

July
1938

The
Fight
FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

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Young Mexico

SIR NORMAN ANGELL • LANGSTON HUGHES • CH'AO-TING CHI

SPOTTING THE "ENEMY"

The caption to this picture, which was supplied to us by a news agency, read: "Though the blackout was a success last night, Farmingdale, L. I., with its railroad junction and aircraft factories, was theoretically wiped off the map." But the caption did not tell us how to stop war. If you would prevent a new World War and help stop the wars now raging, we invite and strongly urge you to take your place in the ranks of the foremost people's peace movement. Enlist against war today!

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

268 Fourth Avenue

New York City



With the Readers

★

THIS column received two or three letters asking the same question. "Do you really think—as you intimated in your June number—that Mussolini thinks often of his Socialist days. . . ."

WE are not going to reply *here* to these queries about what Mussolini thinks. As we are writing this column we are occupied these summer days with the thoughts of what we would really like to be doing. Let the secret be out. We would like to be writing the life of a man. (The life of any man, if we could probe deep enough and grasp its full significance is worthy of record.) But the man we would like to understand, his background, early youth and later life, all the little and big things which make up a life, is J. B. McNamara.

FOR twenty-seven years a man lingers in prison. The man is a labor leader. He was in his twenties when the iron door closed in on him. He is now in his late fifties. He was never a radical. The philosophy of Karl Marx was strange to him. In politics he was a staunch Democrat. In religion he was a devout Catholic. The writings of Whitman, Thoreau, Tolstoi, Shelley, Ibsen, Anatole France were unknown to him.

THE year was 1911 when he entered a California jail. Do you really know what that era was like? Do you know what a young and able conservative top leader in the A.F. of L. was like? What would life have made of this man had he lived all these years outside of prison gates? What is he really like *now*?

ALL this came to our mind when we read the other day a published letter from J. B. McNamara to a friend of his. And in this letter he says: "Alone and single-handed, I did not sink that well within me. You, and all the workers, sacrificing and struggling on water and land for a better, constructive, depression-recession-proof world for all who create and produce, had a share in sinking the well within me. These comrades are not in California alone; they are in every part of the world; they are blending all the age-old customs, traditions, aims, ideals and purpose of life into one objective; emancipation for all humankind. . . ."

WHERE did these clear-cut and crystal-like words and ideas come from? What made these symbols form in the mind of this man? A conservative, a Democrat, a Catholic. What experiences in his early youth, experiences unblemished by outside corruptions, gave these strong thoughts to this man in prison?

(*All experiences are good, if they do not run counter to your inner understanding and do not conflict with your social conscience. But experiences can be great only if they cut a new pattern which will be sooner or later accepted by mankind as a good design for living.*)

THIS then is what we would like to do. To understand the life of this man, called J. B. McNamara, who for twenty-seven years has breathed in a prison in California and there grew with his class and mankind. To understand him thoroughly, to probe his depths, to see and feel as he sees and feels, and to understand why he sees and feels as he does would give us, we believe, the key to why Democracy will be triumphant.



A meeting in Jersey City where Dr. Harry F. Ward and Arthur Garfield Hays (above) spoke in defiance of Hague's Hitlerism

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RUSSELL T. LIMBACH, whose drawings have reached in the last few years great heights, has in this number even gone one better. Look, reader, and look again at Limbach's conception of Austria and Hitler.

LANGSTON HUGHES, who spent some time recently in Spain, is the author of many books of poems, novels and plays. This poem of his here, titled *Madrid*, we are confident will be remembered long after Franco's memory has been blotted out from the consciousness of mankind.

ADOLF DEHN, illustrator of Langston Hughes' poem, has contributed to many publications here and abroad. Mr. Dehn has works on permanent exhibition in many museums, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and (at last report) the Albertina Museum in Vienna.

LUCIEN ZACHAROFF, a frequent commentator on international developments for leading American and European newspapers, magazines and syndicates, holds that a thorough familiarity with military science is most valuable for the student of the world scene today, because he agrees with Clausewitz that "war is the continuation of diplomacy by other means."

KIMBALL MCILROY is a young Canadian writer making his debut in THE FIGHT. He has appeared with poems and stories in several "little" magazines and has had fiction in *Mayfair*, *Family Herald* and *Canadian*.

MANY of the photographs in this number were furnished by Black Star.

IN THE HEART OF CHINA



WE'RE proud of this picture. It came a long way—from Yennan, Shensi, China. Dr. Norman Bethune sent it, and he wrote: "I took this photograph of Dr. Ida Sung, of the 29th Red Cross Unit attached to the hospital at Yennan, as she was reading **THE FIGHT** in her cave. The hospital is composed of fifty-eight caves dug into the mountains near Yennan. These caves are about fifteen feet long, ten feet high and ten feet wide.

The floor is of beaten earth. The patients sleep on brick *k'wangs*.

"The caves are warm in winter and cool in summer and have the great advantage of being bomb-proof!"

Thus to the heart of China goes **THE FIGHT**, with news of America's struggle for Democracy. In China—in Spain—throughout the U.S.A.—wherever the people strive for Democracy and against the war-makers, **THE FIGHT** is read. A magazine of, by and for the common people, **THE FIGHT** belongs in your home. It will come to you for only one dollar a year.

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The Fight

FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

July, 1938



What the War's About

A China where freedom rises daily confronts a Japan moving from tyranny to Fascism in the great Far Eastern struggle

By Ch'ao-ting Chi

PHOTOGRAPHS BY AGNES SMEDLEY

UNLIKE wars between two imperialist powers, the Sino-Japanese war is not the result of a clash of interest between two ambitious neighbors. There has not been the slightest danger of a Chinese aggression against Japan or a Chinese invasion of Japanese territory. Therefore, in contrast to the case of an imperialist war in which the question of who is the aggressor is difficult to determine, there is absolutely no difficulty in identifying the aggressor in the Sino-Japanese war. Japan started the war by invading China and she must be adjudged the guilty party for bringing about this frightful conflagration that threatens to engulf the whole world.

The first question that comes to our mind when we think of the Far Eastern situation is: Why has Japan started this trouble? What does she expect to get out of it? We know of many excuses made by both the official and unofficial spokesmen of Japan, the most plausible being the plain statement that what Japan wants is access to the resources and markets of China. The strength of this argument lies in the fact that it contains an element of truth; the danger of it lies in the fact it is only a half-truth and therefore is very misleading. What Japan wants is not just access to the raw materials and markets of China. What she wants is exclusive and monopolistic control over all the wealth and resources of China and political domination over the Chinese people.

China has never refused Japan access to her raw materials. In fact, not only China but the whole world has been willing and anxious to sell raw materials to Japan. For instance, the United States is always ready to sell cotton to Japan. But Japan is interested in making other plans. Her plans for the economic exploitation of China include the scheme to convert the grain fields of North China into cotton fields. She figures that if she is able

Photos show (top right) transporting the wounded; (top left) a Chinese woman caring for war orphans; and (bottom) one of the orphans



to secure political domination of North China through conquest, she will be able to compel Chinese farmers to grow cotton instead of grain, at the risk of food shortage, and compel them to sell the cotton to the Japanese on Japan's terms. By this arrangement Japan expects to be freed from her dependence upon American cotton, the price of which Japan cannot dictate.

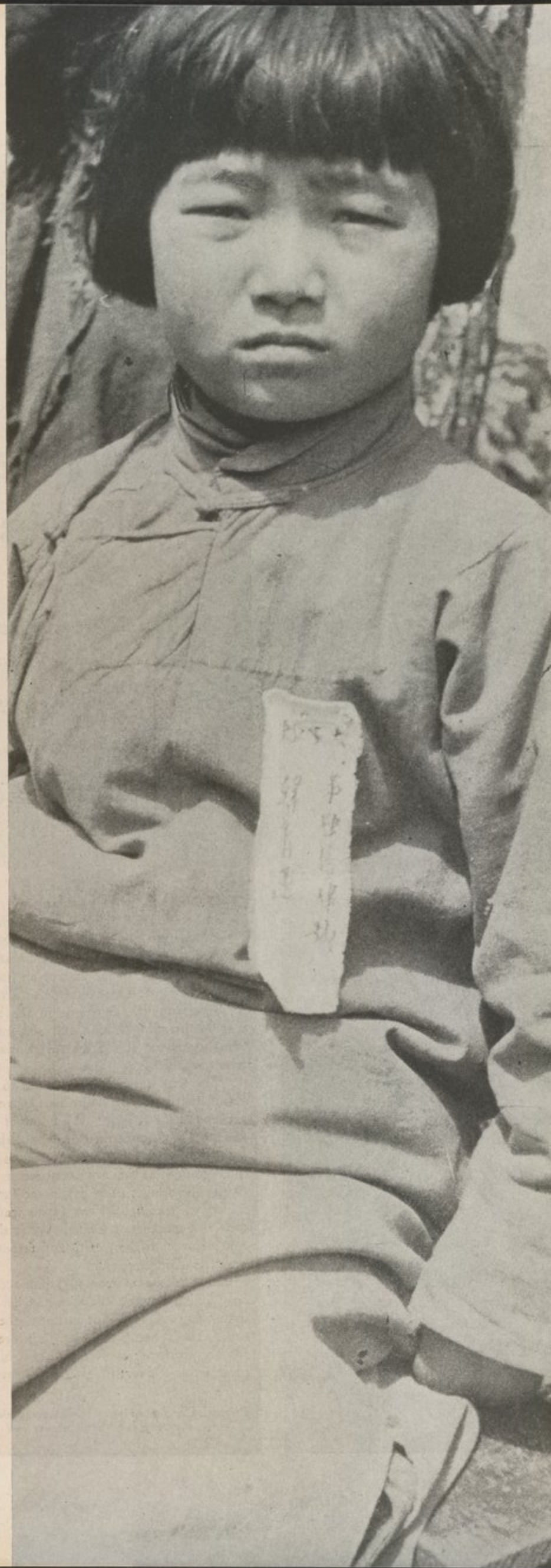
As for markets, China has never closed her door to Japanese trading. The occasional boycotts are all provoked by Japanese aggression, and if the Japanese stop their aggression, the disappearance of the boycott movement will naturally follow. In fact, if Japan treats China as an equal, abides by her pledge in the Nine-Power Treaty to respect China's territory, integrity and administrative independence, and follows a policy of winning China's confidence and good will by being a good neighbor, she can take full advantage of her closeness to the market and the adaptability of her products to China's needs, and gain the lion's share in the Chinese market. But Japan is not satisfied with just trying to cash in on competitive advantages. What she wants is monopoly profit gained through exclusive control. She aims to close the open door so that China will become the private hunting-ground of Japanese traders.

Political Domination

Thus what Japan wants is exclusive and monopolistic economic exploitation of China, but such a fundamental privilege cannot be secured except through political domination. Political domination in order to assure monopolistic economic domination—this is Japan's ultimate aim in regard to China. This is the chief content of the policy of continental expansion which has dominated Japan's political scene for the past half-century. In order to attain this objective, she has resorted to all sorts of intrigue, threats, and outright military invasion. Her methods changed, and tempo of her advance varied from time to time, but her objective has never changed. She aims to conquer China.

Who stands to be benefited by the Japanese conquests and expansion? In order to answer this question, let us first see who has been benefited by Japanese expansion in the past. We know that the conquest of Manchuria has resulted in a tremendous increase of capital investment and industrial expansion in Japan. The great increase can be gauged by the fact that paid-up capital in the manufacturing industries has increased from 1,584 million yen in 1931 to 2,202 million yen in 1934 and 2,623 million yen in 1936. But have the Japanese workers derived any benefit out of this expansion? Part of

"What now?" asks this victim of Japanese aggression



the answer can be found in real-wage statistics. Suppose that in 1931 the real-wage rate was 100; by 1934, it had dropped to 81 and by 1936, it had gone down as far as 77.2. This big drop in real-wage rate is in sharp contrast to the changes in the rate of profit in the manufacturing industries. In 1931, the year of Japan's conquest of Manchuria, the rate of profit was only 5.5 per cent; by 1934 it had increased to 15.4 per cent; and by 1936, it had gone up as far as 16.4 per cent. Thus we see that not only are Japanese workers not benefited by Japan's expansion, but their conditions of living have actually become worse. They have been made to pay the expenses of expansion while the economic harvest of expansion was reaped by the financial and industrial interests.

Enemies of the Peoples

The biggest and most reactionary factions of these interests are generally linked, by family ties as well as by business relations, with the most powerful semi-feudal militarist clans which, despite the growth of elements hostile to them, still exert overpowering influence in the army and navy. Thus, it is these reactionary business interests and militarist cliques which have been benefited by past expansion and which stand to be benefited by further expansion. It is they who are responsible for the war. They are the common enemies of the Japanese people and the Chinese people, and it is against them and not the Japanese people, that China's war of defense is directed. It is the understanding of this basic fact that motivated the Chinese government to order its airplanes to drop leaflets instead of bombs in Japan, and to invite an outstanding Japanese writer to serve on the staff of the Mass Political Training Department of the Chinese Army. Thus while the Japanese militarists conduct the war for wanton destruction and the murder and subjugation of the Chinese people, the Chinese government regards this war as a defensive struggle against Japanese militarism and not as a war of destruction against the Japanese people.

The war, therefore, means one thing to Japan and an entirely different thing to China. This basic difference accounts for the two basically contrasting historical tendencies that can be easily observed in the two countries. In Japan, the unmistakable tendency is toward Fascism; the country is passing rapidly from a semi-Fascist militarism into full-fledged Fascism. This tendency has become markedly increased since about 1930 when the Araki, Magaki and Muto clique and the so-called "Young Colonels," including men like Itagaki, Doihara and Ishihara, gained ascendancy. The growth of the Fascist movement brought about

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July 1938, THE FIGHT

The Necessary Union

*The first in a series of articles
by leading spokesmen of varied
opinions on today's world situation*

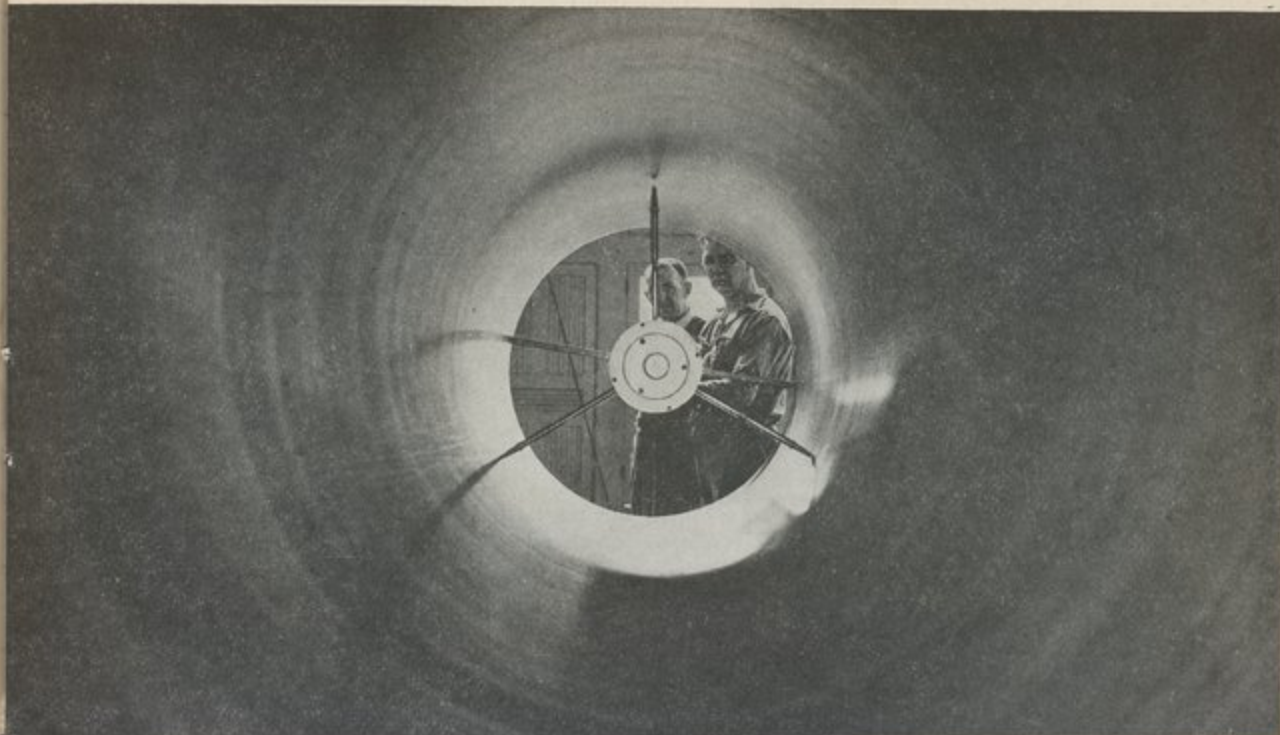
By
Sir Norman Angell

TOWARDS the end of his *Memoirs* Mr. Lloyd George puts this question: Could the Great War have been prevented? He answers "Yes" and goes on to explain that if the Central Powers could have foreseen that the line of policy they were following would bring into the field against them the array of powers which finally they had to face, they would not have followed that policy and there would have been no war.

This is surely the most significant and tragic lesson of the war. It is precisely the lesson we have failed to learn and which we are now repeating. Britain has, it is true, given definite undertakings to protect France in the event of attack upon her. I put repeatedly to my countrymen this question: Assume that you have to fulfil that obligation. Recalling the difficulties of 1914 when Italy, Japan, Russia, Roumania and finally the United States were on our side, it is not going to be easy with those countries either eliminated, neutral, or against us. If at that moment of grave jeopardy the greatest military power of the world so far as the air is concerned offers her help, are you going to refuse? In other words, would you decline coöperation with Russia?

I have yet to meet an Englishman who has had the hardihood to say he would refuse Russia's help in those circumstances, but a very great proportion add: "Let us wait until the need arises before talking about coöperation with Russia"—in other words, let

Here's looking at you—through the barrel of a sixteen-inch gun



us commit the selfsame error we committed in 1914; let us create in the minds of potential aggressors the idea that owing to divisions of opinion in this country—similar perhaps to the sharp divisions revealed in the Spanish matter—we shall not resist him when he attempts certain things, though in fact, when it comes to the point we shall, though again, it will be too late.

This does not mean that either Britain or France should rush into commitments which it may find later to be impossible of fulfilment. But it does mean that we should resist being pushed bit by bit into a strategic position in which it would be impossible to fulfill the very clear commitments already given; and that we should be prepared to accept whatever coöperations are necessary to the fulfilment of our pledges.

But the truth is our will is paralysed by indecisions that have far deeper roots than the indecisions which had so tragic a result in 1914.

It is clear that if our—British—policy had been based really on a determination to ensure above all the effective defence of France, we should have been extremely vigilant all along the line to give such aid we safely could to help that side in the Spanish struggle which was resisting the domination of Germany. That side happened to be the side also of international law, of legitimacy, whether we think of that law in the terms of the new Covenant or of the old international rule. Law, legitimacy, our interest in pledges given in respect of the security of France, our own strategic interest as affecting the Antipodes, India, the Empire, were all on the side of Loyalist Spain. But a large section of the Conservative Party, members of the Government, have without any sort of subterfuge expressed their hopes for the victory of the rebellion—have indeed actively advocated that cause in Britain, taken part in great public meetings, participated in the organization of societies created to win British support for Franco's cause.

