

October
1938

The
Fight
FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

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IN THE JAWS OF HITLER • By Charles Recht

George Seldes

Bishop Francis J. McConnell



INDIVIDUAL PRIZES

PEACE and Democracy are the prizes most of us want today. Here's a way to collect some choice personal prizes while you take a long step toward the ultimate prize. On January 6th, 7th and 8th the American Congress for Peace and Democracy will convene in Washington, D. C. The Congress is called by the American League for Peace and Democracy. To make that Congress the great force that it must be, a membership drive has been initiated by the League. And to make the drive a great force for peace, we're making it fun, profitable fun to get new members for the strongest peace movement in America.

Can you get *ten* new members? If you want a Buxton Key Case with license-holder or a Buxton wallet with change-purse shown in the picture above, you'll find those *ten* new Leaguers.

Would you like an initialed Waterman fountain pen, in any color you choose, with a gold tip? It's yours when you turn in membership applications from *twenty-five* persons.

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You've probably had your eye on the Eastman Kodak super-fast action camera up there in the left upper corner. We're laying in a supply of them because they're comparatively easy for you to get. All you need is *one hundred* new members for the League!

The individual enrolling the highest number of new members above 150 gets a trip to the Congress, all expenses paid. In Washington this honorary delegate will be presented to the Congress by Dr. Harry F. Ward, and will head the roster of membership champions in the Congress journal. All prize-winners' names will be inscribed on the Peace Honor Roll in the Congress journal.

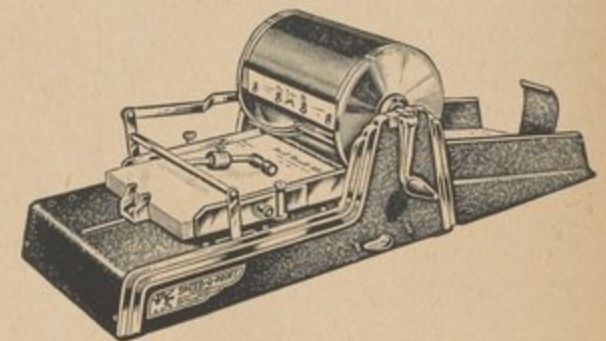


Prizes for Peace

CITY AND BRANCH PRIZES

TO THE "lone" branch—a single branch in a small city or town—which secures the highest percentage of membership gain during the drive, an UNDERWOOD PORTABLE TYPEWRITER, newest model.

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With the Readers

★

THE voice of Hitler from Nuremberg came clearly over the radio as a man along High Street in Columbus, Ohio, was about to drop a penny into the slot of a gum machine. The man held the copper penny in his hand listening to words in the air: "Today we again see plotters from democrats to Bolsheviki fighting against the Nazi state . . . The leadership (Nazis) is quite absolute. It can even adopt unpopular measures if necessary . . . Germany's fortifications in the west will be completed before the coming of winter . . . democrats . . . Jews . . . Catholics . . . war . . . I . . . Czechoslovakia . . . we are powerful . . . I, I, I." The man in front of the gum machine looks at the penny in his hand.

LINCOLN: Stranger, tell me, whose voice is this in the air, giving forth these words of malice against his neighbors?

MAN: His name is Adolph Hitler, they call him the *Fuehrer* of the German government. He has ruled his people now for almost six years, bringing them havoc and destruction, hunger and hate, invasion and aggression to neighboring nations. Now he threatens world war and the destruction of the democracies everywhere. You have come back to us, Father Abraham, in this dark hour, don't let the harsh voice in the air disturb you.

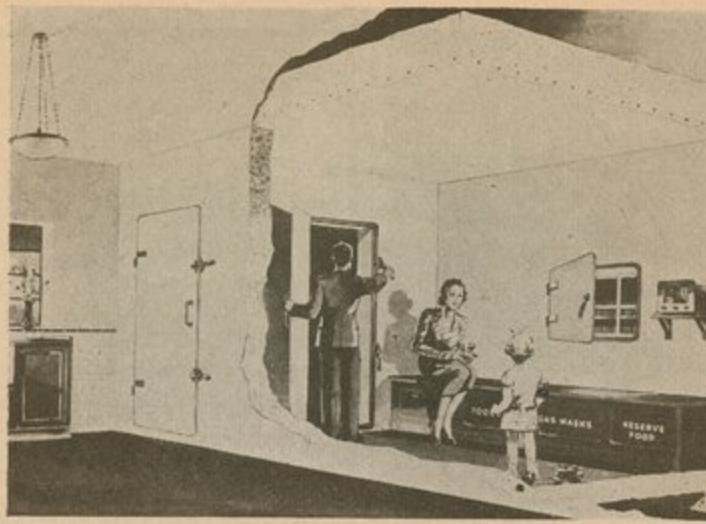
LINCOLN: I see the prairies are no more. In their place great cities with millions upon millions of people, peaceful farm houses and barns filled with grain, children on their way to school. I see Democracy in the heart of the people. The Union has been preserved for the good of all. But I also see evil still in the land; and the people struggling to preserve and further the aims of Democracy. I am not disturbed, Man, by the voice in the air bringing malice to all and justice to none, but I am seeking to know what the people and their elected rulers are doing in this hour of need.

MAN: The people are groping for a way out midst all this confusion, the elected representatives are slow, "confused" by the special interests who drag them first one way, then another. The common people are alone . . .

LINCOLN: Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds. I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. I shall do nothing through malice, what I deal with is too vast for malice. But that voice in the air is the symbol of all evil, if it prevails it is the destruction of Democracy.

MAN: The hour is here. We cannot wait. The voice coming from over the sea is pointing his guns. The trigger in the fingers of this madman is moving fast. But the rulers of our lands . . .

LINCOLN: The plainest print cannot be read through a gold eagle. Democracy is our bread, our sun. The sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty. The government of the people was founded upon the principles of Democracy. Defend your right to live! The prairies, mountains, cities, barns of grain and school-houses of Democracy throughout the world must and shall remain intact.



Latest picture from England shows a bomb-shelter for private homes which is being advertised there

IN THIS ISSUE

October, 1938

VOLUME 5 NUMBER 12

| | |
|---|----|
| In the Jaws of Hitler | 5 |
| By Charles Recht | |
| We Arm the Aggressors | 8 |
| By W. L. Barnes | |
| China's "Double Ten" | 10 |
| By Frank Kai-ming Su | |
| American Congress for Peace and Democracy | 13 |
| Chicago's Cops | 15 |
| By Abner Brill | |
| "Man" . . . Has a Proud Sound | 16 |
| By the Photo League | |
| Mussolini Finds the Jews | 21 |
| By George Seldes | |
| Church or Caesar | 22 |
| By Bishop Francis J. McConnell | |

DEPARTMENTS

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|-------------------------------|----|
| Radio | 12 | As to Women | 24 |
| Movies | 14 | In Step with Labor | 26 |
| Books | 18 | Building the League | 27 |
| Wall Street | 20 | Youth Notes | 28 |
| Editorials | 31 | | |

JOSEPH PASS, Editor

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140

The Contributors

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CHARLES RECHT is coming to be a monthly contributor of ours, and as long as he can write articles like *In the Jaws of Hitler*, we hope he continues. He is an attorney, the author of *Rue With a Difference* and *American Deportation and Exclusion Laws*, and has contributed to *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Nation* and *The New Republic*.

W. L. BARNES is a close student of the economic and financial scene. He wrote *People's Choice* for our December, 1937, issue.

FRANK KAI-MING SU is associate editor of *China Today*. He has a thorough knowledge of Chinese history, based on experience as well as "book-learning." He has studied at the University of Wisconsin and Harvard.

ABNER BRILL is a Chicago journalist who writes whereof he knows.

GEORGE SELDES, one of America's leading foreign correspondents, has appeared in our pages on a number of occasions. He covered Fascist Italy for a time, and Mussolini paid him the tribute of expelling him from that country. In *Sawdust Caesar*, Seldes told the unvarnished story of *Il Duce*. Other of his books are *Iron, Blood and Profits*; *You Can't Print That*; *The Vatican: Yesterday-Today-Tomorrow*; and *You Can't Do That*. He is at present putting the finishing touches to *Lords of the Press*, which will be published some time this fall.

BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL'S biography of John Wesley is scheduled for early publication. Bishop McConnell is Methodist Resident Bishop of the New York area, president of the Methodist Federation for Social Service and co-author of the Methodist Social Creed. He has long been prominent among liberal churchmen, having been chairman of the Commission of Inquiry of the Inter-Church World Movement and editor of that commission's *Report of the Steel Strike of 1919*, and head of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America from 1928 to 1932. He is the author of many books.

THE picture of Dr. Sun Yat-sen is by courtesy of the China Institute.

THE Photo League members have contributed here four pictures from their feature on the Bowery entitled "Dead End"—and we wish that we had pages enough to publish the whole series. The League, located at 31 East 21st Street in New York City, is an organization that we hope to work closely with in the future. America is picture-conscious these days, and the saying about one picture and a thousand words is more true than ever. We think there is something fundamentally good about the appetite for a "look-see," and we're planning to use photographs much more extensively in coming issues. So the welcome we extend here to the Photo League holds good as well for you and you. Get out your camera, start clicking, and send the results to THE FIGHT. One request—try for the best quality. . . . The pictures reproduced here are by Lucy Ashjian (page 16, upper left), Beatrice Kosofsky (upper right), Lucy Ashjian (below), and Sol Prom (page 17). . . . Incidentally, the Photo League announces that it is conducting a school.



CHILDREN OF CHINA

THIS little girl in America shares her pennies with the millions of her brothers and sisters in China who have no pennies. Maybe she won't be able to buy any gum or candy because she has dropped her money into the box. But if there were no pennies in that box and thousands of boxes like it, there would be still less food and medicine and clothing for the children of war-torn China.

The world has long—too long—known war. But in past times its hardships were inflicted mainly on grown men and women. The direct attack on “enemy children” is a contribution of the Japanese militarists and other totalitarian war-makers of our modern era.

All the greater is the responsibility of those in the world who have not gone mad—and have not lost their freedom—those who are in a position to render assistance to war's victims. We of America *must* help the children of China. We must help them and their fathers and mothers with medical supplies and food and clothing. Do your part today, to lighten the burdens of war.

Send your contribution to

CHINA AID COUNCIL

of the American League for Peace and Democracy

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COMING ARTICLES

TWILIGHT OF HEARST by Ferdinand Lundberg

This sensational account of the crumbling away of great sections of William Randolph Hearst's mammoth properties explains the drastic change in editorial policy of the remaining Hearst papers. The article is made doubly engrossing by the wealth of detail and statistics which Mr. Lundberg weaves through it.

THE HOUSE OF MORGAN by Randolph Phillips

An analysis, in two revealing articles, of the relationship of the House of Morgan to the financial structure of our government, and of the fluctuating fortunes of the House itself.

MUSSOLINI IN AMERICA by Morris Schnapper

How, by propaganda and labor oppression, the fascist push is extended all the way from the vineyards of California to the sidewalks of New York.

THE ALUMINUM TRUST by James Wechsler

Here is the story of the building of the most nearly complete major monopoly on earth—how it began, how it acquired ownership of the bulk of the world's bauxite deposits, how Andrew Mellon used his official position as Secretary of the Treasury to strengthen his monopoly, and how the American consumer must pay for the glory of it all.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FOR years *The Nation* has been recognized as the best-staffed American journal, the most authoritative reporter of world affairs. Its regular foreign correspondents include M. W. Fodor, Louis Fischer, Alexander Werth, Robert Dell, Harold J. Laski, L. O. Prendergast, and Harry Kranz; many other celebrated correspondents contribute occasional articles from abroad; and still others, now in America, round out the picture from their recent observations in other lands. ★

REGULAR FEATURES of *The Nation* include: *A Weekly Washington Letter* by Paul Y. Anderson, the brilliant correspondent who instigated the Teapot Dome investigation; “*Issues and Men*,” by the noted journalist, Oswald Garrison Villard; “*Everybody's Dilemma*,” a bi-weekly consumer's page edited by Helen Woodward; the *Book Review Department* headed by Margaret Marshall; *The Theatre*, edited by Joseph Wood Krutch; and the fascinating column, “*In the Wind*,” which is devoted to the paragraphic exposure of concealed but significant facts.

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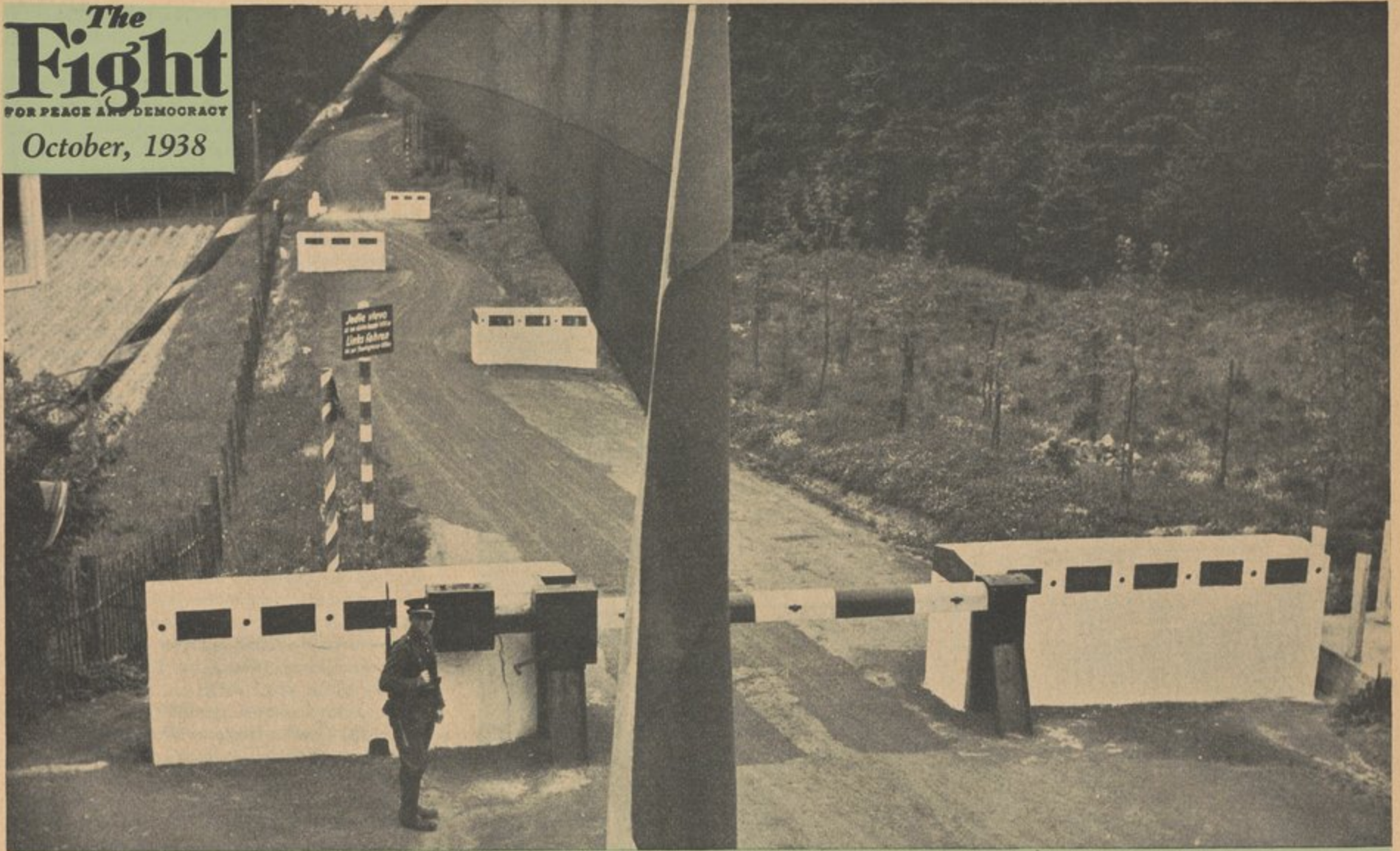
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(Regularly *The Nation* costs \$5 a year by subscription.)

F-10-38



At a customs house near the border in Czechoslovakia

In the Jaws of Hitler

An American who was born in Czechoslovakia returns to spend a day in the Sudeten area . . . A thrilling first-hand account of the region where world Democracy stands at bay

By Charles Recht

RECENTLY I was in Paris. Hitler was beginning his long-heralded march toward the Czech border. I wanted to revisit, perhaps for the last time, the land of my birth—to make what might seem a sentimental pilgrimage to the White Hill near Prague (where in 1621 the Czechs lost their independence, to regain it only in 1918), before the Nazi horde might sweep over the beautiful Bohemian land to enslave again its peaceful people.

