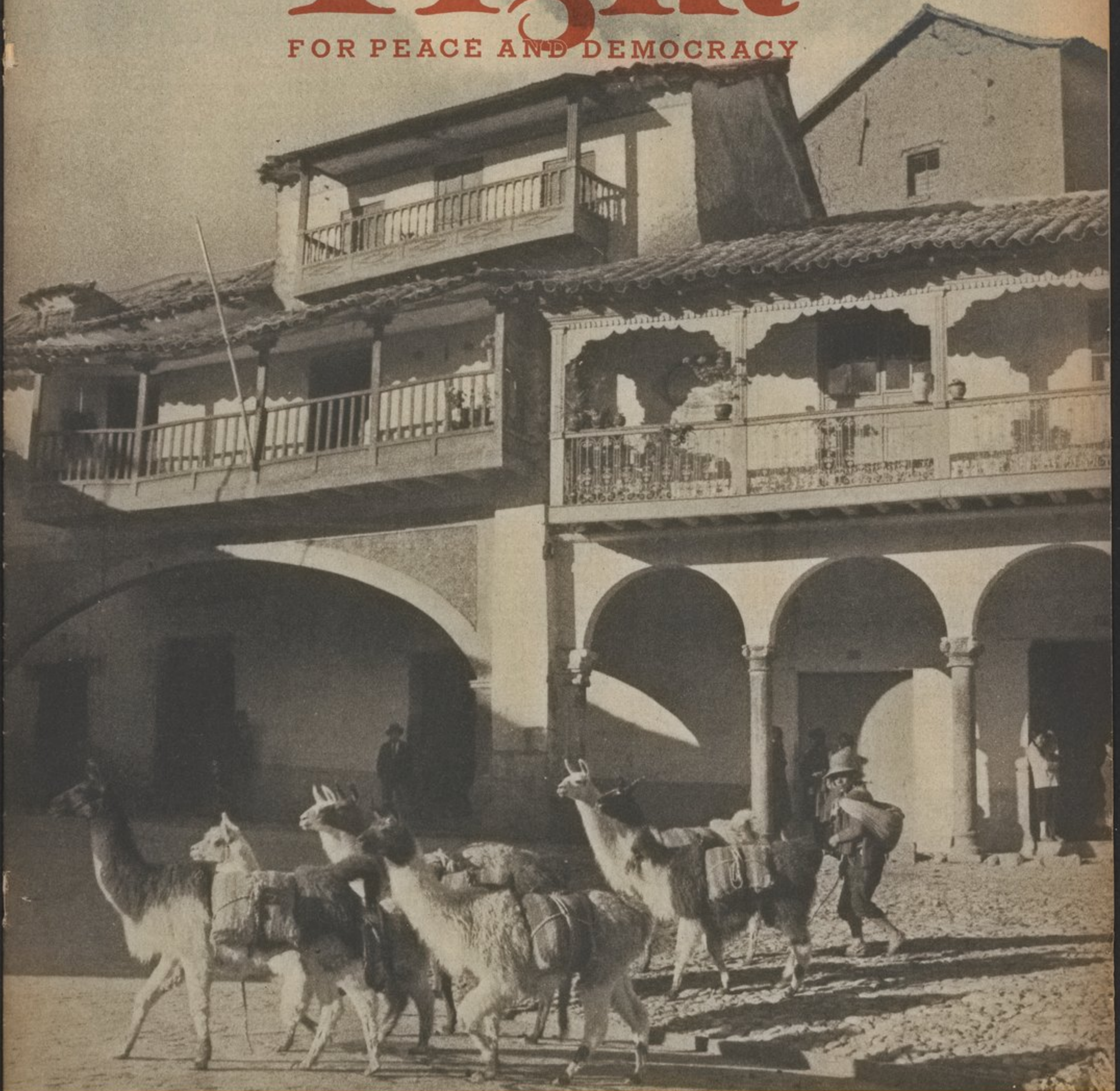


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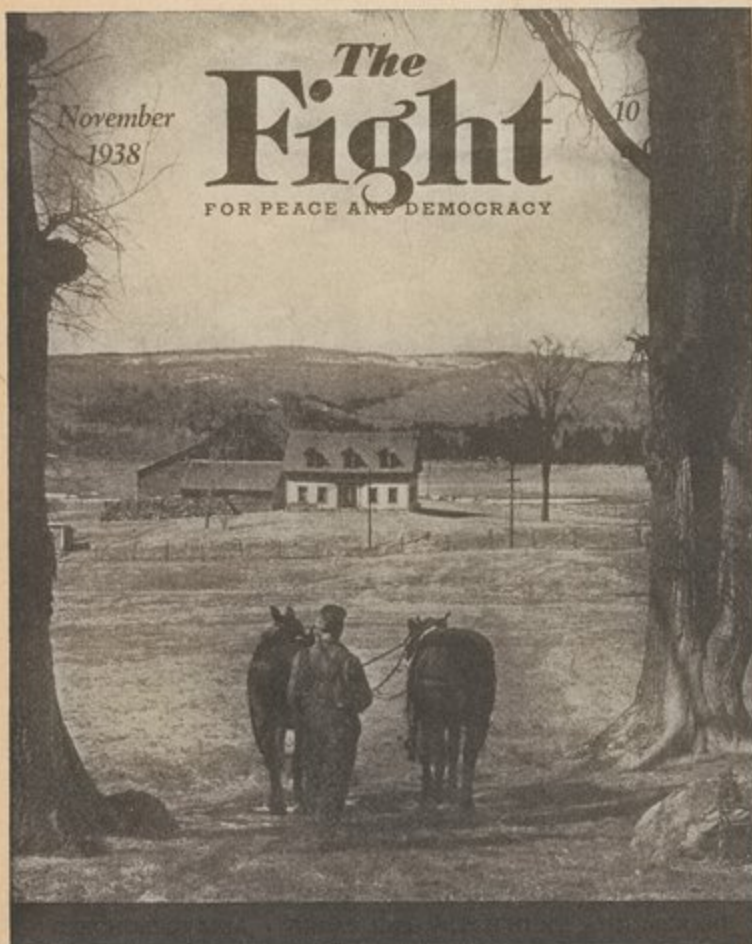
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- **ONE-FIFTH OF MANKIND**, by Anna Louise Strong. A stirring brand-new story of China's great defense struggle, by an American who is a recognized authority on Far Eastern affairs.
- **SCHOOL FOR BARBARIANS**, by Erika Mann. Just out. The ominous story of goose-stepping, straight-jacketed German youth under the Nazi regime.

With the Readers

★

RING out the old, ring in the new.

AND yet we can't go along with the poet 100 per cent. It's too easy. Down with yesterday, hurrah for today! "The king is dead, long live the king!" (A better version ran: "Death to kings!") Whatever is, is right. "One increasing purpose through the ages runs." Time marches on! Nix!

IF there is a cult of the old, there is also a cult, these days, of the new. We are only mildly burned up about it, but in the interests of journalism, here goes. We refer, for instance, to that state of mind induced in its followers by the *Life* and *Time* organization. We must confess that, so far as we are concerned, the *Time* style of writing and presentation covers a multitude of sins. We prefer a good straight "old-fashioned" news story written by an honest, objective newspaperman. And that goes double for *The March of Time*, especially on the air. That ominous voice, pregnant with the portent of things happening and about to happen, is not for us. We do not care for the staged and edited "news events." All we want is the news.

IT is no doubt largely a question of personal taste, and we don't want to pose as laying down the law. But we feel that a lot of "bright ideas," dressed up in fancy packages, are being sold the people. It's easy to explain, for everybody wants progress, wants to remedy the real evils of our world. And that's why it is so necessary for the anti-progressives to streamline their essentially reactionary wares. The greatest of these, of course, is Fascism. The Fascists have always sold their product as being a new, modern, streamlined political movement. "The world has outgrown clumsy Democracy, and come into the age of action at the behest of an efficient dictator." Trains on time, no strikes, and Berlin is as clean as a pin. Ring in the new! Or is it?

TRUE, it is an involved question, as we are in favor of efficiency and of clean streets (but what is there "new" about these?) But to take another example: They are tearing down the "El" which runs in our neighborhood. That old, ugly, noisy eyesore is a blot on the community, and we join heartily in the general sigh of relief. But along with the "El," the plans called for the "dismantling" of several hundred jobs, and the disemployment of several hundred workers. Now it seems to us that along with the "new" here, there was mixed in a considerable portion of the "very old." We will not really hail the "new" avenue until we learn of the "old" workers getting new jobs. (And with New York's progressive Mayor, we are confident that they will.)

TO get back to journalism: are the "new" newspapers better than the old? Are the "new" commercial magazines better than the old muckraking popular journals? On the contrary, the years have brought not progress, but decay.

THE people, we cannot forget, is very old. Democracy is reaching a respectable age, and as a dream in men's hearts it is ancient. It will outlast the "bright idea" of Fascism. We call for a New Year's Deal: Ring in man, ring out his enemies.

THE FIGHT, January 1939



A present to the Spanish Republic from anti-Fascist women in Genoa, Italy

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CHARLES PRESTON, Acting Editor

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The Contributors

★

DONALD McCONNELL, executive secretary of the Conference on Pan American Democracy which met last month in Washington, is a professor of economics at New York University and a prominent authority on Latin American affairs.

JAY ALLEN was for twelve years a foreign correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*. He was in Spain when the Fascist rebellion broke out.

WILLIAM GROPPER is the widely known painter and black-and-white artist who has many times earned the appreciation of the public and on one occasion won the disapproval of the Mikado.

ROBERT DELL, Geneva correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, contributes here an article which he broadcast over Station WEVD in New York City. Limitations of space have necessitated deleting a portion of the radio talk, in which Dell pays tribute to Eugene V. Debs and denounces the Nazi persecution of the Jews, characterizing the Nazi movement as "a frontal attack on Western civilization."

C. S. BECKER'S deeply moving story of the South is concluded in this issue. Becker, a resident of Cincinnati, writes that he is making good use of copies of *THE FIGHT* containing the story, in sending them to Southern friends.

CHET LA MORE, who illustrates *Jeff Brewster's Body*, is a member of the United American Artists.

ANDREW LITTLE is a Detroit newspaperman. His story, as well as being of national significance, adds another portrait to the series of American cities and states we have covered from time to time.

ARTHUR HOFFMANN'S work appears in a number of progressive magazines and newspapers. He used to do a "daily life" feature for a Midwestern newspaper which was not progressive, and reports that he would smuggle in social significance in the guise of small figures in the background.

LUCIEN ZACHAROFF says that his new book, now on the press, is designed to serve as a "people's guide to modern warfare," to help newspaper readers make sense of despatches from the Spanish and Chinese fronts, to show concretely what each of us may expect in another World War under modern technological conditions, with simple practical suggestions for self-protection.

CREDIT must also be given to all those who are building *THE FIGHT* by pushing its circulation drive. To date the leader in this respect is Abraham Greenberg, chairman of our Camden, New Jersey, League branch. Mr. Greenberg obtained thirty-two subscriptions within one week's time, and writes: "One thing further I might state, and that is that I made a separate and distinct campaign to sell subscriptions to persons who have places of business where it is customary to leave magazines around for clients and customers to read."

"I can also say that the total time spent by me during that week was approximately four hours, possibly less, but not more."



Lord Perth Signs the Anglo-Italian Pact

NO MORE MUNICHS!

When a diplomat reaches for the pen these days, a shudder of the peace-loving common people goes 'round the world. (We do not, of course, include those few democratic diplomats who use the pen as a weapon *for* peace.) Scanning his newspaper, the Man in the Street asks: Who have the eminent gentlemen chosen to sacrifice now?

But it begins to appear certain that so long as the people merely read their newspapers, the eminent gentlemen are going to go right on signing away the liberties, property, happiness, lives and peace of whomever they can. That is why we call on you to start making your will — the will of the 90 per cent who want peace — effective. Join today, or get your organization to affiliate, in the people's own movement for No More Munich Agreements — the people's movement for peace and Democracy.

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

268 Fourth Avenue, New York City



A view of majestic Mt. Chimborazo in Ecuador

All-American Democracy

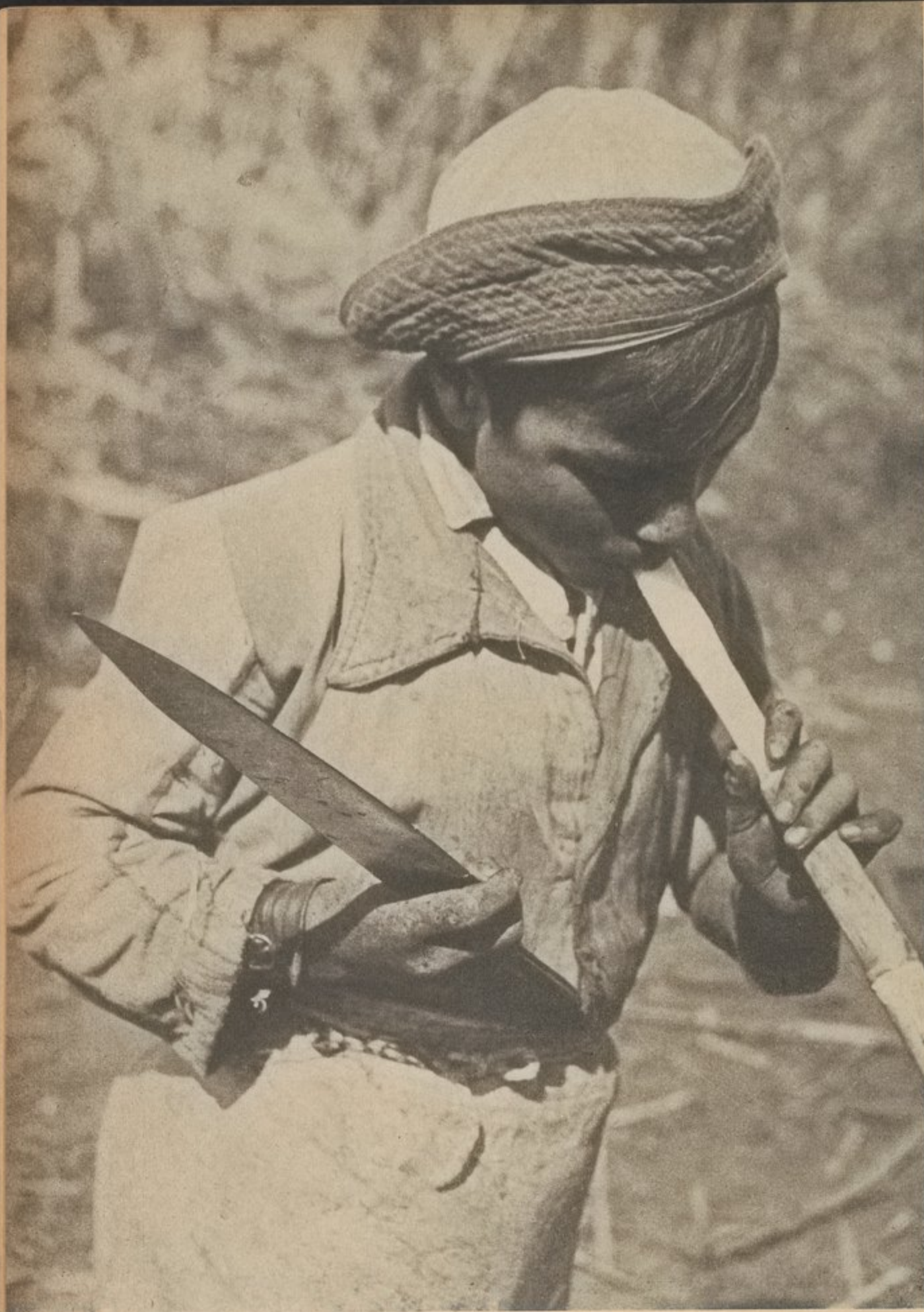
Threatened by Fascist aggression, the Latin American countries are moving to strengthen their democratic resistance...The executive secretary of the Conference on Pan American Democracy writes of the mutual support that can save liberty in our hemisphere

By Donald McConnell

THE STRUGGLE between the democracies and the Fascist states is spreading in the Americas. We must understand the extent of Fascist penetration in Latin America, its methods of propagation, as a background for resisting its advance.

The totalitarian states, Germany, Italy, and Japan, make no distinction between an individual citizen abroad and the state abroad. A German, say, in Venezuela in the exporting business is a representative of the German government whether he likes it or not. If he refuses to "coöperate" he is ostracized

by the German community, he is unable to get cargo space on German ships, he cannot export to the Fatherland, rumors are spread about his financial position being shaky, local business people are told they had best refrain from doing business with him. Or the individual may be threatened with reprisals on his family or friends in the Fatherland. The result of all this is conformity with the Nazi policies even though the individual may dislike those policies. This same sort of thing is true of the Italian Fascists and the Japanese in Latin America.



A boy in the Argentine treats himself to sugar cane

The result of this is a well organized and dynamic drive to force Fascist interests and ideas on the Latin American countries. An employee of a German shipping-line, for example, must sell Nazi propaganda along with the steamship tickets or else he loses his job. This centralized control of their nationals is why the Fascists' penetration has been so effective, even in countries where the Fascists are numerically and financially weak.

Nazis in Brazil

Italian Fascism is strongest in Argentina and German Nazism is strongest in Brazil. Brazil is

a good illustration of how the Nazi penetration is carried on. Brazil is the largest Latin American country and has a population of some forty-five million people. Approximately one million of these people are Germans and are concentrated in the southern provinces, Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catherina. Many of these Germans settled in Brazil before Hitler's advent but have been drawn or forced into the Nazi movement. And it is from this group of Nazi Germans that the Integralista movement started and grew. In fact, Senhor Vargas became president as a result of the Integralistas' force, although at present he is attempting to curb their

influence because of their connections with the Nazis.

Not all Germans in Brazil are Nazis, but the Nazi influence is the dominant one in the German population. With a relatively large and articulate population the Nazis are able to push their interests and propaganda most effectively. In the last week of November, 1938, for example, Germany was the leading exporter to Brazil, the United States being second. Whether Germany's lead will be maintained is another question. The method by which this lead was attained was by barter: German manufactured goods in exchange for Brazilian agricultural products. The payment was made in "compensation" marks, marks that are cheaper than the ordinary Reichsmarks. This seemed a great advantage to the Brazilian exporter. But the Germans occasionally dumped the products they had purchased with compensation marks on the open market in order to acquire other foreign exchange of international acceptance. Although trade may have been increased temporarily, the Germans were developing ill will against themselves. The Nazi idea seems to be not so much one of increasing Brazilian trade generally as one of using trade as a weapon to further Nazism in Brazil. No doubt the double-dealing aspect of Germany's trade policy has been extremely important in cooling the affections of the Brazilian government toward Germany in recent months.

Voices from Berlin

Of course, the German-supported schools and newspapers are used for Nazi propaganda, although the Brazilian government is attempting to curb some of the more inflammatory aspects of it. A considerable amount of the Nazi activity is directed against Democracy in general and against the United States in particular. Recently the Nazis have been emphasizing "the danger of United States imperialism in Brazil." The strongest radio broadcasting station for Latin America is in Berlin, so most of the radio programs heard by Brazilians contain liberal doses of Nazi propaganda. In short, the Nazis are using the approximately one million Germans in Brazil as a weapon against the democracies and seem to have had a fair amount of success in doing so.

The Germans are also strong in Chile. There is a large German colony in southern Chile. But the Nazis have been submerged, perhaps only temporarily, by the recent victory of the Chilean Popular Front.

In Peru, Fascist influence is strong. For example, Peruvian army officers are trained in Italy and seem to have acquired a great affection for the Fascists. One of the great trading houses and also a leading sugar producer is Gildermeister, who acts as an active agent of Nazi propaganda. The Japanese are dominant in cotton production as well as being important in merchandising in Peru. The economic activities of these people have definite political implications. The Japanese, the Italians, the Germans in Latin America, for the most part, operate as agents of their respective governments, regardless of their occupation.

