footnote, the author tells an interesting story about *You Can't Do That*. The book, originally written upon the suggestion of another pub-



George Seldes, author of *You Can't Do That*, issued by Modern Age Books

lishing firm, was turned down by the editor, who put the word "Treason" in the margin next to the phrase "If we wish to be free we must fight." That phrase had been coined by Patrick Henry.

—MAXWELL LEHMAN

Charles Dickens Discovered

CHARLES DICKENS: THE PROGRESS OF A RADICAL, by T. A. Jackson; 303 pages; International Publishers; \$1.75.

LIKE THE man who was surprised to learn that he had been talking "prose" all his life, many of us are today discovering that we were brought up on socially significant writing. It is a tribute to the power of reaction that it has been able to hide the meaning of Dickens and other giants so successfully that the hunt for "real social criticism" has turned toward lesser writers like Kingsley. But the reading public is learning fast these days, and with the publication of T. A. Jackson's study the game of reaction is up, at least so far as Dickens is concerned.

"The common people loved him living, and mourned him dead, and in these matters the common people are always right." Here is Jackson's key to the understanding of Dickens. It is a very handy key which modern criticism has been a long time finding: indeed, which the naturalist critics and their successors were incapable of finding. For so long as we test Dickens' work by the standard of inhuman pseudo-scientific "objectivity," so long we shall find him a sentimentalist, a caricaturist, "not really important." Charles Dickens could not view mankind through a microscope. Himself one of the people, he saw their world from within. His very faults could not conceivably be ascribed to that upper-class decay which affected many another writer. Forced happy endings, maudlin deathbed scenes, violent plot manipulation for the benefit of favorite characters—all were "faults" of the people themselves.

So much for Democracy, the virtue which has passed as Dickens' weakness these many years. Jackson points out the related literary virtues—enormously fertile imagination, both in the creation of character and in plot con-

struction—the keen faculty of observation of an ace reporter. Dickens attacked with an unequalled vigor and persistence the social evils of his day—the oppression of children in home, factory and school, the practice of imprisonment for debt, the corrupt legal system, the savage divorce laws, to name only a few. Much of the British Marxist's book is devoted to tracing the development of the philosophy which knit together Dickens' criticism of these social aspects. This development constitutes, from *Sketches by Boz* in 1836 to *Our Mutual Friend* in 1865, the deepening, broadening, ever more militant progress of a radical—or as we should probably say in America, of a democrat.

—CHARLES PRESTON

The Censor on Censorship

LOOKING BEHIND THE CENSORSHIPS, by Eugene J. Young; 368 pages; J. B. Lippincott Company; \$3.00.

THE JACKET-BLURB of this book tells us that its author, the present cable editor of one of the world's greatest newspapers, the *New York Times*, "lifts the mysterious curtain that veils the actual sources of news and the real findings of correspondents." While Eugene J. Young could tell us a lot about censorship of news, he has not done so in the present volume. It is not a revealing look behind suppression of news. Actually the author devotes most of his space to giving his own views on world affairs.

Perhaps the great value of the book is that it tells us what Mr. Young thinks. We are interested in this because as cable editor of the *New York Times* he has to pass judgment—to decide whether news is to be used or killed—on more international events than perhaps any other American journalist. What is the yardstick he applies? His own views, of course. And when we learn that he considers the Spanish War a deep-laid Moscow plot and believes that Hitler and Mussolini only got interested after Moscow helped to save Madrid, we can understand one of the reasons why the *New York Times* has handled the news from Spain with such a pronounced pro-Franco bias. This helps to explain

why William P. Carney's dispatches have been welcomed at Young's desk and then featured in choice spots in the pages of the *Times*, why important Loyalist news is killed or distorted, why pro-Fascist views have been consistently played up.

—WALTER WILSON

Japan's Eldest "Statesman"

THE LAST GENRO, by Bunji Omura; 442 pages; J. B. Lippincott Company; \$3.50.

WHO RULES the Empire? The Emperor. Who rules the Emperor? The oligarchy. Who rules the oligarchy? The fifteen flowery families. Japan's Constitution of 1889 gave to Japan's Emperor practically unlimited powers, but since the Restoration of 1868 Japan's three Emperors have remained sacred and gilded marionettes, manipulated at will by Japan's real political and military rulers, the Sat-Cho oligarchy. This omnipotent group, consisting primarily of the Privy Council, the officials of the Imperial Household, the members of the Supreme Military Council, was originally drawn from the two great clans, Satsuma and Choshu; its leaders have been the *genro*—the elder statesmen, some dozen of the guiding spirits who organized the movement of the Restoration and placed feudal Japan upon the sharp path of industrialization.

Today, last of the *genro* (since 1924) is 88-year-old, doddering, palsied Prince Kimmochi Saionji, scion of the Fujiwara, oldest, most famous of Japan's families next to the Emperor's. As a youth of nineteen he helped to overthrow the last *shogun* in 1868. No individual in Japan enjoys such political power, such influence over marionette Hirohito. As uncle of the present head of the great house of Sumitomo, Japan's number-three millionaire family, Saionji is the direct intermediary between Big Business and the government. In the past two decades he has picked almost all Japan's premiers. Particular apple of his eye is present Premier Prince Konoye, whose political education he personally supervised. In a land where the strident diapason of the militarists has long engulfed all other sounds, Saionji has consistently advocated covert diplomatic maneuvering—a policy of slow and careful consolidation rather than the open ruthlessness and brutality so dear to the hearts of Japan's Fascist militarists, who have opposed his "moderate" tactics. Thus he has always favored a course of action calling for the enslavement of China, by threats if possible, before a war against the U.S.S.R.; he has resisted the too open brutality and provocation, such as the *Panay* bombing, which has only served to antagonize



"The Story of Richmond Hill," section of a W.P.A. mural by Philip Evergood in library at Richmond Hill, New York

public opinion against Japan in Great Britain and the U. S.

Bunji Omura, Japanese ex-liberal long resident in the United States, has presented Saionji's biography in a rambling, disconnected book, highly romanticized. The greater part of the book is conversation between Saionji and his contemporaries, conversation at once wooden, artificial, inexpressive, dealing mostly with trivia.

—E. P. GREENE

Our Saddest Story

THE STORY OF RECONSTRUCTION, by Robert Selph Henry; 633 pages; The Bobbs-Merrill Company; \$5.00.

HERE IS the story of the saddest period of our national life, the era from 1865 to 1877 called Reconstruction. One hastens to add that the sadness attaches not to the beginning of this decade but to its end; not to the vastly hopeful attempt to establish Democracy in the South, but to the throttling of that hope by the Southern landlords in collusion with the Northern capitalists. It must have been painful to live in those years while the great progressive Abolitionist wave disintegrated and receded into time, leaving hardly an honest chronicler.

In default of honesty, we must seek a knowledge of Reconstruction in books like this one. Let us say at this point that Robert Selph Henry is an entirely corrupt writer, so that hardly a sentence of his fat volume is without its violence against truth and humanity. He defends the Ku Klux Klan, the Hampton Red Shirts, and the entire program of terror and subversion by which the Confederacy won the peace; he hardly bothers to conceal his

cynical disregard for the wholesale murder of Negroes which characterized the time; he writes, "The story of the last six years of the period of Reconstruction is one of counter-revolution"—and with this counter-revolution he is utterly in sympathy.

Fortunately, however, historians are one thing, history another. The author is alleged to have worked on the book for seven years, and he has certainly amassed a wealth of detail. Considerable truth emerges—enough to reveal a mighty upward popular movement, particularly of the Negro people; participation in this movement of broad numbers of progressive white Southerners ("scalawags"); the achievement by this movement of good beginnings in public education, in political Democracy, and even in voicing the demands for that wider distribution of the land which would have ensured victory.

But it all came to an end with the Compromise of 1876, the most shameful skeleton in our historical closet. Robert Selph Henry is only another to deck this skeleton in the robes of the bride. Had not the bones shown through, he might have received the Pulitzer Prize.

—JOSEPH BRIDGES

Four Wars Behind

AND SO TO WAR, by Hubert Herring; 178 pages; Yale University Press; \$2.00.

A SPEAKER on peace said not so long ago that the chief trouble with the peace-loving men and women was that they were all working furiously to keep us out of the last war. This is certainly true of Hubert Herring. In his little book *And So to*

War he parallels the events of 1917 before the declaration of war, with the events of 1938. The similarity of the events and statements seem to him to indicate that we are heading straight and inevitably for war.

Now, of course, history is of great use in interpreting the present—but in all use of history one has to allow for a difference in the times. It is amazing to find that there is scarcely a mention of the new force that has come into the world since the last war—the force of Fascism. In the book's excellent glossary the word does not even appear. This omission makes it slightly difficult to discuss the war peril of the world today, and Mr. Herring's book suffers thereby.

Naturally, since most of the book is based on the events of 1917 and before, the program that is offered is rather one of warning than of actual things to do to preserve peace. The author warns us solemnly of the "crusading" spirit abroad in the world that would "quarantine" the invaders. He is very much annoyed at the "overgrown sons" of John Wesley who seemed to think that "the world is their parish." The only way to keep out of war, he insists, is not to band with other nations for sanctions or boycotts or the withholding of loans, or even to do these things by ourselves. The only way to stop war in the world is to leave the war-makers strictly to their own devices—in fact, to do nothing.

Mr. Herring says he is not an isolationist but a true neutral. I think this is probably a correct statement. But unfortunately his neutrality seems to extend toward peace itself. The program that Mr. Herring advocates, I fear, justifies the title of his book.

—DOROTHY MCCONNELL

THE BATTLE lines are rapidly being drawn for a showdown fight over one of the central issues in the struggle between the labor-progressive movement and the cohorts of Wall Street. This issue is the integrity of the National Labor Relations Act. The mutilation or total scrapping of this basic law of labor rights has been the ultimate objective of most of the sharpshooting at progressive legislation carried on so strenuously by Big Business during the past year.

On the surface, the Wall Street strategists have frequently appeared to subordinate their efforts to overthrow the Labor Act in favor of such alternative boons to Big Business as the weakening of federal tax pressure on big fortunes and big corporation profits, or the curtailment of relief payments to the unemployed. Beneath the surface, however, the only reason why the drive on the Wagner Act was not openly made head-on was the sincere conviction among influentials in the Street that this question was too hot to handle that way in comfort.