In so doing they were, of course, supporting the cause which Italy and Germany are promoting in Spain and which it is clear these powers are promoting because they hope thereby to improve their strategic position.

Now it is agreed that the danger to Britain can come from only one quarter—Germany. If bombs do drop upon London (or Paris) they will not be French or Danish or Swiss bombs, they will be German. This is not denied. It is against Germany that our Conservatives are clamantly demanding the protection of huge armaments. So that you get this ridiculous situation: In one breath armaments are

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To My Fellow-Jews

An open letter pointing the way to halt the rising tide of anti-Semitism and to struggle for the cause of Jewish freedom and the freedom of all mankind

By James Waterman Wise

ANTI-SEMITISM is on the march. Not only in Germany and Austria, Poland and Roumania, do the peddlers of prejudice distill the fears and hungers of the people into racial and religious hatred. Here in America too we see crude attempts to blame the Jew for every evil of the depression. We feel the subtle effects of detraction and calumny levelled against us. Inevitably we note the similarity of such attacks to those made by Hitler in the course of his rise to power. And we are filled with grave concern both for our country and for ourselves.

Concern for our country, because we know that anti-Semitism always and everywhere goes hand-in-hand with militarism, reaction and oppression. Concern for ourselves, because it threatens our equality of legal status and the almost equal opportunity in fact which we today enjoy.

It Can Happen Here

Nor can we take easy comfort in the thought that free America is incapable of the race savagery of Czarist Russia or Nazi Germany. Even were this so (I recall German Jews who reassured me in

1931 that as inhabitants of a civilized country they had nothing to fear from Hitler) our concern would not vanish. For, almost worse than the results of prejudice and persecution is the psychic fear they engender, the political and social pressure which they exert. These we have already begun to feel. The question which we face, therefore, is: What course of action shall we take to combat the anti-Semitism which exists in the United States today? How can we prevent its further spread and encroachment? How, finally, can we hope to eliminate its poison from the American body politic?

It is clear that this question is already compelling attention. Jewish organizations, newspapers, fraternal bodies and cultural groups have registered the necessity for answering it. Conferences are being held, congresses are being convened to discuss it. Most important, it is on the unwritten agenda of most of us: a recurrent theme in our homes, at our work, even in hours of social contact and relaxation.

This is well, for it signifies that we are at least aware of the problem and concerned with the attempt to solve it. Awareness itself, however, is not enough. Indeed, unless it is directed into clear and positive channels of action, awareness tends to degenerate into hysteria. Panic is a poor preventive.

Building the Ghettoes

Yet it is to panic and hysteria that we must ascribe the attitude of certain sections of our people in the present crisis. What, for example, but an unconsidered hysterical mood could explain the demand that some Jews should abandon or soft-pedal their political convictions so as not to endanger the political rights of other Jews? Yet I have repeatedly heard and read, in recent months, the statement that Jews must not—whatever they think—publicly champion Communism or Socialism, radical or even liberal policies. The reason advanced is that the advocacy of such unpopular causes will supply the anti-Semites with an excuse for depriving us of our rights. What is overlooked is the tragic paradox that, if we of the working class and middle class abandon the right to champion unpopular causes, we shall have nothing left of which the anti-Semites can deprive us! Thus we will not only be driven into ghettoes of inferiority, but we ourselves will have built them.

This retreatism is the gravest danger which we face today: the abandonment of hard-won and precious positions which are threatened more by fear

Tenement street on New York's East Side, where many Jewish workers live





Jewish people of the East Side shop at street markets like this one

of our enemies than by our enemies themselves. Yet that is precisely what takes place when we surrender the right as free and equal citizens of our country to maintain any political opinion, or to participate in social and economic movements which are, or are called, radical and progressive. Moreover, in surrendering this right, we tacitly invite further demands by our enemies for self-obliteration and auto-enslavement. Let us once admit that Jews have no right to hold "radical" convictions and we shall find that no conviction held by us is "conservative" enough to appease the anti-Semites.

Objection is raised to Jewish activity in such organizations as the C.I.O., the American League for Peace and Democracy, the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, etc. That these organizations and groups are worthy of aid and support is not challenged by the objectors. They complain rather of the potentially dangerous effect of such activity on the status of the Jew generally. They feel that by such activity, he aligns himself with the workers, with the peace-seeking and the Democracy-building forces of the

nation. And in these forces the objectors have little or no faith. They still cling to the illusion that the "powers and principalities" (or to use modern terms, the vested and imperialist interests) can and should be counted on to save and sustain us.

The Jewish Herring

They have not learned from the fate of German and Polish Jewry that these reactionary forces must, by their very nature, become the generators and proponents of anti-Semitism, once it becomes profitable and useful to do so. Nor is it clear to them that in a world ridden by depression and doubts and fears, it is not only profitable and useful, but inevitable that Fascist countries, as well as the Fascist and war-making elements in all countries, shall exploit the latent hatred of the Jew—indeed, of all minorities. They do not see that this is already taking place in America today, that vigilante and anti-union and labor-smashing forces are already attempting to draw a Jewish herring across the trail of their activities.

Thus they ogle and coquette with reaction, seeking to tie the Jewish fate to its chariot. They

demand that we Jews shall do and say and think nothing which may displease the potential Hitlers and Mussolinis of America. They attack Jews who exercise such elementary American rights as criticism of the Hagues and Girdlers—lest these turn anti-Semitic. They demand that Jews do not support the democratic struggle of the Spanish people—lest the Catholic hierarchy react against us. They bid the Jews desist even from "safe" political activity lest their mere prominence in office, no matter how worthily held, call us to excessive attention. Better, they say, that the Jew be a Mr. Zero than an Einstein, a nonentity than a Sigmund Freud, an ignoramus than a Brandeis!

Fortunately for us, biology as well as common sense rejects so fantastic an attitude to the anti-Semitism rampant today. Indeed, the very fallacy of the retreat-mongers' argument indicates the true course which we should follow. That fallacy is the assumption that our enemies can be bribed and our freedom bought. Whereas the demonstrable fact is that, like all freedom, it must be *struggled* for and won. Thus the practical question at issue is:

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Troops of Mexico's progressive Government scour the hills in search of the traitor Cedillo

Good Neighbor Mexico

By Cyrus Porter Partnoy

TO UNDERSTAND Mexico is to understand a nation exploited at some time during the past four centuries by every world power. The Aztecs built a civilization based on human sacrifices: the pyramids now worn thin by passing tourists bear silent testimony to Montezuma's methods of holding a nation in subjection. But these same tourists rarely tread over the regions of Tampico and Minatitlan—where they would find tall monuments to oil, for which certain English and American interests would be willing to sacrifice the Mexico of today.

Oil. You hear it mentioned everywhere in the same breath as bread. It has become a power in Mexico. Oil had created fabulous wealth for everyone but Mexico—now, the great "crime" of expropriation would provide some much-needed wealth for an impoverished country. But unless the United States oil companies meet the terms offered by the Mexican government; unless our State Department compels them to accept; unless England lifts the blockade by which she hopes to economically strangle a nation willing to reimburse her for her "loss"—unless these mitigating factors are accomplished, oil will remain Mexico's most acute economic and social problem.

Oil and Politics

It was never altogether the monetary aspect of oil that brought about Mexico's determined step. It was the political maneuvering that accompanied

it. To secure their interests, both British and American oil companies purchased high and low political officials; ran community elections; hired thugs and gangsters to rid themselves of "agitators"; created their own private armies, and in short ordered the affairs of the natives. Their refusal to recognize the Supreme Court decision affecting the demands of the Union of Petroleum Workers is indicative of the methods employed by the oil interests to prevent even a small share of Mexico's great wealth from reverting to her own people. It is ironic to note that of the 45,000,000 barrels of oil produced by American and British oil companies in Mexico in 1937, over 20,000,000 barrels were sold to Mexico *alone*. To have to pay a stranger for oil dug in her own back yard was a little too much for Mexico to swallow. With popular resentment mounting, President Lazaro Cardenas warned the companies to reach an agreement with the oil workers; but the companies blithely went ahead disregarding the storm signs. It must be stated, however, that many months before the March 18th decree expropriating their property they were already negotiating with General Cedillo, who, they were assured, would soon head a government more favorable to their interests.

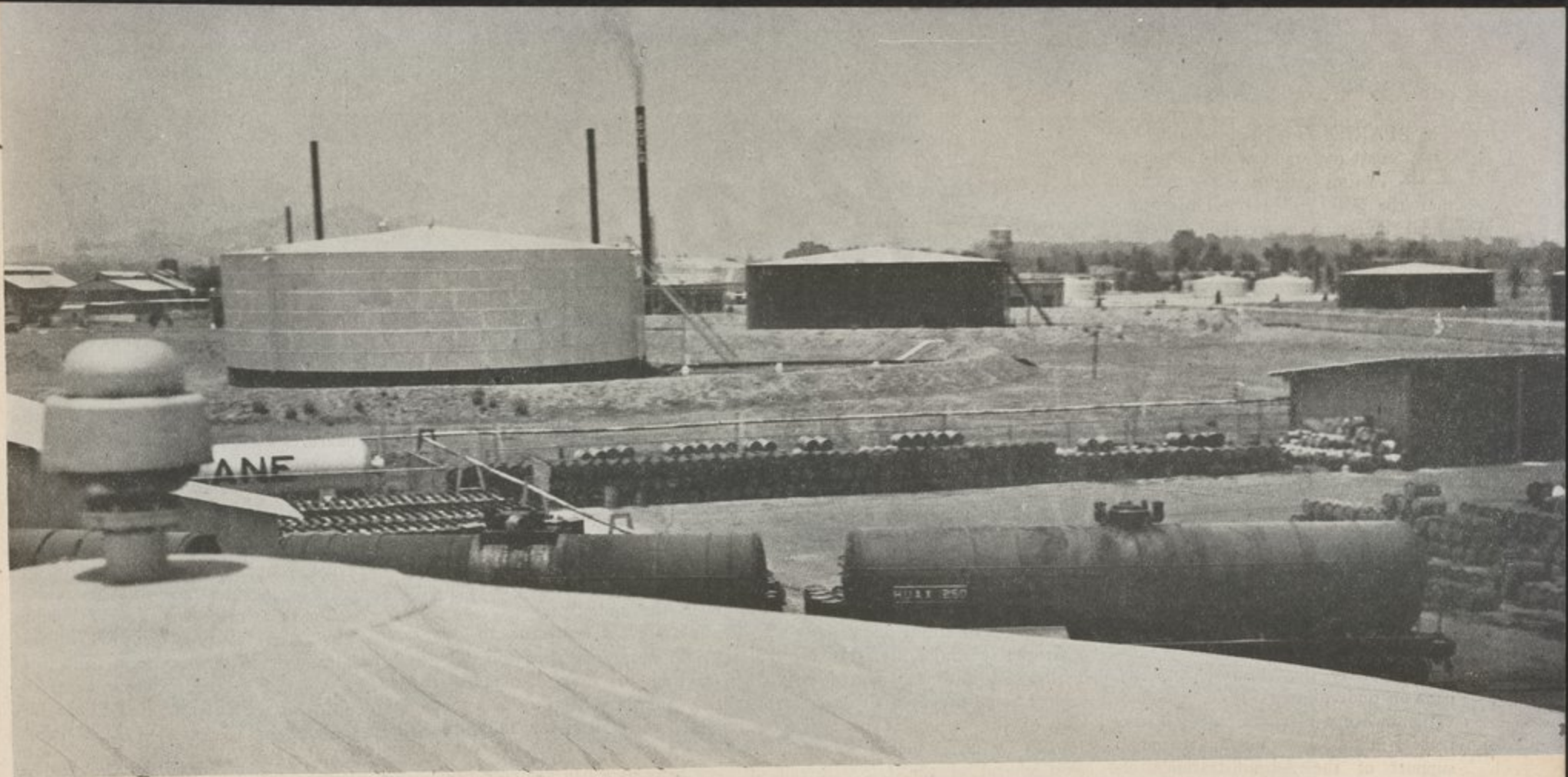
Great Britain was by far the greatest single interest in Mexico that dominated the oil situation. For Great Britain, Mexican oil is a desperate necessity. Even though Venezuela is third in oil production, England was slow in getting there, permitting the Sinclair interests to expand while she concen-

trated on Mexico. And for a very good reason. The high-powered, heavy oil so valuable for her navy and aviation was right here in Mexico. All Venezuela could offer was a light, crude oil. It is clear that Mexican oil is the life-blood of Great Britain's navy base in the Honduras. As a matter of fact, weeks after England had declared her boycott, we visited Puerto Mexico, a gulf port in the south of Mexico whose main industry is the shipping of oils. There aboard the "Petrie," a 200-ton sailing vessel, were stacked hundreds of barrels of oil destined for Belize in the British Honduras.

Friendship for the U. S.

It remains to be seen, everyone concedes, just how long Mexico can hold out. It is certain that Great Britain cannot afford to lose this valuable source of supplies for her naval base in the Pacific, even if she is compelled to pay for it. But the United States—that is another problem. As far as we could learn, Mexicans are friendly toward America. They believe that so long as Roosevelt heads the government, there is little danger of invasion or brutal economic retaliation.

To illustrate a point: We had a half-hour stop-over in Ixtepec, the southern junction for trains bound for Guatemala, Puerto Mexico and Salina Cruz. It is a very busy junction, for this strip of land is the narrowest traversable section of Mexico which connects the Pacific and the Atlantic. We dropped into a restaurant, and there, in a region



Oil!—the life-blood of the Mexican Republic, now expropriated from foreign interests by the Cardenas Government

The republic below the Rio Grande upholds Democracy in Latin America by buying back her oil lands from the British and other imperialists — and by cracking down on a would-be Franco

hundreds of miles away from Mexico City, from oil gushers, from the area of Cedillo's rebellion, were a group of men leaning over a map of Mexico, pointing out the oil areas and their significance. I called for a bottle of mineral water, and something I said made the men turn toward us. One of them, a conductor's cap on his head, came toward me and in broken English said, "You're English." Thinking he had said "You speak English," I answered "Yes." And without a moment's warning he came close to me, shook his fist and exclaimed, "You — English! You want everything! You want our land, our arms, our feet, our sweat, you want our blood! Well we've got our oil now . . . and we are going to keep it!" It was a trying few seconds, but he spoke differently the second time, after we informed him that we were Americans, and that we were no more proud of American exploitation than he was.

Attitude Towards Britain

Our friend the conductor was the voice of thousands of Mexicans whose attitude towards England can be demonstrated in a popular story now going the rounds throughout Mexico. It seems that the British War Office was all set to despatch her warships to Mexico to retrieve her "lost" property, when the former ambassador to Mexico got wind of it. He rushed to the War Office. Breathless, he reached the chamber where the ministers sat debating the issue and cried, "Gentlemen, gentlemen,

please do not send Her Majesty's Navy to Mexico, they are sure to expropriate it."

The Cedillo Rebellion

Certainly if left alone, Mexico would work out the situation to meet her own salvation. But neither the oil interests nor the Fascists are anxious to see her recover. Both are working feverishly, but bad luck is dogging their footsteps. The Cedillo rebellion is a case in point.

No greater flood of false propoganda has ever been loosed throughout America than that released by the major newspapers concerning the oil expropriations and the Cedillo rebellion. The *New York Times* was not to be outdone by Hearst or the *San Antonio Express*. When we in Mexico read in the American newspapers that many villages were being bombed by Cedillo's air force, that the Pan-American Highway was beset with rebels, that five governors whose names "could not be mentioned" were behind Cedillo, that the entire peasantry was up in arms against the government because the government relieved them of "their hunting rifles" as Frank Kluckhohn in the *New York Times* put it—we naturally could not help laughing. But when we realized that all this was an attempt to smear the Mexican government and create a scare that would turn away tourists from this beautiful country, the entire press campaign took on another aspect. It became part and parcel of a carefully planned propoganda campaign designed to embar-

ass the Mexican government. To keep the record straight, let us look at the facts concerning the rebellion.

On May 16th President Cardenas announced his intention of making a tour of San Luis Potosi, which was the first time since 1910 that any president visited that portion of Mexico in the capacity of commander-in-chief of the army.

On May 17th, the rebellion broke, with the army remaining loyal to the government and the *Cedillistas* calling for support from the peasantry.

On May 18th, the President appeared on the balcony of the governor's palace and, addressing the largest gathering San Luis ever witnessed, openly charged Cedillo with being a traitor to Mexico and intimated that he was in the pay of the foreign oil companies and Fascist governments.

For months, the *Mexican Labor News* had exposed the activities of the *Cedillistas* and these Fascist connections. It is common knowledge that in January 1938, three German officers arrived in Mexico, stopped at the Ritz Hotel in Yucatan, and then made an extensive trip through the country to look over the territory preparatory to making a report on the possibilities of a revolt. It is known, too, that Van Merk, former chief of Cedillo's police, was in constant touch with Heinrich Northe, commercial attaché of the German legation. The activities of the German, Italian and Japanese espionage in Mexico have already been exposed in

(Continued on page 28)

APPARENTLY impressed by the vast malpractices of the broadcasting moguls and doubtful that the \$500,000 general Congressional investigation of monopolies is sufficient to bring them to light, the House Rules Committee at this writing is favoring a special probe of the industry and the Federal Communications Commission. If a conscientious scrutiny of abuses in radio is ever made, it will conspicuously include the problem of freedom of the air and how it is tampered with by Big Business monopolists in and out of the industry.

As of old, the latest case-histories concern current developments in politics, foreign affairs, labor struggles and other controversial issues—which precisely because they are controversial should have full play on the air waves of a democratic nation.

Reactionary Big Business interests, bent on undermining President Roosevelt's recovery program, were instrumental in cancelling a radio period in support of the Administration's efforts, scheduled over Station WIND in Chicago and sponsored by the *Midwest Daily Record*, a progressive newspaper. On May 1st came the news that the publication was planning to seek legal redress for the elimination of its broadcast, which had been arranged for 11 A.M. of the day before. A telegraphic request was made to the Federal Communications Commission to inquire into WIND's action and determine whether there was interference with the freedom of the press and radio.

Only a few weeks before that a typical case involving labor was provided by New York's WHN which was charged with barring a scheduled speech by Leon W. Berney, insurance director for the United Office and Professional Workers. He was to speak on the State Labor Relations Board election due the next day among the agents employed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

When Berney was notified that his 11-11:15 P.M. period had been cancelled as likely to prove too controversial, the union at once complained to the Federal Communications Commission that the viewpoint of organized labor was being denied a hearing. A group of insurance agents called on the WHN management in an attempt to persuade the station to adhere to its original agreement.

The "Pure" Air

RELUCTANCE shown by station managements to allow even nationally and internationally known personages to go on the air continues, when such broadcasts threaten to violate certain well-established taboos. For years the radio has been prud-

RADIO

ishly moralistic about airing certain medical subjects even when propounded by foremost scientific authorities.

Last November General Hugh S. Johnson was scheduled to speak over Station WJZ, New York City, from 10 to 10:15 one evening. Arriving at the studio, he learned that he would not be permitted to read a prepared speech which he had submitted in advance, because it was a discussion of the ravages of social disease.