The Centers of Fascism

Two countries in Central America are particularly dangerous as centers of Fascist aggression. One is Guatemala, the other is Salvador. Guatemala has a dictatorship which is supported by revenues from coffee exports. The coffee plantations are largely controlled by Germans. This developed many years ago but these wealthy German coffee-growers have been forced, by one means and another, into the Fascist phalanx. Guatemala is a small country but is strategically important. Guatemala could very well be a convenient point from which to attack

Mexico. The Fascist groups, particularly the Germans, are well aware of this and are doing everything in their power to strengthen themselves.

Salvador is smaller than Guatemala but is also important strategically. The Salvadorean government is frankly Fascist. It was the first Latin American government to recognize the Japanese conquest of Manchuria. Salvador has been enthusiastically pro-Franco. The location of Salvador gives it military importance for the Fascist powers. It is not inconceivable that Salvador could be used as a base for airplane raids on the Canal Zone on the one hand and Mexico on the other.

And even in Mexico, with her progressive government, the German embassy in Mexico City is the center of propaganda against the Cárdenas régime. And the Germans in Mexico are organized to fight

against anything which might threaten Fascism.

These are but a few illustrations of Fascist aggression. A large volume would be necessary to reveal the complete extent of the movement. But what can be done about it? What democratic forces impede the advance?

The political and economic situation of the Latin American countries favors military dictatorships. The Fascists take advantage of this situation and preach the virtues of the totalitarian state. But in spite of this the prospects of Democracy are not entirely hopeless.

Democracy Needs Aid

There are many democratic movements in Latin America, but they cannot fight military dictatorship and Fascism without assistance. At the present time

the power best able to give that assistance is the United States, assuming that the United States is interested sincerely in preserving what little Democracy remains in this world. And as things are developing the preservation of Democracy in the United States is in no small measure dependent on forestalling the Fascist advance in any of the American countries.

The past record of the United States in dealing with Latin America has been none too flattering to us. The seizure of the Canal Zone, the military domination of Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, the military invasion of Mexico, and the economic control of many other Latin American countries is nothing to be proud of. But the present Administration is attempting to change this.

The withdrawal of armed forces from Latin America; the signing of trade treaties with Latin American countries which, generally, have the effect of encouraging trade and increasing good will; an increasing effort toward cultural coöperation; all these are efforts which, if sincerely and consistently advanced, should increase the influence of Democracy in the Latin American countries.

This "good neighbor" policy has had some effect on liberalizing the Latin American governments and checking Fascism. In Cuba, for example, radical parties have been declared legal. Batista, the Cuban dictator, is of course no Galahad, but so long as he sees advantages in aligning himself with the United States he will oppose Fascism and attempt to permit the existence of those groups which may fight for Democracy.

Good Neighbor Policy

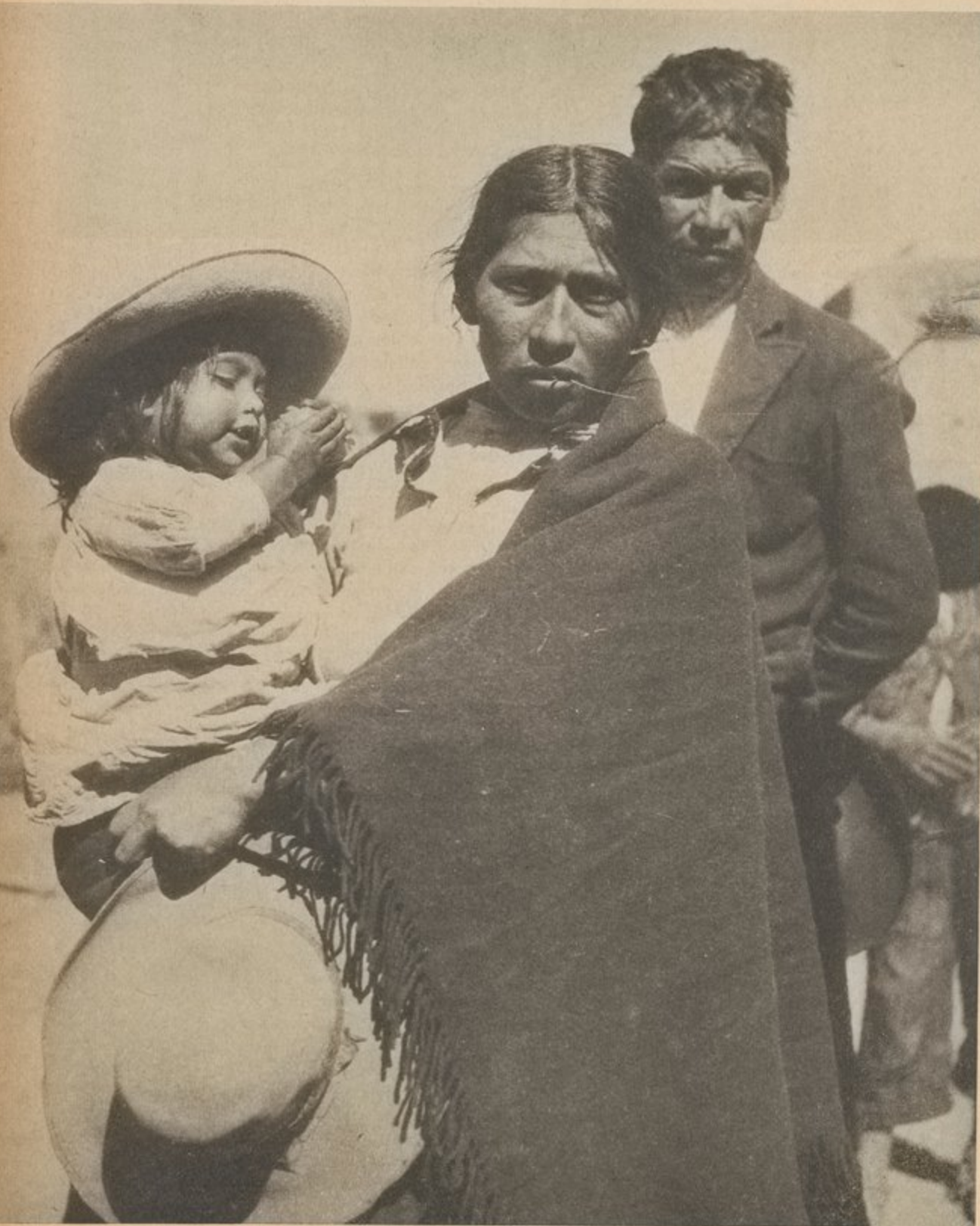
In the case of Mexico, the United States may aid Mexico by not interfering in her governmental policies. Only by furthering the Good Neighbor Policy by supporting all forms of democratic movements and opposing all forms of Fascism, regardless of their source, will the United States aid the Latin American republics.

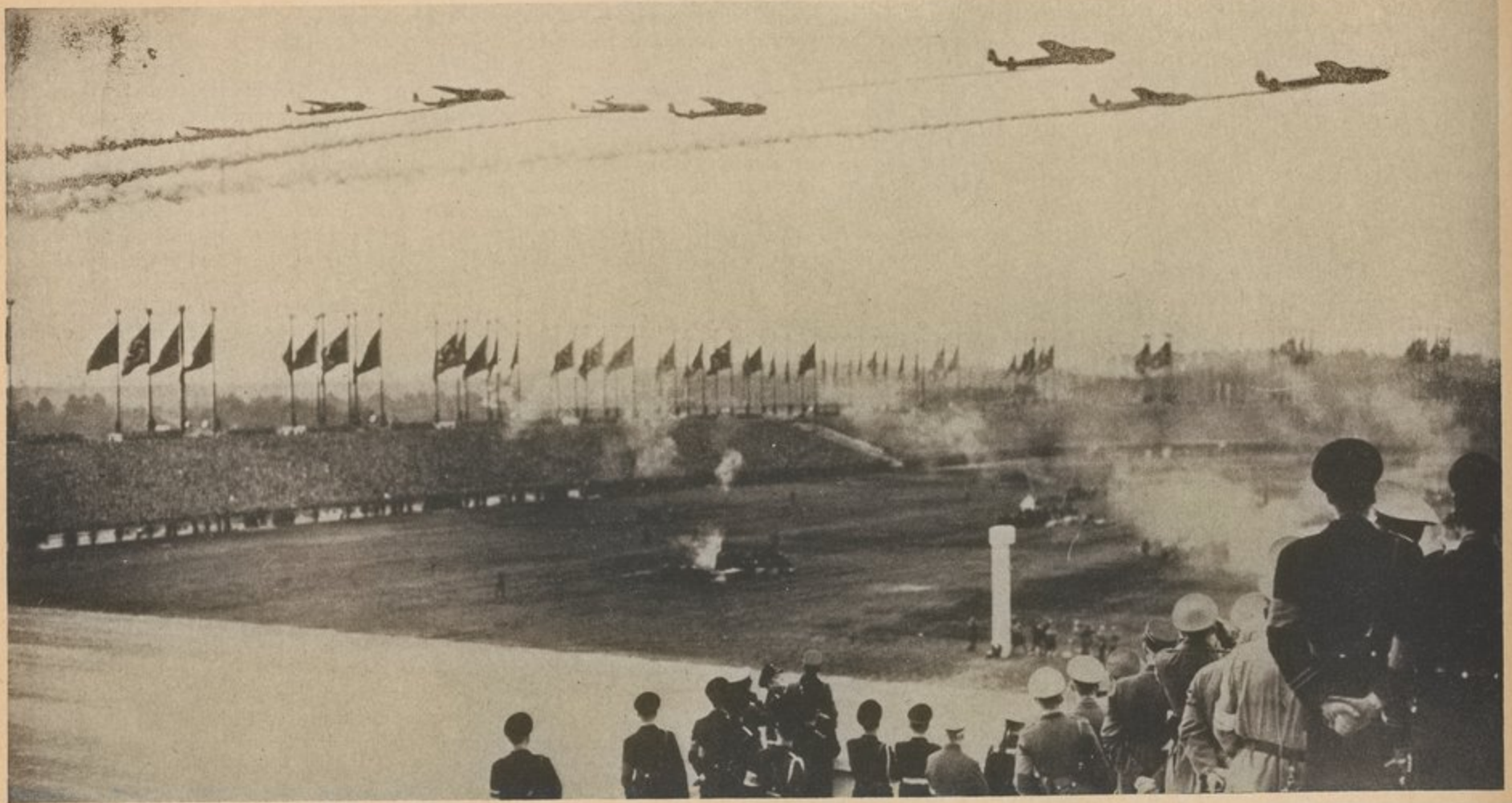
The United States has attempted to control large corporations at home but has aided them abroad. If the domestic policy toward large corporations and monopolies were extended to the foreign field, then some of the Latin American democratic movements would have more opportunity to develop. If the present United States foreign policy were pushed farther and combined with the domestic policies of the government, it would be a tremendous force toward the protection of Democracy in the Americas.

There are democratic movements in Latin America which will help consolidate the resistance to Fascism. In Argentina, an organization named *La Alianza de las Americas* (The Alliance of the Americas) has recently been formed to fight against Fascism. Mexico, of course, is in the forefront of the battle. The Popular Front in Chile indicates a swing away from Rightist domination. The Apra party in Peru is very popular and may succeed in gaining recognition. This would break the hold of the reactionaries even though the Apristas are quite nationalistic. In Uruguay a conference is being called to work out means of the common defense of Democracy. And in Colombia and Venezuela various groups, even though small, are beginning to become more vocal and may become the centers of opposition to Fascism. Ecuador and Colombia reveal tendencies toward a democratic régime.

The Fascist aggression is serious. A great deal of its strength depends upon the attitude of the United States. If the United States genuinely supports the democratic movements in Latin America, Fascism cannot win.

A Cholo family of Indian blood from the Northern Argentine. In Latin America as in North America, the Indian is the real "first citizen"





A review of Nazi military might. But our embargo prevents Spain from buying defense materials!

THE EMBARGO on arms shipments to Spain should and probably will be raised—eventually. Nearly everyone feels that now except for a handful of people who are attached to it for personal reasons having little or no real pertinence to American policy.

But this is a very dangerous moment in the history of the world and in the history of this land and of the entire New World, and delay in raising the Embargo can neither be understood nor defended. This is an age marked by a peculiar phenomenon: good causes and great ideals go under because when the moment comes to defend them *it is too late*. In this age there is no nick of time; in this age, it is always too late when the time comes, according to the experts. Too late! Tomorrow the bombers!

Public Understanding

There may be a silver lining to the very dark clouds. I wouldn't know. All the dark clouds that I have seen in my time have got blacker and blacker and always—always brought the storm. But there is on the dark cloud of today, a tentative kind of brightness around the edges. And that is the very obvious fact that the great mass of people in this country understand very well what is going on and are deeply anxious.

About the embargo there is understanding as there never was before. People, no matter how badly informed, no matter how inhibited by attitudes that grew out of the disillusionment that followed the War, understand that there is something very wrong and very sinister about the maintenance of a measure like the embargo that, called Neutrality, works to the advantage of an aggressor, lines us up morally with the artisans of the Munich Peace, and deprives of the right to buy arms for its defense the one people in the western world who think enough

of Democracy and all the things we hold dear to defend them, the one people who are standing in the way of our common enemy, blocking the ambitions that he—or rather they—have so clearly defined, so noisily proclaimed and so convincingly begun to realize.

Last spring there was a fearful row over the embargo. Telegrams, letters, petitions, delegations, to the President, to the Secretary of State, Senators and Congressmen.

There were, of course, people who said that the whole "campaign" was run from Moscow and it was not uncommon to hear over the radio references to the "red agitation" to raise the embargo.

If "red," then there are some very distinguished "reds" in this country who are boring with most commendable secrecy and subtlety.

There was Walter Lippmann. Mr. Lippmann said (*New York Herald Tribune*, May 7th): "It is clear that the net result of the experiment by act of Congress has been to jeopardize the whole principle of American neutrality. . . . But they (the American people) also believe that nations fighting for their existence should not be denied the ancient right to obtain arms. . . . The embargo either by Presidential proclamation or congressional statute is unsound, unworkable and dangerous."

Dorothy Thompson

There was Miss Dorothy Thompson. She said (*New York Herald Tribune*, May 6th): ". . . As far as Europe is concerned, the bill did exactly what ought to have been obvious from the beginning—tied us to British policy. . . . Since the Chamberlain Government came in in England, and Eden went out, and the British policy of rapprochement with Italy was consummated, England has been also indirectly aiding Franco, and now British

foreign policy is dominating France. And under the operations of our neutrality act we have been simply following the British lead wherever it might choose to go, and therefore put ourselves in a position of giving indirect aid to Franco. . . . But it's not America's business to play anybody's diplomatic game. Unless we are prepared to stop selling arms to everybody in the world on any terms whatever, whether they are at peace or whether they are at war, then we ought to go back to simply selling them to anybody who can pay for them. It's a long way nearer to being neutral than what we are doing at present. . . . Therefore we ought to lift the arms embargo on Spain . . . because it is not the business of the United States to use a so-called neutrality act as an instrument of national policy for England, Italy and Germany, with France trailing along now in their wake."

The *Chicago Daily News*, speaking for Colonel Frank Knox, who is not usually thought to be a radical, said (on May 2d): "When the United States, trying to be neutral, put on the embargo, we virtually helped Franco blockade the Loyalists. . . . In refusing supplies to both sides we suddenly changed the law of nations."

The *New York Times*, which had not at that time gone over to the bolsheviks, said (on March 20th): "It is nothing short of mad folly that we should choose deliberately to handicap, in time of need, those nations which share our deep faith in the democratic system. Repeal of the Johnson Act and the Neutrality Act ought to be the first step in a policy of far-sighted action to safeguard our own interests in a troubled world."

The Smaller Papers

And throughout the country scores of smaller papers had their say. "It is a disgraceful attitude

All our nation wants the Spanish Republic's rights restored, and before it is too late

Lift the Embargo— NOW

By Jay Allen



Our embargo aids Italy's mechanized troops in their attack on the Spanish Republic

for a country to take which traditionally has aided the oppressed," said the Portland *Oregonian* (May 6th).

The Roanoke (Virginia) *World* referred (May 7th) to "the unsatisfactory neutrality act that belies its own name by being in fact an act for aid of aggressor nations."

The Portland (Maine) *Evening News* said (May 6th): "Many Senators and Representatives who voted originally for the neutrality legislation are now said to favor its repeal because they feel that the Spanish Government is 'fighting a battle of democracy'."

The St. Louis *Star* said (May 6th): ". . . the Neutrality Act, though noble in motive, will not by itself keep this nation out of war. . . . In Spain the effect of our embargo on arms shipments has been to furnish Franco's nationalists with American supplies shipped through Germany and other countries, while denying these supplies to the republican government. It is this very fact which has stimulated the present movement to lift the embargo."

And then the personalities who spoke up! They were legion, as is fitting in a time of national anxiety. There was Mr. Stimson (Mr. Henry L. Stimson who as Secretary of State wanted to stop Japan back in 1931 when the stopping was good). Mr. Stimson signed a collective appeal to the President which declared that the embargo establishes the precedent "that a faction which loses at the ballot-box in any country can resort to arms with the assurance that the established government will receive no greater consideration from the United States than the rebels, and that it "helps the international forces which are moving towards world war."

There were so many thousands of people involved in this "campaign." We will never know how

many until excavations begin in the cellar of the State Department. But among the thousands on the record are such names, such a mixture of names as to give Mr. Dies stuff for nightmares during the long winter months after his appropriation has run out.

The universities were heard from. Presidents, scores of them. William Allen Neilson of Smith College; Walter Dill Scott, Northwestern; Frank P. Graham, University of North Carolina.

Philosophy and Science

The American Philosophical Association (Western Division) found it doubtful that the Neutrality Act was ever intended to apply to civil war and said: "If Franco and his allies win in Spain, there looms a serious possibility that there will soon be no more European philosophy or European culture worthy of the name. The threat to American philosophy and American culture, although more remote, is none the less genuine."

In Washington on April 27th, fifteen members of the National Academy of Sciences, in annual convention at Washington, told the President, "It is our belief that you have it in your power today to make for the United States a great contribution to the democratic cause which you, like ourselves, espouse. We believe that giving the Spanish republic an opportunity to defend its country more effectively against the spread of fascism would be an act in defense of world democracy and American freedom."

The signers were men who have achieved world eminence, men like Professors Urey of Columbia and Compton of Chicago, Nobel laureates, Dr. J. McKeen Cattell, editor of *Science*, etc.

One hundred and seventy-eight leading judges, lawyers and teachers of law drew up and signed a

memorandum to the President urging that he lift the embargo and asserting that under the provisions of the Neutrality Act the President is expressly vested with the power, independently of Congress, to raise the embargo whenever in his judgment the conditions which have caused him to impose the embargo have ceased to exist.

There were church groups. The New York East Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with three hundred ministers from churches in the New York City area, came out in support of Senator Nye's resolution (still-born) to lift the embargo. "Be it resolved, that we encourage normal economic relations with this sister democracy to the end that she may defend herself against unwarranted aggression."

A Legion Post

The Unknown Soldier Post of the American Legion, in New York City, urged the President to take a step that they deemed necessary for the preservation of "principles we hold so dear, peace, democracy, culture and progress."

And then Senator Nye, one of the inventors of the Neutrality Act, formally asked for repeal of the embargo.

But the embargo was not raised.

