

February
1939

The
Fight
FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

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WHAT AMERICA NEEDS

A. F. Whitney • B. F. McLaurin • James B. Carey

WE CALL IT PEACE • By Leland Stowe



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With the Readers

★

FEBRUARY—the month of American heroes' birthdays. And one of them we want to write about—a neglected American hero.

WE refer to George Washington, the Father of His Country.

HE is long dead. The cities bear his name, and his monuments and statues throng the land. He is in the school-books, the songs, and the poems, and the children are taught to revere him. There was never such a dead hero as this man of stone who is very far away.

AND in recent years we have honored him in a new manner. We have busied ourselves with his private life. We have learned of his sins and his dissipations. His economic motives and machinations have been made plain. He has been whittled down to his biographer's size.

WE have found the man of stone to be a man of common clay. He is very far...

TRUE, a hundred and fifty years make quite a jump. We strain our eyes into the future, when war itself will be history and Fascism a few pages in the books. And the man, woman and child of that no doubt happier day are very dim.

We cannot reach them. So it is with General Washington. How can we of the United States of America, the world's oldest democracy, go back, back, back to the time when there was no U.S.A. and, further, no Democracy in the world? Then we must put ourselves in the position of a man who had many ties of education, tradition, family and friendship with the old order of British aristocracy. What pressures weighed upon him, what doubts and misgivings plagued him on the road of the American Revolution for independence and this new and untried theory, Democracy? Victory for the Americans was by no means assured, and certainly George Washington was no reckless adventurer.

THE British were vastly superior in munitions, in trained troops, in all the military elements. They seized and occupied the key cities. They won most of the battles. General Washington retreated, striking in a guerrilla type of warfare, retreating again. He had the people and an idea. There was Valley Forge. Would it not have been more comfortable in the society of London?

GEORGE WASHINGTON faced the future like a Stone Mountain sculpture.

IT is perhaps idle to speculate as to what a historical figure would do in our own time. But one cannot but observe that the Democracy established at Valley Forge is gravely menaced by a new and more terrible feudalism. And we have seen that Independence won by the Man of Stone, now threatened by those of the Fascist Axis who are enslaving nation after nation. From across the seas come open orders as to what our president and Congress must do to retain the favor of the Nazi Reich.

We are reaching a situation where we can understand the life of George Washington. Not alone the man of monuments, nor the more recent figure of weaknesses and human failings. But the commander-in-chief of the American Revolutionary Army, the hero of Valley Forge, and the first president of the world's first democracy. May his spirit be in us!



Walter Levy kisses his sister Gertrude as the little refugees from Hitler reach the United States

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CHARLES PRESTON, Acting Editor

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The Contributors

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A. F. WHITNEY, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, is not a newcomer to our pages.

B. F. McLAURIN is international field organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

JAMES B. CAREY, president of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America and secretary of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, is probably the youngest leader in the field of labor.

JEAN LYON, whose work is widely syndicated, has to the best of our knowledge the honor of writing the first article telling Americans how and why to boycott Japanese goods. The article appeared in *The Nation* in October, 1938. Miss Lyon was born in China, a granddaughter of one of the earliest missionaries to go to that country. She addressed the Pittsburgh Congress of the American League.

LELAND STOWE has been for many years a foreign correspondent for the *New York Herald-Tribune* in Spain and elsewhere. His most recent assignment was the Pan-American Conference in Lima, Peru.

JOSEPH BRIDGES' work has appeared in *New Masses* and other publications. He has done reviews for *THE FIGHT* from time to time.

LOUISE BRANSTEN writes from San Francisco that her article on Mooney was written in the attic of Charles Fickert's house (where she now lives)—at a time when the government was forced to take over the assets of the Dollar Steamship Company because they were financially incapable of operating, and at a time when "Herbert Fleishhacker, former arbiter of political destinies in the state of California, had been publicly disgraced for misappropriation of funds in the administration of his bank." The point being that Fickert, the Dollars and Fleishhacker were three of the leaders in keeping Tom Mooney in jail. Crime doesn't pay!

LEWIS MUMFORD, the well known writer, is the author of *Techniques of Civilization, Culture of Cities* and other books.

GEORG HEYER took the pictures of the American Congress for Peace and Democracy.

NEXT month we will have an announcement of a plan for increasing the circulation of *THE FIGHT* by many thousands. The perspective for the next year, as outlined at the American Congress, is to *double* the circulation of the magazine. We are confident that this can be done, but it will take a *mass movement*. We hope that every single reader will constitute himself a committee of one to build *THE FIGHT*, by selling subscriptions and by introducing the magazine to organizations and individuals who do not know of us at present. Please remember: it's *your* magazine!

WE think our contributors will agree with our taking a few lines of their space to remind you to wire your Congressman today, in behalf of *lifting the embargo against the Spanish Republic*.

The Nazis in America

to the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen, near Oranienburg, where Niemöller and many thousands of Jews have been sent to the concentration camps at Buchenwald, near Weimar and Dachau.

"The reports of executions at Buchenwald are confirmed. It is learned from a sure source that 70 Jews were executed in that camp on the night of November 8-9—that is to say, before the death of Vom Rath. Further executions followed, and according to the latest information available they now total 200 in Buchenwald alone. . . .

"In some regions of Germany all male Jews aged from 16 to 60, in others 18 to 80, were arrested—or, rather, all who could be traced. At the present time innumerable Jews are wandering about the forests of Germany. . . .

"It grows more and more evident that the excesses were planned well in advance. In Berlin alone 3,000 Jewish shops and stores were systematically destroyed by organized gangs in a very short space of time. . . .

"As far as can be learnt at present, the Nazi gangs have burnt and destroyed 166 synagogues and temples throughout Germany in the course of their anti-Semitic drive."

Add to this the many details still unknown, the attacks on Catholics, the repressive measures taken against "Aryans" who expressed their opposition to the Nazi measures, and the full scope of the heart-rending atrocities begins to unfold.

The refined sadism of the Nazi rulers and the continuous terrorist activities were clearly revealed in a Berlin dispatch from a United Press staff correspondent portraying the fascist contribution to civilization. The story reads:

"Occasionally the wife of a Jew who 'disappeared' during the first days of the anti-Semitic campaigns answers the front doorbell and finds a man standing there. He hands her a small package and says:

"These are the ashes of your husband. There will be three marks charge, please."

And public opinion the world over expressed its profound revulsion at the Nazi savagery perpetrated against the Jews, Catholics and the common people of Germany. Representatives of every section of the American population have protested against the storm-trooper

ARE the pogroms in Germany which have shocked the world to be repeated in America? Is an effort being made here to bring about a Fascist régime?

"We have learned that long before any overt act, aggression begins with preliminaries of propaganda, subsidized penetration, the loosening of ties of good will, stirring of prejudice and the incitement of disunion."

With these words President Roosevelt in his message to Congress plainly described the activities of the Nazis in destroying the independent Democracy of Czechoslovakia. Other nations have been similarly weakened with the "subsidized penetration" of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.

Is the United States immune from this penetration? Or are Hitler's agents here actively carrying out the preliminaries referred to by the President?

Just off the press, "Nazi Penetration in America" is a definitive study of the German-American Bund and other sections of the Nazi movement in the United States. What are the Nazi organizations here and how do they operate? Who are their friends? Where are their centers of strength? What camps do they maintain? What about their activity in stirring anti-Semitism and race hatred?

"Nazi Penetration in America," by Abraham Chapman, answers these questions and many more. The American League for Peace and Democracy is proud to be able to distribute this pamphlet at only *five cents a copy* (and with reduced rates for bundle orders). We urge you to buy a copy for yourself; we urge you to see to it that your friends receive copies; we urge that you arrange for large numbers to be circulated in your locality.

"Nazi Penetration in America" gives a most timely warning of the activities which threaten the security and peace of the people of our country. It reveals the subversive agents who would overthrow our democratic government and make our nation a puppet of the Unholy Alliance. You cannot afford to miss, or to let your friends miss, "Nazi Penetration in America" (five cents a copy).

OTHER PAMPHLETS

Two other pamphlets dealing with Nazi activities and the fight against Fascism and anti-Semitism are available. "The Lesson of Czechoslovakia," by Robert G. Spivack, analyzes the destruction of the Central European republic and points the lesson Democracy must draw in order to prevent a recurrence of the Munich Pact. (Five cents a copy.) . . . "An Open Letter to My Fellow-Jews," by James Waterman Wise, is timely in view of recent developments. The pamphlet presents a program by which the Jewish people can work with other democratic people to resist and throw back Fascism. (Two cents a copy.)

Order from

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY, 268 Fourth Avenue, New York City

Organize for Freedom!

The American people must defend their free and peaceful way of life from the enemies that threaten within and without . . . Address of the president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen to the American Congress for Peace and Democracy

By A. F. Whitney



In A. F. Whitney's absence due to illness, Byrl Whitney reads his address to the Congress

IT IS FITTING that the American Congress for Peace and Democracy open its sessions with a labor rally in our nation's capital. The American Bill of Rights, embodied in the United States Constitution, guarantees every citizen the right to petition his government for a redress of grievances, and it is by virtue of the sanction of that privilege that we assemble near Capitol Hill to voice not only our grievances, but our aspirations as well.

Our revolutionary forefathers were also met in Congress many years ago, to express their resentment against a tyrannical government which sought to carry through a policy of taxation without representation. I refer to the historic Stamp Act Congress of 1765, held in New York City, the spontaneous crystallization of organized opposition by the Colonists against a measure directly threatening their liberties. King George was compelled to repeal the hated Act, and in the colonies, writes one historian, the "repeal was hailed . . . by as joyful a demonstration as could have greeted the deliverance from ages of cruel oppression."

A Congress of Defense

Unlike the Stamp Act Congress, however, the American Congress for Peace and Democracy has assembled not to censure the government for oppressive measures, but rather to defend the government and the people from dangers which threaten from within and from without. As in 1765, there are indications that our freedom is under attack; indeed, the Democracy which was established more than a century and a half ago is, without a doubt, now facing the test of survival. For within the last few years an ugly spectre has arisen to plague the world



Photos show, from left to right, at top, Dr. Max Yergan of the Committee on African Affairs and Howard Costigan of the Washington Commonwealth Federation; in middle picture, Jerry J. O'Connell of Montana with the Rev. Charles Webber of the Methodist Federation; bottom, the Rev. Herman F. Reissig of the North American Committee and the Rev. William B. Spofford, vice-chairman of the American League



and it now threatens to engulf America. That disease is Fascism. . . .

In a very real sense the American Congress for Peace and Democracy is a national "health" conference dedicated to the proposition that the diseases of war and Fascism shall not take hold here. On the contrary, the lot of the American people must be peaceful and democratic, and, so far as this Congress is able to organize the forces for peace and Democracy in the United States, we shall truly fight for these ideals until we are successful in wiping out the enemy.

The enemy is within our gates; the enemy is without our gates. Paradoxical as this may seem, nevertheless an examination of the problem of American Democracy today will justify the accuracy of this description and, more particularly, will point the way out. . . .

In an atmosphere of individual freedom and initiative, the vast natural resources of this country were taken in hand and a nation was built. The "good old days" are remembered for the atmosphere of "living" which permeated the scene. We were "going places": constructing new cities, developing the great West, building railroads. Jobs were plentiful. And periodic depressions were overcome by expansion in new directions. It was a joy to live in free America. The streets were not exactly paved with gold, as the immigrants had been told, but some Main Streets were very close to it! . . .

The economic machine had broken down several times before 1929, but it had started up again. Something always happened along to give it a push—free land, new industries, new foreign markets. These possibilities were not available when the crash came in 1929—an event foreshadowed by missing cylinders in farming, mining, and textiles.

Stranded in midstream, the American people flew in the face of precedent, and changed horses. The new mount, the donkey, was at any rate sure-footed, and the road to recovery is uphill.

This is not the place to evaluate in detail the achievements of the New Deal Administration, nor to point out its errors. Suffice it to say that it has lifted us from the Slough of Despond and has given us new hope. It fed the hungry. It encouraged the organization of labor. It made a beginning in the direction of social security. Above all, it recognized the truth that our economic system can operate successfully only when the people are provided with sufficient purchasing power.

Labor's New Deal Gains

Labor's accomplishments under the New Deal are worthy of more consideration, because where labor succeeded in obtaining recognition, fair working conditions, higher wages, and shorter hours, there the people prospered most. Under the stimulus of the Roosevelt Administration, organized labor surged forward to extend the advantages of collective bargaining to millions of hitherto unorganized and helpless workers. Whereas before, a mere three million workers were organized; now there are more than eight million within the fold.

The efforts of labor met with much opposition—including violence—on the part of the reactionary employers who considered themselves the king-pins

in a feudal America. In instances too numerous to cite, there were violations of the workers' rights of assemblage, free speech, and free press. The Liberty Leaguers made desperate attempts to curb union growth. They refused to meet employee bargaining committees legally set up under Federal statutes. They fired employees who showed they were union conscious. They hired scabs to break strikes and thugs to crack skulls and labor spies to foment discord among the rank and file.

The reactionary National Association of Manufacturers counselled its members not to obey the famous Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act. When the NRA was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, the robber barons gloated. They fought the Wagner Act tooth and nail. Eminent lawyers advised employers to ignore it. They yelled "Dictator," when the President attempted to *unpack* the Supreme Court. "Stop thief!" shouts the crook as he joins the crowd in hot pursuit of himself.

The open-shop automobile industry had to be struck by the employees in order to obtain recognition. The strike in "little steel" was broken by official terror. Labor will never forget ex-Governor Davey's use of the National Guard, nor shall the memory of the Chicago Memorial Day massacre be erased from our minds.

But despite company unionism, despite terror and scabbing and labor spies, American unions made significant advances. For the first time in history the feudal strongholds of auto, steel, and rubber were challenged and the ramparts conquered by the people's hosts. For the first time a depression, namely that beginning in the fall of 1937, failed to scatter the ranks of labor. Industry-wide wage cuts did not become the order of the day!

Toward Labor Unity

There were some setbacks here and there, due, in part, to the unfortunate split in the ranks of labor. But, happily enough, we now perceive a ground-swell of feeling for labor unity, such as will soon carry with it the practical methods by which it will be achieved. The election victories in California and Washington, the best examples of labor unity in action, should make us ever more zealous to promote unity elsewhere.

The approach of the 76th Congress was fanfared by blasts from Tory trumpets heralding major attacks on the National Labor Relations Act and other important gains of the New Deal. Surely this must make every friend of labor redouble his efforts to bring back harmony in the family household. United, labor will be able to beat back every frontal and flank attack directed by the captains of industry and their Wall Street generals of finance. Divided, labor will fall back under the heel of a dictatorship as ruthless as those dictatorships which outlawed labor unions in Italy and Germany.

Let us not forget that Tom Girdler and Henry Ford are not altogether unacquainted with the use of force against their employees. It was no accident when Hitler presented Ford with the Order of the German Eagle, "for services rendered." It is no accident that Henry Ford's Japanese plant subscribes to Japanese war bonds. . . .

Not only must labor seek harmony within itself, but it must especially win the friendship of the farmers and the great American middle-classes—the shopkeepers, the professionals, and the small business men—whose hopes and desires are closely akin to the aspirations of members of trade unions.

In the final analysis, what does labor want? Labor

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WE HAVE met at a time when the whole world is troubled and in turmoil. Conflicts in various areas of the world in varied forms mark the life of mankind today. These conflicts center around the assertion of rights and an effort to establish these rights.

On the one hand there is the claim of the right of self-determination by smaller nationalities, and on the other, the great power nations insist by the might of arms to fulfill their so-called manifest destiny in terms of imperialistic expansion.

Totalitarian states, under the dynamic drive of Fascism and Nazism, assert their right to establish hegemony over new territory and peoples regardless of the international pacts and commitments against expansion through violence and war.

The democracies of the world, recognizing this threat to peace, assert the right to settlement of international disputes through conference and negotiation.

Within the boundaries of our own country there

Rights of the Negro

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (A. F. of L.) representative told of his people's struggle for equality

By
B. F. McLaurin

are grave conflicts that focus upon the question of rights. Tom Girdler of the Republic Steel Company claimed the right to refuse a contract to workers in his plant as an instrument for the settlement of industrial disputes in peace and harmony. The trade union movement, including the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Big Four Brotherhoods and bona fide independent labor organizations, demand the right of collective bargaining for the negotiation of agreements concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions.

It is apparent that the great struggles that have shaken and transformed the structure of society have arisen over a conflict of rights set forth by rival groups.

But what are rights? Rights consist in the privilege of enjoyment and use of the things, agencies and forces that are either the product of the genius, talent and ability of mankind or of nature. Though rights are not something that one can see or hear,

At right are B. F. McLaurin; Mrs. Victor L. Berger, vice-chairman of the American League; and Jerome Davis of the American Federation of Teachers

they are inherent in the ability of peoples and individuals to be seen and heard, to live and develop.

The Negro's struggle for rights did not begin upon the American continent. Sturdy, aggressive and brave paramount chieftains in the wilds of Africa fought for the right to be free men against the slave traders. Millions of black men died in the struggle to maintain the independence of African states against the invasion of the modern exploiting forces of predatory capitalism. History is replete with dramatic stories of intrepid African slaves defying the vicious "Middle Passage" in their plunge to the freedom of death in the seas. During the quarter of a thousand years of the slavery of the Negro people in America, countless insurrections and revolts were carried on by black slaves, thousands of whom perished seeking a freedom they never knew. Black eighteenth century slaves never ceased to fight for liberation. In the early nineteenth century the challenge of the slave masters by the Negroes in bondage continued unabated in determination and fury.

Who does not know of the heroic and glorious martyrdom of Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Gabriel, and many others, as a result of battle for liberty in the dark night of slavery? Nor did black men fight alone. Negro women like Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, the former of whom will ever live in the memory of the Negro people for her matchless deeds in building the underground railroad for the escape of Negro slaves from the blistering lash of Simon Legree to the North and Canada, fought side by side with black men.

Even during the fierce struggle of the Civil War when the outcome was uncertain from the point of view of the Union forces, well nigh a quarter of a million black slaves pleaded for arms that they might help turn the tide of battle. The outstanding courage of these men will stand as a fine and everlasting testimony of the Negro's share through blood and fire in making the Union strong and permanent, and the abolition of chattel slavery certain. It was the immortal Frederick Douglass, matchless fighter in the abolition movement, with William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Lovejoy and Sumner, who counseled the immortal Abe Lincoln in the wisdom of placing the slaves under arms.

In stirring and relentless voice and the power of pen, the great leader of the Negro people, Frederick Douglass, like a Pilgrim of old, went throughout the land and even crossed the seas, preaching to all races, nations and creeds of the iniquity of human bondage and that the slave masters should let his people go.