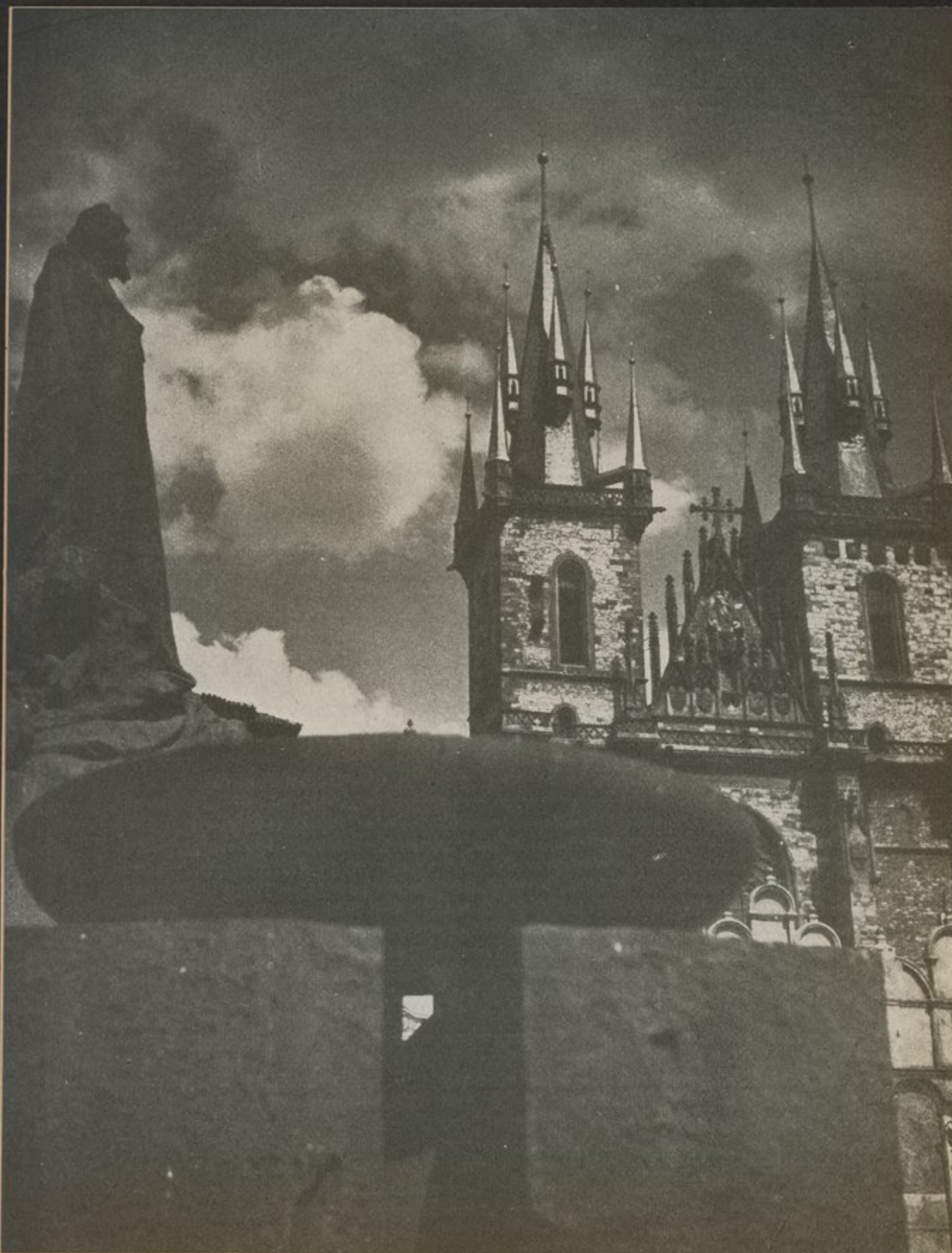
I flew from Paris to Prague. I made my pilgrimages, revelled in historic memories and personal recollections. When I flew back to Paris a fortnight later, the Czech pilot and plane were to me the symbol of the modern democracy which was developing out of the traditions of a rich past. Under the wings of the airship the land lay green, peaceful with its coveted riches. As we neared the border I weighed the heavy task of its government. Over the mountains the enemy was at the gate; and within

was a fragment of its own people who were plotting to betray it.

One of the journeys I had made during my stay was to these very borders. I saw and listened to these internal enemies of the young Republic. I spent a day among the so-called Sudeten.

International Aspect

Just two years before, I had interviewed the President of the Republic, and we had discussed the



Place of the Republic in Prague, with the statue of Jan Hus

Sudeten question and the war danger. He had then handed me a statement ending in the following words:

We are quite sure of ourselves, confident in the future, prepared for every difficulty in the interior and on the international arena. But we believe intensely that we shall master the difficulty and that the united constructive forces in Europe will avoid a European war. I cannot believe in a European war. Nobody would be really victorious, and the aggressor would surely be finally destroyed.

Within the period that had intervened, the political situation—because of the developments culminating in Hitler's annexation of Austria—was intensified. The failure of the democratic countries to present an effective united front had encouraged Hitler in his propaganda among the Sudeten. The *Fuehrer* and the pro-German group in England continued to send out false and provocative stories of "cruelties" and "discriminations" perpetrated by

the Czechs upon the so-called German minority.

Although I was aware of the untruth of these charges of injustices against the Sudeten, I nevertheless decided to hear and see for myself.

On a Sunday during the municipal elections, accompanied by an American and a British journalist, I left Prague by automobile with a Czech chauffeur. We made directly for Liberec (Reichenberg), the center of the Czech textile industry. Its population is not as typically German-speaking as that of some other sections lying in a more easterly direction. For that reason, however, it reflects the Sudeten problem all the more precisely.

German, Czech and Jew

Reichenberg is a small provincial town, lying in a hilly region. The inhabitants of Reichenberg and its environs have for decades been employed in the textile and other factories, and in agriculture. Walk-

ing through the streets, we observed among the shops German and Czech names alongside each other, with an occasional Jewish name of a doctor or a lawyer. The political problem was manifested by the flags and decorations displayed for the elections. There was a noticeable preponderance and ostentatiousness in the display of *S.D.P.* (*Sudeten-deutsche Partei*) emblems, next to an occasional flag of the Republic.

Realizing the tremendous issue involved in the impending conflict, one would have expected a tense atmosphere, where "anything might happen." My permit from the Czech Foreign Office enabled me to enter one of the election places. I sat by while the voting went on. Outside the door was the one policeman who had admitted me. In this gymnasium, or *turnhalle*, the election inspectors of all political parties were present. They came to greet the foreigner. A spirit of neighborliness and friendliness was apparent in their dealings with each other. The voting proceeded very quietly. The method of verifying the voters' lists was similar to that of our own electoral system. There seemed less likelihood of excitement or disorder than in any American voting-place.

I joined my chauffeur and asked him to find a restaurant or café where the Jewish citizens were likely to gather. He returned, saying he could find no such place. He could, however, get me an interview with a Jewish citizen; but that person would meet me in the vestibule of an apartment house. The man I saw had been born in Reichenberg, spoke German and Czech. It was evident that he did not want to be seen talking to a stranger. This is what he said:

"If I were not a Jew and a democrat, I would, for economic reasons, have to join the Sudeten. Most of the people here live off exports. Many of the things sold in your five-and-ten cent stores are made right in this region. The less Czech goods they buy in America, the greater our unemployment, the greater the distress, the better the opportunity for successful propaganda against the Czech Government. If Hitler comes here I might as well commit suicide. We Jews in Reichenberg are living on the brink of a volcano."

The Tourist Trade

I proceeded to a stationery store displaying photographs of Henlein and of his meetings, and banners of the *S.D.P.* I looked over the stock and engaged the owner in conversation. It was apparent that in previous years he had been selling souvenirs to the tourists. The present condition of the tourist trade in Czechoslovakia was well illustrated by a paraphrase that had appeared in Paris of Hitler's slogan: *Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer* (One People, One Empire, One Leader). The great Bohemian spas, such as Carlsbad and Marienbad, were demanding a subsidy from the government because, since Hitler's rape of Austria and his threats to the Czechs, there was hardly a guest (*kurgast*) at these famous watering places. A Paris journal had humorously converted the slogan into: *Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer, Ein Kurgast*. (One People, One Empire, One Leader—and One Guest at the Watering-places).

I mentioned this to the stationery man and asked what would happen to his tourist trade if Hitler came. The economic issue appeared again in a new form. He said that since the world depression the tourists through that region had been few, and that prior to Hitler most of them had been Germans. Since Hitler had established a closed currency, even the Germans had disappeared; and his interests lay

with annexation, because then the German tourists would come in and help his trade. "But," I asked, "suppose Hitler does not come in. Your adherence to the Sudeten movement will surely affect you then, will it not?"

"Oh, well," he said, "Czechoslovakia is a democracy, and you can explain anything to a democracy. If you tried to explain to Hitler, he would put you in a concentration camp."

The sentiment that you had better get on the bandwagon because the same might happen to you as happened in Vienna, was prevalent among most of the people I talked with. The underlying cause of the Henlein plurality in the elections was the fear of the concentration camp.

We decided to drive to the small town of Friedland, north of Reichenberg, toward the German border. The entire countryside was dotted with hastily erected fortifications. Across some of the roads trees had been chopped and barbed wire strung, and our cars had to detour to side roads.

Meeting a Nazi

About five miles north of Reichenberg there was a banner strung for some distance along the road, with the legend: "Give to the poor starving children of the Sudeten." I learned later that all these appeals for the "poor starving children" were a subterfuge to collect money for Sudeten propaganda. At each post supporting the banner was a group with collection boxes, who made a cordon to stop us. In order to circumvent the law prohibiting Nazi uniforms, the Sudeten have adopted the Alpine white socks and Tyrolese costume. Among these groups was one who appeared to be the "leader." He was dressed in khaki, touched up with a Sam Browne belt and high riding-boots. In physical appearance he was what Herr Hitler would undoubtedly like to be: his hair was blond, his eyes were blue; and he had neither the rotund dimensions of a Goering nor the shrimpy appearance of a Goebbels.

As soon as the "leader" learned we were foreign journalists, he offered to accompany us on a tour of education and explanation. We went to the Sudeten headquarters in Friedland, and the youthful Nazi minced no words in predicting Czechoslovakia's downfall. When I glanced at the gold bracelet he wore on his wrist, he explained he was married—that although he was born in the Sudeten region, his wife, he emphasized, was *Reichsdeutsche*.

He was very voluble about the "discriminations" against the Sudeten in that region and their poverty. The Czechs, he said, had deliberately closed all the factories around Reichenberg so as to starve the population. When I suggested that I had seen smoking factory chimneys, he replied that these places were simply camouflaged "barracks" filled with Czech troops. There were other distortions and falsehoods, which even a superficial investigator would readily stamp as untrue. He made a propaganda appeal to the foreign journalists. He suggested that pictures be taken of some abandoned huts, to show the squalor and poverty of the Sudeten. (One of the leading American magazines seems to have fallen for that "evidence," and has published photographs of this kind, with the result that the Nazis in New York have been using them as propaganda.)

The little historic town of Friedland, once the seat of Wallenstein's power, gave no appearance of any likely excitement such as might furnish headlines for a journalist. The suggestion was made that we go to the very border, until we were stopped by the sentries. Conducted by the "leader," we made



Storm-troopers of Hitler-Henlein's "Sudetendeutsche Partei"

our way into the mountains on a quite narrow road, until we reached a bridge blockaded by felled trees. It was evident that unless the trees were cleared away to permit maneuvering of the automobiles, we could not move in either direction. The "leader" suggested to our chauffeur, in German, that if he would assist him they could remove the barricade. But the moment they tried to lift a tree, three Czech soldiers appeared from the surrounding woods. Thereupon the "racial brother" of Hitler greeted one of the sentries in unadulterated Czech: "Hello, you are Stastny, aren't you? Why, don't you remember, we went to school together?"

Stastny is a common Czech name. The sentries willingly assisted in clearing the barricade and explained that the half-mile drive to the German border was forbidden. We turned the cars back to Friedland.

The foreign journalists saw no significance in

this episode. I tried to explain that very few foreigners, and particularly no native Germans, ever learned to speak Czech. Our Czech chauffeur, however, said: "That is nothing; you show an American dollar bill here and everybody will speak Czech to you. Henlein's own mother was a Dvoracek and doesn't know a word of German."

In Reichenberg I noticed a sound-wagon with a sign in German announcing that despite the government's prohibition, there would be a torch parade by the Sudeten that night. I asked the "leader" why they would attempt to provoke the government. He replied: "We are not worried what they do in Prague. We have the *Kraft* (power) and their days are numbered."

In parting, the "leader" appealed to us. Foreign pro-Nazi journalists, like Ward Price and the notorious "Unity" Mitford, had the proper solution

(Continued on page 30)

We Arm the Aggressors

To our shame, industrialists of America and other democratic countries are supplying the Fascists . . . By the same token, we hold a potential brake on their war machines—a brake we must use now

By W. L. Barnes

Before—American scrap iron at Los Angeles waiting for shipment to Japan



AS THE present governments of Germany, Italy and Japan maneuver down the perilous road that leads to international war, developments within these Fascist nations dramatically highlight the method by which the democratic powers, through concerted economic action, could still enforce the peace and save the world from the catastrophic slaughter of a renewed general war.

Thus far, however, this powerful potential weapon for world peace has lain almost entirely idle. In fact, the undeclared wars waged by Italy and Germany in Spain and by Japan in China have been made possible in large degree only by the economic assistance of the democratic powers.

This is not to say that the big capitalists and business men of America, Great Britain and France have made direct contributions of capital in support of the military adventures of their German-Italian-Japanese confrères. On the contrary, the world capital markets have been closed to the Fascist powers for seven years. German government bonds have been in partial or complete default since shortly after Hitler's advent to power, and are now quoted at 31 per cent of par in the New York market. Italy and Japan have thus far maintained interest payments on their foreign loans, but their obvious economic weakness is reflected in quotations only 60 to 70 per cent of par for their obligations in the New York market. These quotations are the universal language of the big capitalists. They mean that Germany, Italy and Japan are not profitable spots for outside capital investment under present conditions.

Sinews of War

Where the industrialists of America, England and France have actually been the silent partners of Germany, Italy and Japan, has been in supplying much of the essential materials without which the Fascist war machines would have broken down long ago. And here it is not primarily a question of actual armaments, since the domestic industries of the Fascist nations are in the main equipped to manufacture most of the implements of war required by their armies. What is involved is the iron and steel, the petroleum, the copper and the other necessary raw materials in which the Fascist powers are vitally deficient. To meet their vastly expanded war requirements, these materials have been purchased by Germany, Italy and Japan in greatly increased quantities, and in large part from the democratic nations.

Such matters from a strict business point of view are purely and simply a question of cash on the line: one man's money is as good as the next's. If any moral issue is involved, then the basic sympathy of many big capitalists with Fascist principles probably makes it pleasanter to profit from trade with a blood brother than with a progressive.

But there is an important rub in this basic requirement of cash on the line. Since the Fascist nations have thus far been unable to secure new capital to finance their foreign purchases, the greatly enlarged buying of foreign materials to feed their war machines has imposed a severe strain on their already weak finances. Consequently, although American, British and French materials have built up the armed strength of the Fascist nations, the outlay of foreign exchange involved has so depleted the Fascist economy, that the imposition of concerted economic pressure by the democratic countries would quickly produce a crisis in Fascist military plans. Such a step, however, would require a complete overthrow of the present British policy, which is now moving toward a reopening of the world capi-



After—another Chinese city bombed by the Japanese militarists, with over a hundred killed

tal markets to Fascism, at least for Germany and Italy. British capital assistance is an implicit condition of the Anglo-Italian treaty proposed last April, and would undoubtedly be a *quid pro quo* in the Anglo-German agreement which is British Prime Minister Chamberlain's ultimate objective.

Nazi Mobilization

A striking illustration of the precarious state of the Fascist powers in relation to the basic war materials occurred in mid-August when Germany began mobilization of an army of 1,300,000 men for maneuvers designed to intimidate Czechoslovakia. Within a few days, the military demand for petroleum for these maneuvers—an amount naturally far less than actual war conditions would require—had caused a severe shortage of automobile fuel throughout Germany.

This is a sample of Germany's acute raw material problem, which is equally pronounced in many other fields. The basic war material, of course, is steel. In 1937, German mills produced twenty million tons of steel, mainly for the immense armament program. But Germany's iron-ore mines can supply only 6 per cent of the ore required for its steel production. This supply has been somewhat increased by the Nazi seizure of Austria, but the ore mined in Austria last year had an iron content of only one million tons. Similarly, Germany can produce only 10 per cent of the copper required by her industries. In other lines, frantic efforts have been made to develop synthetic substitutes which can be produced domes-

tically, although generally at higher cost than natural materials.

Despite this program, the Nazi régime is still dependent on foreign markets for half of its light motor fuel and a still greater proportion of its heavy fuel, for 78 per cent of its textile requirements and for about two-thirds of its rubber. In all, at least 30 per cent of the materials consumed by German industry must be imported from abroad.

These vital problems of supply are naturally reflected in the objectives of Nazi foreign aggression. The natural resources of Czechoslovakia are undoubtedly one reason for the Nazi threats to that country's sovereignty, along with Czechoslovakia's strategic position as a base for control of Central Europe and for the "drive to the East." These problems also figure in Germany's interest in the iron and copper mines of Spain and Bulgaria, and the rich oil-fields of Rumania.

For a large part of her supplies, however, Germany must rely on the resources of the great democratic powers. Here her problems are accentuated by the restricted volume of foreign trade resulting from the super-nationalistic policies of the Nazi state. In 1936 and 1937, Germany's exports and imports were about 30 per cent less than in 1929. Since the requirements for war materials are much larger for the Nazi régime of today than for the democratic Germany of 1929, imports of products essential for the standard of living of the German people have been drastically curtailed. Germany's total purchases of American goods in 1936, for ex-

ample, were only 28 per cent of what they had been in 1929, but her purchases of American crude petroleum were 1,176,000 barrels in 1936 against 33,000 in 1929, and her imports of American fuel oil were 2,841,000 barrels against 1,351,000 in 1929. Similarly, the Nazis bought large amounts of American scrap iron and steel in 1937, and have continued to be large buyers in 1938. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Washington attributed most of the 22 per cent increase in German imports from this country in 1937 to larger purchases of metals and cotton.

Trouble in Hitlerland

These heavy purchases of war materials have made serious inroads on the German economy. Because almost all of her gold supply is exhausted, Germany must necessarily pay for her imports from the proceeds of her exports. Prior to the seizure of Austria, only 1.5 per cent of the German currency was covered by gold or foreign exchange; even after annexing the \$80,000,000 gold reserves of the Bank of Austria, Germany has only about \$110,000,000 of gold, which is equal to only about 5 per cent of her imports in 1937. This year, moreover, the world depression, together with the collapse of certain trade barter arrangements such as that established with Brazil, has seriously reduced the volume of German exports and has recently transposed the small export surplus maintained in recent years into an export deficit.

(Continued on page 24)



OCTOBER 10, 1911. The followers of Sun Yat-sen suddenly attacked the Viceroy's *yamen* at Wuchang. The Viceroy and the military commander of the Imperial armies fled the city. Wuchang fell into the hands of the revolutionaries. Within a few days, the revolutionary troops captured Hanyang, with its steel mills and arsenal, and Hankow, the "Chicago of China." In possession of the strategic Wuhan cities, the leaders appealed to all the Chinese people to arise and overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. The revolution immediately spread like wildfire east and west along the Yangtze Valley, south to Canton, and north to Shensi. Within a month, thirteen provinces had been lost to the Boy Emperor. Realizing that it was helpless to recover the lost provinces or the allegiance of the people, the Imperial Family decided to abdicate. The centuries-old Chinese Empire became a republic! Ever since then, October 10th is known in China as "Double Ten," or National Celebration Day—the equivalent to the Fourth of July of the United States.

