

March
1937

The Fight

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

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Consumers Union Reports—telling you which brands of shoes tested will wear longest, which tires will give the most mileage per dollar, which automobiles and radios are the "best buys" and which brands of other products are the best values—can save you money and help you to buy intelligently. These *Reports*—rating products by name as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable"—are published by Consumers Union of United States, a nationwide organization of consumers whose chief purpose is to make accurate information about products—based on research by competent and unbiased technicians—available to its members at the lowest possible cost. Information on the labor conditions under which many products are made is also given in the *Reports*.

Incorporated under the laws of New York State as a strictly non-profit organization, Consumers Union is sponsored by many prominent scientists, educators, journalists, labor and progressive leaders. Professor Coleman E. Warren, of Amherst, is president of Consumers Union. Arthur Kallet, co-author of *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs*, is director and D. H. Palmer, physicist, is technical supervisor. The membership of Consumers Union has grown in less than a year to more than 25,000—and is increasing, at the present time, at the rate of nearly 1,000 new members a week.

Also in the Current Issue of CONSUMERS UNION REPORTS

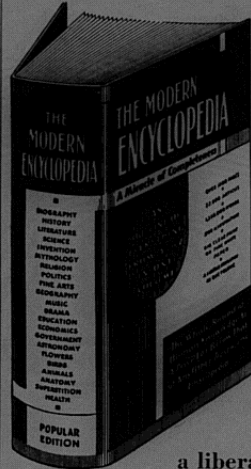
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March 1937, FIGHT

With the Readers

★
ABOUT this time of the year (every year), about the middle of February we get heartily sick of winter and all its trimmings—snow, sleet and slippery sidewalks. And we think of Spring. And when we think of Spring in February, our thoughts ramble. And when our thoughts ramble we are apt to fall into a sort of affirmative skepticism.

ANYWAY, when this man Runciman struck our shores and visited the White House it was presumed in some quarters that Great Britain and other European countries were ready to discuss the debt question—and were actually ready to pay our Uncle some of the gold shekels during him.

NOTHING wrong in that, you would say. After all a man named John owed you some money and he came to your house to repay it, you would accept that as a very natural act. But when John Imperialist Bull travels more than three thousand miles to our White House, we (with the help of a February skepticism) get sort of—what would you call it—suspicious.

AND then it turns out that Mr. Runciman was actually after another loan... and for all people, for the Nazis. The argument runs something like this. Under Hitler the German people are starving. Hitler, to avoid trouble at home, has only one way out, *toor*. To avoid a war Europe and America must help Hitler. If Uncle Sam will only give Mr. Hitler 500 million dollars the starving Germans will let the *Fuehrer* alone for a while and he won't have to go to war.

SO from Mr. Runciman and the 500 million dollars we ramble on to the Nine Old Men in Washington. This is a comparatively simple matter. (After one cup of tea every day is simple to us.) Roosevelt is anxious to realize some of his New Deal legislation. The gray beard reactionaries on the bench scotch him. So he proposes to displace them with younger (about sixty years old) and more liberal men. The reactionary forces who are against everything that is decent in life cry, wolf, wolf, dictator, dictator, you are destroying all our sacred institutions. Well, the Wall Street boys may be right about the danger of Fascism in Roosevelt's move, but since when did the pumpernickels on the Street become guardians of liberty? Again we are suspicious.

AND the last straw that broke the ground hog's back was when Major General John F. O'Ryan asked that the "West Point cadet corps be tripled, that regular Army, National Guard, ROTC, C.M.T.C. and other auxiliary training centers be increased, and then doubled through development of reserves of the same strength" because of the danger of Communism. "The old scarecrow is again resurrected."

SO with the hunger for a little green grass and a few buds on the trees we get angrier by the minute. Maybe anger is not exactly the word. Probably it is the Great Desire to see Mr. Runciman and the Wall Street boys and General O'Ryan as curious in a national museum—relics of the prehistoric year 1937.

THAT'S easy. Let us have another Congress against War and Fascism.

FIGHT, March 1937



Our huge war appropriations are going up again this year. (Above) Turning on gas masks at a Washington, D.C. arsenal

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JOSEPH PASS, Editor

The Fight Against War and Fascism, published monthly by the National Executive Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, 268 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Chairman, Harry F. Ward. Vice-Chairmen, Robert Morris Lovett, Mrs. Victor I. Beretz, Earl Browder, Max S. Hayes, Jacob Mirsky, Treasurer, William P. Mangold. Secretarial Staff: Executive, Paul Reed; Administration, Clara Bedau; Education, Robert K. Speer; Publication and Publicity, Frank B. Bismundel; Youth, James Lesner; Women, Dorothy McConnell; Trade Union, John Masco; Religion, Rev. Herman F. Reising. Single Copies, 10 cents. Yearly subscription, \$1.00. Six-month subscription, 55 cents. Canada and Foreign, \$1.50 a year. Entered as Second-Class matter, February 20, 1935, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Contributors

★
HENRY ZON, who wrote the article on the findings of the LaFollette Committee, noted in a letter to us that "if you look carefully at the last couple of pages you can see match sticks propping eyelids open." Yes, but by the time we were already gone. Mr. Zon is the Washington correspondent of the Federated Press and was formerly London manager for the same agency. Prior to that Mr. Zon worked on the *Minnesota Leader*, official paper of the Farmer-Labor party, and traveled with the late Governor Floyd B. Olson in the 1932 political campaign.

WILLIAM WESTLEY, a young artist recently arrived in New York, has been steadily contributing to these pages and to the pages of two or three other nationally known publications. It is not very often that we venture in the field of progress, but we think Mr. Westley a great craftsman and artist who will be heard from in the years to come.

WILLIAM P. MANGOLD, a contributing editor of the *New Republic* and on the executive committee of the American Newspaper Guild, has worked for a number of years on various magazines. Mr. Mangold is on the national bureau of the American League Against War and Fascism.

JOHN GROTH in illustrating Mr. Mangold's article objected to the layout we gave him. In the discussion that followed Mr. Groth subtly reminded us that when he was art editor of... *We gave up.*

JAMES WATERMAN WISE, who writes on the problem of anti-Semitism, is the author of *Liberalizing Liberal Judaism*, *The Future of Israel*, *Just are Like That*, *The Nazi Terror*, etc., is the founder of *Opinion—A Journal of Jewish Life and Letters* and has contributed to many publications including *The Bookman*, *Forum*, *Century*, etc., etc.

WILLIAM GROPPER's cartoon in this issue is the perfect example of a favorite theory of ours, that a good cartoon never needs a caption. (We have a caption.) Mr. Gropper's exhibition of paintings, water colors and black and whites will open at the A. C. A. Gallery, New York City, March 7.

W. P. ROBINSON has been district organizer for the Switchmen's Union of North America and a representative of the Railroad Department of the A. F. of L. for the past three years.

PAUL PATRICK ROGERS, who writes the excellent article on Cleveland, is Associate Professor of Spanish in Oberlin College. He writes: "In the course of an academic career, which has had nothing of the career about it, I've turned out several textbooks and numerous studies for the journals of the Romance Language profession."

LUCIEN ZACHAROFF, who recently wrote a pamphlet on radio censorship for the American Civil Liberties Union, has contributed to various periodicals and newspapers here and abroad, including the *New York Times*, *Herald-Tribune*, *Baltimore Star*, etc.

THE cover is from a poster issued recently in Spain.

Who Wants Peace?

DOROTHY THOMPSON, one of the keenest observers of our time, writes in the current SURVEY GRAPHIC Magazine an interpretation of the peace movement in the United States. This distinctive contribution is based upon a complete exploration, made by Marian Churchill White for the SURVEY GRAPHIC research staff, of every organized, voluntary group whose major activity is the promotion of world peace.

"The peace movement has been scoffed at by the tough minded for its sentimentality and its confused thinking," says Miss Thompson, "But it is clearly bent on keeping America to the American dream: a country . . . non-aggressive, proudly free, and robustly civilian. More than any movement in the United States, that represented by the peace societies is a cross-section of the American mind."