Finally the institution of slavery was broken down by the Civil War. Millions of slaves became *freedmen*, but not *free men*. Negroes in the period following the Civil War, known as the Reconstruction, assumed some free status. But the Civil War had not brought to the freedmen the status of free farmers. They had not become independent workmen. Only during the Reconstruction period was there any participation in government by black men. The Civil War had not won for the former slaves the real right of suffrage, the right to vote and be voted for in the Southern states. Nor was education free, except during the brief period of Reconstruction, during which time the foundations of the public school system of the South were established by black men.

Thus, an elaborate system of legislation and extra-

(Continued on page 24)



Make Democracy Work

To preserve a free nation, our government must enable the people to realize their right to work . . . Address of the secretary of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and president of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

By James B. Carey

DEMOCRACY today faces a challenge more serious than it has ever faced before. In large and important areas of the world it has been challenged and challenged successfully, at least for the moment. Many millions of men and women have had their freedom taken away from them, their right to organize, their right to talk freely, to bargain collectively for the improvement of their material and cultural standards of life.

We read about these victims of anti-democratic forces, and we feel a sense of horror and fear. We don't want it to happen here. We don't want to see our labor unions destroyed and our living

standards driven down and our people hurried into wars of aggression and conquest—we don't want the things we have seen happen to the people of Germany and Italy and Japan happen to our people.

We won't let them happen here—not while we have a strong labor movement and while we are able to maintain and extend the Democracy we have already gained. As labor people, we are determined on these points. We wouldn't be worthy of the trust that the working men and women of America have put in us if we weren't determined this way.

But we need more than determination to drive Fascism back from our homes and our factories and our farms. We need understanding of how our Democracy works, of what its functions are and should be, and also of the causes and the workings of the enemies of Democracy. We need to understand very clearly our own part in shaping the government under which we live so that it remains our servant, so that it does not become the tool of the enemies of decent living standards and cultural and spiritual values.

What is the function of the government under which we live? Organized labor sees it in very

At left, Dr. Harry F. Ward and James B. Carey; Louis Weinstock (Painters), Sol Fishko (Paper Handlers), David Dorkin (U.E.R.M.W.A.), M. A. Lakofsky (Carpenters)



definite terms. Government must guarantee economic security to the working men and women of the nation. It must guarantee the opportunity to work, at decent wages. It must provide the means for a constantly rising standard of living, to be enjoyed by all the people. We have a tremendously rich country, with endless possibilities of advancement. Our technical equipment and our scientific achievement are the highest in the world. The working men and women of this country know how to use this equipment. They know how to make the things that America needs and wants, and they are ready and willing to make them.

Function of Government

In modern society, it is government that must see to it that the nation takes advantage of these opportunities, that it is able to exploit its own resources. This can only be done in a Democracy. If we have any doubts on this point, all we have to do is to read the stories that filter through even the strictest censorship showing the extent to which the standards of living of the German and the Italian and the Japanese peoples are constantly driven down under Fascism. Only the other day the *New York Times*—whose Berlin correspondent is not a fanatical anti-Nazi—carried an item about the working day in Germany which had just been lengthened to ten, twelve and more hours, with no increase in wages and no overtime pay. In another story we read about a Nazi decree putting 400,000 women and girls into forced labor, at less than subsistence wages.

This sort of thing is a small part of what Fascism does through the power of government over the people. With it of course goes a complete loss of freedom, of the right to organize, to speak your own mind on subjects that concern you—or even on those that don't concern you.

How did these things happen in Germany and in

the other countries where Fascism has fastened itself on the people? They happened for the same reasons that can make them happen here. The German people didn't deliberately choose to sacrifice their liberties. They lost them because the government that preceded the Nazis failed the people, and let Fascism in.

The German republican government failed to carry out the function of government that we were discussing a minute ago. It failed to provide security, it failed to provide jobs, to make the resources of the German nation available to the people. We have to face this fact. A sizable part of the German people, after years of unemployment, of mass misery, were ready for the illusion of Fascism. They listened to the promises of the Nazi orators, and in hundreds of thousands joined Hitler's storm troops—hoping that the promises would come to reality.

We know and the German people have learned that these promises were an illusion. The Nazi leaders knew it all the time. They hadn't the slightest intention of carrying them out. And more important, the real masters behind the Nazis hadn't the slightest intention of carrying any of their promises out. But the point is there that a large section of the German people were tricked into believing them.

Make Democracy Work

Well, we can't let that happen in America. We talk a great deal about our liberties and the blessings of our Democracy in this country, and we should talk about them. When we look at the Fascist nations in Europe and at Japan we have a right to boast about the freedom of our country. But we have to do more than boast about it. We have to make it real, in every economic and social sense.

The unemployed don't want platitudes. They can't eat musical phrases. They can only eat if they have jobs, at decent wages, under decent conditions. People are less interested in the principles of Democracy if they are constantly haunted by the much

more concrete fear of actual starvation. A man whose family is wasting into sickness and starvation in front of him is concerned with food and clothing and shelter and he is concerned with getting these things quickly, in the simplest way he thinks they can be found.

We might as well realize, too, that an unemployed, hungry worker is much easier material for the persuaders of Fascism than the man who has a job and a chance to support his family. Democracy and freedom aren't just abstractions. They are very concrete things that can only survive if they are treated realistically. They won't work in a vacuum.

This isn't an easy task. We have plenty of anti-democratic elements here in our own country that will fight us at every step, that are already fighting us. These people are to be found amongst the employers—not amongst the workers. It is their traditional anti-labor, anti-Democracy policy that makes our job of defending and improving our institutions all the more difficult, and all the more necessary. Anti-labor employers have for years functioned on the theory and the practice that labor is always wrong and business always right. It isn't the radicals that anti-labor businessmen bleat about so much that are the enemies of Democracy—it is the labor-hating employer, the boss who won't bargain, who tries every shady trick he knows to break union organization.

See what has happened since labor began getting more of a fair break from government, in the past few years. Big Business and its mouthpieces have shouted themselves hoarse about the evils of government. To listen to the opponents of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, to those who yell about spending and relief and government interference in business, you would think American employers were all anarchists, who believed in a utopian state where everybody could live without the need for rules or regulations of any kind.

(Continued on page 25)

At left, Rockwell Kent of the United American Artists and Loh Tsei; at right, Robert Morss Lovett with Herbert Biberman of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League



BY THE time the newsie had reached the door of the Rialto lobby he had his Hearst papers relegated to the bottom of his stack. "Mooney pardoned," he shouted. "And it ain't no Hearst paper, neither," he would add as you stepped closer. "A guy out there," he said, thumbing toward the outer door of the theater, "gave me the bird when I handed him a Hearst paper." Somebody told him, then, about the Newspaper Guild strike on Hearst's Chicago papers, and someone else gave him a short and snappy speech on Hearst and Fascism. By the time the newsie was five feet within the threshold of the Rialto lobby, he was doing the telling himself.

No one could stand inside that lobby for two minutes without learning something while the American Congress for Peace and Democracy was in session there.

"I thought I knew something when I came to Washington," one delegate said, "but when I walked through those doors, I realized I was a babe in the woods."

From the Painters' Union

That was a man from an A. F. of L. Painters Union local. His name was Roderick Johnson, and he came from Cleveland. It was his first American League Congress. "And," he said, "I pledged a donation from my local without authority, because when my union really finds out the truth—that this Congress is the biggest threat the warlords have ever had—I know the union will not hesitate to mail a check."

Just standing in the lobby, you heard news of strikes and lockouts . . . scraps of housewifely gossip . . . word from China, Czechoslovakia, Spain.

"I don't want to catch you buying any Silver Cup Bread," a dark-haired, pleasant-faced young man was saying on one side of me. His delegate's badge read "Abe Scholnick." He's active in Local 50 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union, A. F. of L. He was buttonholing everyone he could find at the Congress to tell them about Silver Cup Bread. "The union's trying to get sixty-two locked-out workers reinstated there," he would explain.

"And so I says to my boy, Sol," came from the other side of me, "you can't go out with a girl who wears silk stockings. Not while I'm your Mama. And so his girl, she wears lises now, and my Sol's in a club, and none of the boys in his club goes out with any girls in silk stockings any more." This came from a large homely woman, with a careworn face. She looked as though she were carrying on a one-woman battle against Japanese aggression.

A group of Chinese nearby heard her remarks and started to talk to her. They told her of word they had received from China, that reported sick friends unable to get through the red tape of finding room in a hospital be-

The People in the Lobby

The Congress delegates talked of strikes and stockings, of China and Cleveland, and they were more representative than a Gallup poll

By Jean Lyon

cause Japanese control forced them to pledge allegiance to Japan before they could have wounds bandaged or operations performed.

An Unemployed Girl

Then came a low young girl's voice from another direction, and I edged over that way. "I'm unemployed now," she was saying. "I had a job as a coil winder with Westinghouse, but I went away last summer for six weeks to the industrial summer school at Wisconsin University, and now they won't give me my job back. Of course I suppose it was partly my union activity, too.

But the union is fighting for me." Her badge said she was Pauline Comanesa. She told me she came from Cleveland, and was a delegate from a Y. W. C. A. industrial club. She was thin, boyish-looking, with a strong, alert face. She thought the Congress was swell. She had been to the one two years ago in Cleveland, and since then she had been talking peace and Democracy to the other girls in the club. This time she brought two other Y. W. C. A. industrial girls with her. "It's their first time, and they are awfully excited about it," she said.

The other two, she said, were Betty

Schroeder and Margaret Sanders. Betty never had been out of Ohio before. She's a finisher on men's clothing . . . out of work. Margaret, who works for the National Carbon Company, had to get back to Cleveland in time to go to work on Monday morning. The three girls came to the Congress on \$50.06, which they raised by collecting pennies. "We collected 4,006 pennies," Pauline said. "And then the clubs donated \$10."

Just then a deep rich voice behind me was saying, "But they ought to have a Negro worker—either a clerk or an organizer—in every union office." I turned around to meet Frank McDonald, a tall distinguished-looking Negro, with a bit of gray in his hair. "I'm a veteran of the sitdown strikes," he told me. He belongs to the United Auto Workers, Local 208. He works in an aluminum factory, making aluminum parts for cars.

There's always been discrimination against Negroes in the auto industry, he said. "We're the first to be laid off in the slack seasons, except for a couple of Uncle Toms who are kept for show." The union is changing things. "I used to make 45 cents an hour before the union," he said. "Now I get 82½." The Congress—his first—was the "finest thing I've seen yet. It is helping to liberate the one-third of us . . . the minorities."

Petitions in the Lobby

The people passing around petitions to be signed in that seething Rialto lobby, were interesting. A small, attractive blond girl was passing around a petition protesting against the lay-offs in the Federal Dance Project. She was a dancer herself. You could tell by the way she moved. Fara Lynn was her name, and she was a delegate from the American Dancers Association. She had spent a lot of time training to be a dancer of modern dances. She studied under Martha Graham. She studied in Europe under several of the most important exponents of the modern dance. She had danced at the New School for Social Research in New York. She had danced for the Federal Dance programs, "where seventy-eight thousand people have been able to see dance performances who could never have seen them otherwise, because they couldn't have afforded to go to regular dance recitals," she explained. And she dreads, along with the other dancers on the project, the drastic slash which has been threatened.

Then there was the blond, weather-beaten-looking fellow who was getting signatures for the petitions to lift the Spanish embargo. "Just call me Dippy," he said. Dippy was a veteran of the war in Spain. He had been wounded three times. His walk was jerky.

He was a seaman. He's still active in the union. He came originally from North Dakota. "Just an ordinary guy,"

(Continued on page 28)



Michael, the youngest delegate, gave an interview to the press



Above, from left to right, Margaret Forsyth of the national executive board of the American League; James A. Webster of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Lionel C. Barrow of the N.A.A.C.P. and the Reverend David Licorish of the Baptist Ministers Conference of New York; and Dr. Walter Judd



Joseph Cadden of the American Youth Congress and Regina Rakoczy of the American League

In Session

The delegates of seven million gathered at the American Congress for Peace and Democracy



Belle Wiener, who made the wheels go 'round, chats with Steve Nelson backstage

Below, from left to right, Alice Barrows of the Washington League, John T. Bernard of Minnesota and Morris Watson of the Newspaper Guild; Charles Crisanti of the Furniture Workers; the Reverend John Robinson of the Committee for Better Schools in Harlem and Professor Eugene Holmes of Howard University



IF I HAD them, I would distribute medals this month as follows: *First*, to Premier Juan Negrin of Spain for that magnificent appeal for aid which he broadcast to America in the midst of one of the worst aerial bombardments which Barcelona has ever gone through. Several months ago, you may remember, Fascist bombers succeeded in destroying a Loyalist transmitter over which Negrin was trying to speak to the United States. This time, thanks to the government's anti-aircraft, artillery and pursuit planes, the Italian and German killers could not reach their objective and tossed their bombs helter-skelter into the crowded streets.

"We denounce such crimes as were committed an hour ago," the premier cried at the end of his talk over the Columbia network. "The bombardment, the most terrible up to now in Barcelona, has brought mourning and sorrow in this last evening of the year on the greater part of the population. Up to the present moment, we know there have been over thirty dead and over eighty wounded. Ambulances are still picking up the victims and carrying out their humanitarian work while I talk to you. Meanwhile we are showing the world that justice and right will help defend us."

Second, to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, America's No. 1 radio personality, for his almost direct reply to Premier Negrin when, in his address to the new Congress, he declared that our neutrality law was working grave injustices to democratic countries and should be changed forthwith. And let's not forget Roosevelt's ringing challenge to the dictator nations delivered in the same address and also his previous activities in arranging for the shipment to Spain of America's surplus wheat and for the extension of vast credits to the embattled Chinese people.

Rebukes to Coughlin

THIRD, to Neville Miller, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, and to Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago for their stern repudiations of the vicious and repeated attacks upon the Jews which are being made by that unnatural father, Coughlin.

"The right of free speech," Miller said, "is a right which extends to every American citizen. It is a right which broadcasters interpret as one requiring that equal opportunity be available for the expression of honest divergence of opinion. But in administering this responsibility, we must also be cognizant of the fact that radio by its very nature reaches all classes of our fellow citizens, regardless of race, religion or conviction and that there is no obligation to broadcast a speech which plays on religious bigotry, which stirs up religious or racial prejudice or hatred. Such a speech is an abuse of the privilege of free speech and unworthy of American radio. . . ."

"No obligation of free speech or of public service could justify broadcasters in allowing this great new social force to strike at the harmony of the nation. In a country of many races and many religions amicably dwelling together, broadcasts inciting racial and religious hatred are an evil not to be tolerated. In these troubled times throughout the world, there is a great need for national unity, and in the hearts of the vast majority of our people I believe there is a great yearning for unity. . . ."

"The responsibility to accept or to reject broadcast material is one placed squarely on the shoulders of the American broadcaster. It is up to him to evaluate what is and what is not in the public interest. This is a responsibility the American

RADIO

people have delegated to him in his license to operate a radio station. The National Association of Broadcasters will defend his right to discharge that responsibility."

In the light of that ringing statement, it seems strange indeed that Frank R. McNinch, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, has so far ignored Dorothy Thompson's letter asking him for a statement on the Coughlin scandal and pointing out that Allen Zoll, who organized the picketing of station WMCA and the pro-Coughlin rally in New York, works hand in glove with Fritz Kuhn and the German-American Bund.

Fourth, to Donald Flamm and the staff of WMCA for their steadfast refusal to broadcast further speeches by Coughlin despite the pressure brought to bear on them. This station, one of the most liberal in New York despite its original error of accepting the series in the first place, deserves the wholehearted support of every liberty-loving American. It is interesting to note that right in the midst of the Coughlin controversy Pope Pius blessed WMCA's fine *Ave Maria* program, which has been running for five years.

Fifth, to WHN and to WMCA and other stations throughout the country which have presented or are organizing *Refugee Theaters of the Air*. WHN, New York, originated the idea and its program featuring artists who have fled from the wrath of Hitler and Mussolini, is outstanding.

Sixth, to William S. Paley, president of C.B.S., for his contribution of \$15,000 to the Federation of Jewish Charities. The amusement world has pledged itself to raise \$225,000, most of which will go to the refugees.

Save the Radio Division!

SEVENTH, to the Federal Theater Radio Division, with the earnest hope that the government's present plan of firing 45 of the 168 workers in that brilliant outfit will not be carried out. The

F.T.R.D. is now producing fifteen shows weekly on the networks and local stations. *Men Against Death*, heard over Columbia and based on the books of Paul de Kruif, is one of the Radio Division's most outstanding programs. Others which have gained nation-wide approval are *Tish*, *The Epic of America* and *Drums*.

Recently the Division has branched out into an important new field, that of producing recorded dramas for use by various government agencies. The Housing Authority has employed these records in its fight on slums. The Social Security Board also has made good use of them as have hundreds of schools throughout the country. The F.T.R.D. must not be wrecked. Each reader of this column is urged to appeal to Congress for its preservation and expansion.

Eighth, to the Federal Trade Commission for its ruling that Grove's Bromo Quinine will not cure colds and that Mentho-Mulsion, manufactured by M. L. Clein & Co., of Atlanta, Ga., will not stop coughs. The companies have been ordered to cease making such false claims over the air.

Ninth, to the American Communications Association and the American Federation of Radio Artists for the fine work they are doing to unionize the radio industry. You'll hear a lot more about them this year.

Tenth, to the nine engineers of station WABC, New York, who are being transferred to remote parts of the United States by C.B.S. as punishment for the part they took in organizing the American Communications Association at that station last year. An unfortunate N.L.R.B. ruling held that the A.C.A. could not have an election at WABC alone, but that the balloting must be done in all of Columbia's stations. The union won hands down in New York and Washington but lost in other cities where it had had no opportunity to organize. So now the radio industry has a refugee problem of its own.

Eleventh, to the new program produced weekly over C.B.S. by the Screen Actors Guild of Hollywood. All the great names of the film world are donating their services to this elaborate series of broadcasts, the proceeds of which go to aid old, ill or unfortunate members of the amusement world.

Twelfth, to Orson Welles for his Columbus Circle speech against the Nazi atrocities and also for his splendid *Mercury Theatre* and *Playhouse* broadcasts. Welles is producing some of the most effective current dramas, and his *War of the Worlds* served as a warning to the nation. Incidentally, the Martian program was chosen by a poll of 150 editors as one of the dozen best news stories of 1938.

Thirteenth, to N.B.C.'s *Great Plays* series. It rivals Welles' productions and frequently surpasses them when Orson tries to do comedy or farce.