Imperialist Aggressions

The Revolution of 1911 was brought on by two intolerable conditions: the incessantly increasing aggressions of the foreign powers and the impotence of the Manchu rulers to repel the aggressors and thus defend the territorial and political integrity of China. Since China's defeat by Great Britain in the Opium War of 1841-2, other Western powers came and "knocked" at the doors of the Chinese Empire with goods and gunboats. China suffered one humiliation after another. In 1858-60 the allied troops of France and Great Britain, after storming Nanking and Tientsin, marched into Peking—then the national capital—burned to the ground the Summer Palace and imposed upon China another humiliating peace. In 1885, while the Chinese armies were winning victories on land against the French troops in Annam, the uninformed and incompetent officials at Peking signed a peace by which China lost territory and prestige. A still greater shame came in 1894-5, when China was even defeated by a modernized Japan. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki, China was forced to cede Formosa to Japan, recognize the "independence" of Korea, and pay a heavy indemnity. The weakness of China having been fully exposed, the powers began a scramble for "leased territories," railway concessions, mining rights, and spheres of influence. Germany, with the pretext of the assassination of two missionaries in Shantung, "leased" Kiaochow Bay. In order to achieve the so-called "balance of power in the Far East," Russia "leased" Port Arthur, Great Britain Weihaiwei, and France Kwangchow-wan. Indeed, China was as helpless as a captured whale, while the powers like fishermen were taking away her flesh and oil.

The Manchu Dynasty

China was faced with imminent national extinction, her ruling house a prey to ignorance and corruption. A part of the special taxes collected for the building of a modern navy was recklessly squandered in the construction of a new Summer Palace. When the young Emperor, following the advice of the reformers, issued many reform edicts, he earned the hatred of all the privileged reactionaries. They grouped around the Empress Dowager, who unceremoniously deposed the Emperor and imprisoned him on the best-guarded island in the For-

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, leader of his mighty people and father of the Chinese Republic

October 1938, THE FIGHT

China's "Double Ten"

By
Frank Kai-ming Su

bidden City. The anti-foreigner Boxer uprising of 1900 brought on a joint military expedition of eight powers. The allied forces marched into Peking, and the Imperial Court fled across the mountains to Sian in the Northwest. China's punishment was an enormous indemnity of about \$330,000,000 gold. Although the Manchu Dynasty adopted some half-hearted measures of reform as a result of the unprecedented humiliation, these were far from adequate to save the situation. In 1904-5, while Russia and Japan were struggling for supremacy in Manchuria—in territories that clearly belonged to China—the Chinese government was so powerless that it had to stand by as an onlooker. China was in a sad plight. Without a drastic change, she would have perished like many other ancient civilized nations. It was at this moment that "Double Ten" inaugurated a new day for China.

China's George Washington

A name indissolubly connected with "Double Ten" is that of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He was born of a poor peasant family near Canton. Due to his boyhood association with Christian missionaries in Hawaii, he soon became an iconoclast whose mutilation of a temple god shocked his elders in the village. While he was attending the Queen's College in Hong Kong, China's war with France broke out. The loss of national prestige made Sun Yat-sen a fervent revolutionist. He and his three young friends openly discussed the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, which fact earned them the nickname "the Four Big Rebels." However, Sun Yat-sen was not a born revolutionary; he still cherished dreams of reform under the Manchus. Upon the completion of his medical studies in 1892, he traveled to Peking and prepared a memorial to be presented to Li Hung-chang, the most influential man in the court, urging him to adopt measures that would make China a prosperous and powerful nation. Owing to the lack of proper introduction, Sun Yat-sen had no access to the statesman and his memorial had to remain undelivered. This dashed to the ground any illusions he might have had about possible reforms under the Manchu rulers.

But Dr. Sun's heart was not in the medical profession: his ambition was more to cure sick China than his patients. In 1894 he went again to Hawaii, where he founded the *Hsing Chung Hui*—

"Prosper China Society." Its object was "to associate progressive Chinese—in China and abroad—in an organization whose purpose shall be to make a study of wealth and power in order to promote and prosper China." The defeat of China by Japan in 1894-5 heightened further Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary fervor. He brought some of his "sworn brothers" from Honolulu to China and began actively to organize against the Manchus. The immediate objective was the capture of the headquarters of the provincial capital at Canton. Unfortunately, the conspiracy was discovered by the authorities, and Sun Yat-sen had to flee for his life. In exile in London, he fell into the hands of officials of the Chinese legation. He was secretly detained many days before he was rescued by his English teacher and friend, Dr. James Cantlie. This harrowing experience all the more intensified his revolutionary conviction. He became a permanent political exile with a price on his head.

A Leader of the People

Since the educated well-to-do classes still believed in reforms and were advocating a constitutional monarchy under the Manchus, Sun Yat-sen carried on his activities among the poor and uneducated, particularly in the secret societies—the *San Ho Hui* (Triad Society) and the *Ko Lao Hui* (Brothers and Elders Society). Following the Boxer uprising and the Russo-Japanese War, the crumbling of the old monarchy became more and more apparent. Dr. Sun began to get adherents among the Chinese students abroad. In September, 1905, as a result of a student meeting at Tokyo, he formed a new organization—*Ke Ming Tung Meng Hui* (The Revolutionary Brotherhood)—including young intellectuals from all the provinces of China. In order to propagate the idea of revolution, the Brotherhood immediately launched a newspaper, the "People's Paper"—*Min Pao*. The returned students began to occupy strategic positions in the Imperial armies, the government and the educational institutions, and spread the revolutionary ideas wherever they happened to be. One rebellion after another broke out. Although these zealous but amateurish attempts to overthrow the

October 10th is National Celebration day—"China's Fourth of July." On that day the Chinese people commemorate the founding of their republic and honor the memory of its first great leader—Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The story of a nation's struggle for freedom and Democracy

monarchy all resulted in failure, they hardened the determination of the republicans and served to arouse the people. Finally, on October 10, 1911, while Sun Yat-sen was traveling in the United States soliciting funds for his cause, the historical revolution broke out at Wuchang. China was proclaimed a republic. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was elected president of the provisional government at Nanking, and since then he has been known as the "Father of the Republic of China."

The Three Principles

The significance of "Double Ten" lay not only in the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty but in the fact that for the first time in Chinese history, the principles of nationalism, Democracy, and the people's well-being were recognized as the foundation of a new and progressive China. Strongly impressed by Abraham Lincoln's famous phrase, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," Sun Yat-sen in his early revolutionary years adopted it

(Continued on page 25)

Chinese army men stage an educational play. Note Sun Yat-sen's picture on the wall



NO LONGER is Boake Carter speaking over the Columbia network. And thereby hangs a tale about how organized labor routed one of the loudest mouthpieces of American reaction.

At the beginning of 1937 anyone would have been laughed at who questioned Boake's nightly right to damn the Administration, labor unions, the W.P.A., collective security, Loyalist Spain, etc., etc., until his fifteen minutes were up. Then he started taking cracks at the C.I.O. and immediately stirred up a hornet's nest which not only has driven him from the air but bids fair to do likewise with others of his ilk.

First the Philadelphia C.I.O. and then the national organization declared a boycott on the products of Philco Radio, Boake's sponsor at that time. Sales dropped off and Carter followed them. The reactionary management of General Foods thought they were getting a bargain when they signed him up, but soon found they also had burned their fingers, as scores of liberal organizations joined the unions in firmly tuning out those nightly snarls. Now Carter is out of work again—except for the writing he does for Hearst—and seems likely to remain so for some time.

Nor has the matter dropped there. Other "anti" commentators like Lowell Thomas and Edwin C. Hill are beginning to feel the pinch, and the networks see the handwriting on the wall. The upshot is that liberal speakers are being signed up right and left. Level-headed Bob Trout has taken Carter's old place on the C.B.S. schedule, and the unbiased talks of Jay Franklin have become a twice-weekly feature on N.B.C.

To cap the climax came a survey made for the National Association of Broadcasters by a Columbia University research group which showed that at least 13 per cent of all radio commentators were noticeably and unjustifiably biased.

Truth to tell, the amount of bias is probably much greater, for the survey was made in one month by a group of people who had no experience in the field and who—until they learned better—tried to get their facts by inviting commentators to send in their scripts for examination.

Nevertheless, some of their findings are extremely significant, viz.: Boake Carter was unfairly prejudiced against the Soviet Union during the recent Russo-Japanese crisis; WGN, Chicago, deliberately misinterpreted *Fortune's* survey of President Roosevelt's popularity to make it appear that his support came mainly from the poor, the unemployed and the Negroes; Boston is one of the worst localities for biased news, but the bias in the South is most violent.

Here are excerpts from a recent broadcast by Arthur S. Flowers of Charlotte, North Carolina:

There can hardly be any question about the fact that the Wagner Act is being deliberately misinterpreted, which, after all, is not so surprising when one realizes that the brains behind this administration is one David Joseph Saposs, a Russian who admits his complete belief in the theories of Marx . . . and the destruction of capitalism and management in American industry. . . . We have been fed up on union rations too long now, and we won't stand for no more (sic) of that stuff. We have the C.I.O. on the run . . . and we want to keep her going.

The growing drive to clean up the air indeed has its work cut out for it. We present a few items of our own:

Lugo Romero, Columbia's commentator to Latin America via short wave, is an outspoken supporter of General Franco.

W. J. Cameron, former editor of the Jew-baiting *Dearborn Independent* published by Henry Ford, still continues spewing his poison on that otherwise fine program, the *Sunday Evening Hour*.

RADIO

And a straight-from-the-shoulder talk about true conditions in Spain which was prepared by H. V. Kaltenborn as a sample educational broadcast for the benefit of the recent National Educational Association convention, was banned by Columbia at the last minute because of fear that Catholic teacher-delegates might be offended.

Only continued pressure by the groups which put an end to the Boake Carter nuisance—permanently, we hope—can eliminate such other threats as these to the freedom of the air. If that doesn't work, perhaps we'll have to try out the suggestion by Raymond Gram Swing—another liberal commentator—that the government construct its own stations for the broadcasting of information and education, and let the commercial stations concentrate on Charlie McCarthy and the jitterbugs.

Why Farmers Grow Grey

JUST what has the farmer done to deserve all this attention he's getting from the broadcasters? N.B.C.'s *Farm and Home Hour* used to be about the only chain program devoted to his interests. But when fifteen minutes of that time was sold to a sponsor, then Columbia, WLW of Cincinnati and a host of others jumped into the breach.

The results are enough to make any self-respecting farmer sick with laughter—or disgust. On WGY, Schenectady, Sheffield Farms Co.—one of the most hated milk monopolies in the country—is trying to convince the dairymen that it is their guardian angel. And on C.B.S. the *Four Corners Theater* is busily dramatizing such old chestnuts as *The Breakers* and *Aunt Jerushy on the Warpath* as though deliberately endeavoring to insult the intelligence of its agricultural audiences.

Most of the other programs put on by radio's penthouse farmers are equally ridiculous. *Variety* hit the nail on the head when it called the Sheffield broadcasts "counter-propaganda" and remarked of the *Four Corners Theater* that "for commercial purposes this doesn't even seem to fit a chicken-coop

manufacturer . . . the essence and effect may just as well be left in the barns."

All of which reminds us that maybe it wasn't just prejudice which caused more than one hundred newspapers to eliminate radio columns this year.

In the Air

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF RADIO ARTISTS has signed an agreement with the N.B.C. which provides, among other things, that senior announcers shall receive \$250 per month while juniors start at \$110 per month and must be raised within two years to \$175. The contract calls for a forty-hour week, with two weeks' vacation after a year. That's by no means high enough pay for the strenuous work these boys do, but it's a good start.

New York City's WNYC continues to do a splendid job as America's only municipally-owned station. Its latest idea is to question persons who want Civil Service positions with the scripts of previous examinations, in order that they may be better prepared when they face their real tests.

Information Please, conducted on N.B.C. by Clifton Fadiman and F.P.A., continues to be one of the best of the new shows. Don't fail to listen in. Another bit of good news is that Orson Welles' fine *Mercury Theater on the Air* will be continued through the winter by C.B.S.

Was C.B.S. embarrassed when it discovered that W. R. Wills, the man it had hired to cover the Russo-Japanese crisis, was not a journalist at all but a representative of a number of American firms doing business in the Empire of the Rising Sun? Wills made one clumsy pro-Japanese broadcast before he faded from the picture.

Someone should invent a lot of new gadgets to make household work easier so that women would have time to listen to all those serial shows. Then more shows could be produced to advertise the new gadgets and so on ad infinitum.

Columbia has signed up about \$10,000,000 worth of new business for the coming year. Maybe its employees will get a few raises this winter.

We're tired of grumbling about the way Leon Levine is running that People's Platform forum. But how come he selected Nicholas Roosevelt, New York Herald Tribune editorialist, and Eugene Lyons as experts qualified to discuss foreign policy?

Somebody seems to be boycotting what promised to be one of the best radio shows of the coming season. It was produced by the Screen Actors Guild of Hollywood and money to be derived from it was to go to the Guild's relief fund. Everyone who previewed it was highly enthusiastic, but sponsors look askance at the union angle and refuse to buy.

Latin America's most powerful radio station will be put in operation this fall in Mexico City by the Confederation of Mexican Workers, the country's largest labor organization. On the other hand XEQ, a 50,000-watt transmitter, has just been completed by Radio Americana, a somewhat mysterious outfit which plans to specialize in re-broadcasting German programs.

—GEORGE SCOTT



AMERICAN CONGRESS *for* PEACE *and* DEMOCRACY

★ THE WORLD-WIDE offensive of Fascism, which threatens the peace and Democracy of every country including our own, requires immediate and energetic action by the American people. It requires American initiative and leadership to rally and organize the forces of Democracy and peace. ★

The forces of reaction within our country are making a desperate assault upon our democratic rights. By every open and concealed means they seek to destroy our basic liberties. Freedom of speech and assembly, the rights of labor and national and religious minorities are under fire. Terrorism, intimidation, vigilantism, demagogic deception — these are the weapons with which the foes of Democracy attempt to destroy it. Suppression of civil rights in Jersey City and the activities of such men as Tom Girdler, for example, show us the forming patterns of American Fascism.

★ On a world scale the threat of Fascism is obvious, bringing with it the threat of a new World War. Czechoslovakia is threatened. In China and Spain the threat is already a tragic reality. Countrysides have been laid waste, cities lie desolate, civilian populations have been shelled, children's shelters are deliberately bombed. Millions have been slaughtered; tens of millions are without homes or bread or hope. The war-makers have served notice that they will wage the most ruthless warfare in history against the peoples of the world. ★

★ The United States cannot isolate itself from these developments. As we are threatened by growing Fascist forces from within our country, so are we threatened by world Fascist aggression. We cannot hope to remain aloof from a Fascist-instigated world war. Sooner or later we would become involved as we were involved in the last war. Our only hope is to prevent such a world war from developing: to contribute now toward the establishment of world peace, to aid in stopping Fascist aggression, and to make our people and our country now an active force for the defense of peace and Democracy. ★

To that end the American League for Peace and Democracy calls you to an extraordinary American Congress for Peace and Democracy. We summon representatives of the organizations of the people — trade unions, farm bodies, peace societies, religious organizations, fraternal orders, civic bodies, organizations of veterans, women and youth.

★ At that Congress of the democratic peace forces of America a program will be mapped out for the defense of Democracy and peace — a program based on the necessity to: ★

*Protect and extend democratic rights for all sections of the American people;
Keep the United States out of war and help keep war out of the world.*

Let the friends of Democracy organize. Rouse the American people to act for peace. Come to Washington, D.C., on January 6th-8th, to the American Congress for Peace and Democracy.

★ Let your representatives in the seventy-sixth United States Congress know the strength of your desire for peace. Make your voice heard in the adoption of a new peace policy for America at the expiration of the present un-neutral Neutrality Act. Rally for the defense of our Democracy and peace! ★

WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 6th-8th, 1939

WITH the possible exception of *The Bitter Tea of General Yen*, all of Frank Capra's long line of successful films were conceived and executed in the typical Hollywood genre: romantic sentiment and wish-fulfillment. Other American directors have produced more important films with more vital and realistic themes. Yet Capra has been able to endow a set of completely synthetic and fictional film characters with a humanity and warmth that is to be found in all fine works of art. Even the horse in *Broadway Bill* was human. A detailed analysis of Capra's work will show that his conception of the so-called minor rôles in his films is largely responsible for what is known as "the Capra touch." The paramount illustration of this technique is the unemployed man in *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*.

Furthermore, Capra is one of the few directors with a thorough understanding of all the basic elements of film creation. He loves his craft with a genuine passion that is rare among commercial film-makers. And while his films may not rate as



From "Sing You Sinners," with Fred MacMurray, Elizabeth Patterson, Bing Crosby and Erin Drew

great works of art, Frank Capra is an artist. It is for that reason that even the worst Capra creations are of great interest to the audience and film-maker alike. Thus *You Can't Take It With You* (Columbia) became the first important film of the season—in spite of *Marie Antoinette* (but more of that later).

Basically, *You Can't Take It With You* expounds a philosophy of escape and wish-fulfillment. It preaches a familiar kind of Americanism through the medium of the exceptional case. Grandpa Vanderhof and his lunatic family with the aid of the likable tycoon's son (James Stewart) make the audience enjoy (for two hours at least) the blessings of the Great American Dream: of retirement from business (or work) to do what one damn pleases, to avoid paying income taxes, etc. Grandpa (Lionel Barrymore) is the sage and the good old American rugged individualist. At one moment he rips into the tycoon (Edward Arnold) with all the fire of a revolutionist and the next moment he says, "I'm sorry, Mr. Kirby . . . I didn't mean any of the things I said . . . I-uh-wish you'd have told me to mind my own business." There are occasional "satiric" thrusts at all "isms" excepting Americanism that should prove helpful to the Dies Committee.

But in spite of the film's harmful philosophy and occasional displays of social and political backwardness it is full of Frank Capra. The characters display

MOVIES

What road now for a talented director? . . . A new film of man's struggle against nature

human and likable qualities. The dialog has a certain warmth and the humor is plentiful. As in *Mr. Deeds* the courtroom sequence is tops, with the judge practically stealing the show. *You Can't Take It With You* will be a success. The Pulitzer Prize Play will undoubtedly become a Prize Film and Columbia Pictures will gain prestige . . . and so will Frank Capra. What will Capra do next? That is a crucial question. Some time ago he demonstrated that he thinks seriously about films in relation to vital things. I quote: "Literature, history, biography, pageantry, social problems, current events, music, opera, the ballet for our raw materials; a composite blend of all the arts for our finished product. Never in all the history of creative art have the creators had such magnificent tools to work with. We have a magic carpet, but we don't fly it." It is about time he used that carpet.

Man of St. Kilda

I'VE always wondered what the serious but commercial film-maker would do if given a chance to do a sincere and honest picture. What kind of film would he make? Michael Powell, the young English director, finally got his "chance." In his book *200,000 Feet* (E. P. Dutton & Co.) he tells how in 1930 he read a newspaper item describing the depopulation of St. Kilda, one of the Hebrides off the northwestern coast of Scotland. "I did not know where St. Kilda was, I was hazy about the Hebrides, but I did realize that a tremendously dramatic thing was taking place here, a great story. . . . As I pictured this savage little group of islands, their great cliffs defying the Atlantic storms; as I



Director Frank Capra (at right) talks things over with James Stewart and Jean Arthur

realized they had at last conquered the men who had been so long their masters, I said to myself I would, one day, make a picture of that defeat." And seven years later, Michael Powell made a beautiful little film: *The Edge of the World* (Pax).