What is peace? What is neutrality? Miss Thompson's inquiry searches the answers to these eternally urgent questions at a time in history when perplexed plain people and scholars are putting their heads and hearts into various efforts to avert war, to promote peace and good will. Her article illuminates not only the forces of peace, but the forces they combat, twenty years after 1917.

What Can You Do About It?

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Leading the Nation by the Nose?

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The American People don't want War. Why, then, did the War-Makers demand and get a Billion Dollar Budget? Is it for National Defense or is it for a War of Aggression? See

BILLIONS FOR BULLETS, by Elizabeth Noble (5c)

The American People don't want Fascism. Will we permit the passage of the Industrial Mobilization Plan, with its pattern for the Labor Draft, Press Censorship and scrapping of Social Legislation? See

A BLUEPRINT FOR FASCISM, by Frank B. Blumenfeld (5c)

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Here are a few of the names which have appeared in THE FIGHT over specially written articles in the last few issues.

George Selzer, Sherwood Anderson, John L. Lewis, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Heywood Brown, Dr. George A. Cu, Masovitz, A. Hallgren, Emily Grinn Balch, Matthew Josephson, H. C. Engelbrecht, Marvin Carlberg, Robert Morris Lovett, Agnes Smalley, Oscar Ameringer, Rose M. Stein, Martin Anderson Nixon. Illustrations by Peggy Bacon, Hoff, Art Young, John Grath, William Grepper, etc.

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March 1937, FIGHT



IT MAY be that this Administration will go down in the history books as the Administration of investigations. In its span of four years it has investigated banking practices, lobbying, railroad finance, the munitions industry, the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., and public utilities.

Perhaps the most important investigation will be recorded as the LaFollette investigation of the violations of civil liberties and interference with the right of labor to organize. It will be noted, perhaps with amusement, that at this stage civil liberties in the United States had fallen into such a state of disrepair that it was necessary for a Senatorial committee to investigate to find out what happened to them and to discover, if possible, who was responsible for their disappearance.

Revising the Bill of Rights

This investigation may assume historical importance because it is serving to awaken the interest of the American people in a phase of the Constitution that the Supreme Court rarely touches upon, those ten amendments guaranteeing to all citizens certain civil rights. It is telling to millions what only thousands knew, that behind the denial and abrogation of civil rights is the mailed fist of corporate might. It is also serving as a tribute to the growing strength and solidarity of American labor, for it shows that labor has been able to make important gains despite the army of labor spies and strike breakers mustered by industry.

The investigation was born in the Cosmos Club in Washington one February evening in 1936. Present at that meeting were some 15 people, including John L. Lewis, Gardner Jackson, Dorothy Detzer, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Senator Robert LaFollette, now chairman of the sub-committee on education and labor conducting the in-

quiry, and other liberals and socially minded people.

Some of those present were concerned with the plight of the share-cropper in the South. They had watched the growing reign of terror instituted by the planters in an effort to maintain a dying plantation system and they saw their efforts at organizing share-croppers into the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union thwarted by systematic terrorism.

Evidence Justifies Investigation

Sentiment in Washington had been aroused by the visit of Eugene Poulnot and Sam Rogers, victims of the Tampa flogging in which Joseph Shoemaker was murdered. The munitions inquiry was drawing to a close and had provided valuable material regarding the manufacture of armaments by Federal Laboratories of Pittsburgh for use in industrial warfare.

From the discussion there was evolved the idea of a Senatorial investigation of the violations of civil liberties. Senator LaFollette agreed to go to bat for it and the lobbyists represented agreed to throw the weight of their organizations towards securing necessary appropriations and authorizations.

The resolution was introduced and preliminary hearings were held on April 10th and for a few days following. During the preliminary hearings much evidence of a general nature was introduced showing the great armies of spies and strike breakers maintained by industrial corporations. Several steel workers testified regarding the hiring of themselves as labor spies for various agencies. Portions of Edward Levinson's book, *I Break Strikes*, a story of Pearl Bergoff and his operations, were read into the record. Prominent persons in the world of labor testified regarding the necessity for such an investigation.

As the 74th Congress came to a close, the LaFollette resolution lagged

The Spy

How do they get in your home or shop?
A Washington correspondent tells us what
the LaFollette Committee has uncovered

By Henry Zon

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM WESTLEY

FIGHT, March 1937

in the Senate committee on audit and control. Under the spur of letters and lobbying the resolution came out, providing \$15,000 for the work of investigating the disappearance of civil liberties in various sections of the United States.

Spies Duck

In the months that followed the committee was organized, borrowing generously from the old munitions investigating staff, the National Labor Relations Board, and various government agencies including the Works Progress Administration.

Hearings began on August 21st, 1936, with the Railway Audit and Inspection Company, a labor-spy and strike-breaking outfit, as the first subject of inquiry. Four officials of the company refused to appear, first pleading sickness, though at the moment they were swigging Scotch-and-sodas in a hotel room within a stone's throw of the Capitol, then appearing in court to contest the validity of the subpoenas.

They were represented, as were many who followed them, by a Liberty League attorney, one Leonard Weinberg of Baltimore, Maryland. But despite Mr. Weinberg's police court eloquence, the four, L. Douglas Rice, W. W. Groves, W. B. Groves, and J. C. Boyer, were indicted by a grand jury for contempt and are now at liberty on \$1,000 bail.

As the hearing proceeded, without the benefit of their presence, it was shown that the company, in an effort to evade subpoenas for documents, had hastily torn letters and records and thrown them into wastebaskets. A dramatic tale was then told by com-

mittee investigators of working at night, piecing the scraps together, like a picture puzzle, into a story of labor espionage.

Through a series of witnesses, including the unforgettable Chowderhead Cohen and his friend Jerry Cooper (who proudly wore a Landon sunflower throughout the entire hearing), the committee developed a story of labor espionage and strike breaking that was startling.

It was shown how Railway Audit and Inspection "hooked" spies for its service by picking upon some down-and-outer who needed money immediately to keep himself and his family alive. It was shown, through the frank testimony of the assembled thugs, how the street car company of New Orleans, as an instance, was robbed by strike breakers of more than the amount necessary to give the employees the decent wages and conditions for which they were striking.

Implements of Industrial Warfare

The story was told of electrifying fences in Milwaukee to discourage picketing and how one picket was killed. In Milwaukee, at the Wisconsin Power & Light Co. plant, live steam was attached to boilers and 700 strike breakers, recruited by the Bergoff agency, were armed with pickax handles.

After Railway Audit and Inspection and National Corporation Service, the committee turned to Lake Erie Chemical and Manville Manufacturing Co. It heard of the rivalry between the companies for sales of tear gas and of the profits made from industrial warfare. It heard how coal operators in Pennsylvania planned to

place gas at the entrances to mines being worked by bootleg miners and how gas salesmen rode with San Francisco police during the maritime strike of 1934.

Pinkerton Morals

The Pinkerton Agency, dean of all the labor spies, filled other days with testimony. Joseph Littlejohn, superintendent of the Atlanta, Ga. Pinkerton office, gave the clue to Pinkerton ideology when he was asked, "Do you not regard, and do you not so characterize, activity on the part of workers to organize themselves into independent unions as communistic activity?" and he replied, "Well, it is radical until we find out different, sir."

The Pinkertons had previously insisted they were a high grade agency, uninterested in labor activities. So high grade was the agency, according to Mr. Asher Rossetter, vice-president, that it would not handle divorce cases because of the moral issue. Its morals did prevent its agent, Littlejohn, from writing that he had been told by E. E. LeMay, assistant to the president of U. S. Steel Corporation's subsidiary, Tennessee Coal and Iron Co., that "Blaine Owen, an active communist," was "taken on a fishing trip and worked on three or four times a day" after which he left town.

When Mr. LeMay and his brother officials appeared, they denied hearing of Blaine Owen. In their bland manner, assisted by Mr. Borden Burr, a member of the Liberty League's lawyer's committee, they denied everything. From their testimony the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. was pictured as a great benevolent institution carefully guarding the welfare of its

workers. So pleased were LeMay, Burr, and their cohorts that they refused to accept the customary witness fee from the committee.