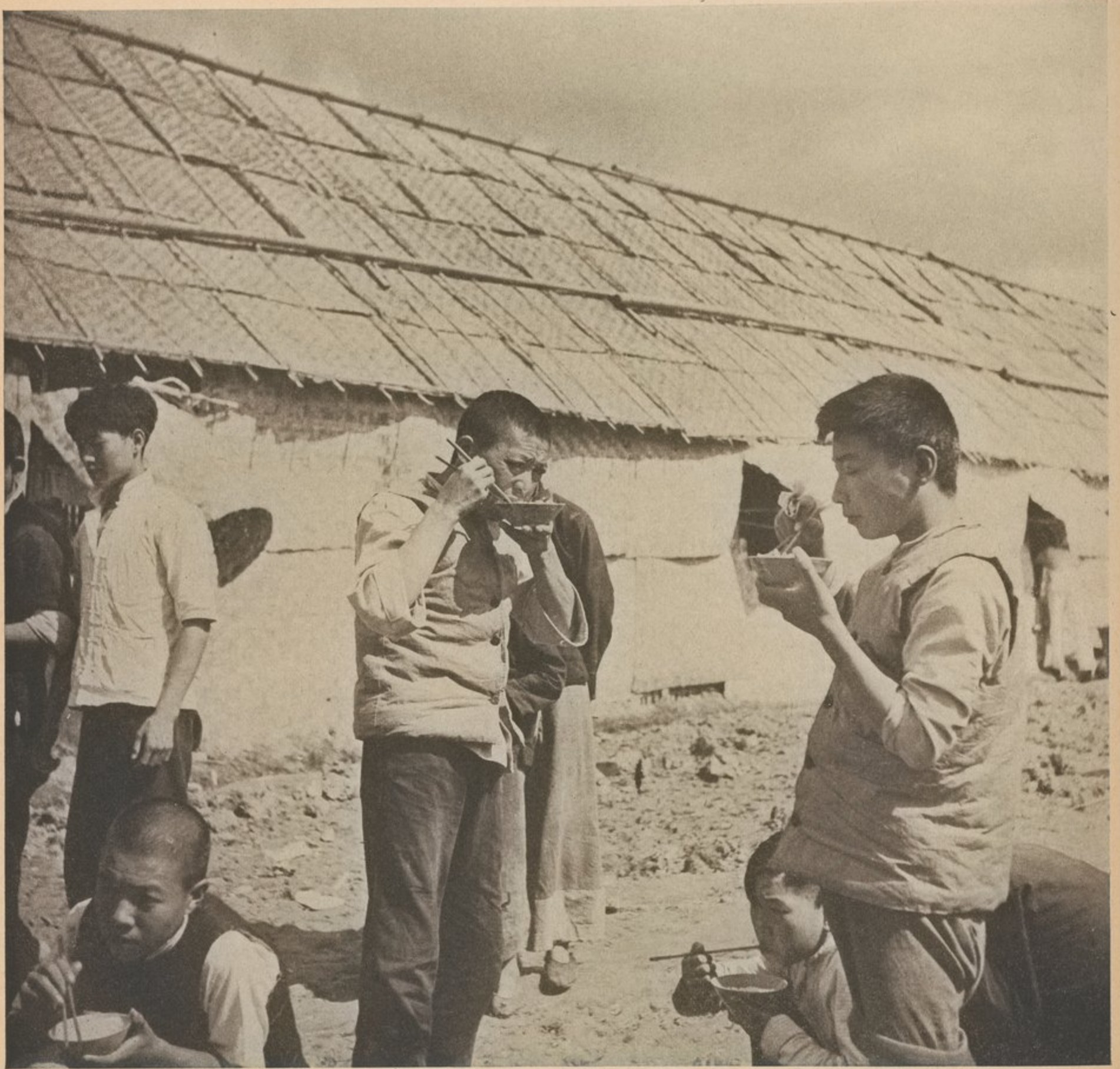
On May 5th, the New York *Times* came out with a two-column front-page spread: "Roosevelt backs lifting Arms Embargo on Spain; Congress Agrees it Fails."

But they were wrong (or were they?).

On May 6th, the Washington *Times* published a story from London under this head, "Britain Resists Lifting of Spain Arms Embargo."

That does not *wholly* explain why the embargo was not lifted. The explanation seems to have

(Continued on page 30)



People of China

These are the people of China, refugees from the invasion of the Japanese militarist partners in the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Alliance. Above, a meal is served in the refugee camps of Shanghai; while on the opposite page we see, above, farmers and civilians who have fled from a bombardment in the Nanyuan district, the man in the foreground carrying his child who was struck by five bullets; and below, a woman with her two children in a foreign legation at Peiping. . . . In the East as in the West, Fascism means inhumanity to the innocent. When will the world's conscience give its answer? When will the voice of the democratic people be effective, in halting the depredations of those who invade peaceful nations?



IRONCLAD censorship of news for broadcasting, such as was previously supposed to exist only in Fascist countries, was clamped down upon domestic and international radio by Premier Daladier during the general strike in France. In fact Daladier went a long step farther than his friend Chamberlain had done during the Czechoslovakian crisis. At that time the British Broadcasting Corporation refused to carry speeches by Anthony Eden and Winston Churchill but allowed them to be shortwaved to America. The French prime minister simply prohibited all uncensored transatlantic talks and exiled all correspondents who refused to obey orders. At this writing C.B.S. is still wondering what became of its Paris representative. The other networks fared no better.

It must be admitted that the American radio seemed almost content to follow the lead of the newspapers in pronouncing the strike a total failure even before it started. Although they must have known that the result of the walkout probably would determine whether or not France would go Fascist, no commentaries were scheduled in advance from abroad. And after the event the commentators in this country seemed quite willing to echo the editorial pages of the newspapers without bothering to observe that the stories coming out of France contradicted themselves in every other paragraph.

The events in France proved once more that if a real smashup comes on the Continent, the public will be little better informed on this side of the water than it was during the World War. Czechoslovakia was a fluke, and the brilliant radio coverage of that occasion may never be duplicated. It now develops that the Czechs were only able to tell their story to the world by means of a super-power shortwave station which they built in two months after Germany indicated that she would let no messages get through from the embattled little republic.

Among Our Neighbors

IN VIEW of the rapid growth of Fascist intrigue in Canada, it is interesting to note that that Dominion is moving toward radio censorship and control much as France has done. The plan now under consideration ostensibly was proposed by the ultra-conservative Canadian Newspaper Publishers' Association. It would forbid the broadcasting of any news or commentary which was not first approved by government officials.

The idea seems to have been evolved because the newspapers have failed in their efforts to build up Prime Minister Chamberlain as a sort of demi-god after his performance at Munich. Canadians, especially those who tune in on U. S. stations, are becoming so convinced that Munich was a betrayal of Democracy that the local economic royalists are seriously disturbed. The sentiment has become so

RADIO

A question to Herr — pardon, Monsieur — Daladier: what became of the free air?

strong, in fact, that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has been forced to withdraw Dr. Stewart, a pro-Chamberlain news commentator, from its stations, and is now being flooded with protests about Beverly Baxter, who is currently expressing similar sentiments from London over C.B.C. each Friday night. It may be significant to note that Baxter is sponsored by General Motors of Canada.

Another straw in the wind is the situation in Cuba, where it is reported that a pro-Fascist group has purchased the powerful CMCF-COCH station at Havana, and plans to begin deluging the southern United States and Latin America with propaganda. One member of this group is Dr. Pepin Rivero, editor of *Diario de la Marina*, who has been decorated by Hitler and Franco. The other is Oscar Zayas, editor of the *Avance*, who also has strong Nazi sympathies.

And in Argentina, also, efforts are being made to tax privately-owned stations out of existence so that the broadcasting industry may be "nationalized." The Argentine government has taken a swing to the left recently, but there is still a strong Fascist movement there which seems to be extraordinarily interested in broadcasting.

Because of such developments both here and abroad it is certain that one of the most important questions considered at the Pan-American Conference at Lima is the attitude which this government should take in combatting Fascist propaganda by means of radio. Decisions made at the Conference, in addition to a wide survey of conditions and needs below the Rio Grande, are embodied in a report by Frank McNinch, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, to President Roosevelt. It is worth noting that this survey, according to advance information, indicates that only one American shortwave station is heard below the equator and that that is often completely blanketed by German stations.

All of which brings us by slow and unpleasant

degrees to the position that it is a pity no one blankets Father Coughlin. Echoes of his disgraceful and vicious attack upon the suffering Jews of Germany are still bouncing about the radio industry. It is encouraging to know that WMCA, New York, broke a precedent by charging that the priest made "certain mistakes of fact" in his first Nazi "sermon," and that WMCA, WIND, Gary, Indiana, and WJJD, Chicago, refused to carry a recording of the same speech on the succeeding broadcast date.

On the Air

DR. CLYDE MILLER of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis has proposed that some network donate a full-hour weekly broadcast to his organization so that the American people may be informed of the efforts various pressure groups are making to mould public opinion. Dr. Miller managed to get a hearing on the *People's Platform* forum over C.B.S. recently, but we doubt if he will obtain a program of his own—in view of the fact that he recently did a beautiful job in showing the Fascist implications behind the comments of W. J. Cameron on the *Ford Sunday Evening Hour*.

Have you tuned in on EAR, Madrid's shortwave station, within the past several weeks? This Loyalist transmitter is coming in strong these crisp winter days. Unfortunately, few newspapers except the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *Daily Worker* carry its wave lengths and time schedules.

Franco's stations, which used to make a practice of denying everything on EAR, have been conspicuously silent for some time, and, of course, the Peninsular News Service programs are heard no more in America since the F.C.C. cracked down on WHOM. Peninsular still sends mimeographed pro-Rebel handouts to the New York stations. Somebody blundered in preparing a recent week's package, however. The envelopes carried the letterhead of the German Consulate General, Whitehall Building, 17 Battery Place, New York.

A new book well worth reading is the Federal Council of Churches' *Broadcasting and the Public: A Case Study in Social Ethics*. The Council recommends a greater measure of democratic control for the radio through a non-political organization representing business, labor and professional people.

Columbia had plenty of headaches when it arranged to interview nurses at New York's Bellevue Hospital during an *Americans at Work* program. Seems the nurses are so worked up about their low pay, bad food and impossible working conditions that it was difficult to find girls who could be depended upon not to air their troubles.

—GEORGE SCOTT





Halt This Shame! • By William Gropper

THE FIGHT, January 1939

PROFESSOR MAMLOCK (Amkino) is the film version of the famous anti-Nazi play by Friedrich Wolff. That is a matter of fact. We are accustomed to the idea of being completely interested, absorbed and moved by a film. But *Professor Mamlock* is not a film in the accepted sense; it is an experience—a terrifying and overpowering experience. It lifts you out of your seat into the realities of contemporary Germany. But even more, it not only takes you through the period of a few days, but it makes you live through all the years of horror since the burning of the Reichstag. During the time it takes *Mamlock* to run its course you have lived with the German people. They are not foreigners speaking a strange language; they are your friends, your relatives, your colleagues; and Dr. Mamlock is your family doctor. The heroism of the German people, the ingenuity of the underground worker is known to you. But the most vivid pen is incapable of imparting the same kind of living image that *Mamlock* does. My colleague on *Tac*, Robert Stebbins, has put it so eloquently:

We can only report having left the Cameo Theater overwhelmed with the great tragedy that is Germany today, with the heroism of those who remain working for the day of liberation, and filled with the necessity of telling all within the reach of pen or voice: "There's truth, deep and abiding, coming from the screen in *Professor Mamlock*!"

I've had very little, so far, to say about *Professor Mamlock* as a film. It is only because I have seen the picture several times and have built up a certain amount of objectivity that I can do it at all. Most important from a cultural point of view is that *Mamlock* is a great German film. Yes, it was produced in Leningrad and acted by a Soviet cast speaking Russian. Hitler may have killed the German cinema in Germany, but truth and great art survive barbarism. Friedrich Wolff shaped the scenario from his own play and Adolph Minkin (a Russian) together



"Professor Mamlock" depicts the Nazi racial persecution

MOVIES



Wendy Hiller portrays Eliza Doolittle in the movie version of "Pygmalion"

with Herbert Rappaport (a German refugee) directed. The exteriors were shot in the streets of Leningrad. But so successfully have the directors and the splendid cast (most of them appearing on the screen for the first time) caught the spirit of the play that you are never conscious of the fact that you are seeing anything but a German film. Only one other Soviet picture has reproduced the German scene with such fidelity: Pudovkin's *Deserter*. You owe it to yourself to see *Professor Mamlock*.

Shaw's "Pygmalion"

SEVERAL years ago there appeared in Germany a silent version of Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*. It was "unauthorized." Shaw himself appeared in several short films (not as an actor) and when the movies found their voice for the first time, Shaw was interviewed by Movietone News. Some time later a British company produced a horrible version of *Arms and the Man*. And in 1936 it was announced that G. B. S. himself had written a scenario of his *Saint Joan*, in which Elisabeth Bergner was to be starred. But the Legion of Decency began to reform Hollywood and Shaw wrote a long letter to the *New York Times*. The film—the first official Shaw film which was to be produced in Hollywood—was never produced. By this time Shaw was definitely soured on the movies, and he prohibited any translation of his work into film. Last year Gabriel Pascal con-

vinced Shaw to let him have a try. The experiment was initiated with *Pygmalion*: the scenario was written by Shaw, it was directed by Leslie Howard (who also plays the male lead) and Anthony Asquith, one of the best British directors, and was produced independently.

The author has seen to it that in the transfer from play to scenario nothing has been lost: where added scenes were needed, Shaw wrote them in the customary Shaw manner with the customary Shaw wit. Thus we still have the tale of phonetics professor Higgins (played by Leslie Howard) and his experiment with the flower girl, the "little guttersnipe," who represented "middle-class morality" (mostly 1914 style). Higgins teaches Eliza Doolittle (Wendy Hiller) speech and manners, and falls in love with his new creation. The acting with the exception of Howard's, is splendid. Miss Hiller carries off all the honors.

Current Pictures

ANGELS WITH DIRTY FACES (Warner Brothers): The story is old stuff—about a gangster and a priest and the Dead End Kids. Rowland Brown, who wrote the original story, has been doing this for years and one wishes that he'd try to get out of the gutter. But the important element of the film is Jimmy Cagney—the old Jimmy Cagney of *The Public Enemy* and the rest of the pictures before the

days of the Great Reform. The movies got worried when they began to make a hero out of the gangster. So they set out to show him for what he really is. In this current film Cagney, the mobster without a heart, is again on the way to being the American hero. The kids worship him and the priest (Pat O'Brien) seeks a way to destroy their hero worship. That is the new "twist" in the film and what a false twist it is. Everything in the film belies it—from the plot structure to Cagney's dynamic performance.

Say It in French (Paramount): Much ado about nothing. A "comedy" about a poor rich man who marries a French girl, and all the usual mix-ups when he can't tell his family about it. The film is full of rear-projection process shots. What the director tried to prove by them is something of a minor mystery.

Out West With the Hardys (M.G.M.): Another in the series of films starring the dynamic Mickey Rooney. The title tells the story.

The Great Waltz (M.G.M.): A disappointing potpourri of Johann Strauss the younger. There is something about the overthrow of a tyrant in old Austria. But the emphasis is on the music. So if you like Strauss this is for you, although you might as well listen to records.

Up the River (Twentieth Century-Fox): A remake of the old John Ford picture with Spencer Tracy and Humphrey Bogart. This new version has Slim Summerville and Preston Foster. The story is essentially the same, about professional sports in the penitentiary, but the juicy satire of the earlier film is gone.

A Man To Remember (R.K.O.-Radio): A modestly produced but extremely satisfying little film about a country doctor and his son. Edward Ellis' performance is splendid and so is Gerson Kanin's direction. Not to be missed.

—PETER ELLIS



Pat O'Brien and James Cagney talk things over in "Angels With Dirty Faces"

The Meaning of Munich

The Geneva correspondent of the Manchester "Guardian" analyzes the betrayal of Europe

By
Robert Dell



Left to right: Prime Minister Chamberlain of England, Foreign Minister Bonnet and Premier Daladier of France

THE MUNICH capitulation, the latest of a long series of capitulations to German bluff and blackmail, was an international disaster. I should not like to say that it has made the defense of European civilization impossible, but it has certainly made it far more difficult. The destruction of Czechoslovakia means that Hitler has been given the key position in Central Europe. The loss of the Czechoslovak fortifications means that at least thirty German army divisions which, in the event of war, would have had to be kept on Germany's eastern frontier, can now be diverted to the west. France has lost the admirable Czechoslovak army of about two million men and the extremely efficient Czechoslovak air force of about two thousand planes. The control of Bohemia makes it easy for Hitler to dominate the whole of Central and Eastern Europe.

Down With Us!

What made this suicidal policy on the part of the British and French Governments possible? As regards France, the explanation is that since the beginning of 1936 successive French Governments have had no policy of their own and have allowed themselves to be completely dominated by the reactionary British Government. They need not have done this, for France is even more necessary to England than England is to France. England will

never allow Germany to control Calais or Antwerp or Rotterdam, and for that reason any British Government will always support France in resisting a German attack as the British Government did in 1914. On the other hand, France is the buffer state between England and Germany and the French army is part of the British national defense. If we could not count on the French army we should have to have conscription in England. If France ever joined with Germany against England—still more if France, Germany and Russia combined against England, England would be lost.

I can find no explanation of Neville Chamberlain's policy except the explanation that it is due to an obsession of fear of Soviet Russia and of what is called Bolshevism—a term now used to cover everything that is not Fascist. The fear of Bolshevism is often nothing more than the fear of Democracy and the nickname is used to conceal the real aims of the people who use it. What Neville Chamberlain and the pro-German group that he represents are afraid of is much less the danger of so-called Bolshevism in England than the danger of it in Germany and Italy if Hitler and Mussolini fell. For that reason they are trying to save Hitler and Mussolini now just as they saved Mussolini in 1935 at the time of the Abyssinian affair. The explanation of the Munich agreement is, as Mr. May-

nard Keynes said in the London *New Statesman* of October 8th, that the objectives of Chamberlain and Hitler are not different, but the same. Chamberlain and those behind him, one of the most important of whom is Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England and one of Hitler's best friends, are putting what they believe to be the interests of their class before the interests of their country.

"Military Weakness"

Various excuses, all untrue, have been made for the capitulation to Hitler at Munich. It has been alleged that England and France were too weak from the military point of view to risk a war. If this were true, Chamberlain and his colleagues in the British Cabinet would deserve to be shot, for what in that case has become of the enormous sums spent during the last three years on British rearmament?—but it is not true. It is true that the British air defenses are rather weak—chiefly because enormous sums of money which should have been spent on providing bomb-proof shelters have been wasted on useless gas masks—but the air defenses of Paris are magnificent, even if the French air force is inferior (at any rate in numbers) to the German. General Gamelin, head of the French General Staff, said in a report to the French Government that, in spite of a certain weakness in the air, the

military and naval superiority of England and France to Germany were so great that Germany could not win a war against them. As the example of Spain has shown, wars are still not won in the air. They are won by invasion or blockade, and England and France could have blockaded Germany all over the world. Chamberlain himself said in a speech in the House of Commons last year that the strength of England was almost terrifying, and now he says that it is unnecessary to increase the pace of British rearmament.

Isolation of France

Because England must in her own interest join with France in resisting any German attack, it has been the deliberate policy of the British Government to separate France from all her eastern friends and allies and intern her, so to speak, in western Europe. The reason for this policy was that, so long as France had allies, there was a risk that England might be drawn into a war with Germany because of a German attack, not on France itself but on one of the French allies. With the destruction of Czechoslovakia this policy has completely succeeded, and the joint declaration signed by Hitler and Chamberlain at Munich was the first step towards an Anglo-German alliance in the form of a four-power pact in which France and Italy would

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JEFF AWOKE to the touch and smell of warm brackish water on his face and forehead. There was no sound but the sound of his own breathing, to which he listened.

He had awakened—where?