An obvious comparison would be with *Man of Aran*. All of the main rôles are played by professional actors and the rest of the cast is made up of the few residents of the Island of Foula where the film was shot. The picture is cast in a familiar mold—a plot that is familiar to millions of movie-goers. But within this mold Powell tells the story that Robert Flaherty thought he told us in *Man of Aran*. The depopulation of the hinterland. The struggle against nature and exploitation.

The Edge of the World is a rare event. It is not an independent production, but a product of the English film industry. When we speak of British films we will no longer have to think in terms of *The Private Life of Henry the Eighth*.

Current Pictures

MARIE ANTOINETTE (M.G.M.): A supercolossal bore that is supposed to be a historical film. It runs for two hours trying to make us believe that Marie Antoinette was a poor misunderstood darling. Norma Shearer as Marie and the gaudy sets occupy 99 per cent of the footage. The rest of the film concerns itself with the dirty, unruly, filthy and uncouth mob that threw over the Bourbon rule and set up the foundation of the democratic state.

Sing You Sinners (Paramount): Another in the wave of current "family" pictures. This is full of the usual hokum and many unrealities, but it is produced and directed with great skill and a fine sense of humor by Wesley Ruggles. It makes no pretense at being an epic of American life and it is genuinely entertaining. Bing Crosby and Fred MacMurray are the two Beebe brothers. You'll like them both.

Drums (London Films-United Artists): Conceived on the proposition that the sun never sets on the British Empire. A story of native insurrection in British-ruled India with the usual amount of imperialist chauvinism. This becomes even more insidious when you realize that the film is based on a story by the Fascist, A. E. W. Mason. Like all pictures of this type, the propaganda is couched in a film of violent and exciting physical melodrama, and beautifully photographed in technicolor.

Boy Meets Girl (Warner Bros.): A film version of the stage success, but greatly denatured. The story (self-criticism of the film industry) doesn't come off, and has been seen to better advantage in other films. The picture is notable in so far as it brings back to us that dynamic personality, James Cagney. He steals the show.

I Am the Law (Columbia): A wise-cracking melodrama based on the efforts of Thomas E. Dewey (of New York) to bust the rackets. The story is entirely unbelievable but amusing. Edward G. Robinson is on the side of the law this time—as a matter of fact, he is the law.

March of Time: This issue of the *March of Time* attempts to cover the situation in Czechoslovakia. Most of the footage is old stuff and is edited with little skill or imagination, but it does come to bat for the Republic, which is described as the "democratic island marked for conquest by Nazi Germany." The outline of history is a little confusing at times, but the reel does emphasize that "Hitler will never destroy Czech freedom until he has first destroyed the Czech people."

—PETER ELLIS



Memorial Day, 1937

Chicago's Cops

Are the Windy City police human beings? In answering this question, the writer delves into the record and causes of uniformed brutality in America's second-largest city

By Abner Brill

THE OTHER day, Marie came in from shopping and said she just saw an awful thing. A man fell on the sidewalk, frothing at the mouth, there on the corner of Cottage Grove and Thirty-ninth; he just lay there jerking, frothing, and one of Chicago's cops came along and started clubbing him.

The cop swore at him, to get up, the lousy drunk.

Now, it is a slum corner, at the juncture of Negro and white slums, and there have been brick murders in the neighborhood, and it is full of cheap taverns. So the cop might be justified in assuming the man was drunk.

But just then someone in the crowd yelled, "Say, I know that fellow, he ain't drunk, he has them fits, epileptic fits, he's sick, call an ambulance."

The cop went on beating the man over the head. The man writhed, twitched, tried to get up, his head was bloody, he collapsed.

A couple of days later, Marie said, "You know that epileptic that the cop beat up for a drunk, well, he died."

Well, it was a mucky hot August day and the cop wasn't no doctor and he had all kinds of crummy dodges pulled on him, that neighborhood was full of perverts and rapers, and what was he expected to be, a medical expert for every two-bit bum with the d.t.'s that puked on the sidewalk?

If he were a clerk in a store, earning about the same kind of a salary, he might damn well have to remember that the customer is always right, even if the customer is a ragged bum. But being a cop, he doesn't have to worry about losing his job if he insults or kills a customer; he's a Chicago cop, and

who ever said the public is to be considered as a customer? The public is always wrong.

But after all, the epileptic was just an everyday trifle, a street incident; to study the Chicago police one must examine their expert treatment of criminals and strikers—if, indeed, the latter can be separated from the former, in the training of a Chicago cop.

A Case of "Or Else"

Take the William Harris case. In July, 1937, two officers of the Maxwell Street Station picked up this lad and accused him of stealing a woman's purse containing a rosary.

Young Harris said no, he hadn't stolen any purse or anything, in fact he had been on the South Side at the time they said the purse was stolen, and he could prove it by a whole bunch of people he had been with.

But the cops said nix on that fake alibi stuff, what did he take them for, he would confess to the stealing of the purse, or else. The "or else" consisted of pushing him into an old gymnasium room in the station, a room with ladder-like rows of exercise-bars up the wall. They handcuffed Harris' hands behind his back, and then mounted him on a box, and tied the handcuffs to the horizontal bars. Then they kicked the box from under him.

Harris was left suspended, in excruciating pain, for half an hour. During that period, the cops amused themselves by calling him vile names, insulting his Negro blood, and using him as a punching-bag. He started to kick out, to ward off their blows. So they got hold of a board and a length

of rubber hose, and belabored him from a kick-proof distance.

After half an hour of this, he collapsed, so they took him down. He still refused to "confess." Thereupon they strung him up again. This time he could endure the game for only ten minutes.

The whole affair was witnessed by a second Negro lad who had also been picked up as a suspect of the theft.

Harris was subsequently proved innocent. Over a year has gone by, with the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee persistently trying to get the trial board of the Police Department to do something about this case, but the police inspector who finally "investigated the matter" reported that "it is unthinkable that police officers would use force to secure a confession, but if they did, they would not be so foolish as to allow anyone to witness it."

Public Demonstration

And just to prove that they never learn anything—and that civic committees had better keep their noses out of their police force's doings—another couple of Maxwell Street Station cops this year gave a demonstration of their methods, in arresting a Negro named John Robinson, who was accused of starting a drunken row and throwing a brick through a window. Officers Fred Hermann and John Bowen went into a house after him, stamped on his chest and stomach, rupturing the stomach. Then they dragged him out, by the feet, allowing his head to go thump thump thump down a flight of stairs.

(Continued on page 28)

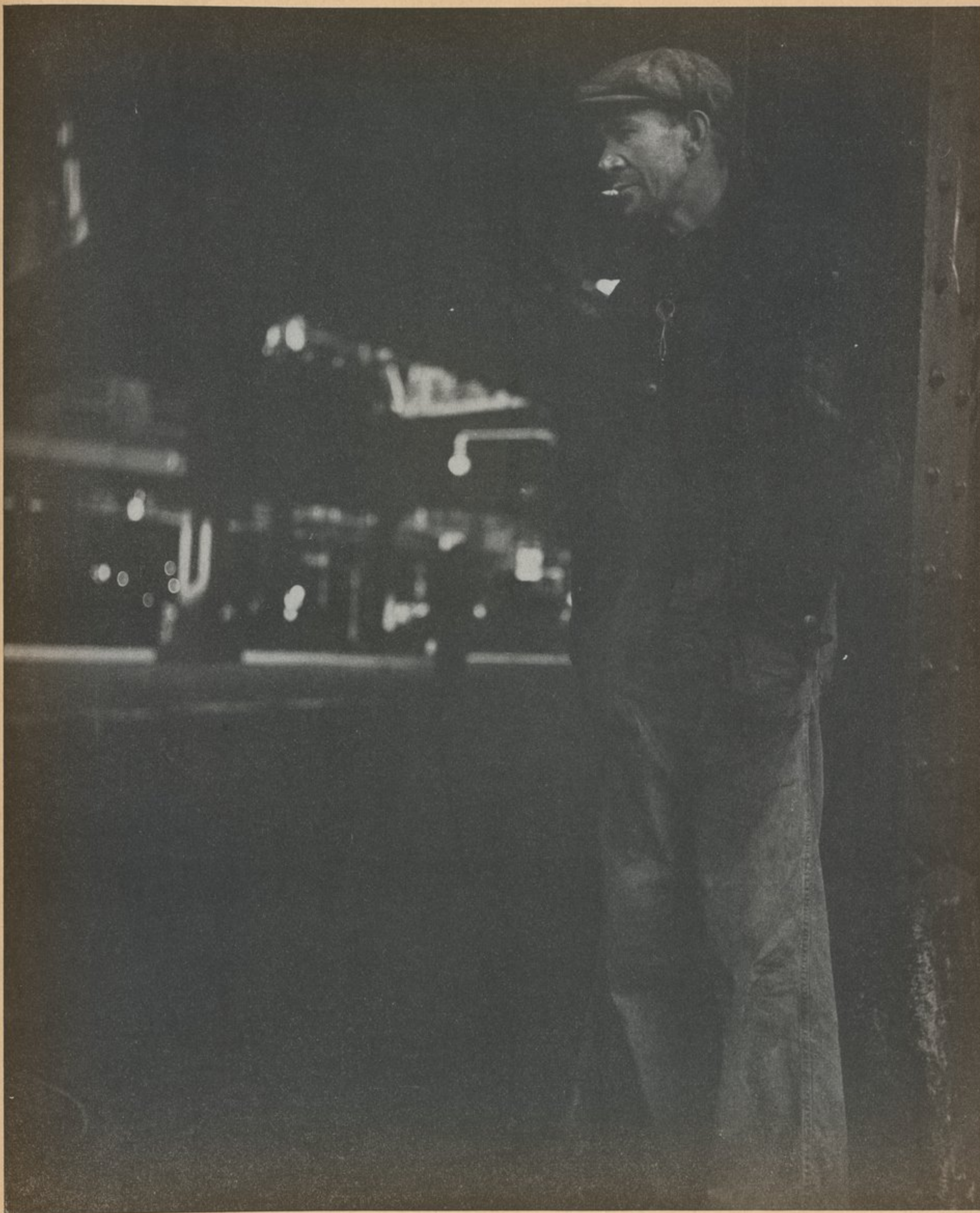


By the Photo League

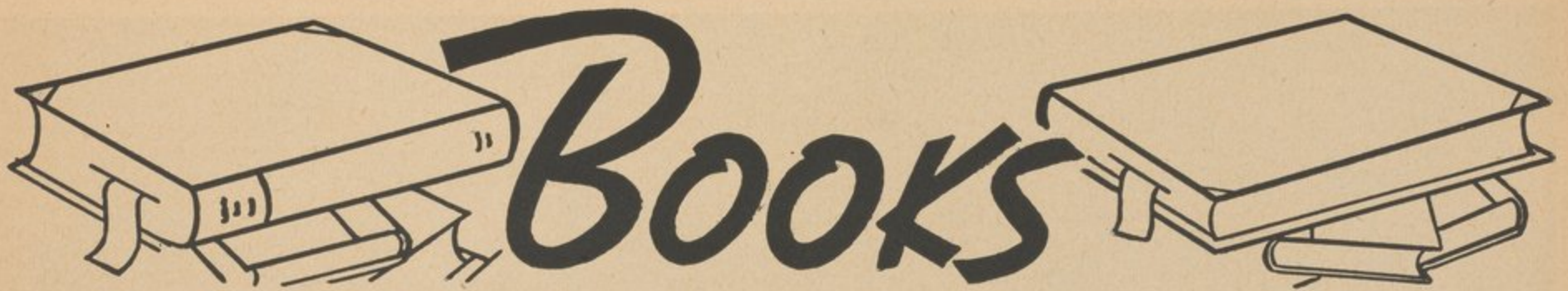
*“Man” . . . Has
a Proud Sound*

The Bowery has been called America's Lower Depths. Here men fight, engage in trade, come together for fellowship—and wait in the darkness of the “El.” What will be Democracy's answer to poverty and unemployment?

October 1938, THE FIGHT



THE FIGHT, October 1938



Books

Life of Jack London

SAILOR ON HORSEBACK, by Irving Stone; 338 pages; Houghton Mifflin Company; \$3.00.

"JACK LONDON was too great a man not to have the truth told about him." That sentiment is probably unanimous with all of the admirers of Jack London who have been inspired by his social philosophy, his love for living and adventure, but the author of this book has given us a factual biography of London that somehow or other just misses telling "the truth" about him. The dignity and breadth that belonged to the author of *Martin Eden*, *The Iron Heel*, *The Call of the Wild*, is missing.

The book takes us from the sordid surroundings of London's birth through his difficult and poverty-filled childhood in a working-class family; his discovery of the public library and his amazing self-education solely from books—mathematics, history, evolution, biology, economics, philosophy—his life as an oyster pirate, when as a boy of fifteen he brought in as big a load as any of the seasoned men; his experiences as a migratory worker during which period he first discovered socialism; the odd jobs that he took in canneries, mills, etc., to help feed the family; his Alaskan experiences out of which came some of his best stories. Jack London who became at the age of thirty an internationally known writer, who assiduously wrote from 1000 to 1500 words daily, turning out four and five books a year with innumerable short stories for magazines; who earned as much as \$75,000 a year and spent \$100,000, always in debt; writing, writing, writing to pay for his farm, his house, his countless dependents; lending money, giving money away; taken advantage of by friends and relatives and acquaintances alike. All of this in Mr. Stone's biography which takes us right through Jack London's death from a dose of sleeping-potion at the age of forty-one.

But is this the definitive biography which the publishers tell us it is, of Jack London, the great American writer, for which we have been waiting so long? Hardly. A man who was able to move millions upon millions of people throughout the world

as Jack London was able, calls for a serious analysis of his books and life and the period during which he lived. This is what *Sailor on Horseback* fails to do.

A sensational biography which will probably be a best seller, but not the story of Jack London's great talent and social adventure that we have been waiting for.

—RUTH BROOKS

Liberals in Crisis

THE LIBERALS, by John Hyde Preston; 386 pages; The John Day Company; \$2.50.

THE AUTHOR of this novel has indeed chosen a timely theme. It will not be disputed that the day of judgment is at hand for those who fall into the category of "liberal." Now all things are being tried, and while the liberalism of some is found wanting, that of others takes on new life.

In *The Liberals*, we find representatives of both the sheep and the goats. The principal character is a playwright who has written himself out, is in general at loose ends, and must get a firmer grasp of reality before he can go on working and living. His obverse is a small manufacturer and "old-fashioned liberal." In a Connecticut factory town these two exponents test their respective brands of liberalism in the arena of a growing labor struggle and ultimately



Virginia Woolf's *Three Guineas* has been published by Harcourt, Brace

a strike. Other characters influencing the development are the manufacturer's sons—one a reactionary and the other a Communist; his daughter with whom the hero falls in love; a family of workers; a successful and dissolute writer; and a professional labor-hater.

Unfortunately, *The Liberals* does not live up to the expectations it arouses. It is true that "our side wins"—that is to say, those liberals who stand for labor's democratic rights in the crisis emerge triumphant, while the manufacturer who goes against these rights is spiritually destroyed. One must give the author full credit for recognizing and illustrating this typical phenomenon of our times, which nevertheless is evaded by many writers.

But it is surely the duty of a friendly critic to point out that the story would have been of greater significance if its central character had actually proceeded to take some positive steps in behalf of Democracy. There seems to be little change in his make-up other than a somewhat dubious change of heart. The emphasis is not on political and social activity but on "private lives," so that too much importance is attached to the hero's winning a girlfriend and regaining his ability to write.

This emphasis on states of mind rather than action, we feel, is responsible also for the extreme generalization against liberalism in the book's conclusion. After all, there is in real life the liberal who perhaps does not change his philosophy greatly, but who remains true to liberalism—and in deeds. One misses this character in the book.

—JOSEPH BRIDGES

Women on Relief

UNATTACHED WOMEN ON RELIEF IN CHICAGO, *Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.*

DURING the year 1936 the officials of the Chicago Relief Administration suddenly realized that 12,500 unattached women were on the city's relief rolls. Out of the realization grew this survey, which is one of the most moving documents yet published on the whole relief problem.

A sample of 639 women were chosen

at random for the study. Most of them had been self-supporting all their adult lives. Their wages had been too small to save for unemployment or illness. When they lost their jobs they had to apply almost immediately for relief. Although three-fifths were employable immediately if temporary difficulties were removed, there were not enough social workers and relief doctors to remove those difficulties.

Carried along on relief rolls with little chance of rehabilitation, they receive an average of \$22.44 a month. Most of them live in furnished rooms, and if they fail to pay their rent the eviction is accomplished by locking the door to the room. No allowance is made for utility service—if a woman enjoys electricity in her flat, the bill must be paid out of her food money.

Case-loads are still as heavy in Chicago—doctors are still overworked. The women's needs are as desperate. But even if no amelioration has been accomplished by the bulletin, it is useful nevertheless. It can be passed on to the man who wants to cut relief.

—DOROTHY MCCONNELL

Maurice Hindus' Story

GREEN WORLDS, by Maurice Hindus; 359 pages; Doubleday, Doran & Company; \$3.00.

IT IS NOT very often that we are fortunate enough to be able to read the autobiography of an immigrant who can render a picture of rural life in the old country and in America. Maurice Hindus, the son of a Russian Jewish peasant, came to this country at the age of fifteen and after a few months in New York, left the city for a farm. In this book he tells us of farm life under the Czar and farm life in America as it was more than a quarter of a century ago. Finally in the last fifty pages of the book, a return to his old village in Soviet Russia and then back to the little town in America where he first worked as a farm-hand.

Practically all "autobiographies" by so-called intellectuals deal in the main with *themselves*. (We have no objection to that, as very often we can best see and feel the life of a country and a generation through the life of a

single individual, if that individual is lucky enough to symbolize an *idea* touching the roots of his time.) But Mr. Hindus reverses the process of most autobiographies by giving us the lives of his *neighbors*. We see Russia as it was, the ignorance, wisdom and great poverty of that countryside. A people struggling to live—live is hardly the word—literally taking bread, and bread only, out of mother earth with their finger-nails. A countryside inconceivable to us, hard to understand but coming to life in these pages through Mr. Hindus' simple brush-strokes. . . . And then America. America before the World War. Fairly prosperous. Fairly educated. Civilized. Civilized in the use of modern machinery, housing, schooling. Good food. Good neighbors. Democracy and freedom.