It was when subsequent testimony by Jack Barton, Joseph Gelders and James McClung was introduced that another picture of Alabama justice was presented: Barton told of his hounding by T.C.I. officials. Gelders told of his beatings for his efforts on behalf of Barton and other political prisoners.

Alabama Justice

McClung, an investigator for Gov. Bibb Graves of Alabama, told of his certainty of the identity of the Gelders assailants and explained that the reason grand juries failed to indict them was that "T.C.I. owns 'bout fifteen-sixteenths of that country round there." McClung also told how roads, over which a column of miners was marching to organize a mine, were dynamited and men shot from ambushed machine guns.

LeMay and his crew will return later to explain in more detail the terms of T.C.I. benevolence in Alabama.

From T.C.I. the LaFollette trail led to the employers' own strike-busting agency, the National Metal Trades Association. It was shown how the N.M.T.A. operates with even less scruples than the Bergoffs and similar gangs. It was shown how it blacklists union men, how it seeks to incite violence in order to bring in the National Guard for, says its "commissioner," Homer D. Sayre, "It's easier to open a plant if the National Guard is there."

Auto's Spy System

The N.M.T.A., numbering among its clients the Chrysler Corporation, supplies its members with strike breakers and spies. It takes over the conduct of a strike and excommunicates any member who dares to sign an agreement with a union. It maintains a long list of stool pigeons, whose names have been made public, and recruits strike breakers as needed.

Corporations Auxiliary followed the N.M.T.A. and the LaFollette trail led into the automobile industry. It was shown that Chrysler within the past two years and ten months has spent over a quarter of a million dollars of stockholders' money for spies. It was shown that General Motors is a good client of Corporations Auxiliary as well as of Railway Audit and Inspection, the Pinkertons (\$167,000 in one year) and another local agency.

Throughout the course of its inquiries the committee has made available to the unions names of spies un-

"Protection by Pinkerton"



The shadow of the industrial spy, uncovered by the LaFollette Committee, hovers over the worker in the plant and in his home

covered, and many a spy in the auto industry has had his trousers soundly kicked and been escorted out of town, as a result.

In one instance the United Auto Workers had one of their men working as a spy for the Pinkertons. The executive council of the union wrote the spy's reports and through them were able to get a foreman, hostile to the union, fired. They merely explained that the foreman's seeming hostility was really a cloak for his underlying friendliness.

Black Legion Tie-up

As it makes its way into the auto industry the LaFollette committee gradually swims into deeper water, for in the industry are represented Amer-

ica's mightiest moguls. Evidence is in the committee's possession of the relationship between Harry Bennett, picturesque Ford secret service head who sits at a desk with two loaded pistols, and the Black Legion. Other stories are known to the investigators waiting to tell the story and it is promised that they will tell tales unequalled in American industrial history.

Now the LaFollette committee is out of funds. Even its penny-pinching could not stretch the \$15,000 inexhaustibly. A resolution asking for \$50,000 more has been introduced and lobbyists are gathered on Capitol Hill to block the appropriation.

A sample of the lobbying was given by Edwin C. Hill in a broadcast over the NBC chain on the Realsilk hour.

The Hearst hiring interviewed, for the benefit of the radio audience, an official of the Pinkerton Detective Agency who recited, as he had before the LaFollette committee, the noble aspirations and intention of the Pinkertons. It was not mentioned that Realsilk uses Railway Audit and Inspection for its union-busting.

Future of Civil Liberties

So far the LaFollette committee has avoided pressing the high officials regarding methods they use in fighting unions, just as it has stuck to the union problem rather than the broader one of civil liberties in general. Its motivation is the fear of being cut off at the source of revenue, a favorite hamstringing device for investigations that

become altogether too embarrassing.

The LaFollette committee is not concerned with the theory of civil rights. It merely sees as part of the U. S. Constitution specific guarantees of certain civil privileges granted all citizens, irrespective of race, creed or color and pursues the question of what happens to those rights in the operation of our industrial system. It is the committee's function to furnish the facts upon which to build the theory of civil liberties in our present day economy. In the defense against Fascism the committee performs an invaluable task and the longer it takes the du Ponts and Morgans to realize the fact, the better the chances for the committee to continue unhampered its job in the interest of civil liberties.





Betraying Spanish Democracy

Is our "neutrality" policy in the Spanish situation a betrayal of American traditions? Is our "neutrality" policy designed to help General Franco's Fascists?

By William P. Mangold

ILLUSTRATED BY JOHN GROTH

IF IT HAD not happened, you would say with certainty that it could not happen and that it would be absurd even to think it could. I refer to the extraordinary action recently taken by Congress in approving, with only a single dissenting voice, the so-called neutrality resolution on Spain. The resolution, unprecedented in our history, denies the recognized, friendly and democratic government of Spain the right and opportunity to purchase from us the supplies it so desperately needs in defending itself against a Fascist military revolt. The best way of viewing the extraordinary character of this action and the grave problems that it raises is, I think, to transfer those problems to another situation. There they can be seen more clearly and examined more dispassionately.

Another Situation

Suppose Sir Oswald Mosley and his Black Shirts, with the connivance and support of Hitler and Mussolini, were to start an insurrection in the British Isles. Would the United States then deny to Great Britain the opportunity to obtain such supplies as it might need to save its democratic institutions from Fascism? Would we establish a blockade against the friendly and duly constituted government of Great Britain?

To ask such questions is, I think, to answer them. We know, as certain as anything can be known, that a hostile policy of this character would be inconceivable. We can see clearly that it would be a betrayal of friendly relations and, more significantly, that it would be very likely to lead us to war. For it is most improbable that Great Britain would peacefully permit its rights as a friendly power to be violated. But quite apart from this threat from war, there would be other compelling reasons against such a policy. We would be keenly aware that a Fascist victory in England would make Fascism an ever greater menace to our own country. Therefore we would hardly take any action, such as a pseudo-neutrality blockade, that might lend aid or encouragement to the Fascists in their program of war and aggression.

Yet when we come to Spain it is precisely this hostile policy, with all of its implications, that Congress adopted when it enacted the so-called neutrality resolution. Against the democratically elected and duly recognized government of the Spanish people—and against their government alone—Congress declared an embargo on war supplies. "I hope," said Senator Nye in speaking on the resolution (for which he subsequently voted), "it is not going to be done in the name of neutrality

for, strictly speaking, neutrality it is not." Indeed, neutrality it is not, even broadly speaking. For while we deny aid to the Spanish Loyalists, Franco's own sources of supply, Germany and Italy, are free to come here and buy all the munitions they want. Certainly this cannot be called neutrality without distorting the word beyond all meaning. It is, in fact, discrimination of the most flagrant sort. In practical effect, it amounts to intervention on the side of Franco and his Fascist legions.

Significantly, it was in Germany that this blockade of the legitimate Spanish government was praised to the skies. Writing from Berlin, the New York Times correspondent reported that "The semi-official *Diplomatische Korrespondenz*, which speaks for the Foreign Office, cannot find words strong enough to express its satisfaction with the American stand." That is not difficult to understand. What could be sweeter for the Fascists? Except by sending our own troops to rescue Franco, how could we possibly be more helpful?

What Our "Neutrality" Means

Spain, of course, cannot protest this unfriendly and pro-Fascist neutrality measure as Great Britain or another strong power might—with war. Spain, in the midst of a life and death struggle

with the forces of Fascism, is in no position to fight for her rights in international law. But certainly Spain's unfortunate predicament of the moment does not make Congress's sham neutrality less discriminatory, and certainly it offers no guarantee whatever that the consequences of that policy will not involve us in war. Whether intentionally or not, Congress lined the United States up with the forces of war and Fascism against those of peace and Democracy.

A Plain Little Resolution

It would be bad enough if this hostile policy toward the legitimate Spanish government had been adopted after a careful consideration of all the facts and issues involved. In that event, our denial of aid, though possibly justified, would have been regrettable. It becomes intolerably worse, however, when one realizes that the policy has no sound basis in fact or logic. From the debate in Congress it is clear that many members scarcely knew what they were voting for. The resolution was rushed through in a single afternoon, with little discussion in the Senate and a gag rule enforced in the House, limiting debate to one hour. During the debate in the House, Representative O'Malley of Wisconsin engaged Chairman McReynolds of the

Foreign Relations Committee in the following illuminating conversation:

Mr. O'Malley: Can the gentleman advise how it is possible for us to give adequate study to this resolution when it is not even in print? Some of us do not like to vote for bills when we have not copies of them to study.