At one time, the magnates thought they had the problems of the Wagner Act neatly in their pocket and took a licking because of their cocksureness. This was the period when the notorious committee of Wall Street corporation lawyers, recruited by the American Liberty League, proclaimed arrogantly in advance of any judicial decision that the Act was patently "unconstitutional," and advised their clients to disregard it in toto. Among these clients were many of the big steel companies and other Big Business enterprises. But this pretty little dream was rudely shattered by the historic sweep of the basic industries by the C.I.O. and by the Supreme Court's decision upholding the constitutionality of the Labor Act.

After these two hearty blows, the Wall Street field-m Marshals deemed it wise to withhold direct attacks on the Act until they were able to constitute the semblance of a mass movement in opposition to the labor law. In the meantime, they maintained a running fire against the act as a "jug-handled" law which discriminated against weak and helpless employers in favor of "agitators" and "lawbreakers." The signal for resumption of the open campaign for repeal of the labor measure was the success of Wall Street's phony "voice of the people" drive against the New Deal's reorganization bill. Immediately, efforts were made to develop similar tactics against the Labor Act. As a typical example, widespread publicity and editorial encouragement were extended by such publications as the influential *Barron's Financial Weekly* to a petition for "repeal or most drastic amendment of the Wagner Labor Relations Act," which was widely circulated among the leaders

WALL STREET

and employees of Big Business. This was the same petition which was reported to New Deal leaders in Washington by an employee who insisted on remaining anonymous for obvious reasons.

Reaction's New Drive

THE REAL fanfare for destruction of the Act occurred, quite characteristically, at the May convention in Washington of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which represents a forum for the Wall Street factotums and their dependents in Big Business throughout the country. This was the convention which by resolution called for a hostile Congressional investigation of the National Labor Relations Board. This also was the convention which recruited Senator Burke of Nebraska, chief stuffed-shirt of the right-wing Democrats, to demand, with gestures, the resignation of the present members of the Board, and to label the Labor Act as "Public Enemy Number One."

What the Wall Street strategists are gunning for is not any decisive action against labor at the present session of Congress. That is too much for them to expect so soon in their frontal

attack. But what they are preparing for is an intensive drive for wage-cuts during this summer—when unemployment is expected to be exceptionally large—and for reactionary victories in the Congressional elections next fall, in the hope that the stage will be set for destruction of the Labor Act in the next Congress.

The basic reason, of course, for the intense dislike of this law, is that the Act places barriers in the way of the usual Wall Street methods of stamping out trade-union organization—wholesale firings, terrorization and subsidy of company-union and spy activities. At present, the outcries at this meddling with the "traditional rights" of Big Business are made stronger because the legal standards of the Labor Act are being reinforced by an active and strong progressive labor movement.

Here the depression comes in. Big Business quite clearly has been making deliberate use of the depression to break the New Deal and the newfound strength of the American labor movement. And that is where the rub is. Depressions have always been the time when Wall Street capital has tightened its control over the national wealth by withdrawing the concessions

given in time of "prosperity" and by substituting successive wage-cuts. But this depression has been different. The Street and its puppet captains of industry have exerted their usual pressure for starvation wages. But this pressure has been resisted by the lusty unions built up under the C.I.O. Hence, there have been comparatively few wage-cuts. And hence the Street is calling for the life blood of the Labor Act.

This is why corporations like General Motors—which is controlled by the du Ponts and the Morgans—are after the Labor Board's scalp. The great General Motors strike in the winter of 1937 forced this center of big capital to deal with its organized workers on a contractual basis. But from the moment the ink was dry on General Motors' union contract, this corporation has been doing its utmost to undermine the union by sabotage. Two things have stood in its way during this period of extreme depression in the automobile industry: the strength of the organized General Motors workers and the guarantees in the Labor Act. It is understandable, therefore, that President Willam S. Knudsen of General Motors, in an address before his fellow-reactionaries in the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, attacked the Labor Act as "the largest drawback to good industrial relations," said that industrial unionism is based solely "on force in defiance of law" and called for government action to restore order (Heil Hitler!).

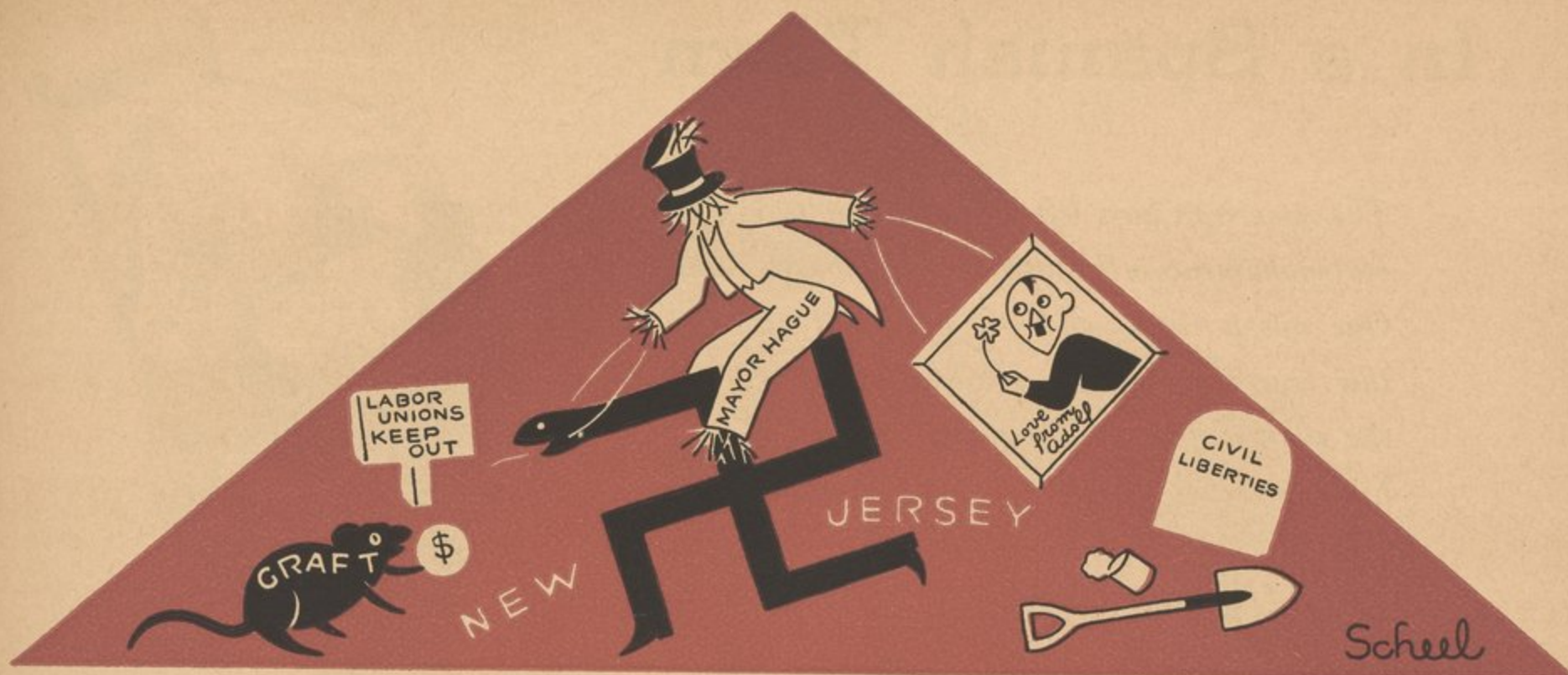
Stooging for Chamberlain

THIS column described last month how the big capital groups in Wall Street were rapidly lining up behind the Chamberlain line of support for world Fascism. Since then, this trend has become even more precisely defined, at the same time as the strength of the democratic and progressive forces of the country has consolidated behind collective resistance to Fascism, and the lifting of the embargo against Loyalist Spain.

As an example of Wall Street's attitude on world questions, we quote from a recent article in *Barron's Financial Weekly* commenting on the overthrow of the Blum People's Front Government in France: "The fall of the Blum Cabinet and its replacement by a government headed by Edouard Daladier is another victory for realism in both the political and economic spheres. . . . Given strong leadership, the French land-owning peasantry and thrifty middle classes should outweigh radical labor and trouble-seeking city mobs. All this is significant in foreign affairs as well as in domestic politics. The new French Government can cooperate much better with Britain because Daladier and Chamberlain have the same realistic turn of mind."



A scene near Wall Street, geographically speaking—part of New York City's vast May Day Parade



THE ROLE of Frank Hague in American life should not be minimized. Let us not be amused by his bombast and his grammatical misfortunes. A reading of Adolph Hitler's *Mein Kampf* will disclose as many if not more grammatical and rhetorical errors.

Hitler is in the saddle today, grammatical errors notwithstanding. And Frank Hague may be in the saddle tomorrow in the United States, unless an aroused and determined American public faces and meets the menace that he represents.

He is no local phenomenon. His immediate power reaches beyond the confines of Jersey City throughout the county of Hudson and has spread to county after county in the state of New Jersey. He controls every important court in the state, and can bend or influence the wills of every lesser court and control almost every grand jury in the twenty-one counties of New Jersey.

Crime after crime has been laid at his doorstep and at that of his Democratic organization—political corruption, bribery, graft, nonfeasance and malfeasance—but never has the Hudson County Grand Jury voted an indictment against any of his leaders in the Hague organization.

You and I may have no illusion about the kind of man Hague is. It is more important, however, to understand what he represents in American life in 1938.

The Key to Jersey City

What are his plans? What does he hope to do? Why is he after the C.I.O.? Why has he become the arch labor-baiter in the American scene? All of these questions can be answered after a proper study of the man, the

Der Hague

A Catholic opponent of the Mayor of Jersey City tells how Frank Hague got where he is and what he means to the people of America

By John R. Longo

ILLUSTRATED BY THEODORE SCHEEL

city, the Hague Democratic organization, and above all the city's financial problems.

The man himself has been an unprincipled opportunist from the time he was a ward-heeler in the horseshoe section of Jersey City. Wherever necessary he betrayed political associates to advance his own fortunes. Whenever necessary he made alliances with the underworld, alliances which after twenty-five years have flourished into the most profitable gambling racket in the entire United States. Westbrook Pegler, writing in the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers, conceived it possible that it was the most profitable gambling racket in the entire world. I am referring, of course, as did Pegler, to Jersey City's rôle as the Wall Street of the country's greatest race-track.