Without moving his head, he was aware of a dark bundled figure standing close by, near the bed where he lay, and another outlined against an open doorway, looking out. A small lamp, flickering on a stool, threw moving and grotesque shadows on the ceiling and walls.

The figure in the doorway stirred, turned around, walked slowly toward him and sat down on the edge of the bed.

Jeff tried to lift his head, but fell back in surprise as a sharp pain went stabbing through his face. "Yo' hit dat tree feahful hahd," the man said.

Tree. Jeff tried to remember. . . . Tree. . . . He put a hand up to his face. His nose felt humped out of shape, immense. There were several openings where his teeth should have been. He moved his hand gingerly up to his forehead, edging his fingers along the deep gash that cut across his brow from the hairline to the ridge above his eye.

The old Negro watched him curiously.

"Man-hunt on," he said, looking narrowly into Jeff's face. He waited. "You de man?"

Jeff looked at him without understanding.

"What happened?"

"Yo' ran plumb intuh de tree, da's all happen. Dey gib up de chase, Ah reckon."

"Who?"

"Don' know who. De Advuhsary, mebbe." He looked at Jeff's stunned, bewildered face. "Boy, who troublin' yuh?"

Jeff raised his body with an effort, stared by turns into the old man's face and into the face of the old woman who stood at his side. Then quickly he jumped to his feet and stumbled to the doorway. The fields were only barely visible under the thick blanket of darkness. The fresh smell of the earth went deep into his lungs and revived him.

He turned back into the room.

"How did I get here?" He spoke thickly through his dry, bruised lips.

"Mah boys brung yuh in de caht. Dat so, Gusta?"

The old woman nodded.

"Dat oak-tree right up ginst deah house," the Negro added.

Jeff sat down on the bed, gazing at the pair with wide-open questioning eyes. There was something he was trying to remember.

"Where is the cart?" he asked finally.

The old couple exchanged glances.

"Done retuhn tuh de town mo'n a hou' ago," the man said.

Jeff pulled his brows together painfully.

"How am I goin' to get back—is it far?"

"'Bout two mile."

Jeff got up.

"Man, man," the old Negro cried softly, "yo' in trouble! Ah know dat!"

A sheepish half-grin spread over Jeff's face, revealing the broken line of teeth.

"No . . . no." He made a move toward the door.

"Dey gon cotch yuh, son. Yo' stay in de cabin!"

Jeff glared at the black wrinkled face. "I'm awake—ain't I?"

"Sho! Sho! Listen tuh dat boy, Gusta! Sho yo' awake!"

He suddenly knew what it was he was trying to remember.

"An' I ain't no nigger, am I?"

Half enveloped in the drifting shadows of the room, the old man tore his eyes from Jeff's and shot a quick glance at his wife. She had brought her thin lips tightly together and looked away.

"Well—am I?"

The old Negro rubbed his palms on his ragged cotton trousers.

"No," he said softly, "yo' sho ain't a Nigra, friend. Sho ain't."

"I'm white."

"Like de dribben snow. Hmmm. Like de white flowah ob de field."

Jeff brought his hands up close to his eyes, grinned. He did not catch the queer troubled look that passed over the old Negro's face, or the faint rocking motion that sent the woman's shadow whirling grotesquely on the walls and ceiling. He started for the door.

"Stay heah de night," the old man urged, following. "Ah pick yo' up a ride in de mo'nin'."

"Hattie's waitin'," Jeff said, without turning.

The Negro brightened.

"Who dat—Hattie?"

Jeff swung around, his face twisted with fury.

"Mind that tongue, nigger!"

The old man recoiled. But the anger died out on Jeff's face as suddenly as it had appeared.

"Jes' mean tuh say," the old man went on, "Ah go tell Hattie yo' heah. She come fetch yuh home."

"Don't need no fetchin'." Jeff was already feeling his way down the crooked steps.

"Dat cut on yo' haid gon bleed," the old Negro pleaded helplessly.

AT THAT moment the sound of Jeff's feet scraping on the warped planks was mingled with the sound of heavy feet running on the packed earth. The old man jumped to the threshold. A great figure, emerging quickly from the thick gloom, almost collided with the smaller figure wavering at the foot of the rude steps.

"Sam'l!" the old man cried, gleefully.

The giant figure had stopped and was eyeing Jeff uncertainly.

"Da's me, Pap."

"Fetch dat boy heah! He gon' make himse'f a mess o' trouble!"

Sam'l took Jeff firmly by the arm. "Guess he done made it, is what Ah'm thinkin'."

Jeff struggled feebly and ineffectually in the huge Negro's grasp.



"Off, nigger! Off!"

But yielding to a power stronger than his own, he soon gave up the unequal struggle and permitted the big Negro to hustle him into the cabin. He sat down on the edge of the bed, feeling weak and confused. The pain had returned to his head, like zigzags of sharp lightning.

"Dey headin' dis way, Pap," Sam'l said, looking narrowly at the old man.

"Who?"

Sam'l jerked his head toward the town.

"Law', God-a-mercy!" The old woman stifled a moan with the edge of her shawl.

Jeff watched the three, his body tensed.

"Bettuh git him movin' quick," the big Negro went on quietly. "De whole town awake."

"What de trouble?"

Sam'l turned abruptly to the figure on the bed. "Brothah, you in dis mess?"

Jeff stared. What did these niggers want of him? Why didn't they let him get back to Hattie? He looked again at his hands.

"Po' boy outa his haid," the old Negro whispered.

"Gonna be wifout his haid ef he don' move along. Been a killin' in de town."

"Law', God-a-mercy!" the old woman whined. "Who de man?"

"White boy wuk fuh de cotton man—name' Jeff Brewstuh."

An agonized cry from the bed froze the Negroes where they stood. Jeff was on his feet, twitching in every muscle, his eyes bulging.

"Jeff Brewster! I'm Jeff Brewster!" he howled. He took a step forward, suddenly stiffened and shuddered, and dropped to the floor in a heap.

For a moment the three stood rooted, staring at the crumpled body.

"Oh Lawdy God-a-mercy!"

Sam'l turned slowly to the old man. Big drops of sweat stood out on his forehead.

The old Negro's eyes were staring.

"Po' boy, po' boy," he muttered, shaking his head. He looked up to meet the question in his son's face. "De trouble done confoun' his min'. He fixin' tuh de notion dat he white—"

Sam'l made a short queer noise in his throat.

"Sho look black tuh me." He looked at the limp figure, then at his father. "Got tuh git him outa heah quick, dey pokin' in eve'y cabin dis side o' town. Gonna be—" He looked at the old woman, his mother. She was whimpering softly, still rocking. "Ah run th'ough de back ways tuh tell yuh."

"Whar yo' brothah?"

"Lef' him in de house." He shuffled his feet nervously. "Got tuh git back—ain' no time fuh black man tuh be outa his hole."

"What we do wi' de boy?"

"Cain' tuh him out tuh dat pack o' debbils. Mebbe he ain' messed up wi' dat nohow." He stooped over the unconscious form and slapped Jeff's cheeks with both hands. "Don' look like no killeh."

Jeff stirred under the resounding whacks.

"Git up! Git up, boy!"

Jeff slowly opened his eyes, blinked feebly at the black face peering down anxiously into his.

"Git up!" the face was saying.

"What for?"

Jeff knew he himself had spoken these words, because the mouth above him had not moved. He waited tensely for the stab of pain in his head, but it did not come. Instead, his brain felt strangely cool and light.

"Dey's a mob f'om de town headin' dis way—dey lookin' fuh a niggah tuh buhn!" the face said fiercely.

Jeff looked steadily into the big Negro's eyes. "Am I a nigger?"

Sam'l sent his tongue circling over his dry lips.

"Frien'," he said gently, "yo' bettuh cease agitatatin' how dahk yo' is in de sight o' de Lawd. Yo' shoh a niggah tuh dat mob."

Jeff closed his eyes.

Had he really awakened—or was it but the continuation of the ghoulis nightmare that had taken possession of him and was now reaching its unreal but terrible climax? . . . He smiled. . . . The tree. That was part of it, too. You couldn't force the climax, the ending. Maybe he'd have to run again, until—

"Help me up," he said.

ON HIS feet, he felt weak again, as before. But his mind was clearer now. The town was a black monster with a hundred yellow eyes opening from all parts of its body: from this he had to escape.

He looked about the room, as if for the first time, then fixed his worn eyes on the huge Negro, who was now standing on the threshold listening out.

"How did I get here?"

Sam'l turned.

"Foun' yuh unduh mah tree, moanin' an' cryin' don' know what. Ah heerd de commotion risin' down de way an' figguh yo' in dat somehow, so Ah puts yuh in de caht an' totes yuh heah tuh mah Pap's, out de way."

The thinnest flicker of a smile broke on Jeff's tired mouth.

"You're tryin' to help me." It was half statement, half question.

"Ah he'ps de man in trouble," Sam'l said without expression. He walked over to Jeff. "Brothah, ain' no time now tuh as' question who yo' is, whar yo' from oh what yo' done—time now tuh he'p yo'se'f some. Make feet outa dis place—fas' yo' can!"

Some of the huge Negro's will took hold of Jeff's indecision. Wasn't this big nigger part of it, too? "Where?"

"Make foh de mahsh." He waited. "Mebbe dey cotch yo' dere—but dey sho gon cotch yo' heah, an' dat soon!"

Jeff swept the three faces with glazed, vaguely mocking eyes, passed the back of his hand over his mouth, and started for the door.

"Know which we de mahsh?"

He stood still while the huge black pointed out the direction from the threshold.

"Shun de road, boy."

Jeff nodded. The faint smile had frozen on his mouth, leaving the lips curled.

At the foot of the steps he glanced back. The three forms were outlined against the dim light of the open doorway, the giant form of Sam'l in the middle.

"O Lawdy God-a-mercy."

The soft bleating tones echoed and reechoed in his head as he walked, thrusting against the vast silence.

(Continued on page 26)

Jeff Brewster's Body

On his way home from the planter's, where they joked of the flogging of Ozzy Meadows, Jeff Brewster came across some strange experiences. He thought it a nightmare, and hurled himself against a tree, to awaken — where? Go on with Part Two

By C. S. Becker

ILLUSTRATED BY CHET LA MORE

Books

Thomas Mann on Munich

THIS PEACE, by Thomas Mann; 38 pages; Alfred A. Knopf; 75 cents.

HITLER must fall! That alone can preserve the peace!" No one who was in Madison Square Garden last September 26th will ever forget these electrifying words of Thomas Mann. The great German writer expressed in two brief sentences the necessity of all mankind.

But Hitler did not fall—peace was not preserved. Instead, the "peace" of Munich, bringing war immeasurably nearer, was forced on the peoples. The worst man triumphed over the best: the oppressor of Germany over Germany's finest son. For who can doubt that Thomas Mann, literary giant, European genius, titan of culture, a conservative in the best sense, speaks for the real Germany of the German people?

In this essay Thomas Mann discusses the causes and some results of the Munich Pact. He tells, with original insight, of the hopes of democratic Germans, inside and outside the borders, as Hitler's downfall seemed imminent. "The dream of the last five years was within a hair's breadth of fulfilment. Germany might have been driven, not into war, but up to the verge of it; and Germany and the world might have been freed overnight from the incubus of Nazi tyranny."

But "it was not to be. For the collapse of fascism was precisely what the governing classes of England did not want."

Scrupulously and with indignation, calmly and with burning passion, Thomas Mann dissects "this peace." One has hardly seen so clear and moving an analysis. But in his conclusion he falters, overwhelmed by the blow. Momentarily he reflects the pessimism widely engendered by Munich. He writes as though it were inevitable: "The Continent will now rapidly become fascist." He accepts a moral victory of reason and spirit, and despairs of an actual victory.

Certainly there is no cause for lightheartedness, as the retreat of Democracy continues. But let us not forget either that there are voices still to be

heard from—that a great hemisphere to the west of Europe, and a great continent to the east, the battling people of Spain and China, and the people of France, Britain and Germany herself, are not content with "this peace." They are fighting, and will fight, to vindicate the hope of Thomas Mann.

—CHARLES PRESTON

Paganism Rampant

THE WAR AGAINST THE WEST, by Aurel Kolnai; 711 pages; Viking Press; \$4.00

ANYONE who barely a decade ago paged through some of the lore of the monks of the Middle Ages was likely to sigh with relief that such arrant obscurantism was forever banished from our mental life.

Today we are unfortunately faced with a similar threatening phenomenon in the history of mankind. For a Francesco Guazzo, the monk, we have Goebbels the Nazi ideologist; for a Ludovico Maria Sinistrati, the demonologist, we have Streicher the sadist. When, in some more tranquil era, universal reason shall have reestablished itself, men will sadly wonder how the human intellect came to be so debased.

It is a commentary on the contempo-



An informal photograph of Thomas Mann, by courtesy of Alfred A. Knopf

rary period that a Catholic scholar, Aurel Kolnai, writes a modern *Compendium Malificarum*, the book under review. It is called *The War Against the West* and is an exposé of Nazi ideology, an analysis of the theory underlying the future all-conquering Imperium Teutonicum, as it is being foreseen by Hitler and his disciples.

In the many pages of this book Mr. Kolnai proves that the Nazi *kultur* is waging a relentless ideological war against the concepts of European civilization, the Spirit of the West. In his foreword Mr. Kolnai gives the approach to his work:

... I would not have it supposed that I am attempting to "explain" National Socialism by any of these causes. My attitude is more objective. I simply recognize that whether we have adequate explanations or not, "these little things do happen" in this strange world of ours.

Especially when a thing is more than a "little" thing, when it is a grand and powerful thing, it is foolish to treat it as "nothing but" something else, to reduce it to its component parts, and, as it were, explain it away. Moreover a thing so evil as National Socialism cannot be attributed to this or that "mistake." We have no right to assume that "had it not been for . . ." all would have been well. . . .

But if such things do happen, so also do they pass. They are not invincible. They are only inevitable in a very general sense. It is possible, when we see this grim reality for what it is, and not before, to deal with it very thoroughly in every sense.

In reading this encyclopedia of modern infamy one becomes bewildered by the fantastic philosophical conclusions of the Nazis, so completely out of joint with contemporary sane thinking and precepts. Mr. Kolnai's approach is that of a philosopher who quotes from original writings of the Nazi ideologists and propagandists, with a seriousness which makes them for that reason all the more poignant. In the chapter on "Nation and Race," there is a sub-chapter on "The Meaning of Anti-Judaism" which alone would repay any person trying to understand recent Nazi persecution. There are excerpts from one of the founders of Nazism, the Germanized Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, from Rosenberg, Schemann and Hitler himself. Here, for instance, are two at random:

Jesus, though incontestably a Jewish patriot, had something Aryan about Him; His

non-Jewish origin is not open to scientific proof, but he has "nothing of Jewish essence." (Chamberlain)

Certainly Jesus "Aryanized" the Jewish idea of God. (Schemann)

Mr. Kolnai divides his book into sections on the Nazi conceptions of the "Community," the "State," "Civilization and Human Nature," "The German Claim" in relation to the western world, and other topics. It is especially in the chapter dealing with the origin of Rosenberg's "Myth" and exotic mysticism that the modern reader will be astounded at the latitude which this dangerous nonsense has reached. It is not alone that the Nazis have created an entirely spurious theory of racism but that in the creation of their mystical creed they have gone back not merely to the Middle Ages but to the standard which prevailed in the Greek City State, the Male Eros, with all of the attributes which this crude paganism embraced, including inferentially a justification, or explanation at best, for homosexuality.

Someone had to do this necessary job, some person of mental courage was needed to delve into this slime and rubbish of Nazidom and bring it under the scrutiny of that part of the world which still remains sane. Mr. Kolnai's arduous labors deserve to be rewarded by a serious consideration of his timely book.

—CHARLES RECHT

Tract for the Times

IT IS LATER THAN YOU THINK, by Max Lerner; 260 pages; The Viking Press; \$2.50.

THIS FIRST book by the former editor of *The Nation* is a brilliantly argued and fluent defense of Democracy militant which should be welcomed everywhere in the anti-Fascist camp with enthusiastic cheers. Liberals of several sorts will probably be made uncomfortable by Mr. Lerner's sharp analysis and rejection of their historic basis; Communists will find themselves at odds with some things Mr. Lerner feels called upon to say about the administration of the USSR and the problems involved in transferring power from a capitalist to a socialist régime. But whatever

disagreements there may be with Mr. Lerner's position, all men of good will must find in his sober, witty, and deeply earnest conviction of the need for Democracy to organize its defensive energies now, a moving statement of their own *credo*.

That all civilized and humane people must concentrate their forces against the onslaught of war-bringing Fascism is the assumption on which the author proceeds. His main concern is to analyze and assess the problems and techniques of the anti-Fascist struggle.

The position at which this leftward-moving liberal arrives is what he prefers to call democratic collectivism; essentially, it is, despite some qualifications, an advocacy of the Popular Front policy, designed to bring together all possible forces for the defense of Democracy, and to advance simultaneously toward socialism, which alone, Mr. Lerner tells us, can supply the base for a truly humanist, democratic culture.

For this position, it is clear, Marxist thinking is the main source: Marxism, says Mr. Lerner, "is still, for all its shortcomings, the most useful and illuminating body of social thought in the world." But strong echoes of Thorstein Veblen are to be heard in the terminology used, and provocative chapters on "The Left in Retreat," "Majorities and Minorities," and "Power Is What You Make It" indicate a decided reluctance to give up a stance of critical independence evidently dear to the author's heart.

There will certainly be (indeed, there has already begun) a good deal of controversy on the left over the opinions expressed in this book about the decadence of liberalism, alleged errors of Marxism, the possibility of economic planning under transitional capitalism, specific proposals for immediate progressive measures in our own national government, and the program suggested for moving toward socialism. To enter such controversy is, though tempting, scarcely the province of a brief review.

—JOSEPH H. FRIEND

Briffault on Britain

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, by Robert Briffault; 264 pages; Simon and Schuster; \$2.00.

ROBERT BRIFFAULT has turned from novel-writing to a timely analysis of the British Empire. Mr. Briffault's thesis is that the British Empire, that is to say, the governing clique which functions from Whitehall, is the chief stronghold of reaction in the world today. The book was actually completed before the betrayal of Czechoslovakia at Munich, but so accurate was the author's understanding of British policy that, according to a statement of the publishers,



Soldiers of the Spanish Republican Army enjoying a game of chess

no changes in the body of the work were made. Instead, a "Postface" was added, in which Mr. Briffault carefully refrains from saying "I told you so," but merely states that Munich was the logical consequence of what had gone before.

Not only is the England of today the greatest prop and helpmeet that Fascism has in the world, but, as the earlier part of the book makes clear, England has always been the friend of tyranny. Those who remember the part played by England during the French Revolution and the American Civil War, as well as the bloody and horrible story of British imperialism during the Victorian age, will not need much argument to convince them. Mr. Briffault, however, provides an armory of information for those who suffer under what he terms "the English Myth."

This phrase is used to denote the peculiar belief of an innate superiority in England and Englishmen. The English themselves, with a modest concealment of that diffidence on which they pride themselves, have long cultivated the belief. To this day in provincial towns of England one may encounter kindly old people who will foist literature on him which seeks to prove that the English are the descendants of the ten lost tribes, and are, therefore, the "chosen people."

In looking at British policy Mr. Briffault, as an anti-Fascist, naturally writes with the gloves off. In doing so, however, he is inclined on a few occasions to allow rhetoric to get the better of fact. He says, for instance, that England has become "a debtor nation." Despite Britain's weakened economic condition, this statement, on balance, is still not true. Further, the whole of English nineteenth century literature is dismissed as having no contact with reality. Dickens is mentioned on the same page, but with a comment which is merely silly.

A more serious flaw is Mr. Brif-

fault's contempt for the British working class.