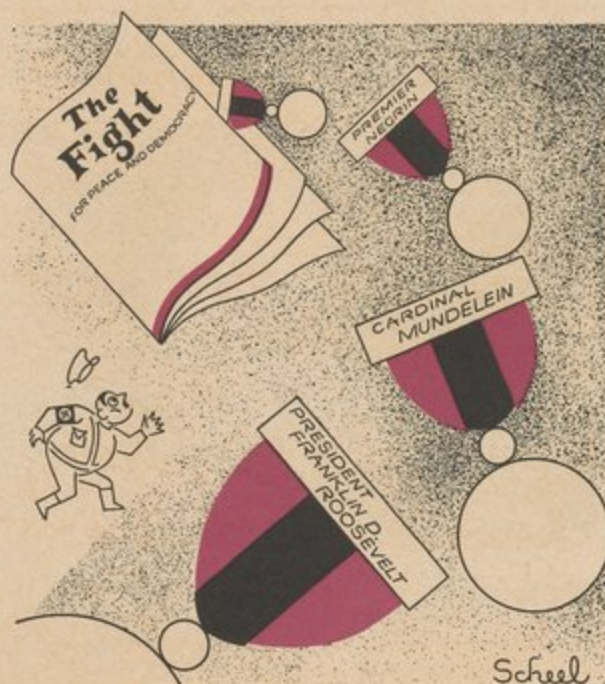
Fourteenth, to Arturo Toscanini, that staunch anti-Fascist, who has just come back to N.B.C. with his splendid orchestra.

Fifteenth, to members of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony who recently played their 300th concert over C.B.S.

Sixteenth, to the ubiquitous *Saturday Night Swing Club* even though it is now heard at the ridiculously early hour of 6:30 P. M.

Seventeenth, and last, but by no means least, to the *Columbia Workshop* even though it keeps jumping about like a flea. When last caught it was on C.B.S. Monday at 10 P. M. and was presenting *Forgot in the Rain*, a drama of an air raid on Barcelona as told by William Merrick, an A.P. correspondent.

—GEORGE SCOTT



ONE THIRD OF A NATION . . . was the W.P.A.'s most famous Living Newspaper.

It was about the way the great part of people in this country have to live and what the government is trying to do about it. That slums exist is common knowledge; that people are still being murdered in tenement fires was the feature of New York papers when four people lost their lives just the other day. Progressive housing legislation has permitted the building of various slum clearance and low cost housing projects throughout the country. These are facts. Yet when these facts are assembled and in turn recited by actors—they become *propaganda!* On the stage, on Broadway, it is possible within certain limits to present honest facts without causing much fuss. But the manifold laws, written and unwritten, which govern the motion picture industry make the presentation of honest facts almost impossible. The money behind the screen is on the whole reactionary. To the owners of Hollywood the dramatization of the plight of one third of the population of this country is nothing more or less than a method of inciting to riot, and therefore taboo. To them the famous excerpt from President Roosevelt's second inaugural address—

I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meagre that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day. I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions. I see one third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished—is simple Roosevelt and Democratic party propaganda. And what's more, you are not even permitted to give the President credit for that statement. As if the restriction of the moneyed interests and the distributors weren't enough, the Hays office steps in and says (for instance) that you can't refer to an old-law tenement as "a dump."

Recently Walter Wanger, the producer of *Blockade*, issued a fine statement in defense of Democracy. He ended with: "We must make more important pictures; more pictures based on modern thoughts, moods and standards. We must support experimental pictures which advance our art. We must give the screen its proper importance and

MOVIES

An important picture presents dramatically the plight of the ill-housed third of our nation

recognition." Nevertheless, he hasn't announced any plans for the production of the anti-Fascist *Personal History*, and Samuel Goldwyn still keeps the Vera Caspary-George Sklar scenario, *Exiles*, on the shelf. In spite of the other progressive tendencies in Hollywood, the production of independent social films is still difficult there.

After all, picture-making is not a matter of geography. Three of the best pictures of 1938, *Grand Illusion*, *Professor Mamlock* and *The Citadel* were made in Paris, Moscow and London. And so William K. Howard is finishing his *Back Door To Heaven* and Producer Harold Orlob has just completed his film version of . . . *one third of a nation* . . . at the Eastern Service Studios in Astoria. Both films will be distributed by Paramount.

. . . *one third of a nation* . . .

UNDoubtedly a great many people will greet . . . *one third of a nation* . . . with reservations, especially in the light of what I've said above. The documentary nature of the play was not suitable for a "popular" movie—according to the rules. In order to circumvent these obstacles, Oliver H. P. Garrett used a conventional plot. Lief Erikson is the rich landlord of a block of East Side tenements. Sylvia Sidney is the girl of the

slums. Myron McCormack, who also lives in the slums, completes the triangle. But this shouldn't scare you, since a conventional plot structure should not stand in the way of saying something important or dramatic. This film does have important things to say. It says them about housing and poverty. Its theme is that landlords of fire-traps "should be in the penitentiary or worse." It offers (in the scene where the District Attorney is investigating the cause of a fatal tenement fire) evidence that there are 67,000 fire traps in New York. In many respects the picture is bolder than any other commercially-produced film.

How many American movies have admitted that poverty exists in the United States? Toward the end of the film, Mr. McCormack says (to Miss Sidney): "Make up your mind, baby. The Constitution says we can pursue happiness. It doesn't say anything about catching it. Turn any city in this country upside down, like a rock, and you'll find us underneath—the poor—like grubs . . . all of us . . . white and sick-looking. . ."

A motion picture that is as important and has so much to say as . . . *one third of a nation* . . . is duty-bound to do more than make a statement. It should say it dramatically and with imagination. A film that is about New York slums should be able to present a forceful and profound picture of those slums that would fill the audience with horror and indignation. Director Dudley Murphy has failed, to a large extent, in many of these things. The entire film has an air of detachment and superficiality about it which prevents it from reaching any great emotional heights. The dialog is uninspired—a very unusual thing for a Garrett script.

There was a time when the mere presentation of social or progressive ideas on the screen was enough. But the American cinema has passed that stage. Independent progressive film production has too much at stake to allow that. . . . *one third of a nation* . . . had the opportunity of being much more than an important social film; it even had more than the duty to entertain and inspire the audience. That is the reason for this criticism. It is a film that should not be neglected in spite of its faults.

Current Pictures

THE *BEACHCOMBER* (Mayflower-Paramount): Eric Pommer, the famous producer of early German silent films, and Charles Laughton formed their own company in London. This is the first of their efforts to reach the United States. Adapted from a Somerset Maugham short story about a derelict and a couple of missionaries in the South Seas, it looks like a cross between a satire on *Rain* and the early Laughton-Elsa Lanchester experimental film, *Day Dreams*. It is cute and coy and at times vituperative at "meddling missionaries." It also contains too much of a chauvinist attitude toward the natives for comfort.

Zaza (Paramount): This old standby is back again minus the famous can-can (Hays office says no!). Claudette Colbert is gay and sentimental.

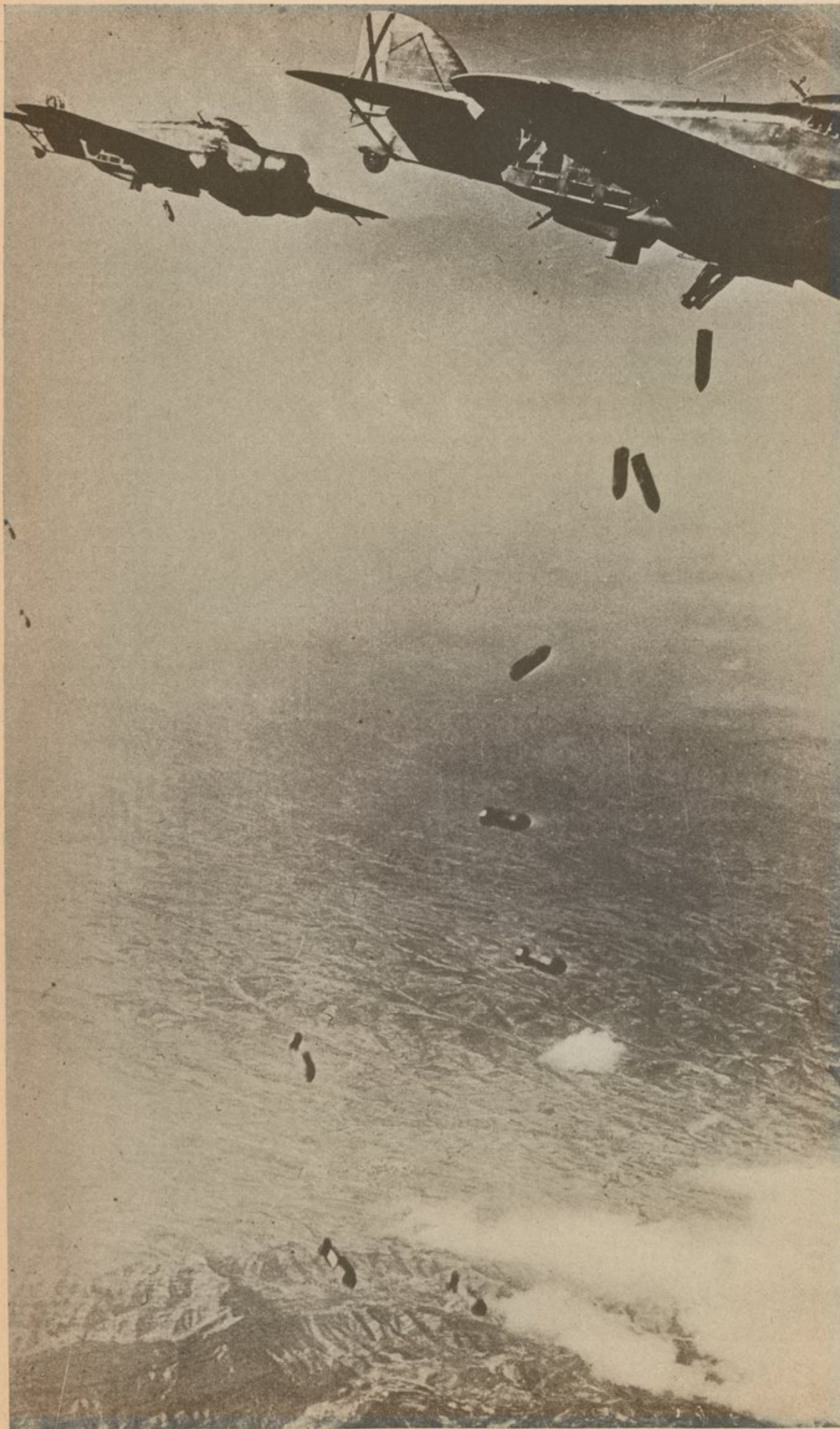
Kentucky (20th Century-Fox): The same race track film you saw last week or last year, but this time in "glorious" technicolor.

The Lady Vanishes (20th Century-Fox): By the time you read this, the picture will have reached most of the neighborhood houses. Rush right out to see it. The best mystery-spy-melodrama that Mr. Hitchcock has made in years, and Mr. Hitchcock is certainly an expert. It almost has a social and anti-Fascist point of view. At least it permits you to read that into it.

—PETER ELLIS



Some of the signers of Hollywood's "Declaration of Democratic Independence." From left to right (standing) Claude Rains, Paul Muni, Edward G. Robinson, Arthur Hornblow, Jr. (behind Robinson), Helen Gahagan, John Garfield, Gloria Stuart, James Cagney, Groucho Marx, Aline MacMahon, Henry Fonda and Gale Sondergaard; (seated) Myrna Loy, Melvyn Douglas and Carl Laemmle, Sr.



**We
Call
It
Peace**

**By
Leland Stowe**

AND men called statesmen gave us peace.
Peace of a kind the world had never seen before.
Peace, with unprecedented armies grown Gargantuan,
With millions mobilized from cradle to the grave.
Peace, where skeletons alone can scoff at bayonets;
Where coffins yawn and corpses, still unburied, shout triumphantly:
"We are the dead! And only we shall lie in peace.
Blessed be death.
Its bones are far too thin to grip a gun.
It has no hands with which to maim, to agonize, to kill.
Down with all living and to hell with life!
We are the dead, and *we* alone have peace.
Hurry, brothers! Hurry!
Ten million grinning skeletons shall soon throw off
Their pallid masks.
Up death! Up death!
Speed the world's end, all you who live to die;
For in its end you, too, at last shall find your peace."
So speak the dead.
But men called statesmen have no need
For admonitions such as these.

The nations and the peoples cry for peace.
Peace in our time, oh Lord.
Peace, with Fascist bombers dumping tons of nitroglycerine
Upon Valencia and Barcelona and Madrid.
Peace, with German and Italian airmen sowing death
Through Aragon, Castile, Cordova to the sea.
Peace, with peasants' houses pulverized
And human bodies ground to quivering pulp,
Like meat for sausages.
Peace, with women's breasts and entrails
Scattered on ten thousand refuse heaps.
Peace, with the brains of children spattered,
Blue and white and red,
On cobblestones and broken walls
While Paris, London, Washington
Lift no official finger,
Speak no word of protest;
Lock their lips and turn their heads
In silent, crimson shame.

Let us have peace.
Peace in our time, oh Lord.
Peace that permits to you and me our simple tasks and daily joys.
Peace in our little lives.
Peace for all those who do not look or read or think.
Peace for all those who dare not speak.
Peace, with half of China rivered deep in human blood.
Peace, while the conquerors lop heads from cowering shoulders
In the alleys of Shanghai, Peiping, Hankow.
Peace, with doll-like Chinese children
Blowing blood-red bubbles;
With men and women crying for a crust of bread
And crawling, dog-like, into hovels
Where the flies and lice and greedy ants
May feast upon their wounds.
Peace, with machine guns spitting,
Bullets ripping madly through the flesh of brother men
Whose folly is so great
They still would rule themselves or die.
Peace, while a kindly distance saves our nostrils
From the stench
Of bodies rotting, slowly rotting
In the too-bright sun.
Peace for the Might-Makes-Right, the super-civilized.

Let us have peace, oh Lord,
Peace without honor, without hope—and without peace.
Peace, with Vienna handed to Herr Hitler's Huns;
Peace for those ruthless murderers whose swords alone
Have brought them power,
Who so must live by swords thrust home.
Peace, which in Bohemia stamps out the flame of freedom
And sends countless thousands to their doom.
Peace with self-government wiped out.
Peace, with a bitter burning hatred rampant on the earth.
Peace, with iron heels and mailed fists.
Peace, with oppression.
Peace, with torture.
Peace, with rape.

Let us have peace.
Heap up the arms, the bombs and cannon.
Heap them up to mocking heaven!
Pile them upon the cringing flesh of women, men and helpless babes.
Pile up a thank-offering to dictators, to arrogance and might;
A monument to human greed and cowardice and impotence.
A glittering funeral pyre to statesmen who would save their skins.
Heap up the arms and pile the corpses high!
The dead of China, Spain and Austria and the rest—
Heap them together, all in one,
The iron and steel and blood and putrid flesh.
Then we shall have a worthy tombstone
For the promises we dared not keep,
A fit memorial for craven words and craven hearts.
Ah, what a perfect ossuary for the noncombatant lives
We would not move our lips to save.
Posterity?
Posterity shall speak to other ears, not ours!
Posterity may stand aghast and write the epitaph
Of those who thought they still were free.
But we who live today,
Oh we shall build a monument of guns and skulls and babies' bones
For Us,
The craven and the free.

Let us have peace—and peace at *any* price!
Peace, such as this that we have bought
And think we shall not pay for in the end.
Peace that costs nothing.
Peace that costs nothing
Save the torn intestines, blood-soaked pulp
Of other nations' men and women,
Other people's boys and girls.
Let us have peace that they—
The dead, the maimed, the brutalized and starving—
Peace that they alone have bought.
Peace, by *their* fortitude and valor and *their* blood.
Peace in our time, oh Lord,
By grace of bleached and gaping skeletons
Whose price, a million hells, was long since paid.
Let there be peace for us, the living skeletons,
Whose price has now become too terrifying and colossal
For our cringing souls and shrivelled minds to comprehend.
Peace without honor, without justice, without law.
Peace without courage, peace without freedom.
Peace with ears shut, with eyes averted and lips sealed.
Peace now, at *any* price!
Peace in *our* time, oh Lord.

Under

But still, Clyde wondered, what sense was there in a farmer living in town? . . . A moving story of the plight of our farming people in a time of depression

By Joseph Bridges

WHEN CLYDE came to the breakfast table Carl was finishing his coffee. Dressed in his work clothes, the boy said, "Morning, Dad." Clyde drank his tomato juice and poured cream on the puffed rice. "So you're going back?" he said.

"Yeah, they sent word by Joe." Carl left the table. "I hope it lasts a while this time," he called from the living-room.

"It probably will, yes sir!" Clyde yelled. He felt good, and hummed "Ragtime Cowboy Joe," tapping with his feet.

Myra came out of the kitchen. She twisted the corner of her mouth and shook her head. "Clyde, when will you learn that cream is for the coffee and there is milk for the breakfast food!" She laughed grudgingly. "Just let me remind you that there isn't a single cow in the garage, old farmer. We buy our cream from the dairy!" She went into the other room. He heard her telling Carl, "Now why don't you come straight home instead of hanging around downtown?"

Clyde finished breakfast silently, drinking milk in his coffee. He got his hat, but Myra said, "There's no sense in Pete sleeping till noon, wake him up, will you?"

"What'll he do if he gets up, just lie around the house," Clyde said to nobody. He went into his son's bedroom. Pete's clothes were in a pile on the floor. A whiskey bottle stuck out of his hip pocket. Clyde put it under the shirts in the drawer and tip-toed over to look at the sleeping youth. He stepped out, closing the door softly behind him.

"He's too sound asleep, I couldn't rouse him," he told Myra.

She sighed. "Well, go on, I'll get him up. I want him to wash the porch. He might as well do some work as be loafing on the corner."

Clyde got the Ford and drove to the office, whistling. His ear was bothering him, but otherwise he felt fine. It was a pleasant day, not so hot as it had been, and he wished he could visit the fair in the afternoon. When he reached the yard, he looked through the window and saw K.C. bawling out the girl.

He went into the office. Leaning on his cane and glaring, bowlegged K.C. said "Good morning, Clyde," and glanced at the clock. It was three minutes after eight. The old man followed him to the desk, grumbling, whining and exhorting: "Now

Clyde, I want you to get right after those collections today. Remember, drive away, and don't take no for an answer. They've got the money, the government's just taught them to deadbeat, that's all. Of course tomorrow night, nobody gets paid till the money's in to pay 'em."