Mayor Hague, a friend of labor? To this we can definitely answer "No." A friend of racketeering in labor? "Yes." And even this must be qualified. He was a friend of the Brandles and the Hurleys while the Brandles and the Hurleys were useful to him. As

mercilessly as he betrayed casual political associates, he betrayed Brandle and Hurley when he found it politically or otherwise profitable.

Cunning, craft, duplicity, greed and avarice—avarice that made it possible for a hoodlum of Jersey City's horseshoe to become master of a personal fortune that has been estimated as high as forty million dollars—these are the outstanding qualities of the man.

The city under his domination has become all but a ruin, appearing to the average stranger as an endless succession of backyards. With the exception of the Greenville district and the Bergen section, the municipality presents a spectacle of squalor without equal in the United States for any city of similar area or population. This notwithstanding the fact that 400 million dollars of taxpayers' money has been spent under Mayor Hague's personal supervision, while he has been in absolute control of the city's governing body.

Even the few outstanding public improvements which Hague brazenly

claims credit for, were not paid for by his administration. The Jersey City Medical Center and the Jersey City Stadium were financed by the P.W.A. and W.P.A., and even these improvements were not acquired by the city as a result of any philanthropic motive on Hague's part. If we were to examine the contracts of the construction of these projects and examine the incorporation papers of the contractors, we would discover motives and interests that can explain the origin of these widely heralded improvements more convincingly.

If there is a key to Mayor Hague's power, that key is patronage. To reach out from the Second Ward where he began his political career with slugging and blackjacking, it was necessary to find jobs for his all-too-willing cohorts. Hague found them. Where they didn't exist, he created them. As his tentacles spread to the Third, the First, the Fourth, to all twelve wards in the city, he had to find more and newer jobs. In 1938 there are between nine and ten thousand people on Jersey City's pay-roll. This figure is just an estimate, and must remain an estimate because no one but the organization officials may see the public records. An average citizen or taxpayer inquiring about the Jersey City payroll would be treated exactly like an impertinent intruder inquiring about the operations of a private corporation.

Graft and Taxes

To provide the money for the payroll, Mayor Hague had but one recourse—to increase taxes; and this he did with a dictatorial ruthlessness that has no parallel in American municipal history. Taxes under his administration have increased as high as seven

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In a Spanish Town

The American boys left behind them two real monuments in the little town of Elbares. One was a clinic, and the other—Read this true story of the growing unity of the workers and all the people of Spain, by a veteran of the Lincoln volunteers

By Steve Nelson

ILLUSTRATED BY LYDIA GIBSON

IN JUNE 1937 I met a Spanish blacksmith in a little town called Elbares. It was located in the Tajuña Valley about seventy-five miles from Madrid. It was here that the boys of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were taking their long-awaited rest after months of uninterrupted service on the Jarama. José was not only the village blacksmith but the only able-bodied man of military age who was not at the front. He was a member of the U.G.T. (the General Union of Workers, larger of the two Spanish trade-union federations) and a member of the town council. The village had given about 120 of its total population of three thousand to the war. That included the village schoolmaster and the local priest. The teacher was in command of a brigade and the priest was political commissar in one of the People's Army units. But by unanimous vote the villagers had declared José too valuable to go. They needed his administrative ability.

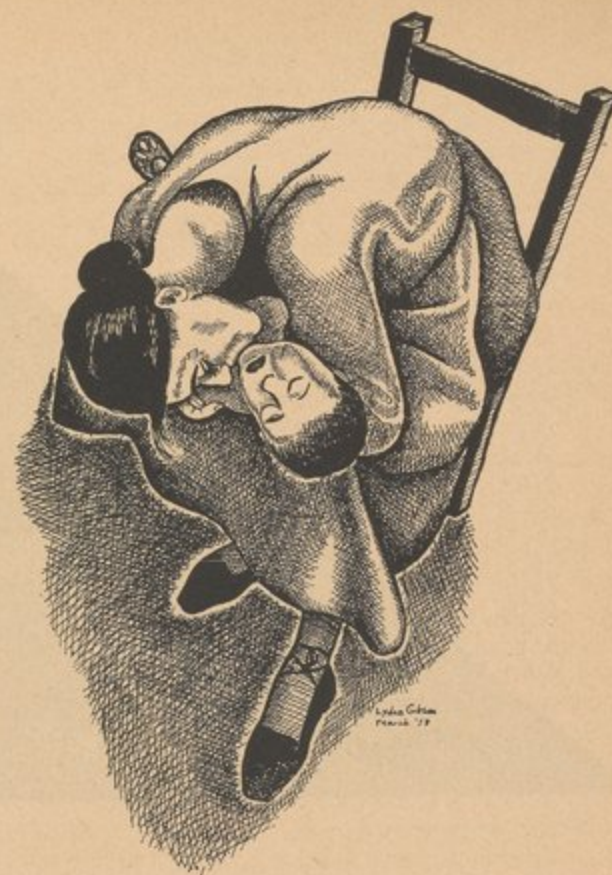
José was a leader, but not because of unusual education for a worker. He told us himself that he had learned the alphabet only since the war! But he knew what the war was about, and how he could help win it. He knew those things out of his own

life. Just about two years ago, he related, he was working as a blacksmith's apprentice in a little place near Madrid. He had to work at the forge fourteen hours a day, and Sundays were workdays too. He had served a five-year apprenticeship without a penny for it. He wore the cast-off clothes of his master's son and ate the left-overs from their table. At the end of the five years he received a "journeyman's" certificate, a diploma entitling him to set out on the open road in search of a job. That was the story of his father before him and his grandfather before that.

Eleven Hours a Day

José liked to remind us that the blacksmith's trade wasn't a special case. Street-car conductors worked eleven hours a day every day of the year except Christmas, New Year's and Easter. So it wasn't he alone or the blacksmiths alone who found out what it meant to get together in a People's Front. But to them, at any rate, it meant an eight-hour day and Sundays off within a short time after the formation of the first People's Front Government. No wonder when the landlords and generals made war on the government José and his kind grabbed shotguns and pitchforks and went out to fight. And no wonder the villagers knew that workers like José were the most dependable leaders.

All this we learned bit by bit. Later still we discovered that there were differences among the workers. Some belonged to the U.G.T. and some to the other trade-union group, the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor). And they didn't entirely trust one another. That made it hard for José, a U.G.T. man, to prepare the whole village to receive us in the right spirit. The first thing we Americans noticed, as a result, was that most of the plain folks of the village were scared of us. Particularly the women. Our boys couldn't quite make it out. They had been pleased with the village at first sight. It was an ancient place, the church in the center being about 670 years old. And it was a typical peasant community where the vineyards and olive groves are tended with a care we don't see in agriculture in the States. The boys liked to feel they were in a really Spanish farm community with its few goats, and



always donkeys with packs on their backs, and someone sitting on top of the load very contented with the slow pace of the animal. Hardly a cow, little bits of land: a poor but thrifty people. All that was good. And then José at the head of a committee had given them an official welcome. He apologized for the fact that they did not have space enough to accommodate everyone and so they had cleared one floor of the flour mill so the men could sleep there. He would ask townspeople to put up the overflow. We hurried to tell him that that wouldn't be necessary. It was summer time and we could sleep in the fields.

Our boys had taken everything in good spirit; the villagers had seemed so cordial. But then we began to feel that we weren't trusted. It surprised us to see all the homes shuttered in the early part of the evening. The people were afraid.

Making Friends

Once our boys realized that this was a hangover from the days of the monarchy, they set about making friends with the villagers. No People's Army units had been quartered there before and the people remembered only the drunken rowdies of the old days. Soldiers, they argued, were soldiers. But our first step was to help with the harvest. Our boys didn't make very good farmers, on the whole, for they had more cut fingers and bruises than sheaves of wheat to show for their work. But that made us workers and not just "soldiers" to the people. Then some of our boys who could speak Spanish a little set up classes for the village kids. It was the first school since the beginning of the war. We had a children's day with games like a regular American picnic, and the villagers let us choose a "sweetheart" for our brigade. Beautiful seven-year-old Marie became "Miss Lincoln," the sweetheart of the brigade.

Now the public plaza was no longer a desert in the evening but it always looked like *fiesta* time. No one was afraid of the *Americanos*. None of the boys had to sleep in the fields, because they got invitations



to sleep in the homes of the villagers. Ties were formed. Ray Steel was engaged to be married to an Elbares girl. Our battalion medical staff—in a village where there had never been a doctor before!—brought us new friends. In fact, it brought in twins one night on an emergency call! We had made good, but we would have liked to see the village workers, divided as they were into separate trade-unions, as cordial to one another as they were to us.

Well, one day we got our call to the front. The summer offensive at Brunete was ready and we were part of it. The village knocked off work and came to see us leave. Women with babies in their arms cried as though we were native sons of Elbares.

Back to Elbares

Brunete was a lot different from Elbares. We had twenty-one days of it and did our share. When it was over we were asked, those of us who came through all right, where we'd like to go to rest. The men themselves voted for Elbares. A telegram preceded us to the village blacksmith.

José, a guard of honor, and the whole village were out to meet us. They didn't have a band but they stood at the People's Front salute crying, "*Salud, compañeros.*" There was a lot of bustling about to get us located again and then came questions about this one and that one. Only two of our brigade staff of twelve men had returned. Where was Oliver Law, José wanted to know. And he read the answer in our look: dead. Where was Ray Steel, Antonio asked. After all, Ray was to marry his sister. Ray Steel had been killed in action. And every boy who had fallen in combat had his personal friends in the village—shocked and grieved to lose him.

José made a decision. He went to the U.G.T. and proposed a memorial to the fallen Americans. The U.G.T. sent a committee (for the first time) to their rivals of the C.N.T. and in their common friendship for the *Americanos* they quickly agreed. They agreed and clasped hands in new friendship themselves.