Apart from these criticisms, this is an able and extremely interesting book. With a visit from the British King and Queen in the offing, it is well that the American people should understand exactly the nature of the brutal and undemocratic system which the royal couple are coming to popularize.

—LESLIE READE

Post-War Europe

TWENTY YEARS' ARMISTICE, 1918-1938, by William Orton; 308 pages; Farrar & Rinehart; \$2.50.

THIS IS not a very good book. Professor Orton, who teaches economics at Smith College, is a sincere liberal who believes that the past twenty years of world-chaos and collapse are the direct outcome of a vicious war followed by an even more vicious peace—that of Versailles. With this view there is today so little disagreement that Hitler and Stalin alike could adopt it as the major premise of an argument whose various conclusions would be as far apart as the poles.

It is because Professor Orton confines himself to what he calls "a realistic study of what has actually happened" that his book, for all its information, lacks depth and vigor. As a narrative of events in post-War Europe (we note inadequate references to China, Japan and the Far East), particularly the diplomatic and political maneuvers leading to the Fascist offensive, it is instructive, though the material is in no sense original.

Trouble starts with the author's interpretations and estimates of events. Thus, he can speak of the enmity between Czech and German as rising from "a temperamental or psychological incompatibility," and he considers that the notorious London *Times* editorial on the cession of Czechoslovak

territory to Germany "pretty well represented" public opinion. He regards Hitler as "the master strategist" of the Munich betrayal, and has praise for Chamberlain, who "kept his head and his hope." He seldom touches on the rôle played through these critical weeks by the Soviet Union, and seriously believes that "the economic integration of southeastern Europe under German leadership was a better prospect than no integration at all."

Regarding Spain, despite his adherence to the Loyalist cause, Professor Orton shows similar confusion. There is talk of sinister Soviet influence, of "red" atrocities; and the suggestion that "the Spanish people had ceased to believe in Spain"—and might even wish the restoration of the corrupt monarchy—will help no one but the followers of Franco.

Altogether, Professor Orton's book is an unsatisfactory performance.

—HAROLD WARD

A Spy Tells All

SECRET LIFE OF A SECRET AGENT, by Henry W. Lanier; 307 pages; J. B. Lippincott Company; \$2.50.

NAZI SPY rings go on trial in New York, the Canal Zone, Moscow, England, France and other democracies are in the grip of chronic spy scares. The network of espionage, intrigue, subterfuge, sabotage and outright wrecking extends from Spain to Chile. Stab-in-the-back and double-cross are the most widely adopted *modus operandi* of plenipotentiary diplomats and other agents known by less fancy names.

More authentic information about this plague of our times is the need of the moment. In the hope of obtaining it, some will turn to *Secret Life of a Secret Agent*, which purports to be "an insider's picture" of "the strange training and adventures of a man whose work was melodrama."

But you and I are not looking, in this connection, for romance and thrills. The revolting evidence of the trials points to a trail of callous deceit, bribery, murder of innocents as the stock-in-trade of Fascist spies. Regular readers of this magazine and supporters of the cause which it espouses will remain unmoved by the "true story" of the rigors of an anonymous agent's early training and of his later exploits. America's democratic people want to get to the core of things, and this book leaves unexplained the mainsprings of the ruthless espionage machinations the world over.

As for the meager facts it does offer, they are not at all authenticated, and the effort would do as well or better as a piece of fiction. Readable though it is, it may not even prove to be the grist for the mills of Hollywood.

—LUCIEN ZACHAROFF

THERE have been significant back-stage stirrings in Wall Street since the November elections, the results of which will become more apparent as the new Congress swings into action. The Big Business "steering committee" hasn't by any means taken a rest from its "victories" at the polls. On the contrary all indications point to one of the most brutal and furious attempts to smash the New Deal and its works since the N.R.A. days. As stated here last month, the strategy is to slow down any Administration legislative proposals, hoping thereby to clog the machinery as far into the new campaign year for 1940 as possible; and at the same time expedite legislation aiming to repeal or emasculate the New Deal reforms—the Wagner Act, Wages and Hours Act, a reduction in taxes in the higher brackets, and a slashing of relief spending.

The first move along these lines is planned for an extended fight on spending, and already within the past month there has been engendered widespread propaganda for reductions. The "balanced budget" boys in the American Bankers Association were told by their president, Orval W. Adams, at their recent convention that "the most vital issue confronting this great Democracy is to capture control of Federal spending;" a special committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, that organization of arch-conspirators, recently came out with a blast accusing President Roosevelt's "left-wing advisers" of planning to turn the national defense program into a new spending-lending drive. It worried about "the steady upward trend in the national debt," and as an alternative recommended a program which would liquidate the W.P.A. within a short time by giving "only indispensable aid to communities unable to provide reasonably for relief of the needy unemployed."

Of course, this is the same old magic



Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, author of the "incentive taxation" or profit-sharing plan

WALL STREET

Reaction's old wine in brand new bottles . . . Panaceas . . . Daladier's American well-wishers and friends

formula for wrecking the New Deal and organized labor, and restoring the country, lock, stock and barrel, to the control of big capital. It is significant that ex-Senator Daniel O. Hastings of Delaware, former Congressional spokesman for the duPonts and the Liberty League, was elected to the national executive committee of the "liberalized" G.O.P. over Kenneth Simpson of New York. The fine hand of Hooverism is credited with this coup, and also with the split in the G.O.P. because of the ill-concealed resentment of the so-called younger element over the tactics of the arch-conservatives who have managed to hold control of the "steering committee." This split is more widespread and alarming to Wall Street than it would care to admit publicly, because it fears a unity of progressive forces might decide President Roosevelt's course, whether to give way or fight with renewed strength; and obviously a divided G.O.P. in the new Congress is the last thing in the world Wall Street would like to see. And so the Street will watch carefully how easily Roosevelt gives way to reactionary pressure in the early days of the new Congress. A firm stand and concerted action by the labor forces behind Roosevelt, and the balanced-budget boys will be defeated in their effort to hamstring recovery at the expense of labor and the poor generally.

"Plans" of Big Business

MORE subtle than the blatant outpourings designed to force a cut in relief expenditures, are the General Motors Plan announced last month which the company assures will stabilize its employees' wages over a yearly period; and the so-called "incentive taxation," or profit-sharing resolution sponsored by Republican Senator Vandenberg of Michigan.

The General Motors plan, which started this month, would affect about 90 per cent of the corporation's 150,000 hourly wage workers. In essence it provides that when a worker's wages fall below a standard minimum, the corporation will advance an amount sufficient to bring it up to that level. These advances would carry no interest and would be repayable a little at a time, when the worker is employed more than twenty-four hours a week. Workers with five or more years' service would be assured an income equivalent to twenty-four hours' pay a week, fifty-two weeks a year, and this would work out, according to the corporation's present hourly wage rate, at about \$1,200 a year. A second part of the program covers employees who have worked two to five years for the corporation.

In plain language this means that General Motors, which at all times has large amounts of cash on hand which it can't use profitably anyway, will endeavor to keep a grip on its employees by keeping them in hock, and cheaply too. The plan has the further advantage from the corporation's standpoint, of counteracting union labor's inducements for collective action to improve the worker's conditions.

The "incentive taxation" idea has created a wide division of opinion, even among the so-called captains of industry. Basically the general idea is that corporate employers might be encouraged to consider their workers as limited partners, and share profits with them; in return for which the government would make certain tax concessions.

The proponents of this resolution see in it an excellent chance for an attack on the prevailing wage standard of the country, by making an apparent share in profits substitute for a higher wage

scale. Those against it do not see fit to divide their profits, nor do they want to pay taxes at current rates. The latter fear more than anything else on this matter that a recognition that profits ought to be shared might serve as an opening wedge for a reintroduction of the hated undistributed profits tax which they were able so well to emasculate last year. In other words they want their cake and they want to eat it too, and they intend to bend all their efforts to that end.

The French Strike

WALL STREET regarded the French strike against the Fascist "recovery" decrees as "a psychological factor so far as this country is concerned," according to the news tickers, which see both the United States and England turning more to the Right. Early on the day the general strike started, these tickers reported: "Early cables from France indicate that the 24-hour strike has turned out pretty much as expected—a partial affair with no paralysis and little violence." The stock market immediately responded to this report with increased activity and strong higher prices, but upon further analysis and less jittery reasoning, both activity and prices turned sour. When the strikes continued, and even Wall Street astigmatics could see that the French workers weren't going to take the Daladier decrees lying down, the market turned cautious, pending further clarification. This came in a dispatch from the *Wall Street Journal's* correspondent in Paris who cabled this sinister paragraph among a long-winded explanation of why "France now faces toward recovery through continued loyalty to Democratic principles":

Success breeds success, according to the French proverb, and now that it is apparent to everybody what remedy is needed, there is abundant chance that this remedy will be pursued.



William S. Knudsen, president of General Motors. The auto workers' union opposes G.M.'s new "plan"



Stormy Detroit

The People vs. Ford and Coughlin—liberals and labor vs. Black Legion violence—a struggle between Democracy and Fascism rages in America's auto city



By Andrew Little

ILLUSTRATED BY ARTHUR HOFFMAN

FORGET about "Detroit the dynamic," "the motor city" and "the automotive center of the world" for a minute and think of Detroit as a giant scales, its equilibrium threatened.

Forget about "the city of champions"—they used to ballyhoo this, too, when the Tigers and the Red Wings were winning and Joe Louis' laurels were fresh—and think of a contest that is being fought out with human life and welfare as the stakes.

For in Detroit, as much as in any city in the country, and in Michigan as a whole perhaps more than any other state, the lines of Democracy and anti-Democracy, of anti-Fascism and Fascism, are being drawn taut. Here the alignments are distinct.

On the one hand you have a number of purse-poor but spirited progressive organizations, a few leaders of liberal thought, and you have a young, powerful giant of a labor movement—in a city that was almost entirely open shop ten years ago.

Organized Violence

On the other hand you have all the storm signals of despotism—police brutality, seasonal employment, labor espionage, miserable housing and frequent evictions, red-baiting, class and race hatred—and you have personalities such as Ford, Coughlin, Sloan, Vandenberg, men whose names alone have come to stand as symbols of reaction.

Listen to the street tales of an organization of ten thousand Silver Shirts in Detroit who will "wreck every Jew store in the city if there are any more sit-down strikes." Unlikely? Then remember the Black Legion and the torture killing of labor organizers; the murder of a newspaper publisher because he expressed his opinions; the shooting of Negroes because "we like to kill niggers." Remember the matter-of-fact shooting of hunger marchers at the gates of the Ford Motor Company, police attacks on pickets, the bloody blows that were suffered to organize the automobile workers; remember the Dearborn Independent—and then con-

sider the case of Congressman Martin Dies.

The Dies "Investigating" Committee was in Detroit for a few days last fall to study "subversiveness" in Michigan. Here was a ripe opportunity: subversiveness is as thick in Detroit and Michigan as the heavy fog that rolls off the Detroit River to mix with the smoke of factories. But the Dies Committee did not make the most of its opportunity. It took down the revelations of certain witnesses who had gained experience through labor espionage, strike-breaking or plain apostasy; was told that there is a "Communist menace" in Michigan; that there is no Fascist or Nazi movement worthy of alarm; and then went back to Washington to continue the "investigation" of Michigan.

Now this testimony in Detroit had been a little dusty. Except for occasional resurrections most of it had reposed in the files of the Detroit police "Red Squad" for years. It caused little excitement in Detroit. The only thing that caused surprise was that an investigation of Michigan should be moved from Michigan to Washington. This was explained when the story got out that Congressman Dies was disappointed in the amount of publicity his Detroit venture had gained.

Michigan's Real Dangers

What are the things that Dies missed—the real dangers in Michigan?

These stories about the ten thousand

Silver Shirts, for instance. Maybe the stories are apocryphal and of no more consequence than some of the "revelations" of veteran red-baiters before the Committee. The horror of the Black Legion—the closest approach to storm troopers this country has seen—was unbelievable too.

This month sees Governor Frank Murphy, a true statesman whose humanity and wisdom in pushing a peaceful settlement of the 1937 strikes won the acclaim of both labor and the sager heads of industry, replaced in office by former Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald's election, an example of Republican machine politics triumphant over such "radicalism" as civil service, prison reform, adequate relief measures and progressive labor policies, was a victory of reaction. It was during Fitzgerald's previous term that the Black Legion, linked by subsequent investigations with the Republican machine, committed its most bloody, vicious crimes—the murders, the plot to put typhoid germs in food sold in Jewish stores; the burning of a workers' camp.

In Detroit "Dick" Reading is round-

ing out his first year as mayor. Winning the office over a labor-endorsed candidate, Reading has proved himself a champion of anti-labor. Although Detroit has not yet had a counterpart to Chicago's Memorial Day Massacre, police battles with pickets have been frequent and bloody. The Mayor and his police commissioner, Heinrich Pickert, have steadfastly shouldered aside the protests of progressive groups. The Mayor runs a course of continual warfare with the city's welfare administration and discharges from the city's "approved" list doctors who have been associated with labor organizations.

The Dies Committee noted that there was an inconsequential camp of

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In their quest for "a place in the sun," the masters of Germany look toward Africa and other colonial lands . . . Above all, they seek military bases, reports a widely-known commentator

Hitler Wants Colonies

By
Lucien Zacharoff

IN THEIR quest for military raw materials and positions, new markets, new territories for "surplus" population, the Fascist swindlers are ever expanding the rôle of the colonial card in the marked deck with which they play their game.

The financial-industrial magnates of Germany who operate through the Fascist dictatorship are no longer content with the huge profits flowing into their coffers, thanks to the mad tempo of Nazi rearmament. They are no longer satisfied with the transformation of the great German people into slaves. For they see all too clearly that the impoverished population cannot much longer sustain the mounting burdens of taxation. Further, the German people cannot supply an adequate domestic market for German industry, as their standard of living is falling catastrophically to conform with the official principle of "cannons instead of butter."

So in time-honored manner German monopoly capital aspires to become the master of greener fields, of the destinies of other peoples. Under the smoke-screen of the crusade against "world bolshevism," they strive for hegemony over Europe and domination of the world. It is unnecessary to reiterate details of their well-known work in undermining the foundations of the Baltic states, of Central and Southeastern Europe, of the Balkans, of the South



Excavating for alluvial tin in a creek in Tanganyika

American nations. All these they would, if they could, convert into political and economic appendages of the Third Reich. Preparing an attack on the Soviet Union, the Nazis conclude a military alliance with Japan. They try to drive a wedge between England and France. From the army airdromes on Long Island to the strategically valuable locks of the Panama Canal, their spy rings cover the United States. With the Berlin-Rome Axis for a torch, they threaten to ignite another World War.

Prelude to Smashup

All "minor" wars are a prelude in the style of similar outbreaks that were brought to a focus in the grand smashup of 1914, with the repartition of the colonies as a basic motive. Can another repartition, now so persistently sought by the "unappeased" countries, be achieved except through war?

That must be answered with another question: What likelihood is there of persuading two rival underworld gangs armed to the teeth to redivide amicably the booty which one has just seized from the other? The former German colonies which the Nazis are now asking for (to begin with) had been taken away as a result of the bloody rivalry of

coalitions or gangs of imperialists in the World War.

Even England whose powers that be are so sympathetic to and solicitous of the Fascist demands, while quite willing to see Germany help herself to colonies of some other nations, is reluctant to part with any that she herself grabbed following the Reich's defeat. Another bosom pal of the Nazis, Japan, which after the 1914-1918 slaughter had been assigned by the League of Nations to rule by mandate some former German holdings, is none too cordial to the hints of Berlin's desire for the restoration of these colonies.

Since it will be only with the connivance of the official British clique that Germany will ever be able to regain the colonies, it is noteworthy that the British Lion got a lion's share of the Kaiser's colonial empire in Africa. Among other plunder, England received: (1) former German East Africa, now Tanganyika; (2) former German Southwest Africa, now mandate-ruled by the Union of South Africa, a British dominion; (3) a part of Togoland and a part of the Cameroons. The remainder of Togoland and the Cameroons was taken over by France.

Undoubtedly the Nazi colonial ambitions have provoked profound uneasiness in England. But as

has been the case with Hitler's other demands, the leading politicians, after creating all possible confusion in public opinion, are ready to follow the road of appeasement in one form or another, open or veiled—though there is not a little hesitation and divergence of opinion on the minutiae.

Some of the Nazis' British sympathizers are disposed to hand over to them Togoland and the Cameroons (now largely under French control), plus certain far-off islands in the Pacific which are at present of no direct interest to the British Empire.

Another prescription is to "solve" the colonial quandary by letting Germany have the overseas possessions of smaller nations. For instance, Lloyd George once remarked that the territory, capital and population of Holland and Belgium do not correspond to the magnitude of the colonial tasks entrusted to them. A French journalist has recently written: "Perhaps it has not been sufficiently noticed that all projects calling for a sacrificial offering of small countries issue from London."

Sacrificing Others

A member of the House of Lords points to Dutch New Guinea "next door to the former German colonies, where there reside in limitless areas peoples who regard all whites as belonging to one nation. Exactly here as well as in other spots the Netherlands can help to dispel the conflict."

In his infinite generosity another lord would take care of the situation by creating for Germany a broad African empire out of the Cameroons, a part of Belgian Congo and Portuguese Angola.

Such postulates of prominent British appeasement specialists cause a learned Parisian professor to exclaim, not without rancor, in an article in *Afrique Francaise*: "They have no intention of returning to Germany the slightest particle of soil over which the British Empire holds sway today. On the other hand, England contemplates genially the projects which anticipate sacrifices that Belgium, France and

the Netherlands can make in order to save general peace."

Equally sharp is the reaction in Dutch and Belgian parliamentary circles. Not so fortunate has been Portugal. To be sure, as far back as February, 1936, the dictator Salazaar, synchronizing his statement with analogous declarations by the governments of Belgium and Holland, declared in parliament that "the question of transfer of any Portuguese colony to a third power cannot even be discussed. If necessary, Portugal will defend her colonies by all available means."

However, Portugal's participation as the weakest link of the Fascist bloc conspiring and warring against Spain has radically changed the picture. Portugal has been compelled to enter a whole series of agreements with Germany. The latter by a pact signed in 1936 received a number of advantages in Portugal proper. A few months later Portugal conceded to the Nazis substantial if not complete rights in regard to Angola.

So far, Germany's assimilation of Angola has been proceeding in the form of agreements by the largest German concerns with Portugal for economic exploitation of that African colony. But there is no doubt that eventually the Third Reich hopes in this manner to place Angola under its complete domination. It is an imperialist tradition to begin by "friendly" agreements with local potentates and tribal chiefs and to wind up with military occupation of the land of these "friends."

The African Schemes

In recent years Germany has developed appreciably her bonds with Africa and particularly with the former Reich colonies there. Nazi political and economic machinations are expanding menacingly on the "dark continent." Some 80 per cent of the British Cameroons' imports come from Germany, who also occupies the first place—about half of the total—in the Cameroons' exports. Germany is

second in the imports of French Togoland, yielding only to France.

A substantial number of Tanganyika plantations are again passing into German hands. A similar development is to be observed in Southwest Africa. In many districts where but a few years ago British farmers predominated, the Germans are now in the majority.

With the accession of the Nazis to power, the chauvinistic agitation of Hitlerite agents in Africa acquired a particularly brazen character. In some colonies administered by other countries, the Nazis demand the recognition of the German language as the language of the state. Here and there they seek to impress recruits and to send them to Germany for military training.

In some cities of Southwest Africa the moderate strata of the German population protest against the infiltration of Nazism in the school system, but are made to see the light with the conventional educational technique of the Nazis—assault and battery. At one stage the government of the Union of South Africa, which rules Southwest Africa by mandate, was compelled to issue a decree forbidding the criminal activities of the Nazis.