AFTER lunch Clyde went to the fair. If K.C. found out he would probably fire him, but he didn't worry. He parked the car behind the grandstand and walked to the horse barn. There were some good animals but he was more interested in the trotters, and decided to go across to the stables. On the way he stopped to look at the hogs. Coming out he ran into Albert Carter. "What are you doing here?" Clyde asked, and Albert said, "I'm killing time till a job finds me. What are you doing here, that's more like it?"

"I got to keep up with our rural clientele, don't I?" Clyde joked. Laughing, they crossed the infield.

"Say, how about tossing a few ringers after while?" Albert said. "I been bragging how my uncle is the ex-county horseshoe champion."

"I'm out of practice," Clyde demurred. "It's a thing you have to keep up. We might go over and watch 'em."

At the third stable they found Charlie Enstedt. Clyde bummed a chew of tobacco from him. They looked at the three-year-olds and Charlie reminded Clyde of the time he broke the state record with Lady G. "By Jesus, whether it was horse-racing, football, drinking liquor, or sparking the girls, we had it!" he reminisced. Wheezing heavily, he asked, "Where you been since you left the farm, Clyde?"

"Oh, sellin' coal, one thing and another. I'm working for K. C. Rudely now. He's got me runnin' down the deadbeats."

"Well, don't take any wooden nickels!"

They went out. Clyde was thinking that Charlie was getting pretty fat, he looked like an old drunk. Things had kind of passed him by and left him minding the horses. Patting his own bay-window, rubbing his hand through his thin hair, he reflected that none of them were getting any younger. A horse-race was always a horse-race, always would be, nothing could take the place of a fast track and a filly stepping around the curve. But the rest of it was different: now in the main hall





they had university exhibits, charts, model farms, crop limitation, soil conservation, electric milking, new machinery, everything tested and scientific. It took a fellow's breath away, made him want to get a good piece of black land and try it all out, and even wonder whether he would be able to keep up with it. Clyde thought he would: it would take some hustling, but not the old back-breaking animal work. Still, the farmers were worse off than they had ever been, unless it was when Hoover was President.

They watched a couple of races, but Albert didn't care much about it. He was just putting in the time because he didn't have anything else to do. Clyde didn't know the past performances, he couldn't figure them out beforehand because he hadn't followed the fairs. It took the joy out of it not being able carefully to pick the winner, but just having to stand up there looking while the kids chased around you throwing pop on one another. Clyde finally suggested, "What do you say we mosey along?"

They went through the carnival, over by the river, to the horseshoe lanes. Carl Smith of Rolling Mountain was pitching Dunfree of Wanamac. Smith had a three-game lead on him and they said he was going to be the new county champion. Clyde and Albert stood in the crowd of farmers, listening to the clang of the shoes on the stake, the putt as they slapped into the clay, and watching Joe Capen, the *Clarion* sports editor, who walked up and down smoking a cigar and judging. When Dunfree laid on a ringer and a leaner, and Smith topped them with a double ringer, Albert said, "Boy, look at that!" Clyde winked and clicked his tongue. "Oh boy!" he exclaimed. Smith pitched a steady shoe, nothing brilliant, now and then they even came in closed to the stake. Clyde recognized that Smith was only a second-rater, but he knew the game and maybe he was the best there was left.

Joe came over to him and said, "Well Clyde, what do you think of 'em?"

"Look pretty good to me," Clyde opined.

"How about a little exhibition of old-time fancy ringer-throwin', while the boys are resting up?"

"Not me, I'm too old. Any of these boys can pitch rings around me."

"Go on Clyde, let's see it," Albert said, and some of the men who knew him tried to get him to pitch. Clyde said, "No, we ain't got time for has-beens." He had to walk away before they would stop. It pleased him to see them all and to find out that they remembered him. But he had begun to feel himself a stranger at the fair. A new crowd of young people had grown up and were taking the lead in things. His old friends were all on the sidelines. They got absent-minded when they talked to him and after a minute or two there didn't seem to be anything more to talk about. They chewed tobacco, spat, and swapped stories with him, but he was not up on the latest news, who had died, got married, and moved to a new place. Somehow he had begun to think in a different way.

Then it was saddening just to talk to people. Everybody had bad news. You would think that after all the farmers had gone through, there would be a turning-point. But it seemed to get worse and worse. The government loans had tided them over a little, but now they said the government was beginning to foreclose. It was the same old story: mortgage, second mortgage, and hanging on by the skin of their teeth. "Pretty soon," he told Albert, "Everybody'll live in town on relief, there won't be anybody farming. What'll we eat then?"

"You got me, maybe pills," Albert said.

Clyde felt restless, he was even irritated at every-

thing in general, and he suggested to his nephew, "What say we take a little run out to the place?" They drove along the highway and turned on the ridge road, passing between cool woods and fields of rich wheat. Clyde kicked the coil-box and steered with a careless hand, singing the tenor to "Steamboat Bill." He told Albert what grain each of the fields was planted in, which land was clay and which was good black dirt, and what the yields would probably be. The young man listened gravely; Clyde thought that he wanted to learn about farming, but was in too much of a hurry.

AS THEY reached the farm, the clouds were beginning to obscure the sun, which cast slanting rays on the rolling fields. Clyde drove slowly past the east forty acres, planted in wheat. The breeze calmed momentarily, and they heard the noises of the insects and the six notes of a meadowlark. Far away sounded the dismal cry of a mourning-dove.

At the gate, Clyde turned into the familiar yard and came to a stop. He sat for a while without saying anything, looking at the old brick house, the worn places in the lawn, the barn, the tool-shed and the chicken-house. The barn needed painting; a weatherbeaten harrow stood in a pile of rusty junk.

He got out and walked to the house, his feet slipping in the slick shoes. He went to the kitchen door, knocked, and yelled twice. Then he returned to the Ford. "Nobody home, looks like."

"It's going to rain, maybe we better head for cover," Albert observed. Clyde stood taking a long breath; he got into the car and they drove away. He stepped on the gas, and the Ford rattled and bounced along.

"Used to be we'd get out the rain curtains," he said. "Now all we have to do is roll up the window."

"Progress," Albert commented bitterly.

Clyde dug into the door pocket and brought out a package of tobacco. They chewed, spitting intermittently out the side. It was darker, the first big drops of rain were splashing on the windshield, and Clyde turned on the lights. He talked loudly, over the motor and the wind: "Well, it's great, all these scientific improvements on everything. Take the automatic windshield-wiper, that's a hell of a handy gadget. Then electrifying farms, making it so a farmer can live like a human being. When I grew up around here, everything was backward, but now it's all changed. And once they get these improvements, they're here to stay. Maybe you and I don't get any of them, but somebody will."

Albert moodily looked at the landscape. "Great country," Clyde yelled. Watching the raindrops whip the dusty road, he was thinking that if they could only have stayed there, things would have been better. You couldn't argue with a foreclosed mortgage, but still, he wondered, what sense was there in a farmer living in town?

At Prospect they picked up a hitch-hiker. When he got in, Clyde saw that it was Alec Larson. Alec was working as a threshing hand for Erry Maderry, and wanted to get to town while it was raining. He said his wife and children were living with Mrs. Peters. His oldest boy was sixteen, he could work but he couldn't get a job. Clyde was shocked to see Alec's face in the rear-view mirror: he would have taken him for a broken-down tramp. "I guess it's been pretty tough, town and country," he said.

Alec chuckled. "You remember right in the depth of it, when nobody could rattle a job? I got down to what I thought was low for a free farmer, workin' for a dollar a day. I was keepin' myself,

(Continued on page 30)



Books

The Question of Arms

THE RAMPARTS WE WATCH, by George Fielding Eliot; 370 pages; Reynal & Hitchcock; \$3.00.

BY THE time this appears, the 76th Congress will be earnestly considering the problems of national defense, and suitable appropriations therefor. That and the enormous threat of war poised by Fascism over the world, might make *The Ramparts We Watch* the most pertinent book of the season.

Major Eliot raises and attempts to answer questions of the moment. Is America safe from aggression? How big an army and navy do we require? How are they to be employed? Are the coastal defenses ample? Are we immune from air attack? What of Washington's strategy?

For argument's sake it is not paramount to doubt the author's erudition in military matters. Granted, it yet does not relieve the long-standing situation wherein military spokesmen are devoid of a grasp of people's political needs, while the foremost political writers are equally innocent of military ramifications.

So, when Eliot urges a big navy as the first line of defense for this insular nation, as well as increases in other arms, we don't have to oppose the proposal *per se*. For the time may come when unexcelled armed might may be the only barrier between our security and the grasping aggressors. But we do have to see to it that our staggering sacrifices for the sake of a great military establishment are linked organically with a fundamental diplomacy designed to curb the forces that impose such sacrifices upon us and the ensuing generations.

In other words, your war plans are O.K., Major. But what are your peace plans? Or, don't you have any? Have you and your brothers-in-arms in your infinite zeal to protect your country thought of mobilizing your strategic and tactical ingenuity for building up an impregnable peace machinery corresponding to the needs of America and the world? What assurance have we that the huge armaments you insist on will be employed in our best interests any more than they were in the First World War?

Do you agree, gentlemen and officers, that our foremost task is to adopt a decisive governmental program of international peace through international concerted action? This program does not necessitate protracted and expensive building. Once it becomes a basic instrument of national policy, we will feel that our welfare definitely depends on implementing it with all the military and other resources that the nation can muster.

But Eliot's grasp of the question of collective security and of its bearing on the armaments race is reluctant and inadequate. In a lucid moment he recognizes Germany, Japan and Italy as the three principal threats to our peace, but he immediately enshrouds the fact in a maze of secondary and inaccurate observations.

It would be petty to quarrel over one or two minor points. But the cumulative effect of a host of such deflections through the volume is disastrous. On second thought, perhaps they are not minor—for cannot a bullet enter through the slightest chink in one's armor? Following all the "liberal" phraseology and professed sympathy for labor (rather openly self-contradicted in another part of the book), the militaristic mentality lays itself bare in such unguarded moments as when, for instance, it bemoans the "long weary years of peace."

—LUCIEN ZACHAROFF

William Carlos Williams

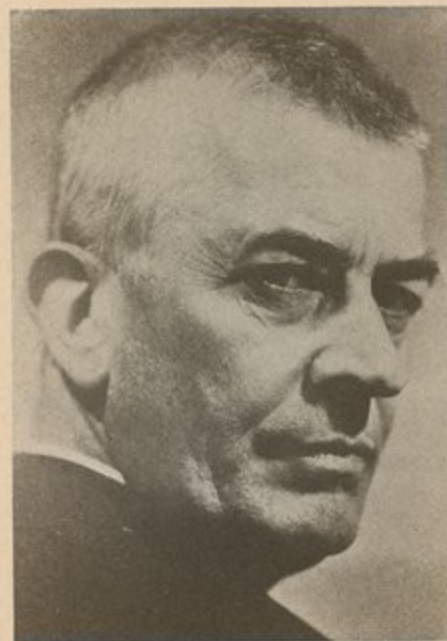
THE COMPLETE COLLECTED POEMS OF WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS; 317 pages; *New Directions*; \$3.00.

FOR OVER thirty-two years Dr. William Carlos Williams has been writing some of the most interesting and important poetry of our time. With something of the directness and objectivity of the Imagists at their best—with the casualness of everyday speech and the sharp incision of a scalpel as opposed to the butcher's knife—he has managed to enrich the idiom of our experience in the poetry of America in these difficult days. As contrasted to Ezra Pound, with whom he is so often unfairly compared, his allegiance in poetry and in life has been with the people. While Pound has been exhuming obscure Chinese

and Provençal poetry for adaptation in Major Douglas prose—all the while praising implicitly as well as outspokenly such butchers as Mussolini—Dr. Williams has continued saving human lives as a member of the medical profession and doing much to maintain the essential vigor of poetry in the world today.

The main reason that I speak of Pound with reference to the work that Williams has collected in this admirable volume published so beautifully by the *New Directions Press* is to clarify a confusion existing in many literary minds. True, that in his early work Dr. Williams reflected some of Pound's attitudes and techniques; but who is to say whether or not Pound was not influenced as much by Williams as the other way around. This business of contemporary origin in the creative mould is very difficult to determine exactly and should not be attempted by the casual critic with only one-half of his mind. Unfortunately, such has been the case in many of the reviews devoted to Williams' work.

Dr. Williams has been neglected for many years, but he is now coming into that deserved critical light of recognition which should long past have been his by virtue of his technical excellence, his definite originality and his human sympathy for the underdog.



The German edition of Carl Van Doren's Benjamin Franklin is published in Holland; the profits go to refugees

The Complete Collected Poems of William Carlos Williams is a monument which will long outlast the memory of those trivial book-review names that damn him with pseudo-scholarship and the hack penmanship of their faint praise.

—NORMAN MACLEOD

Marxian Philosophy

WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY? by Howard Selsam; 192 pages; *International Publishers*; \$1.25.

HERE IS a book stating in simple understandable language the principles of dialectical (or scientific) materialism, as set forth by Marx and Engels. It shows the basis of conflict between materialism and idealism and between all dynamic and static philosophies. Over-simplified in many passages, the book would win but short shrift among professional philosophers of any school. But the casual student and the unacademic liberal who feels the need of widening his intellectual background will probably find it as good an explanation of modern liberal philosophy as is available.

Mr. Selsam traces in a few lucid pages the general development of philosophy through the past centuries, showing how the main philosophies from Plato's static and aristocratic idealism to Jeremy Bentham's laissez-faire economics and Herbert Spencer's mechanistic materialism have all been attempts to vindicate the right of various classes to rule. Dialectical materialism is then shown to follow the same pattern—with the one important exception that when it triumphs it will result in the abolition of all classes.

Anyone who attempts to explain Hegel's dialectics in words of two or three syllables has cut out for himself a real task. But, since any historical approach to Marx demands the consideration of the abstruse German from whom so many divergent streams of philosophy have flowed, Mr. Selsam accepted the responsibility and succeeded rather well in showing Hegel's conception of history—how, as one system of philosophy or government or economics grows in scope and potency, it must inevitably reveal its own in-

herent contradictions and breed its own destruction. This much of Hegel was incorporated in the dialectical materialism of Marx, who avoided the older philosopher's idealism and confusion over the abstract justice of the perfect Prussian state.

Then Mr. Selsam considers what dialectical materialism really is, where it finds its ground, and what it can accomplish for the world. "Materialism," the author says, "rules out any and every attempt to understand and explain events by referring them to a supposed power outside of and beyond the world of nature." Materialism denies all spiritual intervention whether it be an active personal God creating a world or an impersonal moral law invoking the universal sanctity of private property against the sit-down strikers. "It affirms further that man's life within this framework provided by nature is man's own concern and can and will be only what collective man makes it."

The basis of dialectical materialism is science, which, finding no evidence of spirit in the universe, has yet offered man the best instruments for satisfying his human needs. And, last, the materialism of Marx and Engels is more than a philosophy; it is a workable plan for achieving its own purposes. When all men realize that there is no patriotic God bidding them die for their fatherland, that there is no "pie in the sky," that there is no universal moral making it evil for large groups of men to work for themselves rather than for other large groups called stockholders, when, in short, most of mankind accept the simple, straightforward tenets of dialectical materialism, the philosophy will have achieved its own goal. This, Mr. Selsam states in plain, everyday language, is the content of dialectical materialism.

—CHARLES W. GEILE

Federal Writers' Almanac

ALMANAC FOR NEW YORKERS, compiled by the Federal Writers' Project and the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration; Modern Age Books; fifty cents.

THE FEDERAL WRITERS have once more done themselves proud! Each edition of the *Almanac for New Yorkers* seems better than the last: witty, creative, informative, factual and swift with a blitheness that appears almost miraculous when one remembers that the Federal Writers' Project is designed primarily to collect figures and statistics, adding guidebooks and handbooks and encyclopedias to the ones already in existence throughout our American land. I do not mean to detract from the importance or excellence of this encyclopedic work. However, this writer feels there should be some room



MAXINE SEELBINDER

WANT AMONG PLENTY

for the writing of poetry and fiction—that the Federal Writers' Project should not be confined to newspapermen and research workers when there is so much room for creative writing in the United States today. And I can't help but feel that the writers who compiled the *Almanac for New Yorkers* feel much the same way. Else there would not be the poetry included—good verse by Herman Spector and others.

But taking everything into consideration—perhaps this is not the time to "gyve." We should be thankful for the existence of the Federal Writers' Project and grateful to the workers on it who turn out such uniformly swell and engaging books.

—NORMAN MACLEOD

Fifth Column Memoirs

THE PATROL IS ENDED, by Oloff de Wet; 340 pages; Doubleday, Doran & Co.; \$2.75.

IN SEPTEMBER 1936 a Scottish pilot who had just been dropped from the Malraux squadron, shocked me with a vengeful remark. "I've got a notion to wait right here in Madrid for Franco and fly for the

other side." It was easy to see that the first hastily gathered group of foreign fliers included some frank mercenaries, not to mention spies. For example, it included Oloff de Wet, whose point of view sounds remarkably like that of the above-mentioned Scot.

"I am beginning to hate all the crowds of uncouth people drunk with their new-found freedom," he writes in his diary on his second day in Madrid. He was, perhaps, irritated at the delay of two weeks occasioned by the Government's reluctance to give him a contract calling for some \$900 per month, \$1500 for every plane brought down, and other inducements. Of course he did no work until he was paid, and had a furious contempt for another British pilot, Cartwright, who didn't wait. De Wet despised him for "believing in the integrity of the Spaniard. . . . I remember telling him just what sort of a fool he was; how difficult he made it for other people who were not quite so gullible as himself."

It will not surprise you to learn that Mr. de Wet made a mysterious journey to a foreign land while he was on leave, returned to perform still more suspicious acts, and was jailed as a suspected spy. By the almost unforgiva-

ble tolerance of the Loyalists he was permitted to leave the country. Back home in England he found sympathetic money to finance a book on the "Escape from the Soviets" order. It will not be without its uses. Mr. Sam Baron, for instance, might read it aloud to the Dies Committee. If he should, your reviewer offers odds of ten to nothing that he would skip this passage: "I had been to Italy and Germany during my leave."

—JAMES HAWTHORNE

Thorez' Autobiography

SON OF THE PEOPLE, by Maurice Thorez; 237 pages; International Publishers; \$1.50.

THIS LITTLE book is announced as an autobiography. For the first sixty pages or so it sticks to the job of explaining how a young miner from the North of France is transformed into the leader of a party which boasts a membership of 350,000 and plays an important part in national politics.

Born into a family which was historically unionized, in one of those dreary coal towns with its hardy-perennial poverty and disasters, exiled from his home town by the invading Germans in the World War, this young man was almost compelled to remain a radical.