Mr. McReynolds: I can give the gentleman a copy . . . but there is not very much to consider, I may say to the gentleman from Wisconsin. It is just a plain little resolution.

But what seemed just a "plain little resolution" to Chairman McReynolds was by no means so plain to others. Senator Pittman, it is true, declared that the facts with regard to Spain were "too well known to require debate." Yet he quickly agreed when Senator Vandenberg made the following devastating criticism of the preamble to the resolution:

I should like to eliminate the preamble, because it deals with many contentious matters that are none of our business. It seems to me that the fewer words we use the better, because the fewer we shall then have to quarrel about or explain, or perhaps some day take back.

Thus the preamble, which summarized the "facts" about Spain that were "too well known to require debate," was eliminated. All of the "whereas" clauses that were intended to tell Congress why an emergency embargo against Spain was necessary were eliminated, because, as Senator Vandenberg so cogently observed, Congress would then have fewer words to take back at a later date.

Now Congress, there is reason to believe, was acting under the illusion that it was helping to keep the country out of war, that it was guaranteeing "peace at any price." It never realized, or at least gave no evidence of it in the debate, that it was being sold a highly speculative, short-term proposition. It ignored completely the dire consequences of a Fascist victory in Spain. The threat to peace in Europe and throughout the world that such a victory would present was never mentioned. A dozen Senators and Representatives did point out that the resolution was an unfriendly act against a friendly government, but their voices were lost in the chorus that shipments to Spain must be stopped to keep us out of war. Not a single Congressman thought of pointing out that there was not the remotest danger of "Spanish government purchases here, carried in Spanish ships, involving us in risk of war."

Rushing Through a Bill

There can be no doubt that President Roosevelt's demand for an "emergency" neutrality against Spain caught Congress completely by surprise. It is unquestionably this fact that explains the appalling exhibition of confused thinking and general ignorance that characterized the "discussion" in both the Senate and the House. It was also this fact that enabled the Administration to rush through its program with such indecent haste. Dr. Harry F. Ward, in the February issue of *The Fight*, accurately described the Admin-

istration's tactics in the following words:

The Administration knew what it was doing. And it dared not have that discussed on the floor of Congress. It wanted to cooperate with Great Britain and France in preventing the conflict in Spain from spreading. In this policy France has to follow Britain. But the British government has another interest. It prefers a Franco dictatorship in Spain to a People's Front government. So do all the reactionaries here who are now working to shut off all aid to the Spanish government from this country.

It is impossible to believe that this policy reflects the real sentiment of the masses of American people. The anti-war and anti-Fascist forces must make this clear both to the Administration and to members of Congress. For here we have a betrayal not only of Spanish Democracy, but of all the traditions and ideals of our own as well. Where would our own Democracy be if it had not been for the generous aid given our Revolutionary soldiers by France and by such patriots as Lafayette, Steuben, Kosciuszko? "At Yorktown," writes Charles A. Beard, "the French soldiers, almost equal to the Americans in number, stood like a rock against the attempts of Cornwallis to break the cordon of besieging armies." And when the final blow was delivered, he continues, the blow that made our Democracy possible, "the honors were shared by the French and American arms." Now France, of course, might have acted differently. She could have said, "Yes, it is true that the Americans are fighting for Democracy, but let us be

neutral, let us place an embargo on arms." In that case, however, she would not have performed what we now look upon as a great service in the cause of Democracy. She would have taken—harsh as it may sound to say it—the selfish and short-sighted attitude that Congress has taken toward the Spanish Loyalists.

Lafayette, Congress and Mussolini

Our history books still do honor to the memory of Lafayette and the other noted volunteers from abroad who joined the Revolutionary Army, but one wonders whether these glowing passages are not rapidly becoming mere lip service and whether, indeed, they will not soon have to be re-written or even expunged. For it is now proposed in Congress that Americans shall not be permitted to offer their services to help defend Spanish Democracy. In brief, we have apparently departed so far from the ideals that prompted Lafayette and his fellow patriots to come to our aid that our government may not permit American citizens to render a similar service to a Democracy in distress—even if it means the destruction of that Democracy by Fascism.

It is remarkable that the supposed dangers involved in aiding the Spanish government were not noticed when the question of sending oil to Mussolini in the Ethiopian war arose. Then, apparently, trade was quite legitimate and safe. It is likewise significant that the enormous shipments of munitions to the Chinese government (to be used

(Continued on page 24)



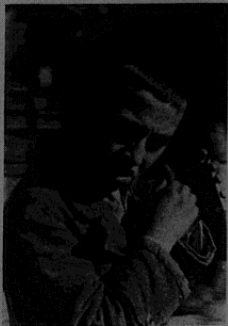
FIGHT, March 1937

The anatomy of anti-Semitism is examined, various palliatives considered by the writer here, and all but one rejected as futile

Take Profits Out of Prejudice

By James Waterman Wise

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROBERT GESSNER



A poor Jewish boy selling cigars on the streets of Warsaw, Poland

ceived as an anatomy of anti-Semitism, this book is a political and social geography of World Jewry. To write it, the author not only read and studied the vital statistics of Jewish life—population, employment, migrations, occupations—he lived them. He traveled over half the world, met with Jews in places as distant as Chicago and Kiev, came to know Jews as different in type as the *Lutmenschen* of Warsaw, the Zionist executives in Jerusalem, the Jewish exiles from Germany in London and Tel Aviv. Among the countless variants he encountered in his travels—physical and intellectual—the author found one, and only one, constant: The attempt by reactionary and Fascist forces everywhere to scapegoatize the Jew; to evoke popular hatred against him and under the smokescreen of that hatred, to further militarist, predatory and imperialist plots against the peoples of which he is a part.

The Universal Whipping-Boy

THE TREATMENT of its Jews has aptly been termed the barometer of a nation's civilization. Certainly it is indicative that the Golden Age of Spain preceded its expulsion of the Jews, that Cromwell's liberty-loving, if puritanical, England opened its doors to them, that the egalitarian ideals of the French Revolution went hand in hand with Jewish emancipation. Conversely the blackest periods of reaction have coincided with the darkest hours of Jewish history too frequently to be accidental: The Inquisition of the Middle Ages, the century long persecutions under the Czars, the "bloodless" pogroms of Nazi Germany.

As a Jew, however, I somehow reject the barometric simile. Though doubtless accurate in the past, it implies a too passive present rôle. A barometer records but does not resist pressure. It foretells, it does not determine the weather. Yet against the on-rushing Fascist flood, what is needed are not instruments of measurement but of defense—dikes, high and impregnable.

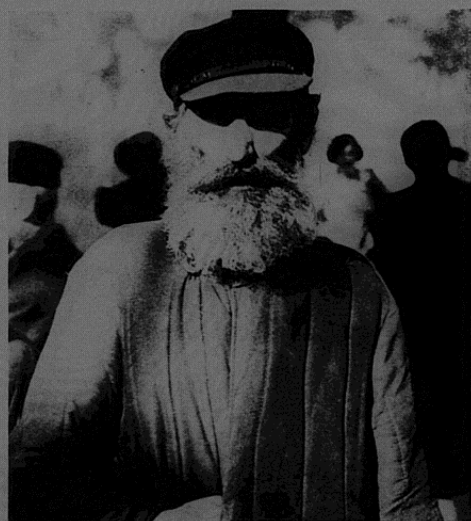
That Jews must help erect them is the thesis of a brilliantly written volume by Mr. Robert Gessner (*Some of My Best Friends Are Jews*, by Robert Gessner; Farrar and Rinehart). Con-

sider the question as it affects the Jew here in the United States. Mr. Gessner makes clear that American reaction is quite as prepared to throw minorities to the wolves as it is of any other country. He states: "I had learned that anti-Semitism is not an importation, nor are its roots planted in a country by foreign hands. I was mainly interested in organic anti-Semitism which is an integral part of the structure of America as America functions today. Anti-Semitism is not a racket, although racketeers like Harry A. Jung of Chicago may direct it; they are puppets, I had long since learned, in the hands of big manipulators who are not whipping up anti-Semitism as a means of making money but rather of keeping their money. . . . Not all the Fascist or potentially Fascist societies are yet anti-Semitic, but one does not have to be a statistician, or even a reporter, to prove that anti-Semitism in America is increasing. On the contrary, it cannot be overestimated. Even among show people along Broadway