All the "missionary" work of the agents in Africa is directed from Berlin, where a tremendous propaganda apparatus disseminates the colonial gospel for consumption at home and abroad. Scores of books, brochures, and posters are agitating within the Reich in behalf of the colonial idea.

Pressed by their domestic failures to divert mass discontent from the real culprits, the Nazis seek a lightning-rod beyond the German frontiers. They say that the deprivations to which the German people are now subjected are due to "an act of robbery." Some time ago Goering declared that Germany's colonies had been "stolen." The British government was forced to make a "friendly representation" to Germany, pointing out that remarks of this sort are

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The lagoon from the pier of Lord Howe Island in the Admiralty Isles, strategic points in the Pacific



AS TO WOMEN

*Our people want to help China
and Spain . . . In South America*

THE other day in a little town in northern New York a woman was asked to speak to a group of girls who had formed a club for recreation. They met to learn tap-dancing and to take swimming lessons. Their program went no further than that. But this speaker knew practically nothing about tap-dancing and her swimming was limited to a good old-fashioned breast stroke. So she talked on what interested her—which was the situation in China. The girls were interested. After the talk they came up to ask her what they could do. She suggested that they might at least write a letter to the President or to the State Department and tell just how they felt about providing the materials of war to Japan. When the speaker went home she thought that perhaps one or two of the girls would do it and that was all to the good. Yesterday she had a letter from the president of the club. They had had 150 letters go out from that town to the State Department or to the President. The letter said that the whole town wanted to thank the speaker because they had long wanted to do something but they had not known what to do.

I was interested to hear from a professional lobbyist in Washington that the letters which come to the State Department and to the President are very carefully tabulated to see just what the sentiment of the people of the United States is in regard to China and Japan. She said that letters were more important than delegations. It is not necessary for the women who want an embargo on war materials to Japan to wait until someone tells them how to word the letter. Anyone can sit down and write exactly how she feels. A letter from China came in the other day from an American who is living in the occupied area of China. She wrote: "It is hard to be an American in China today. Every truck that comes through comes from the factories of the United States. How can I go on telling the Chinese of the friendliness of the American people when they see that all the Japanese

war supplies have been made in the United States."

AND while we are speaking of the Made in America label, it is good to think that Spain had another side of the picture the other day when the food ship arrived. Of course the food which had been collected here in the United States was just a drop in the bucket. But it expressed to the people of Spain the sympathy of the people in America. Naturally we must work to lift the embargo these coming months. But we must also work to send more food to the Spanish women and children. I have written in this column before of the fortitude with which the Spanish people meet the hardships of war. But it is hard to get used to hunger. Certainly no child should be asked to make that adjustment.

I SAT with a very progressive man the other day at the Pan-American Conference for Democracy. Strange to say, he was telling me why he did not favor the franchise for women in South America. "Our greatest danger in South America is Fascism," he said. "The women are under the influence of the reactionary forces. They will vote the way those forces tell them." That argument has a very familiar sound. I have never been one who thought the ills of the world would be solved when we had equal franchise for women. But the best way to keep women in a backward state is to isolate them from the responsibilities of citizenship. The entire question of franchise is bound up with the struggle for Democracy. And as far as the women of South America being backward, it is well to remember that the first great unofficial peace conference in Latin America was called by women over two and a half years ago. The women that I have talked to in South America seemed to have a more realistic grasp of the problems which accompany peace organization than most of my friends in North America.

—DOROTHY McCONNELL

Meaning of Munich

(Continued from page 15)

be junior partners to the conspiracy.

France and Italy have ceased to count as factors in the European situation. France has become a vassal state of England, and Italy a vassal state of Germany. If Franco wins in Spain, that country will be dominated not by Italy but by Germany. Already at least four-fifths of the key positions, including economic positions, in the territory under Franco's control are in German hands. In Spain, as in Austria, Mussolini has been outwitted by Hitler.

To understand the present situation we must go back to March 1936 when Hitler violated the Treaty of Locarno and sent German troops into the neutralized Rhineland zone. He did this although ten months earlier he had solemnly declared in a public speech his intention of strictly observing all the treaties voluntarily signed by Germany even before he came into power, and the Treaty of Locarno in particular. Albert Sarraut, who was then prime minister of France, and several other members of his Cabinet wished to mobilize but they yielded to British pressure exercised through Flandin, the French foreign minister, who has ever since been an agent of Chamberlain in France. We now know that Hitler had promised his generals—who were opposed to the military occupation of the Rhineland because they feared that it would mean war with France and England—that if France or England took action, he would withdraw the troops.

Democracy's Retreat

In June 1936 the three countries of the Little Entente, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, offered a pact of mutual assistance on the lines of the Franco-Soviet pact to France and Germany. Germany refused, as was to be expected. Léon Blum who had just become French prime minister also refused, because the British Government insisted that such a pact would irritate Hitler and Mussolini. In November 1936 the French Government took alarm at the growing influence of Germany in the Balkans and made a similar offer to the countries of the Little Entente. It was refused by Rumania and Yugoslavia which had then passed under German influence. Such a pact might have saved Czechoslovakia, and by this act of weakness Blum incurred a great responsibility for the destruction of the only democratic state left in Central Europe. On August 8, 1936, he incurred a further responsibility by putting an embargo on the supply of arms to Spain, under British pressure and because some of the Radical members of his Cabinet threatened to resign if he did not do this.

In March of this year the British and French Governments allowed Hitler to seize Austria by force. After the unfortunate Schuschnigg's enforced visit to

Berchtesgaden the French Government proposed to the British Government that they should at once inform Hitler that they would not tolerate a German annexation of Austria. The British Government never made any reply. The destruction of Czechoslovakia was the logical sequel of the annexation of Austria.

Betrayal of the Czechs

On May 21st Hitler was massing troops on the Czechoslovakian frontier. The Czechoslovak Government mobilized and for once Daladier took an initiative. He informed Chamberlain that unless the British Government made representations at Berlin he would order a general mobilization in France. Chamberlain was obliged to inform Hitler that England would not tolerate an attack on Czechoslovakia, and Hitler climbed down. He would never have dared to attack Czechoslovakia if this policy had been continued. Chamberlain, however, was determined not to be put in the same position again, and about the middle of June he informed the French Government that he proposed to send a British observer to Czechoslovakia. The French Government objected on the very reasonable ground that such an act would encourage Hitler to be uncompromising. Nevertheless, in July, Chamberlain decided to send Runciman to Czechoslovakia without consulting the French Government and on July 20th when Halifax, British foreign secretary, was in Paris with the King and Queen of England, he informed Daladier and Bonnet of the British decision. They weakly yielded and from that moment the initiative passed from the hands of the French Government into those of Neville Chamberlain. All that happened afterwards logically followed. Runciman was sent to Prague to induce the Czechoslovaks to commit national suicide by submitting to the German demands. In saying this I am not being wise after the event for I said it in an article published in *The Nation* on August 20th.

British Blackmail

Had the British Government declared at any time even up to the last moment that England would go to war with Germany if Hitler attacked Czechoslovakia, Hitler would have climbed down as he did in May, but the British Government consistently refused to make such a declaration. All that it would say was that if France were involved England would support France. Thus Chamberlain threw the whole responsibility of taking the risk of war on Daladier and Bonnet, knowing that they would not have the courage to take it. In fact Bonnet informed the German ambassador in Paris early in September that France would not go to war for Czechoslovakia; and on September 21st the British and French ministers in Prague

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informed Dr. Benes at two o'clock in the morning that unless the Czechoslovak Government accepted the Franco-British proposals, which were really the proposals of Hitler and Runciman, the British and French Governments would give Hitler a free hand in Czechoslovakia. Thus the French Government repudiated its obligations under its treaty of alliance with Czechoslovakia.

So in fact there was never really any danger of war. Hitler would never have dared to risk a war with England and France—still less a war with England, France and Russia. He knew that his own General Staff were opposed to it, as well as the great majority of the German people who were terrified at the possibility of war; but he knew also and so did Ribbentrop that the British and French Governments did not intend to go to war in any circumstances. The whole thing was play-acting and, to quote Mr. Maynard Keynes again, neither Hitler nor Chamberlain ever for a moment intended the play-acting to develop into reality.

Synthetic War-Scare

After Chamberlain's visit to Godesberg public opinion in England and France was so indignant at Hitler's further demands, that the only way by which that opinion could be induced to accept them was to make the British and French peoples think that war was the only alternative. The preparations for war in England and France were only an expensive stage-set for the purpose of frightening the British and French peoples. I do not suggest that all the members of the British and French Governments knew this. Chamberlain, Daladier and Bonnet had already capitulated to Hitler before Chamberlain and Daladier went to Munich, and they went there only to register their capitulation and to conceal the truth from the British and French peoples.

It must not be thought that Chamberlain's action in regard to the settlement of Jewish refugees in certain British colonies means that he has changed his policy. He still intends to come to an agreement with Germany when the indignation over the anti-Semitic outrages has died down. And he still intends Franco to win in Spain. He has put in force the Anglo-Italian agreement, although he had previously declared that it would not be put in force until the Spanish question was settled. If Franco wins in Spain—that is to say if Hitler wins in Spain—it will be the end of European Democracy. It is in your power to prevent this by lifting the embargo on the supply of armaments to Spain. It is not for me to say what you ought to do, but as one who has always been a warm friend and admirer of the United States I must say this: if the embargo continues, you will have contributed to the destruction of Spanish Democracy.

Colonies

(Continued from page 23)

incompatible with maintenance of normal diplomatic relations between two sovereign states. But less than half a year after Goering's outburst, Hitler's envoy extraordinary in London, von Ribbentrop, repeated the idea—though in somewhat veiled phraseology—before an English audience.

When on the eve of seizing Ethiopia Italian Fascists tried to motivate their policy of brutality, they asserted that after the World War Italy had been "unjustly deprived of the fruits of victory." German Fascists speak of the "injustice of defeat." The injustice is apparently that German imperialism is denied participation in robbing other peoples. In a book by one Dr. Bauer, we read that the German colonization in Africa would be a "great civilizing mission." In this connection it is worth recalling that at the Versailles peace conference it was charged that the natives in the colonies controlled by Germany before the war had been treated with unparalleled brutality, one tribe—Herero—having been completely wiped out by order of General von Epp, who is now the head of German colonial preparations.

These preparations take the form of dozens of organizations set up in Germany and on the territory of prospective colonies, scores of periodicals in Germany and in Africa, devoted to colonial problems.

In the German Schools

Compulsory colonial courses are given in schools, universities, labor camps, organizations of the Hitler Youth, and so on. The extent of this chauvinistic work among the growing generation may be gauged by the fact that in just one Silesian district during the 1934-1935 school year (before colonial propaganda began to assume its present staggering proportions) nearly 1,000,000 students had heard lectures on the subject in about 350 schools. Several films were widely shown for the purpose, notably *The Riders of German East Africa* and *The Soldiers of G.E.A.*, principally depicting the struggle between the British and German troops during the First World War.

All this clamor for the former German colonies may be deceptive at first glance. But with the Nazi spokesmen insisting that "new German Africa" can give a home to 5,000,000 surplus Aryans, it is well to note that in the five years preceding the World War, out of the 116,000 persons emigrating from Germany, only 96 went to Africa. With a population of 12,400,000 natives in the pre-war Reich colonies, there were only 28,800 Europeans there in 1913, and of these only part were Germans. In the 14 years between 1921 and 1934 there had gone to Africa from Germany 12,200 per-

sons. We do not know how many of these emigrants had returned. The London *Times* estimates that the number of Germans in the colonies is smaller than the number of Germans living in Paris. Thus, it must be apparent that even the restoration to the German fold of Togoland, the Cameroons and Tanganyika would not solve the problem of the surplus population. As noted by a leading French colonial newspaper, *Depeche Colonial*: "The African climate has not changed since 1914."

Nor do the most reliable statistics indicate that the colonies would prove to be a source of raw materials for Germany. The basic imported raw materials of the greatest importance for German imperialism are iron ore, cotton, rubber, copper, petroleum, zinc, lead, nickel, manganese, asbestos, and a few others, none of which are available in the former German colonies. These colonies supply less than 5 per cent of the raw materials purchased by Germany abroad. Colonies, then, would not soften the financial and economic difficulties which are violently convulsing the structure of Nazism at this time.

Why They Want Colonies

The terrible wail for colonies raised by the Hitlerites may be very puzzling indeed to some. But colonies are indispensable in the first place because they make Germany's military position immeasurably stronger in the wars she plans—wars in which control of the African coastline and soil would afford bases for submarines and aircraft to paralyze the lifelines from England and France to their colonial holdings, from which they derive foodstuffs, wartime raw materials and manpower. Tanganyika with its splendid ports in German hands would dominate militarily the Indian Ocean which is the strategic center of the British Empire. The cruisers and U-boats of the revitalized German navy could readily cut off the routes to India and might isolate Australia and New Zealand. In the north of Africa Nazi air-force bases would poise a comparable threat over French lines of communication.

Another reason for the emergence of the Nazi colonial policy is the well-known system of blackmailing England and France, who in return for a Berlin promise to moderate the colonial demands may compensate Hitler by letting him have a free hand in Central Europe and the Baltic states.

To this interplay of conflicting egoistic interests of rival imperialisms, to this welter of intrigue and concessions to blood-thirsty aggressors, to behind-the-peoples'-back diplomatic sellouts and to the brazenly open acts of international rapine, there is juxtaposed the clearcut and honest position of the anti-Fascist worldwide democratic movement. To those who struggle against imperialist oppression of the colonial peoples it is not a question of which

colonial administrator is the lesser evil. Imperialism in any uniform brings nothing but oppression.

If the forces of peace and Democracy come out against the transfer of the colonies to Germany it is first of all because the human beings in the colonies cannot be allowed to become the object of callous trading; and because handing the colonies over to the Nazis would speed up the advent of a new universal war.

Stormy Detroit

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the Nazi Bund on the Lake Michigan side of the state, but was informed on the authority of no less a person than the chairman of the American Legion's subcommittee on subversive activities that there was no other trace of a Nazi or Fascist movement in the state.

There was a time when this might have been superficially true. At one time these movements were very much underground and secret. But times are changing, and the Bundists and Fascists know it. Now their meetings are held almost in the open, and regularly. The Italian Fascists have a hall. The German groups have heretofore met in German restaurants and taverns, of which there are a number in the principal industrial cities in the state. Now, in Detroit, the Bundists are reliably reported to have made arrangements to hold their meetings in the Fascist hall. More fruit of the Rome-Berlin axis! Investigations by the Civil Rights Federation have disclosed that Camp Eichenfeld, an institution near Pontiac, is maintained by a Detroit Bund group. Here children of German families are sent during the summer months for training, and here their parents and friends of their parents go on summer Sundays to drink beer, and hear music and speeches. Perhaps the outstanding demonstration of these partisans was at the German-American day celebration last July 24th. The celebration was held in Detroit Creamery Park near Mt. Clemens—and was announced in the German language newspaper *Abend Post* with: "On this day we must show our strength. . . . We must not remain indifferent if one wants to rob us by force of our faith in our *Volksossen* (German brothers) here and abroad." German Consul Fritz Hailer, whose office has been picketed with increasing frequency during the past year, announced at the meeting that "Germany of today, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, is the only guarantee of world peace." This was at a time when the Nazis had the world tottering with their minority demands in Czechoslovakia. But then Consul Hailer is strong on the peaceful aspects of Hitler's reign, as will be seen later. At about the same time a German-born Detroiter who dared to write to a newspaper protesting that the Czechs had

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IN STEP WITH LABOR

ALL workers and all trade unions in America know what Fascism has done to the trade unions in Europe. Not satisfied with killing and jailing in concentration camps all labor leaders, Fascist terrorism attacks all religious groups, whether Catholic, Protestant or Jewish. The unbridled savage fury of the November pogroms was not directed only against Jews.

During the recent attack on Cardinal Innitzer and the storming of Cardinal von Faulhaber's palace in Vienna, the National Labor Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy sent a vigorous protest to the German Embassy. Many local labor committees of the American League printed resolutions condemning Fascist terrorism against religious groups, sent these resolutions to unions in their territory, and asked endorsement. Many trade unions have returned the resolutions, signed and sealed. We are forwarding them to the German Embassy as a protest against the barbarism against Jews and Catholics.

MEANWHILE the National Labor Committee has received from the Catholic Association for International Peace a "News Letter" which it recommends for careful reading by all trade unionists. The letter is signed by twenty-four prominent Catholic leaders and released by the Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D.; Charles G. Fenwick, Ph.D.; and the Rev. R. A. McGowan, chairmen respectively of the Ethics, International Law and Organization, and Joint Policy Committees of the Association. An excerpt from the "News Letter" follows:

"During these past years it seems to us that the United States has failed to assume the responsibility incumbent upon it as a member of the family of nations. We have denounced acts of lawlessness and aggression, but we have not enacted legislation which would enable us to take part effectively in the councils of the nations. Our neutrality legislation, now in force, requires us to treat both parties alike, irrespective of the fact that one may commit acts of violence and the other be its innocent victim. It is not conducive to international morality to make no distinction between right and wrong, to apply the same rule to the treaty-breaking State and to the State observing its obligations. Such an attitude of isolation and indifference does not keep us out of war; it encourages the lawbreaker and makes it

almost certain that the spread of lawlessness will in the end touch our own shores. The best way to keep out of war is to help prevent it. It is a narrow conception of national defense to be indifferent to acts of lawlessness in other parts of the world and hope that the attack will not be directed against us."

This statement should be spread far and wide throughout the country, and especially among the unions, in relation to the American Congress.

THE American Congress for Peace and Democracy, which takes place on January 6th, 7th and 8th in Washington, D. C., will discuss the problems of peace, the preservation of Democracy, and defense of labor's rights. The most important problems that will be discussed before the labor session are: defense of the Wagner Labor Act, defense of the Wages and Hours Law, the ending of Negro discrimination, and defense of Democracy and peace.

In the fight against Negro discrimination, a good beginning was made at the 58th Convention of the A. F. of L. in Houston when a resolution, introduced by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, asking the Convention to instruct all affiliated unions to drop their color barriers and to have the Executive Council report to the next Convention for further action, was concurred in by the Committee. The Committee on Organization proposed concurring with the "intent" of the resolution and referring it to the Executive Council "in the spirit in which it was submitted." At previous Conventions, the Committee on Organization has always recommended that the resolution be rejected on the ground that the A. F. of L. takes no jurisdiction over the internal affairs of its affiliates. This year, however, the Committee's report was a definite step forward, a step due mainly to the efforts of A. Philip Randolph, President of the Sleeping Car Porters.

One of the principles of Fascism is race prejudice. One of the means of preserving Democracy is to do away with race prejudice. All these and many more problems are being taken up at the labor session of the Congress. Therefore it is important for us to get the largest possible delegation of labor to the Congress, to effectively formulate a program and carry out the decisions of the Congress.

—A. E. EDWARDS

Brewster's Body

(Continued from page 17)

IT WOULD not be exact, at this point, to say that Jeff, hurt and badly shaken though he was by these extraordinary events, was really afraid. To say that would be to say, in a word, that Jeff really believed in the thing that was happening. Of course, he didn't believe in it. How was it possible to believe that you could leave the door of your house a white man, in the morning, and come back to it in the evening—a nigger!

No, Jeff Brewster was not afraid.

But he was puzzled. The thing was beyond understanding. Everyone, from the time he left Cass Whitley's—everyone, from the two blacks on the brick-pile to the huge black in the cabin, and his own Hattie among them—had mistaken him for a nigger. . . . Everyone, that is, except the old darkie in the cabin! Jeff's heart beat fast. Why did the old fellow say he was white?—like the driven snow, like the white flower of the field. Jeff remembered distinctly—the old nigger had said that. Was he the only one who had eyes to see that Jeff Brewster was white, and not black? . . . Yet Sam'l had told him to run off because a mob was looking for a "nigger," and the old man was in the cabin then and had not spoken: had not said, "Sam'l, you're speakin' to a white man."