But as is frequently the case with attempted autobiographies of revolutionary leaders, the individual soon disappears and we get instead the biography of the party, its immediate program and its ultimate aims. The biography of the Communist leader practically ends with his interesting description of a fourteen-month term received for opposing the French war against Morocco in 1925. From then on we read of the development of the Communist Party and later the formation and growth of the People's Front.

For Americans who are striving to safeguard Democracy at a moment when opponents and supposed friends of people's rights are shouting that the People's Front has failed, the last part of the book is the most important. The author lists the demands which the movement that halted French Fascism based itself on. They are, unlike the programs of many radical groups in the past, positive declarations on what should and can be done immediately to safeguard peace, limit the power of the financial oligarchy or "two hundred families" (the phrase incidentally was coined by Daladier. How sorry he must be!), and build decent housing. In other words it is the French New Deal. And like our own, it has met the full fury of the reactionaries as "Communist."

The book closes with an eloquent though simple statement of what the Communists desire for France.

—JOHN TUDOR

WALL STREET developed cross-currents and decided to assume a pious sit-back, keep-mum attitude during the past month, following the notorious Coster-Musica revelations. There were real fears for a while that a sincere investigation might get under way that would expose Big Business methods to further spot-lighting, and not stop at a paltry \$86,000,000 drug undertaking. And so all the organs of Big Business played down the Coster fiasco to the hilt in their editorials, except to express a naive amazement that such a real-life scenario could happen. And at the same time they so well know that the McKesson-Robbins procedure on audits, bank loan transactions, absentee directorates, financial statements, etc., all is standard practice throughout Big Business. What difference, for instance, between the Whitney borrowing frauds and the Coster borrowing frauds? And who, among those who first saw the budding swindle in each case, did anything about it except to keep as clear and uninvolved as possible? The general practice in the Street when a dirty mess is uncovered is first a personal cover-up, then protection as far as possible for others in the racket.

In this respect, when Robert M. Hutchins recently quit the Stock Exchange board of governors (he was the people's representative on the board) because he could get no cooperation for further investigation of the Whitney affair, the financial community was vastly relieved. They feared to stir sleeping dogs, and to quote the New York *Herald-Tribune's* Wall Street news commentator on the matter, "would have most to lose should there be any outbreak of misunderstanding between the new management (of the exchange) and Washington officialdom. . . ." The *Herald-Tribune* continued: "On the face of it the youthful president of Chicago University (Hutchins) appears in the light of one who is far too anxious to seek personal publicity." And then after citing that Richard Whitney is in jail, the writer dismissed the whole thing nicely with "it is significant that no other member of the board of governors, not even the other representatives of the public (*sic*) on the board, sided with Mr. Hutchins."

It is significant all right, but not in the way implied by the *Herald-Tribune* writer. The significance lies in the fact that there are no other representatives of the public on the board. Under the new Stock Exchange régime, there were three outsiders elected to the board of governors to "represent" the public. Of these, Mr. Hutchins can be said to be the only one who came anywhere near a classification of representative of the lay public, since it is assumed he has no direct Wall Street or Big Business affiliation. The other two so-called

outsiders are Robert E. Wood, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., and Carle C. Conway, chairman of the board of directors of Continental Can Co.

More Exchange Trouble

THE Street had hardly recovered from the McKesson-Robbins shock when J. A. Sisto—who was accused in the Seabury investigation of underhand dealings with New York's then Mayor Walker—was expelled from the Stock Exchange for "conduct unbecoming a member" and unethical business practices; and the S.E.C. took action against Fidelity Investment Association which sold \$600,000,000 of investment certificates to the public. The Fidelity was charged with "window dressing" practices to deceive 60,000 investors. And meantime, the trial of the stockholders' action against officers and directors of Loew's, Inc., for an accounting of more than \$30,-

000,000 of assets allegedly wasted, ended late last December in the New York Supreme Court with a decision reserved.

Naturally, all these doings have been disturbing to the Street, and strenuous efforts have been made to keep the troubles as quiet as possible. The less said the better. But the Street knows, realistically enough, that the dead will not bury as easily as that if the public has official agents on the scene sincerely bent on exposing criminal procedure and rectifying shady practice for the public interest. And hence every effort is continuously being made in Wall Street to keep the public as far removed from direct contact with the management of the "works" as possible.

Anti-New Deal Drive

FOLLOWING the November elections, the elated Big-Wigs immediately started in propagandising

WALL STREET

Many scandals have the barons quivering in their boots . . . They drive on the people with subtle strategy

through the controlled press for repeal or emasculation of all the progressive legislation enacted by the New Deal. And this trend has continued with increasing zeal and boldness as the Big Business apologist news columnists pumped bigger and bigger doses of defeatism into the public. Thus, the *Wall Street Journal* announced from Washington that "a strong movement appears developing on Capitol Hill in favor of some revision of the Wagner Act to meet criticism leveled at both the Act and its administration, particularly during the past year."

The story, part and parcel of the high-pressure campaign to stampede Congress into action against New Deal legislation, went on to cite the senators who favor a change in the law, and then included the American Federation of Labor. In Wall Street, the sentiment as regards this labor law is that if a fight develops on amendments, then this resistance must lead to outright repeal. That's the kind of meat the Caesars are feeding on. As they see it, they have nothing to lose and everything to gain—a typical Wall Street gambling set-up. They feel that the Garner crowd of anti-Roosevelt Democrats in Washington will control the Congress, and President Roosevelt will be reduced to a mere sideler, and they hope to work out their wills something like this:

"We can make a deal with the Garner crowd, and as Frank R. Kent says, 'there is no real difference between the anti-Administration Democrats and the Republicans,' meaning us. Combined, we have a majority in each House. We don't need a formal coalition because that would be bad politics for both of us, and anyway we don't need a formal coalition. All we need do is act spontaneously with the anti-Roosevelts like we did on the Supreme Court issue and on the 'purge,' where we did yeoman service. We don't need a program of any sort to offer the people, but we can talk plenty about 'reconstruction' and 'business confidence' and 'liberal young bloods' in our party; and then make a good stock market once in a while. In this way any mistakes that are made will be the fault of the anti-Administration Democrats, and we are in the clear.

"As things now are we have the position and not the responsibility. The anti-Roosevelts must take the lead, and we will swing back of them solidly on any anti-Administration measures. We won't be hasty, and we will work hard to drive the wedge deeper between the Democratic factions, and we won't forget to do the same for the two labor groups. We'll keep 'em divided.

"If we can keep Roosevelt from dominating the 1940 Democratic convention, that confuses the voters and we will be strong and can elect our crowd."



The Fairfield, Connecticut, factory of McKesson & Robbins, drug firm that was headed by the not-so-fantastic Coster-Musica

Tom Mooney Free

*A twenty-two year struggle is
successfully realized with the
rise of Democracy in California*

By Louise Bransten

THE WORKING people took over the city of San Francisco on Sunday the eighth of January. America has seldom seen a march like this spontaneous tribute to a great leader. The 22-year faith of the scores of thousands who lined the streets for miles was being vindicated. These thousands were giving their full and unconditional exoneration . . . the people's acquittal . . . to Tom Mooney.

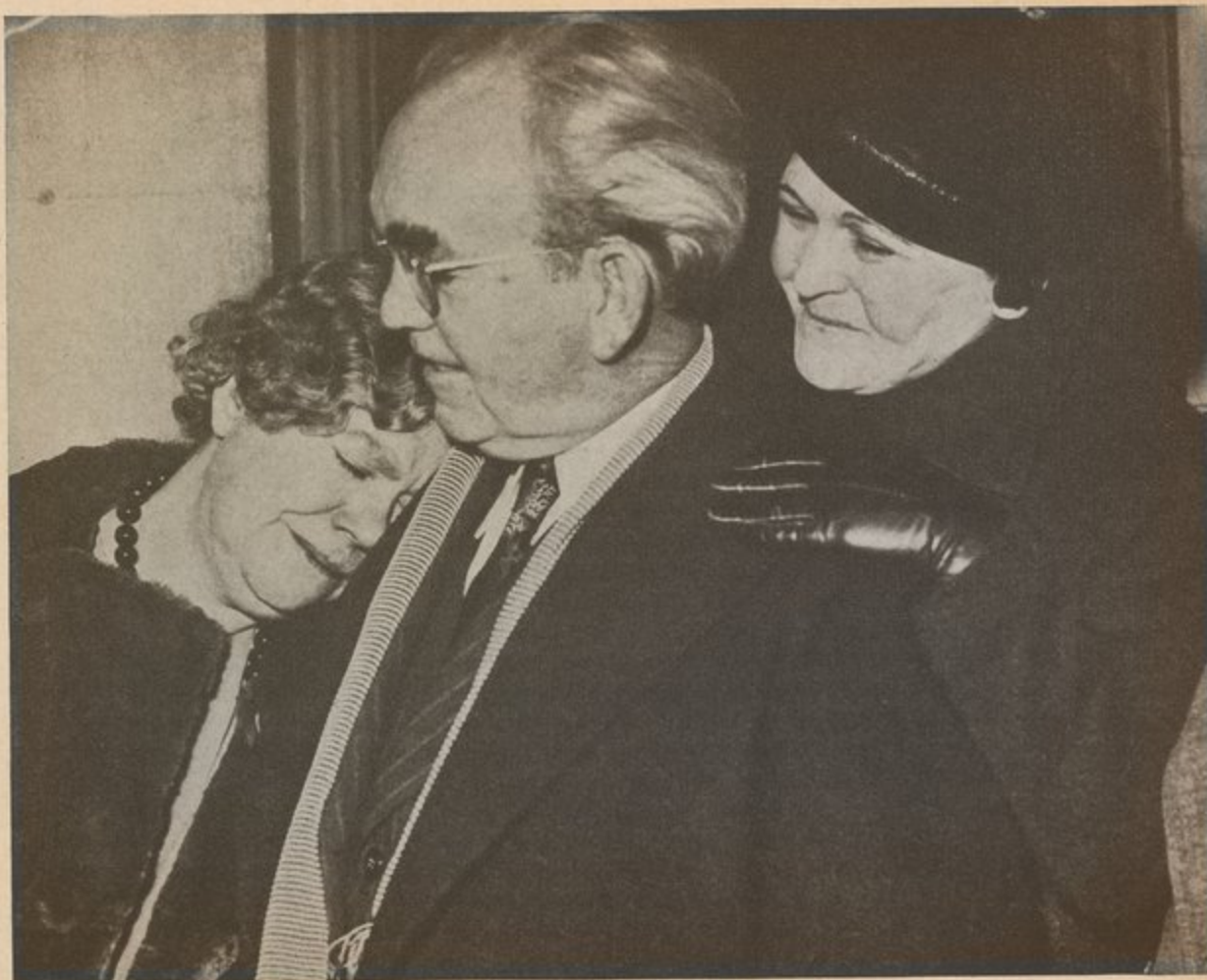
His guard of honor were C.I.O. longshoremen and warehousemen and members of the A.F. of L. Laborers Union, symbolic of the unity Tom Mooney represents. He marched with A.F. of L., C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhood officials and the banner of his union, the Molders Union of the A.F. of L., flew directly behind him. All differences were buried in a common cause . . . in a common tribute.

Both sides of the street were jammed for three miles while the city belonged to the marchers. The people who lined the streets were not onlookers . . . they joined the march with Mooney. Men who have grown old in the labor movement took part in the demonstration; men like the 79-year-old molder who had known Tom long before 1916; young men, the sons of Mooney's friends, women, workers, liberals, progressives from every walk of life. A woman standing on the sidelines turned to her companion and said: "Now you can see why they have kept Tom Mooney in jail all these years."

With Banners Flying

The whistle of the Ferry Building blew as it does for visiting Presidents when Tom Mooney arrived in San Francisco. People crowded the Civic Center where a grandstand had been built at the city's expense. Men with banners marched through the City Hall, through the Mayor's office. Banners from every union in the city were carried by the marchers to the balcony outside the Mayor's office where they flew high above the crowd.

Twenty-two years ago another parade went up Market Street. The world knows the story of the bomb that exploded during the Preparedness Day Parade on July 22, 1916. Ten were killed



Tom Mooney with his wife Rena (left) and his sister Anna (right) as he left San Quentin prison

and forty hurt. The Pacific Gas and Electric Company and the United Railway Company had good reason to want to "get" Tom Mooney, the militant labor leader. Here was a ready-made opportunity to fasten on him a crime that would outrage public opinion.

Early in 1916 the Law and Order Committee had been established. It was directed by a Committee of a Hundred, industrialists appointed by the Chamber of Commerce. The purpose of the Committee was to oppose the advance of the labor organizations and \$1,000,000 was raised to that end. All labor was attacked, but the utility interests especially wanted Tom Mooney and Warren Billings out of the way. Labor organizations were growing in 1916 and Tom Mooney was organizing the platform workers of the street railways. Notices were posted in the car-barns of the United Railways warning all employees that "any man found to be affiliated with Mooney or any union would promptly be discharged."

In that atmosphere of hatred, Tom Mooney was tried. An atmosphere in which it did not seem out of place for the leering foreman of the jury to draw a finger across his throat in a meaningful gesture, even before the verdict was rendered.

The fantastic story of perjury and political manipulation is perhaps the most extreme example in labor history of the practice of the large financial interests in keeping an innocent man in jail. The essential witnesses who testified against Mooney, Billings, Rena Mooney, Israel Weinberg and Ed Nolan, were the dregs of humanity picked up from the lowest "dives" in San Francisco. District Attorney Fickert, a stooge for the utilities, hired these people to "take care" of Tom Mooney.

Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were found guilty. The exposure of Oxman, the cattleman, as a perjurer was responsible for the acquittal of Rena Mooney and Israel Weinberg. Ed Nolan's case

was dismissed without a trial. As the years went by and the perjury of each witness was brought to light almost everyone connected with the case declared his belief in Mooney's innocence. All ten living jurors reversed their original judgments . . . the new District Attorney in San Francisco urged the pardon of Mooney and Billings. Nevertheless, pardon applications were made to all five Republican governors of California who preceded Governor Olson. They were denied by all, even though the trial judge, Franklin A. Griffin, appealed to each Governor to pardon Mooney.

As far back as 1917 Tom himself said on the night when he received the death sentence (later commuted to life imprisonment): "The hope for my freedom rests in the hands of the organized labor movement. If it is strong enough my life will be saved and I will be free." It took twenty-two and a half years for labor to become strong enough to free its martyr.

Mooney's Confidence

There were dark years for Tom Mooney—the years when the labor movement in California and all over the country was very weak. The Molders continued to stand by Tom but they were not a potent factor in the trade union movement. They did, however, organize the Molders Defense Committee which has been one of the most important instruments for rallying the support that resulted in Mooney's freedom. Year after year Mooney's local of the Molders Union has kept him as a member in good standing and elected him as a delegate to the national conventions.

During the dark years it looked as though the strong and united labor movement was far off. Tom was confident that it would emerge in time to secure his freedom. He directed efforts that reached all over the world. Efforts that publicized

(Continued on page 30)



The Fascists have terrorized the weak, because the strong democracies have not taken a stand. Here are scenes from Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia

Good Will Must Act

By Lewis Mumford

THE ONE thing that is surprising about the bestial outbreak that has taken place in Germany was that it should have surprised anyone. Our statesmen, our leaders of opinion, have throughout the world made one fatal mistake in dealing with the rise of the new barbarism that now threatens our civilization: they have failed, with desperate and fatuous optimism, to give heed to the declared intentions of the Fascist régimes. Because the aims of Fascism seemed unbelievable our leaders have refused to believe them. The Fascists have announced, over and over again, their purpose to overthrow our democratic civilization: they have declared that they believed in war, that they made promises only for the sake of expediency, that they regarded no rule as binding except that of force, that they abominated every act and institution connected with Democracy. Their enmity is open; their hatred for the processes whereby civilized men live and let live is unbounded. And yet, until the abasement of England and France took place at Berchtesgaden and Munich, there were still many people who believed that peace would in time be achieved with régimes that did not believe in peace, that coöperation could be achieved with those who wished only to dominate, and that an understanding could be reached with those who despised the fundamental faith in honesty, in free

intelligence, in voluntary assent, upon which understanding must be grounded.

Half Slave and Half Free

Those who have hoped, up to now, that democracies and dictatorships could live side by side, because Democracy had no active designs against dictatorship, have been putting their own wishes before the facts. They have forgotten that it is not merely what democracies do that provokes the fury of a Hitler or a Mussolini: it is because of what they are. As long as thought is free anywhere in the world, some radium-like particle of truth may penetrate the leaden walls of censorship that surround Germany and Italy: so doing, it may activate the whole mass. As long as government is responsible and free anywhere in the world, as long as it rests upon the active consent of the governed, as long as it must render an account for its acts, the despotism that the Fascists have instituted is threatened: slavery is safe only when it is universal. No matter how circumspect the conduct of democracies in international relations, they cannot avoid being a challenge to dictatorships. In a world that the Fascists' bloc has set out systematically to barbarize, there is no safety for Democracy except surrender: no safety, in other words, except by abandoning Democracy and becoming a vassal to the superior

terrorism: or even, like England under Chamberlain, becoming a pilot fish to the Fascist shark, guiding him to his prey, and ensuring, by sleek treachery rather than by his arms, his triumph.

In so far as the policy of the United States toward Fascism has been based upon the notion that our own peaceful intentions would ensure peace and security, it has been based upon an illusion. Peace, justice, order, coöperation are not one way policies: if it takes two to pick a quarrel, it also takes two to end one; and nothing that the Fascists have thought or spoken or written or done during the last fifteen years indicates that they have any faith or interest in the values that all civilized men hold dear: on the contrary, they wish to extirpate every last vestige of these values. When they talk about peace they mean their kind of peace—with all their opponents either in the concentration camp or the cemetery, except when they may be of public use, like the Jews in Germany today, to serve as victims of torture. When they talk of justice they mean Fascist justice: a justice in which right belongs to the stronger, and in which law, instead of being a body of common rules, is ultimately only the collective whims and superstitions of the dictatorship. So, too, when they talk of order and coöperation: the coöperation they demand is that which the lamb offers to the lion



The Spanish people fight world Democracy's battle, with the added handicap of our embargo. Left, watching Franco's bombers; right, a bombed cathedral

*To halt Fascism, we must lift our embargo on the Spanish government
(wire your Congressman today) . . . An address before the recent conference of the Lawyers' Committee on American Relations with Spain*

before he is devoured. Only on such a basis as this can the Fascist state flourish. To urge that Democracy must learn to live with dictatorships is to urge that civilization must eventually give way to barbarism.