Rising Anti-Semitism in America

Consider the question as it affects the Jew here in the United States. Mr.

employs the identical phraseology of the discredited "Protocol" forgeries, and of Streicher's *Stürmer*; that there too it is being employed to divert Protestants and Catholics, workers and farmers and soldiers from the economic misery under which they exist, from the factual slavery into which they are being plunged. I recognize on the basis of this and the thousand other examples which could be adduced that racial prejudice is no longer a genuine expression of group differences anywhere, but a trick of political and economic enslavement everywhere; that persecution persists because it pays to persecute; that the problem which Jews (and the far greater number of Gentiles who are ultimately the victims of this commercialized hatred) face is: *How to take the profits out of prejudice?*



A typical Jew of Russia's old regime

March 1937, FIGHT

the word 'Jew' has become a synonym for 'bastard.' The channels of the United States mails are being flooded with newspapers, pamphlets, broadsides, books—all forms of printed material—that are expressly anti-Semitic. The Edmundson Economic Service, for instance, has distributed over 5,000,000 pieces of anti-Semitic propaganda, its publications listing over 140 titles. . . . America's first nation-wide convention of anti-Semites was held in Asheville, North Carolina, on August 12, 1936, and after a hate-the-Jew orgy of several days, the delegates adjourned with the plan to convene shortly in Washington, D. C., and in Chicago.

These are the facts, neither over-emphasized nor exaggerated in importance, which the American Jew must face. There are alternative possibilities, differing programs and measures of meeting the rising tide of anti-Semitism, and though all but one of them seems to me futile, each has its exponents. Let us examine them.

Fallacy of "Assimilation"

There is first the policy, if such it may be called, of nihilism. It consists in politely ignoring what it fears to face. Hear no anti-Semitism; see no anti-Semitism; speak of no anti-Semitism, it implodes. Resistance, even verbal, appears to it dangerous, and the acme of its wisdom is the unreasoned hope that prejudice against the Jew will somehow evaporate like mist in the morning, nor leave a rack behind.

Such a policy is based on two tragic misapprehensions. One is that "assimilation" (or self-repudiation, to give this type of "assimilation" its correct name) will render the Jew invisible to his persecutors. The contrary is the fact. The finest fury of Nazism was directed at the "concealed" Jew, the "Germanized" Semite. It is the outspoken Jewish nationalist who has fared least intolerably there. The other misapprehension concerns the intensity and duration of the anti-Semitic movement in this country. It would be comforting to imagine that it is an evanescent phenomenon; that it will blow over. But the cold facts are that this prejudice has been so deeply implanted, is being cultivated and organized on so vast a scale, and is so inseparable from and indispensable to reactionary politics and economics, that its automatic disappearance or even diminution is impossible. No, anti-Semitism cannot be ostriched out of existence.

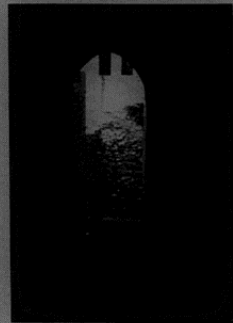
A second policy of countering anti-Semitism, suggested in all good faith by its proponents, is the application of palliative or remedial measures among the religiously-minded and better educated groups in the country. It includes such methods as Inter-Confessional Conferences, Good-Will Tours, appeals to the conscience of Christianity, and publications scientifically disproving the Aryan theories of Hitlerism. I do not imply that there is neither virtue nor value in these devices. They can undoubtedly accomplish some good and certainly no harm. Yet they are by their very nature so limited in scope, so restricted in effect,

as to have no vital impact one way or another. Those to whom the anti-Semites make their shrewd and insidious appeal do not attend Good-Will Conferences; nor have they the requisite training to follow the academic disproof of Nazi lies. Their economic fears rather than their religious faiths are the soil in which prejudice is sown.

The danger implicit in the palliative measures I have named, lies not in what they are but in what they are not. Inadequate to meet the real menace of anti-Semitism, yet they create the illusion of meeting it—thus generating a false sense of security and deflecting imperative efforts from other and more effective channels. You cannot cure a cancer with cosmetics; their application is at best a pathetic gesture; at worst a tragic blunder.

Retreat into Tradition

A third suggested policy of dealing with crescent prejudice may be described as one of "isolation." Its advocates would have the Jew withdraw from the world and from his enemies into such inner peace and comfort as he can create for and within himself. This recessionary program takes a number of forms, although the motivation is similar in all of them. One such is the flight from the realities of Jewish life here and now to the building of Palestine as a National Jewish Homeland. Let me make clear that I am not criticizing the justly attempted on the part of hopelessly persecuted European Jews to find refuge



An old street in Jerusalem

and salvation in their ancestral home. But to consider Palestine as a solution for American Jews, or even to bend the major energies and efforts of American Jews in that direction, is another matter. And I submit that undue emphasis on a question so remote from the urgent and immediate issues which face the Jew in the United States, blunts his perception of them and weakens his power to meet them.

Another form of "isolationism" is the retreat into Jewish tradition, whether religious or cultural. It is based upon a philosophy of present hopelessness and future despair. It finds help and healing only in the past, and urges that in fleeing to it Jews will at least fortify themselves against the evils which are inescapable. The recently produced spectacle drama, *The Eternal Road*, presents this point of view with pathos and poetry. It fails to note, however, that as Jews have emerged further and further into the modern world, they have progressively lost the traditional and theological characteristics of their past. Nor is it possible arbitrarily or synthetically to recreate them. What distinguishes the Jew today is not his religion or his culture, but the fact that he constitutes a recognizable minority. It is this fact which his enemies seize hold of and exploit. And it is in terms of this fact that he must meet and answer them. Toward that end neither traditional piety nor a knowledge of Hebrew will help him, though they may possess other and intrinsic value.

Futile Concept of Unity

A final form in which "isolation" is urged, is the establishment of Jewish Unity in opposition to anti-Semitism. The "unity" which is sought varies

(Continued on page 30)



Jewish children

FIGHT, March 1937

Radio

Flood covers the air with glory
 . . . Coughlin scabs on auto
 strikers . . . Hitler gets the works

THE RADIO covered itself with glory and won an untold amount of good-will from the American people during the recent Ohio and Mississippi River floods. Thousands of lives and millions of dollars worth of property undoubtedly were saved due to the way that networks and local stations cooperated with the authorities in the stricken area. Those who complain of censorship, blatant advertising and shoddy programs now must admit that the broadcasters also know how to meet an emergency.

The bitter rivalry between the Columbia and National chains was forgotten when, for the first time, they allowed their stations in the flooded area to set up inter-city networks which turned over all of their facilities to the police, the Red Cross and other relief agencies in broadcasting warnings and directing rescue work.

W.S.M., NBC station at Nashville, broke another precedent by supplying power for the crippled CBS outlet. WHAS in Louisville. Lucrative commercial programs were sacrificed by the score in order that the American people might learn what was happening.

W.N.E.W., W.M.C.A. and W.H.N. in New York cooperated by carrying news-bulletins all night during critical periods. W.L.W. in Cincinnati raised more than \$100,000 for the sufferers and stations all over the country followed suit with at least \$1,000,000. Kate Smith and other noted performers conducted benefit performances and contributed heavily out of their own pockets.

Broadcasts from the flooded sections were highly dramatic and effective as refugees and relief officials gave first hand descriptions of their experiences. The two highlights of the world's greatest—and most legitimate—amateur hour occurred when Mayor Neville Miller of Louisville accused federal troops encamped near the city of slacking on their job of protecting lives and property, and asked that nearby towns send police, and when Gov. A. B. Chandler broke with tradition by placing Kentucky under martial law over the radio.