At the scheduled time the General briefly said into the microphone that he had come prepared to speak in behalf of the "crusade" against social diseases by Dr. Thomas Parran, surgeon-general of the U.S. Bureau of Public Health. Remarking that he had been notified his discussion "was not in accord with the policies of the National Broadcasting Company," he closed with "Thank you and good night."

On a previous occasion the Columbia Broadcasting System deleted from

an address, one of a series of economic lectures, the following: "Thomas Robert Malthus, arguing against his father, made some startling remarks about human nature, and especially the strength of the sex impulse which led people to marry as soon as they were able."

The C.B.S. spokesman explained: "We are not permitted to mention sex over the radio."

To prevent recurrence of "questionable" programs, Senator Clyde L. Herring of Iowa demanded earlier this year the setting up of a three-man board of review for radio presentations.

Citing as a bad example Boris Karloff's depressing recital of Poe's *Tell-tale Heart*, the Senator, in a speech before a Washington session of the National Association of Broadcasters, said that his proposed board would pass upon scripts "voluntarily" submitted by stations. The day before, the organization was warned by

Chairman Burton K. Wheeler (Montana) of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee that it must maintain high standards.

Senator Herring's plan further provided that in the event a station did not submit its programs for review and they were found objectionable, the broadcaster could be summoned before the board to ascertain whether the station was operating in the public interest. He said that at least one woman should be included on the board.

Labor and China

IT WAS not made clear whether senatorial interest in censoring radio went beyond the feature broadcasts by big-time sponsors. Would it apply to a case that was developing just about the time the proposal was advanced? This is what happened:

A scheduled address by a representative of the International Labor Defense over Station WJZ, Tuscola, Illinois, was threatened with cancellation, under the pressure of vigilantes who attempted to keep off the air the story of their terrorizings.

The banned story told of three Westville miners, members of the United Mine Workers of America and employees of the United States Steel Corporation, who were being held in bail of two thousand dollars each, charged with criminal syndicalism. Their offense consisted of distributing a leaflet protesting the denial of civil rights and the encouragement of vigilante mobs by the sheriff of Vermilion County.

Protests against the violation of free speech were filed with the station and the federal commission in Washington by the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Reflecting the reactionary efforts to suppress a true picture of the aggression against Spain and China, a recent case of prohibitions on certain aspects of international affairs involved the Chinese Ambassador to the United States, Dr. C. T. Wang. He was barred by the National Broadcasting Company from making a 250-word statement on conditions in his country.

Spokesmen for the company declared that the incident was in line with the N.B.C. policy of restricting controversial broadcasts and preventing representatives of foreign governments from "going over the head of the State Department" by appeals to the public.

It is time for the aforesaid public, in whose name the censors are perpetrating their Fascist-like acts, to make an appeal of its own—or perhaps something stronger than an appeal—to its chosen representatives in Congress, to take some substantial steps in the direction of a clean-up of this outstanding infringement of the Bill of Rights.

—LUCIEN ZACHAROFF



MAXINE SEELBINDER

Workers' Homes



THE FIGHT, July 1938

“My Austria!”

By Russell T. Limbach

Madrid



By Langston Hughes

ILLUSTRATED BY ADOLF DEHN

Damaged by shells, many of the clocks on the public buildings in Madrid have stopped. At night, the streets are pitch dark.

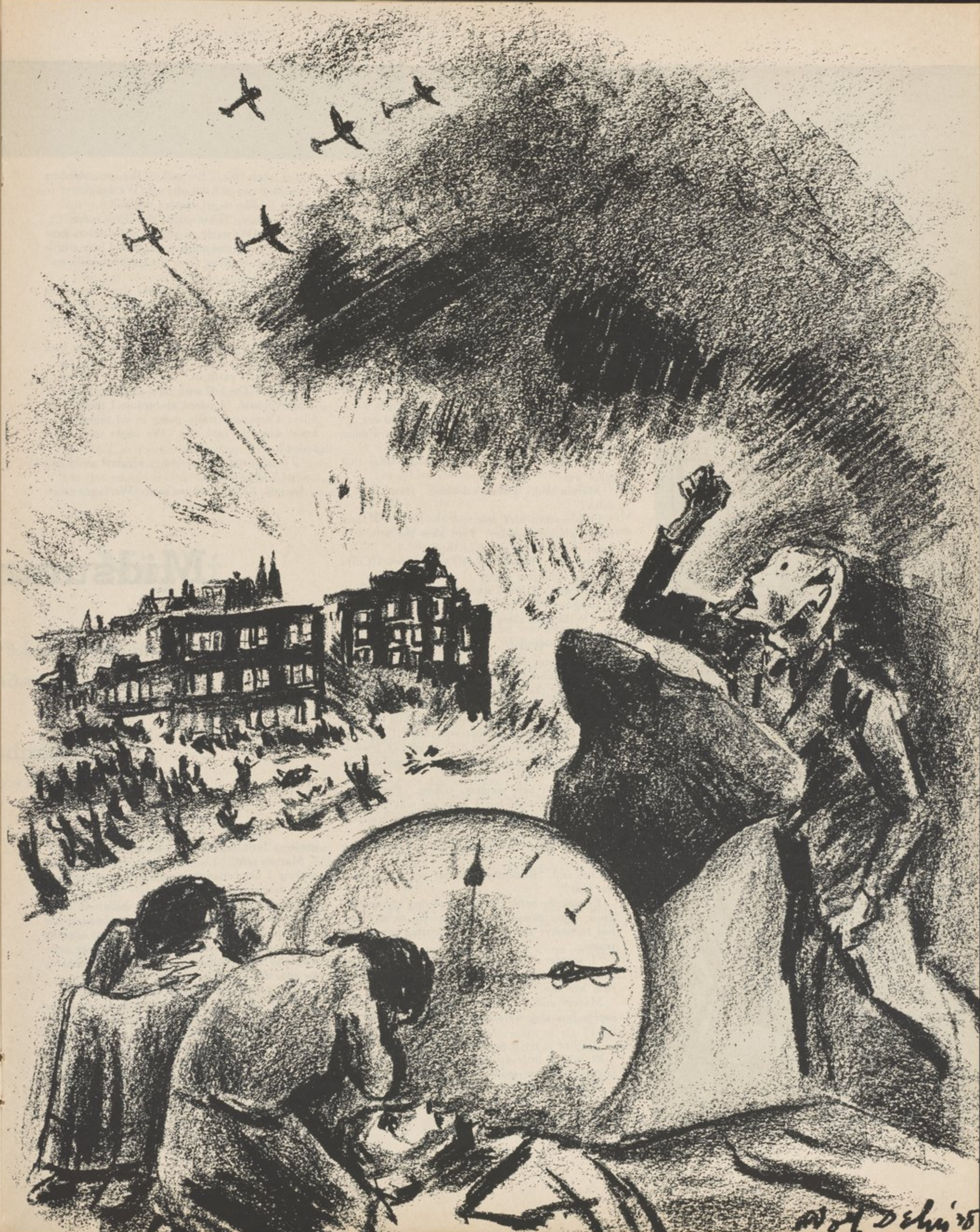
—News Item

Put out the lights and stop the clocks.
Let time stand still.
Again man mocks himself
And all his human will to build and grow.
Madrid!
The fact and symbol of man's woe.
Madrid!
Time's end and throw-back,
Birth of darkness,
Years of light reduced:
The ever minus of the brute,
The nothingness of barren land
And stone and metal,
Emptiness of gold,
The dullness of a bill of sale:
BOUGHT AND PAID FOR! SOLD!
Stupidity of hours that do not move
Because all clocks are stopped.
Blackness of nights that do not see
Because all lights are out.
Madrid
Beneath the bullets!
Madrid
Beneath the bombing planes!
Madrid
In the fearful dark!

Oh, mind of man!
So long to make a light
Of fire,
 of oil,
 of gas,
And now electric rays.
So long to make a clock
Of sun-dial,
 sand-dial,
 figures,
And now two hands that mark the hours.
Oh, mind of man!
So long to struggle upward out of darkness
To a measurement of time—
And now:

These guns,
These brainless killers in the hills
Trained on Madrid
To stop the clocks in the towers
And shatter all their faces
Into a million bits of nothingness
In the city
That will not bow its head
To darkness and to greed again:
That dares to dream a cleaner dream!
Oh, mind of man
Moulded into a metal shell—
Left-overs of the past
That rain dull hell and misery
On the world again—
Have your way
And stop the clocks!
Bomb out the lights!
And mock yourself!
Mock all the rights of those
Who live like decent folk.
Let guns alone salute
The wisdom of our age
With dusty powder marks
On yet another page of history.
Let there be no sense of time,
Nor measurement of light and dark.
In fact, no light at all!
Let mankind fall
Into the deepest pit that ignorance can dig
For us all!
Descent is quick.
To rise again is slow.
*In the darkness of her broken clocks,
Madrid cries NO!
In the timeless midnight of the Fascist guns,
Madrid cries NO!
To all the killers of man's dreams,
Madrid cries NO!*

To break that NO apart
Will be to break the human heart.



W. J. Delius '15



THERE were four of them in Fred's car: Fred and Otto in the front seat and Marvin and Ev in the back. Fred was driving. Ev had a bottle and from time to time he passed it around and they all had a drink. There was little traffic on the highway. Occasionally a pair of headlights appeared far ahead of them and came closer until they were almost blinding, and then went past them in the dark. It was an unusually cool night for midsummer.

Ev said, "We ought to be there by twelve."

"It'll be one o'clock," Marvin said. "It always takes me two hours and a half from that town we just came through."

"Well, one o'clock, then," Ev said. He reached into the pocket beside him for the bottle, took a drink out of it, and passed it to Marvin. He got out a cigarette and lit it, asking if anyone wanted one.

They passed through another small town without slowing up.

Otto turned around. "Did you see what that place was?"

Marvin said, "I wasn't looking. Here, want a drink?"

Otto reached back and took the bottle. Marvin began whistling off key. Fred blew the horn at a pedestrian walking ahead of them.

Otto said, "Did Harry tell you, there's a Corps meeting tomorrow night."

Fred said, "I heard something about it. Where's it going to be?"

"On the farm along the lake road where we were last time."

Ev said, "What's the meeting about?"

"Initiations, maybe. Harry said something too about a member who's been talking too much. Maybe it's about that. He said to take everything."

They were quiet for a few minutes. Then Ev said, "I don't get any kick out of punishing members all the time, maybe someone you know. I don't see why we can't get someone else, niggers or Jews or reds. That's what I thought we were going to be doing."

"You can't have members talking," Fred said.

"I see that, sure, but I don't see why we don't pick on one of these Jew reds sometime and beat him up."

Marvin said, "We haven't had one for a long time."

Otto said, "Remember that guy out at the Point last year?"

Ev took the bottle out again and they had another drink. They passed the bottle around twice. Fred had to swerve sharply to avoid hitting two pedestrians.

"I wonder if anybody'd ever know if you hit one," he said. "I'd like to try it sometime, on a lonely road like this."

Marvin said, "You could read about it in the papers, how they were looking for the guy who did it."

"I'd like to try it sometime," Fred said.

Ev said, a little drunk, "I don't know why we can't get a nigger some night at a meeting."

"You remember the one that died last year," Otto said. "I guess maybe that scared everybody, the way the cops were asking questions."

"Let them ask," Ev said. "We got members where they can do a lot of good. We don't have to worry. I'd like to get another nigger."

Marvin said, "That's what the Corps is for."

Ev said, "We ought to get one for ourselves some time. We could find one some night and have a little fun without worrying about the rest of the fellows."

THEY went through another small town. In the middle of the town the stop-light was red at a crossroad, but Fred drove through without stopping.

Otto said, "You went through a red light back there."

"They can't catch us."

Ev said, "The hell with these small-town cops."

Marvin said, "I joined up because I thought the Silver Corps was really going to do things. You know what the oath says. We ought to be more active."

"There's too many lousy niggers and reds around," Otto said.

Ev said, "We've all got guns. We ought to or-

Midsummer

Fred and Otto and Marvin and Ev pick up guns and talked about the Silver Corps

By Kimball

ILLUSTRATED BY MAX

ganize a little expedition of our own some time."

Marvin said, "You can count me in. There's nothing I like better than to beat up some of these damn foreigners."

Ev said, "It's better if you put bullets in them. That really gets rid of them." He reached into the pocket and brought out a revolver and sat spinning the cylinder with a finger. "I've had so much practice with this I'd like to try it out on something moving, like a red."

Marvin said, "How about another drink?"

Ev put the revolver away and brought out the bottle. He held it up to look at it. "There's a couple of good drinks for everybody. Let's kill it." He put the bottle to his mouth and took a drink, then passed it to Marvin. The car was wavering. When Fred took the bottle and tilted it back they almost went off the road. Otto reached for the wheel.

Fred said, "Don't worry about me. I can drive, drunk or sober."

Otto finished the bottle. "Shall I toss it out, Ev?"
"No, give it here to me." Ev took the bottle and kept it until they passed a man walking beside the highway. Then he threw it and leaned out the window. "I got him right in the back," he said enthusiastically. "It knocked him down."

They all laughed.
Fred said, "I wish we'd had sense enough to bring another bottle along."

"How much longer is it?" Otto said.

"An hour, anyway."

"I'm getting tired."

"We ought to think up something to keep us amused," Ev said. "I'm getting tired of just sitting here."

Fred said, "I wish we had another bottle."

"Well, we haven't. We got to think of something else."

THEY were out in the country. It had been half an hour since they had passed through a town. The thin white strip that was the highway stretched far ahead of them. On either side of the road were

Summer Night

Ev passed the bottle and fingered their
Corps... A story of the new underworld

Samball McIlroy

BY MAXINE SEELBINDER

fields and fences, trees, and an occasional farmhouse. A moon had come up over the hills in the east, gold and becoming gradually silver.

Otto said, "It's a swell night."

They made a sharp right-hand turn and drove onto a wide dirt road running through the woods.

Fred said, "From here on we've got dirt roads, but they're pretty good."

Half a mile from the highway they saw a man walking ahead of them, on the left side of the road.

Marvin said, "Give him a scare, Fred. Let's see how close you can come."

They all sat up to watch. Fred swung the car to the left and as they passed close to the man he pushed hard on the horn. The man jumped and almost fell in front of the car.

Ev said, "Christ! it's a nigger."

"You should have hit him," Marvin said.

Fred said, "I would if I'd known it was a nigger."

They drove on for a few minutes and then Ev

said suddenly, "Let's wait and pick him up." Fred slowed down and stopped. "We'll tell him we'll give him a lift. We'll get him into the car that way."

While they were waiting, Otto said, "I wish the rest of the boys were here to have some fun with us."

"We can tell them all about it," Ev said.

Marvin said, "What'll we do with him?"

"Wait and see how he acts," Fred said.

They sat in the car looking back up the road. Finally they saw him coming around a bend, walking slowly as if he was tired. Fred blew the horn a couple of times.

Ev said in a whisper, "Don't scare him until we get him in the car."

"Maybe he won't get in," Otto said.

Fred said, "If he won't, we'll make him."

The Negro came up behind the car and started to walk past without looking in.

Marvin called out, "Can we give you a lift?"

The Negro glanced nervously over his shoulder.

Ev said, "We're going right to the shore. We'll give you a lift that far."

The Negro walked back to the car. "That would be fine," he said. "I'd really appreciate that because I'm in a hurry. My mother's very sick."

Fred said, "Get in the car, then."

MARVIN opened the door and he and Ev let the Negro get in between them. Fred started the car and they drove on.

The Negro said, "I'll be wanting to go about twenty miles along here. Will you be going that far?"

Fred said quickly, "Sure, we'll be going farther than that. We'll let you off wherever you want."

"That's mighty good of you. I appreciate this."

Ev said, smirking, "We're glad to do it."

They drove on in silence for a few minutes.

Finally Ev said, "Did you ever hear of the Silver Corps?"

The Negro said, "Yes, I've heard of it."

"Where'd you hear about it?"

"I guess everybody has heard of it," the Negro said, glancing at Ev.

Fred said, "What do you think about it? Don't you think it's a pretty good organization?"

"No, I don't think it is."

"You don't? You don't think it is?" Otto said pugnaciously.

"No. I'm sorry, but I don't."

"What don't you like about it?" Marvin said.

The Negro said, "I'd rather not say. That's just my own opinion."

"You're scared of it. I'll bet the Corps has got you scared stiff."

"No, not very," the Negro said.

"You ought to be."

"Maybe that's so."

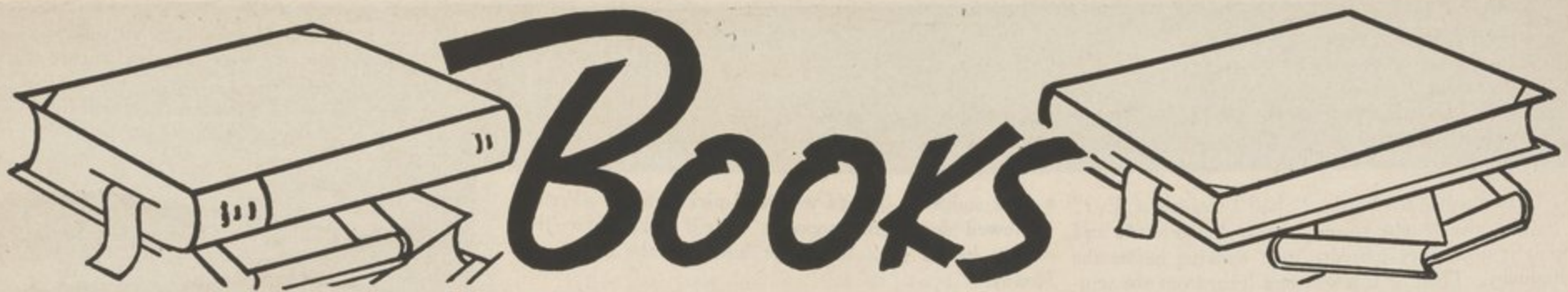
Fred said, "You think you're pretty smart, don't you, saying you don't think much of the Corps?"

The Negro didn't answer. Fred said, "I asked you a question. You better answer it."

"No, I don't think I'm smart, if that's what you mean. I think if you'll stop I'll get out and walk, if you don't mind."

(Continued on page 30)





Books

Altgeld and America

"EAGLE FORGOTTEN": THE LIFE OF JOHN PETER ALTGELD, by Harry Barnard; 496 pages; The Bobbs-Merrill Company; \$4.00.

IN THE 1840's, a young German wagon-maker and his wife landed in America. With them came their son, three months old. John Peter was his name, and this book is the story of this child who grew up to be a typical free American, taking his democratic Americanism seriously, and who became governor of Illinois. To his lot fell the testing of our democratic life against the Tories.

We have had hundreds upon hundreds of governors in our forty-eight states; but who remembers the governor of New York, or Ohio, or Oregon, of fifty, forty, thirty, twenty years ago? Why does the name of John Peter Altgeld grow (in spite of the title of this book) in the consciousness of Americans? Why is a biography written and published almost forty years after this former governor of Illinois died? The answer:

The U. S. as it was between 1850 and 1900. First, a new and young country, breaking old traditions and establishing new ones. Believing firmly in the rights of man, in free speech, free press, free worship and the right



How progressive Governor Altgeld was caricatured in the 90's

of assembly. Believing firmly in the rights of minorities to disagree radically with the status quo. A new country where Liberty and Equality was the first slogan. Slowly and then rapidly after the Civil War, came the development of what we now call monopoly capitalism. Under the pretext of the "rights of man," that cherished slogan of the young republic, the Tories of the day—a handful of men—bought legislatures wholesale, grabbed land and franchises, defrauded the government, exploited mercilessly old and young.