But the picture is not quite as simple as all that.

For beneath these two civilizations a seed was stirring. Mr. Hindus returns to Russia after the Revolution. He returns a number of times. Changes, great changes have taken place. The seemingly slow peasant has stirred and is rebuilding his life. With the first tractor came new ways, new ideas, new conceptions of living. A new world in the making. It is no longer the *old country*.

Then again Mr. Hindus revisits his countryside in America. No longer the America of twenty or twenty-five years ago. *Something is happening here, too*. But of what is happening here, Mr. Hindus is perhaps somewhat in doubt.

We wish we could place this book in the hands of Congressman Dies. Maybe it would help him to understand a little better the Rooshians and a little better America.

—GILBERT DAY

Of British Ships

ALL ABOUT SHIPS AND SHIPPING, edited by Edwin P. Harnack; 684 pages; D. Appleton-Century Co.; \$3.00.

THIS STUBBY little volume is one of the most agreeable examples of bookmaking that have appeared in a long time. Besides a wealth of information on maritime matters such as shipbuilding, navigation, statistics relating to particular vessels, etc., there are also many colored plates, diagrams, and drawings, most of which are the work of the editor's brother, F. B. Harnack. Anybody with the slightest interest in the sea could spend many a pleasant hour in looking through this book, and it is a safe bet that even those who care nothing whatever for ships and shipping would be induced by the very appearance of the volume to explore its interior.

Save for the list of ships, practically

the whole content of *All About Ships and Shipping* is devoted to British shipping, for the book is of English origin. It is, too, in this matter of its nationality that the volume becomes an especially fit subject for mention here—it is impossible to turn the pages, all of which smack of a people with a proud maritime tradition, without reflecting on the depths of humiliation at the hands of Fascism to which the present British Government have condemned both the Royal Navy and the British mercantile marine. When one turns to the plate in this volume of national flags, it is thus not altogether surprising to find that the flag of Spain appears to be the banner of Franco.

Perhaps also it is significant that de-

own criticism of the Alabama award as "injustice."

The rulers of the "Queen's Navee," it may be recalled, were as partial to slaveowners as are their present successors, while the British people were, and are, on the side of liberty.

—LESLIE READE

Britain and Benito

MUSSOLINI'S ROMAN EMPIRE, by Geoffrey T. Garratt; 310 pages; The Bobbs-Merrill Company; \$2.50.

THOSE who have watched the course of British foreign policy in time of "National" Government, and whose reactions have been composed in equal parts of abhorrence

lization of poison gas and bombs to Africa.

To many observers it must have seemed that Great Britain had no policy with regard either to Ethiopia or to Spain, at any rate until Chamberlain put his frankly philo-Fascistic mind to work. The author, however, denies this. "The British government," he writes, "had a real policy, but it was not one which they could justify before the country . . . it was . . . disarm the weak, and spare the strong as much trouble as possible."

The abundant evidence adduced by Mr. Garratt to support this thesis must convince any fair-minded person that it is correct, but when it comes to the "why" of it all, I feel that those who do not know English conditions are bound to be left still puzzling. The advance of Fascist imperialism in Africa and Spain is so patent a threat to the older British imperialism that one would expect a resistance. Mr. Garratt points to the British capitalists and landowners who felt that their interests would be served better by Fascism in Spain than by a democratic government. They were supported, moreover, by the snobs, the Catholic hierarchy, the press, and the parlor Fascists. The resulting pro-Fascist policy of the Chamberlain Government may still seem crazy, but one can only recall the old tag of an earlier Roman world: "*Quem Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat*"—"Whom the gods would destroy, they first drive mad."

—LESLIE READE

An American General

TARNISHED WARRIOR: MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON, by Major James R. Jacobs; 380 pages; The Macmillan Company; \$3.50.

THE AUTHOR, a retired officer himself, has written an interesting, informative, and authentic biography of the professional soldier, Major-General James Wilkinson, who from the early days of the American Revolution was an important figure in American history and who played a significant rôle in the shaping of its course and development. As a general in the United States Army, Wilkinson came to be a friend of many presidents, a companion of conspirators, a master of intrigue, a confederate of alien and domestic plotters—and all his activities turned out to be to the advantage of the new republic. General Wilkinson knew the continent from one end to the other and his escapades read like a real thriller. Mr. Jacobs has travelled extensively and consulted many widely-scattered archives in order to gather material for his work. Many illustrations and maps enrich this interesting study. Extensive bibliography and index. A valuable contribution to American biographical literature.

—MICHAEL B. SCHELER



MAXINE SEELBINDER

HOUSING NEEDED

spite the abundance of material in the book, there is no section on either international, nor municipal, maritime law. All legal matters relating to the sea are mentioned only incidentally in other sections. Moreover, there is nothing whatever about the working-conditions of British seamen. In a future edition Mr. Harnack would greatly improve his book by some discussion of these not unimportant matters, and if the rulers of Great Britain consider any such information a reflection on their maritime traditions, they may console themselves by meditating on their present tenderness to Fascist pirates, and Mr. Harnack's

and wonderment, should read this examination of Whitehall's conduct towards Fascism. Mr. Garratt's book is bound to increase, if possible, the disgust which any democrat must feel with the medley of mendacity which has served to cozen the British people during the past seven years.

Mr. Garratt emphasizes the tragic significance of the Baldwin-Simon betrayal of the League of Nations in the Manchurian conflict. Mussolini, heartened by the British trickery of 1931-32, which he rightly looked upon as a precedent, and having reached an agreement with the Vatican at home, proceeded to carry his neo-Roman civi-

THE BIG stir in Wall Street during the past few weeks has been not in the stock market but rather in the growing momentum of the concentrated attack on the central bulwark of the American progressive movement—the Wagner Labor Act.

As this column has frequently pointed out, the main specific objective of the constant reactionary maneuvers against the New Deal has been the destruction or mutilation of the Labor Act. This is because the Labor Act, by assuring to the trade unions legal defenses against the traditional union-busting methods of Big Business, is appraised in the Street not only as the most potent New Deal political attack against big capital's continued exploitation of the national economy, but also as the most expensive New Deal measure from the standpoint of Big Business profits. For Big Business pays off on the margin between its selling prices and its labor costs, and a decent wage won by union organization naturally reduces that margin as compared with the take under the semi-starvation wage scales of open-shop conditions. Since Wall Street's nose always follows the money, it has found the scent hottest on the trail of the Labor Act.

Thus far, Big Business has battered its snout against a stone wall in its direct efforts to undermine the improved wage scales won by labor during 1937. On the other hand, a dangerous flanking movement has gained headway against the Wagner Act.

The partial success of that flanking movement—which still can be checked by united opposition—is the result of a new strategy by the Street string-pullers. The failure of the previous head-on attacks against the labor law by Tom (Back-to-the-Farm) Girdler, Ernie (Tear-Gas) Weir, Henry (Heil-Hitler) Ford and their respective gorillas and strong-arm men made it quite clear that tactics of this sort were merely solidifying popular support for labor's rights. Consequently, the master minds groped for ways and means

WALL STREET

to manufacture a "public demand" for emasculation of the law.

The Tin-Drum Chorus

THESE ways and means have taken numerous forms, and the Big Business press (remember the cry for freedom?) has played a leading rôle. Newspapers like the *New York Times*, which have built up a profitable circulation on a reputation for impartiality and objectivity in news treatment, have enthusiastically chorused the refrain that "everyone admits that the Wagner Act is biased and unjust to management and must be amended"—never mentioning, of course, the numerous Supreme Court decisions upholding the constitutionality of Labor Board procedure; and always overlooking, of course, that the Girdlers, Weirs, Fords and Jimmy Rands who have been penalized by the Board, are notorious for anti-labor bias and violence in attempting to suppress labor organization.

These valiant efforts of the "kept" press in support of big money downtown and the advertising patrons have been made easier by the fantastic mumbo-jumbo and synthetic red scare manufactured by Congressman Martin (Loaded) Dies' "un-American" investigating committee. The antics of

this committee, ridiculous as they are, have clearly been designed to nourish the anti-labor prejudices which would be required as a wedge to split the popular progressive movement. And, finally, Wall Street's exercise in the old technique of "divide and rule" has been aided and abetted by allies within the labor movement itself, i.e., by those reactionary "labor leaders" who have been trying to undermine labor's support for its own Magna Charta.

The partial success of these maneuvers has naturally been encouraging to the Street. It has led some stock-market commentators to advise their customers that the outlook for corporation profits was rosier because "labor problems" appeared under better control. But the fact is that the battle is by no means won for Wall Street nor lost to labor.

What Labor Can Do

THIS past summer has seen a striking demonstration of what labor can do when its ranks are united. This demonstration has been the successful defense of wage standards in the face of depression conditions—the first time in history that employers have not been able to utilize a depression to undermine wage scales. The crucial test of this defense occurred after the cut in

steel prices in June. Big Business generally viewed this as a signal and waited confidently for slashes in steel wage rates, which would have been followed by a general undermining of wage standards throughout American industry. But the organized steel workers stood firm, and this solidarity, combined with the backing of organized labor generally, gained support in Washington. U.S. Steel was impressed, and the Girdlers, Weirs and Graces of the "Little Steel" crowd, who had been exerting terrific pressure for wage cuts, were forced to subside.

All these questions, of course, tie in directly with the political struggle between the New Deal and the reactionary forces directed by Wall Street. The pressure against the Wagner Act and for wage cuts was timed not only for a defeat of labor before the next recovery in business operations began, but also with an eye on the November elections—with the hope that a split in the labor-progressive ranks would permit the definite reestablishment of Wall Street's control over Congress.

The direct tie between steel wages—and hence the wages in all industry—and the outcome of the November elections is freely conceded in Wall Street. The *Wall Street Journal*, which previously accepted the "Little Steel" view that a steel wage cut would follow almost immediately upon the cut in steel prices, has now been compelled to admit its error. It now explains: "Because of opposition from Washington, there may be further delay in action on wages. Some observers would not be surprised if the matter was held up until November. This would be some time after the Congressional elections."

In other words, Wall Street says that a New Deal victory at the polls this fall means sustained wage rates for labor generally; a New Deal defeat means wage cuts all around. There could be no clearer statement of the need for united progressive ranks in the coming elections.

From "Left" to Right: J. B. Matthews of "Loaded" Dies Committee fame, Congressman Dies himself, and—well, well!—Labor Spy Edward F. Sullivan



Mussolini Finds the Jews

Il Duce suddenly discovers he is anti-Semitic, for good and sufficient Fascist reasons . . . The new drive against the Jews discussed by a correspondent who knows his Benito

By George Seldes

UNTIL Hitler and Mussolini fashioned what is temporarily known as the Rome-Berlin Axis, there was no "Jewish problem" in Italy. There are some forty thousand Jews in Italy: good Jews and bad Jews, rich Jews and poor Jews, intelligent Jews and moron Jews, just as there are good and bad, rich and poor, intelligent and moronic among all other people of the world.

Curiously enough, however, there were perhaps more Fascist Jews than anti-Fascist Jews, and the wealthy Jews of Italy played a great part in subsidizing and maintaining Mussolini and *Fascismo*. But what they did they did as bankers, capitalists, reactionaries, exploiters, rather than as Jews. And, logically enough, among the greatest enemies of Fascism, leaders among the democratic and intellectual minority—there were also leading Jews who fought against the dictatorship and many who lost their lives fighting.

Big Business and Fascism

Everyone knows what groups subsidized Fascism, paid for the so-called "march" on Rome, and kept Mussolini in power. The Fascisti admit it. There were the *Lega Industriale*, and the *Associazione fra Industriali Metallurgica* and the *Confederazione Generale dell'Industria*. That is to say the national chamber of commerce, the national association of manufacturers, the organized Big Business groups of Italy. The *C. G. I.* for example, as Bolitho discovered in 1925, "managed to induce Mussolini and the Grand Council to accept twenty-five million lire for the purpose of the Party" in the conquest of the anti-Fascist southern Italy of which Naples was the capital. There was the Order of Freemasons. There was the *Banca Commerciale*. There were notable figures such as Senator Giovanni Agnelli, Riccardo Gualino, Count Napoleon Rossi, the *fratelli* Perrone, and Benni Olivetti and other manufacturers. They all gave their money and they owned Fascism. Even Prezzolini, propagandist for Fascism today, wrote in 1923 that "during the days of the coup d'état Mussolini's hotel

was literally besieged by the most notorious speculators of northern Italy. The Federation of Manufacturers published a communiqué in which it claimed to have played an active part in the solution of the crisis. . . . The Perrone brothers, former heads of the Ansaldo Company and of the Italian Discount Bank (*Banca Italiana di Sconto*), who had dropped out of sight after the panic of 1921, have come to life again."

The bankers, the manufacturers, the steamship-line directors, each paid their share of the expense of buying the black shirts, the guns, and the other trappings of Fascism, and they continued to pay after Mussolini took over the régime. Mussolini, in turn, repaid them. In 1924 Matteotti made the first of two announced speeches in which he said he would expose the financial backing of Fascism. He showed, in the first speech, how Ansaldo escaped bankruptcy; how public funds were used to refloat this private company whose owners had been chiefly responsible for the bankruptcy of the *Banca di Sconto*; and how Mussolini subsidized Ansaldo shipbuilding with nine hundred lire a ton.

But the biggest backer of Fascism and the one to be repaid in hundreds of millions of lire was the *Banca Commerciale*, which occupies the place in Italy that the House of Morgan does here.

Il Duce's Best Friend

The head of this bank was Giuseppe Toeplitz, a Jew. Between 1921, when he made his first investment in Mussolini, and 1931, when Mussolini fought him for the control of practically the entire Italian industrial system, Toeplitz rose to be the most important financial figure in the land—his bank owning outright about fifteen per cent of all the industry of the country and having an interest in three-fourths of the largest firms of Italy.

For ten years Toeplitz was the financial dictator of Italy, but with Mussolini's political direction. In 1931, when Mussolini united all the steamship lines into one company, the *Banca Commerciale* took a forty-two per cent interest. Toeplitz was also



director in the Nobel Dynamite Trust, the great international which sells war materials to all sides in all wars.

From the very first day in 1920 when Mussolini offered his Blackshirts to Buozzi, the head of the federation of labor, and on being refused sold them to the manufacturers' association and to Toeplitz, Mussolini took the financial backing of Big Business without ever asking if the money came from Roman Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish sources. Money has no smell.

The relations with Freemasonry further illustrate the point. When Mussolini became the condottiere of the capitalists, he turned to the Freemasons for support and received it. The Masonic lodges cooperated, organized Fascist branches, and raised a total of 3,500,000 lire (\$175,000) to finance the capture of Rome. In November 1922 Domizio Torrigiani, Grand Master of Masonry, published a declaration of confidence in Fascism.

Three years later Mussolini massacred the Freemasons of Florence. So many were drowned in the Arno that it is difficult to state the number of dead, but there were at least fifty, and possibly 137, and three hundred wounded.

The reason for the massacre was a double one. First, there were the negotiations with the Vatican for a treaty, which resulted in the 1925 law of abolition of secret societies; and second, the fact that within a year after Torrigiani endorsed Fascism, Masonry discovered that this party was the enemy of all Masonic principles, and therefore the lodges of Italy became the only centers where liberty and Democracy prevailed. Mussolini had to eliminate them.

(Continued on page 29)

IT IS ABOUT time that those interested in religious liberty gave a little more heed to the dangers to that liberty involved in Fascism. This includes, or ought to include, not merely those concerned with religion as such but all concerned with liberty as such. For whether we personally care much for religion itself, we ought to recognize the fact that if an overwhelming attack is made on liberty, the citadel of religious liberty will likely be the last to fall. The distinguished English student of society, Principal A. D. Lindsay of Oxford, himself a socialist, has declared that if the present tendencies toward limitation of speech continue, it will be the duty of the churches to take account of the fact that in a peculiar degree they are the guardians of human liberty. For those who care deeply for religious freedom will fight for it intensely, even to death, because in part at least their devotion comes from a belief that there are higher orders of value than anything one can see on earth. In that fight for religious liberty all other forms of liberty are aided.

A Spiritual Kingdom

Take the situation of Roman Catholicism in relation to Fascism; and think only in the most general terms. No matter what adjustments the Roman Catholic leadership has to make to earthly situations, the truth is that the Church gets its power from its

holding to the idea of a spiritual kingdom above and beyond all kingdoms of earth. It makes no difference whether we who are outside the Roman Church approve the Church policies or not, or whether we think the hierarchy itself has at times been on the wrong side in the battle of liberty—the truth remains that, take the centuries through, the Church

has stood as the guardian of a spiritual kingdom.

Now it is all very well for Fascist leaders to say that they are not interested in spiritual kingdoms—that all they care for is the relation of the Church to secular matters. As a matter of actual fact, Fascism aims its weapons directly against spiritual ideals. Take the situation in Germany. Here is a

Church or Caesar

The Fascists threaten the religious liberties of Catholic and Protestant alike, in addition to their drive against other groups

By Bishop Francis J. McConnell



nation of high scientific attainment, apparently taking delight in making the most deadly engines of destruction—a nation in a transport of devotion to nationalism, led by a queer type of perverted mystic. It is well for us to remember that there are all sorts of mysticisms—some of them without any trace of moral value at all, some of them positively immoral. Mysticism, however, plays its part in religion, and mysticism is playing its part in present-day Germany. Even the expert militarists—the fellows who make and fire the guns—are mystics after a fashion. During the World War a German militarist—indeed more than one—declared that Germany must have a religion to bless war. It seems that the mystic vision has great military possibilities.