The Menace Is Plain

Ten years ago, one might forgive an intelligent democrat for failing to see all the evil potentialities of Fascism: the operatic Mussolini was a grimacing caricature of Power rather than an evidence of it. Five years ago one might still forgive a democrat for failing to realize, in the new ascendance of Hitler, that a wave of brutality had begun to threaten the world: there was still a chance that in a country as full of docile, orderly people as Germany, the first sweep of brutality would be followed by a sobering sense of responsibility. Two years ago, when the Fascist assault on Republican Spain took place, the pathological symptoms of Fascism became more obstinately plain: on the basis of the martial conduct of the Italians in Abyssinia, no one could expect anything but a vainglorious and vindictive assault of the Fascists upon the civilian population of Republican Spain: an assault whose foulness disgusted to the deepest core of their being those honest souls, like the distinguished philosopher Unamuno, who had, at first,

sided with the Fascist forces. Today, after what has taken place in Spain, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, and in Germany the active menace of Fascism to Democracy should be plain even to the blindest optimist, even to the most timid isolationist, even to the most dogmatic pacifist.

For the danger is not merely that the Fascists are making an active assault, one by one, upon the separate democracies in Europe, conquering them singly instead of taking on the more formidable task of fighting them en masse. The danger lies in the fact that by compliance and connivance those governments whose populations are still nominally democracies have furthered the degradation of every civilized standard of political existence: they have steadily removed the very underpinnings of civilization upon which Democracy itself must rest. We live now in a world where systematic terrorism has the upper hand: where, so long as the Fascist régimes meet with no resistance, they will be able to impose their ruthless practices and barbarous doctrines upon the rest of the world. Their foul hatred of civilized behavior, their sub-human cruelties, their bovine contempt for truth have now been accepted, by the governments that now hold power in England and France, as normal accompaniments of civil life. Bad as the surrender of Czechoslovakia to Hitler was, there was one fact in con-

nection with that surrender that was even more ominous—the fact that not a finger was raised by Chamberlain or Daladier to safeguard the minorities in the pillaged parts of Czechoslovakia from the brutalities which the Nazis delight to heap, in such gallant measure, upon those who are too weak to stand up to them.

Our Spanish Policy

All these general considerations now press very closely upon our American policy toward Spain, and they call for a drastic revision of our official attitudes and our acts here. Our governmental policy about Spain has mainly followed that of the pro-Fascist Chamberlain government in England; and to the extent that it has done so, it has lacked intelligence, foresight, humanity, and common honesty.

By failing to take an independent stand in upholding the laws of nations in dealing with the friendly Loyalist government, we have given the maximum freedom of action to the Fascist governments that aid Franco, and we have crippled the brave men and women of Republican Spain who have been fighting with dogged courage our own battle for Democracy. Only those who seek to extinguish freedom in our own country can passively

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AS TO WOMEN

Women's part in the trade union movement . . . The question of Negro rights

I HAVE worried for some time now over the fact that women in industry do not seem to be taking the part they should. Even when women show great leadership during some labor struggle it is written up as if it were real news. That is a commentary in itself. When delegates are elected to a Congress, such as the American Congress for Peace and Democracy held in Washington during the past month, the trade union delegates are usually men. I do not think that this is altogether due to discrimination against women on the part of the men either. I talked with a hosiery worker some time ago about this problem. "Why should we elect women as our delegates?" he asked. "They go and they never open their mouths. No one would know that our union was there if we elected women."

Now, of course that is a gross exaggeration. The kind of women elected from a trade union which has both men and women in it are usually fairly articulate. But there is some truth in it. Women in the past, and this is not limited to the labor field, have not taken as great a part as they should in organizations where men and women are together. If there is to be any real expression of Democracy in the trade union field, it must be participated in by everyone. The men are being cheated of a valuable contribution if the women do not share in the work. But it is up to the women to see that they do take their part.

A WOMAN who has recently been in the South reported at the Woman's Session of the American Congress, that the race question was at the very core of the struggle for peace in the South. Certainly the Negro question is watched eagerly abroad. During the days when it looked as if the United States was going to intervene in Mexico the papers in Mexico City were filled with stories of the lynching of Negroes in the South. When the anti-foreign campaign grew up in China, years ago, the same lynching stories appeared. At the present time both Italy and Germany are publishing all

the stories of persecution of Negroes in the United States they can lay their hands on and a missionary returned from Japan said that lynching was the best propaganda against the Democracy of the United States that Japan can possibly find—and she is using it.

It is unfortunate that many women have let the Negro question alone. They can speak out on it and work against persecution and discrimination as the men cannot. They have the leisure, for one thing. We have been shocked into action against the Jewish persecution. The Negro persecution is a thing of such long standing that we have not made it a special campaign. It will have to become increasingly so in the next few months. And women interested in peace will be faced with the need to work out methods of organizing peace actions so that all minority groups will cooperate with the majority groups.

I think a successful experiment in race relations has been told in these columns before. I am going to tell it again. There is a missionary society of women in the South belonging to one of the big Protestant denominations. There are in this group Negro women who belong to local Negro churches of this denomination and who also work for missions. The first requirement that the missionary women make for their annual meeting is that the hotel will allow Negroes and whites to meet together. When one city—I believe it was Atlanta—protested over such an arrangement, the women quietly withdrew to another city. For seven years in the Deep South this plan has been carried through. It is not surprising that this group has become the leader of the progressive church movement of the South.

Of course, there are those times when the race question must be momentarily laid aside because of an immediate problem affecting all races. Invariably, in the struggle for peace and Democracy, it has been the Negro women who have seen the situation first and cooperated in working out the problem.

—DOROTHY McCONNELL

Rights of the Negro

(Continued from page 7)

governmental agencies restrictive of the rights and liberties of the freedmen was set up in the South. Disfranchisement through grandfather clauses, comic literacy tests, segregation ordinances, vagrancy laws, the oppression of the Negro through peonage, the advent of the Ku Klux Klan, the poll tax and the white primaries, all served to limit the stature of citizenship of the Negro people. In very truth, a new slavery had come upon the former slaves. This was due to the fact that the revolution known as the Civil War had not completed its course. It had not fulfilled its mission. Whereas liberal, democratic, bourgeois revolutions had won for the serfs and slaves of Europe the status of free men, the American revolution in the middle of the nineteenth century was diverted from its democratic course upon the achievement of the saving of the Union—by new forces that were concerned with the consolidation and conservation of the economic gains inherent in the unity of the nation symbolized in the triumph of the Union forces. The industrial and financial interests made haste in shaping the government's policies to meet the needs of certain business interests for the exploitation of the natural resources of the country. The spirit of the old abolitionists was soon trampled under foot and the freedmen were left helpless and naked to their enemies.

Hate Propaganda

Promptly the propagandists in politics and literature such as Ben Tillman and Thomas Dixon, fanned the fires of race hate and preached the sinister doctrine of Negro domination, to frighten the white farmers and workers in the rural and urban centers of the South in order that they would condemn and oppose any semblance of citizenship on the part of the Negro. Thus, pulpit and press, school and fraternal lodge gave sanction and support to the lynch terror and mob rule that were intended to break the spirit of the Aframericans who might sense the significance and value of their newly-won liberty. Hence, the rights of the freedmen were arrogantly swept aside either by law or the violence of blood and flame.

Now, the task of the Negro people is to fight for their rights. The fight for the rights of the Negro people consists in the fight for the maintenance of democratic traditions and institutions. The rights of the Negro people are inevitably tied up with the whole fabric of modern Democracy. Unless Democracy endures, the struggle by black Americans for freedom and social justice is in vain. Only within the framework of Democracy can minority groups such as Negroes, Catholics and Jews, win the security of person and principle. What is true of a minority

group is also true of an oppressed group such as the workers.

Happily the Negro people are beginning to recognize that since salvation for them is intertwined with modern Democracy, they must ally themselves with other oppressed groups such as the Jews, Catholics, and the organized labor movement together with progressive forces, to hold back the rising tide of Fascism and Nazism in America that threatens the permanence of our democratic form of society.

The Negro people sense that there can be no security in the possession of their rights so long as the rights of any single minority group in America are not safeguarded. They are aware that the fight against the lynch terror is a segment of the struggle to protect the workers on the picket line from the club of the police and the shot of the hired gunman. They see that the freedom of Tom Mooney is linked with the liberation of the Scottsboro boys.

Thus, the Negro sets forth to win his rights in every area of freedom. By the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, the abolition of all forms of disfranchisement such as the poll tax and the white primaries, the destruction of the whole system of Jim Crowism in its relation to transportation, the privilege to enjoy places of amusement, the right of free access to the same educational institutions in which other American citizens are trained, and the recognition of the right of the Negro to play his rôle as a free American citizen in elective and appointive offices in city, state and federal governments, the Negro people will do their part for the whole cause of human freedom and the good life.

The Negro people do not only fight for rights as American citizens but for equal rights as equal American citizens. They do not want a clean Jim Crow car, but they demand the abolition of all Jim Crow cars. They are not content with Jim Crow sections of terminal stations merely because they are sanitary and are alleged to be the equal of the white section, but they insist that the spirit of Democracy cannot survive in a nation where place, position, and opportunity stem from race and color and not from merit, ability and talent. Black Americans do not accept and do not believe in the acceptability of Jim Crow educational institutions even though they are supposed to provide equal educational opportunities.

The position of the enlightened and progressive Negro people today is that there is no more justification for a Negro car on the railroads for the special accommodation of Negro passengers than there is for a Negro sidewalk on a street in city or country.

The history of the struggle for Negro rights demonstrates that it must take the form of the struggle for identical treatment. Where American race prejudice is permitted to provide

different accommodations and facilities for transportation, education and recreation for the Negro people, the accommodations and facilities in transportation, education and recreation are certain to be inferior to that for the white people. For the very acceptance of a difference in accommodation in transportation, recreation and education, is a recognition of the belief in the inferiority of the Negro people to the white. And if the Negro people permit themselves to be recognized as inferior to any other race, they are certain to be forced to accept inferior treatment, and inferior treatment through a prolonged period of time, tends to reduce peoples to an inferior condition.

Thus, the high mission of the Negro people is to fight for the American and world public's acceptance of the philosophy of race equality. It is an anomalous condition, to say the least, that foreigners of all races and nationalities even when their countries are in a state of war with the United States of America enjoy privileges and rights denied to black Americans whose blood has crimsoned the soil of every battle field from the American Revolution against Great Britain to Flanders' fields. Race equality as a philosophy of the Negro people can brook no limitation, for any limitation will be construed as a signal for persecution.

In the name, therefore, of the Negro people whose brawn and brain, sweat and blood helped to build our great nation, I hail this magnificent congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy! The Negro people, the most oppressed and persecuted of all groups in our country, hail that great leader of vision, courage, independence and humanity, the President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt! We hail him as the greatest of all the great presidents of America! We hail him as the outstanding statesman of the world! We hail the New Deal for its Social Security Act, the Railway Retirement Act, the Railway Labor Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and its sound, sane and sensible policies in meeting the grave problems of unemployment! We hail the progressive and liberal forces of the nation who are militantly fighting for the preservation of Democracy and the attainment of peace! We hail the organized labor movement despite its tragic split, and bid the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations onward to unity!

We hail the struggle of the Jewish people for security, safety and peace from the horrors of Hitler's minions of persecution and Mussolini's racial bigotry! May the new year find the forces for Democracy and peace developing greater unity and power to ensure modern civilization from reverting to a midnight of barbarism! To the task of advancing the great cause of human

progress, tolerance, freedom and justice, Democracy and peace, the Negro people have set their hand, and from it they will never turn.

Make Democracy Work

(Continued from page 9)

They aren't anarchists. They are people whose self-interest leads them to fear and hate any sort of effort made in self-interest by other people—even when those other people happen to be 90 per cent of the population. They believe that government should serve the interests of the few alone, at the expense of the interests of the many.

Real Public Enemies

They are the real enemies of Democracy, the ones who really want to overthrow our government and set up a dictatorship. In America, they don't say these things openly. Love of Democracy is too strong among the masses of the people for that. Consequently the enemies of Democracy have to dress up their real aims in words and phrases that pay lip service or type-writer service to the thing they are really attacking. That is why the enemies of collective bargaining try to tell us the Wagner Act has to be amended so that workers can really be free—free from trade unions. They try to tell us that freedom of organization has to be restricted so that the people can really organize. They want to censor speech for the sake of freedom of the press. And above all, they want to restrict and abolish the right to strike and to picket so the workers can be free to improve their living and working conditions.

I've made these slogans sound simple. In reality they are put much more subtly, so subtly at times that sizable

groups of people are taken in by them. You have only to look at certain of the recent elections to see how numbers of our people were taken in by candidates whose real interests are opposed to theirs.

We have a job of educating to do. We have to show the people that these slogans about Democracy and freedom are real, that they are the property of the people and not the exclusive copyright of the demagogues and the professional patriots. For much too long a time these words have been preempted by individuals to whom they are only a means of deception. Democracy, patriotism, religion, family, have been used by jingoists in an attempt to show that it is patriotic to be reactionary, that it is a religious duty to be a tory, and that it is unpatriotic to try to strengthen Democracy and make it work.

It's time we take these words back from the individuals that have held them so long, and make them our own. The things they represent are ours. We know there's nothing un-American about wanting higher wages and shorter hours and better food for our families. We are convinced that the job we are doing is the essence of Americanism, and nobody can tell us it isn't.

Not even Mr. Dies and his un-American committee can tell us that. On the contrary, we can tell Mr. Dies and the people behind him a few things. We can tell them, and the Congress that let itself be stampeded into giving him thousands of dollars for his supposed investigation, that they're looking in the wrong place for un-Americanism.

The un-American Mr. Dies and his committee spent a lot of time and a good piece of money telling the public that they suspect radicalism in certain places. We won't go into the sources of their information—the fact that

they relied on unsupported testimony by a crew of finks, stool-pigeons, ex-convicts—and neurotic one-time liberals—needn't concern us right now.

What is really interesting is that the Dies Committee found out there was radicalism among certain unemployed organizations and among other labor organizations, particularly those dealing with lower-paid workers. Surely this would seem to prove that unemployment, insecurity, low wages offer the best surroundings in which radicalism can grow. Why doesn't Mr. Dies investigate this? He has plenty of material to work on. We are now in the tenth year of economic depression. Ten million people are unemployed, of whom less than three million get W.P.A. jobs. My only wonder is that we don't have a great deal more radicalism among this great group of people.

Attacks on the New Deal

But more significant of the real aims of Dies and the anti-democratic forces behind him are his attacks on the present Administration and its officers and employees. Why are these attacks made? Precisely because the present Administration has put some of the precepts of Democracy in practice. The Wagner Act, the Social Security law, the Wages and House Bill, the W.P.A., are real steps in the direction of making Democracy work for the people. That is why the labor-haters and the enemies of Democracy want to destroy these things. Dies and the other mouthpieces who scream red at everything progressive are only their tools. The gentleman from Texas undoubtedly has had his ego enormously inflated with all the publicity his committee has secured. That's his reward—the real people behind him are hoping for something more tangible.

They want to balance the budget. They want to amend the Wagner Act out of existence and cut relief and abolish W.P.A. and destroy the Wages and Hours Act. They want, to put it bluntly, to do the things to our people here that their colleagues in Germany have been able to do through Hitler.

And a great part of the technique is to smear the people and the organizations that stand for these practical expressions of Democracy with the old and thoroughly stinking red herring. Because Governor Murphy refuses to spill workers' blood in Flint and Pontiac, he must be a communist, a wrecker of homes, an enemy of religion—synonymous terms to the red-baiters. Because the New Deal offers work and a measure of security to a portion of the unemployed, the New Deal is dominated by Moscow. The logic is perfect. If you try to make Democracy function in the interests of the people whom it is supposed to safeguard, you are an enemy of society.

These are signs of Fascism in America. There are others. Plenty of indi-



A bullet-riddled ambulance from Spain appeared at the American Congress

viduals are trying right now to stir up minority hatred, hatred of Jews, of Catholics, of aliens. They aren't doing it just for fun. They're doing it for a very real purpose. That purpose is to attack Democracy, to try to turn the anger and disappointment of the people away from those responsible for their disappointment onto the shoulders of a minority.

The story of Germany amply illustrates this. There the Jews have been made the victims of as brutal a campaign of cruelty as has ever been seen anywhere in the history of the world. Why? Because Hitler and his masters need a scapegoat. The process is clear. Democracy and the Jews—these are made responsible for all the evils the German people suffer from. Democracy has been wiped out. The Jewish people are still physically there. They must suffer for the poverty and the degradation that Fascism and its promoters have inflicted on the Germans.

Labor knows very well that it must fight anti-Semitism and persecution of minorities. Persecution and oppression are an old story to labor. In every country where Democracy has never existed, or where it has been destroyed, labor has suffered the same fate as the Jews and the helpless minorities. In Germany, labor was the first thing Hitler's gangsters attacked. Its organizations were broken, its leaders jailed and murdered. A levy was laid on the workers, as a levy is now being laid on the Jews. Not a capital levy, for labor has no capital, but labor's wages were stolen, labor's butter was stolen to make cannon, the milk was stolen from labor's children. And above all, Hitler's thieves have tried to steal labor's hope for any future benefit. They have tried to kill, once and for all, the desire of labor to organize.

We know that they can't steal this hope for the future from the German people. When the people are ready, they will rise against Hitler and destroy him, and they will return Germany to the decency and sanity it came from.

Keep Fascism Out

We can help them here. We can help them by keeping this monster of Fascism out of our country. Every advance that we make for Democracy is an advance for the oppressed and the suffering of the entire world, for Fascism has to grow to exist. There are signs that our people and our government are aware of this. The conference at Lima just concluded has been a severe setback to Nazi dreams of expansion in this hemisphere. The withdrawal of our ambassador from Germany in protest against the savageries against the Jews was a stinging blow to Hitler. The fact that his newspapers are still howling against the United States is proof.

We have to do more. We have to show the would-be *Fuehrers* of this



Albin Ragawskas, a wounded Lincoln Brigade veteran, comes home

country that Fascism is not wanted here. Our own Girdlers and Fords and Weirs have to be made to see that America is a real democracy, that they cannot defy the laws of our country and the wishes of the whole people successfully. A wonderful beginning has been made. My own organization, the C.I.O., is making a tremendous contribution in bringing collective bargaining and industrial Democracy to millions of American workers—the majority of whom never knew it before. Throughout the country millions of men and women of good will are fighting for Democracy, for progress, for the decencies of human life. We have to help them, to show them that Democracy can work and that only through Democracy can they hope to achieve their hopes and aspirations.

John L. Lewis, the president of the C.I.O., said some months ago: "A citizen of the United States has a right to live and a right to work." That is the heart of the problem. Unless we see that the American people realize those rights, we cannot keep our country going.

I believe it can be done. The fact that the enemies of Democracy are active and vocal within the framework of Democracy itself shouldn't be allowed to discourage us. A long time ago the first Americans dealt with an even stronger tory enemy than we have. They set up a democracy in the middle of a long and exhausting war. We have had that democracy for over 150 years, and it has been vastly improved and extended.