They collected a lot of money. Every union local joined in the collections and they must have made sacrifices. With the money they had decided to build a monument in the middle of the public square. When we found out about it we sent a delegation to thank the village council but to suggest that the money be used in some way to aid in carrying on the war. At first they were very insistent. José made a little speech about what they felt we were doing for them. He reminded us of the slavery of his apprenticeship days and what the war meant to them. How could they ever forget? We reminded them that they had said they wouldn't forget. Then they wouldn't need a monument. The discussion began to turn to what would be a suitable use for the money. Finally we hit on a clinic for the village. You don't know what a clinic means to people who've never had a doctor. They come from miles around. It's like bringing them meat and bread.

Two Real Monuments

We felt we were leaving a real monument to ourselves and to Elbares when we left again. Or two monuments. One, the clinic, and the other, friendship in the trade unions. But the people of the village felt they still hadn't done enough. We had given lives for their freedom. The least they could do would be to give men to take the place of the boys who fell. Several boys volunteered to take the places left by Oliver Law and Ray Steel. We

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AS TO WOMEN

"The mill is awful lonesome if you are all by yourself," says a Southern worker

THERE is nothing so broadening as listening to people talk who have something to put over. I listened the other night to a man who was "selling" the South as the new great settling-place for industrial ventures. The most promising place in the whole of the United States, he said. Wages need not be too high because the people are used to living on little or nothing. Any wage at all was so much gain. In fact, the industrialization of the South was the greatest benefit the working people of the South could have. As he went on, I began to change my whole idea of American business. It seemed more like a welfare project to me.

"Take the women, for instance. Why, the mills open an entire new world to them. You should see them when they come to the mills. Poor, ignorant, pleasure-starved things, used to the hardship and the poverty of the little hill farms! Some of them have never had shoes on their feet before. In a year's time even the expression on their faces is different. I tell you it is a new world to them."

And it is.

THE mills do open up a new world to Southern women. I remember talking to a girl who was working in the textile mills. She was apologizing to me for her lack of response when I had first talked to her.

"You see," she told me, "the first thing you get to learn in the mills is that it is sometimes bad to talk too much. You come in from the country, where you're used to blabbing whenever you feel like blabbing. Believe me, down here you got to watch your tongue."

It is quite possible that watching your tongue changes the expression on your face.

BUT there are other differences than these. Maybe the Southern industrial women learn that some people cannot be trusted but they also learn that other people can be trusted. Another girl tells me that "it wasn't long before I found out that you couldn't get

much of anywheres if you had to go by yourself. The mill is awful lonesome if you are all by yourself. You just go to the mill with the boss watching you if you try to talk to anyone, and then home, and then get up and go to the mill again. At first I thought I never was going to get used to that mill whistle. It blew me right out of bed in the morning and back to eat at noon and then back again to the mill. It seemed as if everything in the world went by that whistle. No one girl had a right to do anything by herself at all. But that was before I met the others. Now we're organizing and even the mill whistle sounds different. It gives all the work all day some kind of purpose back of it."

ONE of the most disheartening things about industrial life in America has been the fact that the work has never seemed to have any meaning for the worker outside of the pay check at the end of the week. Organization has indeed done away with some of the aimlessness of the mill life. Southern hill people, the ones who work now in such great numbers in the mills, have protested against the aimlessness of their lives before this. The fervor of the religious life has been to some degree an effort to get away from this very aimlessness. With their new trade-union interests they have not turned away from their old religious interests. Someone told me last year of a mill that went out on strike to the words of an old evangelistic song:

Where He leads me I will follow—
I'll go with Him, with Him, all the way.

It is a new world all right, and the expressions on women's faces are not always the expressions of people who have to keep their mouths buttoned up tight. That is just the first phase. There is something else there in the faces of the ones who have found that if you are going to adjust to a new world you might as well have it a better world—and that the women have their part to play in making it one. And these Southern women are playing a very great part.

—DOROTHY McCONNELL

Pins and Progress

(Continued from page 15)

has since been called "The Uprising of the Twenty Thousand." With just four dollars in the union treasury, picketing was a bitter test, punctuated by starvation and police brutality. When one girl was brought to court the judge informed her: "You are on strike against God"; whereupon George Bernard Shaw cabled: "Medieval America always in the intimate personal confidence of the Almighty." And as public interest dwindled, the strike gave way to apathy and defeat.

Just one year later, however, sixty thousand cloak and suit makers walked out at the peak of the season in the greatest strike American industry had known. Unparalleled enthusiasm gripped the workers, and by mid-afternoon New York's garment trade was in a state of complete paralysis. The strike lasted two months, despite tremendous losses for the employers and semi-starvation for the workers; but this time the struggle ushered in a protracted armistice for the industry. Under the guidance of Louis Brandeis (now U. S. Supreme Court Justice) a Protocol of Peace was drafted, introducing a fresh spirit of industrial relations. For the workers, the Protocol meant a fifty-hour week (a great advance at the time), double pay for overtime, and a preferential union shop. Though either side could terminate the Protocol by simply giving notice, it set up arbitration machinery that operated with considerable success for about the next six years. Faulty techniques finally dampened its powers: employers found it hard to swallow the indignity of not being able to hire and fire at will, and workers chafed under the ban on their right to strike. But while it lasted the Protocol had given the garment industry a good preview of collective bargaining.

In 1919 the International conducted a series of strikes in which the systematic discipline was a far cry from the incoherent emotionalism of 1909. Bolstered by ample reserves, the strikers did not have to fall back on public charity for support. This time they won a forty-hour week, fifteen per cent pay-increases, and greater union control. The victory, however, was the last substantial one that the union was to enjoy for more than a decade. In 1920, membership of 105,000 had placed the International among the first ten unions of the A.F. of L. But the post-War depression deflated its treasury and sapped its strength, and a large strike in 1926 ended in disaster for the workers. By 1932 the International's membership of 40,000 represented only about one-third of the workers in the industry. Since then growing union consciousness coupled with the tonic influence of the N.R.A. has stimulated recruiting so that to-

day, out of a potential 345,000 garment workers, the union has over 260,000 members, 70 per cent women and 30 per cent men. Its lists have expanded to include thousands of workers in the South and Middle West. Its dues, ranging from twenty-five to fifty cents weekly, bring in a million and a half dollars a year. Its official monthly publication, *Justice*, has a circulation of about 185,000.

The set-up of the garment industry presents an unwieldy problem. It was foreshadowed as far back as 1890, when the surplus of contractors gave jobbers an opportunity to play one against another. Its effects continued through 1935, when 37 per cent of the contractors were responsible for 78 per cent of the total production; the remaining 63 per cent hung on to catch the crumbs and to afford a bargaining wedge for the jobber—who, in turn, was free to figure production-costs with a nice disregard of labor. Wages sank as workers in one shop were pitted against those in another, and agreements were worthless with contractors whose mortality rate averaged 33½ per cent.

Reform of the Industry

The International has not tried to insulate itself from these factors in the industry which make unionization at once so difficult and so imperative. Instead, regarding nothing as outside its province, it has tackled them with characteristic vigor and has established two essential points: limitation of contractors and jobber responsibility. Under existing agreements in the cloak and dress branches in New York, a jobber may employ only as many contractors as his business actually demands: he can no longer keep a string in reserve simply for support in striking a bargain. He must also shoulder directly the responsibility of labor costs. Representatives of the employer and of organized workers in the shops involved meet with a price expert from the union to establish piece-rates; and these rates apply automatically to the workers in all shops employed by the jobbers. Since April, 1936, piece-rates have been set up for over four hundred thousand different styles, while cutthroat competition, with its corollary of low wages, has correspondingly declined.

These are impressive gains for the garment worker. But throughout its history the International has had a social philosophy that transcends immediate needs. The Union has recognized that uneducated workers are simply raw material, amenable to employer propaganda, vulnerable to Fascist lures, and incapable of consolidating their advances. It understands that for all the well-stocked bank accounts and heavy membership rosters, the heart of its movement must consist of faith

(Continued on page 26)

The Union Makes Hay

*Organization, wages,
conditions and pros-
pects of the agricul-
tural workers—a report
by their union president*

By Donald Henderson



ONE OF the major fronts on which the nation-wide battle between reaction and progress is taking place today in America is now generally recognized as the rural section of our country. Recent developments have served to emphasize this fact.

In the current struggle for a wages-and-hours bill, reaction has succeeded in rallying much agrarian support. The National Grange has openly entered the lists against the bill. The Associated Farmers of notorious vigilante fame on the West Coast rally the large grower and processor groups to oppose the bill; and the Southern landlord representatives in Congress line up almost unanimously against it.

This fight over the wages-and-hours bill reveals, on the other hand, progress in certain agricultural areas. The election of Senator Hill in Alabama and the renomination of Senator Pepper in Florida where this bill was a clear-cut issue, are milestones in two important agrarian states. The national endorsement of the bill by the Farmers Coöperative and Educational League of America (Farmers Union), representing over a hundred thousand farmers in thirty states, shows significant progress among the smaller farmers in cementing a united front for progress and Democracy.

Labor Takes the Lead

In the contest for leadership between reactionary and progressive forces in the rural regions, the labor movement during the past year has been playing an increasingly important part. The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers Union

has been engaged most directly. With jurisdiction over all types of agricultural field-labor and over workers engaged in most of the primary processing of agricultural products in rural areas, this union is attempting to organize and influence the millions of wage workers in support of progressive measures. Unorganized, these workers are a ready prey to demagogues and rural reactionaries who attempt to use the starvation conditions as ammunition against the New Deal.

From its inception the Union has recognized its obligation to help establish good relations between industrial labor and the farmers. It was stated as a matter of policy at our first convention that "because we are in agriculture, we are bound up with the hopes and the fears of the millions of farmers. We are the link between the great industrial labor movement and the millions of toiling farmers in the United States."

Coöperation with Farmers

John Brophy, national director of the C.I.O., also took the occasion to state: "I want to make it clear that in undertaking the organization of agricultural and cannery workers, the C.I.O. hopes and expects to coöperate with the organized working farmers."

The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers Union has made outstanding progress in its first year. Since August 1, 1937, 335 local unions have been chartered in twenty-eight states, Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands. These locals have a total membership of 118,300. Of these, 25,900 are covered by 252 signed contracts with employers establishing

collective bargaining rights, union recognition, and improvements in wages and working conditions.

Gains of Field-Workers

While these contracts are largely among workers in the canning and processing of agricultural products, the field-worker locals have made substantial gains although not securing written contracts. Not only have wages and working conditions been improved. The defense of civil rights has been organized and the rights of union organization and recognition have been won. Needs of the unemployed have been fought for, in many cases successfully.

