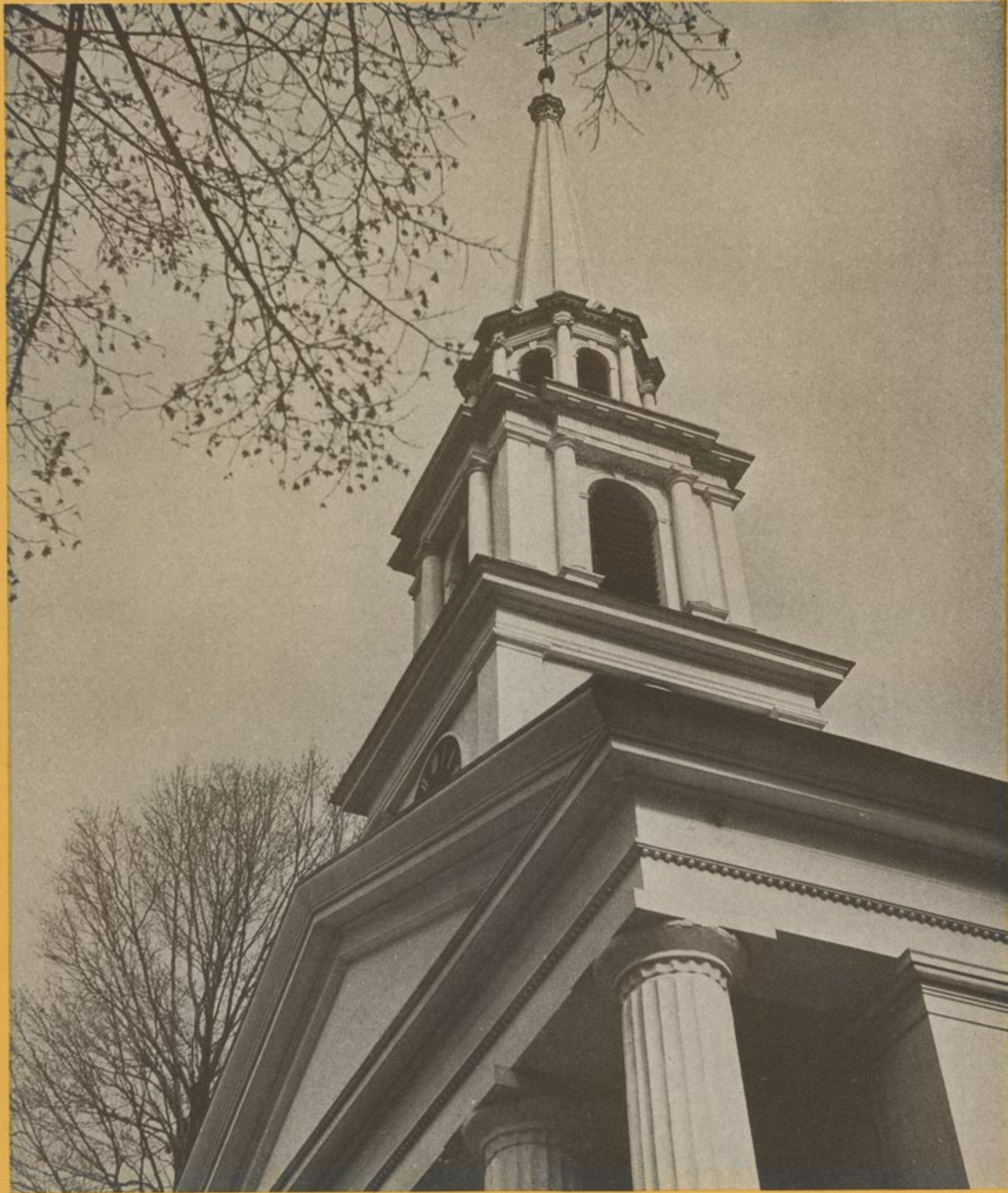


April
1939

The
Fight
FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

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RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY STAND OR FALL TOGETHER



Dances for China

THE DANCE tour of Si-Lan Chen to raise funds for medical aid to China is taking her to thirty cities of the United States and Canada. Miss Chen is donating her talent to further the China Aid Council's program of bringing medical aid to the Chinese people. A daughter of the former Chinese Foreign Minister, Miss Chen was born in the West Indies, educated in England, and studied dancing in Moscow. She is now living in New York, where she made her debut last year. Her dancing combines the exotic beauty of her

Oriental heritage with the stark reality of the modern dance, and her recitals universally stimulate audiences to sympathy for the people of China.

Si-Lan Chen's dance tour is only one of the many projects undertaken by the China Aid Council. Various activities are conducted to make possible the sending of funds, ambulances, medical and surgical supplies. A part of the work is the provision of reliable information on the situation in China and the causes back of it.

CHINA AID COUNCIL

268 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Relief for the People of China

THE INVASION of China by the Japanese militarists is devastating the peaceful land, subjecting its people to bombardment, fire and all the terrors of modern totalitarian war. In this hour of need, the American people are wholeheartedly in sympathy with the people of China, and wish to do what they can to help alleviate the suffering of invasion.

The China Aid Council is dedicated to the relief of the courageous, sorely stricken Chinese people. Funds already raised and sent by the Council have been used for hospital care and first aid for the wounded, relief of dispossessed civilian refugees, and the rescue and maintenance of war orphans.

EXHIBIT OF ART OBJECTS

A forthcoming project of the China Aid Council is the exhibit and sale of a large shipment of Chinese art objects sent by Madame Sun Yat Sen. Many of these lovely and valuable articles are family heirlooms contributed at no small sacrifice by the patriotic women of China. There are gorgeous old wedding garments, flaming embroidered bed hangings, pearl and jade hair ornaments, treasured porcelains of the Chien Lung and Kang Shi periods of the Ching Dynasty, rare carved wooden and ivory figures, beautiful jade and amber, carved ivory and amethyst. There are Chinese scrolls with writings treasured because of their beautiful symmetry, paintings and silk woven pictures.

All together there are over 1200 objects to be displayed and sold, that the wounded may have medicine and food, that homeless children may be cared for. Further details on the Art Object Exhibit may be obtained by writing the China Aid Council.

JOIN IN THE WORK

This is only one of the many projects undertaken by the China Aid Council for the relief of the people of China. If you would join in the work, you may do so through your local Council or through the national office.

With the Readers



DEAR Great-Grandpa:

IT'S rather hard to explain, but I'll do my best. And maybe, strangely enough, you'll understand me better than your son or grandson would. It's true that I live in a different world from yours: we've done a lot of big and a lot of funny things with your country, and it might take you a little while to get the hang of it, if you were to pay us a visit. We fly through the air, or if we don't go ourselves we send our voices and even our pictures, in less time than it takes to tell about it. Then we've built things up a lot, and crowded them together considerably; and everybody works for the bank. These are the principal changes.

BUT I think that after you got used to all these contraptions, we'd understand each other pretty well. You see, in your time there was the spread of slavery, and the Abolitionist agitation: mass meetings, travelling lecturers run out of town, debates, newspaper scares, and really serious political talk; Thaddeus Stevens, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown and other such radicals; and right down there in your county, the Underground Railroad. Still, although you never liked human slavery, I think you hung back for a long time, talking it over with the neighbors.

THEN came the birth of the Republican Party, and in 1860 you voted for Abraham Lincoln. The slaveholders should have known from the way you voted that you had taken your stand. But they wouldn't read the signs of the times, and they thought to change your mind by force. Historically, it was their last mistake.

FOR there were millions of you, and you were mighty. You fought, and you prevailed. And like Abraham Lincoln, the longer you fought, the more clearly you saw the issue. In the end, you decreed the abolition of slavery and the freedom and full equality of man in a black skin.

BUT something went wrong, Great-Grandpa. Your sons remembered the War with pride, and they cursed the slaveholders, and they always voted Republican, "against the party of slavery." But in your own county there were Jim-Crow towns, and in your grandsons' time Jim-Crow movies, and always housing segregation. Man in a black skin was dishonored and hounded and persecuted and lynched, and treated as an outcast, on the very scenes of the Underground Railroad.

AND that leads up to what I have to tell you, Great-Grandpa. The other day in the city where Lincoln led the war for union and against slavery, a "patriotic" organization refused to allow a great singer to sing in their hall—because she is a Negro.

THAT'S what I wanted to tell you. I wanted to ask you something, too. You must have seen a lot of men who desired to live, but who fought and died for Negro freedom. I think you witnessed a great deal of suffering, in those days of comparatively primitive surgery. What I want to know is, which side to join with. And, second, who do you think will win?

THE FIGHT, April 1939



In Nanking, Japanese aviators who have returned from a bombing raid drink a toast to their success

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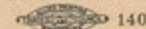
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The Contributors



THOMAS L. HARRIS, as announced elsewhere in this issue, becomes executive secretary of the American League on April 1st.

RABBI BENJAMIN PLOTKIN is spiritual leader of Congregation Emanu-El, Jersey City, New Jersey, and honorary president of the New Jersey Branch of the United Synagogue of America. He is a founder of the League for Judaism and Democracy and a former chairman of the committee on international peace of the Rabbinical Assembly of America.

JOHN A. LAPP, an authority in the field of labor mediation and arbitration, has had a wide experience in the settlement of labor disputes. He has served on a number of labor boards, including the Bituminous Coal Labor Board, and the Petroleum Labor Policy Board, and has arbitrated many important cases submitted by joint agreement of employers and employees. He is the author of a number of books in the field of social and governmental problems.

SAM BERMAN'S work has been seen in *Fortune*, *Redbook*, *Stage* and other publications.

MOLLY YARD represented the United Student Peace Committee on the International Student Delegation which recently visited China. Other members of the Delegation were James Klugmann, secretary of the World Student Association for Peace, Freedom and Culture; Bernard Floud of the Student Section of the British Youth Peace Assembly; and Grant Lathe of the Canadian Student Assembly. The report here of the stirring example of unity set by the Chinese youth, is part of a forthcoming pamphlet to be published by the Delegation.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, the well-known authority on Soviet and Far Eastern affairs, recently returned from China. Her latest book is *One-Fifth of Mankind*.

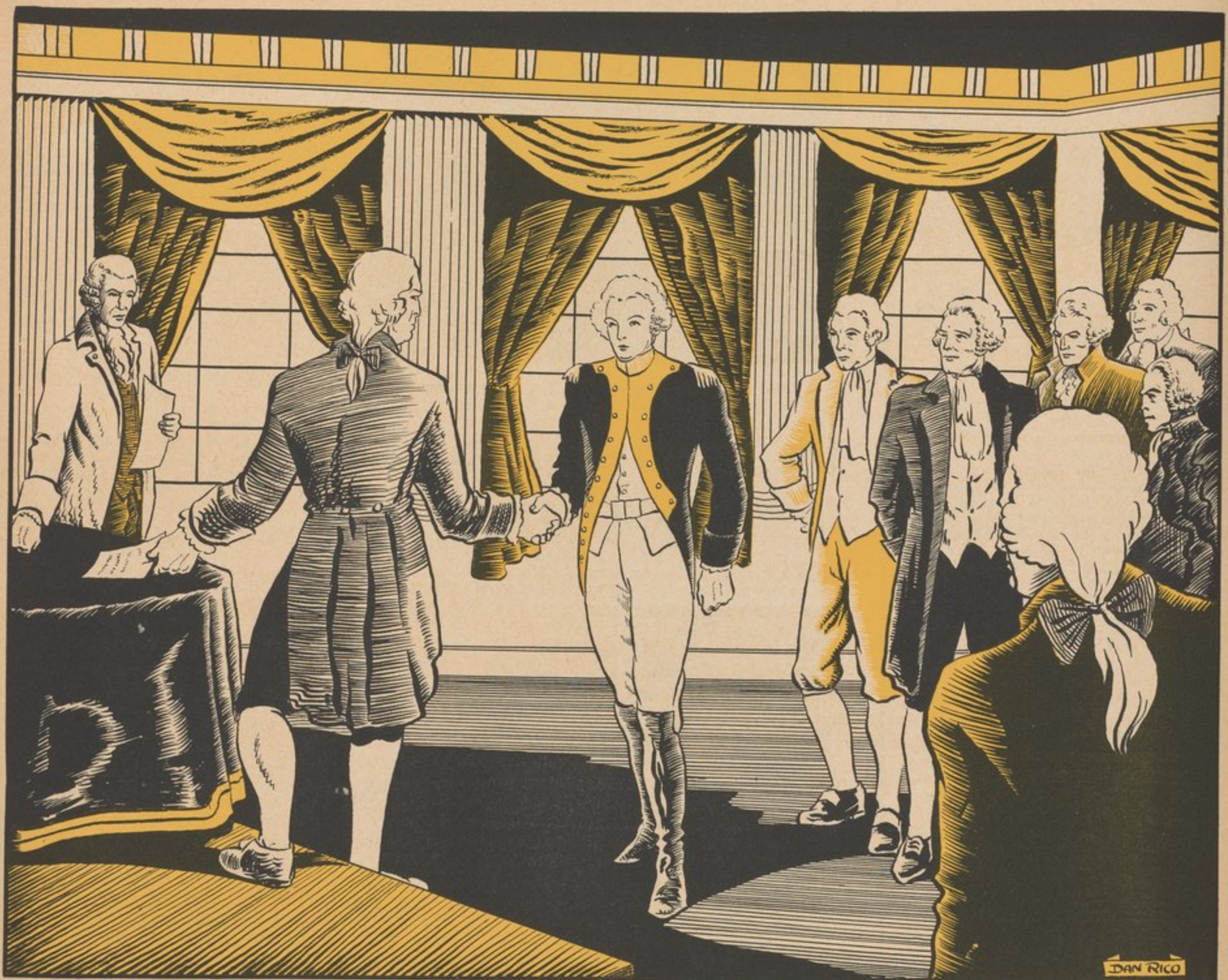
ROBERT CAPA is the photographer whose pictures of the Spanish War attracted wide attention last year. Capa travelled with Joris Ivens and John Ferno in the filming of their *The 400 Million*, which is reviewed in this issue, and took the stills for the movie. Thus both the illustrations to *Act Two in the East* and the picture on page fourteen are Capa's work.

JACK REED writes that the description of life in the Rebel prison in his story are "from Antonio Ruiz Vilaplana, former Commissioner of Justice in Burgos, principally gleaned from his book *Burgos Justice*, partly from a conversation I had with him."

SOL SOBEL and ROSA RUSH are new contributors to our pages, while CHET LA MORE'S work has appeared in a number of recent issues.

MEYER PARODNECK is connected with the Consumer-Farmer Milk Co-operative, located in New York City.

DOROTHY McCONNELL is secretary of the National Women's Committee of the American League.



The Arrival of Lafayette

WHEN General Washington welcomed the Marquis de Lafayette into the American Revolutionary Army, he started the career of a defender of liberty and freedom. The young French nobleman had overcome many obstacles in reaching America to fight British tyranny. Lafayette was only nineteen, wealthy, and had nothing personally to gain from the American struggle. And yet it was not adventure that called to him. He wanted to contribute what he could to this struggle for freedom. His zeal was so apparent that the Continental Congress could not deny him a command. Although not a military genius, he was a capable military man who could be relied upon. At one time when certain supplies were needed he used his own personal credit to purchase them. During the war he went to France for six months. His presence in Paris was even more valuable to the American cause because it meant that his influence was used to get aid for the young nation. When he returned, he again took up his command and served well in many battles—including Yorktown, where Cornwallis surrendered.

The name Lafayette did not leave the pages of history with the end of the American Revolution. Liberty and Freedom were words of meaning to Lafayette. (At one time he had a double picture-frame made and placed the Declaration of Independence into one half of it, leaving the other side empty until a French Declaration could be placed there.) And he contributed his share to the struggle

for Democracy, advocating the abolition of slavery, fighting for democratic government throughout his life. Significantly, his last speech in the National Assembly was a plea for Polish political refugees.

To us Lafayette is more than a name, more than an empty tradition. It is a living symbol of the struggle for peace and Democracy. It is a constant reminder that if we want to maintain our democratic rights we must be ever alert to defend them and ready to aid other peoples in defending themselves against enslavement by invaders. **THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY** carries this message each month into homes of thousands of Americans. Is yours one of these homes? Read **THE FIGHT** each month; introduce it to your friends and neighbors. Subscriptions are one dollar per year. Send in a subscription today.

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Stop Aiding Aggression!

Our nation must adopt a positive peace policy to replace the dangerous and shameful Neutrality Act

By **Thomas L. Harris**

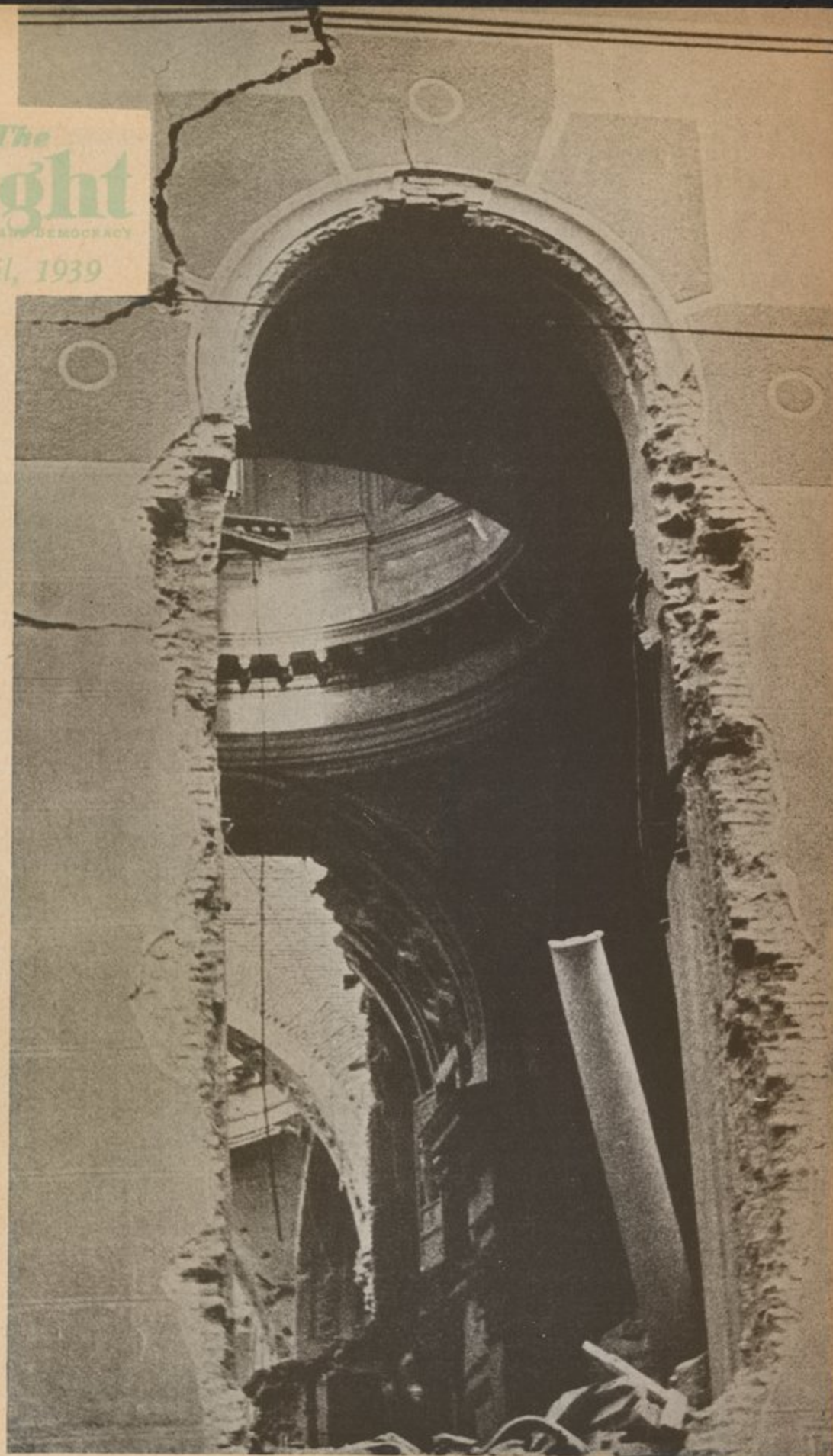
THE "CASH AND CARRY" clause in the Neutrality Act expires May 1st. This brings the reconsideration of the whole Act before Congress. It is therefore imperative that the American public insist upon a reformulation of peace legislation based upon and in accordance with political and moral realities.