Where was the key to this puzzle?

Jeff stopped and held up his hands. He looked at the palms, at the backs, at his wrists. Calmly he tore off his jacket and pulled up his shirt-sleeves. White. He ripped open his shirt-front and underwear to see his chest and belly. White. It was dark, the moon was mostly hid, but there could be no mistaking. White. He rubbed his hands carefully over his cheeks, his jaw, his forehead. Surely they were white too—they felt to his touch as they had always felt. Some terrible curse had descended upon the eyes of the world on this crazy topsy-turvy night!

The passage of his hands over his face reminded him that his nose was broken, that his face was scratched and gashed, that he had lost several teeth.

Twist and turn as he might, he could rest with only one conclusion: that the events in which he was now taking part were unreal—that they were the sound and fury of a dreadful nightmare from which he must, could, and would awaken!

He laughed, and heard his laughter roll deeply over the mute countryside. *He, Jeff Brewster, was on the wrong end of a man-hunt!*

But it occurred to him then, really for the first time, that he didn't quite know what the man-hunt was about. What was he running from? Of course, it *really* wasn't happening—everything was dreamed and ghostly—he was lying sick somewhere, with the heat and the fumes of wine torturing

his tired brain—but—. *Who was killed, and who was the killer?* Jeff felt his head spinning again. Sam'l had spoken of a killing in the town and had mentioned his, Jeff's, name—but then everything had gone black. WHO WAS KILLED—AND WHO WAS THE KILLER? AND ANYWAY, WHAT DID HE HAVE TO DO WITH IT? Jeff beat his forehead with his fists till the blood ran from his wound. Everything was wrong! wrong! wrong!

He had lost track of the time. It might have been half an hour ago that he left the cabin, or an hour—or three hours. It was all the same. This was a night without meaning, and without time. By the heavy dampish odors that the wind bore to his nostrils, he knew that he had come to the borders of the marsh. What now?

Sam'l had said, make for the marsh.

Jeff shuddered—and obeyed. He did not resist the impulse to obey because he did not believe that it was actually he, Jeff Brewster, who was concerned in this obedience, or that it was necessary to resist an impulse which was as "unreal" as the circumstances of which it formed an inevitable part.

He was no stranger to the marsh. He had, in fact, been here only yesterday—or was it the day before?—on the business with Ozzy Meadows. They had carried the quaking nigger to a small knoll on the border of the swamp, where the trees were thick. Was he near that spot now? He strained his eyes in the dark for familiar landmarks. The giant trees stretched away on all sides in endless ghostly monotony. The earth under his feet grew soggy and more spongy with each step. He was going down. The gradual, barely noticeable descent of the land seemed to be pulling him down, down, into a bottomless pit. He looked back. The marsh had swallowed him.

On all sides were the soaring shafts of cypress, their tops merged and lost in the overhead gloom. Jeff picked his way cautiously among them, holding to the higher ground where he could, skirting the deeper pools, wading now to his ankles, now to his knees. It was hard going. The treacherous marsh floor now held him tightly in its iron grip and the next moment sent him sprawling full length in the muck. Sharp branches of fallen trees loomed up suddenly before him, to tear murderously at his skin, to rip the last of his clothes to tatters.

He had ceased to think of what had gone before or what was to come after: of the shapes of terror that lay behind him in this strange night of terrors, or of those that lay in wait for him ahead. In his furious struggle with the swamp, his mind was aflame with one thought: he must break through, he must fight back the black water and slime that reached out for him! He was a boy again, with his mates, playing at catch

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BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Russell Thayer

IN ITS coordinating capacity perhaps the National Office can send a New Year's greeting from each League member to every other League member. We have great opportunities of welcoming into the League during this congress period many thousands of new and devoted workers for peace and Democracy. The League is growing and we are in a better position than ever before to gain new members and become a real factor in community life. During the last year membership has increased over the previous year about 100 per cent—the number of branches about 25 per cent—and total income about 50 per cent. This is a good record, but one to better in the coming year.

ALBANY, Schenectady and Troy, New York, have organized to coordinate the work of the branches in these cities and called upon the National Office for a resident organizer, and have raised money themselves to pay this organizer.

A GOOD friend of the League, Mrs. Freda Lippman, has organized a study course in New York City and expects a registration of between 150 and 200 people, who will pay \$6 each or \$10 a couple for the course. The National Office Speakers Bureau has obtained ten well-known speakers for the course, which will be on the general subject "Fascism Menaces Democracy."

FRANCES McKEE, until very recently secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union in New Jersey and now a field organizer for the China Aid Council, has already organized a new council in Albany, New York, and is doing splendid work in initiating other Councils in New Jersey.

A COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO LIFT THE EMBARGO has been set up for the purpose of organizing and concentrating the campaigns of the League, the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the National Negro Congress, the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Federated Spanish Societies and the Lawyers' Committee on American Relations with Spain. All of us

recognize that during the next month one of our principle tasks is to get a hearing with the President and the Congress for the American people to demand in overwhelming numbers the immediate lifting of the embargo on the Spanish Government. A bulletin for organizational purposes and a folder giving the principle arguments for lifting the embargo have already been issued by the Committee.

ANTI-NAZI protest meetings, on which we reported last month, are continuing in all parts of the country. Everywhere these meetings are being held on a very broad basis, and speakers have included persons of all religious faiths and from all walks of life. In many places demonstrations and picket-lines are being conducted to protest Nazi meetings. Our protest against Nazi persecutions and our defense of Democracy and racial and religious liberty, do not stop with verbal protests. Boycott of Nazi, Italian and Japanese goods is being intensified, and a legislative program for the 76th U.S. Congress is being prepared. The rôle of the League is always to protest against these persecutions and to expose and destroy incipient Fascist

movements which incite to violence by their attacks on democracy and their anti-Semitism.

As an indication of the response of the four committees among which we are dividing funds collected by the League for refugees, we quote the following letter from the Greater New York Coördinating Committee:

Your letter with the enclosure was a very stimulating and encouraging experience. Particularly in this period, when changing international events throw a constantly increasing burden on the organization and the workers are often overwhelmed by the effect of the Fascist edicts, it is certainly helpful to see that there is understanding in the community for the group who are partially our responsibility.

... and wish to express the thanks of Mr. David H. Sulzberger, the chairman, and of the organization itself.

HANNA ZIEGLER, *Executive Secretary.*

ON HIS way to the West Coast, Oliver Haskell stopped for a few days and organized a new League branch in Fargo, North Dakota. The new branch of twenty members may be able to send at least one delegate to the Congress.

WE WENT to press last month too early to announce that Helen R. Bryan

has been elected executive secretary of the New York City Division of the League. Miss Bryan was formerly secretary of the Committee on Race Relations of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia. She was with the Society of Friends for twelve years, and also last summer conducted the Institute on Race Relations at New York University. Miss Bryan brings to the League not only her expert knowledge on race relations but great executive ability. Her modesty forbids us to describe her further—but you will meet her at the Congress and will agree with us that the League has gained a most valuable secretary.

AS WE go to press, Dr. Ward, National Chairman, Margaret Forsyth and James Waterman Wise, members of the Executive Board, are on their way to Washington to the Conference on Pan-American Democracy. Dr. Ward is scheduled to address the Conference and to speak by short-wave to Latin-America. This Conference is an important medium for coordinating information concerning Fascist penetration in this hemisphere and for the extension of the Good Neighbor Policy. It is also an important preliminary to the American League Congress and to the Congress of the Democracies to be held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in February.

AMONG the many city or regional League conferences held in preparation for the League Congress we want to give special credit to the Greater Boston Conference. A list of prominent endorsers has been secured and the extension of League work and influence in this area is bound to result from the conference. Boston, too, wants a full-time secretary and is in the process of raising the necessary funds.

THE Reverend Mr. Einar Oftedahl, who is doing such splendid work as secretary of the League in Baltimore, informs us that for two weeks before Christmas they will have a Santa Claus on the streets in the shopping district passing out leaflets and asking people to help Santa boycott Nazi, Fascist and Japanese goods. During Christmas week they will have a sound truck with a boycott sign traveling the streets.



Prof. Paul Tillich, Chairman of Self Help for German Refugees; Dr. Harry F. Ward, National Chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy; and William Weiner, President of the Jewish People's Committee, at a recent anti-Nazi rally held in Madison Square Garden, New York City

YOUTH NOTES

THE beginning of the year is usually a period of intense activity for youth groups throughout the nation. This year is no exception. Conferences, conventions, and get-togethers galore are taking place within the short period of two weeks.

Our student friends will be especially active. The Student Christian Movement is holding a meeting of its Peace Commission in Chicago, the National Student Federation of America is holding its annual convention in Indiana this year, and the American Student Union has just concluded a week-long convention in New York City. It is as yet too early to assay the results of all of these meetings, but it is obvious that increasingly the student movement has become almost to the exclusion of all else, a peace movement.

OF COURSE one of the most significant of meetings of youthful minds will take place when the Washington Congress of the American League gets under way. Our youth session, if early indications are to be trusted, will be one of the outstanding youth peace meetings of the year. It will serve as an opportunity for young people to draft a realistic program for concerted peace action as well as a program of action for the coming year.

In addition to holding its own session, the youth committee will utilize the Congress this year for a practical exercise in Democracy by devoting a portion of the time to conducting a young people's lobby to win friends and influence people for peace. Youth representatives under the leadership of Robert G. Spivack of the International Student Service, Joseph Lash, experienced leader of the American Student Union, and William W. Hinckley, chairman of the American Youth Congress, will visit Senators and Representatives during their stay in Washington to convince them of the necessity to: Lift the embargo on Loyalist Spain; use our surplus food products for the feeding of war victims in China and Spain; stop the shipment of arms to the war-makers, Hitler, Mussolini, and the Mikado; extend the Good Neighbor Policy; and take the initiative in opening the democratic doors to the refugees from Fascist persecution. Since political leaders of all parties have recently discovered the importance of the youth

vote and are wooing it with might and main, it is essential that we utilize their recently awakened interest by really having a representative group of young people to "lobby" for these objectives.

Meanwhile from various parts of the country come heartening reports of active youth participation in the movement for peace and Democracy. On the West Coast the youth division of the Washington Commonwealth Federation actively engages in picketing and otherwise expressing their disapproval of Japanese merchant vessels that bring in their cargo for sale in the United States.

ON THE other side of the picture, is a report by Miss Celia Lewis of the American Federation of Teachers listing examples of anti-Semitic and Fascist propaganda being distributed in our schools. Leaflets signed "League to Protect Schools from Communism" are being distributed in the regions of some schools explaining to the young students that "Communism is exclusively Jewish," that "various Jewish organizations are prosecuting individuals with Gentile names," and that "President Roosevelt is bringing thousands of Jews into our country to take our jobs." In New York's South Harlem, political groups succeeded in stirring up fights between Italian and Puerto Rican boys that were only quieted down when responsible community leaders organized a committee to promote harmony. And in school after school swastikas have begun to appear on the blackboards, and students have given evidence of spying and reporting the remarks of progressive classroom teachers.

It is a big job that remains to be done among American Youth. The American Congress for Peace and Democracy should serve as a call to American young people to take up that job.

FROM far-off Japan comes an interesting athletic note, as reported in *The New Republic*. "The spirit of sportsmanship in athletic contests throughout the rest of the world is unfit for Japan," declares Education Minister Sadao Araki. "Bats, balls, and gloves must be handled with loving care such as a samurai would expend on his sword."

—REGINA RAKOCZY

Brewster's Body

(Continued from page 26)

in the heart of the marsh, fighting the gooey earth and the tricky water, the submerged clutching roots and underbrush that threw you face down into the stinking pools. He was a boy again, bruised, exhausted, half naked, filthy from head to foot, dark with fear in a small corner of his heart for the thrashing to come—but exultant, beating his breast for joy, pouring out the savagery of his blood in the heat of magnificent dangers. *The huge frogs, surprised and croaking, were scattering in all directions, hopping among the reeds, flashing their shiny green backs in the sun as they leaped in and out of the water. He was laughing, yelling, shouting to his mates to hurry on, they were so slow! Bull and Floppy were there, dashing in and out of the underbrush, wading belly-deep in the brackish pools, snarling and snapping at the terror-stricken frogs—baying—*

It was the baying of hounds that brought him sharply up.

WHEN he stopped and turned suddenly in the direction whence it came, he realized with a start that he had been hearing it for some time.

Jeff felt his throat tighten and go dry. . . . Bloodhounds. . . . A pack of them. . . . He shook his head, to throw off the growing numbness that was seizing him. A huge stone had queerly taken the place in his head where his brain should have been. He couldn't think! The stone seemed to grow and swell in his head like a living thing—in a moment it would burst his skull. He shook his head again and again like a stunned beast.

Shortly he became aware of a deep moaning that lay eerily against the distant baying of the dogs. He tensed his body and listened. It was coming from his own throat!

"Hattie! Hattie!"

The words came from his mouth thick and rasping, hardly above a whisper.

He must find Hattie!

She would help him—she would tell them he wasn't a nigger!

He smiled through his broken teeth, felt the immense stone lift itself from his head. Why hadn't he thought of it before? Hattie would tell them that he was Jeff Brewster, her husband—that there had been a terrible mistake.

It was all so simple now: he had only to find Hattie!

He turned and broke into a run, the resolution pouring new strength into his exhausted limbs.

Now he threw away caution. He plunged furiously ahead, tearing a pathway through the tangled vines and brush with his upraised arm. Where the water was deepest he made use of the tall saplings and low-hanging branches to quicken his passage, pull-

ing himself forward from tree to tree with huge ape-like movements of his body. The black enameled surface of the pools swirled and eddied about him with a soft melancholy hissing, catching the broken moonlight on its shifting ripples.

The man Jeff, plunging through the swamp, neither saw the moonlit water, nor heard its vague muttering.

He stopped to listen, poised in slime up to his knees, tense. The deep baying of the hounds was no nearer, but it was there. Frantically, he gauged the point from which it came and shifted his course accordingly, pressing on till he fell panting and exhausted on the crest of a dry hump. He listened, and for a moment heard only the terrible beating of his heart against the earth. It was so good to lie here, to rest.

The noise of the hounds, suddenly surging louder, brought him to his feet again. Were they closer—or had the wind veered? Sweat in torrents broke out from his body, streamed down his face from his matted hair. The dogs! He must get away from the dogs!

He lurched down the hillock and encountered again the wet heavy marsh floor. He tried to run; the treacherous muck manipulated his feet as if it were alive, holding him fast for a moment, then releasing him with a push in a new direction. He soon gave up trying to maintain a straight course and let the swamp zigzag him where it pleased. Only—he must put distance between himself and the dogs!

The smells of the rotting swamp made him retch. If only—A sudden idea blossomed like an explosion in his brain. Yes. . . . Yes! Feverishly he let down his braces and emptied his bowels on the shallow water. Sparks of the idea coursed through his veins like a running fire. *Something he had eaten or drunk at Cass Whitley's! Some subtle combination of food and drink had poisoned him—had made his skin temporarily black, like a nigger's!* Joyfully he poured the wastes from his body, clenching his fists, doubling the muscles of his stomach till his eyes bulged and the veins stood out like ropes on his forehead. Now—it was only a matter of time! Minutes, maybe!

He stood up, weak and dizzy from his exertion, but confident. *Now!*

The sharp baying of the hounds cut into his exultation. He started. In the white heat that had taken hold of him, he had not heard the dogs. Now they seemed closer, more ominous. It was maddening. He put up his hands to his ears to shut out the sound. It pierced the barrier of his flesh as if his hands were thin paper.

Time! . . . A few minutes! . . . God—a minute or two! Even now the poisons were working out of his body, in his sweat! *Christ—a minute!*

He began to run, howling to drown out the deep-toned clamor of the hounds.

The ruse pleased him. He howled louder. Now, strangely, the dogs weren't there at all! He must have frightened them off! . . . Or maybe they could tell by his cries that he wasn't a nigger, really! Yes! Yes! . . . Or by the new smell of him!

He opened up his throat full blast on the quivering marsh, while a bitter indignation surged into his blood. The dogs had more understanding than the people! They had discovered at last that he wasn't a nigger. Now the people would understand—they would stop pursuing him and let him get back to Hattie!

Besides—Jeff stopped short. What had he done? Why were the townsmen trying to catch him?

Even if he were a nigger, *what had he done?*

But he wasn't a nigger: he was Jeff Brewster, who had eaten and drunk at Cass Whitley's only a few hours before—and was poisoned!

He listened, open-mouthed, panting. The throaty clatter of the hounds, no longer swallowed up by his din, leaped to his ears like a whirlwind. They seemed to be coming from many directions, inexorably closing in.

JEFF BREWSTER, the ordinary young man, stood with bloodshot eyes and amazed twitching mouth in the heart of the black swamp. There was something . . . something . . . In a furious mad current the events of the day and the night swept over him and through him. Involuntarily he stretched out his hands—to ward off, or to find, he didn't know which. There was something . . . He shook his dazed head, tried to bring his thoughts together. There was Hattie . . . there was a tree, immense . . . there were two niggers, with knives, who pursued him silently through the dreaming streets. . . . There was the pitchy half-frightened face of the old darky in the guttering light of the cabin. "Like de dribben snow. . . ." There was Ozzy Meadows. . . .

Jeff saw his hands cutting the gloom before him with endless fantastic patterns. His hands—his flesh! With a bellow of rage he dropped to his knees, groping feverishly in the slush and rubble of the marsh floor. It did not take him long to find what he wanted. When he rose, still bellowing, he was clutching a long slender stick, dripping and heavy with slime. He seemed to be standing before his own door again, with the blood trickling into his mouth. And from near and infinite distances, like the sharp barking of countless dogs, the night air pulsed and exploded with ever-increasing detonations of a single word. It was the word that had burned its way through the closed door as he stood with the blood and sweat running into his mouth.

Louder than his own howling, the night howled it down upon him with its innumerable voices.

Nigger! . . . NIGGER!

The air was suddenly filled with showers of live coals—blue, yellow, red. They poured in upon him softly like a soundless hail, without heat. Each one was a word.

NIGGER!

How was that? Moony, the porter, was a nigger. The big Sam'l was a nigger. Ozzy Meadows was a nigger.

He was Jeff Brewster, the husband of Hattie Brewster, and they had a white baby, such a soft little white baby.

Explosions. Showers of words. **NIGGER!**

The old darky didn't say, "Sam'l, you're talkin' to a white man."

NIGGER! NIGGER! . . . The night was a monster, a dog with—how many throats could a dog have? how many eyes?

"Mother! . . . Hattie! . . . **HATTIE! WHERE IS CHRIST THAT SUFFERED FOR ME?**"

That was himself shouting now. He had frightened off the explosions! . . . Funny. . . . **VERY. . . .** Where did that stick come from? . . . **JUST KEEP ON SHOUTING!**

"**MOTHER! MOTHER!**"

The cry blended into a shriek of pain, sustained and triumphant, as he brought the stick savagely down across his knees. **HE WASN'T A NIGGER! HE WAS A WHITE BODY THAT CRIED OUT WITH THE PAIN OF THE TRAMPLED AND FORSAKEN!**

"**MOTHER! HATTIE!**"

Joy and cunning. The eyes blazed in his head. The sweat poured. Again and again, shrieking, laughing, crying out words and half-words, he smote his knees, his thighs, his bleeding forehead. **HE WASN'T A NIGGER! WHAT A JOKE ON THEM—WHEN THEY FOUND HE WASN'T A NIGGER AT ALL!**

Laughing. Jabbering. Hysterical.

He kissed the stick that hurt his body, that told him he wasn't a nigger.