In the strongly anti-union areas of Florida citrus, union recognition and contracts have been won in two important towns. In the Rocky Mountain sugar-beet states of Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, Montana, and Kansas, wage increases totalling over \$150 per family a year for 1938 have been gained. The Union has been established as a recognized agency representing the workers in hundreds of the towns in this area.

In Texas, as a result of the tremendous struggle of ten thousand San Antonio pecan workers, union recognition, wage gains, and civil rights have been won. This struggle reverberated throughout the Southwest and aided the entire labor movement. It acted as a progressive ferment among hundreds of thousands of Mexican and Spanish-American workers in the Rocky Mountain areas and in the tier of Southwestern states from Texas west to the Pacific Coast.

In Arizona, ten thousand cotton-

pickers were partially organized. Substantial relief was secured from W.P.A. and the Farm Security Administration. Originally coming from Oklahoma, Texas and Missouri, these cotton-pickers now become travelling missionaries for progressive unionism as they leave Arizona for other jobs.

On the eastern shore of Maryland, organization among cannery workers, oyster workers and crab-meat pickers is slowly educating these workers and lining them up behind progressive forces fighting to secure a foothold in this reactionary section.

In the Louisiana sugar bowl, wage gains of thirty-three per cent were secured for all wage workers, through government hearings. The Union co-operated with the Farmers Union of Louisiana, so that these gains affected part-time farmers and sharecroppers as well as year-round wage workers. Similar gains for thousands of Hawaiian cane-sugar workers were secured.

In the Land of Cotton

In the cotton states of the South and the Southwest, from Alabama to California, locals of the Union have grown in membership from thirty thousand to forty-five thousand. Most of this new growth has taken place in the states of Alabama, Texas, Arizona and California. Besides field labor and sharecroppers, progress has been made in organizing workers of the more stable cottonseed-oil mills and compressing plants. Improved wages for cotton-pickers, better W.P.A. treatment and more direct relief have characterized this phase of the Union's work.

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IN STEP WITH LABOR

All signs point to unity in the house of labor, much to the distress of the big industrialists and their press

THE "kept" American press is working overtime publicizing the division in the ranks of labor. Although it is fully aware of the strong urge for unity from both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., this press pounces on the small inconsequential divisions and magnifies them a hundredfold in order to keep the two great labor bodies divided. This, of course, is for the benefit of the Liberty Leaguers, the Girdlers and the Fords.

Both houses of labor recognize now more than ever before that the industrialists and bankers are going to strain every effort in order to elect into the House of Representatives and the Senate those people who will carry through their anti-labor, pro-Fascist policies. Both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. see this danger and are uniting locally on the basis of this growing threat. This unity of labor is already functioning.

In analyzing the seven hundred resolutions on President Roosevelt's peace policy and the O'Connell Peace Act, returned to our national trade-union department, we note that approximately 54 per cent of the resolutions are from C.I.O. locals and industrial councils; 46 per cent are from the central labor unions and A.F. of L. locals. We find 85 per cent of these organizations outside of New York State and about 25 per cent are below the Mason-Dixon Line and west of the Mississippi. (Three-fourths of these organizations, incidentally, were never before reached by any of our activities.)

THIS almost even return from the trade-unions of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. proves that labor as a whole is united in the struggle for peace. The tremendous response of both the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. in support of President Roosevelt's recovery program and the wages-and-hours bill, is an indication that the desire of the rank and file is for unity on the industrial and economic fronts as well.

President William Green of the A.F. of L. announced that in determining its election stand for the 1938 campaign, considerable thought would be given to the actions of the House Rules Committee. The C.I.O. unions

are mapping out an energetic program to defeat the five Democrats and three Republicans who have tried for the past year to keep the House from even discussing the wages-and-hours measure. The unity of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. will defeat these reactionaries in the Rules Committee.

HERE it is important to quote A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, a man who is using all his energies and prestige to unite the labor movement in the United States. Speaking at Minneapolis, Minnesota, before the convention of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Brother Whitney said:

I am optimistic about the success of this procedure (unity), for I see it functioning even now in various parts of the country. Kenosha, Wisconsin, is a strong union city. There the Trades and Labor Council, an A.F. of L. affiliate, has entered into an agreement with the United Automobile Workers Council (C.I.O.) to work in harmony and peace for the betterment of the laboring man and the community. Out on the west coast the C.I.O. lumber and sawmill workers in the Redwoods Area are establishing unity with A.F. of L. rank and file workers. They participate in a joint council of the C.I.O. International Woodworkers Union and the A.F. of L. Lumber and Sawmill Workers of Northern California. And on a national scale both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. are uniting their efforts to secure the passage of a wages-and-hours bill.

These instances of cooperation are being duplicated all over the country, and I think it would be safe to say that there are actually more cases of A.F. of L.-C.I.O. cooperation than rivalry. And this is as it should be, for labor has already acquired the habit of uniting on legislation and political candidates favorable to labor. This habit is not one easily lost.

Just as the two great trade-union federations in France, the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U., united in the face of the Fascist danger; just as the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. united in the face of the Fascist aggressors, Hitler and Mussolini, in Spain—so will the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unite against the danger of the Fascists in America.

WE ARE looking forward to our next trade-union issue of THE FIGHT, which we are planning for October.

—A. E. EDWARDS

Pins and Progress

(Continued from page 24)

and knowledge. And the educational department, which was founded in 1917 and has since outstripped that of any other union in America, Britain or France, stands today in solid affirmation of their vision.

Annual education expenditures of almost \$200,000 are translated into vast "extra-curricular" opportunities for the worker. There are six hundred free study groups conducted weekly for over twenty-five thousand students. Courses cover a variety of subjects like Labor Problems, Current Events, English, Public Speaking, Parliamentary Law, and History; students span the gap between the untutored immigrant and the homemade philosopher. There are lecture series, offering such speakers as Max Lerner and Dr. Hannah Stone. There is an athletic program ranging from interpretive dancing to baseball games between locals. For workers' children there are craft groups and social clubs. There are picnics, dances, art exhibits, and theatre parties. At union headquarters there are records and union song-sheets.

The Union's musical projects would make the music departments of many progressive high schools look pallid in comparison. In New York City an eighty-piece mandolin orchestra and a chorus of 120 voices are featured at public concerts. But the Union has never made the mistake of catering only to the musically elite: singing is spontaneous at parties and on picket lines. As for dramatics, the wide popularity of *Pins and Needles* has startled the public into recognition of the opportunities that may be open to a garment worker. What the public perhaps fails to realize is that *Pins and Needles* is no accident, but simply the expression of a twenty-year apprenticeship in amateur dramatic groups, of a training course that found it necessary to include the rudiments of pronunciation as well as the finesse of theatrical gesture.

The Program for Society

Besides these outlets, there is the Union Health Center, which offers medical attention at about one-quarter of what it would cost elsewhere, and Unity House in the Poconos, which offers a haven of rest for nineteen dollars a week. Finally, woven into the pattern of cultural activities, there is the concentrated emphasis on an understanding of class relationships. It is obvious that an educational department, however wholesome its pageants and Sunday boat-rides, is simply an irrelevant frill until its program has been infused with an intelligent social conscience. So on the balance sheet of a union which thirty years ago was pleading for funds to feed its pickets, today you will find concrete expression of its alignment with progressive ac-

tivity everywhere: \$150,000 for Spain, \$10,000 for flood victims, \$50,000 for anti-Nazi activity, and countless thousands more for C.I.O. campaigns in other industries throughout the country.

When the Italian dressmakers formed their local they called it Eighty-nine, after the year of the French Revolution. Their official song is "Pane e Rose" ("Bread and Roses"). And at union headquarters, the title has become a kind of tacit pledge and symbol. In the category of necessities, the union can point to appreciable gains in wages; to a working-week that has dropped from more than sixty hours in 1900 to thirty-five hours at present—and will drop in New York City's cloak division to thirty-two and a half hours in 1939; to approved sanitary standards in the workshops; and to increased stability in the industry itself. In the way of "roses" it can cite an enlightened program of study groups and lectures, basket-ball teams and theatre parties, medical examinations and enlightened discussions. By its militant tactics the International has converted labor from a docile instrument of business to a bulwark of strength and dignity. By its program it has heralded solidarity and direction for the organized masses.

Steering for Peace

(Continued from page 11)

policies of the remaining democracies.

Withdrawing economic aid from the aggressors would seriously cripple their war machines. A firm stand by the peaceful, democratic countries would compel Hitler and Mussolini to cease their attacks on Spain. With Democracy firmly established in Western Europe, you can be sure that the Fascists would think twice before attacking Czechoslovakia and other countries, plunging the world into war. They would be, as President Roosevelt so aptly put it, "in quarantine." But quarantine cannot be maintained by one country. It will need the combined efforts of all those whose political institutions are founded on democratic principles. That means that labor in all those countries must bring simultaneous pressure on the governments for a common defense of those principles.

By defense, I mean an "active" defense. As the President said at Chicago, we may not be able to remain at peace by simply being inactive—we may have to conduct an active search for peace. That may mean any number of things—depending on how fast we unite on a common policy. If we show a common purpose *now*, we can minimize the risk of trouble later. If we wait, however, until the smaller democracies are lopped off, one by one, we may find ourselves practically alone facing a world-wide menace. Then it might be too late.

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Russell Thayer

THE last month has seen a nationwide intensification of League work. N. P. Atkinson, secretary of the Seattle Branch, writes to us of \$1000 raised on the China Tag Days. This was the value of cash, clothing and foodstuffs gathered during this period of a few days. The League has been active in Seattle in support of Senator Schwel-lenbach's bill to prohibit the export of scrap-iron and steel except under government license, and has carried on a local campaign to stop the loading and sailing of ships carrying scrap for Japan. And perhaps the highlight of their present activity is the indication of a magnificent success for the Northwest Congress for Peace and Democracy being held May 29th-30th in Seattle. The slogan of this Congress is "Honor Our War Dead by Fighting for Peace and Freedom for the Living."

MAY DAY parades in which the League participated were held in many cities. In New York THE FIGHT and the City Committee had a float and a band behind which the League members marched. New York is intensifying the Membership Drive and will continue it through the summer.