Public opinion has been stirred by Fascist brutalities in Spain and China to demand a discrimination between the aggressor and the victim. Unfortunately the existing Neutrality Act makes no such distinction. When the Neutrality Act was passed immediately after the outbreak of the Spanish War, few foresaw that in fact America would be supporting German and Italian intervention in Spain. This, the poorly drafted Neutrality Act actually achieved, contrary to the wishes of the vast majority of the American people.

The American League for Peace and Democracy expresses the will of the people by insisting upon a distinction between the aggressor and the victim. It is morally contemptible not to insist upon such a distinction. Furthermore, it is politically absurd to go on arming the Fascist powers with munitions and other materials. Machines, tools, designs, plans and patents from America have been of prime importance to the Fascist aggressors and will continue to be so. Nazi Germany has relied heavily from the first on American patents and machinery. For America to avoid giving aid to Fascist aggressors it is essential to cut short those supplies which can easily be transformed into war materials, or are necessary for their production.

The program of the American League calls for replacing "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." Obviously, in order to avoid legal quibbling, the terms "invaded" and "attached" must include the furnishing of any aid to forces revolting against a democratically constituted government.

It is time for a new policy. The dangerous and shameful policy of coöperation with aggressors in the name of Neutrality must be ended. Our country must be enabled to stand unham-



A Fascist bomb blew away the window of this Madrid church

pered beside the other democratic peoples who are working against the threat of the Second World War. We cannot evade the guilt of sharing in the strangling of the Spanish Republic in the name of Neutrality, nor can we disclaim our share of the responsibility for the Japanese invasion of China and the Fascist conquests in Europe. But we can see that those whom our colossal "mistake" has killed shall not have died in vain; we can throw our influence *now* on the side of peace.

As never before, the people must make their voice heard in Washington for repeal of the Neutrality Act and the adoption of a positive policy, or at the very minimum amendment of the Act to distinguish effectively between aggressor and victim.

Religion and Democracy

Threatened by the rising tide of Fascist barbarism, church and synagogue must find a way to help the struggle of mankind for the preservation of liberty and civilization itself

By
Rabbi Benjamin
Plotkin

CIVILIZED men everywhere stand aghast. The cruelties of the Fascist barbarians have stricken them with horror. They are aroused as they have not been at any time before during all these terrifying years of rising totalitarian power. They see clearly now that Fascism is indeed an assault upon civilization. They want to "do something" about it. They simply cannot longer endure in silence the fearful Fascist crimes against humanity.

Democratic, justice-loving America is stirred. It seems unbelievable, but it is true: men are being hunted like wild animals. They are being driven, tortured, maimed and killed. Their women and children are being left to perish. Their homes are destroyed, their sanctuaries burned.

But that is not all. The appetite of the Fascists is as boundless as their cruelty. They must have more, and still more. They want Europe, they want the world. America is beginning to worry—for America.

We sense danger.

No more do our imported Nazis seem merely



Observation of the Passover in a Jewish home

just another nuisance. No longer do we dispatch our native bigots and oppressors with a word—"reactionaries." In the light of the world situation we see them for what they are—the advance guard of Fascism. We feel that Fascism and Nazism have gained a foothold in our own democratic America.

Suddenly our American democratic liberties have become precious in our eyes!

Civilization Itself

Suddenly the truth has been borne in upon us that Democracy is more than a form of political organization. In our new-found wisdom, we come close to identifying it with civilization itself. We see in it the safeguard, not only of our liberties, but of the best fruits of humanity's long and hard struggle upward out of darkness. The new barbarians have made us realize that the Democracy which we have been taking for granted, and in which we have shown only a half-hearted interest, is in truth as our forefathers believed it to be, the very spirit and process of civilization itself.

In these circumstances it is natural that they who

believe in Democracy should look about them for aid in its preservation. They look to all men of good-will. And they turn, with more than usual expectancy, to the organizations of religion.

They seek, these good men, the maintenance of our Democracy, for in it they see the aspiration, and the technique, and the defense of true human progress. They call to church and synagogue as to self-evident allies in their, to them, all-important task. Doubtless, they will get much assistance there. They will get more in the days ahead. But the truth must be told. Let them not expect as yet from organized religion as much as they feel they have a right to expect.

The fact is that organized religion is not of one mind with respect to the value of Democracy. There have, of course, been many pronouncements by organized religious groups extolling the virtues of Democracy, but it cannot be denied that there is still much vagueness in many quarters, and confusion, indecision and downright, if concealed, skepticism. We may be thankful for the progress made in recent years, but organized religion, with ref-

erence to its advocacy of true Democracy, is not yet, as some day it may become, a unified affirmative force.

What could be more fitting, or more urgent, or more salutary, particularly in these latter days of increasing dread and terror, than that the foremost spokesmen of the several great religions, after the manner of the prophets of old, cry out clearly and powerfully, and as with one voice, against the awful wrongs and barbarities of our times—and proclaim the need of humanity for justice, liberty and brotherhood? But this does not happen. And it does not, for one reason, because organized religion has not yet a sure belief in complete Democracy.

Do we who follow religion stand for freedom because that is our inclination, or because we must? Would we stand for it if our group had the controlling power? Do we really believe in free conscience, in free discussion, in free thought, in free worship, for others as well as for ourselves? Or are we secretly afraid of these things and in fact, perhaps, against them?

Do we really believe in the equality of human worth? In the right to equal opportunity? What is our inmost view of the Negro, the foreigner, the laboring man, the Jew or the Christian? Do we really believe in universal human brotherhood, or do we make convenient—and unjustifiable—exceptions?

These, and others like these, are questions to which religionists must be able conscientiously to give the proper democratic answers before they can become strong and successful defenders of Democracy. Because in many cases they cannot as yet do so, their defense of it is weak and with little spirit, and sometimes without any substantial effect.

The Great Decision

And so we have the spectacle of only a faltering championship of democratic ideals in many places that are dedicated to "the glory of God and the service of man." And not rarely there is virtually only lip-service, as I have had occasion to know, as when Democracy is preached, but violations of Democracy are witnessed in silence, and sometimes condoned, or occasionally even praised. Thus it is possible for some to espouse Democracy at home, and applaud Fascism abroad. Of course, plain cowardice will frequently account for the failure of religious groups and their leaders to stand up for Democracy, especially where the situation is tense and dangerous. But beyond this, religion, with many honorable exceptions, has not clearly and finally made the great decision: to trust liberty and to accept the full implications of Democracy.

We are put to what may be the final test. Do we believe in Democracy—with our whole hearts—or do we not? If we do, we have a chance to win. If we do not, Democracy will perish. Organized religion must make up its mind. There is not much time left.

It must be clear that true religion cannot survive under Fascism. At best, under it religion can lead a stultified, prostituted life. For its own sake, then, religion must fight for Democracy.

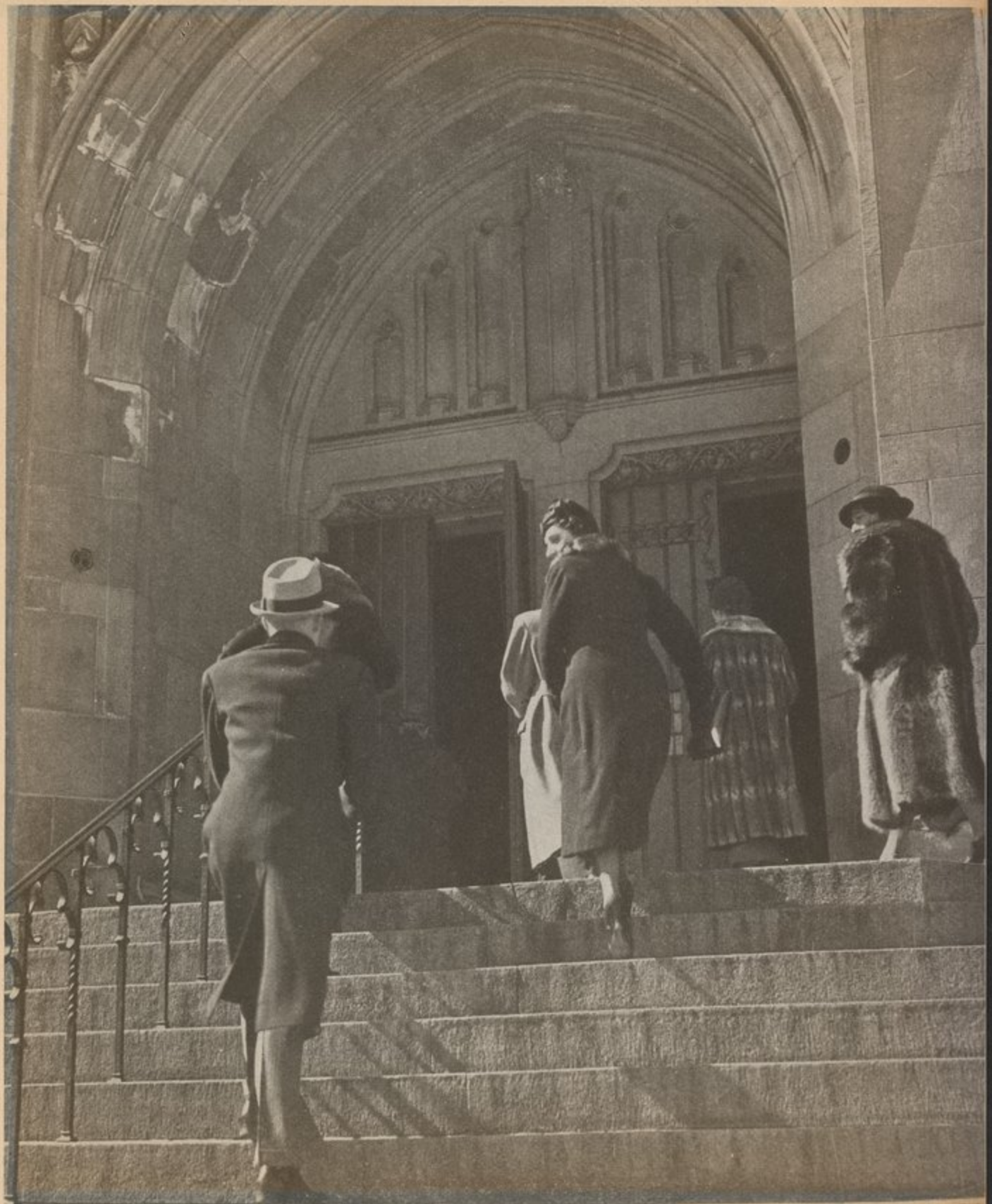
Religion must not fear the freedom of Democracy, lest it reveal lack of faith in its own validity and power. If it lack this, no authority on earth will be able to save it in the end. It must have faith in itself and in mankind. It must believe that men, who are the children of God, when their faculties are unfolded by the processes of Democracy, will not turn against the things that are truly of God. On the contrary, they will, when truly enlightened, turn to them.

And, after all, the essential spirit of Democracy, the sacredness of every human soul, and the duty of all men to love one another, and to be keepers of one another, and not to oppress one another, but willingly to give full justice to all the children of men—all this was taught long ago by the great founders and prophets and teachers of religion. That is a glorious heritage without which Democracy is inconceivable. It is not accidental, for example, that the bell in Independence Hall that rang out the glad tidings of American freedom bore upon it the words: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof"—words taken bodily from Scripture. We, therefore, who are of the church and synagogue, need only to remember our great principles, which we hold in common, and to cherish them with that strong conviction

which their grandeur inspires, to become not merely an auxiliary, but a principal force, in the struggle of Democracy against systems that are as false as they are base.

The foundations of society are threatened. Mad forces are being unleashed across the face of the earth. Mankind is crying out for succour. Not in many centuries has there been such a stupendous opportunity for human service. Religion has lost many who have strayed away, but it can gain the universal love and respect of mankind by being true to its best self. Let religion fearlessly proclaim the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all men. Let it help save mankind by helping to save the great values of civilization. And foremost among them will be the values of living Democracy.

Going to Mass at a church in New York City





The Wagner Act Works

By John A. Lapp

ILLUSTRATED BY SOL SOBEL

THERE never was an act on the federal statutes clearer and simpler in purpose than the National Labor Relations Act. It is doubtful if there ever was an act on the federal statute books so completely misrepresented and misinterpreted in the public press.

The Act is simple in that it has but one purpose, the promotion of collective bargaining, and to that end the right of labor to organize. For fifty years it has been recognized that the failure to bargain collectively is one of the major causes of strikes. For fifty years public commissions in state and nation have been recommending that the processes of collective bargaining be promoted and protected by legislation. For more than forty years legislation of one kind or another has been on the books of the nation and of the states looking toward the protection and promotion of collective bargaining.

Gradually, collective bargaining became a legal fact on the railways of the country, finally receiving the legal approval of the Supreme Court in 1930. Gradually, collective bargaining became an accomplished fact without law in a number of major industries. Attempts broadly to promote collective bargaining, through protecting the right of workers to organize, were made long ago in state and nation, but were struck down by the Supreme Court in the *Adair* and *Coppage* cases. The National Industrial Recovery Act attempted to promote collective bargaining under the famous Section 7 (a). Finally, the Wagner Act, building upon all the practical and legal experience, was enacted in 1935 and upheld by the Supreme Court in the spring of 1937. For the first time in history, collective bargaining was made a legal fact in this

country for all industries engaged in interstate commerce or affecting such commerce. The battle of fifty years was finally won in Congress and in the courts.

The Wagner Act provides simply that the processes of collective bargaining are to be promoted and interferences with collective bargaining are to be stopped. To that end, workers are protected in their right to organize and employers are prohibited from interfering with that right. This is in recognition of the historical fact that collective bargaining could not be accomplished in many industries because the attempt of workers to organize was frustrated by employer opposition and reprisals. The whole Wagner Act is designed as a buttress to the process by which workers may organize and meet at the conference table with the representatives of organized industry.

The National Labor Relations Board is charged with the simple function of enforcing the provisions of the Act. It is an administrative body to that end. If the discussion of the Wagner Act centered on its purpose, little could be said by its enemies. All thinking men on both sides of the fence accept collective bargaining. All men realize that you cannot have collective bargaining unless you have organized workers. All men realize that you cannot have organized workers if men may be discharged or disciplined for joining unions.

Twice-Told Tales

Why, then, the misunderstandings and misrepresentation of the Act? The attack upon the Act and upon the National Labor Relations Board is the same now as when the Act was pending. It is the same as it was when the courts were called upon

to emasculate the Act. When the Supreme Court upheld the Act, the attack shifted to the Board, but with the same arguments as originally used. When the Board's procedures were very largely upheld by the Supreme Court, the attacks with the same arguments returned to the legislative halls in an attempt to amend the Act. These arguments are almost entirely outside the scope and purpose of the Wagner Act. They deal with matters not germane to the Wagner Act. The evident purpose of these arguments is to confuse and prejudice the public mind. Let us review some of the attacks.

First, it is said that the Act and the Board are one-sided. This is true, to a certain extent, for the purpose of the Act is to protect the right to organize in order that collective bargaining may result. The Act charges the Board with the responsibility of seeing that its provisions are enforced. If there were evidence that workers interfered with the employers in their end of collective bargaining or if workers interfered with the right of employers to organize among themselves for purposes of collective bargaining, then the Act should be two-sided and protect both parties to collective bargaining. There is, however, no evidence anywhere that workers have interfered with the employers in their collective bargaining activities or in their right to organize to that end.

The confusion that arises on this point seems to come from the mistaken supposition that the Board is a court to determine the issues between capital and labor. This is not the case. Neither the Act nor the Board has anything to do with the determination between capital and labor of such issues as wages, hours or working conditions. It is wholly neutral as between the parties in respect to the



Attacks on the Act and on the National Labor Relations Board are unjustified in fact . . . Their purpose is to confuse the public mind, in order to allow for crippling amendments to the charter of collective bargaining

issues that are between them. The purposes of the Act and the Board are simply to get the two sides around the conference table and enable them, through collective bargaining, to settle their own conflicts. The Board is not even a mediation agency. It is, in fact, not permitted to mediate labor disputes, that function being one belonging to the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor. The Board does bring about settlements for, in a majority of cases, complaints are settled when brought to the attention of the employers.

The Board is charged with being prosecutor, judge and jury in cases before it. The answer is that the Board is an administrative body having the responsibility of enforcing an Act. It receives complaints about violations of the Act. It sifts the complaints through its agents. It confers with both sides and a majority of cases are settled. When the evidence appears to be clear that a violation of the Act has taken place, a public hearing is held before a Trial Examiner. The evidence of both sides is put into the record. The record is reviewed by the Trial Examiner and findings are made by him. These are submitted to the employer, who has a chance to accept them or to make exceptions to the Board and be heard by the Board on any matters believed by him to be in error. The Board makes a decision, but this decision has no force of law until it has been reviewed by a Circuit Court of Appeals. The Court may order enforcement or may modify the findings and order of the Board. How it can be charged that the Board is prosecutor, judge and jury, when the whole process is reviewed by a Circuit Court of Appeals, is beyond the imagination of an ordinary man.

The Act bends far backward to see that the em-

ployer has his full day in court when charged with a violation of the Act. Let it be observed that the Board has no authority to enforce anything, its findings and orders being all subject to the final word of the Circuit Court of Appeals. It would be difficult to find in the statutes of the nation any act which so completely gives accused parties their day in court. It should be noted that there is no appeal, however, to the court in the case of conflicts between unions over the right of representation.

Trial Examiners

One of the minor charges, now not so commonly heard, is that Trial Examiners in the public hearings have been unfair and arbitrary. The charge may have had some support in individual cases, just as similar charges have been made against judges or courts. The basis of the charge was mainly, however, due to the inexperience and often the effrontery of the lawyers appearing before the Trial Examiners. They were baffled by administrative procedures with which they were not acquainted and they took it out on the Trial Examiner. Moreover, the Trial Examiners were in a new field with comparatively few precedents. It took time to gain experience and techniques. It took time for the lawyers to get educated on the simple purposes of the Act. The charges against the procedures of Trial Examiners have now largely faded out. The proposal to permit affidavits of prejudice against Trial Examiners in a given case seem to have little or no merit. The simple fact that the Trial Examiner is nothing more than a moderator, to put on the record the facts as presented by both sides, should indicate that the complaints have become in very great part harangues.

The determination of units of representation has also been an issue about which much heat has been generated. There are so many possible units in the infinitely varied industries of the country that at best the Board would be confronted with baffling problems. Even without the split between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the determination of units would have been a major difficulty. With the split the problems of the Board were multiplied. The attempt to define in the statute more precisely the exact lines between units seems to be quite futile. Large discretion must be left to the Board and, in all fairness, it must be said that the Board has not abused the discretion which it now has. It is more than likely that some mistakes have been made, but it is inconceivable that mistakes would not be made in so difficult a matter.

Between Labor Groups

The Board is charged with unfairness between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. It has given many decisions favorable to each side. Again, it has probably made some mistakes, although when analyzed the "horrible examples" prove usually to be clear interpretation of the facts. The Act was not designed to meet an issue such as that resulting from the split in labor. The Act was passed before the split occurred and the Board has had to meet an unparalleled situation with tools designed for other purposes. Its work would be greatly simplified if there were to be a reunion of the labor forces, or if there were to be an agreement whereby the major groups would operate within certain well-defined spheres.

(Continued on page 29)

IN EARLY American history the Protestant churches of the United States did not distinguish themselves in their stand for peace. They often showed great courage in speaking up with rigid sternness on the more carnal sins of the world; but up until the time of the World War, the fact that the concept of world righteousness and the sight of marching armies might have some points of incompatibility did not suggest itself. Of course, there have been some sects that were built on the idea of pacifism—such as the Quakers—but I am speaking here of the large denominations in the Protestant fold. In the early days the churches played a very positive and partisan part in the Revolutionary War, the Civil War and even the raids on the Indians. The preachers were part of the times, and the times—building a nation in the midst of the hardest pioneer conditions—were not conducive to the idea of pacifism.

It was not until the period of the World War that a change took place. Now the United States had been for a long time "isolationist" in the sense that it wanted to let Europe struggle along with its own problems. The development of the American continent took all the time and attention of the citizens of the United States and, because they were citizens, the attention of its church members. It was not a wave of pacifism that kept the United States cool to the idea of entering the World War. A few weeks before we went into the War the sermons which I myself heard were pacifistic to an extreme. But they were based fundamentally on the thesis that the war "over there" was none of our business. A few weeks later, after the propaganda had been let loose, the same ministers were putting "Christ into khaki" with an undeniable ferocity of expression.