God or Thor

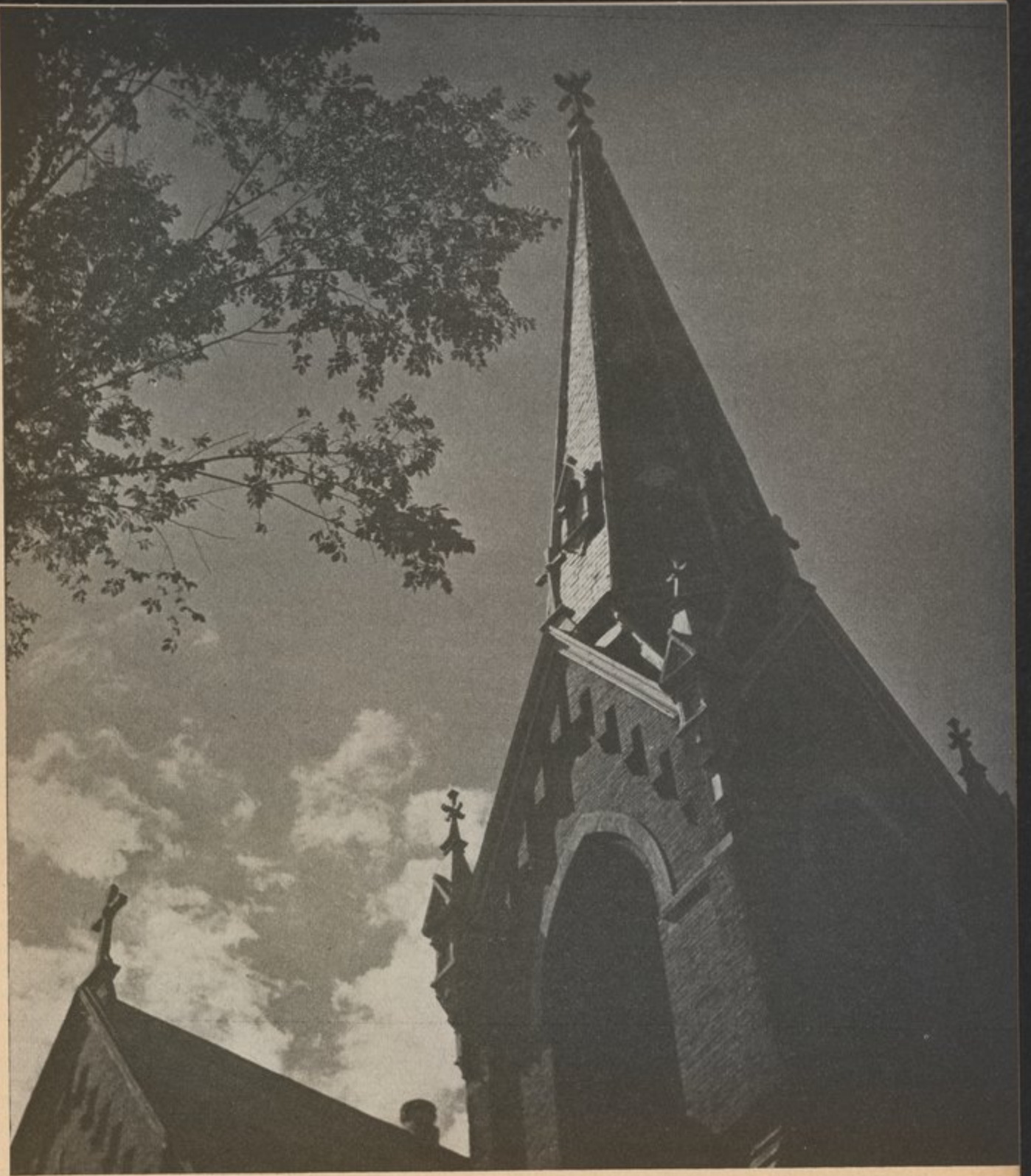
Now Fascism has its own conception of spiritual kingdom—dead opposed to the fundamental ideas of the Roman Church. We know what the Roman idea is—a Kingdom of God here and hereafter in which the ideal is that of a Christian cross, with all that the Cross implies, with recognition of ideals which have come to men through the teachings of the prophets and seers in the Judaism that preceded Christianity. Whether we accept the Roman conceptions or not we have to recognize that the Fascists do not accept them. We do not know much about the religious conceptions of Fascism but we know that they are not Christian and certainly not Jewish. They have a deal to say about the good old German God, but they could hardly use that God for anything except military purposes. It is said that Ludendorf, the foremost German militarist of our day, died alleging belief that the good old German God should be held up as the savior of the German people. Maybe so, but in which case it would be the first duty of the Germans to contrive somehow to get their god civilized. Concede for the sake of argument, or for any sake you please, all the faults you care to enumerate on the side of Roman Catholicism past and present. Its idea of God is vastly superior to the Fascist idea. The Roman Catholic cannot adjust himself to Thor without giving up everything that is distinctive in the fundamental views of God, man and the universe held by Roman Catholicism from the beginning.

Let us not think that Fascism—once in complete power—would leave it to the individual to say whether his religious view shall be that of Roman Catholicism or Fascism. Conceivably, a dweller in a Fascist country might think as he pleased. How can anyone get inside a subject's mind and tell what the subject thinks? By asking the subjects what they think, and by compelling them to take oaths of loyalty to the official religious belief. Then the subject can refuse, and go to a concentration camp, or worse; or he can take the oath with reservations, which causes trouble to sensitive consciences at once.

The Attack on Religion

An attack on religious liberty does not have to throw persons in prison or line them up before a firing-squad to be successful. All that is necessary with many, many believers is to make trouble for them on account of their beliefs until they ask what is the use of keeping up a contest when it is possible to avoid trouble by going through the forms of acquiescence. Remember, that the aims of Fascism and Roman Catholicism are directly opposed to each other. The Roman Catholic Church insists on the religious nurture of its own children. There is no question about this in a land of religious liberty. But Fascism will sooner or later insist that it itself shall take charge of all religious instruction.

Any religious body will be in a fine condition



when Fascist officials undertake to scrutinize their teachings. Several years ago I had occasion to look into some of the police activities in connection with a strike. There was no considerable violence in this strike and so the police were delegated to listen to soap-box orators and report on the "Americanism" of the speakers. The reports were something wonderful to read. I read dozens of them. The police officials—efficient enough in their proper sphere of keeping order—were hopelessly at sea on "Americanism." Many of the reports were altogether unintelligible. Others misused the most common expressions through manifest ignorance; at least one (which was commented on favorably by a leading New York newspaper) identified collective bargaining with Communism. Now admittedly this illustration does not apply directly to Fascism, but Fascism after all is similar to the nationalism of the frenzied patriotic type. Fascism introduced into this country would have what would be called "Americanism" as one of its chief features. So that under a Fascist system here any religious system would have its adherents examined by officials who probably would not know what either Americanism or Roman Catholicism meant.

I do not believe, let me repeat, that Fascism would

succeed in driving Roman Catholicism or any other form of religion from the land. Probably some types of Roman Catholic leader would find it quite possible to make comfortable adjustments to Fascism. Or in a definite grapple Catholicism through its world-wide resources could prevent anything that could be called Fascist victory. But even a fight which ended in victory for the Church might do great damage. It might make even the bolder spirits of the Church feel that they must hereafter be more "careful" in proclaiming spiritual ideals. In any event it would slow down religious activities, and apart from damage wrought would be a sheer waste of time.

Church and State

In all discussions of this order we must keep before us the inherent contradiction between Fascism and any form of historic Christianity. Suppose a church—any church—should surrender to Fascism in order to avoid harm from Fascism and for the sake of improving Fascism. Such a surrender would be the extinction of the church, for the church would have to cease to teach the essential truths for which it exists. An organization might remain, but

(Continued on page 26)

AS TO WOMEN

*The movement for women's rights comes
again to the fore . . . Our freedom*

THERE has been recently a growing resentment against the lack of opportunities for women that has not been seen since the days of the old organized feminist movements. It is hard to explain—unless the resentment has been there for some time and is just finding expression.

It started off with an article in the summer by Pearl Buck. Having spent such a long time in the Orient, she has not come close to the American woman until recently. But the thought of the American woman's freedom had given her a certain feeling of superiority in the Orient, where such freedom was not as much in evidence. Now that she is back in the United States she finds there is much lacking in the freedom of the American woman. College-trained? Of course they are in greater numbers here than anywhere in the world. But what happens to them after they have had that training? Seldom is any use made of it, and in the cases where use is made, women are not taken seriously enough to take themselves seriously.

Mrs. Buck has an amazing conclusion—and one that seems to belong to certain of the countries abroad. That is that, since it is a man-made world, and since woman doesn't have much of a chance—why not stop all this educating business and train her to take a secondary part as the Oriental woman in the past has been trained to do? She will then be much happier, we are assured. But Mrs. Buck's own bitterness shows through.

In England, Virginia Woolf has written a book in which she answers the charge that the vote for women has been of no account since there has been no practical woman's movement against Fascism. Obviously, Fascism would deprive woman of her rights—but what rights?—Virginia Woolf seems to ask. She quotes two press statements. One says: "Homes are the real places of the women who are now compelling men to be idle. It is time the Government insisted upon employers giving work to more men, thus enabling them to marry the women they cannot now approach."

The other says: "There are two

worlds in the life of a nation, the world of men and the world of women. Nature has done very well to entrust the men with the care of the family and the nation. The woman's world is her family, her husband, her children and her home."

One of these quotations comes from democratic England. The other comes from Nazi Germany.

The thing that should worry any worker for peace and Democracy is the bitterness that has been caused by this anti-feminist attitude. And even now, as I write this column, I can hear members of the American League (yes, really), sniffing at this extreme feminist column. But it is serious. The thing that is interesting is the fact that most of the women who are protesting are insisting that the whole idea is tied up with the preservation of peace. Unless the woman is assured her full rights, she is not going to be the effective instrument for peace that she is capable of being.

THE United States is a country that is peculiarly given to "weeks" as a propaganda medium. We have Good Health Week, Safety Week, Clean the Streets Week and a variety of others. Now we find ourselves confronted by a Silk Week—a week climaxed by Silk Parades organized by the Japanese-subsidized International Silk Guild. Ten thousand department stores have been invited to take part in the parades. Displays of silk are urged in the show-windows.

We wish we did not have Silk Week. But it is doubtful if a Silk Week will break down the resistance of the boycotting American women.

A FRIEND from South America has just been in to talk about the problems that women of both the Americas face today. "I can't get over the United States," she said. "Here I can walk right into your office and talk about peace and no one thinks it is strange. I am so used to thinking of peace as an underground movement that I don't really feel at ease. I keep thinking it must be some kind of a trap."

—DOROTHY McCONNELL

The Aggressors

(Continued from page 9)

Internally, the pressure also has been severe. Although much of the Nazi rearmament has been financed by a lower standard of living for the people as a whole, forced loans from banks and corporations also have been necessary, so that Germany's internal debt has been increased from 9.8 billion marks when Hitler came to power, to 15.5 billion in March, 1937, and to 22.4 billion by June of 1938. The raw material shortage, furthermore, has become so marked that Goering and the leading Nazi industrialists at a conference in August were forced to curtail the allotment of materials to basic industries. As the outcome of these developments, the German big business men themselves, who thus far have been the only beneficiaries of the Nazi régime, have evidenced a loss of confidence in the continued profitability of the régime, by dumping securities on the Berlin Boerse. Share prices broke sharply despite official support from the Nazi governmental authorities.

Il Duce's Crisis

The tell-tale signs of severe economic strain are equally apparent in Italy, even though the recent developments have not been so spectacular as in Germany, for the simple reason that the régime of *Il Duce* has been in a state of economic crisis for the past three years. The enormous expense of Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, supplemented by the economic erosion from the sanctions imposed briefly at that time—half-hearted though they were—was the initial cause of that crisis. Since then, with Italy's control of Ethiopia limited to a few centers and to the troop-guarded lines of communication, the cost of military occupation of that country has continued to impose a heavy drain on the already second-rate economic resources of Italy—a drain which also has been greatly expanded by Mussolini's costly war against Loyalist Spain.

In order to carry on the warfare in Ethiopia and Spain, and to prepare for still greater future conflicts, Italy, lacking most of the essential materials of war, has had to increase drastically her purchases abroad. In 1937, her imports rose by 130 per cent over 1936, whereas her exports increased only 90 per cent. The result was that imports exceeded exports by 5.6 billion lire, thus making grave inroads on Italy's already scant supply of gold and foreign exchange. This year, although foreign purchases have necessarily been curtailed, imports have continued to exceed exports by a wide margin—the excess amounting to one billion lire in the first three months. Internal strains also have been intensified. In 1935, when Mussolini stopped the publication of figures on Italy's public debt and her gold supply, Italy had an in-

ternal debt of 105.7 billion lire, as compared with 91.4 billion in 1931. Since 1935, according to reliable financial estimates, the Italian Fascist state has increased that debt by nine billions of short term loans, and by seventeen billions of forced loans from savings banks and insurance companies, etc. Side by side with this has gone a steady increase in taxation upon the Italian working population, until today approximately half the national income of Italy is absorbed by state revenues, most of which are being devoted to military purposes.

A Strained Economy

Here again, the nature of Italy's purchases from foreign countries is significant of a strained war economy. With her total purchases from the United States in 1936 only 43 per cent of those in 1929, Italy bought 1,863,000 barrels of American crude petroleum in 1936, as against none at all in 1929; 1,689,000 barrels of fuel oil against 311,000 in 1929; and 285,000 tons of iron and steel scrap against 92,000 in 1929. In 1937, Italy increased her purchases from America by 30 per cent, and virtually all of this increase was in petroleum products, metals, steel scrap and cotton.

In so far as American industry is concerned, the most emphatic illustration of its partnership in supplying the necessities of warfare to Fascist aggression abroad is found in its relation to the Japanese invasion of China. One-third of Japan's purchases of foreign products are made in the United States, and most of these are of the greatest military strategic importance. In 1937, Japan purchased \$365,000,000 worth of goods in this country, an increase of 48 per cent over 1936. Significantly, her purchases of raw cotton, which in peace time is the major Japanese import from the United States, dropped to \$62,000,000 from \$88,000,000 in 1936. But purchases of iron and steel products rose to 879,652 tons from only 54,101 in 1936; purchases of iron and steel scrap increased to around 2,000,000 tons from 1,058,000 in 1936 and 208,000 in 1929; and sharp gains also were shown in purchases of petroleum, copper, machine tools, aircraft and automobiles. Even in 1936, Japanese purchases of American crude oil were 10,381,000 barrels against 2,476,000 in 1929; of fuel oil were 9,256,000 barrels against 5,172,000 in 1929; and of copper ingots and bars were 78,800,000 pounds against 7,900,000 in 1929.

Japan's American Partners

And so the Samurai have been putting the cash on the line and American manufacturers have been raking in the profits—ultimately at the expense of the Chinese people. But the cash on the line has been boring deeply into Japan's financial resources. In 1937, Japan's imports exceeded her exports



Scenes from the Chinese army theater which educates the soldiers and the people in China's history and her present situation

by \$175,000,000, and this excess has continued heavily this year. To finance this foreign-trade deficit, Japan had to ship \$329,000,000 or 55 per cent of her total gold supply to this country between March, 1937 and July, 1938. By late July her surplus gold supply was exhausted, and Japan had to turn to the \$261,000,000 gold reserves of the Bank of Japan—her final resource. One-third of these were set aside into a special fund to finance purchases of raw materials, and within a week \$17,400,000, or about a fifth of this special fund, had been shipped to the United States. Internally, economic conditions have become severely strained by the cost of the Chinese invasion, which is exceeding \$150,000,000 a month and already has cost \$2,000,000,000—an immense sum for the weak economic structure of Japan. The internal debt amounted to 11.9 billion yen at the end of 1937, as compared with 5.9 billion in 1931, and is expected to reach 18 billion by April, 1939. Late in June, the Japanese government prohibited the manufacture of cotton yarn or piece goods for any domestic use other than for military purposes, and similar severe restrictions were placed upon the use of many other imported raw materials.

How to Halt War

These facts demonstrate the rapidity with which Japan could be compelled to abandon her already crumbling Chinese invasion if the democratic peoples would enforce a positive ban on trade with Japan.

The conclusions to be drawn from this world situation are clear. The economic power rests with the peaceful peoples of the democratic nations. Deprived of access to the economic wealth of America, France and Britain, the Fascist forces in Germany,

Italy and Japan which are making for international war must surely founder. To achieve this end, the peace-loving peoples must seize the initiative so that governmental action will take positive economic steps against aggression; they must remove the initiative from the hands of big capital and Big Business which—whether the motives be for profits or for solidarity with the Fascists—are enforcing a policy of collaboration with the war-makers, however indirect.

China's "Double Ten"

(Continued from page 11)

as the guiding principle of the revolution and tried to popularize it among the Chinese people. He translated it into simple Chinese which is easily understandable by all: "the people to have, the people to control, and the people to enjoy." This *San Min Chu I*—Three Principles of the People—although never fully applied after the establishment of the Chinese Republic, shines always as the polar star that guides the aspirations and activities of the Chinese patriotic youth. "The people to have"—Nationalism—means the struggle and maintenance of China's national independence in her international relations and the equality of all national groups within her borders. "The people to control"—Democracy—signifies the abolition of the centuries-old monarchical and bureaucratic institutions and the establishment of the republic and the development of self-government of the people. "The people to enjoy," which Sun Yat-sen later termed the "People's Livelihood," has as its goal the well-being of the entire population—a more equitable distribution of land and wealth.

That Dr. Sun treasured these Three Principles as the "apple of his eye"

was beyond question. "I swear under Heaven," each member of the Revolutionary Brotherhood had to declare, "that I will do my utmost to work for the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, the establishment of the Republic, and the solution of the agrarian question on the basis of the equitable redistribution of land." Also, Sun Yat-sen regarded his Three Principles as an inseparable whole. When he was the president of the provisional government at Nanking, one of his "sworn brothers" suggested that the Third Principle should be forgotten. Dr. Sun, unable to restrain his anger, pounded on the table and said: "The revolution aims at the welfare of the people and the solution of the problem of Livelihood. If we discard the Principle of Livelihood, we may as well give up the whole revolution."

Reaction and Renewal

Unfortunately, although China was proclaimed a republic, the old forces in Chinese society were temporarily too strong for the revolution. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was forced to resign his presidency in favor of a Northern militarist—Yuan Shih-kai. Although Yuan Shih-kai swore loyalty to the Republic, he soon began to suppress the revolution and planned to become Emperor of China. Utilizing the internal chaos of China and the war situation in Europe, Japan in 1915 presented to the Chinese government the infamous Twenty-one Demands, the acceptance of which would have reduced China to a Japanese colony.