What we have to do now is to improve it further. The people of America want to see this done. They are willing and ready to take whatever steps are needed. Organized labor has the greatest share of this task. Any would-be dictator will have the four

million of the C.I.O. to answer to.

As we do that job, we will be showing the people of America that we have deserved their trust. And more, we will be showing the people of the world that leadership still comes from America, that the first home of Democracy can hold and maintain the freedom that its people first showed could be achieved.

Good Will Must Act

(Continued from page 23)

stand by and watch it blotted out, surrender by surrender, in every other country in the world: first Austria, then Czechoslovakia, and tomorrow—unless we Americans are now vigilant and determined—in Republican Spain.

Since everything that strengthens the forces of Fascism weakens the orderly and cooperative processes of Democracy, we have been undermining the very foundations of orderly government in our own part of the world. In the interests of peace we have helped bring war nearer and have increased the physical handicaps under which, despite all our efforts, we may have to fight. Under the guise of neutrality the United States has up to now been benevolently favorable to the Fascist terrorisms that threaten to consolidate and universalize their barbaric rule. Hating war, we have promoted it; hating tyranny, we have helped it. Only those who openly favor the Nazis and the Fascists, or who are already completely terrorized by them, can now go on with a policy that wrecks so consistently our honest intentions. Millions of Americans, representing every shade of public opinion and political interest, now demand a reversal of our policy toward the world conflict that is taking place in Spain. We demand a positive attempt to retrieve, even at the last fatal moment, the colossal blunders we have committed, and aided Europe to commit, during the past two years. We demand a policy toward Republican Spain that is consistent with our own self-respect and our own vital interest in the maintenance of civilization itself. It is still not too late to take an independent American line of action in the present crisis. Such a line would be embodied in two measures.

What We Must Do

First: we should announce to the world that we will, under no condition, recognize Franco's belligerent rights. As proof of our intentions, we should further make plain that we will at once abandon the present embargo on the normal processes of trade in all commodities with the legally established Loyalist government of Spain: not merely should we resume trade, we should announce our readiness to maintain the free passage of goods to and from Republican Spain under the

convoy of the United States Navy.

Second: we should let the British and French governments know that any attempt to hand Spain over to the Fascist tyrannies, as a whole or in part, as an incident in their dishonorable policy of "appeasement" will be regarded here as an unfriendly act against our own people and against our neighbors in South America.

If we have the courage to announce and to carry through these two policies, relying upon our actions rather than upon our words to convince the Fascist terrorisms of our meaning, we will have the honor, second only to that of Republican Spain, of being the first great democracy with sufficient belief in its own institutions to make a stand against the plague that is now spreading across the world. In doing this, we shall not be bringing war closer to our doors: on the contrary, we shall be putting it further away: for neither the Nazis nor the Fascists have yet dared to engage in an open fight with any country that had even half their size or manpower or efficiency. The secret of Fascism's repeated successes is to terrorize the weak, to bully the helpless, and to reduce to a state of maudlin impotence the indecisive. The very possibility of their universal triumph, even in Europe, will disappear once they meet with the open and courageous resistance of a strong free people.

An American Program

Our business, as Americans, is not to involve ourselves in the supine and treacherous policies now followed by the French and British governments. Our business, in our own self-defense, is to disentangle ourselves completely from those pro-Fascist policies and to come out with a line of our own. This line should involve non-intercourse with Fascist states; non-coöperation in the appeasement of Fascism, and, in turn, it should multiply our ties and our allegiances with and extend our active economic aid to every country that has the intelligence and the manhood to oppose Fascism. For a compulsive and systematic barbarism is what the Fascists seek to substitute for our civilization: the civilization we derive from the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, the civilization that was widened and universalized in meaning, as well as further humanized, by the Christian Church, the civilization that was established on still more democratic and universal foundations by the fathers of our own country, in association with men of good will everywhere. That civilization is worth fighting for. If we forfeit it to the Fascists, we lose everything. If we support it firmly we will gain everything—even that peace which has been promised *not to those who despise peace* but to all men of good will. But men of good will *must act!*

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Russell Thayer

OUR greatest Congress has exerted influence in Washington and throughout the country. This influence will grow as the decisions are carried out.

The American Congress for Peace and Democracy represented a wide section of the American people and there was particular growth in the representation from trade unions and youth organizations. The Credentials Committee drastically cut the representation from many organizations in an attempt to arrive at a correctly conservative figure. The final figure of the representation at the Congress through the 1,255 official delegates is given as 7,470,937, divided as follows:

Labor	2,006,051
Youth	1,872,743
Women	594,239
American League for Peace and Democracy	19,972
Religious	704,799
Negro	63,608
Educational and Cultural	107,504
Farm	481
Professional	15,158
Peace and Anti-Fascist	260,858
Chinese and China Aid	54,740
Spanish and Spanish Aid	86,504
Fraternal and Language	551,581
Civic	44,048
Civil Rights	630,136
Coöperatives	79,341
Political	384,174

Jorge Peralta, a fraternal delegate from the Columbian Confederation of Labor, South America, represented 160,000 members.

The National Negro Congress delegate represented 600 affiliated organizations, some of whom are duplicated in the above figures and are therefore not included in them.

Sixty-one observers were present representing 2,353,205 people, and there were more than 350 visitors.

It should be noted that about 65 per cent of the organizations represented had never before attended an American League Congress. The political parties referred to in the credentials report are local or regional parties and no national political party is included or was asked to send delegates. Those listed include the Washington Commonwealth Federation, the Wisconsin Progressive Party, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, etc.

THE American League, which is the executive arm of the Congress, recognizes the work which must be done

in the farm districts and the towns to bring our program to the entire country and to enlist its support.

Among the major decisions taken by the Congress, aside from the resolutions adopted, was one to hold 1,000 meetings throughout the country immediately to put forward our program, to rally the forces opposing Fascism and to enlarge these forces. These meetings will be held on issues such as lifting the embargo on the Spanish Government, placing an embargo on Germany, Japan and Italy, defending the Wagner Act, opposing the appropriations of new funds for the Dies Committee (which has become the rallying-point of the Fascist forces in the United States), and providing socially useful work for all our people. Another decision was to distribute 10,000,000 leaflets on major issues through house-to-house canvassing. This can be done. In England 5,000,000 leaflets were distributed in one week.

WE are proud to publish several communications to the Congress:

"The tragic events of the last few months have fully confirmed the correctness of the policy pursued by the League. It has already become clear

that the policy of Munich, of surrender to the Fascist aggressors, has not even meant a respite. Its result has been to strengthen the brutality and vehemence of the Fascist offensive.

"A wave of horror and indignation has swept the U.S.A. at the crimes of Fascist racial persecution, intensified by the revelations of Nazi espionage and intrigue directed against American Democracy. On all sides is heard the call for a Nazi embargo. This reaction influences and encourages progressive opinion throughout the world. But still more important is the need to lift the embargo from the victims of Fascist aggression.

"In the new stage of intenser struggle between the forces of Fascism and Democracy, the progressive and peace forces of the United States can play a vital rôle in mobilizing world public opinion in support of peace and freedom. The peoples of the rest of the world are looking to the U.S.A. for its effective collaboration.

"FOR THE WORLD COMMITTEE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM.

"Paul Langevin, President

"Francis Jourdain, General Secretary"

"The democracies are in danger. It is no longer possible for any one of

them to isolate itself. The threatening ring of the Fascisms, Nazisms and racisms of Germany, Italy and Japan is drawing closer around us. Their fanatical armies are ready to strike. Brothers of America, let us unite to repulse the wave of barbarism which is breaking over the whole world. Freedom, social justice and reason are fighting in our ranks. To conquer or die! The whole future, happiness and honor of humanity is at stake.

"WORLD COMMITTEE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM.

"Romain Rolland, Honorary President."

"The defense of democratic principles, which figures on the agenda of your Congress, is at the present time one of the principal preoccupations of all who realize the seriousness of the international situation.

"The collaboration of American and European public opinion is one of the essential conditions for the realization of this mighty joint action, which is more indispensable now than ever.

"For this reason we follow with great interest and sympathy the work of your movement, and hope that your Congress will contribute towards drawing closer the ties between our two continents for the good of the whole of humanity.

"Pierre Cot (President of the International Peace Campaign)."

"The help of the great American Democracy is invaluable for the creation of a barrier against Fascism. We hope that the American League for Peace and Democracy will succeed in coördinating the democratic forces of the United States for this great task.

"The American people are realizing better and better every day that their active collaboration in the fight against Fascism is a decisive factor.

"It is for the American League for Peace and Democracy to strengthen and develop this movement, which is an assurance of victory.

"Jean Zyromski

(Member of Secretariat of World Committee against War and Fascism; member of Executive Committee of the French Socialist Party, and of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International)."



The trade union organizers of the American League: left to right, Ray Aversa, A. E. Edwards, C. H. Van Tyne, Ed Rutledge (standing), Alex Goldman

YOUTH NOTES

THE National Student Federation of America, meeting at Purdue University December 27th to 31st, expressed the belief that student governments should activate and encourage peace interest and peace education on the campus, maintaining that there is a minimum basis of agreement on peace policies among American students. Briefly, the minimum principles are: the acceptance of the Declaration of Lima which calls for coöperation in the western hemisphere for the maintenance of peace and Democracy; non-partisan relief to victims of aggression; coöperation with the United Student Peace Committee, the National Peace Conference, the International Student Service and the Far Eastern Student Service Fund; support of substitution of refugee students for Nazi exchange students; endorsement of the All-American Student Conference. They further endorsed the President's rearmament bill for national defense and urged Congress to halt shipment of arms and the granting of loans to Japan.

THE National Peace Commission of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council met in Chicago, Illinois, for an advisory session to determine techniques to be used in carrying out the recommendations passed at the Berea, Kentucky, convention last year. In reviewing events of the past year, they suggested the following for study and action: that Cordell Hull be commended for his part in the Lima Conference; that the Declaration of Lima be recognized as a coöperative effort of the twenty-one republics to prevent Fascist penetration in the western hemisphere; that this policy of goodwill become a basis for friendship with youth and students of the Americas. The Commission voted support for the Havana All-American Student Conference; commended the loan of \$25,000,000 to China, and urged the coming Congress to withhold direct and indirect aid to Japan in the war she is waging. President Roosevelt was commended for his protest of the persecutions in Germany, and it was urged that refugees be substituted for the Nazi exchange students and that the United Student Peace Committee be the agency to coördinate this refugee student work.

THE American Student Union con-

vention, meeting in New York, felt that the problems of foreign policy and home democratic policy were one. They voted that federal relief is an integral part of national defense. The Good Neighbor policy of President Roosevelt was upheld by a large vote. For the first time the A.S.U. urged multilateral disarmament at such time when nations act in concert to reestablish security, friendship and peace. They reaffirmed their previous position for optional R.O.T.C. and recommended that the hand of friendship be extended to the R.O.T.C. to urge them to come into the liberal groups on the campus and carry out a program which would no longer be anti-democratic and anti-labor. They emphasized the need for a foreign policy that will distinguish between aggressor nations and their victims.

OVER three hundred young people, representing approximately 1,800,000 constituents, took part in the Youth Session of the American Congress for Peace and Democracy. Compared with our Pittsburgh congress, there was an increase not only in numbers but also in representation.

The key problem of the session was to determine how the League can be more effective in reaching young people with our program, and how the various youth organizations can take a greater part in the activities of the League. One delegate told the session that in our effort to interest and involve young people in a positive peace program we should consider the 70 per cent of the youth who belong to no organization, suggesting that youth peace clubs be sponsored, which would also give them the kind of social and sport activities they want. Further suggestions were: that the League issue more material on our program, directed to young people; that we bring our program to the attention of all youth groups in order that we may find out on which points we can coöperate; that all youth and college publications mention in their columns the Gaines Case (the case of a Negro student who was at first refused admission to study law in a Missouri university, but who finally won his right to enroll there). Other important recommendations made will appear in the proceedings which will soon be published.

—REGINA RAKOCZY

People in the Lobby

(Continued from page 10)

he said, "hell bent for adventure." As a seaman he saw war in China, and war in Spain, and war in Ethiopia. "And I got to worrying about it," he said. "So one day I asked a guy on the ship, who seemed to know a lot, what he thought all these wars were about.

"Well, he told me. But I didn't understand it, and I thought the guy was a dirty red."

Dippy had been in Nicaragua, too, with the American marines. He remembers a fellow who was fighting on Sandino's side—an American. The fellow told Dippy he was fighting for Liberty. Dippy thought that was pretty funny.

But then somehow, it all changed for him. He got sore at all this Fascism and Nazism. He learned a lot in the union, and organized for it for a while. And then he went to Spain to fight for Democracy.

"One day in Spain," Dippy said, "I'm training a gun crew, and who turns up as one of my students, but that fellow I met in Nicaragua who was fighting for Liberty. We're on the same side now."

Dippy was wounded three times, and he'd go back and die for Spain. "It's damned important," he said. "But I don't suppose you understand. . . . You can't understand over here." And he suddenly looked awfully tired.

People from Everywhere

It's hard to give you an idea of all the different kinds of people who were at that Congress. They came from everywhere. They represented every-

There was Mrs. Sam Ornitz, wife of the well-known author of *Haunch, Paunch and Jowl*. Mrs. Ornitz came all the way from Los Angeles to attend the Congress. She said she had always fought shy of being a "club-woman." The tag was anathema to her. But the American League finally got under her skin. And she is now its women's leader in Los Angeles. She was full of stories of the chain luncheons she has been running, which, she said, had interested eight thousand Los Angeles women in the work of the League. "My theory is, involve people, no matter in how small a way," she said.

There was a Unitarian preacher who had come from Ann Arbor, Michigan, for the Congress. He was sitting up in the balcony, with two Spanish war veterans, getting his fill of information to take back to Michigan students and the members of his congregation.

An ex-letter carrier was one of the first ones that I happened to approach in the lobby. A big man, he was, with a lock of graying hair that wouldn't stay out of his eyes. He had driven all the way from Denver for the Congress, and looked hollow-eyed, but

wouldn't take a rest until there was nothing else going on. He was Frank Monroe, who carried mail for Uncle Sam from 1897 to 1919. After twenty-one years of service, he was fired. "Framed on a disloyalty charge," he said, "because I talked about war graft. They said I was obstructing the draft act." To add to his sins, he was active in the Letter Carriers Union.

He was an anarchist then, he said. "But still," he added, "I sort of believed you had to pull together to get better working conditions." He is still carrying on what he likes to call his "nefarious" activities, one of which was to organize the League in Denver, he said. He was a delegate from the Colorado Progressive Federation.

The Youngest Delegate

Perhaps the most self-possessed of the delegates was Michael. You couldn't stump Michael, though he was only fourteen and the youngest delegate there. He was from Germany, and wouldn't use any other name but Michael on his badge or to the reporters. "My father is still in Germany," he would explain patiently. The Washington reporters were gathered around him on Saturday afternoon in the press room. Just as I came up, he was explaining that the recent attack on Goebbels was a *putsch* by Goering, and that he felt that Hitler would eventually collapse because of internal fights within the Nazi party. And he added, with great aplomb, "Of course, you know that the leader of the Gestapo in Berlin is in love with a Jewish woman, too." The reporters wrote busily. Finally one of them said, "Where do you get all your dope, sonny?" "I read the papers," said Michael.

His father, he said, was a German Jew, and a professor of languages. Four years ago his father sent him and his mother and sister out of Germany. They lived in Holland, and only recently came over to this country. His father is still over there, trying to get out.

In Nazi Schools

Michael remembers Germany and the storm-troopers. The schools, he said, are different in Germany. "The teachers beat you up over there," he said.

"Very often?" he was asked.

"No, not very often. Just about once a day, or once in two days."

He didn't dislike it particularly, though. He didn't really know what it was all about. "I didn't read the papers there," he said, "and of course the teachers didn't tell you any of the things about the Nazi régime. But in Holland they did."

Michael is extraordinarily intelligent, admires Thomas Mann, speaks English perfectly, is studying in the Metropolitan Vocational High School in New York to be a printer. He was

February 1939, THE FIGHT

a delegate from his Current Events Club and from the American Student Union, and he took the Congress with notebook and pencil, and kept his big serious blue eyes solemnly on the speakers.

Refugee from Hitler

Another refugee from Hitler was a tow-headed, bespectacled young man from the Sudetenland, Franz Dill. Back in 1933 the Nazis warned him that there was "a bullet for him in the barrel of a gun," when he organized an anti-Nazi students' movement. Now "as a Sudeten, you can see I would not be very popular with Hitler's henchmen," he explained. He is sure that the people of Czechoslovakia have not succumbed to Nazism . . . that what pro-Nazi sentiments seem to come from them come only from a handful of Nazis "yelling at the street corners." He considers the freedom of the small countries in Eastern Europe essential to the western democracies. "The less free we are, the less safe you are," he said.

There were hundreds of others equally interesting . . . equally excited about the importance of the Congress. . . . There was a kid who hitch-hiked from Arizona, and a Kansas farmer's wife, and a New England shoe worker. You couldn't get all their stories into a book the size of the *Congressional Record*, and they were more representative than a Gallup poll.

Organize!

(Continued from page 6)

wants the right to work for fair wages under decent working conditions. Labor wants the right to share in the increased productivity of industry, in the achievements of American culture, in the progress of the nation. Labor wants peace in the world, for war means a slaughter in which the workers invariably get the rough end of the deal. Labor seeks tolerance among races and peoples of different religions. Labor seeks a voice in government. Labor would strengthen our political Democracy through the establishment of economic Democracy. In short, labor wants a chance to live in comfort, decency and security.

In this connection may I suggest the use of a slogan to rally support to labor's objectives, which are the objectives of every fair-minded individual and group in American society? The slogan is: "What helps labor helps you!"

No true friend of labor will get in bed with those modern Tories who would execute a flank attack on our living standards by seeking to amend out of existence the Wagner Act. That act is calculated to give labor a fair break in dealings with the industrialists. Any move to weaken it is a move against labor. Any move against labor



On behalf of Cardinal Mundelein, Bishop Bernard J. Sheil repudiated Father Coughlin as a spokesman for the Catholic Church

is a move against the security of America.

In our deliberations concerning the problems of peace and Democracy we cannot omit mention of the Dies Committee. We have been cautioned not to speak ill of the dead. Unfortunately, the Dies Committee is yet to be buried, but until the stench which pervades that body leaves our sensitive nostrils, we must expose it for what it is: namely, an un-American committee, as President Roosevelt put it, which slanders outstanding citizens and smears progressive movements.