I remember that there was a certain conflict

The Churches Seek Peace

Religious groups look for an active way to stop war in the world...A survey of current opinion in the Protestant denominations

By Dorothy McConnell

among them at that time, however, that had not been noticeably present in former struggles. Then there had been no question of the right of war. Now there had to be certain apologies for the blessing of arms. I remember one book which was quite a best-seller among church circles. That book was called *The Clean Sword*. It was felt that there would have to be some apology for war by making a difference between swords. Strange stories floated back from the trenches and were faithfully reported in the pulpits of the day. They usually dealt with

a supernatural figure who appeared in No Man's Land as dusk was falling and led the men—not to victory, as it would have been even in the days of the Civil War—but out of some danger just ahead of them. Already there was a change creeping into the religious folklore of the battlefield. With these mystical stories there were also a crop of stories of the work done by men of God at the front. There was one that was constantly repeated at church gatherings. It was the story of the padre—sometimes he had one name, sometimes another—who was al-



China's suffering under the Japanese invasion has aroused deep sympathy in American church circles. Religious groups have long had close ties with the Chinese people through missionary activities. Scenes of refugees, like those shown here, have brought home to our country the plight of the victims of war—and the necessity to do something about it. Hence we engage in the active search for peace

ways miraculously saved from death. He would be bending over a wounded man, a shell would come along and blow everyone else to Kingdom Come but he would remain, a trifle bewildered, breathing a bit hard, but untouched and ready to go on carrying his message of healing and redemption. Even this story was taken with a kind of grim incredulity by some of the churchmen. I remember a rather hard-headed old preacher remarking, after he had heard a story where the men about this spiritual leader had been mown down like the grain before the sickle, leaving him standing—"I should have thought that man was a good man to keep away from."

Reaction Against War

But after the War a new spirit was felt in the churches. It was immediately reflected in the church press. Men were disillusioned by the outcome of the War. Idealism had died. The period of readjustment was difficult. It was not long before propagandists rushed into print to tell how they had "put the War over on" the public. The phrase "Make the World Safe for Democracy" was shown up in all its pitiful shabbiness. Laymen, particularly young men, turned on the church and said, "You led us into this." A youth movement started on the campuses under religious leadership, seeking to pledge its followers to take no part in any future war whatsoever or in any way whatsoever. Stanley High, then a youth leader in the Methodist Church, wrote a best-seller called *The Revolt of Youth*, which had a distinctly pacifistic outlook. The pacifist movement was well on its way.

In the larger denominations of the Protestant churches this pacifist movement did not become a main concern of the church bodies proper. The church papers confined themselves in the main to talking about ecclesiastical matters. But there was a recognition that peace was a religious concern. *The Christian Century* ran a poll on peace attitudes among the preachers. The complete pacifists represented in that poll were not a large majority, but they were an articulate minority and they were for the most part ministers who had had actual experience in war. It is significant that the world movements which received most attention in the church press were the Gandhi movement, one of passive resistance; the Kagawa Christian movement in Japan which had a strong bent toward pacifism; and, some time later, the rise of a mystical theology called Barthianism propounded by a German named Barth and advocating a sort of mystical isolation from the sins of the world. There was a general acceptance that Christ was a pacifist. Although Mussolini came to power in those days, the relation that his régime might have with war was not noticed by the church press.

In the Present Day

I want to take a decided jump now into the present day. At the time of the outbreak of the war in China, although complete pacifism was not so rampant, the church press still held to its isolationist point of view. Some papers had been exercised over Spain but there was still an "over there" flavor about it. But with the invasion of China a new desire for methods of preserving peace began to be apparent in church papers. Church societies which had never before had a peace program, pleaded for methods to bring about international peace without involving the United States in war. Before the World War there were only two roads, either to go to war or keep completely isolated from anything to do with war. Now the churches were

Refugees, refugees—the trademark of our time. Here are Spanish children, driven from their homes by Franco's Fascists, crossing the border to an unstable sanctuary in France



looking for an active way to stop war in the world without armed conflict.

Of course there are some church papers—notably *The Pilgrim Highroad*—which have remained as completely pacifistic as they were in the 1920's, but most of the churches have taken the search for methods to stop war more seriously than any other issue before them. Of course, some of the interest is due to the conscience aroused during the World War but a great deal of it is due to the fact that the Protestant leaders are a realistic group, and they are realizing what the Fascist trends in the world today mean to the United States and to religion in the United States.

Immediately after the Munich agreement an editorial appeared in *The Churchman*, a paper of the Episcopal Church, saying: "That the future of the church is deeply involved in the Munich situation is clear to those who have given any thought to the matter; though as yet few seem to have done so. The record of Nazism in its relation to the church and to Christianity stands for anyone to read. We know that totalitarianism and the religion of Jesus simply do not and cannot go together. And who will deny that the grip of Nazism on the world has been startlingly strengthened by recent events."

The Presbyterian Tribune goes further. It says:

Peaceful ideals are not enough. To be of value a technique must be evolved to make them operative. Chamberlain's policy of appeasement in dealing with dictators has proved

to be a will-o-the-wisp because no appeasement is possible short of world subjugation.

As a correspondent pointed out in our last issue, our fathers fought for freedom in England and Scotland. If they had not done so, an authoritarian and totalitarian religion would have submerged them in a morass of economic and intellectual servility.

We have been a potent force in the murder of the Spanish democracy and in the subjugation of China. Of course there are gradations in badness as in goodness and no masochistic admission of culpability justifies the collective confession of some of our penitent nations that the democracies, including ourselves, are as cruel and criminal in intention as the international gangsters of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis.

Prudence, however, demands that we remember that every Nazi in this country is assiduous in spreading propaganda against the strengthening of all military power. How ironical it is that those Christians who believe that self-defense is never justifiable unite with these alien enemies within our ranks in seeking the same ends, though from different motives. Politics make strange bedfellows and of all combinations this is the most perplexing. God give us wisdom!

Although many church articles have appeared against the federal government rearmament program, the church editorials are not fighting it. In this one, from a Methodist paper, the *New York Christian Advocate*, it is even more surprising when you consider that the Methodist Church has never been very friendly to proposals coming from a Democratic Party régime. It says:

In answer to a question regarding the present program of the Federal Government, take a concrete situation. I profoundly respect Mr. Chamberlain and the Christian idealism behind the Munich peace, but I am by no means sure that it would not have been more Christian to have fronted Germany's racialism, its tyranny, and its pagan program of conquest, with the solemn threat of war.

Had the democracies challenged Hitler, it might have freed Germany also from her tragic state, for certain I am, multitudes in that noble land must abhor the government's recurring Jewish hysteria, and its frightfully inhibiting control of thought.

The Christian Evangelist, a paper of the Evangelical Church, is not so sure of the Christian idealism behind the Chamberlain move as the Methodist paper. It says:

The Hitler-Chamberlain promises, never to go to war against each other, will prove of worth only so long as Hitler's future demands are met.

The solution of the Sudeten and other minority questions may set a precedent for additional bickerings between powerful nations and smaller ones, who may happen to possess raw materials or other resources desired by the powerful.

In Spain, Hitler and Mussolini have not allowed the principle of self-determination to operate but they insisted upon it for the Sudetens.

Edward Laird Mills, in the Pacific Edition of
(Continued on page 26)

WILL YOU please tell me how to write radio scripts?" . . . I have been asked that question at least a dozen times during the past few months by persons casting about for some method of beating the everlasting depression.

"What sort of radio scripts do you mean?" would be the logical reply, for there are at least four major types of so-called dramatic programs and each has its own technique, just as each magazine has its own style.

First there are the experimental broadcasts, most famous of which are those by the *Columbia Workshop*. These are highbrow sustaining (not sponsored by advertisers) shows which do some surprisingly fine things but which pay very little for scripts. They are more interested in the development of novel tricks, sound effects, etc., than they are in plots, but they claim to welcome new writers.

Next come the educational programs such as those presented by the U.S. Office of Education, and the American School of the Air, which are exemplified by such things as *Wings for the Martins*, *Americans All—Immigrants All* and *Living History*. They have a high standard, pay comparatively well, but often are prepared by staff experts.

Then we come to the "big money" shows of the variety type. They go in for Hollywood stars and writers with big names, and often pay fabulous prices for them. But they are prepared by specialists—gag men, authors famed for slick dialogue, etc., and offer few openings for newcomers although they have been known to buy ideas for sketches.

All in all, the aspiring writer has the best chance of breaking into radio through the serials or script shows, but if he does so he must leave his brains and most of his ideals at home. For the script show specializes not in drama but in the collection of box tops, and will go to any lengths to achieve its ends.

Suffering is the stock in trade of adult serials and hair-raising adventure that of the juvenile scripts. The heroine of the former must always be left crying her eyes out on Friday while the hero of the latter must dangle from a cliff or its equivalent. This trick is employed so that listeners will not lose interest over the week-end but tune in by the millions on Monday to find how it "came out."

The serials appeal to the lowest common denominator of intelligence (with a very few honorable exceptions) and embody the True Story or Wild West technique. If you like to wallow in tears and can make woe entertaining, you can earn \$250 a week or more on a Monday-through-Friday, fifteen-minute script.

The main difficulty is that air time is usually purchased in thirteen-week lumps. So that even if you work out a new twist on the "East Lynne" theme, sell it to an advertiser or an agency and get paid a good salary, you never know when the show will be cancelled.

Moreover, the free-lance writer is facing more and more competition from idea mills such as that run by the Blackett-Sample-Hummert agency in New York, where dozens of scripts are turned out by a staff of anonymous writers who are paid flat (and insignificant) salaries on a weekly basis, no matter how many shows they work on.

A rather dismal picture, you must admit, particularly when the threat of censorship makes it almost impossible to say anything really worth while in radio dramas of the last two categories, at least.

It is because of this situation, plus the clean-cut victory which the American Federation of Radio

RADIO

Artists won last month in its fight for better wages and working conditions, that radio writers are now starting to organize. The Radio Writers Guild, under the leadership of Irving Reiss (former director of the *Columbia Workshop*), Kenneth Thompson and Laurence Beilenson, has been negotiating with A.F.R.A. for joint action in the future. If the two unions affiliate, the radio writer may at last cease to be the stepchild of the broadcasting industry.

FOOTNOTE: George M. Cohan, who lays sole claim to represent the spirit of Americanism on stage, screen and radio, flatly refuses to join the A.F.R.A. Back in 1919 when Actors Equity was staging its first great fight for recognition, Cohan organized a company union known as Actors Fidelity League, and tried unsuccessfully to break the strike.

On the other hand Kay Thompson, who is now heard on Columbia with her rhythm singers, carries four union cards, those of the American Federation of Radio Artists, the American Federation of Musicians, Screen Actors Guild and Actors Equity.

Whose Air?

CENSORSHIP once more: *Refugee*, the song sensation published by Mills Music with the understanding that a substantial portion of the profits accruing therefrom would be donated to refugee relief, has been banned from both the N.B.C. and C.B.S. networks. The webs give the naive explanation that they don't want to make capital of other people's sorrows. This might be called philanthropy in reverse.

Arch Oboler's anti-Fascist sketch, *The Signal*, has been accepted and then rejected by five big programs during the past three years. It deals with an imaginary conversation between Christ and Mussolini regarding the aerial bombing of a defenseless town. Most of Christ's lines were taken directly

from the Bible. Last month Standard Brands bought the sketch for Rudy Vallee's show on the understanding that Oboler would substitute Abraham Lincoln for Christ. Even then it was finally decided that the drama was "too controversial."

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation still refuses to allow discussions regarding the treatment of syphilis and other venereal diseases. In this respect, at least, the United States networks cannot be criticized, for they are now allowing doctors to discuss the problem freely. WFIL, Philadelphia, even advertises such discussions in local papers.

WLW, the octopus of the air, at last has had its tentacles clipped by the Federal Communications Commission. For years this reactionary, labor-hating station in Cincinnati has been broadcasting its programs with 500,000 watts of power, ten times that permitted for any other American station.

As a result it has blanketed the entire center of the United States and reaped a tremendous harvest from advertisers although its super-power license was originally granted for experimentation only.

Recently the F.C.C. ordered WLW to reduce its power to 50,000 watts, but the station acceded only after carrying the matter to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

Around the Dial

MEXICO plays no radio favorites. Several weeks ago the government imposed a fine of \$200 on XEFO, Mexico City, for broadcasting liquor advertisements. The station belongs to the Party of the Mexican Revolution, which dominates that country's politics. . . . Another report from Mexico is that the government is deluged with letters from unemployed Americans, since a broadcast of jobs available.

Midwesterners should tune in on WBBM's *History in the Making*. It not only dramatizes current news events but digs back into history to show why they take place. Its studies of the Tom Mooney case and the fall of Barcelona put the *March of Time* to shame.

If I do say so who maybe shouldn't, I think that the American League's tactic of taking time on WHBI, Newark, to answer Father Coughlin's tirades, was a fine bit of showmanship.

Robert Sherwood, author of *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, flatly refused to adapt the Broadway hit as a broadcast for *Cavalcade of America*. Could it be that Sherwood realized that the duPonts, who sponsor *Cavalcade*, really hate everything that Lincoln stood for and are mangling American history on their programs in order to make it conform with their reactionary views?

Silver ran away with *The Lone Ranger* recently, or so it must appear to the loyal juvenile followers of that bite-the-dust drama. You see, it was this way. For many moons the *Ranger* has been sponsored on some stations by Bond Bread and on others by Gordon's Bread. Listeners in the various localities were vociferously urged to buy the type of bread being plugged and no other, when their mothers sent them to the grocery. But recently Bond bought out Gordon's interest in the program—that's where Silver comes in—and now the kiddies who fought and died for a loaf from the latter company are being told that it was all a mistake and that Bond is really the thing what will make them grow.

—GEORGE SCOTT





The Piper • By Sam Berman

IN THE August 1938 issue of THE FIGHT we printed some excerpts from the diary of Joris Ivens who was in war-torn China making a film-document of the new Chinese people and their resistance to Japanese invasion. The film, *The 400 Million* (Garrison), is a stirring document of the building of a new nation while fighting an aggressor. It opens with a terrific explosion—a bombardment of a kind that has never been shown in film before. This is a terse and explosive statement of horror and destruction executed with brilliant cutting in sound as well as image. The camera follows the refugees toward the West; "toward the old land, the interior of China."

Ivens refers to the next sequence as a "visual paraphrase." He uses an actual dust-storm to symbolize the burial of China, the great, ancient, enormous, "the living China" being buried under the dust of ignorance, the dust of disunity, the dust of Japanese invasion and exploitation. There is a lone



Chinese guerrilla troops cross a river to strike swiftly at the invaders. From "The 400 Million"

tree on the barren desert, its branches bent by the howling wind, and the sky is obscured. But the sun breaks through: in 1911 Dr. Sun Yat-sen proclaimed his three Great Principles: National Independence, Freedom and Democracy, the Well-being of the People. Ivens admits the influence of Pudovkin's *Storm Over Asia* for this sequence.

The picture then sketches the growth of China into a modern industrial nation, which caused the Emperor of Japan to send his soldiers and sailors across the Yellow Sea. The animated map that follows shows how Korea, Manchuria and the rest of the northern provinces were stolen by the Japanese militarists. A submissive and divided people permitted the Mikado's army and navy to continue on their "mission of peace"—stealing more territory and bombing more and more civilians. But the four hundred million began to say: "We are being attacked. We must learn to resist." The rest of the film concerns itself with that theme.

Joris Ivens permits only one battle to be shown: the recapture of Taierchwang by the Chinese. It was an historic battle, because it was the first major defeat of the Japanese by the Chinese people's army—a new army with new tactics. (Elsewhere in the picture Director Ivens uses the documentary film to give us a lesson in the methods and tactics of guerrilla warfare as carried on by the most qualified exponents: the Eighth Route Army, formerly the Chinese Red Army.) The film ends with an eloquent and quiet passage of a torchlight parade

MOVIES

A stirring document of China's rebirth in defense . . . The Federal Theater's "Mikado"

of the Chinese people celebrating the victory of Taierchwang. Dudley Nichols' commentary is beautifully spoken by Fredric March: "Here is a great people, one-fifth of the human race, fighting in defense of their freedom, their fine culture, their independence—against the pitiless attack of undeclared war. Will these people win? They believe they can. They say it may take them ten years or more, and they fully realize the suffering they will have to endure. But they've got weapons to fight with, and they understand why they are fighting. In the end, those are the things that mean victory."

From an artistic point of view an important contribution of this picture is that it brings together once more Director Ivens with the most original and one of the most brilliant of film composers, Hanns Eisler. *The 400 Million* is indeed Eisler's peak in a long and consistently creative career of writing for the cinema.

Eisler's score for *The 400 Million* is brilliant music and extraordinary film music. Eisler has a profound knowledge and feeling for the film. And no other documentary picture has had the benefit of such a dynamic and functional score. The music is beautifully played by the splendid orchestra of the New Friends of Music, brilliantly conducted by Dr. Fritz Stiedry.

As is usual with an Ivens film, there has been the coöperation of the finest talent available. The list of credits is much too long to give here. But with all the wonderful collaboration, *The 400 Million* is the work of a consummate artist. No believer in Democracy and liberty, no one interested in the film, should miss this motion picture.

Current Pictures

DARK VICTORY (Warner Brothers): Not since her performance in *Bordertown* has this reviewer seen anything to match Bette Davis' performance here. To say that it is brilliant is a cliché. It leaves the spectator limp. The film is based on a Broadway production of a few seasons back and is about a girl afflicted with a tumor of the brain. She survives a delicate operation only to have the physician discover that the tumor will re-occur. When it does it means certain death. The first half of the picture (and especially the scene in the doctor's office) is a sheer triumph for Miss Davis. It is by far the best part of the film. Edmund Goulding, as usual, makes as much of a tear-jerker as he can of a sentimental and tragic situation. But Miss Davis' acting makes this film outstanding.

Let Freedom Ring (MGM): Not the film version of the Albert Bein play from the Grace Lumpkin novel about southern textile workers, but a quasi-patriotic film about (yes, another one) the western

pioneers and the robber baron railroad building. The screen play is by Ben Hecht, who can flit from the imperialism of *Gunga Din* to waving the American flag as easily as you can see a double feature. There are some good things in the film, just as there were certain good features to *Jesse James*. But on the whole the picture suffers from heroes who are pure (Nelson Eddy) and villains who are pushovers because they are painted so black.

Oklahoma Kid (Warner Brothers): James Cagney as a western bad-man who is really a fine fellow out getting a rat. There are some splendid fights and a good deal of physical excitement, and a couple of fine lines about stealing land from the Indians and a protest (very casual) against vigilantism.

The Ice Follies of 1939 (M.G.M.): An attempt to outdo Mr. Zanuck with his Sonja Henie films makes Metro do this in Black and White, Sepia, Sepia (blue-toned) and Glorious Technicolor. There is a story somewhere in between hours of ice-skating with James Stewart and Joan Crawford, but you're gonna have to look hard.

In the Swing, Tra La!

FOR THIS department's initial comment on the current stage I would like to concern myself with one of Broadway's most sensational hits: the Chicago Federal Theater version of *The Mikado*, more commonly known as *The Swing Mikado*. It is a grand show, a tribute to the Negro people who make up the cast, and a credit to the showmanship of Uncle Sam. The only quarrel one can have with the current version of this famous Gilbert and Sullivan operetta is that it isn't swung enough. As a matter of fact it isn't until the second act that the orthodox breaks down and the cast goes to town



Gilbert and Sullivan are streamlined in our current version of "The Mikado"

with a Lindy Hop version of "The Flowers That Bloom in the Spring." And they stop the show!

Harry Minturn, a former Broadway actor, stages the show with skill. It is unfortunate that he had to inject the one bit of bad taste in the chauvinistic use of the razor for Ko-Ko. There is little point to summarizing the "plot" except to say that the locale has been transferred from Japan to a tropical island, with the cast wearing bizarre Africo-West Indian costumes. If you can ever get tickets, you'll have a grand time.

—PETER ELLIS

China's United Youth

*The International Student
Delegation found a les-
son for all young people*

By Molly Yard

DURING the last forty years of China's history, the students have played a social rôle of the greatest importance. In 1911, Chinese students were at the forefront of the vast movement to sweep away the old feudal and corrupt Manchu régime. During the years of the Great War it was the students who helped to lead the opposition to the notorious Twenty-one Demands with which the Japanese government already hoped to reduce China to a colonial status. In 1926 and 1929, students all over the country flocked to the banner of the national movement, working for a new democratic and united China. In 1931, the students of North China and those of Peiping and Tientsin especially, demonstrated in tens of thousands against the invasion of Manchuria.