After the death of Yuan Shih-kai, power fell into the hands of competing regional militarists. Incessant civil wars became the order of the day. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, disappointed at the misrule of the militarists and fearful of foreign aggression, renewed his rev-

olutionary activities. In 1924 he reorganized the Kuomintang—the Nationalist Party—and adopted three basic policies in order to carry out his Three Principles. These policies were: (1) cooperation with the Chinese Communists; (2) alliance with the Soviet Union; and (3) the promotion of the interests of peasants and workers. The revolutionary army under the command of General Chiang Kai-shek was growing into a powerful weapon. However, when a united movement of all the progressive elements of China was launching its greatest campaign against reaction and militarism, Sun Yat-sen died of a cancer. Nevertheless, the untimely death of the revolutionary leader did not stop the rapid upsurge of the tide. The revolutionary army started its Northern expedition against the militarists in 1926. Propagandists and organizers went among the people, energetically and successfully rallying their support. While all China south of the Yangtze Valley was aflame with the revolution, a serious split developed within the movement. China sank once more into incessant civil strife. Seeing that all the armed forces of China were in a hopeless deadlock without any power of resistance to a foreign attack, the Japanese militarists began their ruthless invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

The Hour of Unity

The twenty-eighth "Double Ten." China has never faced a more serious national crisis than the present Japanese military invasion. In their mad attempt to conquer all China, the Japanese military-Fascists are daily devastating Chinese cities and slaughtering the Chinese people with tanks, guns, and bombing-planes. Large cities such as Shanghai, Nanking, Peiping, Tient-

(Continued on page 30)

IN STEP WITH LABOR

*The Latin-American Labor Conference
a milestone for peace . . . Norwegian
seamen refuse to supply the Rebels*

THE Latin-American Labor Conference held in Mexico City marks another milestone in the progress of the labor movement's fight for peace. At this conference steps were taken to set up a labor bloc for peace which will be able to influence great sections of the populations in all of the countries represented.

Some of the great leaders who were present at the conference took a very definite stand in this direction. Here it is instructive to quote from the speech of Leon Jouhaux, representative of over five million organized French workers. Jouhaux said:

"The French workers will lend all possible aid to the Spanish proletariat. There have been enough speeches the world over. It is urgent that we pass on to action.

"An international united front against international Fascism must be built. The victory of the Spanish Republic is assured if all workers show their solidarity.

"We must refuse to make or transport arms for the aggressor nations.

"Unity in action against war and Fascism, for world peace—with this hope we salute the Congress which

will unite the Latin-American workers towards the subsequent unity of all the workers of the world to realize our great ideal."

This statement which is of the utmost importance to the working people of the world was taken literally by the Norwegian crew of the S.S. Titanian. Upon discovering that the vessel, which was loaded with nitrates and phosphides, was being shipped to Bilbao, Rebel Spain, they unanimously voted to walk off in protest against all such shipments. This heroic action of the Norwegian seamen coming on top of Leon Jouhaux's speech has been felt around the world. It is imperative that more such actions be taken. The American League for Peace and Democracy whole-heartedly supports the splendid initiative and courage of the Titanian's crew in refusing to give a hand to Franco—murderer of women and children.

We urge all labor organizations to support this action of the Titanian's crew by sending funds to the Committee for the Aid of Striking Norwegian Seamen, Room 500, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

—A. E. EDWARDS



American League and other groups support the Norwegian seamen at Baltimore

Church or Caesar

(Continued from page 23)

in the realm of truth organizations are secondary at best. The churches—Roman Catholic and all others—teach that their effectiveness in material matters springs from moral and spiritual roots. Cut that teaching from its moral roots and the practical effectiveness wanes. Sooner or later, in such extinction of religious teaching, Fascism would have to find a substitute for the essential teaching of the church: indeed, as I have already said, Fascism claims to have such a substitute. Dismissing the nonsense about the German gods, we have the Fascist doctrine of the state as an end-in-itself. What is this state except the human beings who compose it? Of course when people act together they quicken one another to powers different from those to which they attain acting separately. That, however, does not give the state an actual existence in itself. If it be asked what the difference is between the Roman Catholic ideal of a church and the Fascist ideal of the state, the reply is that the Roman Church professes to exist for the largest life of the individuals who belong to it—that the individuals are organically related to one another in such fashion that the whole brings best life to the parts. The Fascist state on the other hand counts the individual as nothing as compared to the state. The individual has no rights which the state is bound to respect.

At this point the practical-minded realist—whoever that may be—tells us that the Roman Church has often taken its stand against liberty. All this means is that at times systems in practice fall below their creeds. We judge social theories, however, by the long run. A victory of Fascism over Roman Catholicism could only hinder the progress toward larger liberty going forward always in the Church. Of course a type of Fascist—aided by a type of religionist—obscures this whole problem by talking of the Dark Ages and the Inquisition and all the rest of that sort of thing. We, however, are talking of our own century, and of things happening now. Just at present Fascism seems to have a pre-eminence in the savageries of religious persecution.

Protestant Situation

So much for the opposition to Roman Catholic ideals on the part of Fascism. The opposition is just as fierce toward Protestant churches that do not at once yield to the behests of the Fascists. The fundamental ideals of Roman Catholicism as to spiritual factors are almost the same as those of Protestantism—except as to the supremacy of the church. The belief in such supremacy, however, gives the Roman Catholics an advantage in a battle for religious liberty because of the ability of the church to bring world-

wide pressure in behalf of its embattled members. Protestantism has on the other hand only what it is pleased to call the "unity of the spirit." The broken-up condition of the Protestant group prevents the massing of a Christendom-wide world opinion on behalf of any particular group.

Furthermore, a dangerous element in the Protestant situation, at any rate, is the closeness of men of financial means to Fascism. Practically all the pleas, and even partial pleas, that I have heard in this country for Fascism have been from men more or less connected with the moneyed classes.

The Financial Lambs

The Protestant churches in this land have got themselves into a fine mess in their relations to men of financial ability. They have gone on through the years and the scores of years cultivating moneyed men for the sake of all manner of good enterprises. In doing this they have not much troubled themselves as to whether the givers are themselves much interested in religious concerns or not, so that when a servant of a Protestant church declaims against the injustice and inequity of the present social order he is made to realize—without anybody's necessarily telling him so—that his precipitancy and lack of caution are checking the flow of gifts to hospitals and schools. Then he begins to temper the winds of his eloquence to the financial lambs of his flock, who feel that if they should be shorn the whole business will come to a standstill—or rather to complete annihilation.

In any event Fascism is a foe of Protestant ideals, and through its money powers can effectively hinder the working of the ferment for liberty in the Protestant groups.

Blood of the Martyrs

A final question arises: "Is not the blood of the martyrs the seed of the Church?" Will not the cause of religious liberty be advanced as men are willing to die for that liberty? What a man does with his own opportunities for martyrdom are his own affair, but unless we are willing ourselves to be martyrs we had better be careful about preaching martyrdom to others. The stuff of which martyrs are made is too precious to be used up in any reckless waste. The martyr had better "stick around" and stay alive as long as he can. Too many of the Fascist type would be willing to see him go. A small boy was once asked by his school-teacher to define "altruism." He replied, "Altruism is the sacrifice of others." Given a second chance he declared, "Altruism is urging others to sacrifice themselves." Not many of us have yet got beyond the school-boy's definition; though one of the hopeful signs of the times is the willingness of increasing hosts to go to the limit in the war for liberty against Fascism.

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Russell Thayer

A FEW days ago we were listing the activities and campaigns of the League in the last few years. They were very interesting in the light of the attack on us by the Dies Committee. Among the major campaigns of the American League have been the protection of civil rights; support of labor and the farmer in their rights to organize for better living and working conditions; support for minority groups; an anti-Hearst campaign; an anti-Nazi campaign, and a peace policy of concerted action among the democratic peoples of the world.

The American League was to a certain extent singled out for malicious attacks by irresponsible witnesses who offered no evidence in support of their charges. The true parts of the testimony in regard to the League had been for years a matter of public record and had been printed in our own pamphlets. The other testimony containing any semblance of truth was that a number of League members are responsible officials in the government.

The character of the witnesses themselves is perhaps sufficient to discredit the Committee without any further argument. Homer Chaillaux has admitted his admiration for Gerald Winrod, who ran for Senator on a Fascist platform recently in Kansas and was defeated. Chaillaux has also admittedly used in his testimony material from the anti-Semitic publication *The Defender*. Walter S. Steele, another witness, was the open representative of the magazine *The National Republic*—a red-baiting organ—is chairman of the American Coalition Committee on National Security, and has had close connections with the Silver Shirts. J. B. Matthews after his resignation as chairman of the American League, returned to the League some months later and was elected to the executive board. He resigned from this board because of questions (which he could not answer) put to him by the executive board at the time of the strike at Consumer's Research—of which company he was an officer. Far from resigning from the American League because of "pathetic disillusionment," he said in his letter of resignation:

"Being fully aware of the embarrassment which my membership on the League's bureau must be occasioning

you and the League—I hereby tender my resignation to take effect immediately.

"I cannot tell you how much I regret the necessity of this step and the incidents which make it necessary. It is especially painful to me to be under this necessity at precisely the time when I had hoped to become more active in the work of the League. In taking leave, may I express my deepest hope that the work of the League may grow in effectiveness day and day as it confronts the deepening crisis of the world situation. Nothing can ever cause me to forget or to cease to appreciate the part which I had in the formation of the League or the value of the personal associations with its loyal workers both in the central offices and in the field." The resignation was promptly accepted. Matthews remained with the company and attempted to justify the anti-union terrorism resorted to by the company, of which he is now vice-president.

Another star witness was Edward F. Sullivan, who has been a labor spy for the Railway Audit and Inspection Company which was unmasked by the Senate Civil Liberties Committee. Sullivan has also been active in anti-Semitic and American Fascist movements.

Throughout the country the press and the great body of people put little credence in the charges against the League. Public opinion accepted the statement made by the Reverend William B. Spofford, acting national chairman of the League, that "the American League for Peace and Democracy is not dominated by any political party nor by any groups except the peace forces of the nation. It does not propagandize for any party or program except its own program which is based on two simple points: *Protect and extend democratic rights for all sections of the American people; and Keep the United States out of war and help keep war out of the world.* The League's program, its activities, its leading members are neither secret nor in any way mysterious."

The New York *Herald Tribune* in an editorial pointed out that "the country should be warned against the danger of spying a Communist under every bush" and further within the same editorial referred to John P.

Frey (who dragged in the name of the American League as well as the C.I.O.), stating: "Let us realize for instance that Mr. Frey is a special pleader and that his object is to discredit the CIO. When therefore he says that the CIO is in the grip of the Communists, his assertion should be taken with several grains of salt." The New York *Times*, in an editorial entitled "Catchwords," said: "One gathers from some of the testimony given before the House Committee on un-American activities that it is now possible to be a Communist without knowing it."

EARLY returns on the Peace Census indicate an overwhelming support for the American League policies regarding the embargo on armaments to Germany, Italy and Japan, the lifting of the embargo on the Spanish government and the boycott of Japanese goods. It is hoped that sufficient returns will be made to qualify this Census as a valid expression of opinion on these subjects for transmission to the new United States Congress.

THE REVEREND WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD, who during the vacation of Dr. Harry F. Ward has been the acting chairman of the executive



Oliver Haskell, director of the American League's China Aid Council

board of the American League, attended the Latin-American Labor Congress and the Congress Against Fascist Penetration of Latin America in Mexico City. These gatherings were attended by prominent leaders from North and South America.

IN THE September issue of *THE FIGHT*, an error was made in the spelling of the name of Myra Page—who has been in Mexico gathering material which will make her a welcome speaker this fall at meetings arranged by League branches. Miss Page has told us in the National Office of the eagerness of the Mexican people for an understanding of their problems by the United States. She can tell, too, in vivid terms, of the horrible living-conditions forced on the workers by many of the oil companies; and of the tremendous need for our understanding of the Cardenas Government—which has so generously aided the Spanish government, put down the Fascist revolt of Cedillo, and which stands as a bulwark against Fascism in Latin America.

IT IS not the policy of the American League to endorse particular parties or candidates in election campaigns, but it is the policy of the League to publicize the views of candidates on issues which the League feels are vital and within our program. In Los Angeles some candidates solicited the votes of Nazi and vigilante groups, and we note with gratification that all of these candidates were defeated in the primaries.

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE holds nearly \$600 in escrow in its treasury, awaiting the moment of the announcement by the President's Committee on Relief for Political and Religious Refugees that it is ready to accept and disburse funds on a non-sectarian basis for the care of German and Austrian refugees. One consideration of the executive board of the League in designating this committee was that its funds will not be sent into Germany and Austria—thereby giving Hitler his badly needed foreign exchange—but will be used for those thousands of refugees now crowded together in France and Czechoslovakia and awaiting permanent homes.

YOUTH NOTES

VASSAR COLLEGE at Poughkeepsie, New York, recently witnessed a most encouraging gathering of young people from all over the world. The question of how to achieve world peace was discussed in every language. The final expression of the delegates was the Vassar Peace Pact. The representatives of fifty-three countries indicated their accord with this statement by affixing their signatures.

The preamble declared that the Congress was aware of its duty to promote the welfare of mankind; that war and militarism are destructive of all that is valuable in civilization and human personality; and that war is not inevitable if law between nations can be upheld and justice established in accordance with the peaceful and democratic will of the peoples. The Pact continued:

Article I: We swear to develop a spirit of fraternity and collaboration between the youth of all nations, to help unite the youth of our own nations and to work for unity with young people of all other countries without distinction of race, creed or opinion.

Article II: We solemnly condemn any war of aggression directed against the political independence of the territorial or administrative integrity of a state.

Article III: We pledge ourselves to do all in our power to guarantee that the youth of our countries never participate in any war of aggression against other states.

Article IV: We agree to bring pressure to bear, whenever the circumstances arise, upon our respective authorities to take the necessary concerted action to prevent aggression and to bring it to an end, to give effective assistance to the victims of treaty violations and aggression, and to refrain from participating in any aggression whether in the form of supply of essential war material or of financial assistance.

Article V: We solemnly declare that the bombardment of open towns and civilian populations constitutes a violation of the canons of humanity and the rule of conduct among nations, and we undertake to mobilize the forces of world opinion to condemn any such action and to give aid for the relief of the victims.

Article VI: We, recognizing that there can be no permanent peace without justice between nations and with-

in nations, or without their recognition of the right to self-determination of countries and colonies seeking their freedom, undertake in a peaceful manner to set right injustices against peoples, regardless of race, creed or opinion, to establish political and social justice within our own countries and advocate that international machinery be immediately set in motion to solve differences between nations in a peaceful way.

THE signing of the Pact is the first big step; its effectiveness rests with the delegates and that great number of young people in whose name they spoke.

The American League for Peace and Democracy has always supported and contributed to the desire of the people for peace and justice. The League has always actively opposed discrimination and injustice to people because of race or creed, just as it has opposed injustice to other nations. The League has constantly brought pressure on our government to define the aggressors in the present conflicts in Spain and China and to bar the shipment of arms and war material which would aid directly and indirectly these aggressor nations. We have recommended concerted action to quarantine the aggressors and thus put a check to the inhuman destruction now being caused by the aggressor powers.

DURING my stay at Vassar, I was invited to visit some residents of Poughkeepsie. We were ushered into this home in which many generations of the family had lived and there immediately followed a flow of questions. What is it like? How many delegates? What countries? What do they think? What do they say about conditions in their countries? Our hosts were eager and interested and glad that the Second World Youth Congress had decided to come to Poughkeepsie. It was natural for them to feel that way.

There are at least two tours now being conducted, one of the Spanish delegates and the other the Chinese delegates. These delegates are passing through your locality. You can help arrange meetings to receive them and hear what they have to say of the Congress and the youth in their countries.

—REGINA RAKOCZY

Chicago's Cops

(Continued from page 15)

About twenty-five people, gathered on the sidewalk, were allowed to witness this technique of arrest; but then officers Hermann and Bowen weren't in the act of obtaining a confession.

I know that Maxwell Street district; I was brought up around there; in fact, the only time I ever was arrested was by Maxwell Street police. That happened when I was a kid, about seven years old. My folks had bought me a bee-bee gun. I was sitting out in the little front yard, with a bunch of kids, taking turns shooting at the top of a tin can. A cop came along and said whose gun was it? I proudly admitted ownership. He grabbed me by the arm and hauled me to the station.

That was the Bloody Nineteenth Ward, scene of a political vendetta at the time, and in later years the center of alky-ring murders. Grown men roamed the streets with pistols, sawed-off shotguns, and in the twenties with machine guns. I remember actually witnessing a shooting, right on our sidewalk, from our third-story window.

But the cops arrested the kid with the bee-bee gun.

A thousand-page document in the stacks of the University of Chicago library throws a good deal of light on the behavior of Chicago police in strikes. The document is a doctor's thesis, turned in by Howard B. Myers. It deals with the policing of strikes in Chicago, and is a sociological classic.

"The Mob Fled Pell-Mell"

The thesis quotes a description of the 1877 railroad strike "riots" in Chicago: "the mob . . . fled pell-mell before the bluecoats, who fired a perfect hailstorm of bullets into the retreating rabble, and hammered the heads and shoulders of the lagging ones with their batons and revolver stocks."

Twelve were killed then and there, three were fatally wounded, fifty were seriously injured.

Sounds like the Memorial Day Massacre, of course, and in the half-century between these events, the police learned exactly nothing. Not that they weren't told. Citizens' committees, special investigating committees, police administration experts, legal experts, time after time informed the Chicago police that they were supposed to be impartial in strike situations.

But Dr. Myers, in his study, shows how the pattern was repeated in practically every strike, big or little, that ever occurred in Chicago. His conclusions are tragically repetitious: "a good deal of the disturbance was precipitated by the rough tactics of the police"—"before any trouble had arisen, police broke up many orderly meetings of workmen, clubbing and shooting wholly without excuse."

In 1886, at a strike at the McCormick plant—the event that led to

Haymarket—"the crowd broke and scattered over the prairie, the police pursuing hotly and firing and clubbing mercilessly." Six dead.

In the Pullman Strike, police were "suspended or discharged if they showed any sympathy toward the strikers."

There it is.

The cops, the individual cops, are not so much to blame. I've heard of any number of police who still go around marveling at their luck because they were low on the list at the station when the levy for duty at Republic Steel was made, and thus barely escaped being ordered into the Memorial Day line, and having to shoot at people who were, after all, like themselves.

Strike Hysteria

What gets into them during a strike is a hysteria, artificially stimulated; they are overworked, they're often on twenty-four-hour call, they begin to get a little frightened of the strikers, after constantly hearing stories of how they are going to be attacked, even though their experience tells them that strikers never—and I mean never—have attacked police in Chicago.

In the few Chicago strikes during which police were left in their own neighborhoods, there is no record of violence. In 1905, thirty-six thousand stockyards workers struck for two months; the strikers were beautifully disciplined, the police for the large part left them alone, and the only trouble was violence on the part of hired strike-breakers.

Again, Dr. Myers points out that while Chicago police have—on evident instructions—made a continuous policy of arresting strikers when they so much as appeared on the scene to picket, and have in some strikes made thousands of arrests which were, of course, dismissed in the courts for want of evidence—they have in these same strikes allowed company-hired thugs, obviously and illegally carrying guns, to walk around unmolested. In 1915, they actually took pickets off the streets and turned them over to company sluggers, and watched them beaten up. When the beaten-up strikers applied for warrants against the sluggers, they were told, "We don't serve warrants for strikers, nothing doing for strikers."