THROUGHOUT the country there has been excellent response to the National Office call for support of additional appropriations for the La Follette Committee. The importance of this has been brought home to us even more through the activities of Mayor Frank Hague in suppressing the rights of assembly and free speech in Jersey City. The National Office of the League is a member of the Joint Committee for Civil Rights in Jersey City, and the Northern New Jersey branches have played a leading part in the Hudson County Defense Committee. On May 7th when the scheduled meeting for Congressmen Bernard and O'Connell was stopped by the threat of bloodshed, many people prominent in cultural and civic life in New Jersey and New York gathered at the League's invitation in a hotel room near the scene to tell of instances of violence that they had witnessed, and helped to plan for a future meeting. The League work in New Jersey should improve rapidly now, since the invitation of the State Committee to Nancy



Receipt for a donation of one thousand dollars sent to help relieve the suffering of the Chinese people by American friends

Cox of the National Office to go to New Jersey as a full-time paid organizer.

CONGRATULATIONS: to the winners and the runners-up in the Membership Drive! Los Angeles won the prize for cities having over 100 members, by enrolling 1031 new members. Denver started from nothing to win the banner for cities having under 100 members, and Brookline, Massachusetts, also starting from scratch, and New Haven, Connecticut, were runners-up. Denver got 157 new members, Brookline 119, and New Haven brought in 101. There are many new branches in regions of the country where the League had never previously penetrated. Some of these places are Tucson, Arizona; Manchester, New Hampshire; Louisville, Kentucky; Superior, Wisconsin; Tacoma, Washington; Blythedale, Pennsylvania.

RECENTLY we had a visit from J. B. Fischer of Quebec, who discussed the difficulties of working in the "Fascist state" of Quebec. He told us of the really good work now being done by the League there and of the possibilities of growth. They were planning a large meeting for the end of May.

IN OVER thirty cities the China Aid Council or the League Branch held an educational or cultural meeting to mark May 9th, which is celebrated in China as National Humiliation Day. This is the anniversary of the accept-

ance in 1915 of the infamous Twenty-one Demands from Japan. This year the date was used to celebrate the recent stirring victories of the Chinese defenders. At the Y.W.C.A. Convention, our boycott exhibit was well received and Beth Cunningham, our field organizer, was instrumental in getting the Convention to endorse the boycott of Japanese goods. The Vancouver, British Columbia, Committee of the Canadian League sent in \$1500 for medical supplies for China and is still going strong.

BOSTON has issued a series of four attached postcards on the O'Connell Act to be sent to the President, Secretary of State, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the local Congressman. The Cincinnati Committee has sent out a postcard ballot on the same issue. Carl Levy, secretary of the Cincinnati Committee, has been carrying on a vigorous support of the League in the press against the attack of a local American Legion Commander. Already one member of the Legion's Americanization Committee has resigned, and another member has threatened resignation as a protest against the tactics of the Commander.

RECENTLY Dr. R. H. Valinsky of the Pittsburgh Committee spent a few days at the National Office, chiefly for the purpose of consultation regarding a permanent secretary for the Pittsburgh area. Dr. Valinsky interviewed Andrew Paul Berg and has subsequently reported that the Pittsburgh Executive Committee approved his se-

lection. Mr. Berg accompanied A. E. Edwards, Trade Union Organizer, to Western Pennsylvania to prepare for the regional conference on May 22d. The National Office also assisted the Philadelphia Committee in the selection of its secretary, Edna Richter, who is now working in that capacity. Steve Nelson has been in Detroit doing preliminary work in setting up a City Committee there, and it is expected that the National Office may be called upon for assistance in finding an organizer. There are such great possibilities throughout the country for doing League work that we urge all friends and members of the League interested in such positions to write to the National Office. We feel that the selections made recently have been fortunate, and really excellent people have been obtained—and we need more such people.

DR. WARD visited Cleveland early in the month to speak over a national radio hook-up on the League program, and to review and speak at a Mother's Day Parade the following day. The peace forces in Cleveland have prevailed upon the city to make Mother's Day an official holiday for peace, and perhaps the League can obtain this arrangement in other cities too.

WE MADE an error in last month's notes in naming the chairman of the Connecticut State Committee. The chairman is Daniel Howard, beloved Superintendent Emeritus of the Windsor schools and an active League worker for a number of years.

ANTI-NAZI conferences have been successfully held in a number of cities. These conferences have organized action to combat local Fascist movements such as the beating up of ex-soldiers by German-American Bund members at a New York City meeting, and have also furthered support of the Celler bill in Congress to provide asylum for political and religious refugees, and the Voorhis bill banning private armed organizations. The National Office of the League is prepared to accept from such conferences or from outside groups money to be held in escrow for a committee such as that appointed recently by President Roosevelt to aid refugees from Austria.

YOUTH NOTES

THE Young Women's Christian Association held its convention last month in Columbus, Ohio. Among the things that happened there were endorsement of a policy of concerted peace action, and for the lifting of the embargo on Spain. Which all goes to prove that the Y.W.C.A. is very much in step with the times and with most other youth groups these days.

RECENTLY we reported on the progress of the Englewood, New Jersey, Youth Branch. Not satisfied with success at home, President Donald Zeiller writes: "Our branch is trying to break ground in Bergenfield, a town about four miles from here. We're not going to give up until we establish a branch there."

FORTY-ONE countries have already signified their intention of having delegates at the World Youth Congress at Vassar this summer. Cables being received in New York these days bear such addresses as Burma, India; Sofia, Bulgaria; Bucharest, Rumania; Bantu and Nigeria, Africa. And all of them tell of small or larger delegations raising money for the long journey. Twenty-five are coming from Rumania, twelve from Spain, ten from the Soviet Union, fifty from Mexico—and these with the financial assistance of the Mexican government. The dates are August 15th to 24th.

WITH very little fanfare Molly Yard, secretary of the American Student Union, set sail for China the other day. Molly is going to join Bernard Floud (who spoke at the League Congress in Pittsburgh) representing British youth, and a couple of others from Canada and European countries as part of a youth delegation. They will visit the war areas and make themselves available to those groups which want to get first-hand news of the situation there.

A VERY timely part of the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education was that dealing with the education in the C.C.C. camps. In the interests of Democracy these prominent educators proposed the withdrawal of the military command from the camps. From the day the American League was founded we have pointed to that inherent weakness in

the C.C.C. set-up. With the words of these educational leaders to back us, it is time to renew pressure to put the camps into completely civilian hands. Such was the purpose of the bill introduced in Congress by Representative John T. Bernard last year. The bill died in committee, along with many other progressive measures.

We revive this at this time not only because of the Educational report, but also because before June 30th plans for the camps are to be made for the coming year. And reports reaching us tell of increasing friction between the War Department and the educational directors of the camps, and between the local army officials and educational advisers in the camps themselves. Reliable sources feel that this state of affairs will reach a crisis within the very near future. Now is the time, therefore, for every individual interested in Democracy in education to write another letter. Address it to Robert Fechner, C.C.C. Director. Send copies of your letter to Commissioner John Studebaker, U. S. Office of Education, and to Howard W. Oxley, Director of C.C.C. Education in the same office. All these are in Washington, D. C. The President's Advisory Committee recommended that "the administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps camps should be placed entirely upon a civilian basis." And that's what we're for.

CLUB HEMINGWAY is only eight weeks old, but it seems to have taken on the energy of the author as well as his name. Fifty members from the East Side of New York City, a meeting with the local State Assemblyman as speaker, and active backers of two demonstrations—that's the record.

JUST in case you haven't heard, nine hundred thousand joined in this year's Student Strike Against War. The feature this year was widespread support of lifting the embargo on Spain and for the boycott against Japan. Previous strikes had based themselves on the Oxford Pledge, purely negative and tending towards isolationism. Although some supporters of the pledge tried to hinder united action by sponsoring several dual meetings, they were very much disappointed. Their meetings fizzled.

—JAMES LERNER

The Union Makes Hay

(Continued from page 25)

On the West Coast, the Yakima Valley region of Washington has been a constant scene of struggles to establish the right of organization, collective bargaining and other civil rights. Throughout California and Washington, the Associated Farmers have conducted vigilante activities to combat union advances. In these areas particularly, reactionary "labor leaders" have joined forces with large growers and processors to sign company-union contracts, to push vigilante activity, and to violate civil rights wholesale. In spite of this, new Union locals are being chartered, united fronts with small farmers established, Wagner Act violations prosecuted, and agreements signed.

This penetration into the rural areas by trade-union organization directly among farm laborers and processors of farm products has been accompanied by a stimulation of organization among other types of industrial workers located in smaller towns and rural districts. Even more important, we have undertaken much educational and publicity work to win the millions of farmers to cooperative effort with the labor movement.

Our Union initiated a move at the Farmers Union national convention last November at Oklahoma City for a formal united front between the industrial-union movement and the farmers. This resulted in the historic agreement between Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Farmers Union, and the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers Union.

In addition to this general educational work, our Union has consistently sought to further economic cooperation with the smaller-farmer organizations. These actions take many forms. Some are union agreements with small-farmer groups where union recognition and closed shops are provided in exchange for cooperation in marketing of farmers' products. In California recently, such an agreement secured wage increases and a closed shop for milkers, creamery workers, and drivers. In return, we secured a substantial increase in the volume of milk sold by this Dairy Producers Cooperative.

In Alabama, support and help to Farmers Union tenant farmers and cotton-producers in the recent voting on crop control under the A.A.A., was provided by wage workers and sharecroppers in our locals.

In the government hearings to determine sugar-beet benefits and wages to be paid growers and workers under the federal law, representatives of the Union presented evidence and briefs designed as much to assist growers in getting benefit increases as to secure wage increases for workers. Close consultation with farmers and their or-

ganizations so as to avoid misunderstanding and to further cooperation for their mutual interests was carefully worked out. This same strategy was followed in cooperation with the Louisiana Farmers Union on the cane-sugar hearings.

But these successes should not be overestimated. Only a beginning has been made. And there are many signs which indicate that along with this beginning, the reactionaries are now seeing more clearly the danger to them and taking more energetic steps to block this small progress.