Amusing sidelights were the elimination of "Old Man River," "River

Stay Way from My Door" and other river songs from the networks during the crisis, and the appeal made by WHN to the untold thousands of Kentucky Colonels floating about the country to contribute \$50,000 for suffering citizens of their adopted state.

Father Coughlin rose to an emergency, too, during the past month. Soon after the General Motors strike broke out, he forgot his promise never to go back on the air and set up his old network for the purpose of giving aid and comfort to his bosses, the automobile magnates.

Since then he has devoted his time to making vicious attacks on the strikers and their union. All of which might have been excusable to those who know and distrust Coughlin if he had not pretended that his first program was in the nature of a tribute to the late Bishop Michael J. Gallagher, who practically sponsored his pre-election broadcasts.

All American networks refused to broadcast Adolf Hitler's recent speech to the Reichstag, Columbia is reputed to have informed the Nazi propaganda office that it would carry the talk if, in exchange, German stations would broadcast a message from Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Despite this rebuff, Berlin practically

burned up the cables with appeals. Just before the talk began Goebbels humbled himself to the extent of offering to provide a resumé in English. This also was refused.

We like to offer a friendly hand to our new contemporaries, especially since many of them have such a short life. But there is nothing good to be said for *Commentator*, a new digest edited by Lowell Thomas and presenting the written opinions of well-known radio commentators.

In the first issue Upton Close pays veiled tribute to Japan's new "anti-Communist" alliance with Germany; John B. Kennedy makes a vicious attack on Joe Louis and declares he should not be allowed to become world's heavyweight boxing champion because of his race; H. V. Kaltenborn bows down before the ghost of Unamuno, the late Spanish philosopher who betrayed his liberal principles by selling out to General Franco's Fascists; Fred C. Kelly makes a plea for more stupidity in American life and George E. Sokolsky writes on the subject: "John Lewis—Dictator."

Besides being vicious, *Commentator* is dull, a fact which should set a rest for all time the contention of radio analysts that their talks would be hot stuff if only their sponsors would let them speak their minds. Now it can be told. They are not minds but merely mouthpieces—of reaction.

The appearance of *Commentator* is more than counterbalanced by the disappearance of the Affiliated Broadcasting Company's regional network in the Middle West. Formed about a year ago by Samuel Insull of unhalloved memory, the ABC chain was intended as an outlet for propaganda by the big utilities companies. About \$350,000 was sunk into the 22-station chain, but the public remembered Sammy's past and refused to tune in.

A two-day strike at W.B.N.X., Bronx, N. Y., was won by the American Radio

Telegraphists Association after they kept the station silent for 14 hours. The engineers obtained union recognition, a 40-hour week, vacations with pay, sick leave benefits, time-and-a-half for overtime and pay increases from \$27.50 to the still inadequate minimum of \$35 a week. A.R.T.A. is now engaged in unionizing four stations in Brooklyn: W.B.B.C., W.V.F.W., W.A.R.D. and W.L.T.H.

The strike served to show the greatly increased strength of the union and also to call public attention to the disgracefully low wages paid by the radio industry as a whole. This is real progress.

Even the radio editors gag at Major Bowes and his professional "Amateurs." Final results of the New York *World Telegram's* 1937 Poll of 252 editors fail to find place for the Gentleman with the Gong.

But the Major has got his revenge. Lucille Browning, Metropolitan opera contralto, once appeared with the "Amateurs." Miss Browning doesn't attribute her rise to fame to that performance, but the Major isn't so bashful.

The static is awful down in Washington this month. Charges of censorship, sabotage and patronage are flying in all directions.

Ship strikers on the West Coast have accused NBC of refusing the air to union leaders while letting the ship-owners talk at will.

The United Auto Workers in Detroit charge that local stations are discriminating against the General Motors strikers.

The Civil Liberties Union is sponsoring a bill by Rep. Byron Scott of California which would prevent such occurrences in the future.

Rumors continue that the government is going to investigate the high-handed practices of the Federal Communications Commission. Charges have been made in the House that the FCC shows favoritism, disregard for law and amenability to political influence.

F.C.C. Commissioner George Harry Payne's statement at Harvard that the radio lobby situation is as bad as the Teapot Dome Oil Scandal, has been followed by Rep. Emanuel Celler's declaration that the government was giving its short wave channels to the networks for use in South American broadcasts.

And it is being pointed out that the Department of Commerce, C.C.C., W.P.A., Office of Education, Indian Bureau, R.E.A., S.E.C., R.A., Congressional Library, Home Owners Loan, F.H.A., Children's Bureau and Department of Agriculture are using the radio free for programs ballyhooing administration activities.

—GEORGE SCOTT



All American networks refused to broadcast Hitler's recent speech and Father Coughlin is once more blessing General Motors

March 1937, FIGHT

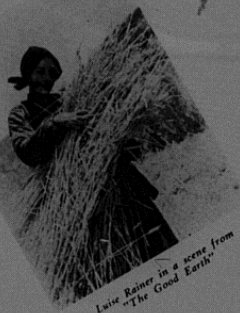
Neutrality in Ethiopia and Neutrality in Spain

By William Gropper

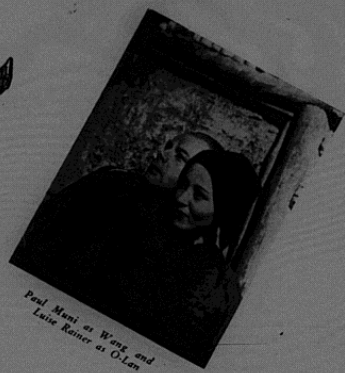
FIGHT, March 1937

Movies

At last a force for good . . .
A film of power, dignity and
beauty . . . An exciting newsreel



Luise Rainer in a scene from
"The Good Earth"



Paul Muni as Wang, and
Luise Rainer as O-Lan

Spain in Flames

DESERVING of the widest possible distribution in this country is the film program entitled *Spain in Flames*, which was shown at New York's Cameo Theatre.

The program consisted of two films. *The Fight for Freedom*, a documentary exposition of the background of the present struggle prepared by Spanish government cameramen, and *No Pasaran (They Shall Not Pass)*, an exciting newsreel of the rebellion.

It will be a long time before we forget *No Pasaran*, with its gruesome pictures of Madrid children killed by bombs dropped by Italian airplanes. There was one shot which will remain for ever in our memory, the picture of a blood-spattered mother and child, their broken bodies clasped together in an embrace as their souls were prematurely launched into eternity.

Features

THE GOOD EARTH, adapted from the novel by Pearl Buck and brought to the screen by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer under the aegis of the late Irving Thalberg, is a film of such startling beauty, such dignity and power as to command the profound admiration of every one who looks upon the motion picture as an art form rather than as a business. There is majesty in this film, and nobility and grandeur. There is simplicity, and innocence and a heart-breaking poignancy.

Its greatness lies in its very simplicity. It strikes at such things as happiness and despair, hunger and feasting, love and passion and sacrifice, things that are the basic foundations of all human behaviour. It is not so much the tale of the Chinese farmer and his struggle for existence on his little patch of land as it is of the joys and sorrows of all mankind.

To the roles of Wang and O-Lan, his wife, Paul Muni and Luise Rainer bring magnificent talents, realizing the full implications of the film. There is an earthiness about them, a brooding timelessness that only great artists, working in a truly great medium, can achieve. Surely no stranger rôles were ever committed to any Hollywood picture players. That Mr. Muni and Miss Rainer can bring the Chinese farmer and his wife to such rich and flowering vitality is but additional testimony that they are among the most brilliant performers on the screen.

Although some readers may not feel that the full social import of the novel was achieved, it was not altogether ignored. There was one vibrant line worth repeating. Wang hears that there is a revolution, and asks what a revolution is. A neighbor answers, in effect, "I don't know but I think it has something to do with bread."

The more mundane cinema offerings of the past month included the Great Garbo, coughing and suffering as the historic *Camille*, a Fritz Lang item about ex-convicts and their woeful clashes with society, a Warner Brothers toray into the Stavisky scandals of France, a 14-year-old soprano named Deanna Durbin, a Shirley Temple number, and one European attempt at whimsy and impressionism, entitled *The Robber Symphony*.