With the end of 1935 the Japanese armies were preparing to push forward and occupy the five northern provinces of China, and once again the students heralded the national resistance. December 9th and 16th are memorable days for the Chinese student movement, for it was then that the Peiping students from Tsinghwa and Yenching Universities outside the city and from all the schools and universities within joined together to protest against the Japanese attacks. In the weeks and months that followed, students from the middle schools and universities all over China, from Peiping and Tientsin in the north to Canton and Kweilin in the south, demonstrated through the streets. They called for an end of all civil strife, for unity of all forces of the nation, for the preservation of the national integrity of their country and resistance to Japanese militarist aggression.

When the universities had rallied for resistance, thousands of students from the different centers of

education set out for the villages, even to the most distant, and in simple language spoke to the peasants—telling them of the threatened invasion of the Japanese militarists and calling on them to prepare for resistance.

Thus for many years the Chinese students acted as a leading force in their country, educating the people, spreading Democracy and working for the reconstruction of China. They helped spread among the people the three principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, known as the Three People's Principles—Nationalism (in the sense of national independence), Democracy, and the Welfare of the People.

Voices for Unity

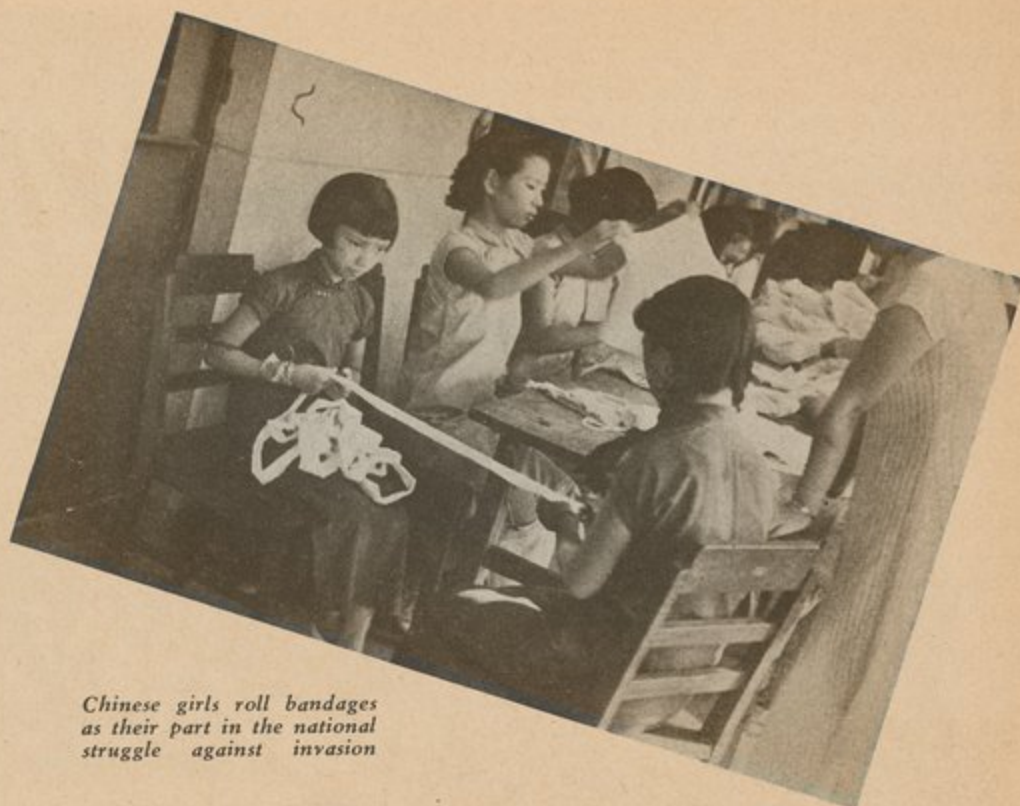
Our delegation learned much from our visit to China, and from our contact with the Chinese students, but one of the greatest lessons that we learned was the example of unity in the Chinese student movement today. There was a time when China's youth and students were divided among themselves: by political differences, by religious antagonisms, by regionalism or race. But now in face of the Japanese invasion, conflict has vanished. Unity has become the watchword of the Chinese youth. The unity of the government and the people as a whole is found also in the universities and schools.

"China," Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education, told us at Hankow, "is united as one man. Her sons and daughters are fighting for her very existence, and for the cause of peace and prosperity with a heroism and courage truly unparalleled in her long history."

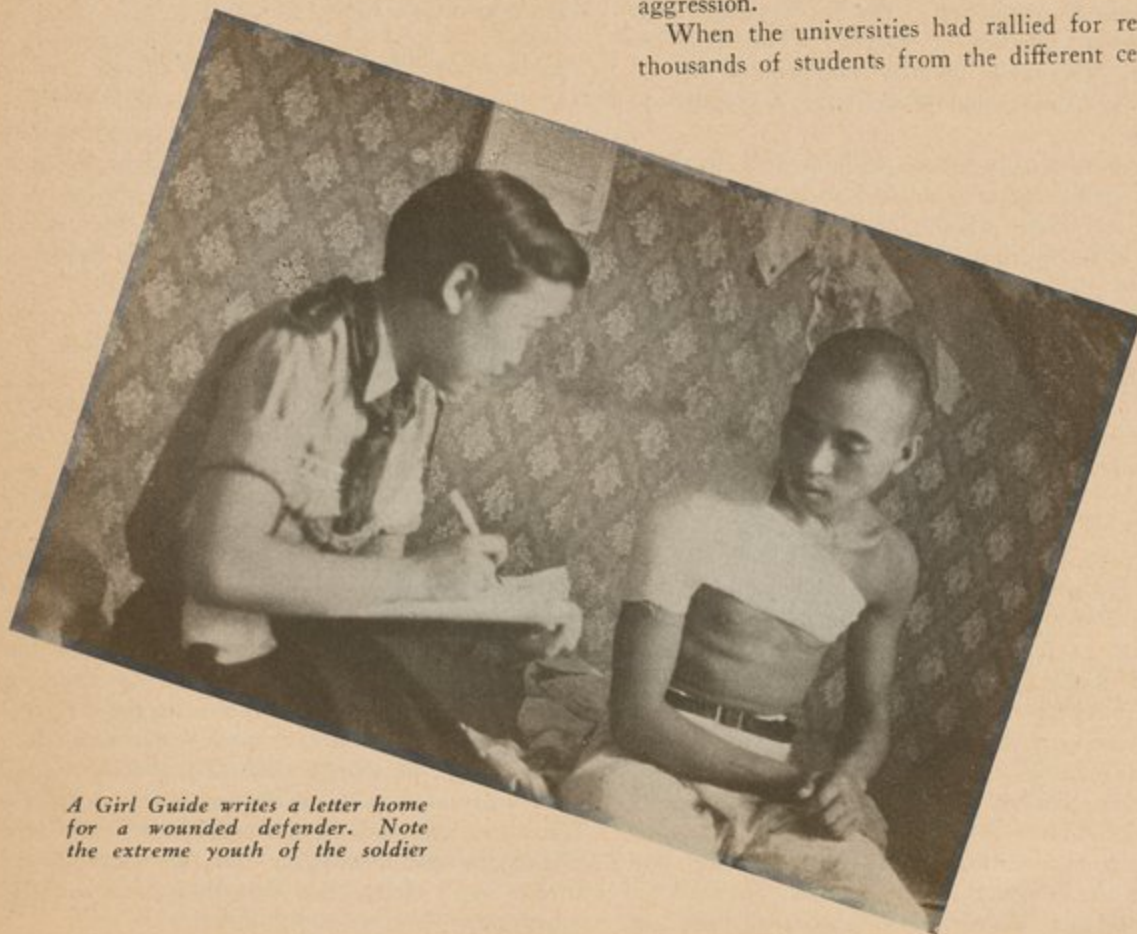
"We are convinced that through unity of all our students, we can best serve our nation and our people," says the presidium report of the Hankow conference of the Chinese Student Union. "In the past there were some differences among our students. . . . Today we can certainly spare no time to talk about the past, and its wrong or right, but from now on we shall do our best in the interests of unity. . . . Our only purpose is to resist Japan's invasion in order to save China. We pay no heed to difference of party, faith, race, district, profession or sex."

In our trip through China our contact with the youth and students varied from vast mass meetings of fifteen thousand as at Wuchang, to intimate con-

(Continued on page 24)



*Chinese girls roll bandages
as their part in the national
struggle against invasion*



*A Girl Guide writes a letter home
for a wounded defender. Note
the extreme youth of the soldier*



China's hinterland has lacked good roads, but now they are being built

THOUGH Hankow has fallen, the real war has just begun," said Chiang Kai-shek to the National Political Council last autumn, a week after the fall of Hankow. With these words, and to the cheers of the assembled delegates from all the provinces of China, the nation entered the second stage of the war. For six months now that second stage has continued. What is actually going on?

The Chinese are practical people. They know that a war is not won until you cash in on it. The second stage of the war is a war of attrition to slow up and exhaust Japan. It is also a war of Chinese reconstruction, to develop communications and set up industries in the hinterland, and new bases of war in all provinces. Its characteristics are, first, that it has no definite fronts but is spread over the entire face of China; second, that it is a political struggle even more than a military one; third, that international factors play in it an increasingly important part.

China's war has dropped from the front pages of our newspapers; it is almost entirely out of the press. This is not strange, for there are no major battles for correspondents to report. But there are scores of battles going on daily; they go on in every province of China. No single one of them is very important; but all together they are possibly more important than the bigger, more spectacular battles of the early stage of the war.

Guerrilla Fighting

Half a dozen Chinese farm boys go out in the evening with rifles or shotguns. They take up their places behind some family gravestones overlooking a railway station held by twenty or thirty Japanese. They fire four or five shots at the station; then they lie flat behind the gravestones. The Japanese, not daring to come out in the night against an un-

known number of the enemy, reply with fifteen minutes of machine-gun fire in all directions. When this dies down, the Chinese youths steal around to the other side of the station, and let off a second volley.

So it keeps up for hours. Returning before dawn to their village, the farm lads chuckle: "We shot less than a hundred rounds, while the Japanese shot at least five thousand! We are wearing down the munition reserves of Japan." This type of "attrition" goes on in literally thousands of places; it keeps up Chinese morale and gets on the nerves of Japan.

No day passes, however, without real warfare on a decidedly bigger scale. There is not a single province in China which Japan today fully controls. On the military map she can boast of having penetrated the eastern half of China. She holds the ports of the seacoast and the navigable rivers. She has seized or destroyed four-fifths of China's large-scale industry and nearly all her railroads. She has troops in nine of the eighteen provinces of the Chinese homeland; she holds Hankow, in the very heart of the country.

In "Occupied" Territory

Yet every one of these provinces claimed as held by the Japanese is still full of armed forces and civil governments loyal to the Central Government of China. A Japanese report estimated, at the end of 1938, some 200,000 Chinese irregular fighters in the Yangtze delta alone. Peiping remains a walled city in a sea of guerrilla warfare; Chinese invade its suburbs, cut it off from time to time from the ocean. Similar warfare goes on in every "occupied" province.

The actual situation, province by province, was recently discussed by Oliver Caldwell, Secretary of the Associated Boards of Christian Colleges in

Act Two in

The second stage of the war is a political war spreading and spreading in the

By Anna Lou

PHOTOGRAPHS BY

China. In Shansi, he reports, "the sacrifice of the invading army has been enormous and the returns practically nil; they are beleaguered in their own garrisons. Kiangsu was one of the first provinces captured, yet the northern part of it, including the port of Haichow, is still in Chinese hands; there are powerful Chinese armies there. Chekiang is presented to Japan by the map-makers . . . absurd . . . they are bottled up in Hangchow. Fukien is Japanese on most maps, yet they actually hold only a few islands off the coast. Many people assume that the fall of Canton carried with it Kwangtung province, yet the invaders are still confined to the city of Canton. Even Hopei, the first province to be 'conquered,' is still largely ruled by the distant Central Chinese Government."

The People Are Loyal

A letter recently received from an American missionary in Peiping states that of the six mission stations maintained by his church in Japanese-occupied territory in North China, every one of them is within twenty miles—and some of them within five miles—of "Free China." (This is the name given to the regions loyal to the Central Government.) The civil and military authorities there are appointed by and loyal to Chiang Kai-shek. The people there refuse to accept the money of the puppet government of Peiping; in fact, they execute as traitors men found with this money on their persons, unless they can explain how they got it.

"In fact," continues my missionary correspondent, "within artillery range of Japanese guns, the distant Central Government of China has succeeded in giving its people better government than they have enjoyed for hundreds of years."

These local governments near the Japanese lines are far more democratic and less corrupt than past governments have been. When magistrates have to put their legal cases on their backs and trudge from village to village to hold court, only those who keep the loyalty of the people can survive as officials. The needs of self-defense are introducing a fundamental Democracy into the local governments, based on the fact that the people and their governments are becoming one.

in the East

of the Sino-Japanese conflict
spread over vast China,
the international arena

Louise Strong

PHS BY ROBERT CAPA

Japan, however, holds important weapons in this conflict. In all past imperialist conquests, it has been sufficient to seize the principal railway points and ports in order to dominate the land. Whether Japan can do this in China is of course the crucial question of the present stage of struggle. It depends on several factors, chiefly on the relative capacity of both sides for long endurance, and on the extent of international aid.

Japan's Troubles

Can Japan cash in on China, and use exploited wealth from China to repay or at least to keep on paying the cost of the war? Some wealth was looted from Shanghai and the cities of the coast. Some trade is going on—must go on for survival—between the occupied areas and Free China. Yet even Manchuria today, after seven years' occupation, has not yet become a source of profit to Japan. China will be infinitely more resistant. The North China trade, once a source of important income to Japan, was far less in the year after the so-called conquest of North China than it was in the year before.

Significant also is the fact that, in more than a year and a half's attempt to set up Japanese-controlled governments in Peiping and Nanking, Japan has not yet found any Chinese of standing willing to take office under her protection. Old Wu Pei-fu, reactionary but patriotic, made the classic answer: "I will gladly accept the task of organizing a government on two conditions: first, that the Japanese troops leave China; second, that Chiang Kai-shek approves the appointment." Yet Wu had opposed Chiang Kai-shek and fought him for years.

The temper of the Chinese people is such that any person who speaks of cooperation with the Japanese discredits himself. He is lucky if he escapes assassination at the hands of patriots. Wang Ching-wai, chairman at one time of the National Political Council, had standing as long as it could be said: "Even Wang supports the war." As soon as he sought to mediate a compromise peace, his standing fell to such an extent that he was forced to flee from China and would today be useless even to Japan.

The amazing fact which is not shown by any



While the peasants work in the fields, their weapons are close at hand

map is this: Chiang Kai-shek has more Chinese territory recognizing his rule than he had at the beginning of the war! The northern provinces formerly gave him only lip-service; the southwestern provinces also gave him only a grudging allegiance. A large section of territory in the Northwest was Communist-governed, and not under Chiang at all. Today he has gained the loyalty of the whole of China, and the direct rule of most of the counties in even those provinces which have been penetrated by the Japanese, but where the Japanese themselves do not claim to control more than one-fourth of the counties.

World Developments

The international aspect of the Far Eastern struggle grows more important in this second period of the war.

The Japanese attempt to exploit the penetrated territory brings her into conflict with American and British interests, which Japan habitually defies. Japan moreover, even while engaged in throwing American and British business out of China, appeals to the City of London and to Wall Street for credits to develop China under her rule. There is evidence that she is buying considerable war material on commercial credits from American firms.

American business still supplies Japan with more than half of her war imports; without these Japan could not carry on the war. Yet the American government has made a very important gesture towards helping China. The \$25,000,000 credit given to the Chinese government is being spent to develop communications in the hinterland, which is very important for China's winning of the war.

In two directions the war in China threatens to spread into world war; to the north towards the U.S.S.R. and to the south towards France, Britain, Holland and the United States. German and Brit-

ish policy in the Far East both aim to push Japan northward towards the U.S.S.R. and keep her from penetrating southward.

The direction of Japan's course has, however, been greatly affected in the past year by two international events: the short war in Eastern Siberia at Changkufeng, and the Munich conference. A year ago, it seemed likely that Japan's chief attack would soon be made against the U.S.S.R. That situation has now changed.

Japan tested the Soviet borders in the Far East; she was beaten back. Reports of the only neutral observer present, the Associated Press reporter with the Japanese troops, indicate that Soviet artillery fire was remarkably accurate and powerful, and Soviet air-bombing very effective. In any event the Japanese gave up the hill and agreed to a border commission on the terms demanded by Moscow.

Six weeks later came the Munich conference which proved conclusively that France and Britain were not willing to defend their interests. The only nation ready to fight for the Czechs was the U.S.S.R. The Japanese drew the natural conclusion. Within twenty-four hours they threw out Foreign Minister Ugaki, who had opposed invasion of South China for fear of complications with Britain. Within a week they landed near Hongkong.

It seems at present that British policy at Munich which was intended to send Hitler east, has had the reverse effect both in Europe and in Japan. Despite recent news of Japanese troops concentrating again near the Soviet border, the actual Japanese advances have been in another direction—into the island of Hainan: which advances, as Chiang Kai-shek at once noted, directly threaten not China nor the U.S.S.R. but all the western democracies.

Thus war spreads in the East, threatening increasingly those nations which tried the policy of appeasing the aggressor.



Books

The Nazi Spies

SECRET ARMIES, by John L. Spivak; 160 pages; Modern Age Books; 50 cents.

NAZI SPIES IN AMERICA, by Leon G. Turrou as told to David G. Wittels; 299 pages; Random House; \$2.00

JOHN L. SPIVAK, crack reporter and ace investigator, has again come through with an exciting story of the international plotters. His latest work, *Secret Armies*, is an authoritative, well documented exposé of the new technique of the Nazi espionage and sabotage network which is operating in America.

Secret Armies shows in Spivak's inimitable style the careful manner in which the leaders of the spy ring, from their comfortable offices in Germany, successfully build espionage chains whose duty it is to prepare for such international intrigues as the Munich betrayal.

Starting with excellently developed evidence of the Gestapo's activity in Czechoslovakia before Munich, the book reveals many of the intricate tricks of the spy ring. For example, Nazi agents recognize their fellows by the serial numbers on their passports. The manner in which the passport picture is placed is also frequently significant.

Espionage agents have many other duties besides that of getting information of military value. There are those whose task it is to discover diplomatic strategy in advance. Others attempt to influence high persons in Hitler's favor. Many are used to disrupt trade unions, while still another group works among the population as propagandists.

Perhaps the most vital message of *Secret Armies* to Americans is the information which Spivak imparts on the phony "patriotic" groups in this country such as the Paul Reveres, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, the American Nationalists and similar racketeering organizations. Significant is the fact that all these groups can be concretely connected with the German-American Bund, which with the aid of the German diplomatic service controls and directs the American spy ring.

Spivak has also successfully estab-

lished the coöperation of Henry Ford with Fritz Kuhn and the German-American Bund. He very graphically tells how the headquarters of the Bund was transferred to Detroit when Kuhn went to work for Ford as a "chemist." The book also reveals how Kuhn had the unprecedented privilege of traveling freely around the country lecturing and organizing for the Bund while on the Ford payroll.

This is truly an invaluable work at this time. We have come to recognize increasingly that Fascism is not merely a foreign ideology. From such books as Spivak's we see clearly that Fascism knows no boundaries, and that Hitler's "undeclared war machine" is at the moment amazingly active within our borders attempting to lay the groundwork for a Nazi rebellion.

Another volume on the same subject recently off the presses is ex-G-man Leon Turrou's *Nazi Spies in America*.

Turrou is the former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who was in charge of the search for Nazi spies. This revealing search culminated in the sentencing of four of the agents to from two to six years in the federal penitentiary.

Turrou has done a splendid job in telling the thrilling story of his investigation. He reveals how the United

States Government was being ruthlessly stripped of its military secrets.

The major difference between Turrou's and Spivak's books, is in the conclusions drawn from them. While Spivak steadily leads to the point of exposing America's enemies, native as well as foreign, Turrou rests with the contention that the object of the spy ring was that of "pilfering . . . secrets from our entire army, navy and basic industries."

—DAVID KARR

Carleton Beals' Struggle

THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR LATIN AMERICA, by Carleton Beals; 401 pages; J. B. Lippincott Company; \$3.00.

THREE major theses stand out in this book. First, with an avalanche of facts, the author proves quite conclusively that "Italian influence—in conjunction with Nazi propaganda and influence, and the strong efforts of Japan, may well bring the European struggles to American shores."

Having performed this excellent service, Carleton Beals immediately seeks to douse efforts at halting this danger—by arguing that all attempts at promoting better inter-American relations have been and continue to be rackets, with the biggest racketeer of all being the United States government.