The U. S. traditions as they expressed themselves between 1850 and 1900. (It was no mere accident that the leading Abolitionist, Wendell Phillips, should have turned to the labor movement after the Civil War was over.) To meet the "new monster" (the robber barons) which was threatening the liberties of the country, various people's movements came into existence. The Greenbackers, Grangers, Populists, Henry George, Free Silver. The common people were groping, searching for a way out. . . . Small groups of men in dingy halls, during lunch hour in shops, in back rooms of saloons (workers' clubs), on park benches, were talking about and slowly forming the first permanent unions of America. The eight-hour day was an issue. The right to live and to earn a decent living was an issue. The right to organize, free speech, free press and the right of assembly were issues. Democracy was an issue. The new and young America was not dead.

This was the country in which the German immigrant lived. From a farm in Ohio, John Peter Altgeld came through the Civil War, made his way from state to state, starved, tramped, studied (passed his bar examinations), married, built the first skyscraper in Chicago, became a rich man . . . all the time watching with a shrewd eye the robber barons . . . and remembering, remembering the traditions of America.

This is the story of this German immigrant boy who rose to be an outstanding governor of a turbulent state, who rose to national leadership in the Democratic Party in his struggle with the Tories; who freed the remaining Haymarket victims from prison, who

met the robber barons on the field of battle. All the reactionary forces let loose, the press raved and called Altgeld "Anarchist," "Communist." (The campaign against Altgeld is almost identical with the campaign of today against Roosevelt or Lewis.) The man Altgeld stood his ground against his Hoovers, Hagues, Girdlers. This "pure Aryan" stood his ground against the Hitlers of his day. *America was not dead.* Altgeld, stripped of his personal wealth, gave a wealth of new progressive and democratic ideas to his country. He became a symbol in the hearts and minds of men.

And then he died.

"We have buried him now," thought your foes, and in secret rejoiced. They have made a brave show of their mourning, their hatred unvoiced. They had snarled at you, barked at you, foamed at you, day after day. Now you were ended. They praised you, . . . and laid you away.

This is the tragedy and victory of the Lincolns.

A good biography of a great progressive leader of a great progressive struggle.

—GILBERT DAY

Far Eastern Fighting

CHINA FIGHTS FOR HER LIFE, by H. R. Ekins and Theon Wright; 335 pages; Whittlesey House; \$2.75.

WHEN JAPAN FIGHTS, by Percy Noël; 249 pages; The Hokuseido Press (Tokyo); \$2.00.

NEVER did "neutrality" have a hollow sound than today. Anyone professing it is apt to be asked rather sharply, "But what side are you neutral for?" In this era of showdowns—domestic and international—two ace newsmen essay the Herculean task of perpetuating the tradition of "impartial" journalism in a book about the Far Eastern war.

Studiously built, the reportorial structure of the volume shows cracks here and there because the authors, keen and independent observers, unintentionally permit their sympathy for the brutally assaulted China to shine through the burdensome lack-of-bias armor. How could it be otherwise, when all sincere supporters of peace and Democracy are finding it irreconcilable with their conscience to stay neutral?

This book, built about the personality of Chiang Kai-shek, is at its best where it adheres to facts. In spite of the authors' high journalistic dexterity and anti-imperialist, pro-democratic proclivities, they show a confused grasp of political ramifications in their interpretive sallies.

There is also an excessive percentage of "background" matter treating of the past fifteen years—elementary to serious students, too involved for the average newspaper reader.

No such honest mistakes handicap *When Japan Fights*, concocted by a columnist for the *Japan Times* who also writes operas for Tokyo production. Copies of this brazen whitewash of the murderous Japanese military adventure are being sent free of charge to a selected list of Americans; an accompanying letter describes it as an effort to assist the recipients in seeing the Oriental events "in a more correct and realistic light." Why this generous gesture? "We have of late received letters from many people in the world, condemning Japan in a wholesale manner regarding her action in China."

So the American-born author goes to town with a tissue of distortions, fortunately too obvious to mislead even the less informed. With a straight face he "proves" that the war-provoking incidents were of Chinese origin; blames the Chinese for the atrocities which are



Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois. From "Eagle Forgotten"

universally known to have been committed by Japan; places his stamp of approval on America's "neutrality" policy; takes repeated pot-shots at the world's democracies; drags out the red herring in the form of the Comintern as the culprit behind it all; insists that the people in Japan, particularly the workers, are happy, prosperous and contented. The entire opus is in the same shameless vein. If anything, it will increase the flow of condemnatory letters "from many people in the world," already so distressing to the publisher.

—LUCIEN ZACHAROFF

Spain's Present and Past

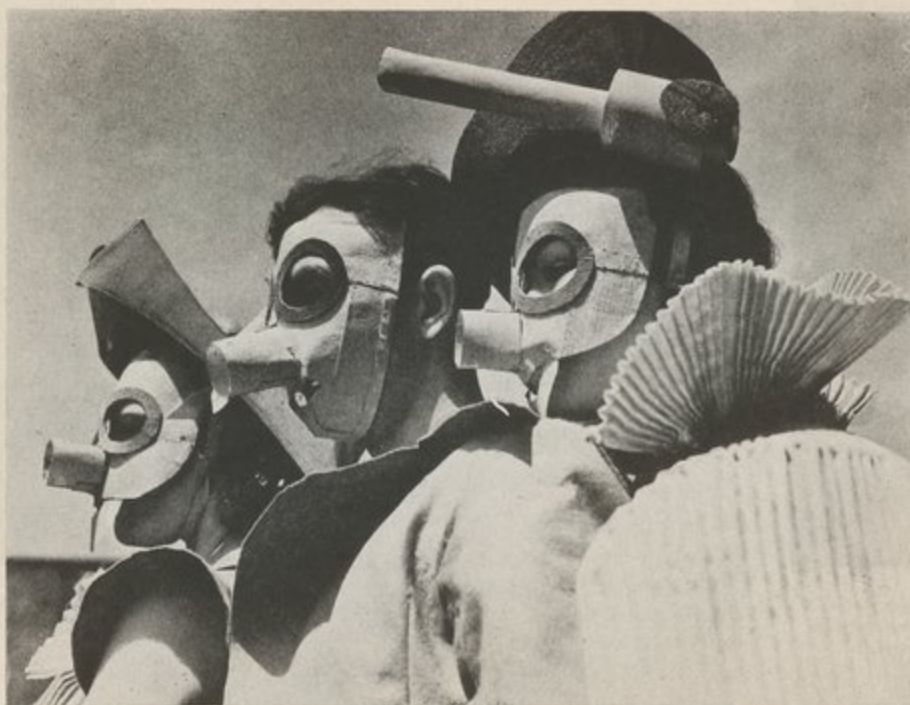
SPAIN BETWEEN DEATH AND BIRTH, by Peter Merin; 326 pages; Dodge Publishing Company; \$3.00.

MANY BOOKS have been written about the moving and gallant struggle of the Spanish people. This one is unique, however, in the sensitive and informed way it ties together the present, so pregnant with grief and hope, with Spain's feudal past.

Peter Merin is a European anti-Fascist journalist. Steeped in the history of Spain, her politics, her culture, her religious wars, he makes enlightening use of the present as a springboard into the past. In 1936 Franco called in the Moors to aid him in overthrowing the government elected by the people. In 710 disgruntled Goths, the Bishop of Seville and a group of feudal lords similarly persuaded the Moslems to send armies across the Strait of Gibraltar—then for seven and a half centuries the banner of Allah flew over Spanish soil. In 1936 the gentry of Spain fled the country to return at the head of foreign armies to martyrize their own native land. In 1823 Ferdinand VII did likewise.

A journey to the militia battalions on the Escorial front becomes the occasion for a foray into the Spain of the Inquisition. We learn about Philip II, who decimated his people in the flames of autos da fé, and who built the Escorial as the retreat and sarcophagus of Spain's kings. We study the paintings of El Greco, who mirrored the violent reign of Philip. Machine gun bullets deposit us again in the present, when the Spanish people are attempting to finish once and for all with their oppressors.

By judicious use of this method the author is able to integrate a wealth of material. We read of the wars of Philip, the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, the early efforts to overthrow the monarchy. We study the biographies of La Pasionaria, Juan March, Companys, Durruti. We gaze at the paintings of El Greco and Velasquez. We take part in the assault on the Montana barracks. We weep as the people's poet, Lorca, is executed at



Charles Weidman and his Modern Dance group "In 1960"—if the war-makers have their way

Granada. We exult as the first battalions of the International Brigade march through Madrid. We act as godfathers at the birth of the companies of steel, nuclei of the People's Army.

What this book conveys admirably is the feel of events in Spain, is the feel of Spain itself.

—JOSEPH P. LASH

Story of the C.I.O.

LABOR'S NEW MILLIONS, by Mary Heaton Vorse; 312 pages; Modern Age Books; 50 cents.

HERE IS the story of the C.I.O. written by its close friend, guide and midwife, if one may use the figure. For if any individual was in at the birth of America's new industrial-union movement, it was Mary Heaton Vorse. With many years of labor reporting to her credit already, she forged and fought through the General Motors and Little Steel strikes where the battle was thickest—this reviewer doesn't know how many more C.I.O. strikes, but at least these main ones. In the auto strike her son, Heaton Vorse, was shot and wounded. In the steel strike she was shot and wounded. Thus we can say that the Vorses qualify as first-hand reporters.

But her reputation as a fire-eater should not be allowed to obscure another of Mary Vorse's qualities—her compelling interest in people. She can learn more about your home town in a few weeks than you knew in as many years. And not only about the pro-labor people either, but everybody. It is this genuine consideration for all the people of America that enables her to write a book like this to describe and explain in simple terms the C.I.O. For *Labor's New Millions* is directed first of all to "the general public" who may have been influenced by the vast quantities of reactionary propaganda—not

that it lacks interest as well for those who have been through the struggles depicted. Not much of the material is new, although it is the first time between covers for a great deal of it. But the chief virtues of the book are clarity and broadness of scope.

From rubber, through auto and steel, textile, agricultural, white-collar and maritime organization; of the Mohawk Valley Plan, the LaFollette Committee, the National Labor Relations Board; of relations between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L.; of labor in politics and "what labor wants"—*Labor's New Millions* is a veritable guidebook to the great labor events of recent years. And thus, a guide to our current history.

—CHARLES PRESTON

Youth of a German

IN PRAISE OF LIFE, by Walter Schoenstedt; 371 pages; Farrar & Rinehart; \$2.50.

THE LIFE the author refers to has very little worthy of praise in it. If there is to be praise, it will be in the future which the end of the book hopes for. There couldn't be any praise for the life of the German youth from 1914 up to 1933, and that's what we have here.

It still sounds preposterous to associate Hitlerism with a civilized people. What made the Germans accept bestiality as a state rule? This novel offers part of the answer. Peter Volkers remembers his father going off to the front. Then the war years of hunger and substitute foods, suppression of dissenters and artificial war fever which soon evaporated. Then the collapse of Kaiserism and a new hope. But Peter's school teacher, the heads of the educational system, the landlords, the officialdom live in the past, still saluting the Kaiser and preparing to bring him back in a more horrible reincarnation. The

people are disillusioned with the Republic which has gone back on its promises; youth faces the future hopelessly. Young Volkers is a wanderer on the roads, tries farming, is unemployed a good deal of the time.

No better off are his classmates. One by one the members of the group are destroyed morally by the wheels of Versailles Germany. Their education, their dreams of marriage end just as we see American dreams of youth ending today. To some comes the revelation that a new Messiah, Hitler, can fulfill their dreams.

Peter is in America when Hitler takes power but he goes back to find that the dream has become a horrible nightmare. In a few paragraphs we have the terror and the escape to the United States, to work and wait for the day of liberation. "No, it is not good to be sorrowful. Now there must be hate, pitiless hatred, in order that our love for Germany shall become even stronger."

A fine book, dedicated to the youth of Germany and America and a warning to those who are willing to stand by while youth, bewildered, looks for the lighted road.

—JAMES LERNER

The Versailles Treaty

AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, by James T. Shotwell; 444 pages; The Macmillan Company; \$4.00.

THIS BOOK is an important contribution to the history of the Versailles Treaty and Woodrow Wilson's tragic failure to save the world from its political follies. It should be particularly interesting to students who have read Nicolson's *Peacemaking*, since *At the Paris Peace Conference* is in a way the American counterpart to that excellent work.

The volume is a day-to-day record of an eyewitness who indeed kept his eyes open. Professor Shotwell saw the making of the "Versailles Peace Treaty" of which it has been often said that it neither was a treaty nor brought peace. But if this be true, the technical experts (of whom Professor Shotwell was one) cannot be blamed. If the negotiators had paid more attention to the information available to them through the experts, much might have been different.

In addition to its wealth of information, the book is rich in anecdotes that throw a new light on personalities and situations that were responsible for one phase or another of the Treaty.

The publication of the volume could not have been more timely. This winter it will be twenty years since the treaty-makers first assembled in Paris to sow the dragons' teeth. And twenty years after, the armed men have risen from the soil of Versailles, while the Golden Fleece of Peace seems more unattainable than ever.

—JOHANNES STEEL



Henry Fonda to Madeleine Carroll in "Blockade": "Stop the murder of innocent people! The world can stop it! Where's the conscience of the world?"

IT MAY sound fantastic, but it's true what they say about *Blockade* (United Artists), a film produced by Walter Wanger from a screen play by John Howard Lawson and directed by William Dieterle of *Pasteur* and *Zola* fame. It is a pro-Loyalist film. There is no direct statement of the film's sympathies, excepting that it takes a neutral position. In no place does it use real names, nor does it mention Franco and his Fascist allies by name. We see peasants fleeing gun-fire. Henry Fonda holds up a fist-full of earth and calls out to the fleeing peasants: "This is simple. That's the earth that belongs to us—it's worth fighting for. . . . This is our life. . . . let's fight for it." We know that *Blockade* is on the side of the people who are being starved by war-time blockades; being butchered by Fascist bombs; and being betrayed by internal enemies—the "fifth column."

The film is built around the skeleton of the conventional spy plot with all its melodramatic trappings. There are the ever-present munitions salesmen, the wandering and frustrated White Russian and his daughter who act as spies. There is the romance of the hero and the pretty spy (Madeleine Carroll). Astute observers will detect traces of Pabst's *The Love of Jean Ney* (from the Ehrenbourg novel) and *The General Died At Dawn*. Others have used this form—the most recent attempt was John Ford's *Four Men and a Prayer*—and their productions remain spy melodramas with an occasional faint pacifist overtone.

Lawson had a particularly difficult problem. Not only did he have to put his ideas on contemporary Spain into a mold that would fit the social and political standards of Hollywood, the moral restrictions of the Legion of Decency, but it was terribly important that the film be as good "box-office" as possible. The task of creating a scenario that maintained literal neutrality and at the same time told the truth about Spain was a new problem in film writing. There is nothing mawkish about the melodrama or about the "conversion" of the beautiful spy. In one of the best sequences of the film Madeleine Carroll is being guided around the city by an English journalist. She sees what her spying activities have done to the women and children of Castelmare. She is deeply moved by the helplessness of the old men, the women and children. Eddie (the journalist) suddenly turns to her and says:

Do you know England? Oh, I don't mean London. . . . I mean the country. . . . I come from Tipton-on-Thames. It's a little place, you wouldn't have heard

MOVIES

It's true what they say about "Blockade," a fine picture on totalitarian war-makers

of it. But you ought to see it on a drowsy summer afternoon, the smell of the gardens, people in the fields. . . . I keep seeing this happen to my own people—hunger and machine guns, a bomb dropping on the little schoolhouse. . . . I saw that happen. . . . I saw a bomb drop on a few hundred little children.

This fine speech is the last straw for her. Anyone with the smallest bit of humanity couldn't help being affected by such human suffering.

Both Dieterle and Lawson have handled the religious angle with simplicity, honesty and fine dignity. There is one very good sequence where the supply ship manages to break the Fascist blockade. The populace goes mad with joy, and back in the church we see an old lady stroking the Virgin with great tenderness.

The final fade-out is both unusual and extremely courageous from the dramatic as well as the esthetic point of view. Henry Fonda is being rewarded for his bravery. He is standing with Miss Carroll in the usual clinch. The camera moves up to him and his face fills the screen as he addresses the audience:

Leave?

You go on leave to find peace—away from the front—but where would you find it? The front is everywhere. Our country has been turned into a battlefield—there's no safety for old people and children—women can't keep their houses—they can't be safe in their own fields—the churches and schools and hospitals are targets! It's not war—war is between soldiers—this is murder of innocent people! Stop the murder of innocent people! The world can stop it! Where's the conscience of the world?

Perhaps the conditions under which *Blockade* was produced were admittedly unusual and favorable. Walter Wanger was pretty desperate for a decent film. John Howard Lawson was put to work on the script and William Dieterle was hired as director. In spite of the fact that Wanger is not a member of the Hays organization, this required a certain amount of courage. Both Lawson and Dieterle made no secret of their pro-Loyalist sympathies.

Director Dieterle has handled his cast with his usual skill. Henry Fonda was never better. He is utterly convincing as Marco. And Wanger is to be congratulated and supported on his progressive move in the production of the film and its release. But *Blockade* is really a victory for the author, John Howard Lawson, and a further indication of the rôle of the writer in the enlightenment of the Hollywood film.

"Three Comrades"

THE COURAGE which was largely responsible for the success of *Blockade* was lacking in M.G.M.'s dramatization of Remarque's novel of post-War frustration, *Three Comrades*. It is quite true that the novel was weakened by the author's



Katharine Hepburn to Cary Grant in "Holiday": "I never could decide whether I wanted to be Joan of Arc, Florence Nightingale or John L. Lewis"

own confused and frustrated outlook. Nevertheless it did bring forth certain issues of Nazi Germany. There has been ample demonstration that even an honest dramatization of a comparatively weak novel can become a tremendously forceful film.

In this case, writers F. Scott Fitzgerald and E. E. Paramore wrote a fine script full of social and political significance. But Louis B. Mayer, Joseph I. Breen of the Production Code Administration and the Nazi consul succeeded in emasculating the scenario. It is to the credit of the writers and producer Joseph L. Mankiewicz that *Three Comrades* did not become a picture entirely favorable to the Nazis. As it stands it is possible to read something of a message into it, but the film is essentially a story of utter futility. Director Frank Borzage has endowed *Three Comrades* with the same sort of slushy tenderness that emasculated Hemingway's *Farewell To Arms*, but succeeded in giving it an aura of "strange" beauty.