Of them all, it is Garbo, of course, who lays claim to first consideration, simply because she is Garbo and more simply because she is still the First Actress of her generation. Once again she brings us the mystical fire that marks her every appearance; once again she rises above her surroundings and imparts glory and magnificence to another piece of Hollywood tripe. The creaking old Dumas tale brought snickers and guffaws as it went into its more lurid episodes. Garbo herself brought only worship and awe. She

is still the finest actress now alive.

For the purposes of the record, it might be noted that the Armand of the film is the current idol of the day, Robert Taylor, and that some of the picture players. That Mr. Muni and Miss Rainer can bring the Chinese farmer and his wife to such rich and flowering vitality is but additional testimony that they are among the most brilliant performers on the screen.

The Fritz Lang piece, ungrammatically called *You Only Live Once*, started out as a vivid indictment of a smug and entrenched society turning its back on released convicts, but then slid off into pyrotechnic melodrama revolving around a bank holdup, a jail break, and a mad dash for freedom. Mr. Lang apparently still has the violent social sensitivity that he showed us last year in *Fury*, but this time he was hampered by the script. Henry Fonda and Sylvia Sydney are the two principals of the tale, but neither of them is very important to its development.

As for the rest of the month, you can take it or leave it. *L'Affaire Stavisky*—known locally as *Stolen Holiday*—had Claude Rains as the swindling financier and Kay Francis as the woman in the case. Miss Francis was the most important figure in the whole film was the man who designed her clothes. She shows them off very nicely. The 14-year-old vocalist was Deanna Durbin, who also sings over the radio, and the Shirley Temple number was *Stowaway*, in which Mistress Temple gives utterance to some mellifluous Chinese proverbs.

—ROBERT SHAW

March 1937, FIGHT

We Love Dictators

The Romeos have found their Juliets. Our industrialists are going in for romance with a big R

By Hy Kravif

ILLUSTRATED BY VICTOR SZÜCS

ONE OF the most frequent refrains which sang out from the editorial pages up to election day was, "We in the United States want no Fascist dictatorship. It is incompatible with Democracy."

Agreed that Nazism and Fascism are enemies of Democracy. It follows therefore that the American admirers of Hitler and Mussolini are foes of Democracy. Further, it seems reasonable to expect that the same press which sang out so loudly the refrain which I have paraphrased above should have been equally loud in denouncing American champions of Fascist dictators. Was it? No.

Why? Because the refrain was not consistent with other policies expounded on the editorial pages and in the editorialized news reports of those papers. While they cried loudly for Democracy, about eighty-five per cent of the newspapers of the nation supported the reactionary Hearst-du Pont-Liberty League outfit. The same group in which we find most of the dictator-lovers. This is all made clear when we realize that big business, as George Seldes pointed out in *Freedom of the Press*, controls the majority of American newspapers. Let us see what these men, whose interests the dominant press generally reflects, really think about Fascist and Nazi dictatorships.

A Blessing from U. S. Steel

Just two days after the election, for example, a dinner was held in New York City to welcome Mussolini's new ambassador to this country, Fulvio Suvich. The usual number of big shots were in attendance, among them Myron C. Taylor, chairman of our

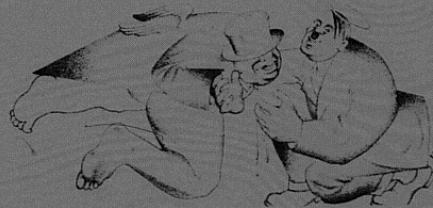
leading anti-labor giant—United States Steel Corporation. The following day the press reported Mr. Taylor as having said that the whole world was forced to "admire the success of Mussolini in disciplining the nation," to which he added that "those who have had the pleasure of frequent visits [Mr. Taylor has a palatial villa, *Schifanoia*, at Florence to which he repairs each Spring] know the great advances that have been made. . . ."

Mr. Taylor concluded his tribute by blessing the conquest of Ethiopia in the following words: "Today a new Italian empire faces its responsibilities as the guardian and administrator of an alien backward nation of 10,000,000 souls."

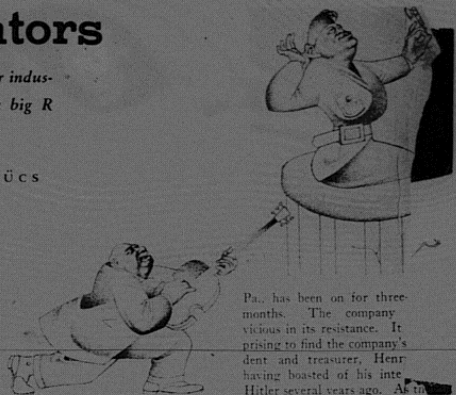
Mr. Taylor's fellow steel magnate, Charles M. Schwab, chairman of Bethlehem Steel Company, has frequently hailed the virtues of Hitler on returning from Europe, as Robert Forsythe reported in these pages some months ago. Not only has Schwab "always been a dictator in his own right," but under him Bethlehem pioneered in installing company unions in the steel industry; "unions" which operate under the Hitler principle of forcing workers to the polls under the "leadership" of the employers.

General Motors and Hitler

General Motors is another of our prize labor-hating corporations. And so we found James D. Mooney, a vice-president, writing in *General Motors World* in the Spring of 1935 of his visit to Germany. He described *der Fuehrer* as leading the German people "not by force or fear but by intelligent planning and execution of fundamentally sound principles of government."



FIGHT, March 1937



General Manager Charles E. Soronson of Ford Motor Co. added his voice to the chorus last June when he said: "As for Germany, she's in marvelous shape and looks prosperous everywhere."

Taylor and Schwab are naturally Republican supporters. But we also have several leading Roosevelt backers who bow to no one in their respect for Fascists. Take A. P. Giannini, California chain banker and large stockholder in National City Bank. Giannini, one syndicate writer reports, "is a strong admirer of Mussolini. On various occasions he has given American friends letters of introduction to Il Duce, who has invariably shown great cordiality and courtesy to people armed with these credentials." We are further informed that "Mr. Giannini is an unofficial but valuable liaison officer between the Fascist government and American financial contacts."

Then we have James W. Gerard, honorary chairman of the Democratic National Committee's finance committee and contributor of \$15,000 to Roosevelt's 1936 campaign. On his return from Europe last August, Mr. Gerard told a Hearst ship news reporter that "it will be better for Spain if the insurgents [i.e. Fascists] win." Such a statement is not surprising from our war-time ambassador to Germany. On August 11th, 1935, the New York *Times* reported that Mr. Gerard had a half-hour audience with Mussolini, after which Gerard said, "He is a man I always wanted to meet. I held great admiration for him in the past and hold still greater admiration for him now."

Why They Love Dictators

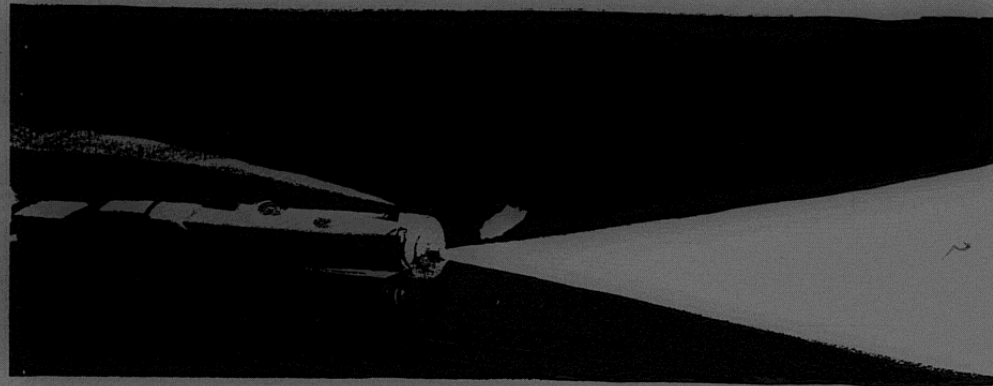
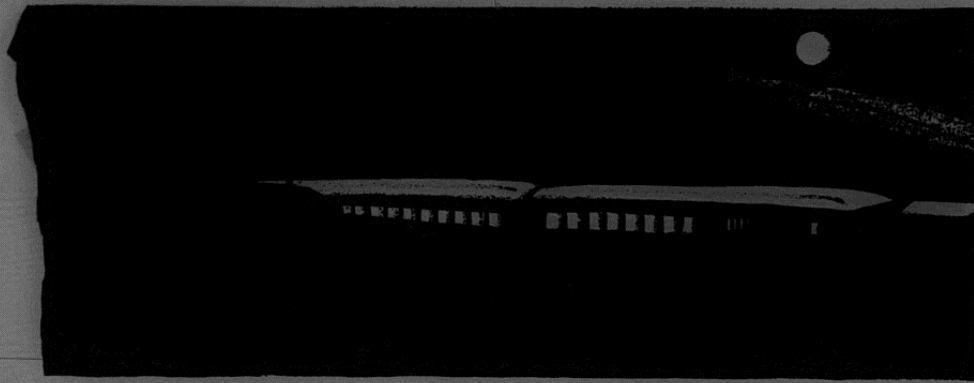
As I write this, the hard fought strike of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers against the Berkshire Knitting Mills near Reading,