The third major contention is that since most Latin American governments are as bad as European fascists, any effort at uniting with them against aggression is both hypocritical and a menace to the peoples of those countries, who want to be rid of their native dictators.

Mr. Beals reaches a number of other conclusions which do not jibe. First, we are convinced of the Fascist danger. Then we are told that "the Germans and Italians are a whole ocean away and their efforts are not so alarming; but the United States is next door, and intensive official propaganda (for inter-American coöperation—J. L.) would immediately arouse old fears of aggression."

If we are to believe the documentary evidence of Fascist inroads for aggression in Latin America, then why

the later warning to our neighbors not to coöperate with us because "it would expose them to attacks from European nations to which they are not now exposed."

Dr. Jekyll announces: "If one chalks up the fine works of the Roosevelt administration in Latin American matters—then Roosevelt stands out as the most original and constructive Executive in that respect that has ever sat in the White House." But Mr. Hyde is frightened at his own conclusions and two pages later proclaims: "Under the cloak of these liberal policies, Roosevelt is in fact now pushing us toward possible war in Latin America."

Mr. Beals knows many things about Latin America. Unfortunately, he is unable or unwilling to fit this knowledge into conclusions which will help the people he professes to love. If he were to take his own proof of the Fascist danger, his own admission of the vast difference between Roosevelt and previous presidents in Latin American affairs; recognize that the development of this difference will help the people down there make universal what they have done in Mexico, Chile, Cuba—Carleton Beals would be performing a valuable service. As is, he substitutes hopelessness for a positive program for peace.

—JAMES LERNER

Study of Propaganda

PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUE IN THE WORLD WAR, by Harold D. Lasswell; 233 pages; Peter Smith; \$3.50.

PROFESSOR LASSWELL'S comparative study of propaganda techniques utilized in the World War was an important contribution to the youngest division of the social sciences when it first appeared in 1927. Despite the fact that a whole library of works on propaganda has accumulated in the intervening twelve years, it is still the most important work on the subject.

The World War was a testing-ground for the new science, and the successes of the Allies were won on the propaganda front fully as much as on the battlefield. In fact, the propaganda of the opposing nations played an important part in determining the



Dorothy Canfield's *Seasoned Timber* gives an answer to anti-Semitism

composition of both the Allied and the Central Powers.

Many principal actors in the international tragedy known as the World War set down in their memoirs facts which the student of propaganda needs. And these, supplemented by the records of the governments involved, provided the stuff out of which Professor Lasswell's book is made.

Professor Lasswell has described here the aims and the rôle of propaganda in war, the immediate objectives of propaganda, the methods employed to best advantage and the instruments that were and can be utilized. He states his purpose simply:

The present study goes no further than to develop a simple classification of the various psychological materials, which have been used to produce certain specified results, and to propose a general theory of strategy and tactics, for the manipulation of these materials.

Today, even more than formerly, war involves the complete mobilization of all the people, civil as well as military. We see it in Spain and China. Modern war is fought on a large scale, and a united people is required for the success of the war-effort, beginning with good morale at home and on the field, and including the conditions which make for a continuous flow of foodstuffs and munitions to the front.

If there is any doubt of the importance of moral and physical civilian mobilization, we have but to refer to the various mobilization plans drawn up by our own and foreign war departments. An important section common to all of them is that which gives the war administration complete control of the press and all other instruments of communication and information.

An example of the rôle of propaganda in modern times is the activity of the Fascist governments in every nation of the globe—bribing here, conspiring there, poisoning minds and organizing treason. The President called it to the attention of the American people in his address on the state of the union. We cannot repeat it, and we cannot warn, often enough.

—FRANK B. BLUMENFIELD

Pilgrim of Our Times

DAYS OF OUR YEARS, by Pierre van Paassen; 520 pages; Hillman-Curl; \$3.50.

SOME OF us might feel rather blasé about books by foreign correspondents, but this is the most extraordinary one of the lot, because far from standing aloof from the scene he surveys, this passionate pilgrim travelling along the *Via Dolorosa* of our modern times, insists upon taking part in the moulding of events.

Whether it be the pharisees in the teaching and religious professions during his youth in Holland, the unscrupulous war-lords and munition-makers during the Great War, the Fascists in



MAXINE SEELBINDER

WHY ARE WE HERE?

Ethiopia and Spain or the overlords in Palestine, he fairly shouts at us: "*Ecrasez l'Infâme!*"

Not all the rigidity of a Calvinistic Dutch background can make him forget the chief mission of gentle Jesus. And the great strength of this remarkable book does not emanate so much from the brilliant color of its astounding pageantry of events as from its spiritual content. Here is a man who at the nadir of international morality preaches the redemption of mankind through a true interpretation of the Christian Credo.

In the author's surprising conversation with Marshal Leautey, this proconsul of the modern French empire proclaimed that had he been Pilate he "would have put Him before the firing squad in his home province, up north in Galilee." This story alone in a book rich with equally good tales puts it on the same high level as Anatole France's *Procurator of Judea*.

Mr. van Paassen is a reporter who probes beneath the physical surface of men and events. Perhaps an idealist astray in an era of *real-politik*, his message is still modern in its conception: that is, the using of the best instincts within us for the betterment of the

world without resorting to any precise economic beliefs.

The present reviewer, whose background is also Dutch-Belgian, can thoroughly agree with his comparison of the present-day Spanish conflict and the antagonistic forces during the eighty-years war, which the Low Countries fought to attain their freedom from Spain. This was also a fight against the Spanish lords and the Catholic hierarchy under whose yoke Holland suffered and for religious, political and personal freedom and emancipation.

Pacifism has become outmoded, but peace will always be in the best of fashion and Pierre van Paassen is passionately and convincingly devoted to it.

—ALFRED V. A. VAN DUYM

Business' Prophet

GENERAL MANPOWER, by John S. Martin; 307 pages; Simon and Schuster; \$2.50.

BEFORE writing this novel, John S. Martin was for six years managing editor of *Time*, the "newsmagazine." An infinite variety of the oddest data must have

passed across his desk and mind. Many of them find a prismatic reflection in *General Manpower*. I shall not insult the intelligence of either the author or his publishers by imputing to them the intent to present this as a literary work.

Rather, because of its conglomeration of "social problems" resembling those of our own day, though the action is in the future, we must look for "social significance." This may not be easy for some readers to discern because in the *Time*-honored manner, an outstanding characteristic of Mr. Martin's creative authorship is the protuberance formed by his tongue-in-cheek.

From his lofty judgment seat he watches the foibles of the world, of Fascists and anti-Fascists, and all the rest of human follies and frailties. But he does not judge too harshly; he is amused by their fumbling infanthility. If they cut each other's throats, boys will be boys. And if one side is unmistakably and wholly responsible for it all and accounts for the bulk of slithered throats, then its boys have proved more definitely their boyishness and should be treated even more tolerantly until they grow up. Mr. Martin can afford to wait for such an eventuality.

For, as his philosophy unfolds, it becomes clear that one all-compensating solace for him in all of life's peregrinations is Big Business and Big Businessmen (as might be expected from a tycoon of the *Time-Fortune-Life* and *March of Time* outfit). Let the publishers protest in the jacket blurb that this is not "a novel about business"; the impression emerges of Mr. Martin's belief that the really important and worthwhile things can only and will be accomplished for mankind not by kings and certainly not by commoners, but by the world's uncrowned monarchs, the tycoons of Business.

Business is his Allah and he, John S. Martin, is its Prophet. And while the almighty czars of Big Business may in their exertions for humanity condescend every now and then to work hand in hand with the duly anointed royalty, the masses are never worthy of their confidence. The people's destinies must be handed down to them after they have been decided upon at those dizzy altitudes where the Super-Businessmen and Mr. Martin maintain their judgment seats.

The story of *General Manpower* is ingenious and makes entertaining reading. Tongue-in-cheek is a disarming gesture for the unwary. To the rest, notions inimical to the best interests of the people and of Democracy, notions that are not paraded with the hurried crudeness of a Goebbels but that are suavely, impartially as it were, woven into the narrative, are more than a mere slip of the tongue.

—LUCIEN ZACHAROFF

THE FINANCIAL moguls in recent weeks have been bubbling over with cheerfulness and renewed hope as the economy bloc coalition in Congress brightens their prospect of recouping their "Roosevelt losses," and therefore they are intensifying their attack on the New Deal and its laws with enthusiasm. They have publicly expressed their cheer over the success of their strategy in Washington of maneuvering the dissident Garner Democrats into playing the game of the Big Business G.O.P. hirelings, and privately they are elated at the "unexpected ease" with which they have been able to force a Congressional capitulation to the wishes of the budget-balancers. The drive is being extended all along the line, and with the help of the well-greased columns of the reactionary press, it is hoped the effort will instil a defeatist spirit into the ranks of the New Deal followers and progressive and labor forces generally. The danger that this defeatism might make serious inroads into the general mass of the voters is apparent, and to that end Wall Street is stretching every muscle and exercising every oratorical organ. It wants the voters to believe that Roosevelt is through, that it can now be taken for granted that business cannot prosper with the New Deal, that the Republicans will win in 1940 by default because the Democrats are hopelessly divided, and that there is no chance whatever to stop "the disintegration of the New Deal that obviously has set in."

Pinch-Hitter Lippmann

THUS, Walter Lippmann, one of the most voluble of the Big Business apologists, argues that the "failure of the New Deal purge, and the Republican gains in the 1938 elections, marked the end of a political era. The New Deal lost control of the Democratic Party, and the divided party is on the way to lose the country." And, after egotistically accepting his own opinion as gospel, Lippmann analyzes the reasons the New Dealers find themselves in that position and suggests what Mr. Roosevelt must do to "extricate himself." And this is the suggested procedure for Mr. Roosevelt if he is to restore his lost prestige: "By sponsoring promptly an outright repeal of the capital gains tax, he (Roosevelt) may still at this late date be able to induce such a tide of speculation and investment that he can float his administration off the rocks on which it is now foundering." And there you have it in a Lippmann nutshell. Hooverism itself couldn't have said it any more



Vice-president Garner finds a size problem in selecting his Easter bonnet

WALL STREET

The Street's "cavalry charge" on the people's progress . . . Big Business takes a hint from the Supreme Court

succinctly, the idea being that if the New Deal laws for the public's protection were relaxed to allow the Wall Street boys to grab profits "commensurate with the risk," then striking capital and its monopolistic owners will stop sabotaging the country's economic machinery and go to work. The contention that greedy capital was on strike and a traitor to the nation was loudly denied in the early years of the New Deal, but now it is proclaimed shamelessly as a virtue, and broadcast as a challenge on a "bend the knee or else" basis. It is of the utmost urgency that this challenge be accepted and that the progressive forces in the nation awaken to the Fascist peril in the present Big Business drive. Unified and compelling resistance to these brutal attacks is more essential at this stage

of the crisis because the wolf pack is in full cry, having scented a measure of uncertainty, and it means to keep its victims on the run to destruction—"like a cavalry charge," as one Wall Street hopeful expressed it. The hue and cry to "give business a chance" is deliberately designed to stampede the voters away from the New Deal, and in the meantime, give the back-stage strategists time to plan further onslaughts on the living standards of labor in the interests of "worth-while profits" for capital.

The attacks are being made on many fronts, not the least important of which is to make the country "tax-conscious," as the *Wall Street Journal* phrases it. Part of that "tax-conscious" effort was the mass assault on Albany and the Lehman budget for New York State,

engineered from Wall Street in the manner of the Tory drive against reorganization of the Supreme Court. It is hoped to create widespread disaffection in tax matters, more to discredit the New Deal and Roosevelt than in the hope of drastic amelioration in taxes at the moment, because it is generally accepted that huge expenditures for the national defense are necessary now and the government must get a large portion of these funds from taxes. Besides, the arms program revives memories of the fat profits of yesteryear.

One significant aspect of the recent move by the economy bloc in Congress to take full charge of spending and tax policies, is that the Treasury Department has been maneuvered into a position where it is forced to play ball with the budget-balancers; and only mass protests from the general populace in support of Roosevelt policies in Congress will alter the present prospect.

Pleasant Dreams

THE STREET was tremendously encouraged last month by the Supreme Court's *Fansteel Metallurgical Company* decision which makes it plain that the law's protection does not extend to sit-down strikers. The decision, says the *Journal of Commerce*, "will give new impetus to the drive to amend the Wagner Act. The paper continues: "Employer pressure is now better coordinated, and the A.F. of L. is determined to see the changes made." The decision immediately set Wall Street corporation lawyers to work figuring out ways and means to nullify labor contracts, and presented ominous possibilities for unscrupulous employers to provoke violence in strikes in order to allow wholesale firings of militant union men on the ground that they are lawbreakers. The Street sees in the decision a weapon of far-reaching potency to keep unionism suppressed through intimidation, and to increase the number of no-strike clauses in labor contracts. Big Business was quick to grasp the opportunity for punitive measures. The very day the decision was printed on the news tickers, there were announcements that disciplinary action had been taken by several companies against union workers. Chrysler Corporation fired one man and laid off three others for a few weeks for their part in a strike at the company's plants a week previous; two companies in New Jersey fired about three hundred men who took part in a sit-down strike; and there was general comment that these actions would be followed by others.

Burgos Gaol

Driven to frenzy, Antonio Moros beat against the dungeon walls. But he subsided shamefaced before the other prisoners. He had only been there a week . . . Part Two of an unforgettable story of the Spain of Franco

By Jack Reed

ILLUSTRATED BY CHET LA MORE



HE DESPISED his fellow-prisoners. He sat in the corner, his eyes glittering with hate for them. Constant contact with them had scraped his nerves to a raw bleeding edge. They filled most of what little space the walls left him. He knew in detail every feature of their faces, every mannerism, every habit. He knew their names: the short fat man was Juan Caldeveras, the proprietor of a small wine-shop, of unimpeachable respectability: the nondescript terrified one was Miguel Daldardo—an avowed Socialist, Caldeveras told him, and a dangerous man; the tall lean one was Ramón Jesus Valdéz, a commercial traveler who had been caught—quite by accident, he told Antonio—in a hotel which had held what a raiding party of Requetés had considered dissident elements. Antonio didn't believe him. He hated him. He hated them all—for their habits, their appearances, the space they occupied, even for the permeating stench of the slop-bucket for which he considered them alone responsible.

But mostly he hated them for their attitudes. Antonio's social consciousness, his resentment of oppression, had received a tremendous impetus with his incarceration. It drew new energy from the now unused store within him, and had become an all-dominating passion, racing hot in his blood, screaming from his trembling nerve-ends. It was as nebulous, as directionless, as ever; but it was many times as strong and dangerous. And the friction between it and the dull, paralyzed attitudes of the others rasped him where his wound was sorest. He lived in a high, brooding tension, seldom speaking for fear that the sound alone of their voices in answer would drive him to frenzy. His mind seemed to stand in the electric shadow of impending catastrophe, not to himself, since he did not seriously think they would kill him—what had he, after all, done?—but to the world, to humanity, in general; a foreboding of doom that was embodied in the atmosphere itself of the dank sepulchre of a cell. But the oppression of the cell was impersonal, and he needed, in order to fight it, to personify it, to designate some concrete thing—the people who had put him there—as the object of his hate, in order to escape the despondency that had overtaken the other prisoners. And the actual example of those others constantly before him, symptomatic of the direction in which he himself inevitably had to tend, goaded him to fury.

MEANWHILE, in the mind of Juan Caldeveras a development somewhat parallel, though tending in the opposite direction, was taking place. He too disliked his fellow-prisoners, even when he had first been thrust among them, and time had only increased that dislike. From the very first he had expected to be released almost hourly, and had repeatedly informed the others to this effect. Was he not, after all, a Christian and a business man? The passage of time had not seriously shaken that expectation—the officials were after all very busy—but the nightly lugubrious procession through the hall, the oppression of the cell, did little to help his peace of mind; and the physical discomfort and gloom, the inadequacy of the food for a man of his appetite and the diarrhoea it brought on, the exasperating contact with the others and the secret conviction that they were laughing at him, made him become dissatisfied and increasingly irritable. And the uneasiness that the delay and the executions had caused needed to be dispelled with loud and frequent assertions of confidence in his ultimate

release, and with equally loud and frequent denunciations in his strident tones of the poor devils waiting for death in the dungeons of the prison. He needed to demonstrate conclusively to himself—and to such guards or officials as might happen to be listening—that he had nothing in common with either them or their present circumstances. *Sacre Dios*, with those swine! With each succeeding day of imprisonment the assertions and denunciations had to become louder and more frequent. He became irascible and violent. The fear of the other prisoners which had kept him relatively quiet at first, now that he saw that they treated his polemic with indifference, gave way before this new goading. Gradually his attitude reached the point where it could no longer be borne. And one morning when his diarrhoea and irritation were at their worst, enraged at a sarcastic comment from Antonio, he began to deliver a torrent of denunciation and abuse, approaching hysteria, his screaming voice filling the violently echoing confines of the cell like thunder.

It was salt on an open wound. Finally Valdéz—Antonio not trusting himself for fear he would not be able to stop at less than murder—rose to silence him.

"I caution you to be quiet," he said.

The other looked at him, his face working, his eyes bulging. "You can't frighten me. I know you for what you are."

"I caution you to be quiet. We've stood for enough of your jabber." He took a step forward. Caldeveras stepped back before him, but his face was still belligerent.

"You don't dare touch me. I know who you are." A sudden feverish courage seemed to have seized him. He shook his pudgy fist in the other's face. His voice rose almost to a scream. "I know you! You're a blackguard and a murderer! You're Julio Meña!"

Julio Meña! The name struck Antonio like a blow between the eyes. Even Dallardo, on the bunk, opened his eyes wide. Julio Meña! The lean man did not change expression; when he spoke again, however, it was through his teeth. "I told you to shut your mouth!"

His face was only inches from the other's. Caldeveras pressed back against the wall. "You don't dare touch me," he repeated, a little uneasily now. "You know what would happen to you if you did—from them." He gestured toward the door.

"Do you think I've got anything to lose, you fool?" His voice was harsh. With a sudden swift motion he seized the short fat man by the throat, shook him as a terrier shakes a rat, his thumbs pressed against the other's windpipe; then he released him. Caldeveras half staggered, half fell onto the bunk, holding his throat, his mouth open.

Fright, far more than any real physical hurt, incapacitated him.

The lean man looked at him for a second. Then he calmly and slowly rewrapped himself in his blanket and sat down in his corner.

JULIO MEÑA! Antonio found himself trembling. Julio Meña was the name of a Syndicalist labor leader of almost national repute. He had left for Madrid to confer with officials some weeks before the outbreak of the revolt; rumor had it that he had returned to Burgos, just before the declaration of martial law, but raiding parties had never been able to find him. Julio Meña! The name was fire in Antonio's blood. He had never actually seen him, but only because it was not given to him to look on Olympus. Julio Meña! This cowardly, resigned swine was Julio Meña!

Antonio was suddenly, miraculously, on his feet, trembling. Slowly and very deliberately, his head cocked quizzically to one side, he took the step that separated him from the seated blanketed figure, and stood before him. "You are really Julio Meña?"

The other glanced up at him; then closed his eyes and nodded twice, slowly.

Antonio sank down to one knee, very deliberately. When he spoke, each word was a slow, separate, carefully-weighed entity. He had plenty of time to play with this being, to slowly cut down this hydra that was tearing away his foundations beneath him. "You are Julio Meña, the Syndicalist?"

The other looked at him blankly.

"Julio Meña, the leader of labor who was put in prison for his beliefs under Primo de Rivera—you are he?" Everything was like a dream, with figures dancing before him. Everything, the sound of his own voice, the expression on the other's face, the slimy damp and the dust-motes by the window.

The other still looked at him, blankly.

"You who never say a word nor



His voice had faltered—he had stopped his chant

raise a hand against your oppressors, who are interested in Burgos only in that women still walk the streets; you are Julio Meña?" That vision again of Isabella and those Moorish faces!

The other still looked at him blankly.

"You who sit all day like a toad, content in this hell! Who up until today would not raise your voice or hand even against him"—pointing to the prostrate Caldeveras—"who sit cowardly and indifferent before this barbarism, this—this murder—you are Julio Meña!"

Antonio was screaming. He was almost beside himself. He tried to believe the other was lying; something within him kept crying that he was lying; but he knew that a man was not apt to lie about being a leader of labor in a city in which on the first day of martial law the books of all labor, liberal and left organizations had been thoroughly searched, and all officers, past and present, had been that same day arrested and executed.