A Better "Holiday"

TO OFFSET this hopelessness and to add to the triumphs of the progressive Hollywood writer is Columbia's remake of Philip Barry's escapist drama of the "good old days," *Holiday*. Donald Ogden Stewart and Sidney Buchman wrote a corking script that is superior to the direction or the acting. The basic idea still is calculated to pacify the masses with the gentle philosophy of the futility of having money since it can't buy happiness, and so on. Stewart and Buchman endowed the script with a deeper meaning in the light of contemporary American life. Even John L. Lewis is dragged in, as well as a couple of digs at America's Sixty Families. On the whole, *Holiday* is whimsical at times, deadly serious at others, full of subtle political satire (some too subtle), and always extremely entertaining in the best sense of the word.

A Note

WE ARE very anxious to hear from our readers on the following three or four questions. How many of the pictures reviewed or mentioned on this page do you see in your city or town? How does the audience react to these pictures? What is the reaction of these audiences to the wars in China and Spain? Do they favor Loyalist Spain? Do they favor China? Please write to us immediately.—Ed.

NERVOUSLY the world is eyeing the brown-shirted pyromaniacs as they brandish their torches of provocation over Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Danzig and other well-known tinderboxes. The apprehension, generally speaking, is channeled eastward.

But the march into the Rhineland, intervention in Spain, Nazi encroachments in Africa and Asia, in North and South America, should have established indisputably that eternal vigilance *everywhere* is necessary.

Like a rabbit transfixed by a snake's hypnotic eyes, in cold-sweated fascination, the world watches the storm-centers of Central Europe, Spain and China. It turned its head with a start in the momentary realization that any spot on the map can serve as a powder keg when last April two revolver shots rang out from the gallery of Denmark's parliament, fired by a local Nazi at the Minister of Justice addressing that body. At the same time an avalanche of Nazi leaflets cascaded to the floor of the *Rigsdag*.

The Hitler Touch

Minister of Justice Steinke was not wounded, but world Democracy was. The "active" member, as press despatches described him, of the Danish National-Socialist Party in North Schleswig had injected the typically Hitlerite touch into the legislative deliberations. He was arrested, together with his companions.

In nearby Sweden the next day, Stockholm's political analysts saw the incident as the result of a plot by the Danish Nazis against the Minister of Justice in retaliation for the recent conviction in the nation's courts of the Fascist landowner Zegested.

The occurrence, however, was not an isolated phenomenon, as might be inferred from this interpretation. Shakespeare's Marcellus declaiming that "something is rotten in the state of Denmark" provides a capsule characterization of the Nazi machinations in the smallest Scandinavian country.

How much deeper the matter went became more apparent when the same week a representative of the Nazis, Schmidt, asserted in the *Rigsdag* that the claims of the Danish authorities to the effect that the Denmark-Germany frontier had been finally determined, "are incorrect." He demanded the re-opening of negotiations with the Reich regarding the question.

Demands of the Nazis

The day after the shooting, the Danish Nazis met in national convention at Haderslev. Demands in their draft resolution included the following:

1. The establishment of the Danish-German border on the Kenigsau River—that is, at the point where it was before the Plebiscite of 1920 provided for in the Treaty of Versailles, as a result of which a portion of North Schleswig went to Denmark.

2. Increase of Nazi representation in all state organs.

3. "Unrestricted home rule" in the realm of education in North Schleswig.

And so on—the demands being monotonously like those in Central European countries, where Berlin's self-appointed spiritual father of all Germans everywhere takes it upon himself to protect "German minorities."

No little alarm over Nazi aggressiveness has been felt in the Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Sweden and Norway—situated as they are in the immediate vicinity of the greatest breeding-ground of war. In a brazenly open attempt to turn the Baltic and North Seas into inner lakes of the Third Reich,

Something Rotten in Denmark



The little Scandinavian state is under heavy pressure from her Nazi neighbors, reports a widely known authority on the European scene

By Lucien Zacharoff



German Fascists are intensively penetrating Scandinavia.

Adjoining Germany on land, Denmark, because of its geographic situation (as well as due to certain economic temptations which will be presently explained and which the rapacious Fascists find irresistible) is under a particular threat.

Considering Denmark's small size, it has a most widespread network of German spy organizations. Nazi agents are infiltrating the country in the guise of tourists, journalists, business men, artists, etc. Hordes of spies are directed from the German embassy in Copenhagen. There, according to the Scandinavian press, Attaché Frilitz guides their work, assisted by Scheffer and Hartung who impersonate correspondents for German newspapers.

Unwanted Guests

Danish waters are honored by exceptionally frequent calls of German battleships. Late last year, aboard one of two Nazi warships cruising there were Vice-Admiral Konrad Albrecht, General Zandler commanding Germany's Sixth Air-Force District, and other leading lights of the Reich's high command. They conducted a thoroughgoing exploration of several Danish ports and regions with military significance.

Nazi agents have naturally taken a special fancy to North Schleswig in the south of Denmark. The Danish newspaper *Sozialdemokraten* has noted the swift tempo of Hitlerization of that area, and has listed Berlin's agents and their addresses. The paper reported that the Fascist groups in North Schleswig were under the centralized supervision of Mayor Kracht of the German city of Flensburg in the border zone.

Nazi Germany is already substantially successful in her scheme of economic enslavement of Denmark. Germany sells more to Denmark than she buys from her neighbor. Besides, Germany compels her Danish partner to grant her foreign-currency credits. The newspaper *Nazional Tidende* commented:

Among nations trading with Germany, Denmark alone has consented to the unheard-of unfair conditions—to pay Germany in advance and in foreign currency the difference which arises between the value of imports from Germany and exports to her. We are permitted to buy as much as we want in Germany but are forbidden to sell in Germany goods to the amount corresponding to our purchases. We must pay for a portion of our imports from Germany in English pounds sterling, and we must make these payments in advance.

How did this bondage come about? Agriculture has been the economic backbone of Denmark, one of the world's chief exporters of bacon, butter and eggs. With the growing food crisis in Germany where the accent is on "cannons instead of butter," it is inevitable that the Nazis will spare no tricks in deepening Denmark's subordination, perhaps eventually resorting to outright seizures of important food-giving sources.

Denmark and Depression

The world-wide depression had a catastrophic effect on Denmark's national economy, lowering prices of agricultural goods, while increasing the cost of precisely the industrial products which Denmark must import. Even as she was "plowing under" her farm produce, in the manner made famous in America, Denmark was being forced to pay exorbitant prices for coal, iron and oil of which she has no native sources.

Aware of Denmark's plight, the Nazi blackmailers have been openly speculating on it. The 1936 trade pact forced the Danes, their backs to the wall, to

(Continued on page 29)



An early protest meeting in New York. "Is it, then, your opinion, gentlemen, that the tea should be landed, under this circumstance?" . . . "No! no! no!"



Thomas Jefferson: "Author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia"



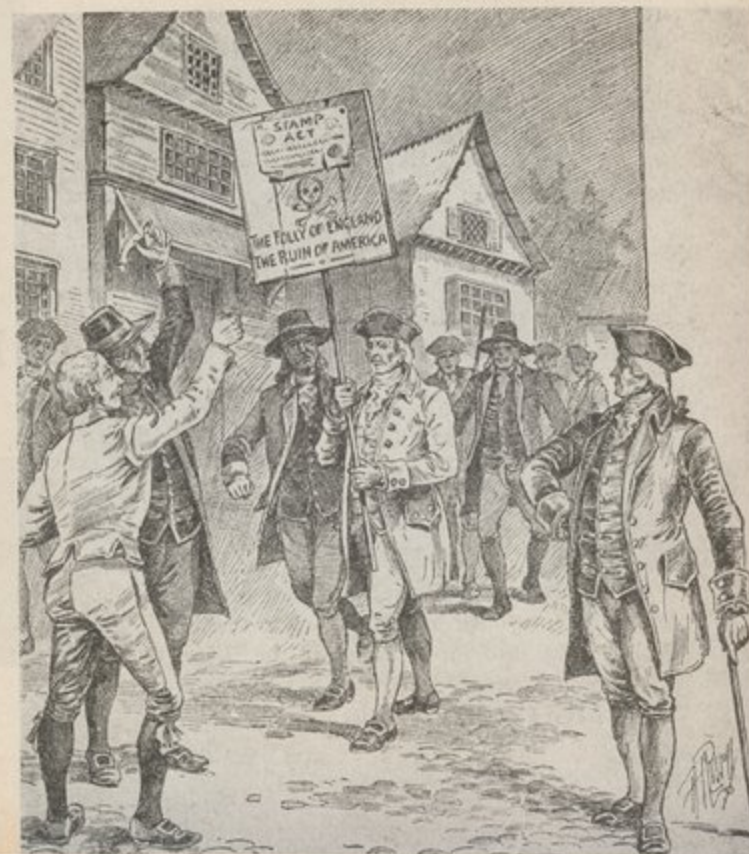
Scenes of the first battles. Above, "Concord—the First Blow for Liberty." Below, "Tidings from Lexington"

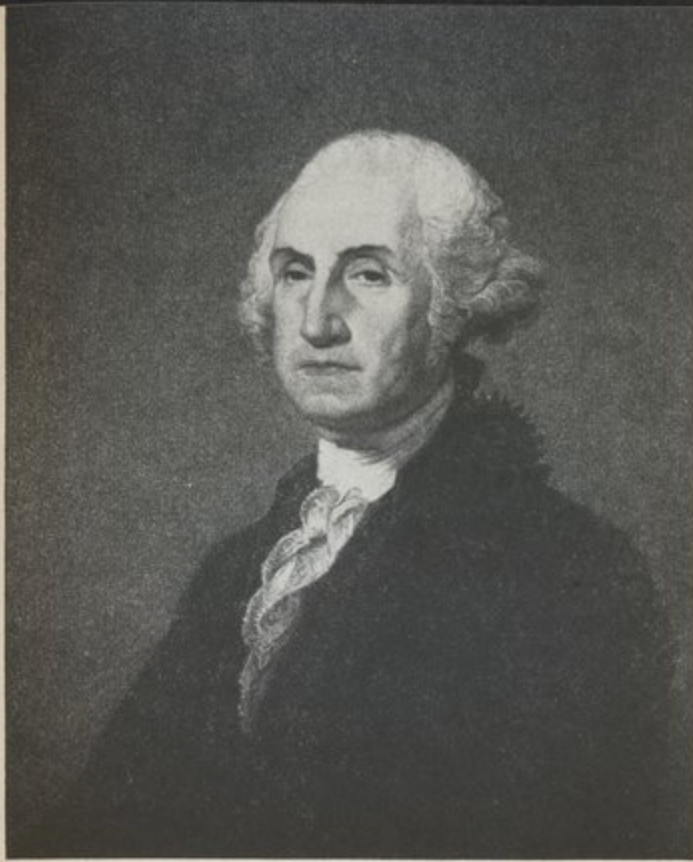


1776

IN OLD PRINTS

"Procession in New York in Opposition to the Stamp Act." Most of the bystanders are sympathetic, but the Tory at right is a rugged individualist. The year is 1765



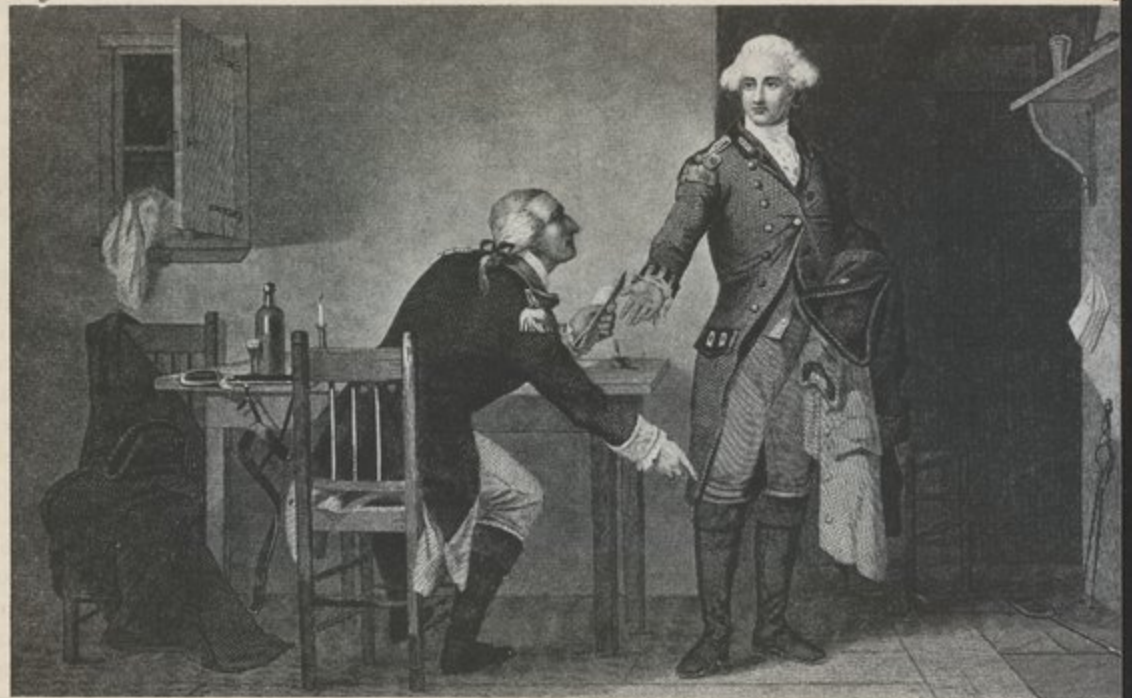


George Washington commanded the armies of Democracy in a war for independence from foreign oppressors, and was the first President of the Republic



The common people made the American Revolution. Here is pictured a pre-revolutionary outbreak — the "Uprising of the New England Yeomanry." It took place in 1774

" . . . that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . . "



Above: "Treason of Arnold: Arnold Persuades André to Conceal the Papers in His Boot." Below is "Conscription of Germans"—to fight for Britain

"Night Attack on the Tories." Note that the band of British sympathizers have evidently been drinking and gambling



AS TO WOMEN

Protests are in order for the Saturday Evening Post's anti-Negro articles

I HAVE always thought of the *Saturday Evening Post* as a man's magazine. It seemed to me that I saw it usually under the arms of tired business men hurrying for the five-fifteen. But I am assured that women are the greatest readers of the publication. (In one family, I am told, there must be two copies of the *Post*, because the wife cannot wait until her husband is through with it—and of course vice versa.) If that is the case, I think protests are in order from women on the article appearing recently entitled "Black Omens."

Let it be said for the leading magazines of the United States that they have been careful in the past not to say anything openly that could be construed as anti-any-race. But the *Saturday Evening Post* seems to have departed from this attitude. Now of course they may be quite innocent of the danger of such an article as "Black Omens." It is a feature story on the Negro of the United States. It tells of the wooing of the Negro vote by the Democratic Party and the coolness of the Negro to the courtship. It points out that the Negro is organizing, not as a part of any political party, but as a racial group. It tells of certain outcomes of such organization—such as the compelling of stores to take Negro workers, and a boycott undertaken by the Negro Housewives League in Pittsburgh which forced dairies to take on Negro help. "By all odds, the biggest of the Negro's mass-action economic drives is about to be unleashed in Harlem," writes the author. "The blow, when it is struck, will be aimed at the utility companies—telephone, gas and electricity. It seems that these companies employ, in New York City, about 78,000 people, few of them Negroes. The annual Harlem take of the two concerns is about \$5,000,000. Harlem's Negroes, therefore, want a \$5,000,000 proportion of the 78,000 employees." Notice the words in this paragraph—"unleashed," "blow when it is struck" and so on. They immediately create an atmosphere of uneasiness.

BUT there is more than the threat of this economic mass organization of the

Negro. There is the "Communist threat." The author solemnly tells us that the Communist Party recognizes the potentialities of this racial group and has made the Negro its first objective. "The most important center of Communist agitation in the North is the Negro headquarters of the party in New York—a much-placarded building on Lenox Avenue in Harlem. The walls are decorated with lurid proletarian paintings, the office entrance protected by a heavy wire partition that might have been bought, second-hand, from a third-rate jail. Despite the boast that, once in the party, race lines are blotted out, all the roll-top desks, on the day I dropped in, were occupied by white men."

BUT it is not the suggestion of the strong Communist influence among the Negroes that is the most dangerous part of the article as far as the white American reader is affected. It is the ominous warning that the Negro from now on is going to move independently to get what he wants. *It raises a Black Peril.* The last paragraph reads thus: "These economic issues are likely to be more, not less, important to the Negro voter. . . . And many intelligent Negroes who are not caught by easy answers or the fly-by-night doctrines are agreed that there is nothing visible on either the economic or the political horizon that gives promise of any satisfactory deliverance for their race. They and the Negro community generally are inclined, therefore, to foster the growth of race solidarity, to support those efforts at mass action which, here a little and there a little, are proving effective, and to *prepare to get for themselves* what they are at last convinced their white deliverers will never give." (Our italics.)

It is to be hoped that the women who read the *Saturday Evening Post* will write exactly how they feel about this article to the editors. There is plenty of room in the United States for the expression of a good strong healthy opinion on the type of writing that tends to create an atmosphere too monotonously known in Germany.

—DOROTHY MCCONNELL

What War's About

(Continued from page 6)

the assassination of Premier Inuki on May 15, 1932, which marked the end of party government in Japan. The February 26th (1936) Fascist Rebellion failed to establish an out-and-out Fascist régime, but its failure did not signify the defeat of Fascism: it merely meant the failure to introduce it by open rebellion. The incident ended by placing in power the conservative army clique headed by Terauchi, who immediately proceeded to introduce Fascism from the top, that is, through the existing government rather than against the existing government.

This tendency has been accentuated during the war. Since the end of May, with the inclusion in the cabinet of such arch-Fascists as General Itagaki and General Araki, Fascism has gained more power than it has ever had before. It is to be remembered that Itagaki is regarded as the most influential and most brilliant leader of the young officers' clique, which constitutes the most militant Fascist wing of the army. He is also one of the most ardent advocates of war for the conquest of China. The very fact that despite the disgrace at Taiherchuang—where, together with General Isopai, he led the Japanese forces into one of Japan's worst defeats in history—he was promoted to the powerful post of Minister of War, emphasizes the strong hold his Fascist clique has already obtained in the Japanese government. General Araki is known lately especially for his attempt to construct an Asiatic Fascist ideology for Japan by a strange combination of Shintoism, Confucianism and European Fascism. Now, being placed at the post of Minister of Education, he is given the chance of his life to indoctrinate the Japanese nation with his ideology and prepare it for more war and more Fascism.

Toward a Fascist Japan

The Fascist tendency in Japan is also shown in the recent passage and partial invocation of the National Mobilization Law. The law places the nation's entire economy under the control of the government. It suppresses completely the freedom of the press and all other civil rights of the people. It practically outlines a Nazi economic and political régime for Japan. An important feature of the law is that its invocation is not confined to times of war, as is the case with most laws of this kind. The Japanese law also provides for its invocation in time of "emergency" or "incident," which term may cover not only "undeclared wars," but also any situation that the ruling clique may declare to be an emergency. This provision provides a loophole through which the Nazi system outlined in the National Mobilization

Law can be converted from a temporary into a permanent institution.

The National Mobilization Law has met with much opposition in the Diet. Its passage on March 16th was achieved only after the Diet members were threatened and intimidated by violence and Isoo Abe, the aged leader of the Social Mass Party, was beaten in his home by Fascist thugs. The Mobilization Law has already been partially invoked. It will not be long before we will witness the setting-up of a Nazi-like system in Japan.