An Honest Cop

A police officer who objected to permission given company thugs to slug strikers, was transferred for objecting.

With that type of instruction, no cop could remain on the force without realizing he was supposed to act as a strike-breaker.

And, of course, the "extra" pay should not be forgotten. Dr. Myers reports that in 1915 the pay-off was commonly \$5.00 to sergeants, \$2.00 to mounted police, \$1.00 to patrolmen per day. Chicago employers still have the same habits. The plain envelope



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containing greenbacks is part of the normal strike expense in Chicago.

To this day, the right to picket is confused in Chicago. In 1915, the right to peaceful picketing was included as an instruction in the patrolman's rule-book, but the Chief of Police didn't know it. And in 1937 the corporation counsel of the city of Chicago issued a statement reaffirming this right, but the police around the Republic steel plant clubbed the strikers who came to show them the statement in newspaper headlines.

Dr. Myers' thesis should be supplemented with a reading of police testimony before the LaFollette Committee. Commissioner Allman testified to the sloppy, criminally careless way in which he directed police work in the strike.

He was asked, "Didn't you anticipate that a major strike in the steel industry would give rise to particularly difficult situations for the police?"

Sure, he knew that. And what did he do in preparation? He gave a few oral instructions to Captain Prendergast to take care of the situation.

If it was not a routine matter, Senator LaFollette asked, wouldn't it have been necessary to issue more than routine instructions?

The head of the Chicago police force agreed that it was not a routine matter, but he didn't even have to call a conference of his police heads to tell them how to handle it, or to define picketing, or anything. And after the blood was spilt, he didn't even examine the coroner's reports on the dead!

Of course the testimony shows that Captain Kilroy was in the plant days in advance, asking the company how they wanted matters handled. That was where the police got their instructions; the chief didn't have to bother.

But Allman's lazy indifference was only half the crime. The rest is in the testimony of Captain Mooney, in charge on the field that Memorial Day. If ever a psychopath revealed himself in words, it was Captain Mooney before the LaFollette Committee. Wild persecution fears, insanely bitter prejudice, hatred that would brand a man as too dangerous to leave at large, all from the mouth of a supervisory police captain who commanded a line of armed men. No wonder they fired at the public.

From Captain Mooney on down, the testimony is completely revelatory. The best, or worst, depending how one looks at it, is the testimony of Sergeant Lyons—who tried to call photographs lies, and to make his word that an arm holding a gun didn't belong to the man it was shown attached to in the photograph, stand up against the Senator's assertion that a photograph was, after all, a photograph. Sergeant Lyons was an army man, and his report of the events of Memorial Day was insistently in military terms: the strikers "formed and marched out," they "ma-

neuvered across the field," they executed a "right oblique," and other such nonsense.

Sure, Chicago cops are just men. They like to follow the baseball scores and they put a few bets on the ponies and a lot of them carefully grow cucumbers in their back yards, and if they were let alone, they might keep order during a strike, fair-mindedly.

But they're a disciplined body of men, and they act on instructions. The trouble is mostly with the people who give those instructions.

Mussolini

(Continued from page 21)

Now the curious thing about the whole history of Mussolini and Masonry is this: that the anti-Semitic bogey was *never mentioned*, that the Jews did not figure as a race, although almost every wealthy Jew in Italy was a member of either the Orient or the Scottish Rite branch of Freemasonry.

The fact that all men of culture have spurned him and his made-to-order ideology has always pained Mussolini. He was able to buy Marconi through a banking transaction, he subsidized Pirandello with the Art Theater—I remember more than one evening talking with Pirandello between acts, and his shrugging his shoulders and saying he thought Mussolini a boor and *Fascismo* a fraud, "mas, what would you, they give money." And D'Annunzio got the title of Prince and a princely subsidy every month. But culture died under Italian Fascism, just as it must die under reaction everywhere.

In Paris the émigré Italian journalists, writers and artists continued to fight Fascism. They were poor, frequently had no money to print their writings, but somehow managed to keep alive the fight. Turati the labor leader, De Bosis the heroic poet and aviator who "bombed" Rome with leaflets, Raphael Rossetti the greatest hero of the World War, Pietro Nenni who had been in jail with Mussolini in 1912



Rockwell Kent at work over Broadway on the Relief Ship for Spain appeal

for opposing the imperialist war in Africa, and Carlo Rosselli the journalist and his brother Nello the historian were among the many Italian intellectuals who published newspapers and propaganda against Fascism in France. They were Catholics, anti-clericals, Protestants and Jews, but no question of race or religion was ever raised in the fight for peace and Democracy.

The Rossellis were descendants of an Italian family which took a noted part in the *Risorgimento*, the unification movement of national Italy; they were patriots and liberals. Carlo Rosselli, after serving in the World War, taught political economy at the University of Genoa. When Mussolini demanded that the intellectuals of Italy take an oath to Fascism, college professors everywhere refused. Carlo Rosselli was arrested in 1926. He had helped Turati escape to France. He was given five years on the penal islands.

In 1928 the world was electrified by the escape from the Liparian Islands of three noted men: Lusso, Nitti and Rosselli. The motor-boat which took them away went to Tunis, instead of the French mainland, and thus tricked the Fascist navy. Rosselli, landing in French Tunis, went immediately to the post-office and cabled Mussolini as follows:

I AM ONCE AGAIN ACTIVE IN THE ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT

Rosselli helped organize the movement *Giustizia è Libertà*. He exposed the trickery of Fascism in many languages. He contributed to the Manchester *Guardian*. He was an unpaid self-appointed propagandist if you like, but he dealt in nothing but facts. His articles in the *Guardian* were unanswerable indictments of Mussolini and Fascism.

Then in 1936 Rosselli decided that the pen was not enough. In August he learned that Franco had arranged with Mussolini for Fascist help even before the rebellion in Spain broke out. The mishap to several Italian aviators, who landed on French territory while flying to join Franco in July, proved that squadrons had been prepared in advance. It will be remembered that it was not until the defeat of the Italian Fascists at Briheuga (Guadalajara) in March 1937 that the American press would admit that Mussolini had sent aid to his fellow-murderers, but all Europe knew that the Murder International had acted in common in July 1936.

Carlo Rosselli hurried to Madrid. In 1931, when the Spanish Republic had been established, its head, Zamora (a Catholic), had issued a proclamation inviting the victims of oppression of all lands to come to Spain. He had included the Jews and the Italian anti-Fascists. The result was that there were in Spain several thousand victims of Mussolini's terrorism. There were

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numerous writers, doctors, lawyers, and other professional men among them, few if any soldiers. But with this nucleus Rosselli began organizing the Garibaldi Battalion; and it was the Garibaldi volunteers who helped stop Franco at Madrid, and who in March 1937 were the spearhead of the attack which added to Mussolini's bloody and soiled record the worst military defeat since Caporetto. (At Caporetto the soldiers had shouted, "Long live the Pope! Long live peace!" because they knew the war was a fraud. But at Briheuga it was a great Italian victory: a victory of Italians with ideals over Italian Fascists with the slave mentality.)

Murder in Paris

Rosselli himself was wounded at Huesca. He came to Paris to recuperate and continue his work of aiding the Garibaldi Battalion. In June 1937 his brother Nello—a brilliant writer who had taken no part in Italian politics and was so neutral about Fascism that he was permitted to live in Italy, where he assisted the Fascist historian Volpe at times—came to visit Carlo. One day they received a telephone call and started for Bagnolles-de-l'orne to see a friend. They never reached the Paris suburb. Their bodies, stabbed many times, were found by the roadside.

In January 1938 when the French police discovered the French Fascist plot to start a rebellion and arrested prominent Cagoullards and seized their arsenals, they also discovered a band of Italian Fascist executioners, including their leader whom Police Commissioner Mondanel of the Surété said used a diplomatic passport. At that time the United Press reported from Paris that the Commissioner said the motives behind the murders were "extremely grave and of far-reaching consequences" and hinted "that the band of killers acted under orders from high Fascist quarters."

In other words, Mussolini ordered the murder of Carlo Rosselli, who had become his chief enemy, just as he had ordered the murder of Matteotti, who was his chief enemy in 1924. Nello Rosselli was murdered just because he was a witness.

Carlo Rosselli was murdered because he opposed Fascism. But Carlo Rosselli was also a Jew. The Jewish question never entered his life, and no one, Fascist or anti-Fascist, ever bothered about the matter; but the fact remains that just as Mussolini's biggest financial backer, Teoplitz, was a Jew, so Mussolini's biggest enemy, Carlo Rosselli, was a Jew.

Mussolini throughout his years in power knew that there was no Jewish question in Italy, he knew that there was no Jewish question in Freemasonry, and that there was no Jewish question in the financial world, where all the Jews supported him. In 1933 when Hitler began the persecution of the

Jews, Mussolini through editorials in his own *Popolo d'Italia* and inspired articles in other papers denounced the Nazis.

Previously Mussolini himself had said:

Fascism means unity, anti-Semitism means destruction and division.

Fascist anti-Semitism or anti-Semitic Fascism therefore implies a crass absurdity.

To us in Italy it appears extremely ludicrous that the anti-Semites of Germany should try to win their way through Fascism. And from other countries, too, information reaches us that a Fascism of anti-Semitic shade is trying to strike root.

We protest with all our energy against Fascism being compromised in this way.

Anti-Semitism is a product of barbarism.

Fascism is not only a product of barbarism, it is barbarism itself. And so it is no surprise to find Italian Fascism today announcing itself anti-Semitic also.

The reasons are obvious:

1. It is part of the deal recently made with Hitler. Mussolini promised not only to make an anti-Semitic gesture but to do something drastic.

2. It furnishes a scapegoat, just as it does in other countries. Ethiopia has ceased to occupy the minds of the people. The Fascist war in Spain has added shame instead of glory to Italy. An anti-Semitic scapegoat campaign or a military campaign is necessary, and the former is cheaper.

3. It gives an opportunity to attack Freemasonry again.

4. It makes it easier for Mussolini to revenge himself on those of his intellectual enemies who happen to be Jews.

5. It provides ammunition against Britain through anti-Semitic demagoguery in Palestine.

Mussolini has betrayed every friend and every cause. He took Jewish money to found Fascism, he pledged eternal fidelity to his closest friends who happened to be Jews, and when it served his political aims and his immense ambition, he sold them to Hitler.

Some day perhaps those wealthy Jews who are helping support the various pre-Fascist movements in America, will also learn that their only salvation lies in the united front of all liberal, labor, progressive, democratic forces.

China's "Double Ten"

(Continued from page 25)

sin, Hangchow are under Japanese control. The entire seacoast has been blockaded by the Japanese navy, and thousands of miles of railway are in the grip of the invaders. The Wuhan cities, the cradle of the Chinese Republic, are the immediate objectives of the Japanese drive in central China. However, confronted with the danger of national slavery, all the Chinese people have arisen. The Kuomintang, the Communists, and all other political groups have reestablished their cooperation under the banner of Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the Peo-

ple. They are standing together like a solid wall against the aggressors. In the struggle for China's national liberation, the Chinese government has become increasingly democratic and is paying more attention to the welfare of the common people. This unprecedented unity of the Chinese people and the heroism of the Chinese fighters have won the admiration of the democratic and peace-loving peoples all over the world. A truly modern, democratic, prosperous and progressive China is being born from the ashes of the undeclared war. To quote Sun Yat-sen's prophetic words of 1904 to the American people: "China is now on the eve of a great national movement, for just a spark of light would set the whole political forest on fire to drive out the Tartar (read today, Japanese militarists) from our land. Our task is great but it will not be an impossible one. . . . We hope we may find many Lafayettes among you!"

The Jaws of Hitler

(Continued from page 7)

of the Sudeten problem—the Sudeten were very much like the Irish within the British Empire. They must be granted absolute independence and then decide whether they want to stay within a Czech federated state, or join Hitler. "No," I said in English, "that is not a parallel. The Sudeten are rather like the Copperheads of the American Civil War, and the only thing the Czechs should do, if they start a rebellion, is to go out and lick them."

The conclusions will impress themselves upon anyone. Even if we give an iota of consideration to the Aryan nonsense, we will find the Sudeten Germans are not and never have been the "racial brothers" of the Reich Germans. They are a mixed Czech-German group, sometimes speaking German only, more often speaking both Czech and German. Because of the world economic crisis this group of Czech citizens, inhabiting a predominantly industrial section of the land, have been hard hit and have suffered. Under the stress of these conditions, they became a fertile field for the constant and brazen propaganda from the Nazi Reich. Their economic plight is being used by Hitler to accomplish his plan for the control of Central Europe by first separating the Sudeten region from Czechoslovakia, then conquering the entire country.

The comparatively small group of active Nazi Sudeten are the spearhead. Their clamor for minority rights is only a pretense to becloud the tremendous consequences involved. The Czech Government has granted every legitimate demand of the Sudeten and has done everything possible to alleviate the economic distress of the Sudeten regions. But though the voice that speaks for the Sudeten is that of Henlein, the words are those of Hitler.



The Eleventh Hour

CLOSE observers of Fascist tactics knew long before Hitler's Nuremberg war speech that it was not a matter of submitting to the Nazi hold-up or fighting, which was what Hitler attempted to plant in the minds of the peaceful people throughout the world. *It is not submission or war.* There is another way of stopping the mad march of the maniacs. The democratic people throughout the world—in spite of the Chamberlains—are beginning to realize that a united effort for peace on the part of the democratic-minded people, a solid wall, a concerted NO to the out-laws, will stop them before it is too late. Without resorting to war we can stop war.

Hitler's most recent maneuver to complete the war machine for the Nazi-planned world war, is, of course, his encroachment on Czechoslovakia. He needs the territory of that young Democracy or his war plans will go haywire. But that move has been costly, for the American people have been roused by this brazen act, to a determined will to struggle. The sentiment here is overwhelmingly for that little republic known as Czechoslovakia which is so bravely resisting the invader. (A close analysis of the American press shows a 97 per cent balance strongly against Hitler.) America's mood is one of resentment. The country is ripe to struggle for peace. What shall we do?

First, we must realize that the fight in Czechoslovakia is not confined to Central Europe. We must remember that Hitler and Fascism have a war plan (Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, etc.). Concerted action on the part of the democratic people throughout the world is imperative if we are not to lose our lives and liberties. Second, an embargo on trade with Nazi Germany would be a firm moral step in the direction of peace. Such a step would remind the irresponsible leaders of that unfortunate country that the American people intend to uphold their

democratic way of living. Third, to assist China would be a second strong warning to the Axis that America strongly disapproves of Japan's merciless campaign in carrying through the will of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and the Japanese militarists. Then there is the great danger that the closing of the Mediterranean would starve the brave Spanish people in their struggle for Democracy against Hitler and Mussolini. America has a great surplus of farm products. These products should be sold *now* to the regularly established government of Spain. Furthermore, mass meetings throughout the country, united mass meetings of all liberty-loving Americans for peace and against the aggression policies of Hitler in Czechoslovakia, would go a long way toward serving notice on the aggressors that 130,000,000 Americans stand in line with hundreds of millions of other democratic-minded people everywhere for peace and Democracy.

It is not too late. The struggle for peace is really just beginning. Surrender to Hitler means war and slavery. Resistance to Hitler means peace and freedom. The American people with their democratic neighbors throughout the world have an historic task to perform. We will not fail. Democracy will not perish. Democracy will go forward in its march for liberty, enlightenment, and peace on earth.—G.D.

September 14, 1938

Taking Dies Seriously

IT WAS a sad day for the Dies Committee when J. B. Matthews took the stand as a star witness. The average person was shaken by his "testimony" from an attitude of alarm into a gale of mirth. The press, in almost every case, whether it was pro- or anti-New Deal, laughed merrily. Cartoonists had a field-day. Church papers and

liberal weeklies wrote ironic editorials. And Congressman Dies pleaded pathetically over the radio for the people of the country to take his committee seriously.

Now of course there is great virtue in laughter. In the past, campaigns have at times been deliberately organized to laugh movements out of existence. In this case the laughter was even more effective, because it came spontaneously from a people who could not help thinking that the idea of branding a child movie actress as a Red stooge was irresistibly funny.

But the Dies Committee is not funny.

In our own particular way we are listening to Representative Dies' plea to take his committee seriously.

Several years ago we were annoyed but chiefly amused at a book called *The Red Network*, written by an obscure hysterical woman living in the suburbs of Chicago. Cartoonists at that time had their day. But since then the book has turned up in all sections of the country and is still used by committees of one kind or another—in one case by a police captain—as an official guide to the dangerous and subversive movements in our country. One of the interesting things about the book was the fact that known Communists were dealt with almost summarily, while any liberal person who stood for civil rights, old-age pensions, inheritance taxes or even the providing of free milk to babies, was given close and detailed attention. The book was clearly not an anti-Communist book. It was an anti-liberal book.

So in the case of the Dies Committee.

Of course, there is no further doubt in the mind of anyone that the "investigation" was aimed primarily at President Roosevelt and the New Deal policies. But it has raised the even more sweeping suggestion that any practical movement toward solving any of the problems of the day, or any concern over the future of peace or Democracy, is "un-American."

It is quite likely that Congressman Dies will be discredited for some time to come. Certainly, Mr. Matthews has had his last day in court. But when the laughter dies away there remains an atmosphere of suspicion of progressive movements which is hard to dispel. It is only by the most immediate strengthening of the forces of Democracy in the United States that the atmosphere can be changed into one where such "investigations" will be impossible.—D.McC.

Elect Democracy's Friends

WE DON'T feel that it is within our province to endorse candidates for the coming elections, designating them as "our friends" and "our old friends." Nevertheless, the electorate has serious business before it, and we do want to be of what help we can in aiding our fellow-voters toward a correct solution. Perhaps a general standard can be set up to test Democracy's friends in each specific contest. We can think of none better than the basic principles adopted by the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace last fall:

Protect and extend democratic rights for all sections of the American people;

Keep the United States out of war and help keep war out of the world.

The candidates elected will play a large part in determining the issues of peace or war, Democracy or Fascism, which are so clearly before us. We urge you to vote and to work for Democracy's friends.—C. P.

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Going back an issue you'll find one of the most interesting and valuable reports Consumers Union has ever published. It's on cigarettes. It's based on smoking and chemical tests; it includes 35 brands; and it tells you whether Camels contain more nicotine than Chesterfields; how ten-cent cigarettes compare with fifteen-cent cigarettes; what is known about the effect of cigarette smoking on health; whether filter holders actually eliminate nicotine, and dozens of other things you've always wanted to know about cigarettes and about smoking.

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