Of particular and immediate importance is the announced intention of the Associated Farmers to set themselves up as a nationwide farmer-vigilante organization. In the May issue of the *Farm Journal* an open call to form such an organization was issued. The story of the Associated Farmers with their use of bats, mobs, goon squads, and "take the law into our own hands" tactics was offered as the solution for the farmer. All labor unions, and especially the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers Union, were characterized as racketeering organizations. The Associated Farmers have already spread, during the past year, from their birthplace in California to Oregon, Washington, and Arizona. A determined cooperative effort by all progressive forces is necessary to expose their illegal tactics, their incipient Fascist objectives, and their reactionary roots in the large grower-banker groups of California.

The Pressing Need

In conclusion, certain general observations should be made, if the gains achieved during the past year are to be retained and extended. The agrarian crisis is still acute: as a whole the agricultural and rural workers are in desperate straits. The great mass of sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and small commercial farmers are on the thin edge of starvation and insecurity.

Large grower and processor groups, real estate and banking interests and insurance companies, still skim the cream from the farmer's milk. Distribution channels and marketing outlets are largely monopolistic bottle-necks squeezing the pockets of both the farmer and the consumer. These interests are even able to take back from the farmer the lion's share of any New Deal benefits.

Further, the New Deal measures have not been adequate, even though steps in the right direction have been taken. More relief, more W.P.A. funds, better control measures in securing cost-of-production prices to farmers are needed. The labor and social-security protections of industrial workers must be extended to farm laborers and their cousins in poverty, the sharecroppers and farm tenants. If they are not,

the farm groups will be fertile soil for any demagogue or reactionary who comes along blaming the labor movement. Utilizing the confusion and distress growing out of undeniably bad conditions—and playing on racial, sectional, rural and individual prejudices—the reactionary big growers, processors, banking interests and their agents and press can still wield tremendous influence among these millions of workers and farmers.

A more determined effort to secure adequate measures through the New Deal must be made. A widespread campaign to organize, clarify, assist, and cooperate with the mass of farmers in their attempts to meet their very real problems must be undertaken.

Bill of Rights

(Continued from page 9)

agreement with a union must record it in a written contract. Another decision in the Court declared local ordinances forbidding the distribution of non-commercial leaflets to be unconstitutional. Thus a quite general and very effective tactic of the anti-union employer in preventing appeals to workers and organization meetings is outlawed. This was a body blow to Hague in Jersey City and to many other little dictators.

But there are other battles yet to be fought in this "war," hard and bitter ones. The reactionary roughnecks of the industrial conflict, led by Ford and Girdler, have been ordered to stop their thuggery and killings, their control of the local law-enforcement agencies. In the Massillon case the N.L.R.B. finds that Republic Steel incited violence during the strike by attempting to turn civil authorities against the union; gave tear- and sickness-gas to the city; and was responsible for a situation in which "although no police were injured, three strikers were killed and an undetermined number injured . . . where 165 were arrested without warrants . . . and 164 were held in jail without charges. . . ." All this in the name of "freedom."

The findings in the Ford case are of the same sort. Yet these friends of freedom are now fighting the "cease and desist" orders in the courts. But this time they are fighting not simply the union, but the democratic decision of the American people. Like their friend, Hitler, they are out to destroy not simply the right to organize, but the whole democratic process. This battle over the Wagner Act is one of the decisive engagements in the campaign to prevent the taking of the United States by Fascism. The struggle reaches out into the nature of the American political machine. In the battle of Jersey City, the issue is not the political control that naturally belongs to a dominant economic organization upon which the life of the com-

munity depends. Here is a political machine which for its own ends seeks to *build up* an anti-union sweatshop city, by its use of the police and by its control of the lower courts.

In the Ford case, the issue of free speech emerged in a different form than that of the newspaper cases. Among other things, the N.L.R.B. ordered the Ford Company to "cease and desist" from "circulating, distributing, or otherwise disseminating among its employees statements or propaganda disparaging or criticising labor organizations. . . ." On the face of it, considered apart from the rest of the order, and the record in the case, this prohibition is an infringement of the right of an employer to express his views. But this section of the order cannot be understood apart from the findings of fact upon which it is grounded. The record shows that the anti-union propaganda of the Ford Company is not a mere expression of views, but an inseparable element in a continuous course of conduct which includes the use of economic coercion and acts of violence. The purpose of this course of conduct is to stop the workers from exercising their right to organize. In this conflict of rights that of the employer to express himself has to give way. It is limited at the point where expression becomes restrictive of the right of the workers to organize, because the organization of labor under democratic conditions and controls has become a social necessity.

Attack by Amendment

The hardest battle before those who seek to extend democratic rights over wider areas of life is not with the roughneck reactionaries of industry whose tactics are force and violence, but with the more intelligent section of the employing and investing world whose program is to take the teeth out of the Wagner Act by amendment. Their appeal is to justice and fair play for the employer, in order to restore "confidence" and make recovery possible. It appears in seductive form week after week in the editorials of the *New York Times*.

Apparently the original plan of this group was to push for the incorporation of unions, or at least the public inspection of their accounts. Bills to this effect will appear in certain legislatures as one did recently in Oregon, but nationally the campaign is checked because the facts have knocked the bottom out of it. The old, stock arguments for incorporation have been thoroughly exposed. Labor cannot be compelled to incorporate unless business is also compelled. When business incorporates, it is to limit, not extend, responsibility. Unions are not compelled to incorporate in England; they may register to relieve themselves from liability for acts of their agents, if they wish to. Without incorporation, unions

can be sued for breach of contract. Both the Hatters Union and the United Mine Workers have in the past paid heavy damages. When these facts are known there is nothing left of the case for incorporation.

As for inspection of books, of course they should always be open to the members, but that is a matter for the members themselves to attend to. To open them through the state to the employers, is another matter. When business is ready to have all its accounts opened to the public, and so to its competitors and to labor, then and not till then can it expect to have the books of the union open for public inspection.

The Threat of War

There remains another threat to labor's democratic rights. It is the coming of war. During the World War days, labor made some gains. Afterwards, came the open-shop campaign, a desperate effort to take them away. This time, there will be an attempt to dictate terms to labor and to keep wages down from the beginning. Military necessity demands it. Spokesmen for the War Department have declared that there cannot be two bosses in war time, or any nonsense about collective bargaining. The question is, will labor submit, deceived by the old cry of patriotism or misled by its immediate interests? Or will it take a stand for Democracy and peace? Apparently British labor has just lost its chance, when called on by the Tories to support the rearmament program, to declare that it will not support a government which aids the Fascist powers and plots against the smaller democracies. Will American labor make a better record? If it doesn't, it will lose, as German labor did, both its right to organize and its chance to extend Democracy.

The struggle for the right to organize is not finished. Whether it will be won depends upon what labor does with what it has recently won. The state cannot *give* labor its rights, not even when the state is controlled by liberals and progressives. It can only make them possible. And labor, which means in the end all socially useful workers, can only hold its right to organize as it uses it in the political field to extend democratic controls over the whole of life, beginning with the basic economic necessities. If it fails or halts in this progress, the Fascists come to power. To prevent that, is the immediate task. It is for this purpose that all progressive elements are standing with labor in winning and holding its right to organize. It is for this purpose that labor must stand with all progressive elements in extending democratic rights to all sections of the American people, and the people's rule to all aspects of American life.

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Der Hague

(Continued from page 21)

hundred per cent. The city's bonded indebtedness has increased from \$16,333,000 in 1922 to over \$93,000,000 in 1937.

More than twelve thousand have lost their homes under tax sales, and an equal if not a larger number have lost their homes from foreclosures due to this staggering tax burden. All this because Frank Hague had to find the money to pay for the jobs to keep intact the organization. Were there no protesting voices? Yes—some of them were silenced with bribes. Some of them were ruined in business. The weak were framed and jailed. The friendless were often beaten, black-jacked and sentenced to jail for crimes committed by their accusers.

What did industry and commerce and the business men of Jersey City do during this period? Many of the large industries moved, because they could not operate profitably under the burdens imposed by this insatiable political machine. And thousands of Jersey City workers moved with the industries. Loft buildings became vacant and "To Let" signs appeared on dwellings and apartment houses. Other cities were building new apartments. There have not been more than ten new apartment houses built in Jersey City in the past six years. With a loss of residents, smaller business men suffered; but the smaller business men were the weakest of the protesting voices. Their notes were held by local banks, and the local banks were also the holders of Jersey City's bonds and tax anticipation notes. Banker and business man, real estate operator and professional man and worker—all were silenced by the threats, the intimidation of economic pressure, of boycott, and when these failed of physical harm. A local newspaper that once dared to question the virtues of the Hague organization found the theatrical advertising missing from its columns. "Jeff" Burkitt, a salesman and independent citizen who examined the situation and discussed it from a soap box, was egged, beaten, jailed and finally framed into an indictment on a charge of larceny.

One Who Disagreed

Edward I. Edwards, a distinguished banker, once Hague's most intimate friend, dared to disagree with his political sponsor. He was driven from the presidency of the First National Bank and within a year committed suicide.

While the city and its population, its commerce and its business suffered almost to the point of impoverishment, did Mayor Hague suffer too? No, while thousands of people walked the streets searching for employment, while thousands found bare subsistence possible only by obtaining relief from the funds provided by the federal government, Frank Hague waxed rich be-

yond the dreams of an Alger hero. The horseshoe hoodlum was now living in a \$7,000 duplex apartment which he and John Milton owned; he had acquired an estate which is a show place among the retreats of other millionaires in the most exclusive section of Deal, New Jersey; a fourteen-room suite at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City for which his rental and bill for 1935 alone was \$43,000. More recently he acquired a ranch near Tucson, Arizona. John Milton, his political adviser who replaced Governor A. Harry Moore in the United States Senate as Hague's appointee, has also acquired a few retreats, the newest of them a home in Nassau.

A Much-Travelled Man

There are servants in the duplex apartment where Hague lives and a chauffeur for his car—another for the limousine used by Mrs. Hague. There is a nurse to take care of Mrs. Hague's mother, and another to put curls in the hair of Mrs. Hague's adopted daughter; there is a butler at the Deal estate; a cook, a downstairs and an upstairs maid, and a caretaker at the ranch in Tucson.

But with all these expenses Mayor Hague has managed frequent trips in Royal suites to Europe, North Cape cruises, trips to Florida in special cars and an occasional flyer at the roulette tables in the continental casinos, at Palm Beach, and Miami.