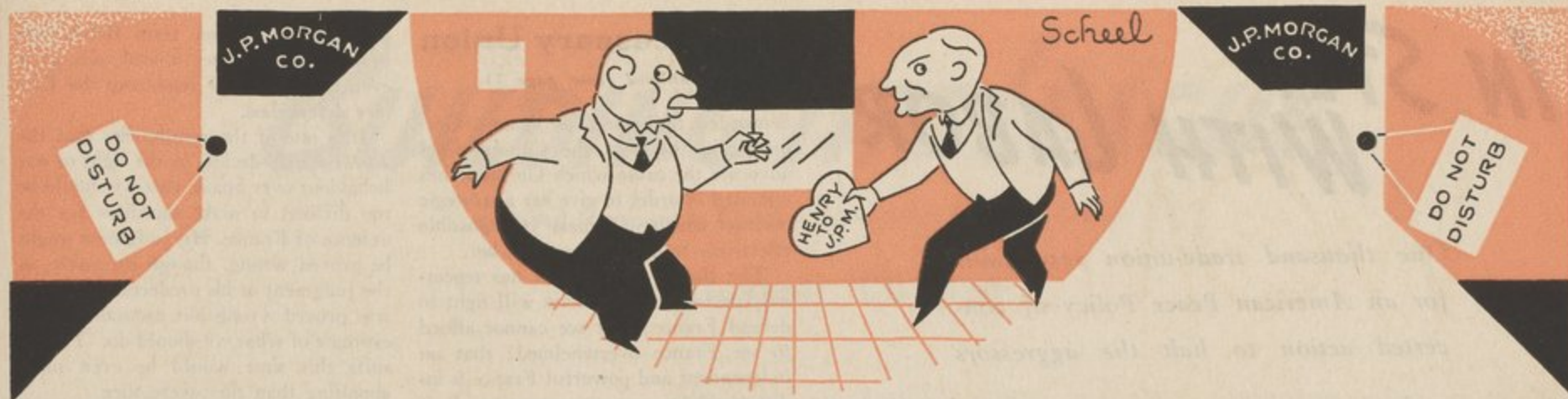
China for Democracy

In China the historical tendency is decidedly in the opposite direction, in the direction of Democracy. The impetus for Democracy in China rests on the basis of national unity and the movement by which a larger and larger number of the people are drawing into the common task of national defense. The movement for national unity on the basis of Democracy and defense against Japanese aggression can be said to date as far back as 1932. It gained momentum when the so-called "Kwangtung and Kwangsi Rebellion" was settled peacefully without bloodshed in the summer of 1936. The growing strength of the unity movement was again demonstrated in the Sian Incident in December, 1936, which at first seriously threatened to become a national disaster but later was peacefully settled—the settlement also resulting in the termination of a civil war of ten years standing between the Kuomintang forces, in control of the National Government, and the Chinese Communists.

The peaceful solution of the Sian Incident paved the way for the national front between the Kuomintang and the Communists which was concluded in the latter part of August, 1937. In the meantime, leaders of miscellaneous political groups and certain provinces, notably the powerful Kwangsi leaders, General Li Tsun-jen and General Pai Chung-hsi, who had hitherto accepted rather an estranged relation with the Central Government, also rallied to the support of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek after he had decided to lead the country to resist Japan. As a first step to draw these various elements into participation in the affairs of the government, the Central Government set up a National Advisory Council of seventy members in which all important political parties and groupings were represented.

This march toward Democracy as a basis for cementing unity continued steadily, and its pace was quickened as larger and larger groups of the people were drawn into the war. In order to organize, direct and develop mass activities in regard to the war and to intensify political training in the army, the Political Department of the

(Continued on page 30)



WALL STREET realizes, just as well and possibly more intensely than the progressive forces of the nation, that the Congressional elections next fall represent a turning-point in the political and social development of this country. Either we go forward to consolidation of popular control over the means of wealth, or backward to Wall Street's evil domination of the productive processes.

Each national election since the New Deal administration first took office in 1933 has, in a sense, been crucial. What makes the forthcoming test most important is that it will be the first New Deal election to be held under declining, rather than ascending economic conditions. Furthermore, the victor in November will be in a strategic position to call the cards in the presidential campaign of 1940.

Wall Street has been preparing for next November ever since the new business depression began last fall. The *Wall Street Journal*, most direct organ of entrenched capital, recently ran a series of articles on the national political situation entitled: "Reconstruction (i.e., the reestablishment of Wall Street control over government) or Revolution" (i.e., the continued development of progressive policies to improve the well-being of the people as a whole). This series wistfully concluded with the following wishful thought: "The reconstructionists might even come back to Washington next January with something they could refer to as a 'mandate.' Stranger things have happened."

The "mandate" which Wall Street prays and works for has been carefully defined by its spokesmen during the last few months. Foremost on the calendar would be the mutilation of the National Labor Relations Act. Charles R. Hook, chief stooge for the National Association of Manufacturers, recently recited with appropriate gestures the unending refrain of Wall Street: Rights for labor have caused the depression, and recovery—b'gawd and b'jasus—will not be allowed to occur until the labor movement is emasculated. (The fact that the relative prosperity of 1937 coincided with the most militant phase of the labor movement

is, of course, completely overlooked in the argument.)

Next on Wall Street's agenda would be further "reform" of the tax structure to make easier the accumulation of great fortunes, and to throw even a greater share of the cost of government onto the shoulders of the working majority of the population. This would be over and above the important strides in this direction already made by the recent Congress, thanks to the alliance of right-wing Democrats with Republican reactionaries.

Third would be drastic curtailment of relief, with substitution of an outright dole at less than subsistence levels for the present work-relief program, which at least permits maintenance of some self-respect for the jobless by employing some of them on projects of definite social value.

Fourth would be to eliminate all government "competition" with private business, particularly utilities, and thus to hamstring the governmental activities which have helped where "private enterprise" has ignominiously failed, and which have forced the private utilities to suspend at least part of their customary program of gouging the public.

These are the reasons why Wall Street is priming the pressure pump with an anxious eye on next November, and why a unified campaign by all progressive groups is of utmost importance. Actually, a united front by the progressives would easily sweep the nation next fall. The results of the primary elections, as well as the testimony of the most dependable private polls, all demonstrate that the great majority of the people still support the basic

policies of the New Deal. If anything were needed to prove this point, it is clinched by the almost unanimous campaign by the "kept" press (85 per cent of which, you'll remember, supported Landon in the Roosevelt landslide of 1936) to demonstrate that the New Deal is losing ground among the voters.

Unity (it is as simple as that) is all that is required to prove that the Westbrook Peglers, Walter Lippmanns, Dorothy Thompsons and Frank R. Kents are just as wrong about political conditions today as they were in 1936. But what Wall Street is counting on, and striving its utmost to accomplish, is a lack of people's unity in the November elections. A split progressive vote would be the answer to Wall Street's prayer. (Phil La Follette, take notice.) Just as the split in the New Deal's strength in the past Congress has been right up Wall Street's alley throughout the session. The desertion of New Deal principles by the reactionary Democrats has, in fact, turned the Roosevelt-landslide Congress into a Wall Street Congress, at least in negative fashion, and the moguls hope to preserve and improve upon this condition in the next Congress. This last Congress was no more representative of the people who elected it than is the subsidized editorial page a reflection of the sentiments of its readers.

Ford Loves Morgan

HENRY FORD, who probably hires more criminals than anyone else in the country to staff his union-busting "service men," has always posed as an archenemy of Wall

Street. This attitude has served to support Henry's false halo as a "friend of the working man." Now that the lines have become so sharply drawn between progress and reaction, however, Henry is finding it more difficult to preserve his pseudo-enmity toward his brothers-under-the-skin in the financial district.

One tip was Henry's now notorious 22-word speech to the dinner of the reactionary American Publishers Association in New York: "We're all on the spot. Stick to your guns and my son and myself will do all we can to help you." The day after delivering this sinister edict, Henry was discovered by newspapermen in the act of sneaking into J. P. Morgan & Co. to pay a friendly call on the boys who still say what's what in Wall Street. To tarnish his anti-Wall Street halo even more, Henry conceded that it had been his custom for some time to exchange salutes with Lord Morgan when in New York.

But now, the Dearborn-Wall Street axis has been openly proclaimed by Henry in his statement extending blessings to J. P. Morgan as representing the "best side" of Wall Street. Score another point for the C.I.O., which has finally succeeded in forcing Henry to confess his solidarity with the other big-shots of monopoly capitalism.

Women of Wall Street

MOST of the phony organizations which were nourished and inspired by the money of the American Liberty League crowd have passed into the beyond where bad political schemes retire when they are exposed. But not so the "Women Investors in America, Inc." which still survives on the contributions of bosses' wives and of bosses themselves. Quite symbolically, reactionary damsels from the "Investors" gathered recently in front of the New York Stock Exchange to agitate against adequate relief, and to pass out throw-aways featuring the wrinkled face of a distressed baby protesting the burden of taxation. To please the moguls' molls, the lower classses apparently must prefer a starving baby to a baby tainted by federal relief.

WALL STREET

IN STEP WITH LABOR

One thousand trade-union resolutions for an American Peace Policy of concerted action to halt the aggressors

THE National Trade Union Department of the American League for Peace and Democracy has, up to the present time, received one thousand signed and sealed resolutions from trade unions throughout the country, supporting our policy on peace and the O'Connell Peace Act, House Joint Resolution 527. Of these thousand resolutions, twenty-five are from Central Trades and Labor Councils and Industrial Union Councils.

Support of these trade unions for the O'Connell Act is very significant, for the reason that these resolutions come in from all parts of the country including the Deep South, and also that the support comes from both C. I. O. and A. F. of L. union locals. When, however, we realize that there are almost fifty thousand trade union locals in this country, we can see that only a small percentage of the American labor movement has taken action on the question of peace.

WHEN President Roosevelt in his famous October 5th speech urged "quarantining the aggressor," he was basing his policy on a correct estimation of the trend toward concerted peace action on the part of the American people. The American masses on the whole agreed with the President, and allowed silence to mean consent. On the other hand, those groups interested in isolating our government from the rest of the world, and opposed to the President's policy, made themselves heard clearly, and exerted tremendous pressure through the press, lobbies, etc.

It was only after some period of time had elapsed that the American people awoke to the realization of the necessity for action. Recent events in Spain, Austria, China, and Czechoslovakia have further convinced the American people that if peace is to be maintained in the world, the American foreign policy must play a positive rôle and work for concerted peace action.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull, in speaking before the Tennessee Bar Association, declared that it was "time to lift this issue from a plane of declaration of policy to the sphere of immediate action."

"Isolation," Secretary Hull said, "is

bitter illusion and harmful to the peace of America. We must cooperate sincerely and resolutely with like-minded nations working toward the same goal. . . . There never was a time in our national history when the influence of the United States in support of international law was more urgently needed than at present—to serve both our own best interests and those of the entire human race."

THE American people must take the present opportunity to support Secretary Hull's clear statement of policy. Organized America must take steps to make the strength of the people's mandate felt as a contrast to the opposition and isolationist groups, who will use every means available to fight this policy of collective action.

Never before has the American labor movement been in a position where it can play such an important rôle in the formation of a correct foreign policy for the United States. There is nothing to prevent us from securing ten and twenty times the present number to sign resolutions in support of the O'Connell Peace Act, H. J. Res. 527.

When we consider the prominent people both in American public life and in the labor movement who are supporting the policy of concerted peace action, we can see that proper popularization and explanation will win the entire labor movement to go on record for this policy.

It is up to the people of America, and especially to the trade unions, to speak now in support of this genuine American Peace Policy. It is up to organized labor to speak in such language as will be translated into concerted peace action with the democratic peoples of the world.

There are many labor union organizations and trade union locals who have passed our resolution on peace and the O'Connell Peace Act, H. J. Res. 527, but who have not mailed them in to us or notified us of their action. It is important that we have these resolutions so that we can forward them in a body to the proper officials in Washington.

—A. E. EDWARDS

The Necessary Union

(Continued from page 7)

demanding to protect us against Germany; in the next the Conservatives advocate the cause which Germany has espoused in order to give her a strategic position which will make it impossible effectively to use arms against her.

The British government has repeatedly declared that Britain will fight to defend France; that we cannot afford to see France overwhelmed; that an independent and powerful France is indispensable to our own security. It is clearly our sincere intention at the moment thus to stand for the defence of France. We have willed that end. But most certainly we have not with any united national purpose willed the means.

Can we possibly defend France without the aid of Russia, or if Russia is so eliminated or neutralised that the whole undivided might of pan-Germany can be concentrated upon France? Would France be defensible at all if a German-Italian occupation or domination of the Spanish Peninsula menaced France on three fronts—the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees—and also threatened her Mediterranean communications—as in that case ours would certainly be threatened as well? The Conservatives do not propose a pacifist policy in meeting this German danger. They propose to meet it by force, by arms. They demand always arms, arms, arms, the purpose of which is for use against Germany. But they also insist by their Spanish and Russian policy that it does not matter how strong strategically Germany may become, nor how much her relative strength grows by the elimination of our potential allies. Our Conservatives have objected to the Franco-Russian pact as "provocative" to Germany. Yet they demand arms against her. Strength by arms is apparently in their view not provocative; strength by alliances like that between France and Russia is. We must have the greatest fleet in the world in order to meet the German danger, but when Germany takes steps (like those taken in Spain) which will give her a chance (to put it at its lowest) of occupying in war a position in the Mediterranean that may reduce our fleet almost to impotence, Conservatives publicly support the cause which will render those steps successful.

Confusion on the Right

It is plain that great sections of our people are of the view that it is more important for Franco to win than for our Mediterranean communications to be made secure; they would rather see France menaced than that we should be allied with Russia in her defence. Either they feel that the danger from "Bolshevism" is greater than the danger from an overwhelming domination of the Continent by Germany; or their

dislike of what they term Bolshevism is so great that they would indulge it even at the cost of rendering the Empire defenceless.

It is one of the possibilities that the *Fuehrer* may decide, in the light of our behaviour over Spain, that we should be too divided to make sacrifices for the defence of France. His judgment might be proved wrong, though excusable, as the judgment of his predecessor in 1914 was proved wrong but excusable in his estimate of what we should do. The results this time would be even more appalling than they were then.

Until the country has made up its mind on this fundamental issue we are in danger of drifting into war from what is in fact exactly the kind of error which produced war in 1914. There is a division of purpose on the part of the forces of the Right both in France and Britain which must be fatal to successful resistance to German "dynamism." The Right will continue to yield as it has yielded in the past, in some vague hope of making common cause with the Fascist states against the growth of Left tendencies in Europe—"the infection of Bolshevism," as much of the Right commonly describe it.

Drifting Toward War

There is a tendency for pacifists to argue that this yielding will at least give us peace; that even Fascism is better than war. But almost certainly the result of retreat before Fascism will be both Fascism and war. Why should a Europe of Fascist states be better able to keep the peace than a Europe of states a good deal more liberal such as we had before 1914 and which did not do so? The internationalism of Fascism which we now see is inevitably a temporary phase. As soon as the unifying effect of what Fascism regards as the common danger—"Bolshevism"—is removed, the old rivalries of military nationalism will reappear. International anarchy, the attempt, that is, of sovereign states to live without law, each his own defender, each trying to be stronger than the other in order to be the judge in any dispute between them, must produce war. For by that method there can be no such thing as a general security since the security of one is the insecurity of the other: each is attempting to achieve defence by superior power, thus denying to the weaker the right which the stronger claims. This method produced war even when states were relatively liberal and tolerant (even *Kaiserlich* Germany strikes us as tolerant and liberal when we compare it with Hitlerite Germany). We cannot for one moment expect, therefore, that an intolerant Fascism will succeed in the maintenance of peace between highly armed national states where liberal democracies failed. The coming of European Fascism will be merely the prelude to the coming of European war.

(Continued on page 29)

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Russell Thayer

GILBERT ROCKE informs us that the Chicago Committee has accepted the responsibility for organizing on a more permanent basis the Council of Nations which was formed this spring with representatives from 491 organizations, and which conducted the Peace Parade in April. A delegation to Washington is now planned, to confer with State Department officials on the adoption of a peace policy based on cooperation with the democratic peoples of the world.

Although the news has been carried in the press in many parts of the country, we want again to give recognition to the Chicago Branch for the splendid work that they did in uncovering the conspiracy of the German-American Bund and the Silver Shirts. Affidavits of various people who attended a joint meeting of the two organizations recounting the threat by Roy Zachary, Silver Shirt leader, to assassinate President Roosevelt are now being used by investigating authorities. Zachary urged at the close of his violently anti-Semitic speech, it is reported, that all who were ready for plenty of action should stay after the meeting and join up; although he pointed out that the women would be in different councils from the men because they "wouldn't be able to go where the men are going during the next few months."

AMONG the new branches we are glad to welcome the Hartford, Connecticut, Peace Council, which had been affiliated with the League and now will function as a League branch. A new branch at Huntington, Long Island, is composed partly of people who several years ago worked with a youth branch of the League, which disintegrated when the young people went away to college or got jobs away from home. We imagine that such re-birth can take place in a number of towns throughout the country. Among the new affiliates is the Ulster County Artists' Union, which has about forty members, and will now work with the Kingston, New York, Branch. The League of American Writers is taking a poll on affiliation to the League.

THE National Office and New York City Division plan a joint assault this summer upon the resorts in Northern Westchester, the Catskills, the Adiron-

dacks and Lake George. We expect that an organizer in an automobile will be able to reach scores of camps and hotels and show films, play the records made from the radio sketches, sell literature, and convince vacationists that the peace and fun that they are having makes it a good time to join the League and preserve these blessings. The Film and Speakers Bureau which is being built up at the National Office largely through the generous interest of Miss Rita Fraad, is now equipped to book films and send out speakers, exhibits, plays, etc., within a considerable distance from New York; and plans are being made for national tours in the fall.

THE New Jersey State Committee's organizer, Nancy Cox, was recently mauled and pushed around by Jersey City police at Lincoln Park when Congressman Jerry O'Connell was prevented by Mayor Hague's thugs from speaking. The press has already carried this story but we want to remind you that the meeting on May 19th, held by the Jersey City Branch of the League, was attended by about 275 people who jammed the little hall (which was the biggest hall available to progressive organizations in Hague's bailiwick). Another twelve hundred or fifteen hundred people heard a large part of the meeting by means of loudspeakers on the street. (Dr. Harry F. Ward was the main speaker.) As the meeting adjourned Arthur Garfield Hays, famous civil-rights attorney and one of the speakers, climbed on an automobile and addressed the huge

crowd, thereby holding the first outdoor meeting of its kind since the reign of terror began in Jersey City a year ago. Now the terror has spread to nearby Newark, but the prompt protest of progressive organizations to city officials, and the organization by the American League branches and other civic groups of a Citizens Committee which protested to the City Council has brought about the restoration of civil rights—though not on as wide a scale yet as the League insists upon.

AN Anti-Nazi Council consisting of twenty-seven organizations put on an effective mass meeting at Yorkville Casino in New York, where just recently Nazis had beaten up American veterans. This Council, which is independent of the League, but which the League is proud to have helped form, will continue activity as a coordinating committee—particularly around the issues of Nazi aggression in Central Europe and the threats of local Nazis.