Dies Committee

The Dies Committee was shamed by the Shirley Temple and Gypsy Rose Lee incidents, but it is a force which must be dealt with by something more potent than ridicule. When we consider that none other than Fritz Kuhn, the leading American Nazi, appeared as a guest at a recent dinner given in honor of Congressman Dies, then we begin to see behind the smokescreen of the supposedly anti-Nazi investigation which the Congressman is authorized to carry on. The late Paul Y. Anderson, famous Washington correspondent, showed what a mockery the Dies Committee hearings were.

The Dies Committee is not the committee to root out un-Americanism, because success in that effort means suicide for the Dies Committee.

While we are striving to solve the problems of social security—the elimination of unemployment, the extension of the provisions of the Social Security Act, the building of the trade unions—we are at the same time confronted with the appalling fact that war is raging on three continents. Preparations for war are being hurried by many nations. Mars, God of War, is

bidding for power—and not only by radio! . . .

Only the "flivver" mind holds that the United States can ignore the storms that rage outside. Modern means of communication and of travel have made us neighbors of peoples of distant lands. Our fences are down and it behooves us to extend the policy of the Good Neighbor. . . .

The betrayal of the Czech republic by the "four little angels of peace" did not chloroform the American public. Yankee shrewdness did not fall for the Pact of Munich, nor for any bargains made with Fascist dictators. We were skeptical of the promises of Hitler and Mussolini, and now all the world knows that Munich was merely a stepping-stone to other aggressions. The barbaric treatment of the Jews and Catholics of Germany, Italian cries for Corsica and Tunisia, the Japanese invasion of South China, the intensified Franco offensive in Spain—these were the immediate results of Munich and should be understood as such. . . .

Positive Peace Policy

Fortune Magazine's recent poll of opinion shows that the American people are definitely in favor of the adoption of a positive peace policy on the part of the United States Government. This finding comes as a ray of light to those of us who have been preaching the doctrine of collective security these past few years. It means that we may soon have answers to the following questions which have been put to us so often in this period:

"Where is the conscience of the world? How much longer are Spanish women and children to be blown to smithereens by Fascist bombs, or to be starved for lack of food? What paralysis grips humanity, aghast at the

sight of children torn from the arms of their parents by the Nazi terror? Where is the conscience of America, which with one hand lends money to succor the Chinese people and with the other hand ships scrap iron to Japan to be made into war machines?"

No public health authority permits a diseased individual to mingle freely with his neighbors. Similarly no governmental authority should permit the Fascist leper to prey upon the community of nations. It is high time for democratic countries to adopt the policy enunciated in October, 1937, by President Roosevelt: "Quarantine the aggressor!"

America must give leadership to the world in the fight for peace and Democracy. The countries of Central Europe became infected with the germ of Hitlerism, because their governments did not have the courage to fight for their principles. Let us learn from their misfortunes. We must be vigilant against Fascism, and we must be ready to act, in word and in deed, for Democracy.

As yet, and I hope that the time will never come, the United States need not engage in armed combat. As a matter of fact, if we are diligent in following the policy of quarantining the aggressors by economic embargoes, at the same time aiding the victims of aggression, we shall have gone a long way toward restoring peace in the world and toward building the foundations for social security in this country.

Expose the Fascists

I sincerely believe that we should proceed to boycott the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis; to help the Spanish people by lifting the embargo against Republican Spain; to bring relief to the Chinese by providing them with additional credits for the purchase of necessary materials in this country; and, above all, to expose all Fascist manifestations in this country. From our knowledge of oppressive conditions in the dictator-ridden countries, we can be sure that the great majority of the peoples there, now bowing under the heel of the tyrants, will welcome anything we do to weaken their persecutors.

Oppressed peoples in all lands nurture the hope that the United States will exert its influence and its power to make Democracy once more a living and universal force. And in this country it is evident that our citizens want a fuller Democracy, so they may partake of the abundant life which our resources make possible. We cannot allow these calls to go unanswered. We cannot shirk our responsibilities. Organized labor, the bulwark of American Democracy, will be unremitting in its efforts to assist our government and our people to protect and extend the democratic way of life.

We shall organize for peace and Democracy!

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Tom Mooney Free

(Continued from page 21)

the miscarriage of justice and the need for exposing the interests responsible for his conviction.

The upsurge of the labor movement in California began in agriculture, among the most depressed and oppressed group of workers. This was in 1932. Then it spread to the waterfront. It was the New Deal that held out real promise to labor. Labor took this promise at its face value. Even the unorganized at last saw a gleam of hope. Section 7a of the N.R.A. strengthened labor's determination to organize. The new spirit in the labor movement took full advantage of the opportunities.

In November 1938 labor and the progressives of California elected Culbert Olson as their representative.

Political unity in the labor movement and unity among all progressives at long last had put a man who represented the interests of the majority into the Governor's chair.

At the Pardon Hearing

When Tom Mooney walked into the Assembly room of the State Capitol on the morning of January 7th, the paths in front of the building were lined with people. Governor Olson was already making his analysis of the Mooney case in the jammed Assembly Chamber. Suddenly tumultuous cheers and applause were heard from outside the building and then down the hall. While the Governor went on reading, the audience stiffened visibly and all eyes turned to look at the man who walked quietly down the aisle. The silence was electric. Tom Mooney, white-haired, his ruddy face wreathed in smiles, walked with a firm gait and took his place behind the rail in the Assembly Chamber.

Behind the prisoner sat his wife, his sister, his brother, his wife's sister, and leaders of the labor movement. Tom Mooney was calm—one of the most composed people in that room. There was no pause in the proceedings as the prisoner sat down. There was no pause until Governor Olson said, "If there is anyone in this room with any new evidence who is opposed to the pardon will he step forward and state his objection." A moment later people relaxed as Olson went on, only to stiffen again with a new kind of tension when the Governor said, "Tom Mooney, will you stand up?" Tears ran down the faces of the people in the room when the Governor told Mooney that not only was he convinced of his innocence, but that he believed that his life had been devoted to helping the cause of the working classes and to bringing about social justice through solidarity in the labor movement.

"I now instruct Warden Smith to release you to the freedom that I ex-

pect you to exercise with the high ideals I have tried to indicate." These words were spoken in a huge room in the State Capitol on January 7th by California's first Democratic Governor in forty-four years. An unprecedented battery of newsreel cameramen ground out the scene for the world to see. Three broadcasting systems carried the news to the entire world. A storm of applause shattered the tense atmosphere.

The Past and the Future

Tom Mooney, shaken with emotion, the freest and proudest man in that crowded room, mounted the stand. Everyone there felt the presence of a great man. His voice broke as he spoke of the past and of the indignities to which he and his loved ones had been subjected. When he spoke of the future he was firm and confident. After twenty-two years in prison Tom Mooney took hold of the future and greeted it. "You, Governor Olson, and I, and the scene just enacted are symbols of the democratic expression of the people of California. I shall dedicate my life to the end that California may lift its head from the shame of twenty-two years by freeing my co-worker, Warren K. Billings . . . and I shall dedicate my life to bringing about the unification of the labor movement." Mooney broke down as he thanked the Governor in behalf of the labor movement and all the progressives who had made this pardon possible. There was utter stillness. No one moved. No one knew how to break the silence.

Suddenly a call from the gallery, "Happy New Year, Tom," broke the quiet. That was the signal for the tears, laughter, congratulations, and welcome that brought the world's most famous and best-loved political prisoner back to his people. One young man with tears streaming down his face said he was crying because his father who had fought for Mooney's freedom was dead and not here to see that freedom granted. Mrs. Fremont Older and Tom Mooney embraced and each wept and spoke of Fremont Older and of Mother Mary Mooney who had done so much to make this day possible. Men who lead labor—hard men—put their arms around Tom Mooney and cried like babies.

"Full Speed Ahead"

The newsreel cameramen took picture after picture while the pardon scene was reenacted. Mooney's Irish humor asserted itself when he pointed to the union "bug" on the pardon and said, "This is a union label pardon. I wouldn't accept any other kind."

The crowd surged forward as he walked out of the Capitol down the block. It seemed as though everybody in the world wanted to touch him.

At the luncheon that followed the hearing, Tom Mooney got into stride

as a free man. One could not believe this man had ever been a prisoner. He said very simply that he looked forward to "getting into harness and geared up for full speed ahead."

Telegrams from all over the world began to pour in . . . from every country one can mention; others from friends and fellow-members of the Molders Union inviting him to dinner in cities all over America.

That night as Tom Mooney spoke to a huge audience at a baseball park in the state's capital he showed his grasp of the world situation. He spoke of his case as symbolic of our entire political and social life. He spoke of the greatest force in the world today to prevent the onward march of Fascist reaction . . . a unified trade-union movement.

Tom Mooney, a free man, is the living proof of labor's strength when unified on a great issue. Tom Mooney can be a tremendous force in stimulating that unity around other issues. Tom Mooney belongs to the people. He has come home to them.

Under

(Continued from page 17)

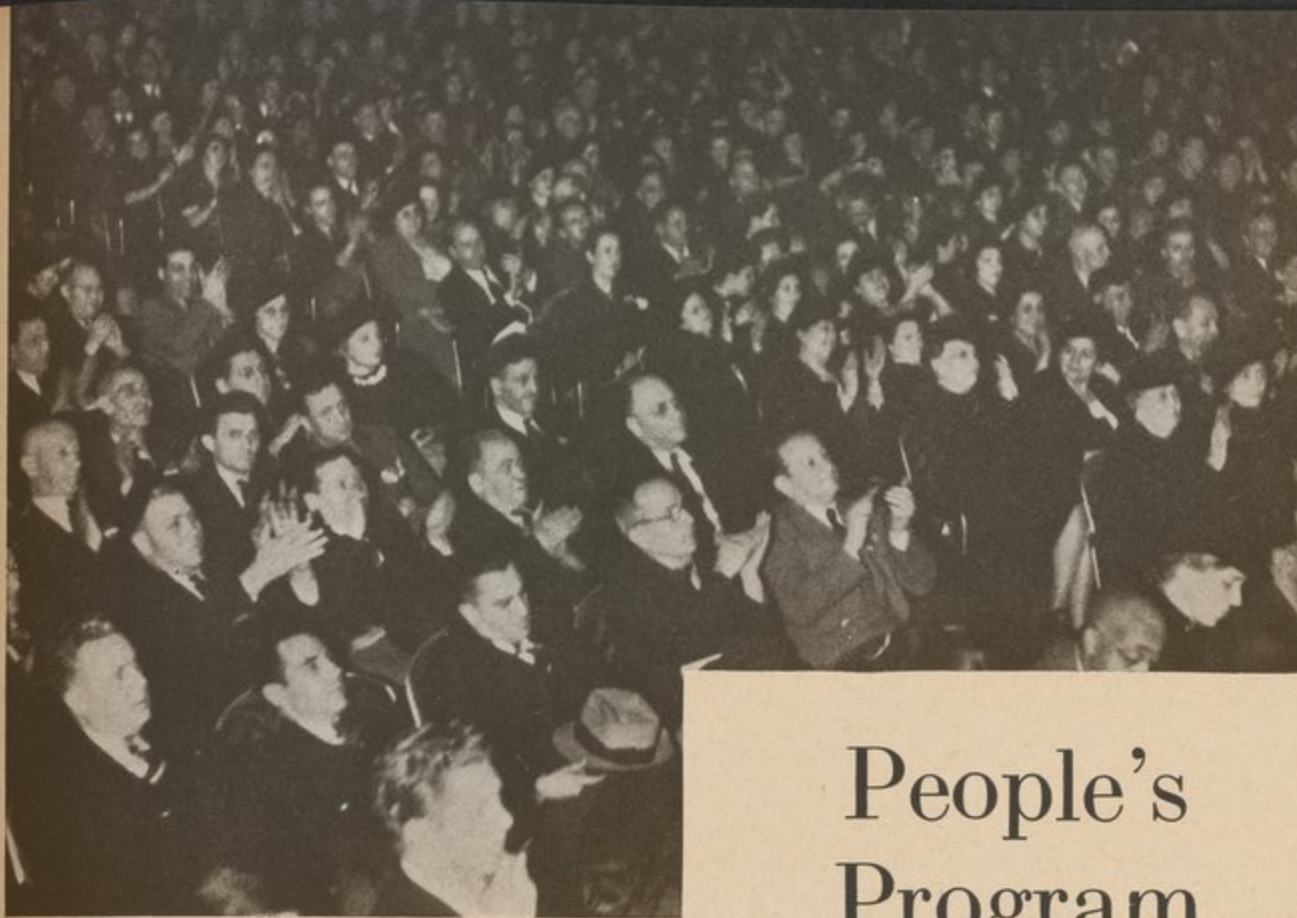
the wife and kids on that, and managed to save seven dollars out of it—out o' that dollar a day. Then one morning I got on the tractor and lost it. I hunted all over hell, but I couldn't find it. I'd plowed them seven bucks under. Maybe you think I didn't feel knee-high to a grasshopper!

"Then Dad turned the car over, killed the baby, and three of 'em laid in the hospital a couple of months. That's what takes the stuffin' out o' you, payin' hospital bills. Well, I reckon we'll all get out some day."

They drove on, through the driving rain, to town. His jaw set, Clyde watched the road. He thought there ought to be something a man could do, some trick he could pull. There ought to be some way he could declare independence, get up, and walk out. If he could get his feet on the ground, if he could breathe, maybe he would be able to think of something. But with them all on his back, he would never figure it out. Maybe the young generation, Albert, Carl and Pete, smart and quick as they were, would break through some way. But he was licked.

They crossed the bridge into town, and he had to watch the traffic. Alec got out at the courthouse. They saw him run, a grey, shabby figure, down the street. Clyde stopped at the office, leaving his collection book. He began thinking of a story to tell K.C. in the morning.

He took Albert to his house and drove home, getting there late to dinner and running into a fight between Myra and Pete over whether Pete could have a quarter to go and play pool.



People's Program

WHAT do we representing the seven million American citizens who have sent us here, and many millions more whose hopes and desires we voice, now ask of Congress and the Administration? . . .

The first and most important action in the campaign for peace and Democracy is to *lift the embargo on Spain*. This is the key to the whole situation abroad and at home. The Spanish invasion formed the pattern for the technique of Fascist aggression. If they win there they control the cultural motherland of Latin America. If they lose there their prestige is shaken and their capacity to penetrate the nations to the south of us is checked. At the same time Mussolini's plans for the control of North Africa and Hitler's drive to the east are also checked. Hence to fulfill our duty in regard to the Spanish government will meet our joint responsibility for our own security and the continuation of Democracy elsewhere, which was emphasized in the President's address to Congress . . .

The next step in defense of peace and Democracy against Fascist aggression is to *place an embargo on Japan*. Again I ask how we can justify ourselves in history for the fact that Japan is getting from us over half the war supplies she is using to attack a country whose integrity we have sworn to protect? Three days ago the President said to Congress: "At the very least we can and should avoid any action or any lack of action, which will encourage, assist or build up an aggressor." What can that possibly mean in deeds except to lift the embargo on Spain and put it on Japan? The country is asking for this action . . .

By the same token it is equally necessary that we *place an embargo on Germany and Italy*. They are both invading Spain in violation of treaties and without cause. They both openly announce their plans for further aggression which will involve the world in universal conflict. With their partner Japan they openly proclaim their determination to prevent other nations from choosing their own form of government, and proceed to enforce this dictation with armed invasion . . .

The first step in accomplishing that defeat (of the reactionary forces) in the present Congress is to see to it that there is no weakening of the Wagner Act. This is the key point at home, as Spain is the key point abroad. Here is the focus of the drive of reaction. Here the sharpest attack will come. It has been prepared for by a press barrage of misinterpretations concerning the workings and results of the National Labor Relations Board. The defeat of this drive against the Wagner Act is not the concern of labor alone. Through its grant of freedom to organize to the workers in the mass production industries, this Act has developed the base from which democratic advance in social legislation and cultural development can proceed.

Along with the drive against the Wagner Act goes that against the W.P.A. Here is another vital point in the struggle between reaction and Democracy for control of the future. The cry of economy, the resistance to taxes, has a sinister significance. This ignorant heartless attitude, this willingness to let people starve, or have their personalities destroyed by unemployment, has always been the characteristic of reaction in a time of social change. The consequences now are not merely the inevitable final destruction of the reactionaries but the temporary destruction of Democracy itself. It is plain that in Italy and Germany the army of the hopeless unemployed became the Blackshirts and the Brownshirts, the cruel terrorists, the brutal persecutors of the Jews. Is that what our reactionaries want here? It is high time for a united Democracy to tell them they cannot have it . . .

Stop the Fascist advance at home and abroad. Recapture the territory that they took at Munich. For those who were discouraged by that development, remember this: that no war was ever won without some defeats. Remember this: that in the long course of history, no matter what gains the Fascists may make, even if they should take this country by Fascist force within, they cannot in the end triumph. Humanity has gone down into darkness many a time in its long history but its continual long-time march has been always a

little further upward. But that does not relieve us from our responsibility of preventing the untold suffering . . . We say to the Fascist international abroad, and to all the Fascist reactionaries at home, that we are just beginning to fight."—From the address of Dr. Harry F. Ward to the American Congress for Peace and Democracy.

Initial Program for 1939

For Peace

1. Lift the embargo on the Spanish government.
2. Place an embargo on all war supplies, loans and credits to Germany, Japan and Italy.
3. Support all moves to aid the suffering war-torn peoples of Spain, China and any other nations invaded by Fascists.
4. Promote the People's Boycott of Japanese, Nazi and Italian goods.
5. Replace the un-neutral "Neutrality" Act with legislation which will immediately end all trade and financial transactions with a nation which invades another or otherwise attacks it with military force.
6. Support a Good Neighbor Policy for this hemisphere which provides for coöperation between the democratic forces of all its nations and which excludes all interference with the rights of these nations to govern themselves.

For Democracy

1. Demand the abolition of the poll tax as a requisite for voting and oppose all restrictions on the right to the franchise.
2. Defend the Wagner Act against all attempts to weaken it by amendment or to cripple its administration; and extend its principles to state labor acts.
3. Support the demand of the unemployed for government provision of socially useful work, under decent standards, and the demand of the aged and all needy persons for genuine social security.
4. Oppose vigorously all anti-Semitic propaganda and acts; defend unrestricted religious liberty, and oppose racial discrimination.
5. Demand equality of political, economic and social opportunity for the Negro people, and specifically the enfranchisement of all Negroes and the passage of an anti-lynching law.
6. Defeat the War Department plan to conscript labor and industry and to regiment press and radio, and demand democratic control of the military branches of government.
7. Urge American leadership in international arrangements for refugees from Fascist persecution, opening our doors to as many as can be provided for.

January

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