"What do you want of me?" demanded Meña hoarsely. "If I go beat my head against that wall, I won't break it down. All I'll break is my head—and my heart."



Heavily guarded, they shuffled down the corridor

"The answer of a coward! The bleat of a slave!" The veins swelled out on Antonio's neck, tiny globules of sweat glistened on his contracted forehead. This man before him epitomized to him all that he had most to hate and fear: abject surrender. He was, to Antonio, the worst kind of traitor. "What will you do when the Republican army gets here? What will you tell them then?"

MEÑA shivered slightly. "When the people's army gets here, I'll be ready." He was silent for a moment, his mouth open; then he began to speak again, his voice rising. "You young fools! You and your pipe-dreams! Do you think your army is going to get here so soon? And if they did, do you think we'd live to see it? If they came tomorrow we wouldn't be alive to watch; if they were here in an hour we'd be dead before they could reach us!" He was quiet then for a moment, his eyes downcast, his lips twitching, his fingers tracing nervous designs on the floor. But something worked beneath his skin, either what Antonio had said or what he himself thought, and he suddenly began again. "You child! What do you think you're in, an imperialist war with poor devils who have nothing against each other fighting? Or do you think you're in a street fight over rival political candidates? Can't you see that they're a class, fighting desperately for their very existence against inexorable economic forces? That they're a primitive outmoded philosophy of repression, hate and mysticism battling feverishly the rise of materialist reasoning which is their doom? Are you blind? Can't you see that they must use every barbarism, every cruelty, to break and enslave us in order to survive, just as we must ourselves exterminate them as a class to free us from a bondage which economic and social forces make daily more cruel and bloody? Fools, fools, all of you! Our great 'democracies' talk piously of peace pacts; our 'statesmen' at Madrid and

elsewhere talk—or rather they talked once—of ‘leniency’ and ‘democratic processes’; and now when all these have failed, our young men, on whom the whole bloody brunt will fall, can do nothing more than shout revolutionary slogans from their living tombs, after their own indecision and inaction has put them there!”

He was on his feet now, his face and throat working, gesticulating wildly in a room in which one could hardly move his hand without striking the wall or a neighbor. He turned with a sudden twitch from them, faced the wall, and placing his forearms against the stones before him, leaned weakly on them. “I’m dead. I’m through. Damn you, leave me alone can’t you! I want to stay this way. I don’t want to have to go through all that agony again when they take me out—there.”

He stood thus for some seconds, breathing heavily; then he picked up his fallen blanket, wrapped it again around him, even covering his face, and

his fellow-prisoners that he was growing increasingly uneasy. He now gave occasional voice to wondering even to himself, tiny electric shocks of fear rising up from the pit of his stomach, as to why the officials had not as yet released him. But he was never slow in finding excuses for them, and never slow in expounding those excuses, with all the appropriate detail and gesture, to his bored audience. After all, there was so much to do, so many Communists, Anarchists, Jews and Freemasons. *Madre Dios*, Moscow must have been busy! But they would get to him yet. He had only scorn and contempt for persons who said that they would not, that he would not be soon released—a thought which was never uttered by anyone except his own troubled unconscious. *El Generalísimo* knew better how to treat those who were faithful to him, just as he knew how to deal with those who were traitors to God and country. Caldeveras’ mustachios bristled at the thought of any implied contradiction to

at the thought: sacrilege and the abolition of the respectable little business man! But after all, what could you expect? It was a workingman’s neighborhood. They paid promptly and never created too much disturbance: that was all he knew. That was business; if he didn’t take their money someone else would, and he could not stop their talking in any case. *El Generalísimo* respected business; that was his real purpose—to protect business from the red swine, who wanted to take it without paying for it. He himself, Juan Ruiz Caldeveras, was known as a good man. Why only a few months ago—before the outbreak of the revolution—he had told the priest at confession that there was nothing on his conscience—that he had nothing to confess. “Nothing at all, Juan?” “No, nothing, Father.” “Well,” the priest had said—Caldeveras remembered it well, clear as a bell he had said it—“I believe you, Juan. I would not believe anyone else if he told me that. But you are a good man, Juan.” A man about whom a priest had said that wouldn’t be shot, not by the defenders of God and Spain. *El Caudillo* knew how to appreciate his faithful.

A man so respectable, well off, and beloved of God naturally was apt to be a little supercilious towards those less fortunate and pious, especially if they were the antithesis of himself, and even more especially if, in the eyes of the government then in power, they were in strong disfavor. Juan Caldeveras had, therefore, only contempt for his fellow-inmates. He was a little afraid to show it before Meña and Antonio: Meña because he was too great a man on his side, even if it was the wrong side, and Antonio because his youth and fierceness frightened Caldeveras just a little; but he found his perfect foil in Miguel Dallardo, the cobbler.

DALLARDO was a man unfortunate in that he had had at the same time a wife with whom he was sexually incompatible, and a brother-in-law of the upper middle-class—fab-

ulously wealthy by the standards of the working-class suburb—and extremely conservative, who considered himself the happiest occurrence in Dallardo’s life, and Dallardo the most unfortunate in his. The former, his wife, made his life miserable with the passion her constant presence aroused and which he was physically unable to completely requite, and the nagging and disgruntled anger with which she greeted this inability on his part; the latter made him miserable by his superiority and affluence, his blatant righteousness, his assertion in stentorian tones on each and every opportunity—although he was never asked—that that fortune-hunter, that shiftless waster of a cobbler, need not think to look for help, to sponge, off him!

And so he had taken to Socialism. He found a work, an ideal, a substitute on which to expend some of his sublimated sexual energy; he found a method of thought which undermined the superiority of his brother-in-law, and gave him new confidence and a hope. He followed in talk and slogan his ideal in the short time that was allowed him, blindly, with much zeal and emotion though with little comprehension; he deliberately contrived at every opportunity to enmesh his unfortunate brother-in-law in arguments during which, nonchalantly and with gleeful blasphemy, he mercilessly attacked what the other considered reverently to be not only the basis of his own importance, but the foundations of civilization and society themselves; till finally Dallardo had him reduced to a state of apoplectic impotence. His Socialism did more: it made him feel important. It gave him a subject on which he could talk authoritatively, master of the conversation, to his compatriots in the wine-shop, when the familiar subjects of the scandalous costs of *vino* and living, the respective merits of various *torrerias*, and the love-lives of the parish priests, had been exhausted. It added zest to his life: to attend meetings which

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The two members of the militia seized him

sat down slowly once more in his corner, obviously ashamed of his outburst.

Antonio leaned back against the wall, limp and shaken. The violence of his own emotion had taken all of the energy out of him. There was a loud hammering going on on the outside of the iron wicker of the door, probably from a revolver butt, and a flood of Andalusian curses, demanding to know whether the *porcus rojos* would be quiet or else wanted to get something to really yell about, came through it. Antonio discovered suddenly, with a slight shock, that the back of his shirt unprotected by a blanket, had been soaked for some time with moisture from the wall against which he unconsciously leaned; and his back itself was wet and cold and clammy.

AS THE days went by Caldeveras, despite his fear of Meña, despite the resentment of Antonio, grew more irritable, violently bragging, violently denouncing. It was plain now even to

this idea, and he glared at the others as though he expected them to make it. He was in by mistake, purely by mistake—they had never had anything really against him. He was well known in his neighborhood as a wine-merchant of unbesmirchable reputation. What if he had occasionally overcharged a customer when he was too drunk to know the difference? *Pesta*, that was business; God realized that, understood business. No one knew it but he and *Dios*, the drinker being too drunk; and the good Lord easily forgave him because he gave so much money to the Church. *Sacre Dios*, the money he had given to the Church! Enough to build a new church. All they had against him here was that members of a certain labor organization, who were arrested in the raid that also netted him, were wont to come to his little tavern to drink and discuss politics. Well, how was he to know what they talked about? And if he did, that didn’t have to mean that he agreed with them, did it? He shuddered



He fell before the feet of the officer

AS TO WOMEN

The new drive against women in employment . . . Starting a truth fund

DURING the last days of Mr. Hoover's term as president of the United States an act was passed whereby all Civil Service employees in Washington were dismissed from their posts if they were married to employees in the Civil Service. The result of this Act was to remove women who were married to Civil Service employees and who were also employed by the Civil Service from their jobs. It took a long time to repeal the 213a, as it was called, but by a concerted effort the women of the United States finally were successful in having the Act removed from the statute-books. However, it had started a trail of discriminatory legislation against married women throughout the country, and for months after women were busy fighting state laws that were designed to put women in the unemployable class.

There followed a lull in this type of legislation, but during the past few months these laws have been again cropping up. Six states have now proposed bills that would keep married women out of city and state employment. These bills go further than the original Act. For one thing, they specify women by name, which the earlier Act did not. For another, married women may be disbarred if their husbands are employed anywhere.

Of course, the idea behind all this is that married women are working for pin-money and not for the support of themselves or their families. Just how this concept can go on year after year I cannot understand. A survey made at the time of the enactment of the 213a showed that all the women dismissed at that time suffered serious hardship because of their dismissals. This survey received wide publicity. Another was made of the Married Woman Worker. This survey showed that 95 per cent of all married women employed worked because of actual need in their families. The latest survey has been made by the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. This survey shows that about one-sixth of the women employed in the city service are the wives of men who are unemployed or are receiving merely a nominal wage. Of those women whose husbands are em-

ployed, if the wife loses her job the family will suffer more than if the husband loses his.

These figures can be expanded, but the proof is there. The American League for Peace and Democracy has always stood against the theory that we can effect national economy at the expense of any race or sex or class. It is increasingly important to make protests heard on the bills that will limit women in employment and to watch if similar bills are appearing in other communities.

THE call for giving to the victims of war and of aggression has grown louder as the days have passed. We are still faced with an overwhelming need in Spain to care for homeless women and children. The Chinese wants are barely being touched by the gifts from America. There is hardly a woman in the American League who is not giving to the German and Austrian refugees. And yet we have not done enough. There is another need, and that is for building a fund to fight the conditions that make such cries so desperate. The New York women of the American League have started to raise a fund to buy radio time to counteract the propaganda spread by Father Coughlin and his followers. They will also devote some of their money to publications against Fascism. They will help to support, with their gifts, the educational program of the American League. This is not as moving, perhaps, as caring for mothers and children—but the work is quite as important. There must be many groups in the country who want to do the same sort of thing. Those groups should write to this column to find out the plans and the way they were carried through so that they may try them in their own neighborhoods.

WHILE we are on the subject of publications I wonder how many women know that THE FIGHT is the only anti-Fascist monthly in the country with a large reading public. The Fascist press is turning out new magazines every month. It is something to think about.

—DOROTHY MCCONNELL

China's United Youth

(Continued from page 15)

versations with small groups. Though we spoke long and privately with youth and students of the most diverse opinions—Catholic, Protestant, Buddhist, Moslem, Kuomintang, Communist, Scouts, Guides, young workers, peasants, students and professors—yet we heard no single voice raised against the principle of unity.

Every group or organization seemed unanimous in declaring their will and determination to work together to resist aggression and fight for peace.

"We all stand firmly together. No one can cause dissension within our ranks. Students of the world, let us unite together to resist aggression," said the declaration from the Chengtu Student Union.

"We solemnly declare to you that we will never yield ourselves to force for the sake of false ease or stolen peace. Every one of us is ready to sacrifice his or her life in order to preserve the life of the nation. We have resolved to meet our national crisis at any cost. . . . We wish that from now on the world students and the Chinese students will work more closely together than ever, strive for mutual co-operation, and use common efforts to combat aggression, to preserve civilization, and to uphold world peace," declared the chairman of a mass meeting held for us at Changsha, speaking in the name of every student association of that city. In Hankow we held a round table conference with fifty leaders of the different youth and student organizations—religious, political, cultural, coöperative—and once again the determination of all organizations to combine and work side by side was expressed.

Student Unions

We talked with leaders of all the big provincial and local student unions, Hong Kong Student Union, Hupeh Student Union, Canton Student Union, Hunan Student Union, Student Unions of Chungking, Chengtu, Sian and Nanchang, and in all these Unions we saw students of different parties, faiths, and social strata, working side by side. In the Chinese Student Union for National Salvation, which had over 500,000 students represented at its last conference, we saw the same will for unity.

We had many conversations with student members of the Kuomintang and Communist parties, and also of the three other political parties. All seemed to agree completely on the necessity for the closest coöperation. The Three People's Principles of Nationalism, Democracy, and the Welfare of the People seemed a solid program on which they were willing to unite. They all accepted sincerely the authority of the Central Government under the

leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and worked side by side in the different student and youth organizations.

While we were in China an important new youth organization was established called San Min Chu I (Three People's Principles) Youth Corps. This seeks to become the center of the youth movement in China today. With the determination of the various groups to work together and to combine their efforts for effective work at the front or behind the lines, this Youth Corps has every chance of becoming such a center with much vigor and power.

We were very much impressed by our contact with the Chinese Girl Guides and Boy Scouts. The forty thousand Boy Scouts of Shanghai played an heroic rôle in the defense of their city. At the front you find Scouts and Guides everywhere, aiding the wounded, combatting Japanese espionage, signalling with semaphore and Morse, maintaining order in bombarded towns, etc. In the rear they carry on work of relief and education. All that is best in the ideals of Scouting—ideals of service, sacrifice, and adventure—seem to have been put into concrete practice by the Chinese movement. In April last year the Chinese Scouts and Guides issued an appeal to the Scouts and Guides of the world from their national headquarters in Changsha. In their appeal they write: "We would rather die than surrender to brutal force. We are fighting for our national existence and national honor, but at the same time we are also struggling for the cause of international peace and vindication of human justice. . . . So long as our war of resistance continues, we will never shrink from our duty." The appeal ends with these words: "We offer you our sincere greetings and appeal to you in the following terms—let us unite to exterminate every thought and action of aggression; to censure the Japanese war lords; and to render material and moral help to the nations victimized by aggression." We met many of the Scout and Guide leaders, we saw many in action and we were convinced that they had found it possible to put their ideals into practice.

Religious Groups

In the general youth and student movement the religious organizations play an important rôle. We met national Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. leaders in Shanghai, Chengtu, and Changsha. We met and were helped by very many local and provincial branches, and by many Student Christian Associations at Hankow, Canton, Chungking, Chengtu, Sian and elsewhere. We saw that these organizations were active everywhere in the work of education and aid to the refugees, and active too at the front itself. Coming down by

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April 1939, THE FIGHT

Peddlers of Poison

The farmer is being deluged with anti-labor and anti-Semitic propaganda in the big periodicals that come to his mailbox

By Meyer Parodneck

ILLUSTRATED BY ROSA RUSH

RECENT months have witnessed a decided increase in the volume and virulence of anti-labor propaganda in articles, editorials and other material published in widely-read farm periodicals. In these periodicals A.F. of L. and C.I.O., Communists, liberals and labor rackets are all lumped together with no discrimination. The Associated Farmers and other vigilante groups are acclaimed and the N.L.R.B. is attacked. The uniformity of language indicates a centralized direction. In this connection it is interesting to note that these periodicals carry plenty of advertising from nationally-known corporations. An examination of a few specimens will serve to indicate the nature and extent of anti-labor propaganda in the farming districts.

Violence Against Labor

The Country Gentleman, owned by the Curtis Publishing Company, prints an article in its November 1938 issue glorifying the activities of the Associated Farmers under the title "Freedom of the Highways." In this article the rôle of the Associated Farmers is brazenly revealed: "They were prepared, if the teamsters union tried to enforce its decree, to ask the sheriffs of 42 counties to deputize upwards of 58,000 members of the AF to protect these trucks on the highways." . . . "Each individual farmer holds membership in the county where he is known and where he knows his officers, the men who may if emergency arises offer his name to the sheriff for emergency service."

There is the formula for organizing

America's "storm troopers." What are the troops for?

The sole purpose of the organization is to cope with labor problems as they arise. . . . As the result of their early pitched battles with the radicals a good many California Associated Farmers still "see red" every time they run up against a labor leader. But the Colonel and the other heads of the organization know better and realize that their present opponents in the struggle for the freedom of the highways are not the shadowy "reds" but the conservative American Federation of Labor. It is a struggle between two powerful forces, agriculture and organized labor. That goes not only for California, Oregon and Washington, but the numerous other states where, as Colonel Garrison pointed out in his talks last summer: "You may be next!"

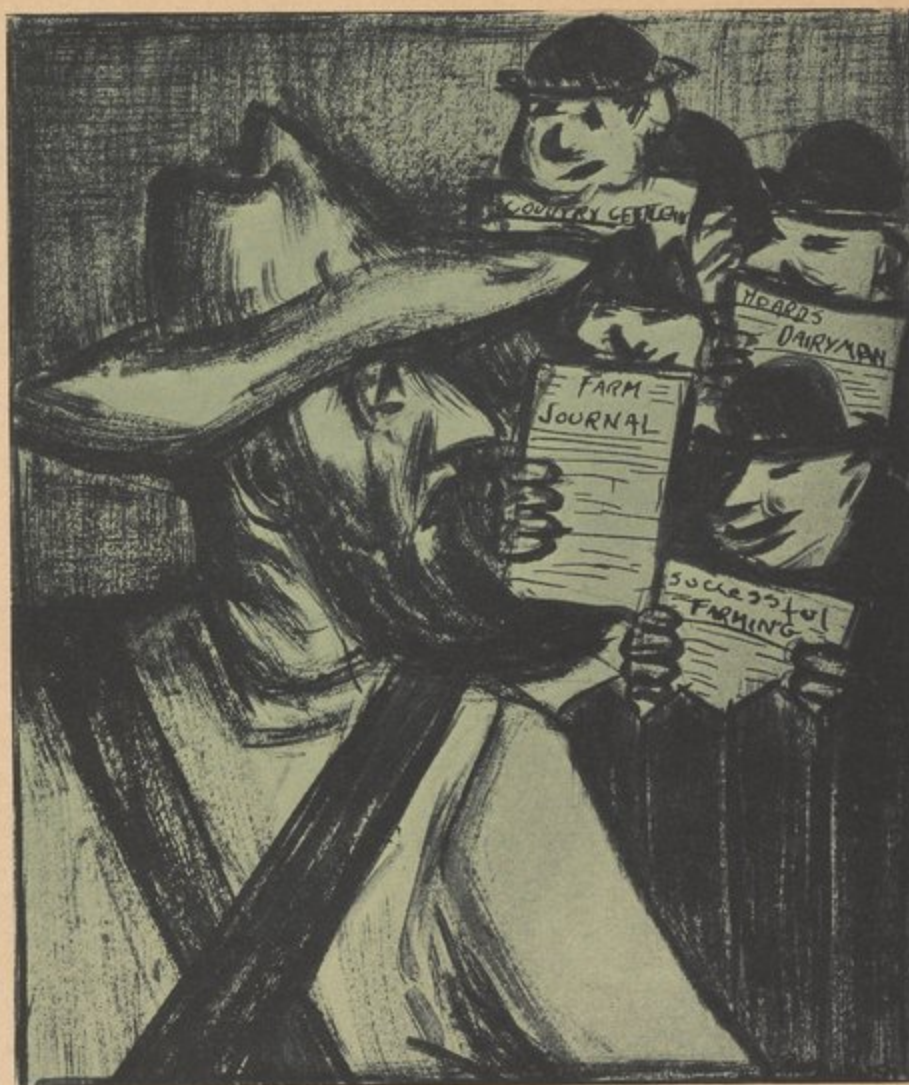
The Country Gentleman is a monthly. It has one of the widest farm circulations in the United States and is also read by a great many people whose interest in farming is largely academic. Its advertising columns constitute a roster of American business.

Now comes *Farm Journal*, published in Philadelphia. It claims a country-wide circulation of 1,300,000, and is unusually well supported by national advertisers. The May 1938 issue features an article entitled "Defense Against Labor Rackets"—and what qualifies as a racket?

It looks as if agriculture which has been having so many difficulties recently, may have added to its handicaps the same kind of labor trouble which has done so much to prevent the return of industrial prosperity.

The unionization of the farms in America is the object of an organization drive by both the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O.

This move was officially launched by the C.I.O. in Denver last July, when the United



Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America was formed.

Then in December the National Council of Agricultural Workers was set up in San Jose, California, by authorization of William Green, President of the A.F. of L. Starting with a nucleus of about 80,000 members, mostly cannery workers, the A.F. of L. announced plans to organize "one big union" for all agricultural labor.

That's the "racket" which *Farm Journal* is exposing. Now, what is the "defense" which it advocates against this "racket?"

The best evidence that farmers can defend themselves against labor rackets is the record of the Associated Farmers of California. . . . It has sternly used force as sheriff's deputies when necessary (the Stocton spinach strike, for example), and has won every contest so far.