AT THE Western Convention of the German-American Bund, 250 delegates were greeted with hisses by 7500 demonstrators of the American League and other organizations which are resolved to stamp out Fascism in the United States. Norman McKibben, the San Francisco secretary, has written us an account of this demonstration and expresses great hope for continued united front activity along the same lines.

THE Pontiac, Michigan, Branch is having considerable success with a petition which they are distributing pro-

testing local activities of the Black Legion. Their minutes report, however, occasional instances in which the citizens of the community have been afraid to sign such petitions—which illustrate the terroristic methods of Fascist groups in the United States and the need of increasing vigilance in combatting them.

THIS week, representatives from the National Office have previewed two excellent films. The first is *Stop Japan*, a picture which shows scenes of the Japanese invasion of China and the use to which the profits from Japanese goods sold here are put. This 16 mm. film should be used widely by League branches for raising funds and furthering the boycott. The second film is the commercial production by Walter Wanger—*Blockade*, with Madeleine Carroll and Henry Fonda. Considerable courage on the part of the commercial producer has been shown in making this vigorously anti-war film, and it serves as a precedent which we must urge all Hollywood producers to follow. We expect that League members will insist upon showings in their community theatres, and that they will try to make arrangements for block sales of seats by League branches.

ON JUNE 17TH, picket lines were conducted by the China Aid Councils and League branches in all American cities where there are Japanese consulates, protesting against the inhuman bombings by the Japanese militarists of civilians and urging aid to China and the boycott of Japanese goods. Simultaneous protests were made in France and England.

THE Pittsburgh Branch of the American League was the center of a demonstration conducting a picket-line outside the hotel where the Italian Ambassador, Fulvio Suvich, was being feted at a luncheon. Besides the picket-line, leaflets were thrown from the 17th story window denouncing Italy's foreign policy. Later under police guard the Ambassador was given an honorary degree from Duquesne University. In his speech he maintained that Fascism is on the way in the United States. A protest to the Mayor against welcoming the Ambassador was made.



At the American League home for Spanish children, Sueca, near Valencia

YOUTH NOTES

TO GET to know the real value of international conferences you have to go to the darker spots of the globe where they seek some ray of light from the outside. A letter just received from Peru is from such a dark spot. It was written by a young fellow who is working against great odds and in daily peril to get delegates for the Second World Youth Congress to be held at Vassar in August. He writes: "It (the Congress) will have special significance for us South Americans, you understand. The majority of our countries are undergoing the black hours of their history; Fascism threatens to extend itself in our continent and Fascism signifies barbarism, war and blood.

"Here in Peru we live with bayonets at our chests, with our lives in the hands of the police agents of the government, with our most worthy brothers, both of class and struggle, in jail or the cemetery. The sinister General Benavides, under the tutelage and help of the police mission from Italy, puts into practice in our country a Fascist plan of domination with brutal terror. The savage persecution is directed in intense form against youth and especially against the students. It is impossible in our case to hold a national meeting of the young people to nominate our delegates to the World Congress. It is because of this that we believe that only the organizations at present in existence will be able to nominate their representatives."

It is to bring these delegates and similar ones that the Congress Committee here is sponsoring a Book of International Fellowship. We're trying to get a hundred thousand signatures, each accompanied by a ten cent contribution, to cover part of the cost of the Congress.

As a result of the First World Youth Congress, peace movements were established in a number of countries where they were illegal before. This coming gathering should do the same for our neighbors to the South.

THE program of a "Youth Committee Against War," which was created in a vain effort to capture the American Student Union for isolation and later rededicated itself to doing the same job on all youth (again, it seems rather vainly), has just come to our attention.

The program has eight points not

a single one of which mentions the present wars throughout the world. The only government attacked is our own—for exposing Nazi and Japanese spies, among other things.

Furthermore, in the material given the delegates to their recent meeting, the only references to the state of hostilities is used as a springboard to denounce as "chauvinism" American League and American Student Union opposition to the massacres perpetrated by the Fascists. The danger to peace comes not from those who kill five hundred people in a day with their bombs, but from those who denounce the atrocities. Inveighs one lad: "And their magazines and leaders are full of atrocity stories." From now on we pledge not to report the doings of Japan in Canton or Mussolini in Barcelona. That's our contribution to peace!

THE results of Hitler in Austria are still being reported. A letter just received from Vienna gives another detail: "I am a medical student and was supposed to complete my final exams on June 15th. As a result of the events of March 12th I am, however, as a Jew barred from further study. How hard, doubly hard, this is to me you will understand when you realize that I am twenty-five years old and have spent my entire life studying. Now I am unable to finish my work. This means that I've wasted twenty-five years without reaching my goal. A medical student without his degree and one who is on the eve of getting it is worthless. Dear sirs, please help me."

What more could he say if the fear of censorship were lifted?

THE New York City Committee took an active part in the Youth Memorial Day Peace Parade which was sponsored by a broad group of organizations and directed by Gordon Sloane, American League Youth Director for New York. This parade raised chiefly the slogan of lifting the embargo on the Spanish government.

WE'VE got a baseball team. Bernardsville, New Jersey, Youth Branch challenges one and all to nine innings of bitter struggle on the diamond. Just a summer warm-up for the big fights in the winter. Ask Hague, he knows.

—JAMES LERNER

Neighbor Mexico

(Continued from page 11)

America, but it is significant to note that among the four thousand *Cedillistas* who surrendered in the first ten days of the "rebellion" there were a group of four hundred armed with rifles of Japanese manufacture.

On May 27th, General Perez Galardo captured a Cedillo airdrome at Arroyo Hondo. He discovered ninety-five German-made bombs too heavy to be carried by the army's ordinary transport facilities.

One more indication of Nazi conspiracy in the abortive scheme was the boast of members of the German legation two weeks before the rebellion that Mexico would soon see a change in government.

While it is true that small bands of *Cedillistas* are carrying on wrecking activities, the government today has learned its lesson, and planes are scouring the hills and mountains routing the rebels from their camps and compelling them to keep on the move. It must be emphasized here that never once was the Pan-American Highway from Laredo, Texas, to Mexico City threatened by the *Cedillistas*. As a matter of fact, their entire scene of operations during the most critical period occupied only one-seventh of the state of San Luis Potosi. The one derailing that took place can be attributed to the lack of preparations on the part of the government to meet that brand of sabotage. But the entire railroad line from the States to Mexico City is adequately guarded to insure against repetition of such an incident. Why Kluckhohn, in reporting this item in the *New York Times* of May 26th, stated that two passenger cars were included in the number of cars that careened over, is difficult to determine. A passenger on the train produced a photograph he had taken that clearly indicated that only the locomotive, the tender and the mail car had turned over.

Cleaning Up the Rebels

The net result of Cedillo's folly has been to deal a terrific blow to the native Fascists and a warning to outside interests that they are dealing with a different Mexico, a new Mexico. There are still spots here that offer fertile territory for Fascist propaganda. In this new lease on life that Mexico has taken, there are many old hangovers. In Monterrey, the only industrial city in Mexico completely dominated by Mexican industrialists, the Confederation of Mexican Workers (C.T.M.) encountered tough sledding. "White unions" (read company unions) were considerably in evidence, and Cedillo's influence with the industrialists, aided by Nazi propaganda, proved to be quite a formidable barrier to the exercise of the right to organize. But intensive educational campaigns instituted by the

government and the C.T.M. have reduced this obstacle to next to nothing. And Cardenas' warning to the Mexican barons, in his speech before the first national congress of the Confederation of Mexican Workers in February, is being heeded. He has demonstrated that he is a man of action.

By far the most important question facing Mexico today, greater even than the oil question but closely interwoven with it, is the land problem. According to Dr. Ramon Beteta, Undersecretary of Foreign Relations, the concentration of the land in fewer and fewer hands has been the central factor in the history of Mexico. The problems that concentration has created constitute the stumbling-block that has faced all progressive Mexican governments. "The conquistadores divided the country among themselves with a system of 'encomiendas'; the war of independence succeeded only in changing the nationality of the exploiters; the Reform movement was able to change only the names of the owners and to break down the communal holdings; finally, during the Diaz régime, the process of concentration was accentuated and by both legal and foul means the rape of the *pueblos* continued until by the end of that dictatorship, two per cent of the population owned seventy per cent of the land, and in some states as many as ninety-eight per cent of the rural heads of families were landless."

The Land Problem

In Chiapas, this condition of feudalism still exists, aided as it is by a tremendous Nazi influx. In this state, which is the corridor into Guatemala—a completely Fascist-dominated nation—Mexico's greatest coffee and sugar plantations are located. An actual system of peonage exists. The governor has been one of the most recalcitrant against the Cardenas régime, and takes his orders from his Nazi advisers. Cardenas has not yet turned his attention to the state of affairs there. The *Ejidors* (villages which have received land from the government) are unknown. And with good reason—for it would mean certain death for any group in Chiapas to petition the national government. However, in most of the other states the *Ejido* movement is spreading rapidly. There is hardly a single fair-sized district between Mexico City and the Isthmus which does not boast of an *Ejido*. Hand in hand with the land reform go school-teachers, books, local newspapers, sewer systems and hygienic instruction. It is not surprising to witness fifty- and sixty-year-old Indians reciting their A B C's in their typical baked-mud huts. But it is to the youth that Mexico is paying especial attention. For with them rests the making of the new Mexico. Since the church and the school system have been separated, edu-

cation has made terrific progress. Attendance in school is compulsory. Methods are modern and scientific. Science courses are the most popular, a healthy state for a nation that believes:

We have dreamt a Mexico of *Ejidos* and small industrial communities, electrified, with sanitation, in which goods will be produced for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the people; in which machinery will be employed to relieve man from heavy toil, and not for so-called over-production. *The Economic Aspects of the Six-Year Plan*, by Dr. Ramon Beteta.)

Under the progressive leadership of President Cardenas, the Mexican government stands in firm opposition to Fascism. There she is, between the South and Central American dictatorships and the United States. Americans owe it to themselves to take a greater interest in this democratic next-door neighbor.

The Necessary Union

(Continued from page 26)

We are commonly adjured to avoid a conflict of ideologies. But peace can only result when a bad, that is to say an unworkable, ideology is replaced by a better and more workable one; and if the worse proposes to use force to impose itself, then the better must be prepared to resist or go under. Resistance need not mean war. Indeed, the tragedy of the present situation is not so much that the danger of immediate general war is increased, but that we have failed to defend freedom, Democracy when it could have been defended without war; and by yielding have made war in the future infinitely more likely, when resistance would, without breaking peace in the present, have eliminated war from the picture.

Progressive Coöperation

The maintenance of peace and the Western democracies depends now upon coöperation, not between "France" and "Britain"—because there might be coöperation between Right governments in both countries to the end of putting Fascism in power—but between the progressive elements of both countries in such a way that both governments will be of a kind which will enable a good international policy to be carried through. There must be a better synchronization than in the past, so that a would-be progressive government in France does not have to work with a reactionary British government, or a progressive British government with a French reactionary one.

It is true that in both countries the progressive forces lack cohesion even at home, and are having difficulties in creating a common front to oppose their own, native, reactionaries. But a better understanding between the two national Lefts will not add to the difficulty of the home task. It should make that task easier. In any case this coöperation has now become indispensable.

Rotten in Denmark

(Continued from page 21)

accept a clearing arrangement whereby they receive no cash payments at all, buy more than they sell, pay the difference in the precious foreign currency, and are often compelled to buy at boosted prices German industrial merchandise which they don't need. Above everything, this system prevents Denmark from accumulating sufficient means for purchasing the vitally essential raw materials elsewhere.

While the Danish Agricultural Council impotently toys with anemic proposals, the worsening living conditions are making the peasants extremely restless, with the threat of another march on Copenhagen in the offing. In the summer of 1935, the peasants organized such a march to demand relief. At that time the government countered with a "cordial" reception, inviting the demonstrators to visit *gratis* theatres, movies and other places of amusement, and finally pacifying and sending them home with a pile of glittering promises which carried no specific commitments.

In January, 1937, a report to the government painted a somber picture of additional impoverishment of the farmers. In France the *Journée Industrielle* called the report "an outcry of despair." Gloomy indeed are the prospects of adjustment so long as Fascism holds sway in Germany, throwing its shadow over all neighboring lands.

Only certain ruling strata in Denmark refuse to acknowledge the growing dependence on the Fascist aggressor whom they abet. There is a clear lack of popular faith in the government's foreign policy.

In this connection, the well-known journalist Fogt declared in the Norwegian newspaper *Arbeiderbladet* that during the Danish-German trade negotiations of 1936, which resulted in the above-described economic subjugation of Denmark, a secret arrangement of a political character had also been evolved. Many developments since have been pointing to the likelihood of the existence of such a pact.

The Danish government's present international course is being steered in a way that makes a complete capitulation to the Hitlerites imminent.

The Northern Entente

Space does not permit elaboration on the many solid economic and military reasons why Sweden and Norway appear in some respects even more likely to be victimized by the brownshirts than the hapless Denmark. Nazi penetration to the sources of these two countries' strategic natural wealth, insolent violation of elementary international decencies by uninvited German submarines suddenly appearing at Scandinavian military ports, flights of German scouting aircraft over Scandinavian fortifications and maneuvering troops, a vast system of open and under-

cover espionage are some of the aspects of the Hitlerites' dirty work in the north of Europe.

It cannot be said that the statesmen of the three countries are unperturbed by the menace. The threat of aggression has been bringing them closer together. With Finland participating, they have created what is known as the Northern Entente. However, the methods recommended by the leaders of the Entente can hardly be accepted as adequate to exorcise the danger.

Even to this day there are leaders in Scandinavia who voice a conviction that a declaration of complete neutrality is sufficient insurance against aggression.

The Error of Neutrality

To be sure, the feeling that such a theory is profoundly fallacious is spreading broadly in Scandinavia. As a result, some of its proponents have been seeking to patch it up with the suggestion that if necessary, "neutrality" should be defended by armed force!

A peculiar position is occupied in the Entente by the government of Denmark. Denmark has been actually sabotaging attempts of other members to bolster up and consolidate the Scandinavian defense system. Such an attitude is an additional proof of the oft-cited allegation of the presence of a secret agreement between Denmark and Germany. Whether it is so or not, lack of unity among the Scandinavian nations profits only Germany.

The Stockholm conference of the northern countries held last fall brought no substantial changes into the depressing picture.

In the meantime the contemporary Scandinavian statesmen could have learned a lesson or two from events in Spain and the Far East. These have made all too obvious the error of the supposition that a policy of "neutrality," even reinforced by imposing armaments, guarantees a country against aggression. If this is a patent error in the case of so mighty a power as the United States, which also has unparalleled geographic advantages, how much more fatal it is in application to Scandinavia with its unfortunate proximity to Germany!

Denmark's strategic geographic situation in the Baltic and North Seas will be a decisive factor in Germany's "next war." Scandinavian military circles never tire of discussing the tactics which the Nazis may adopt in respect to Denmark in such a war. Some authorities hold that Germany would occupy Denmark, to secure control over the straits and for the creation of air-force bases for raids on England.

This point of view was comprehensively developed more than two years ago in a series of articles by Captain Norup in the *Dagens Nucheder*. After proving the life-and-death significance of the straits to Germany, the author

claimed that they could be controlled only through the occupation of the Danish coastline. Equally detailed and convincing was his discussion of the value of the Danish territory for German air bases.

Their Neutral Friends

But in spite of the strong temptation dangled before the Reichswehr bigwigs by the prospect of occupation, there are some equally promising strategic reasons for their abstinence from executing this scheme. Unmistakable advantages may accrue to Germany at war from preserving Danish "neutrality." Denmark would still be "friendly" to the Reich, without being frankly converted into an officially occupied springboard for military operations, with the ensuing burdens for the Nazis.

Time and again, the history of wars teaches us, belligerents found "neutrals" more useful than military allies. In the World War the general staff of the Imperial Russian Armies vigorously resisted the inclusion of Rumania in the anti-German bloc. Not without a sound basis, the Russian high command reasoned that Rumania's "neutral" collaboration was far cheaper and more effective than an outright alliance in which the Russians, already strained by the exigencies of war time, might have to render direct military aid to a "weaker sister."

No wonder that without any equivocation Germany's coördinated press is hailing Scandinavian and especially Danish "neutrality!"

To My Fellow-Jews

(Continued from page 9)

How shall this struggle be waged?

First, it seems to me that the times call for reaffirmation of Jewish rights. Such affirmation must be unqualified and uncompromising. It must be made not in words alone, but in our actions as individuals and as members of a group. Such affirmation must stress constitutional rights—especially the right of a minority to voice unpopular ideas and the right, which has been tacitly challenged, to hold any and every office to which Jews are entitled by integrity and ability. Such affirmation must restate religious rights, not in terms of formal tolerance, but as guaranteeing that no subtle or overt discrimination be practiced against adherents of Judaism, and that any national, state or municipal officeholder who so discriminates shall be driven from public office. Such affirmation must insist upon cultural rights so that the language, the tradition, the folklore and the aspirations of Jews may have full and free scope to weave themselves into the pattern of a democratic American culture.

Such a reaffirmation of Jewish rights will clarify the issue in our own minds and in the minds of millions of our fel-

low-Americans. It will show our determination not to barter our heritage of equality for a mess of sufferance, nor willingly to submit to Fascist blackmail and vigilante terror. It will expose the anti-Semites and Jew-baiters for what they are—camouflaged shock troops of intolerance and dictatorship.

Allies of Freedom

Second, it is imperative that we align ourselves with those forces in American life which are as organically and inevitably opposed to anti-Semitism as the reactionaries are headed toward it. These are the forces of progress and Democracy. It is not enough that we passively sympathize with them. We must actively, even heroically, participate in their struggles.

On grounds of self-interest, it is essential that these forces—the only forces on whom we can count as allies in maintaining our freedom and equality of status—shall know us and know our cause. This they can do only if we stand shoulder to shoulder with them in common effort. Every Jew who is known as a friend of labor binds the labor movement closer to his people's fate. Every Jew who champions the under-privileged, the unemployed, the exploited millions of our land, cements enduring and precious friendships for his race. Every Jew who battles to preserve civil and industrial liberties, augments the power of resistance to assaults upon Jewish liberties.

Yet it is not only or even chiefly for pragmatic reasons that I urge my fellow-Jews to ally themselves with democratic, progressive forces. Rather it is because these forces represent the values which, as human and civilized beings, we are compelled to cherish and defend. If by some incantation I could secure a separate peace for our people with the Fascist and war-making powers, I should not do so. For a separate peace would forever shut us off from mankind's anguished, yet resistanceless advance toward the light of freedom. Such a fate would be worse, infinitely worse, than any hurt which our foes could inflict upon us from without. It would constitute an act of self-betrayal, of historical suicide.

The Age-Long Struggle

For the whole meaning of Jewish history is to be found in our age-long struggle against those brutal and oppressive forces which have sought—whether in imperial Rome or feudal Poland or Nazi Germany—to enslave the spirit and body of man. Our hopeless resistance to Hadrian's legions was one aspect of that struggle; our devoted defiance of Torquemada's Inquisition was another; our very survival of czarist pale and pogrom was yet another.