POOOR devil—when they found him just before daybreak, there wasn't enough of him left to be worth hanging.

He was standing with his back to a tree, rigid, mumbling, with blank staring eyes—covered with blood and dirt from his forehead to his half-naked feet. The stick was still clutched tightly in his hand.

He scarcely saw or heard anything, until he felt the stick being wrenched from his fingers. Then dimly he saw the dancing faces, ghostly white in the blue morning; heard the confused roar of human voices, the hounds. Somebody was roping his arms behind his back. Someone else was holding up before him an old cap. *His cap.* What were they doing with his cap?

Questions. Curses. Kicks. In confusion.

"Where's the body, you black bastard?"

He stared dully at the man through his caked eyelashes. Foxy Hyle was asking him a question.

Kicks. . . . A man with huge eyes was beating him across the mouth. Eyes. Eyes. . . . Phil Brewster had eyes like that.

"—the body, you black—!"

His head rolled from side to side limply under the blows.

"—the body—!"

Someone was calling out his name. Someone else.

He grinned, spitting out the blood from his broken teeth.

"I'm the body."

THE TWO young croppers who cut him down that afternoon said he must have come from up-state. They were sure they had never seen the face before.

They found him on a dry knoll near the edge of the swamp, where the trees were thick. The lower part of his body had been burnt to a crisp, the upper part was parched and blackened.

The veins and muscles of his face and throat and arms were fiercely knotted. The eyes were open: a look of surprise had settled and frozen there.

He seemed to have died in great pain.

Stormy Detroit

(Continued from page 25)

dealt with the Sudetenlanders fairly and well, was showered with vituperative letters, most of them unsigned, several in German and all in unmistakable German script, threatening him with death if he should ever set foot in Germany again.

Fascist organization among the Italians in Detroit, as was pointed out in Homer Martin's testimony before the Dies Committee, is well established. Martin told of one Giacomo Ungarelli, at one time Italian vice-consul in Detroit, who threatened with physical violence those Italians who would not contribute to the support and promotion of the Fascist cause.

If the Dies Committee had wished, it might have gone into the background of Fritz Kuhn, the *Fuehrer* of the American Nazi movement. Kuhn formerly was a Detroit, a chemist for the Ford Motor Company, before the Bund became so profitable.

Two Figures of Hate

But these things are of comparatively little importance—there are other and more important signs of the times in Detroit. Two figures—two monumental figures—stand out above the welter of hate that makes Detroit a danger-spot.

The lesser of these two is the Rev. Fr. Charles E. Coughlin. The good father is priest of the Shrine of the Little Flower, publisher of the magazine *Social Justice*, eloquent radio orator and crackpot economist. Long ago

his denunciation of the Spanish Loyalist cause, his funny money schemes, his anti-labor attitude, and his advocacy of nationalism as a sure cure for our spiritual ills pointed the direction he was traveling toward Fascist despotism. Today his anti-Semitic stand in defense of the Nazi régime has made his position plain to nearly every one.

But Father Coughlin was not investigated by the Dies Committee.

Nor was Henry Ford. Indeed, on the occasion of the Cleveland "investigation," Dies' running mate Congressman Mosier asserted that Ford had informed him in a personal interview that he was heartily in favor of the work the Dies Committee was doing. Ford was particularly interested, Mosier said, in seeing every sort of "ism" eradicated from our school system. Had Ford forgotten the "Fordisms" of a few years ago, beatitudes of Big Business, scattered in newspaper offices and factories throughout the nation? (It was just when the United Automobile Workers, backed by federal law, were beginning to show their strength.) Here the world had been advised that the power behind the labor movement was Ford's old personal bogey-man, the Wall Street banker.

Ford's "Americanism"

Thus Henry Ford, who defied the government of the United States under both the National Recovery Act and the Wagner Act, becomes an adviser to the Dies Committee on what is and what is not American.

Any mention of the Americanism of Henry Ford brings to mind his anti-Semitic crusade of the 1920's in the Dearborn *Independent*. But last month Ford made front-page news throughout the world with a sensational change of pace. He was represented as authorizing a statement disavowing sympathy with Nazi Germany and asserting that he would do "everything possible" to provide a haven for the oppressed Jews. This was indeed news. The man who publicized the so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," an ancient fraud, the man who found the Jews responsible for short skirts and jazz music, the man whose autobiography describes a "nasty Orientalism which insidiously affected every channel of expression"—this man deploring Jewish persecutions in Germany!

In an indirect fashion Henry Ford's statement was corrected. Father Coughlin in one of his anti-Jewish harangues said that Ford had been misrepresented. Harry Bennett, chief of the notorious Ford Service Department, stepped into the picture as a clarifier. Rabbi Leo M. Franklin of Detroit had persuaded Ford to authorize a statement, Bennett said. In the process of revision the statement had developed some inaccuracies. One thing, Bennett explained, was that Ford did not mention Nazism in his original statement, did not criticize the German

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government, and had asserted that he "did not know if there was any persecution in Germany" (attention circulation department) but that "if there was, he believed it was not the German people or their government, but an organized few, the war-makers, the international bankers."

A Medal from Hitler

Now Ford is an old man, and he has a natural naiveté. He once suggested that we further social justice in the United States by increasing the pay of the Supreme Court justices. But there is something more here than naiveté. Look at the record. There was the *Independent* and the anti-Semitic crusade. Then there was the report of the Bavarian diet to President Ebert of Germany at the time of Adolf Hitler's beer hall putsch. The Nazi movement was financed in part, it said, by the leader of the anti-Semitic movement in the United States, one Henry Ford. There was the question of the authorship of *The International Jew*, credited to Henry Ford a few years ago. There was the medal that Hitler sent Ford on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday anniversary last year. The medal was presented by Nazi Consul Karl Kapp of Cleveland, but the payoff remark was that of Consul Hailer of Detroit. "Fuehrer Hitler always has admired you (Ford) as an inventor," Hailer said in connection with the presentation, "but more recently, like Hitler, you have spent your time in promoting peace (sic)." The presentation and the acceptance whipped up a storm of protest and demands that Ford return the medal. Ford did not.

Fortress of Reaction

For a true change to come about in Detroit, the big strong gates of the Ford Rouge plant at Dearborn must be opened to the law. This huge fortress has withstood the siege of law and has changed Henry Ford from a figure of ridicule, the visionary who chartered the peace ship Oscar, to a landmark, in the eyes of his brother industrialists, in the fight for rugged individualism and the open shop.

Sprawled on the factory-scarred prairies, the Rouge plant has been the scene of bloodshed, bullying, defiance of federal law and perversion of local law. Here the hunger marchers were shot down; here the U.A.W. organizers were beaten; here Dearborn police arrest union bill distributors under a traffic ordinance; here fear hangs heavy over men; here in the finest industrial plant in the western world is waged a ceaseless war against labor.

An enlightened and aroused public opinion will attend to Father Coughlin. It took care of Boake Carter. It is still an easy matter to switch off your radio and protest to your broadcasting station.

With Ford the problem is greater, but it is not insurmountable. The

strength of unionization is a strength with which Ford must reckon some day. The United Automobile Workers have one of the biggest jobs of their career—bringing Ford within the law.

Lift the Embargo

(Continued from page 9)

been more complex: the war was over, or so the papers said and so the State Department, like Mr. Chamberlain, thought, after Franco had broken through to the sea. And it would be a pity to defer the denouement. After all, Chamberlain was trying to break the Rome-Berlin axis and his way of doing it was to give Mussolini, who had promised to get out of Spain afterwards, a Franco victory. If we raised the embargo the war would be "prolonged" and the breaking of the Rome-Berlin axis which was imminent—remember?—would be deferred.

And then too there was opposition, from the unneutrals, but from unneutrals claiming very powerful backing. No one in his right mind believes that American Catholics as a body want Franco to win, particularly that they want American "Neutrality" used to enable him to win. But there were people who said that Catholics wouldn't stand for it. Such people were libelling the Catholic population of this country. I am sure that no one in high places in Washington would have yielded to this pressure. But the war was "over." It was "too late" (as it has been too late since the beginning, according to some). So why offend a powerful minority?

And even the opposition was helpful. For it showed that the only people violently opposed to raising the embargo were the unneutrals, the people who wanted Franco to win by virtue of our first flyer in "neutrality."

The embargo wasn't raised.

And now?

There have been changes.

Our State Department knows that the war, over so many times, is not over or anything like it.

It knows that Spain isn't going Communist, although the fear of Communism in Spain or anywhere else would not seem to justify the misuse of our Neutrality, to turn our Neutrality Act into an instrument for intervention.

Franco vs. Catholics

It knows that the sympathy of American Catholics for Franco is rapidly diminishing, what with the savage persecution of the Catholic Basques by the little generalissimo, with the heavy shadow now cast by the swastika on Franco's Spain, and with the greatly improved situation of the Catholic Church in Loyalist Spain, where the Negrin government is guaranteeing it the fullest liberty and where the reopening of the churches waits only on permission from the Vicar-General of Barcelona (according to a statement

in the *London Tablet*, October 15th).

There have been other changes.

The embargo was originally designed as a parallel measure to Non-Intervention. Now we see Non-Intervention for what it was meant to be, an instrument to enable Franco to win. In the House of Lords on November 3d Lord Halifax said, "Premier Mussolini has always made it clear from the first that he is not prepared to see Franco defeated."

So now any measure parallel to the Non-Intervention Pact is shown up clearly as intervention, like that incredible pact, on the side of Franco. It was always that, but now we see it clearly.

And then there is South America.

Hitler, they say, is fulfilling the Germanic dream of "Drang nach Osten." But what is he doing in Spain? What was the German battleship *Deutschland* doing in Vigo harbor with destroyers and submarines during the September conversations that led to Munich? What are German submarines doing in the Canary Islands? Portugal is very close to Franco and his allies. Why not submarines and more in the Cape Verde Islands? They are less than 2,000 miles from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and that means 1,500 miles nearer Rio than the nearest American possession.

The game is clear.

It should have been clear from the start, from July 30, 1936 when the first Italian fighting planes arrived in Spanish Morocco to save Franco from defeat. On August 3d the first of them flew over Gibraltar. Any child could have understood. But there were no children in Gibraltar, only admirals and diplomats.

And over Republican Spain a red smokescreen had been raised for their special benefit, for the benefit of their kind everywhere.

Now the smokescreen has lifted, from over Spain and other places. And we see clearly why Hitler and Mussolini are there and where they are going.

And we see what Mr. Chamberlain is doing. We see that he would like to grant Franco belligerent rights by which he could throttle Spain into submission, and that he can only do this if our embargo is still on when he goes to Rome in the second week of January.

Are we prepared to help Mr. Chamberlain again? With our Neutrality?

What irony, that the first use of our Neutrality Act should have been to get us into a foreign entanglement of this importance!

Will we keep it on and thus, tacitly, join the Munich powers?

Or will we raise it, becoming neutral again and insuring our safety for a little longer by that simple act? There is very little time left. The embargo became news last spring because public opinion made it news.

There is a lesson in that.

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY, convening in Washington on January 6th, meets at an hour which is indeed dark for the Family of Man. The world has sipped full of horrors since the People's Congress at Pittsburgh last year—and still the horrors come, not lessening for all the indignation of civilized mankind, but growing in ferocity as that indignation is not translated into effective action. The well-organized Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, with the help of its agents in London and Paris, has the initiative. By comparison the people's forces seem chaotic, scattered and impotent. Many adherents of the democratic way of life falter before the savage attacks of Fascism, and are disposed to cry: All is lost! They fear that the slogan "Peace and Democracy" is the gallant rallying-cry of a lost cause.

Without for a moment glossing over the tragic defeats of Democracy in recent months or the even worse events now being feverishly plotted, we must say at the last: Nothing could be further from the truth.

Democracy is not weaker, but, *once organized*, infinitely stronger than Fascism. This, indeed, is the explanation of the Munich Betrayal and of all the groveling of Chamberlain and Daladier before Hitler. *Not that Chamberlain fears Hitler, but that he fears the people!* He fears, precisely, the downfall of Hitler, that would quickly be followed by the retiring to private life of Chamberlain—and would signalize the defeat of Chamberlain's Fascist backers.

Thus the stronger becomes the people's hatred for Fascism, the more "heroic" the remedies that must be employed to keep life in the Fascist régime. What a pass must they be reduced to, when it is necessary to risk such a dangerous play as Munich! (Dangerous to Chamberlain, above all. Suppose the British people had refused to accept it?) Daladier fights the powerful French labor movement; Chamberlain swallows insult after insult to once proud Britain. Granted that these men themselves have no national sentiments—do their acts not still indicate their desperation?

We in America have an example, in our Civil War period. Then as now the people were disorganized, the cohorts of reaction organized. Then as now there was an attempt at compromise. And then as now the slaveholders could not rest with their gains, but tried to extend them.

As in Lincoln's time, so today *the people will win*.

If the people are to win, it is necessary, however, that they organize their forces. And in this great task of our day a special responsibility falls on us in America. We are at present in an especially favorable situation. Our government is moving, hesitantly it is true, *against* the Fascist Axis, carrying out the will of the aroused people. Sentiment is rising throughout the Western Hemisphere for a stand against Rome-Berlin-Tokyo. Such a firm stand on our part, in cooperation with the other peace-desiring peoples, will rally the Democracy of Europe, will strengthen the defenders of Spain and China who are fighting our battles, and will send a powerful call to the people within the Fascist nations themselves!

Lifting the un-neutral embargo on the Spanish Republic, which is surely the first order of business for America, would have profound reverberations in behalf of world Democracy—and not least within our own country, in the curbing of our homegrown and imported Fascists.

All aid to the refugees from racial and religious



Refugees in Czechoslovakia — a Ruthenian woodcutter and his children

Problems of the People

persecution would not only be a humanitarian step—but would have great political significance, in demonstrating that America stands foursquare against the Nazi blackmail policies.

These are some of the problems before the American Congress for Peace and Democracy. We are confident that the Congress will deal with them in a way that will give an adequate answer to the machinations of the Tory friends of Fascism. To express the will of the people, so many sections of whom have spoken separately—perhaps even so effectively as to turn the tide against Fascism—this is a signal and rare opportunity.—C. P.

Coughlin's Poison

THE broadcast of Father Coughlin a few weeks ago brought a prompt response from the people of the country. Church papers wrote editorials denouncing him. Cardinal Mundelein explained that the Father spoke for himself and not for the Church. Even men and women on the street thought that the speech should not have been permitted.

It is fortunate that the American radio has been quite free, in the past, from allowing the air to be used for the furtherance of any sort of race prejudice. It has by this very cautiousness built up in the American public an attitude against such speeches as Father Coughlin feels himself called upon to make. But, nevertheless, the fact remains that hundreds of people have listened to the denunciations of Coughlin and have been influenced by them. In the small

towns, particularly in the Middle West, Coughlin has a regular audience. This audience is not confined to the members of his own church. I discovered in a small town in Ohio, where almost all the population was Protestant, the Father was part of the regular radio fare. He brought word from the outside world. He was frequently quoted. The papers that give another side are not read in the town. I do not know of one Jewish family living there. There is no way to check what Coughlin might say against the facts as the townspeople might know them.

These anti-Semitic broadcasts are not new. They were largely responsible for stirring up anti-Jewish feeling in Germany in the early days and keeping it burning brightly ever since. That the United States public is not used to such broadcasts is good, but we must not get used to them. It is necessary to keep constantly protesting them so that they may not be used again. Fortunately the citizen of the United States has always felt it was his right to say when he does not like something. Now is the time to speak up.—D. McC.

Note on the Spy Trials

FOOD for thought: The Nazi-controlled press of Germany has always favorably played up Americans who favor isolationism. But since the spy trials it is apparent that either the Nazis do not believe in isolation—or they do not think that we believe in it. Or perhaps they believe in isolation—for the other fellow?—C. P.

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Which is more important—the razor or the blade? If you are in doubt read the report on safety razors on pages 7, 8 and 9 of this month's *Consumers Union Reports*. Eight brands are rated on the basis of shaving tests, including the Gillette, Rolls, Durham-Duplex, Gem, Valet Auto-Strop, and Schick Injector.

COCOA

Most brands of cocoa taste alike and are made of practically identical ingredients. If that were all there were to cocoa Consumers Union would recommend that you select your brand on the basis of price alone. But cocoa is not the seemingly innocent product it appears. Each of 40 samples tested by CU contained lead—a dangerous poison even when taken in very small quantities. Moreover cocoa contains a stimulant which may be undesirable for children if drunk regularly. These facts about cocoa are discussed in a report appearing in this month's *Consumers Union Reports*. Tables are given showing the comparative cost and comparative lead content of 25 leading brands, including Baker's, Hershey's and Runkels.

ANTI-FREEZES

Certain anti-freeze solutions should not be put into your radiator under any circumstances. Probably the best anti-freeze is (you'll find the actual brand name on page 5)—but it costs about three times as much as other satisfactory solutions. Twenty anti-freezes are rated by brand name in this report: two as "Best Buys," eight as "Also Acceptable," and ten as "Not Acceptable." Among those listed are Zerone, Eveready Prestone, Super Pyro, and Ford Anti-Freeze. Evaporation retarders are also evaluated.

BABY FOODS

Prepared baby foods undoubtedly save mothers a great deal of wear and tear. But what about the wear and tear on their pocketbooks? And what about the nutritional value of canned infant foods as compared with fresh or canned unstrained vegetables? These and other pertinent points about infants foods are discussed on pages 3, 4 and 5 of this issue. Two tables are given—one showing the comparative cost of feeding your baby strained canned foods, fresh foods cooked and strained at home, and unstrained canned foods; another giving the results of tests for flavor made by government food graders on various brands of strained peas, spinach, carrots, prunes and other fruits and vegetables. There are also other valuable hints on feeding your baby based on child specialists' opinions.

CAR HEATERS

Tested in CU's laboratory under conditions simulating normal conditions of use, eight brands of auto heaters are rated for comparative value in this month's *Reports*—pages 14 and 15. Three are "Best Buys," five are "Also Acceptable," and one is "Not Acceptable." If you are planning to buy an auto heater it would be worth your while to become a member of Consumers Union if for no other reason than to get this report and find out which models to avoid. Low priced, private brands were found to offer considerably better values than higher priced, widely advertised national brands.

SNOWSUITS

Laboratory tests on ten brands of children's snowsuits ranging in price from \$5.90 to \$16.95 show that there is no need to pay more than \$8 for an all-wool suit offering adequate protection against snow and wind. Pages 17, 18 and 19.

ACID

Continuing the discussion of alkalizers begun in last month's *Reports*, Dr. Harold Aaron, CU's medical consultant, talks facts about "Acid Stomach," "Acidosis," "Acid Indigestion," and the rest of the acid bogeys by means of which advertisers are currently scaring the public into buying "alkalizing" medicines. Pages 10, 11, 12.

LEAD

Because lead kills insects it is used extensively as a spray on growing fruits and vegetables. Because it can also kill human beings if taken in small quantities over a period of time the U. S. government 12 years ago limited the amount of lead that could be left as residue on fruits to .018 grain per pound. Recently this limit has been raised to .025 grain per pound, in spite of the opinions of many prominent toxicologists that even the former tolerance constituted a real menace to public health. If you are interested in learning about the sequence of events which adds up to the fact that you will now eat more poison with your fruit, read pages 24 and 25 of the *Reports*.

OIL HEATERS

"Incapable of giving good results because of poor design." This comment applies to one of the six makes of oil burners for kitchen or parlor stoves listed as "Not Acceptable" on page 29. Thirty-two makes of oil-burning room heaters are rated in all, including 16 makes of oil-burning stoves. Because there are hundreds of cheap, poorly designed burners on the market with flimsy, easily warped castings and cylinders, it is particularly important for prospective buyers to have the sort of technical guidance this report provides.

Consumers Union of United States, Inc.

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