Vigilante action is mentioned with approval. After praising the violence against strikers at Hershey, Pennsylvania, this article states that "trouble" was expected at the Campbell Soup Company across the river at Camden, New Jersey, during the peak of the 1937 tomato season.

The 3000 farmers contracting tomatoes with this plant were awake to the situation however, and with a battle cry of "Remember Hershey," trouble never developed. Incidentally 1937 witnessed the sale of more garden hose than the season warranted, but then there could have been no connection between a possible drouth and a three-foot piece of hose behind a truck driver's seat.

Nor is garden hose the only remedy prescribed by *Farm Journal*:

The defense, I repeat, is organization. Once organized farmers need courage and determination to carry out an effective campaign, which should include: . . . insistence that public officials vigorously enforce trespass, anti-picketing, anti-sitdown and similar laws; securing the enactment of protective laws where necessary; insistence on the deportation of alien radicals and racketeers; obtaining the passage of legislation compelling labor unions to incorporate . . .

Anti-labor articles, letters and news features are constantly appearing in *Farm Journal*. "The Labor Board and the Farmer" appeared in the August 1938 issue with the following subtitle: "The board of C.I.O. sympathizers set up by the Wagner Act, having damaged agriculture as much as possible indirectly, now threatens us directly."

Anti-Semitic Poison

Anti-Semitism is not overlooked in the program of these agents of reaction. It must of course be handled cautiously at first, so *Farm Journal* prints a letter from a "reader" prominently displayed with a good-sized caption in bold type: *Jewish Power in Russia*. "I lived in Russia over a year," our informant confides, "and went about considerably, returning to this country approximately a year ago. Of the heads of factories, plants, agencies, etc. of the various 'trusts', departments and other branches of the government, I took particular notice and

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The Churches Seek Peace

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The *Christian Advocate*, writes:

The tragedy of Munich is primarily the handiwork of America's senatorial isolationists who irreconcilably refused to put this country with its strength, wealth, and disinterestedness, behind the League of Nations and make it an effective machine functioning in the interest of world order. Their refusal made the League an instrument of British and French imperialism and that in turn inspired the successive defiance of Japan in the case of Manchukuo, of Italy in Ethiopia, of Italy and Germany in Spain, and lastly of Germany in the Sudetenland. Surely *finis* has not been written to this serial.

In another *Christian Advocate*—this time the Northwestern Edition, a leading paper that has its circulation throughout the Middle West, Orion W. Fifer, a regular columnist of that paper, turns his attention to the China war. He writes:

Almost every mail brings evidence that the present so-called neutrality policy of the United States concerning China and Japan is a farce. One speaker at a great religious gathering declared and gave evidence for his declaration that seventy per cent of all trade with Japan related to munitions or supplies which could be converted to military use. Many citizens cannot reconcile neutrality which aids an aggressor nation which makes war upon a weaker nation in violation of treaties and with refusal to arbitrate alleged grievances with Christian ethics. A recent letter from a missionary in China contains this paragraph as an illustration of inconsistent neutrality.

"At 2 P. M. nine bombers arrived and tried for the railway station and the bus station. They dropped a lot of bombs, mostly about one hundred pounders. One dud was clearly marked Made In Erie, Pa. Every English-speaking Chinese that sees it can read and draw his own conclusions as to its significance. I am afraid it is speaking louder than all the newspaper talks of American friendship for China and neutrality."

I have been careful in selecting these few quotations here to select editorials. They are not written by men who have been connected with peace movements, nor are they written by men who have a plea to make in the form of an article. They reflect what the church people around them are saying, and if the space permitted I could duplicate them many times over. They are more important than editorials in the *New York Times* in reflecting the public opinion of the country at large.

The Church in Germany

Several months ago all the Protestant church papers were publishing a statement by Albert Einstein. It was:

Being a lover of freedom when the revolution came in Germany, I looked to the universities to defend it, knowing they had always boasted of their devotion to the cause of truth, but, no, the universities were immediately silenced. Then I looked to the great editors of the newspapers whose flaming editorials in days gone by had proclaimed their love of freedom, but they, like the universities, were silenced in a few short weeks. Then I looked to the individual writers, who as literary guides of Germany, had written much and often concerning the place of freedom in modern life; but they too were mute. Only the Church stood squarely

across the path of Hitler's campaign for suppressing the truth. I never had any special interest in the Church before, but now I feel a great affection and admiration because the Church alone has had the courage and persistence to stand for intellectual truth and moral freedom. I am forced to confess that what I once despised I now praise unreservedly.

Now, I am not going to become lyrical over the struggle the churches have carried on against the war and Fascist evils of the day. In my opinion they have not done nearly enough. But when you look around at the secular press, and by that I would include the trade union press as well, you can ask yourself: "Who are expressing themselves more forcibly?" If the church press is truly reflecting the thought of church constituencies, they must be counted on as the largest anti-Fascist force in the United States.

China's United Youth

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a long rail journey from Sian to Hankow that took us five and a half days instead of the usual thirty hours, we passed many small towns along the line that had literally been reduced to crumbled stone and charred wood by ceaseless, savage bombardment. But in the midst of the ruined stations, such as that at Chu Ma-Tien, we met groups of Y.M.C.A. youth and students, under their banner, working day and night to distribute hot water and

rice porridge to the passing troop and refugee trains. Liu Liang Mo, a student secretary of the Y.M.C.A., told us his hard experiences on one of the Y.M.C.A. war service groups working at the front. We brought back many messages from Christian youth and student associations, in which they pledged themselves to resistance against the Japanese aggression.

Work of the Catholics

The Catholic schools and universities too have carried on splendid work to aid the refugees and wounded. The Catholic University of Peiping, that has remained opened in spite of constant pressure from the Japanese authorities, has earned renown through its relief work. At the front itself one saw young Chinese Catholic priests, side by side with the young Buddhists' first aid groups, working together to succor the wounded. The Moslem youth and students have rallied in thousands to the work of relief and service behind the lines or to the armies at the front. Many have gone to serve under the famous Moslem general of Kwangsi Province, General Pei Sung-chi, whom we met at Hankow; tens of thousands are fighting in the regular armies or in the partisan troops of the north.

Thus today, behind the lines, in the relief camps and hospitals, in the universities and the middle schools, at the front or in the partisan units, the Chinese youth stand side by side—Kuomin-

tang or Communist, Christian, Buddhist or Moslem, from Szechuan or Kwangsi, Shensi or Hupeh—unity is the watchword of Chinese youth. Every day brings closer coöperation, better understanding. Overseas, in America, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland and France, and above all among the Chinese populations of India and Burma Straits Settlements, Indo-China and Indonesia, the same unity is being established among the Chinese youth and students as they work to aid their countrymen.

Their spirit is best summed up in the words of the declaration handed to us by the young soldiers of San-yuan in northwest China: "Today China has arisen like one man—farmers, workers, students, merchants, soldiers all are united. Friends, we have only one thing to ask our fellow-youth the world over—tell them from us, Youth unite that peace may reign over mankind."

Burgos Gaol

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seemed to him to be full of secrecy and somehow, no matter how open, conspiratorial; to cheer and sing and shout, or listen rapturously; and like as not to have to sneak out side entrances when the civil guards or gangs of hoodlums came, with much bashing of heads, to break it up. It gave him consolation: there was hardly a fear about his immediate future which one of the numerous revolutionary slogans he knew did not fit and quiet; he believed with the full fervency of a man who does not understand too well, but who makes up for that by his wishful thought and blind faith. It seemed to him that the world had but to listen to be convinced, to be changed, to be improved.

And then catastrophe had tumbled the world about his ears. He found himself accused of things with which he or his ideas had not even the remotest connection; found himself persecuted, imprisoned, condemned, for innocent wine-shop conversations, and innocent meetings. He was now a confused and terrified man. He had tried to argue patiently with his guards and jailers—they had only to hear to be convinced, that was all—and had received only blows in answer. He now repeated those same arguments, terrified and frenzied, to whomever he could find to listen, or over and over incessantly to himself. He made a perfect foil for Caldeveras.

"But I have done nothing to the Church," he would argue desperately, "why should it be against me? I have always been a devout man."

"Poo. You have joined godless organizations."

"Godless? Why? We never even talked of such things. We talked only of higher wages and lower taxes, and

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STRENGTH THROUGH JOY By Egmarco



"Dear me. . . He's getting to look more like his father every day!"

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Russell Thayer

THE whole League membership welcomes Thomas L. Harris as the Executive Secretary of the American League as he assumes office April 1st. Mr. Harris comes to the League from the rectorship of Christ Church, Cranbrooke, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, and is eminently suited to giving executive leadership to the national organization. A graduate of Cambridge University, formerly a Fellow at Union Theological Seminary, for three years adviser in religion at Harvard University and later rector of the Church of St. Luke and Epiphany in Philadelphia, Mr. Harris is widely known in student and church fields. To the public at large he is known as a speaker and as an author of books on religion and travel, and for numerous articles in *Harpers*, *The Churchman*, *Living Church*, and other publications. During recent months Mr. Harris has been able to spend a few days occasionally in the National Office in preparation for the work ahead. The League has been without a permanent executive head for a long while now, and Mr. Harris' appointment should give encouragement and new determination to all of us to build the League.

THE Speakers Bureau has arranged a tour to exhibit the pictures of the well-known American artist, Judson Briggs. Baltimore, Washington, Boston and several Connecticut cities are on the schedule to date. Mr. Briggs was sent by the Artists Union to Spain as a driver for their ambulance. After a time with the Medical Corps, during which he continually sketched and painted, the Loyalist government as a part of its cultural program gave him a studio in Madrid. When he left Spain, he took his paintings to Paris, and is the first American artist to be honored with an exhibit at the Maison de Culture under the sponsorship of such artists as Picasso, Miro and Lurcat.

THE capital city district in New York—Albany, Schenectady, Gloversville, Utica and Troy—have organized a joint committee, and Irving Plaine is devoting his entire time to organization there. A series of meetings has just been held at which Eleanor Brannan, chairman of the New York City Division of the League and member of

the National Executive Board, was the principal speaker. So successful were these meetings in broadening the influence of the League and in gaining new members that another tour is being planned for April to cover the same neighborhood.

THE second leaflet in the Critical Issues series is now being distributed, and we hope to dispose of a million copies of it. This leaflet is devoted to a clarification of and a call to action on the Neutrality Act.

AT this time when so much depends upon the action of our government in preserving peace, the League has obtained a National Legislative Representative in the person of Mrs. Mildred Riemer of Washington, D. C. Mrs. Riemer has previously done legislative work and can give invaluable assistance in bringing our program and our position on particular legislation to the attention of members of Congress.

THE Comité Mondial Contre la Guerre et le Fascisme to which we are affiliated, recognizing the seriousness of the present situation and the threat to peace in reports of plans for a new "Munich," has called an international conference in Paris on May 13th and 14th. We want to send a number of delegates and assume our share of re-



Marian Anderson, brilliant singer whom the D.A.R. barred from their hall. The Washington League organized protests

sponsibility in making this conference a genuine contribution to peace.

THERE are new branches getting under way in St. Petersburg, Florida, and in Ithaca, New York. We haven't much information yet, but we have sent letters, literature and our blessing.

PERHAPS you can find friends to help us in carrying on and intensifying League work. Our activities are constantly limited beyond what they should be at this time when there are so many issues vital to our peace and Democracy which must be effectively met. All of us want to help—and we must keep in mind always the close relation between the effective work of the American League and the private and common future of each of us.

FROM the speech of Dr. Harry F. Ward delivered recently over Station WJZ, New York City:

"What are un-American activities?"

"This question is again put before the American people by the continuance of the special committee of the House of Representatives commonly known as the Dies Committee. The new lease of life is for one year, with an appropriation of \$100,000, four times the original grant. . . .

"The record of the proceedings shows a curious situation. The Chairman of the Rules Committee reported that in thirty-two years in the House he had never seen such a volume of widespread protest as had come to him concerning the procedures of the Dies Committee and its chairman, who did about 90 per cent of the work. . . .

"Mr. Dies' general defense was that he did not have enough money to do a good job, which of course had nothing to do with his own behaviour. . . . He agreed that some decent Americans may have been unfairly smeared. He promised that if he got more time and money he would carry out a thorough investigation and maintain a strictly non-partisan attitude and policy with due regard to the rights of minorities. He got a new lease of life on this condition. But last year Mr. Dies promised the same things and more. . . .

"This time he will be checked by three members of the Committee who objected to some of his previous attitudes and methods, two who were un-

able to be present before and one recently added to fill a vacancy. But if we are to get the kind of investigation that Congress authorized, and three-fourths of the people want, this minority in the Committee needs to be supported by a sufficient number of responsible citizens. Every organization interested in the preservation of our democratic liberties needs to have a committee carefully watching the work of the Dies Committee, ready to send in protests the moment that any of the standards proclaimed by the chairman are violated. . . .

"Here is the true test of whether propaganda is un-American. It comes at the point where propaganda is translated into action. In the American tradition and in our law the discussion, and even the advocacy, of different theories of government are permitted under the guarantees of the Bill of Rights. This is one of the basic facts in Americanism. It is un-American to interfere with such freedom. But any attempt to subvert or overthrow the American form of government is immediately met with the full force of the law. It is activities, not doctrines, which are prohibited. . . .

"The Institute for Propaganda Analysis reports over eight hundred Nazi and Fascist organizations in this country and about two hundred Fascist and Nazi weekly sheets. A complete and thorough investigation of what this propaganda advocates and what these organizations are doing is an immediate necessity. . . .

"Mr. Dies also owes something to the American people concerning organizations created for the purpose of defending and promoting American institutions and ideals against whom he has permitted serious charges to be made without supporting proof and without any opportunity for rebuttal. . . .

"If the Dies Committee will now give us the real facts about the matters it was directed to investigate, it will render a genuine service to the American people in this critical hour. If it continues the methods of the past year, its work will go down in history as aiding the destruction of American Democracy through the spreading of untruths about the defenders of American principles and the creation of prejudice against them."

YOUTH NOTES

REFUGEES—"Nine more died last night," the official said. "Six children, two mothers, one old man."

"What did they die of?"

The official shrugged his shoulders. "They died of—of being refugees," he said.

We are familiar with the pictures of Spanish refugees in France: wounded men, women and children fleeing to the safety of a foreign land from the terror which has overtaken them in their own.

In China, too, people are dying—of being refugees.

Young people are determined that women and children shall not die—of being refugees. And this determination found further expression in an International Conference of youth held in Rheims, France, on March 11th and 12th. The aim of this conference was increased relief to refugees and victims of war. This international meeting was convened by the World Youth Congress movement.

STUDENTS—"What policy shall direct the decisive political and economic strength of the United States in this crisis?" The United Student Peace Committee urges students to make their contribution in the forging of this policy.

On April 20th at 11 A. M. students over the country will demonstrate their united interest in peace.

WESTERN HEMISPHERE—The First Inter-American Student Congress is to take place in Havana on August 17th-29th. Events since the World Youth Congress have increased the need for a conference of this kind. The results of Munich have convinced the majority of people that the treaty-breaking countries, Germany, Italy and Japan, are going forward in their plans to wipe out the democracies. The part which these aggressors have continued to play in Spain and China warns us in the Western Hemisphere that we must act quickly to preserve Democracy. In making the Good Neighbor Policy a working policy, students can make a valuable contribution toward assuring that Western Hemisphere coöperation is coöperation for democracy and public good.

DEMOCRACY—Is Democracy to be taken for granted? Does it belong to any special group? How do you know

when a thing is done democratically? Why do the Fascist governments hate democracies? What has our Democracy accomplished? What are the responsibilities of citizenship? Do you take your voting seriously?

No, this is not a poll. It is our way of announcing that the Youth Department of the American League has issued outlines and discussion material which any group will find useful in preparing discussions for a better understanding of the values of Democracy and the need to preserve peace. The material is adaptable to various groups. Included in the outline are suggestions for methods of presenting the material. Experts say that it is the "McCoy" and we agree with them. If you will let us know where we can reach you, we will send you a copy.

LOSS TO THE WORLD—Japanese invaders in China have destroyed or confiscated: 2,984 cases of precious books, documents and rare manuscripts; 2,118 libraries and 825 people's reading-rooms (representing over one million volumes).

However, the Chinese government today is aiding over 20,000 college students with financial grants, clothing, food, etc. In addition the government is remitting money to 218 students in eight different nations to enable them to continue technical, medical, and other studies to meet the present and future needs of China.

IN WASHINGTON—The American Youth Congress recently held a national committee meeting in Washington. The delegates visited legislators and State Department officials for the purpose of informing them of the needs of young people, and of the willingness of youth to coöperate in determining projects which would give all young people a chance at life. Jobs, education and peace were the most frequently mentioned subjects. Specifically, the delegates urged the passage of the Larrabee Bill, which advocates greater educational facilities, equal for all; and the Wagner Health Bill, which provides for more adequate provision for public health. The delegates strongly urged the revision of the present Neutrality Act so that distinction will be made between the aggressor, treaty-breaking nations and the victims of aggression.

—REGINA RAKOCZY

Burgos Gaol

(Continued from page 26)

many such noble things. Is that against the Church and God?"

"And have you not indulged in practices and orgies against God? Have you not consorted with atheists and renegades? And higher wages! Do you think the Church likes higher wages? What would happen to the respectable business man?"

"Lies, lies, lies! You are only out to confuse me. You are only out to terrify me. You are lying! You only want them to kill me." He waved a nervous hand to the cross on the back wall. "I will pray myself. I will pray loud and long. God will listen to me!"

"So you will pray, will you little man? And you think that will be enough, do you? And if the Bishop prays against you—what then? Who do you think *Dios* will listen to—you or the Bishop? Who do you think has more influence with Him?"

BUT TO dissociate himself from and condemn the left was not, however, in Caldeveras' mind enough to save him—he must also definitely establish kinship with the right. And so he eulogized constantly to the prisoners the men who had imprisoned them—their honor, their piety, their sense of justice. The officials of Burgos and of the prison were not merely to him names: they were "His Excellency," "Capitaine," or at least "Señor." He even "Señor'ed" the burly guard who with torso and arms covered only by hair and filth gave them their food—turning his back contemptuously on the other prisoners as he did so, despite the fact that the guard paid him absolutely no mind and merely pushed him out of the way when his protestations of friendship interfered with the business of dishing out the 'roz.

On an occasional Sunday they attended mass. Two abreast, heavily guarded, propelled forward often by nothing more than rifle butts and blows, they shuffled down the same corridor that Antonio was wont to carry the slop-bucket. It was Antonio's only chance to see the inmates of the other cells. Most had their heads shaven; all except the most recent were pale and haggard, and walked with a peculiar stumbling crouch, as he did himself; all shrank from the light and the guards. Caldeveras alone walked erect, always near the front of the line, his nose high, his eyes to heaven, piety in every line of his corpulent back, the folds in his bulging neck and the shaven pate above it.

And he was always conspicuously far towards the front when they were finally assembled, over a thousand men drawn up in close military formation in a space obviously designed for never more than half that number. In the

awesome presence of the Bishop, all the chief ecclesiastical dignitaries and local authorities, the walls surrounded by army officers and heavily lined with guards, they all heard mass, even joining in the service, and received eventually the Holy Communion. Sacrilege, something within Antonio had said on his first such occasion—shrieked, sacrilege! This was not the God of his sainted, weeping Isabella, not the Christ whose image his mother had died clutching! His voice had faltered—he had stopped his chant. Immediately Meña, next to him, had stamped on his foot, ground his heel in; a guard, noticing the disturbance, had glared at him, his thumb hooked around his revolver belt, and had turned to whisper to an officer close by, pointing his finger in Antonio's direction. Antonio had once more taken up the chant. He had never hesitated again.

But no such difficulty ever troubled Caldeveras. His voice was an inspiration and an example, standing out, sonorous, above the uneven lugubrious chanting of the others. And when the prisoners were filing out, he loitered behind as long as he could, beaming—ignored—on the clerics who, surrounded by smartly-dressed society ladies and officials, were being complimented with almost fanatical enthusiasm on the unparalleled success of the ceremony—all of the godless—every one!—had partaken of the Blessed Sacrament. Beaming on the army men, beaming on the guards. Jesus was his saviour, and His protectors were his brothers.