That struggle is not ended. Today it takes the form of resistance to Fascist aggression and vigilante terror. Today

it must be waged against the marauding armies of Hitler and Hirohito and Mussolini. And today, as in the past, we Jews must help to wage it. I am aware that there were Jewish industrialists who helped to finance Hitler's rise to power, and that a handful of Jewish magnates in all countries are to be found on the side of the big battalions. But that is our—and will ultimately prove their—misfortune.

The Jewish people as a whole, the workers who make up the greatest part of it, the middle-class, the professional and the creative elements of it—belong with the forces of freedom and Democracy. That is why I find a fulfillment of Jewish destiny in the proud roster of names which our people has given to the ranks of those Americans who live and die for Loyalist Spain. That is why I rejoice in, rather than deplore, the fact that Jews are to be found in the forefront of every progressive and liberating movement of the times. That is why I urge you, my fellow-Jews, to recognize that *the cause of Jewish freedom is inseparable from the cause of human freedom*—and to act accordingly.

Midsummer Night

(Continued from page 17)

Ev said, "You hear that, Fred? He thinks he'll get out."

They all laughed again.

The Negro said, "Are you going to keep me here in the car?"

Fred turned around. "Look, nigger, you been doing too much talking. You think you know too much. We ought to teach you a lesson. You think you're too damn smart."

Ev said, "You got to be taught your place."

The Negro said, "I'm sorry if you feel that way. I really would like to get out here and walk, if you'll stop for a minute." He reached past Ev for the door handle.

Ev hit him in the face. "You'll get out when we want you to. Here, give me a hand, Marvin." They fought with the Negro. He was stronger than they were and Otto had to climb into the back seat to help them. Finally they got him down on the floor where they could kneel on him.

The Negro said, breathing hard, "I don't know what you want to do this to me for."

Marvin said, "We're going to show you your place, that's what."

Ev said, "We'll show you." He reached over and started methodically pounding the Negro in the face with his fists.

The Negro said, "You might give me an even chance."

Fred said over his shoulder, "You shut up. We'll tell you when you can talk."

"What'll we do with him?" Otto said.

Marvin said, "We ought to give him a whipping but we haven't got anything to do it with. That's what we ought to do to him."

Suddenly the Negro started to fight again.

Ev said, "Stop the car and give us a hand, Fred. This bastard's tough."

Fred drove the car off the road and stopped. He climbed over into the back seat.

Otto said, "Let's get him out on the road."

The Negro said, "I'll get out if you'll give me a chance."

The others were holding him. Fred hit him and he fell backwards out the door and onto the road. Fred jumped on him. The Negro brought his knee up in Fred's stomach, twisted, and got to his feet. Marvin and Otto hit him together and he went down. They all fell on him, cursing, pounding him with their fists.

Finally he was tired out. They dragged him to his feet, exhausted and bloody. They hit him a few times.

Fred said, "We ought to hang the bastard for this. He knocked one of my teeth out."

Otto said, "Look at me. The bastard!"

Ev said hysterically, "I'd like to kill him. I'd like to kill them all, beat them up until they died."

They stood there cursing him.

Fred said, "What'll we do with him?"

Cursing, Ev kicked the Negro.

Marvin said, "I'm going to get the guns out of the car." He ran across the road.

The Negro said brokenly, "Aren't you going to let me go now?"

Otto kicked him and he moaned. Marvin came back with four revolvers and handed them around.

Ev said, "Let him go. Let the bastard go."

Fred said shrilly, "Get running. Get running, you. . . ." He gave the Negro a push.

The Negro fell and rolled over. He staggered to his feet and came walking back toward them, his arms outstretched blindly, trying to talk. Ev fired. The Negro stumbled but kept his feet. Then they all began shooting wildly and the Negro fell and lay still. Marvin walked over and emptied his revolver into the body.

Otto said, "The bastard!"

They stood staring at the body. Ev dropped his revolver and had to reach down and pick it up.

Finally Fred said, "I guess we might as well be going."

Marvin said, "Are we just going to leave. . . ?" He stopped talking and they walked silently back to the car and started to get in.

Ev said, "I wish we had another bottle. I'd like a drink."

Otto said dully, "Yeah, I'd like one too."

Fred stepped on the starter.

What War's About

(Continued from page 24)

Central Military Affairs Commission was organized. The growth of mass activity, which progressed by leaps and bounds under the direction of this Department, prepared the way for further growth of Democracy in the country. At the beginning of April 1938, in a series of decisions, the Extraordinary Congress of the Kuomintang erected another milestone toward Democracy. The Congress decided to call a National Political Council, which represented an enlargement of the National Advisory Council established last August, and can be properly regarded as the embryo of a democratic parliament. The Congress also issued a decree granting full freedom of press, speech and association to the people. In a world where the evil tidings of the withdrawal of civil rights from the people are heard almost daily, this step is of great promise.

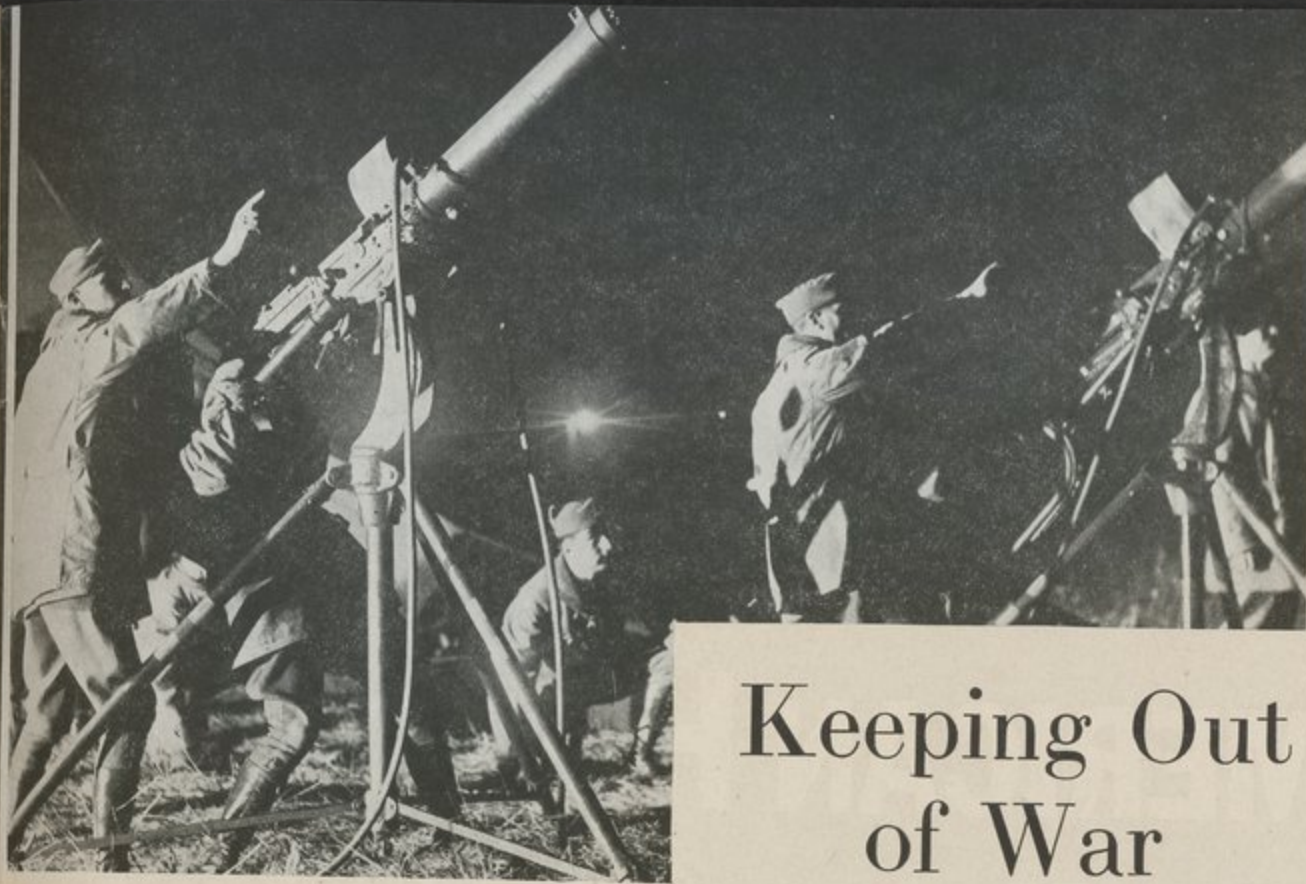
Thus, the character of the war is closely related to the course of internal development in the countries which are involved. Japan is Fascist in its international connections and is becoming more and more Fascist in its internal set-up as well. A victory of Japan in the war, therefore, would not only strengthen international Fascism but would bring into being a full-fledged Fascist régime in Japan, anxious for further aggression. A victory for China, on the other hand, would weaken Fascism by checking aggression, and would also strengthen Democracy by the development of a democratic régime in one of the largest countries in the world. The war in the Far East, therefore, is not only a war between China and Japan, but it is also a war between two diametrically opposed historical tendencies. The victory of China, it seems clear, will be a victory for world Democracy.

A CORRECTION

THROUGH a misunderstanding of a report of what the Y.W.C.A. national convention did in regard to the boycott on Japanese goods, THE FIGHT in its June issue carried an item which may lead to a misinterpretation. We are therefore glad to print the resolution passed by the convention:

Whereas our concern for the people of both Japan and China would lead us to seek means of terminating the current war in the Far East; and whereas the United States' position as a major consumer of Japanese goods and as an exporter of war materials to Japan makes it a strategic country at this point; Be it resolved, (1) that the Young Women's Christian Association, in Convention assembled, commend and encourage efforts to curb shipment to Japan of materials which will be used directly by Japan in pursuing its military invasion of China, and (2) that the matter of the people's boycott be considered a matter for individual decision and that the National Board continue to furnish information which will aid members in their personal decision.

July 1938, THE FIGHT



Keeping Out of War

can make a go of it, which means both mass support and money. As a matter of fact, labor—which largely initiated the boycott that is, equally with the embargo, anathema to Libby—is moving fast toward an embargo of its own and an increasing demand for government action of the same sort. Labor is not going to be delivered to a movement where the final control is Frederick J. Libby's veto of any economic action. Libby, who has compromised nothing and therefore is the most understandable of the triumvirate, is nevertheless in a strange position: an alliance with two groups who never fail to announce themselves as further left than the Communists, with whom he refuses to associate. Thus the pattern made by both the Congress and the Continuation Plan has for its three main threads confusion, compromise and control. The confusion is illustrated by commission reports declaring that the policy of quarantining the aggressor was dictated to Roosevelt by England, presumably to help Mussolini conquer Spain; condemning the "so-called O'Connell Peace Act" for not recognizing "that the basic conditions of war are not acts of aggression but rather competing national imperialisms"; describing the Administration policy on Spain as a policy of collective action by the U. S. with twenty-seven European governments of the Non-Intervention Bloc.

The compromise and the control that grew out of and were facilitated by this confusion have already been made sufficiently clear. But when did such a pattern ever make a movement? Today compromise and control are not even good politics.

Is there any reason for another national grouping in the anti-war movement? Yes, if it were an honest division between isolationist neutrality advocates and the advocates of a selective embargo as between the aggressor and his victim (and the types of concerted action that are necessary to carry it out). A clear-cut division on this line, thrashing the issue out before the country, would be a contribution to the political development of the nation. But the confused compromise of the Washington meeting only delays the settlement of the issue and imperils effective action in the time available. The rank-and-file Socialists and all others who believe that the vital issue is the lifting of the embargo on the Spanish government and the placing of it on Japan, Germany and Italy, who understand that any possibility of concerted action to this end now waits upon action by the United States, are faced with the choice of where they will work. If they work with the Keep America Out of War Committee, in that relationship they will have to take their time and energy away from the embargo fight for matters that are not so immediately vital. They who know what Fascism is and its relation to war will find themselves tied hand and foot by their alliance with Libby, who sees no difference between aggressors and their victims and regards the invasions of the former and the sufferings of the latter as aids to peace.

Those who choose to work with the American League need make no compromise at any point. When the time comes that concerted action is possible, they will decide with the rest of us whether it is the kind that will or will not involve war. Meantime they can focus their energies upon the embargo fight in preparation for the next session of Congress, and upon the struggle to prevent the concrete development of Fascism in this country, for these are the immediate major concerns of the American League.—H.F.W.

THE Keep America Out of War Committee recently held a conference at Washington, for the purpose of creating a new national peace movement. The outstanding factor in the proceedings was that those who controlled the Anti-War Congress were not willing to entrust to the delegates the decision of the issues which by implication had been raised in the call, and which are basic in the present peace-and-war situation. We sent a communication to the Congress analyzing the present situation in the peace movement, stressing the points of agreement on which we had spoken and acted in harmony with other sections and would continue to do so. We stated squarely the point of division, namely the question of taking economic action in relation to the aggressor in the present wars. We stated our position on this to be the policy of economic non-coöperation with the aggressor along with all possible economic aid to his victim in ways that will not involve us in war, and willingness for economic coöperation when aggression is abandoned. We declared that the question of lifting the war-supply embargo from the Spanish government and placing it upon Germany, Italy, and Japan is the decisive issue on which there can be no compromise—because on it depends the future of Democracy, and if Democracy goes, then the only possible approach to the organization of peace is gone.

This was the issue on which the call to the Congress was silent. This was the issue on which the Congress was not allowed to vote, which it was prevented from discussing. The Labor Commission passed a resolution recommending the lifting of the embargo from Spain. When this resolution came to the floor of the Congress, Frederick J. Libby, of the National Council for Prevention of War, followed his usual hold-up tactics. In this procedure he shows his affinity with the dictators, whose aggressions he regards as steps toward peace: he gives us a new type of conference, one which is forbidden to make decisions on the most vital issues before it. He implied that if any resolution to lift the embargo were passed, he and his organization would withdraw. Thereupon Norman Thomas, leader of a party which is em-

phatically for lifting the embargo, urged his followers and all others like-minded to refrain from pushing this issue, in the interests of unity. Consequently, there was no further discussion and no vote. Those delegates who were for lifting the embargo, some of them Socialists and additionally instructed to that end by their trade unions, were offered the comfort of having their names recorded with the secretary as being in favor of the resolution adopted by the Labor Commission.

What kind of unity is it that has to be purchased at such a price? It is not unity in fighting a big navy and M-Day plans, two of the points of the program, for all sections of the peace movement are now doing this. Is it unity in demanding withdrawal of ships and marines from war zones and supporting the Ludlow Amendment? On these things there is general agreement on the basic principle, with disagreement that may be removable concerning their timeliness and the ways of carrying out the principle in the immediate situation. The only new unity that has been achieved is around the point of unwillingness to work with a united-front organization in which Communists are active. This is the bond that unites the three groups headed respectively by Libby, Thomas and Jay Lovestone, and in order to achieve this a vital difference of principle has been compromised. Once again politics has made strange bedfellows. But when was any movement able to stay united with its main sections desiring to move in opposite directions on a major issue? The fate in store for any such attempt, by all the experience of history, was long ago recorded in a saying that has become a household word: "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

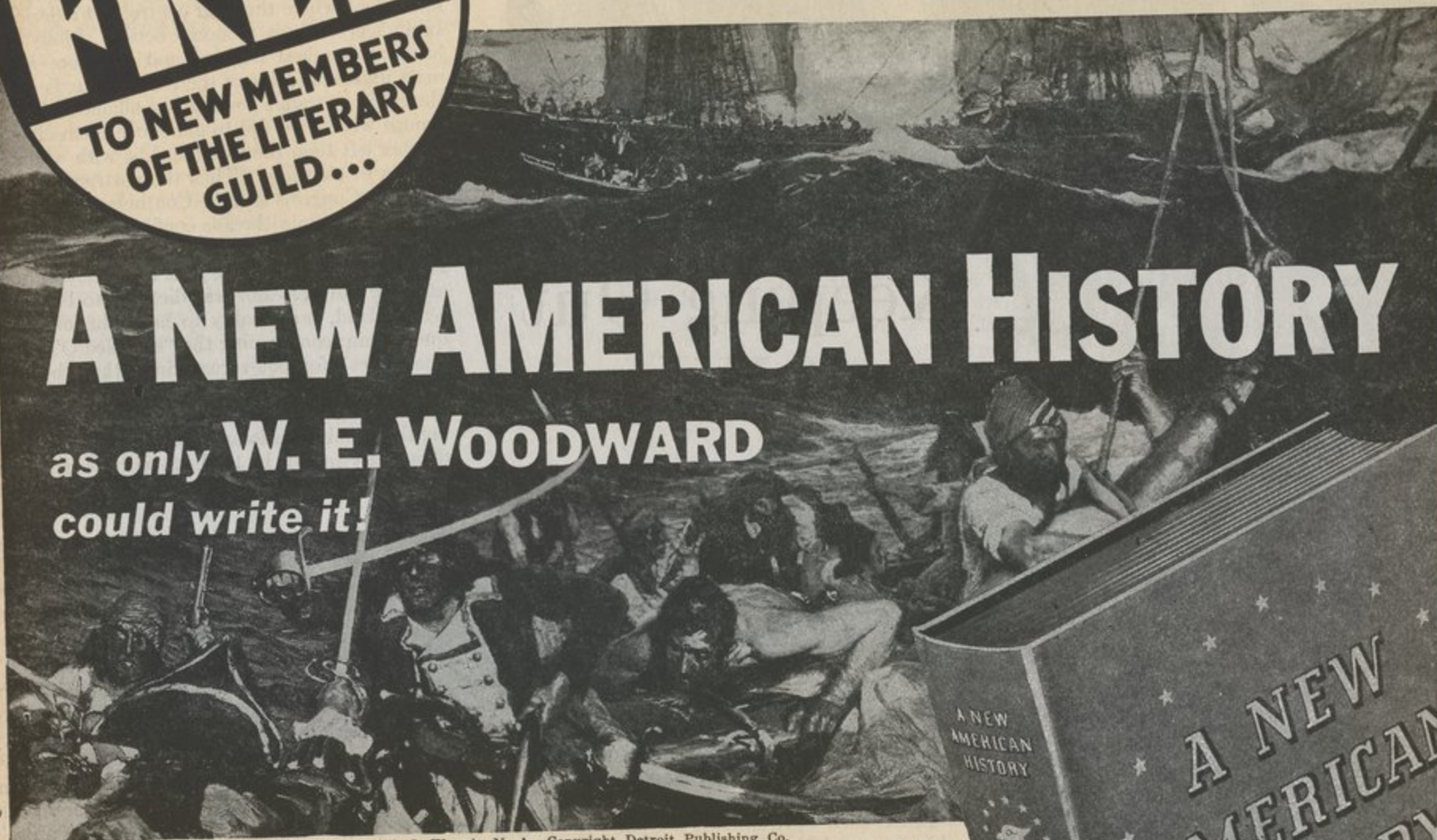
In this unnatural alliance, Libby is supposed to get the labor support he has heretofore been unable to secure. Lovestone is supposed to get an anti-war movement controlled by labor: the Labor Commission was promised five representatives on an executive committee of nine. Do the Socialists get anything besides the satisfaction of being in an anti-war movement without Communists, at the cost of sacrificing a vital position? All this with a big "if"—if the continuation committee

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