The city budget, as David Wittels said in his interesting series of articles in the *New York Post*, is approximately either \$29,000,000 or \$38,000,000, depending on how you look at it. But if you look at it in terms of cash that Jersey City spent in 1937 to pay its job-holders, the interest on its indebtedness, the interest on its bonds which in some cases is as high as six per cent, it was \$38,000,000 and not one cent less.

Millions for Tribute

And in 1938 it will be higher. And so will the tax rate, as indicated by a recent city proclamation. And so will the millions that must pour into the Hague coffers to pay this ghastly toll exacted by America's most corrupt political organization.

Jersey City and its population—its workers, its professional men, its homeowners, its business men, its bankers, and its industrialists—can no longer support the city government without help. And the necessity for that help, Mayor Hague realized several years ago; he realized it when business and industrial concerns, no longer able to meet the oppressive tax burdens, moved from Jersey City. He realized it when thousands of residents abandoned apartments and dwellings and left their homes without the revenue to pay mortgages and taxes. And to this opportunistic mind, there was only one way to meet the problem. That was to

bring back industries, to bring back apartment-dwellers; but to bring back industry, Mayor Hague had to offer industry what officials in other cities would not, could not, or dared not offer.

And that was a city that welcomed the open shop, that welcomed low wages, that promised protection from unions and immunity from organizers. This and this alone explains Hague's attitude toward the C.I.O., toward civil liberties, toward constitutional rights. This and this alone explains why he is ready to trample and crush the liberties that have been peculiarly and proudly American. This and this alone explains why he is ready to call Catholic labor organizers "Communists"; why he is ready to call men and women whose forefathers fought in the American Revolution "Reds" and "Radicals." Mayor Hague will go to any desperate lengths to save the city from financial collapse and himself from the fate that is that of all officials who betray the trust of their electorates.

This should be understood clearly. It should be understood so clearly that every lover of liberty and Democracy will ally himself with every force, group and organization that seeks to stop Hagueism. We can stop it. We must stop it.

In a Spanish Town

(Continued from page 23)

questioned them and found them too young, the oldest only seventeen. We had to turn them down.

As we left we could see José looking as though it were his fault the boys were too young. He hated to see us go without Elbares men to fill up the gaps, but the villagers still wouldn't let him go himself.

We were headed for Aragon this time, and it wasn't likely that we'd come to rest in Elbares after the coming campaign. We might be leaving the village forever. You make friends fast in war time and we hated to go. We had left two monuments to remember us by in Elbares, but we hadn't anything you could lay your hands on to remember Elbares by. Then out of the pile of equipment and junk on one of the trucks, up popped sixteen-year-old Antonio, son of Elbares' village shoemaker, who would have been Ray Steel's brother-in-law if Ray hadn't died at Brunete. Antonio wouldn't take no for an answer. He had wanted to fill Ray's place and been turned down because he was too young. Very well, he would fill José the blacksmith's place because, according to him, if the village wanted to keep a man like José from the front, it had to supply a substitute. And Antonio had elected himself the substitute. But for us he was José himself, and a monument to the village, and a comrade to step in where a comrade had fallen.

Our Struggle

(Continued from page 7)

workers of America are making their voices heard in every legislature in the nation. The record of progressive laws already achieved is due to this new articulation of labor's needs and desires. The National Labor Relations Act, the relief program, the new activity of government in looking out for the interests of the people who elect it, is due to the new strength of the organized labor movement. It is due to the new unity that has been achieved and is being achieved in the ranks of the industrial mass organizations that make up the C.I.O.

Workers of Hand and Brain

There is another unity being forged through the work of the new labor movement in this country that has an equal importance with that of industrial unity. This is the unity now being created between industrial workers and the white-collar and professional groups. Previously the labor movement had fought its battles alone, with only the industrial workers for its army. Today, under the impetus of the C.I.O. and of other progressive organizations, the white-collar and professional wage-earner is being drawn into the struggle as never before.

Fascism has taught us this lesson. Not only does Fascist barbarism seek to destroy the organized labor movement—invariably its first target—but it tries to destroy every element of freedom and security enjoyed by other groups as well. An especially violent attack is made on cultural freedom. Fascism cannot endure the presence of unhampered thought on the part of any group, no matter how "unpolitical" that group may consider itself. It can no more permit middle class, white collar, professional groups to think and act for themselves than it can permit workers to organize for the improvement of their living and working conditions.

The Lesson of Unity

This is why Fascist barbarism is as much a threat to the middle groups as it is to labor. Labor, because it is furthest out in front in the fight for Democracy, bears the heaviest part of the struggle against reaction. Today in America middle groups are beginning to realize this. They must continue to learn the facts of economic and political life as they are presented today. They must continue to learn the lesson of unity with the chief force fighting for democratic rights—of unity with the labor movement.

The struggle that labor carries on for Democracy is their struggle. It is the struggle of all people who need and who cherish liberty in our country's social and political life.

Labor and Liberty

TO THE many millions of organized American workers and to the many millions who are awaiting organization, to the average man and woman of this country, the questions of war, wages and hours, Democracy, the right to organize and assemble, Fascism, are no longer mere theory. They are problems we have to deal with every hour of the day. It is our bread and butter, our freedom, our lives and the lives of our children which are at stake.

For more than seventy-five years, American workers have sought through their unions to improve their living standards—higher wages, shorter hours, more sanitary shops, more humane treatment, the right to organize and to bargain collectively. Our free public school system and progressive legislation in general found its major support and was often born and cradled in union halls. Abraham Lincoln was no mere utopian when he sought and found support for his democratic ideas in carrying the Civil War to its successful conclusion by turning to the first labor groups in America and England.

For more than a decade now American workers have had the living example of what Fascism means to the workers of Europe. First came Mussolini and then Hitler. The great labor organizations of Italy and Germany were destroyed ruthlessly. Many tens of thousands of workers and their leaders were murdered and imprisoned. All this as a prelude to lowering living standards, abolishing whatever Democracy those countries possessed, and above all, throttling opposition to the piratical Fascist adventures in Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria. *Fascism does not confine itself to its own borders.* It works hand in hand with reactionary forces everywhere. It seeks allies and finds them ready-made in every country.

The Fascist apologists are with us. Take Frederick J. Libby of the National Council for Prevention of War, as an example. He approves of the annexation of Austria, saying that "Austria's union with Germany aids European stability." He approves the annexation of Danzig and Czechoslovakia. He welcomes Herbert Hoover back from his visit to Hitler, with open arms. (Whenever you find an apologist for the foreign aggressor policies of Hitler and Mussolini, you find a man who allies himself with the scab and reactionary politicians of America.) Mr. Libby can never find time to support the movement for Democracy at home or abroad. Mr. Libby and his counterparts do not raise their voices when Fascist governments suppress the trade unions or when they murder and jail Catholics and Jews. The Libbys are never on the picket line when labor conducts its struggles for the right to live. You will always find them in the camp of the Hoovers on both *domestic* and *foreign* policies. In these days of international interdependence, domestic and foreign policies are never far apart. You cannot be for the Fascist foreign policies of Hitler and Mussolini and for democratic policies at home. The Hitler "peace" societies are in our midst.

But as a democratic people our sympathy and active support goes to the victims of Fascism.



As a democratic people our sympathy and active support goes to the Spanish Republic and to China. As a democratic people our sympathy and active support goes to the people in Germany, Italy and Japan who are struggling against Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese government. As a democratic people we unite with the democratic people of other democracies to form an impregnable ring for Democracy against the Fascist aggressors. As a democratic people we propose to our government *democratic* foreign policies against the Fascist foreign policies of *aggression* and will support our government in these policies.

As a democratic people we find ourselves on the side of labor at home in its struggle for better wages, better hours and civil liberties. As a democratic people we actively support labor in its right to organize into unions of its own choosing. As a democratic people we are with labor in its struggle for a better world.

Democracy or Fascism! Democracy, peace and freedom or Fascism, war and slavery.—J.P.

Our Answer to the Jew-Haters

"EARLY Sunday morning inhabitants of Theben in Czechoslovakia . . . heard faint cries for help coming from a narrow breakwater well out in the Danube and entirely separated from the mainland. A group of persons was discerned in the semi-darkness waving handkerchiefs and uttering feeble cries.

"Czechoslovak frontier patrols set out in a motor boat and found crouched together on rough stones barely emerging from the swollen river fifty-one Jews from the villages of Kitsee and Jarendorf in Austrian Burgenland.

"They had been brought by boat by Austrian Storm Troopers the preceding evening and turned out on the breakwater without food, money, warm clothing or identification papers.

"Although their families had lived in these villages for generations, the Nazis had robbed them of all their property. Among them were Kitsee's 82-year-old Rabbi Perls and his sick

wife and many other women and children."

Such is the pretty story of Hitler in Austria, as reported by the *New York Times*. Such is the new barbarism, equal to the pogroms of Czarist Russia or the annihilation of the Armenians. Such is the glorious Fascist contribution to the history of man. And to get some idea of the whole picture, we must remember that the anti-Semitic outrages go hand in hand with similar activities against Catholics, trade unionists and members of all non-Fascist political parties.

In the face of news like this, we are glad to learn that the United States government is taking steps to provide for the refugees from Nazi madness. Thus Democracy answers the challenge of fanaticism. But this answer by itself is not enough.

Our own country is far from free of prejudice against the Jewish people. The deadly poison of anti-Semitism, spread among us by reactionaries and labor-haters, has had its effect on our national life. There is hardly a community in the land without its example of discrimination and intolerance. And anti-Semitic organizations and propaganda are on the increase. True, their forgeries and lies have been exposed a thousand times; but as Hitler observed, "Some of it will stick!"

It is up to the people of America to see that this virus of black reaction does *not* stick. Let us root out of our institutions and life every trace of inequality, every vestige of anti-Jewish discrimination. That would be a fitting answer to the brown-shirted bullies of Europe.—C.P.

The LaFollette Committee

AS THESE words are being written the fate of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee is still hanging in the balance. Shall this committee continue its work or not? The Girdlers say *no*. The progressives say *yes*. The only people who have anything to lose by the continuation of this Senate investigation are those interests who are accustomed to encourage spying in their factories and plants and the Pinkerton agencies who profit thereby.—G.D.

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