But still every night and sometimes during the day there was the stamp of guards and soldiers in the corridor, the shuffle of prisoners, the oaths, the quiet sobbing, usually followed by the roar from the motor-lorries, or even sometimes, especially more recently, the faint cracking, sharp as blows, of rifles. Caldeveras slept no more through this now than did the others. Every casual step, every sound in the hall, affected him too: guards walking by, the impatient tramp of occasional prison officials, the solemn funereal voice once a day or so of some Jesuit, going to confess and give absolution to condemned men, chatting amicably with the army officer who, armed with pad and pencil, accompanied him in order to take down any names or information which might be mentioned in those confessions. Prison life was leaving its mark on Caldeveras: his face was a dead gray, his eyes, bloodshot, stared out from between loose folds of skin, his ragged, two-inch beard contrasted strongly with his shaven head. Where there had formerly been rolls of fat on his neck there were loose folds of skin, and, through his open shirt, even on his chest and abdomen. "They will come to release me soon," he kept saying to himself; "maybe tomorrow—in the daytime."

And one evening they did come.

(Continued on page 30)

The Wagner Act

(Continued from page 9)

The Board is charged with abrogation of contracts and much is made of this supposed interference with fundamental rights. Actually, the number of contracts abrogated is very small and, in most instances, there was no doubt about the correctness of the action. Clearly, a contract entered into for the purpose of avoiding the Wagner Act should be abrogated. Sometimes, there is a close line between what is in violation of the Act and what is not in violation of the Act. In the Consolidated Edison Case, the Supreme Court on legal grounds held that the Board erred in abrogating a contract. The Circuit Court of Appeals had upheld the Board's action in this case, indicating good court authority in support of the Board. In almost all other cases, the Board has been vindicated by the courts. Actually, there should be little concern here, for the abrogation of a contract could always be carried to the court and the issue be there determined.

Scope of the Act

Another proposal is that workers be protected against coercion from all sources. This was brought forth in proposed amendments when the Act was passed. It has been the favorite theme of opponents of the Act ever since. The idea back of it seems to be that the federal government should enter the field of municipal law and attempt to regulate the conduct of individuals toward each other. Every charge that one worker had used undue influence upon another to get him to join a union would come under the provisions of the Act. The simple answer to this is that such legislation is not within the power of the Congress of the United States. The Wagner Act was held constitutional because the failure to bargain collectively caused strikes which interfered with interstate commerce and, therefore, the control of any practices that interfered with collective bargaining would be constitutional. To bring the proposed legislation under the Act it would have to be shown that such acts cause strikes. There is no body of experience or testimony indicating that individual coercion and intimidation cause strikes. Such matters are under the laws of the states and of the municipalities. The demand for the incorporation of labor unions, likewise, falls outside the scope of the Wagner Act and, at best, the proposal is very doubtful in its constitutionality, unless it could be shown that such incorporation would promote the cause of industrial peace in interstate commerce.

Proposals are made to inject the courts further into the administration of the Act. Senator Edward R. Burke of Nebraska has introduced a bill pro-

viding for the transfer of a trial from the Board to the District Court in cases of alleged unfair labor practices. This is, from every point of view, the height of folly. The courts already have too large a hand in the administration of this Act, for if they go further and further into the review of the testimony and the detailed procedures, they may even now substitute themselves for the Board in all vital determinations. There is no place for courts to function, as Senator Burke proposes, in the administration of a labor act. The voters of the State of New York overwhelmingly defeated a proposal giving courts far-reaching powers of supervision over administrative agencies. We are hardly ready to turn our affairs over to an oligarchy of courts.

Peddlers of Poison

(Continued from page 25)

I concluded that the ruling class of Russia was 100% Jewish."

Successful Farming, published monthly in the Middle West, has a large nation-wide circulation and gives generous space in its editorial columns to anti-labor propaganda.

Hoard's Dairyman is published semi-monthly in Wisconsin. It is generally rated as one of the best if not the best commercial dairy-farm publication. Its circulation is country-wide. It regularly displays its anti-labor bias and does so effectively. In the issue of September 10, 1938, *Hoard's* carries an editorial on "Farmers and Laborers." It appears as the program of the "Wisconsin Council of Agriculture . . . a federation of 35 coöperative associations with a membership of about 80,000 farmers," with comment by the editor. One of the points listed reads:

6. We demand security of our persons and property from all acts of violence and intimidation.

On this the editor comments:

Many instances can be cited where these marauding groups visited farms and destroyed property. One cool-headed law abiding farmer when he saw a car enter his yard, took his double-barreled shotgun from the wall, slipped two shells into it, walked to the automobile and in a tone which they all understood, asked, "Boys what can I do for you?"

Now you know what to do if a union organizer comes to see you.

Gannett's Farm Paper

Probably the most vicious anti-labor campaign has been carried on by the *American Agriculturalist*, a bi-weekly with a wide circulation in the Northeast. This paper bears the name of Frank E. Gannett on its masthead, and is generally believed to be controlled by the group which operates the New York State Farm Conference Board.

Edited in close coöperation with Cornell Agricultural College, *Ameri-*

can Agriculturalist has been consistently reactionary ever since it came under its present ownership. It is regularly supported by full-page advertisements of the Dairymen's League, G.L.F.—a farmers' supply organization under practically the same control—and the Milk Producers Bargaining Agency, a stooge federation of dealer coöperatives.

Attacks on Labor

One need not quote the contents of an article published in the issue of July 30, 1938, entitled "Who Will Run Your Business—You or the C.I.O.?" or of a two-column spread, "Labor Relations Board—Umpire or Boss?" published September 10, 1938; or of "Farmers Will Fight C.I.O. Radicals," published October 8, 1938; or of "Farmers Must Fight C.I.O." in the issue of October 22, 1938. By November 19th Editor E. R. Eastman blossoms out with a full-page display story: "It Can Happen Here—Radical Labor Moves on the Farmer"; and on January 7, 1939, a full-page spread announces "Radical Labor's March on Farming Must Stop—Aroused Farmers Ask 'What Can Be Done?'" and Editor Eastman proposes a petition which he prints—"amending" the Wagner Act and "limiting" the National Labor Relations Board!

Do not be misled by the apparent emphasis on the word "radical" in these articles. Their contents make it abundantly clear what is meant. "Can you think of any point on which agriculture and labor unions as conducted by the C.I.O. or even the Federation of Labor have anything in common?" reads one of these diatribes.

The farm organizations identified with the propaganda are generally discredited and disliked among ordinary farmers. But the propaganda is bound to be effective if only by reason of its immense volume.

A Job to Be Done

What has preceded should satisfy any friend of Democracy, whether farmer or factory worker, that there is a job to be done to check these forces.

In answer to the question "What to do?" the recent history of the Dairy Farmers Union of Ogdensburg, New York, the Milk Consumers Protective Committee, and the Consumer-Farmer Milk Coöperative of New York City, will provide one approach to the problem.

The Dairy Farmers Union is organizing milk-producing farmers on a trade union basis. It has upwards of fourteen thousand members and is making steady progress. It is putting farmer-labor coöperation on a practical basis. If a union is good for labor why not have one for the farmer? This is the Union's argument. The difficulties in the way of this program cannot be overlooked, however, in

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view of the extent of anti-labor propaganda in the farming districts.

Having learned of this nucleus of progressive farmers, in 1936 the Milk Consumers Protective Committee of New York City—a federation of over seventy organizations including parents', civic, fraternal associations, political clubs, neighborhood settlement houses, welfare organizations, trade unions and union auxiliaries—immediately threw its support behind the Union. Speakers from the consumers' committee appeared at farm meetings and Union speakers addressed city audiences. Both combined on an anti-monopoly program. After almost two years of collaboration economic action followed, and in June 1938 the Consumer-Farmer Milk Coöperative, Inc., began the distribution of Union milk in New York City through store agencies.

Consumer-Farmer Co-op

Under the arrangement worked out farmers organize their own producers' coöperatives in the country and deliver their milk to the Consumer-Farmer Milk Coöperative in the City. The Co-op pasteurizes the milk and packages it in paper containers and distributes it to its consumers through store agencies. The earnings of this coöperative belong one-third to the farmers, distributed according to the amount of milk delivered. This is in addition to the market price of milk paid the farmer in the first instance. Two-thirds of the net earnings belong to the consumers, divided according to the amount purchased. A "dividend voucher" on each container serves as proof of purchase when turned in to the Co-op. Union farmers now look forward to selling increasing quantities of their milk direct to the consumers through the Co-op. Farmers turn out in large numbers when consumer speakers are announced at farm meetings; and both C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unions in the city have opened their meetings to speakers from the Coöperative, who tell them they can help stop anti-labor propaganda on the farm by buying Co-op milk, thereby throwing their strength behind the pro-union farmer and against the milk trust.

Campaign of Fascism

The forces which have been so fluent in their labor-baiting are now taking the usual next step in the Fascist formula—Jew-baiting. On this issue, too, the progressives are fighting back. Read this editorial from the January 25th issue of *Dairy Farmer*, organ of the Dairy Farmers Union:

During the past month four farmers have written in to the Main Office expressing the belief that all their troubles can be traced to Jewish milk dealers. These letters were from widely separated parts of the state and their sudden appearance indicates that somebody or something has gone to work on the Jews. Now, Jewish milk dealers are no different from other milk dealers. They have no

corner on milk profits and are a small factor in the business compared to the operations of Borden's, Sheffield and the League. There must be a purpose behind this sudden stirring up of the Jewish question.

It was behind the scenes of an anti-Semitic campaign that fascism came into power in Germany. There the people were distracted and entertained by a campaign in which the Jews were blamed for everything and accused of everything. When the smoke of the campaign had cleared away it was found that every form of people's organization from Free Masonry to Holy Name Societies, from trade unions to cooperatives had been completely destroyed and their active members thrown into concentration camps.

The present campaign against the Jews in the country is being developed to distract farmers' attention and furnish a whipping boy who can be blamed for everything from little milk checks to big tax rates. If farmers fall for this anti-Jewish stuff this country will go the German way. The Cooperatives, Farm Bureau, Grange and every form of farm organization, no matter how mild or helpless, will be completely destroyed. The purpose behind the anti-Jewish campaign is to put farmers finally and totally at the mercy of the milk monopoly.

Don't say "It Can't Happen Here." The thing was started in Germany with a campaign against the Jews.

The spread of reaction among farmers can be stopped but liberals, progressives, labor leaders and anti-Fascists must be aware of the activity and must go out of their way to assist and encourage the liberal forces on the farms who are working against great odds.

The New York example might bear duplication.

Burgos Gaol

(Continued from page 28)

THE MAN who entered the cell was large and tall, and he carried an electric torch. Coming in he stepped on Antonio's arm, and he cursed and kicked it. At the sound the prisoners all scrambled to crouching positions, pressing into corners, as far as they could get away from him; except for Dallardo who, terrified, was trapped beneath the bunk. It could not have been later than eight in the evening; they had only just stretched out. The intruder—an officer, they saw—played his torch on each face in turn.

"Which of you is Juan Caldeveras?"

Caldeveras rubbed his eyes in the beam of the lamp. He started in dismay when he heard his name, and a momentary shadow of terror flitted across his face; but then suddenly his face lit up, his eyes went wide and tremulous. It was too early in the night for an execution; it could only be his release. The wish became father to the thought: it was his release!

"You've come to release me!" he cried.

Relief surged through him like a drug; sudden relaxation of tension left him limp. He fell before the feet of the surprised officer. "My release! At last, at last! Thank you, Señor Officer! Thank you!"

Then he was on his feet again. He turned from the officer to his bunk, back to the officer, to the wall, to the other prisoners, uncertain what to do with himself. Then with a sudden impulsive magnanimity he ran to his fellows, seized each by the wrist—because his trembling fingers could not find the hand—and shook it violently. "Good-bye, goodbye! You are not really such bad fellows. If-if I wasn't still in bad myself I'd-I'd do something for you!" He kept turning dazed from one to the other. It seemed imperative that he keep moving.

"Quit jabbering, you little monkey!" The officer impatiently grabbed him by the scruff of the neck, dragged him with a powerful motion a few feet and thrust him towards the door.

"I'm coming," he panted, waving his arms in the air like a swimmer, trying to recover his balance. "I'm coming Señor! No need to be in such a hurry my friend! I'm coming!"

But at the door he stopped.

There were three men outside. Two were of the militia, blue-shirted and armed. The third stood alongside, sideways to the door, holding a list; when he saw Caldeveras he made a mark with his pencil on it. Behind them, in the murky light of lamps, two other men were being half-pushed, half-dragged, down the corridor. Caldeveras shook his head, as if to deny the vision, or drive it out of his mind. "I am to be released," he explained to the men before him.

The officer behind pushed him forward. The two members of the militia, young and clumsy, seized him and pinned his arms. He looked at them, from one to the other, unbelieving. "You don't understand. I am to be released." They didn't comprehend. He just had to explain it to them. "I am Juan Caldeveras, an innocent wine-merchant. I am to go free!"

The door slammed, was bolted.

From down the corridor they could hear his voice, now liquid with terror, coming back in great blobs: "I am an innocent man! I have never done anything against God or Spain! Señors! Don't kill me! I am an innocent Christian!"

The words came through the wicker, vibrated between the walls. "I am an innocent man! Señors! I am an innocent man!"

From his corner Julio Meña heard the voice go down the hall, grow faint. Then, expressionless, silent, he got slowly to his feet, stepped across to the bunk and sat down on it.

Dallardo lay under the bunk transfixed with terror, saliva dripping slowly from his quivering idiot lip.

And Antonio saw any slight hope of escaping execution that might have lingered go twisting and screaming down the hall. . . .

(To be continued)

To Save One, We Must Save All

THERE comes a time in the affairs of men when they must prepare to defend not their homes alone but the tenets of faith and humanity on which their churches, their governments and their very civilization are founded. The defense of religion, of democracy and of good faith among nations is all the same fight. To save one we must now make up our minds to save all."

Thus President Roosevelt, in his opening address to Congress, pointed out one of the salient facts of our time. For Fascism, which destroys Democracy and makes a mockery of international covenants, is also and everywhere the enemy of religious freedom. The teachings of all religions are intolerable to Fascism, simply because they are incompatible with the iron rule of the Fascist state. Men cannot be driven to hate their neighbors, to rob and murder them, when they believe that all men are brothers.

We see the clearest example in Nazi Germany. There Jewish, Catholic and Protestant religious

communities and leaders are persecuted by the reigning Neros. The savage pogroms against the Jews are accompanied by brutal attacks on Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church and leading ministers of the Protestant faiths. When Germany's finest people are counted in the concentration camps, the spiritual leaders are there along with the labor and political leaders.

In Italy the racial theories of the Fascist rulers call forth a denunciation by the Pope; in Spain the "defenders of the Church" abolish religious freedom and slaughter the Catholic people and the clergy who stand up against them; in China the Japanese invaders (besides their violation of all the *teachings* of religion) establish military rule over Christian and Confucian, Buddhist and Mohammedan alike.

Who can doubt that the Fascists have the same plans for America, when they shall be able to overthrow our Democracy? The affinity of Fascism to our Know-Nothing and Ku Klux

movements has already been remarked; what we perhaps have yet to realize is the greater sweep of Fascism—the more crushing drive with which it would make the Klan look like child's play.

Meanwhile, the tactic of the Fascists is to divide and conquer—to stir up racial and religious hatred, and play one religion against another to the destruction of all. We are confident that the answer of religious America to this campaign of war and hatred will be strong, clear, united—and unmistakable.—C.P.

Road to War

AS WE go to press, Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia is reported. Thus another step is taken on the road to war; another people, betrayed by the Chamberlain-Daladier conspirators, falls before Fascism. There can no longer be doubt in any honest mind as to the nature of the Munich Agreement, and the necessity for the United States to act at once for world peace.—C.P.

Defend the Wagner Act

THE PRESENT session of Congress has already witnessed the introduction of several bills which would destroy the National Labor Relations Act; they range from amendments to the Act to its outright repeal. While the press makes much of these proposed changes, it is a good time for us to recall the purpose of the Wagner Act. It was designed to strengthen the collective bargaining rights of labor and to promote industrial peace. It recognized that in employer-employee relations the scale was unbalanced; that to reduce strikes and the ensuing disruption of industrial activity, labor must be given certain guarantees. In an article in this issue of *THE FIGHT* John A. Lapp discusses the many charges made against the National Labor Relations Board and its administration of the Act. The facts, he points out, do not substantiate the charges of unfairness made against the Board. And, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, there have been fewer strikes and of shorter duration since the Supreme Court upheld the Act.

We cannot say that the Wagner Act, which is labor's Bill of Rights, is a perfect instrument. It is true that the Act can be broadened to give other categories of workers collective bargaining rights. Such changes are worthy of support since they would extend the principles of the Act. However, the attempts to emasculate the Act and cripple its administration must be a warning to us that the enemies of Democracy are active on all fronts. Extreme vigilance is required on the part of all who would defend Democracy. The establishment of the Fascist dictatorships in Italy and Germany have demonstrated to us that the attacks on the organized labor movement have been quickly followed by assaults on the entire population. For this reason, if for no other, labor is one of the greatest bulwarks of Democracy. The guarantee and extension of labor's rights are therefore the concern of all of us, and assume a foremost position in the active defense of our democratic institutions. To strike a telling blow against the threats of Fascism, we must defeat the attacks on the Wagner Act. Write to your Congressman and Senators urging the defeat of the Walsh Bill and all other crippling amendments to the Act.—A.W.

A wounded Spaniard, his wife and child, cross the border to France



Are YOU getting FULL MEASURE for your dollar?

Without accurate, reliable information on the comparative value of competing brands your everyday buying can be a wasteful business. With it, you can save substantial sums. This month, CU Reports helps consumers save money by reporting on soaps, tea, men's topcoats, canned peaches and asparagus, and correspondence schools.

"We will eat a bar of it while doing handsprings up Fifth Avenue"

"If any soap is soothing to any kind of skin," says *Soap*, the leading trade magazine of the soap industry, "we will eat a bar of it while doing handsprings up Fifth Avenue."

With the same engaging candor, *Soap* states, "To him who would advertise successfully in the intensive competitive fight for soap business, not too much attention can be paid to these minor details such as scientific exactness, strict adherence to proved facts, and misleading implications."

With these findings, the results of recently completed tests of toilet soaps, published in this month's issue of *Consumers Union Reports*, agree. Over 150 brands are rated by name, for price and quality (you can pay anywhere from 50c to \$1.97 per pound of dry soap for certain brands but get better quality for only 9.1c); those that may irritate or actually damage the skin are pointed out.

It's Illegal, but . . .

. . . plenty of packers put less peaches into their cans than the law requires. The names of the 21 out of 36 brands of canned peaches tested by CU which were illegally slack-filled are given in this report. Another report gives price and quality ratings of 39 brands of canned asparagus and asparagus tips.

Good bills and bad bills . . . A bad one costs consumers plenty

New food and drug bills are now pending in 13 states. In an article describing this legislation, the

bills which should be vigorously backed and those which should be opposed are pointed out. In another article the effects of the Miller-Tydings price-fixing act—now in operation a year and a half—are discussed. The results of studies showing that this law has cost consumers many thousands of dollars are noted.

How to be rich and successful . . .

The dazzling promises of correspondence school ads are analyzed and clues given for determining which schools are fakes and which are honest. Many an impressively-titled "institute" is but a one-room office in an obscure business building. Hundreds have been proceeded against by Federal authorities for fraudulent practices.

"A major crime in gastronomy"

"We buy it ignorantly, prepare it abominably . . ." says a recent article on tea in a popular magazine. Far be it from Consumers Union to concur in a sweeping statement like this, but there is something to what this writer says. To help American tea drinkers acquire skill in tea purchasing, 40 brands of black, mixed, oolong and English Breakfast tea were given taste tests by tea experts and rated by name. Instructions on how to prepare tea properly are given and current advertising claims to the effect that tea "peps you up" are analyzed.

This year the consumer will get the best value for his money . . .

. . . in men's topcoats of a certain type at a certain price level. What type and which price level may be ascertained by reading the report on men's topcoats in this issue. Twenty-three brands sold under the manufacturer's names are rated for quality and workmanship.

Other reports and articles in this issue rate can openers and fruit juice extracts and discuss phases of the sugar and insurance industries of particular significance to consumers. To get this issue just mail the coupon below.

COMING IN APRIL!—The 1939 edition of *Consumers Union's Annual Buying Guide*. Running to 300 pages and rating over 2,000 brands of products by names as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable," this valuable handbook is included in the yearly subscription to *Consumers Union Reports* without extra charge.

To: CONSUMERS UNION of U. S., Inc.
17 Union Square W, New York, N. Y.

Send me CONSUMERS UNION REPORTS for one year and the 1939 BUYING GUIDE when it appears. I enclose \$3. I agree to keep confidential all material sent to me which is so designated.

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