Pa., has been on for three months. The company vicious in its resistance. It prising to find the company's dent and treasurer, Henr having boasted of his inte Hitler several years ago. As the *Eagle* reported it, September 1934, Janssen declared: "Germany no strikes of any kind or prospects of strikes." When radicals try to start trouble that sort there, the governm tent gets after them right away a in they are soon taken care of. . . . The fer is doing wonderful work in Germany and the country is being wisely governed."

The late Brig-Gen. Charles H. Sherrill, one of the three American representatives on the International Olympic Committee, achieved a railway as a leading spokesman of costs forces wishing to hold the general Olympics in Naziland. R-out equip was at the same time vice-proubort, the director of the Berkshire Flenmed coal Associates, one of the largest in quiet nung combines in the (suburb of the mills in nine cities in three land states. Sherrill had been apologist of dictators from of War lin) to Hitler. Under the ie beginning, Gen. Sherrill Exalts Il Duce aganda Fascism," for example, the *New Times* of November 27th, 1935, utter ported: "Telling of the story was suppression of Communism, he cre 'I wish to God he'd come ood, well-and do the same thing.' . . . ment on

Other textile magnates h railroads equally outspoken. Joseph C and they president of E. Gerli & Cove up the dealers, a few years ago 26) government "should compel of labor disputes," as the *D Record*, September 27th, ported. "As for the logic of postal, Mr. Gerli points to the enge of the Italian labor during the last six years, strikes were becoming throughout Italian industry solini government stepped breach with a decree mak tion compulsory." Gerli sa

(Continued on page 17)



WHEN America entered the World War, there was an indispensable industrial army of workers in railroad service throughout the country. They numbered approximately one million men. Upward of 80 per cent of this great number were members of craft unions. The shopcrafts comprised some 60 per cent of the total number of all employees. They were classified as boilermakers, electricians, tinsmiths, black- and railway carmen. The remainder the total were known as non-union employees; namely, engine-men, firemen, brakemen, etc. Our numerical strength formed implicit faith in the unionized labor. We had a the big rich in conflict and As it seemed we had been divided state for a full est of absolute unity. Now war drums began beating at was our own zero hour.

defining the rights of labor in organizing activities. Section Six of the Clayton Anti-trust Act gave us this assurance:

That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purpose of mutual help.

And Section Twenty: That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court in the United States . . . in any case between an employer and employees . . . involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property . . . for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law.

And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful means so to do . . . or from peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from working.

And our bill of rights goes on to assure a defendant in a contempt citation case, issued only within the court's power as defined by the Clayton Act, a trial by a jury of his own peers. Surely, in light of past court records, wherein twelve convictions of organized labor were obtained in a period of seven years under the Sherman Anti-trust Act, as against only one of business combinations, the intent of the Clayton Act was something not only to enhance our resolution to win the War, but to give us an added hope of perpetuating our long cherished union ideals.

Workers of a Special Class
Wisely, the war-time Federal Administrator of Railroads aided and abetted active organizing of all rail-

road employees. Of course the goodwill of the railroad administration was not without a measure of political expediency. It was much easier to deal with nationally chosen representatives than to quell scattered, sporadic strikes here and there over the country. Then, too, the labor leader acted as a sort of protective buffer between the Administration and the workers. If the value of our dollar shrank beneath the magic wand of the profiteer, most of the responsibility was certain to fall upon the leaders of labor. Upon them fell the blame for inadequate wages.

But we, the workers ourselves, were never to lose sight of the need of sacrifice. We were pamphleteered as workers of a special class. We were constantly kept aware of our great national responsibility. Our self-sacrifice must at least be commensurate to that of the boys in the trenches. We were told emphatically that we were fighting a great war of reconstruction. A new order was attendant upon a quick decisive victory. It was imperative that we mix our hope of winning the War with hopes of a new social life. Imbued with this spirit, we bought Liberty Bonds till it hurt. From behind the lines, as most hateful non-combatants, we hurled contraband at the common enemy. We rushed freight and troops across the country. Foodstuffs, horses, cattle, shells and cannon—all had one urgent destination. We wanted incidentally to extend our union gains made since the War began in August, 1914.

Before America had entered the War, the Transportation Brotherhoods had already accomplished an epoch-making mile-stone in the annals of organized labor. By a concerted action of all the train service organizations a standard eight-hour day was secured for all railroad employees. The Adam-

Railroad Labor

"We rushed troops, across the country during the war and this is what happened to us." by an organizer of the

By W. P. I

ILLUSTRATED BY R

son Eight-hour Law was signed September 4th, 1916, two days before the date set for a nation-wide strike. In some parts of the country there was a temporary tie-up of transportation, due to the high morale and determination of the workers. Yet it seemed for a time that the law was going to be ineffective, because there was no penalty for time worked in excess of eight hours. The railroads, later, when we were in the World War, played on our patriotic sentiments, and squarely put the length of the work-day up to the individual or group of employees. After all, it seemed we had only a nominal eight-hour day.

Eight-Hour Day and Patriotism

Our leaders finally decided to push a demand for a punitive overtime rate of pay. With the same unity of purpose, the rank and file as well as the leaders of the Brotherhoods pushed the issue. And in due course, the organizations secured a time-and-one-half rate for time worked in excess of eight hours in any twenty-four. Included in

foodstuffs, cannons in the War and this is An informative article by Switchmen's Union

Robinson

JESSELL T. LIMBACH

the agreement the shopcrafts were also allowed the same punitive rate for Sundays and holidays. But due to the war-time indispensability of train service, the concession did not apply to the train service employees.

Nevertheless, our eight-hour day achievement was the first glimpse of the new Paradise. Heretofore, we had only the protection of the inhuman Hours of Service Act, a so-called sixteen-hour law.

Added to this, railroad labor was to have its own tribunal to adjust disputes arising out of working conditions or existing agreements. By March, 1918, Adjustment Board Number One and Board Number Two were established, each consisting of equal representation of employer, employee, and the public. Board Number One was to consider train service employees' grievances only, while Number Two had within its jurisdiction the cases arising among the various shopcrafts. Both tribunals were well aware of the necessity of eliminating every delay in arriving at their awards

and decisions. Their dockets revolved with due respect to time, and were nevertheless kept well-stocked. While the pamphleteers kept us sympathetic and cooperative, the profiteers kept us always mindful of our goal, secondary to winning the war. Step by step, we kept moving toward the absolute solidarity of railroad labor. So we eventually arrived at another singular achievement. Through action taken before the Adjustment Boards, we secured standard wage rates and uniform working conditions on all railroads in the country. Approximately one million men were working under union rules formulated by their own duly elected representatives.

Now government operation of the railroads had proved a boon to organized labor. The need of making our union gains secure in peace time became apparent. Our strength must be used in some manner to make government operation permanent. So finally the "Plumb Plan" was devised.

Glen Plumb was a railroad union statistician; and with A. B. Garrison, then head of the Order of Railroad Conductors, he presented his plan to Congress. There was much that was feasible about his plan, enough to throw great fear among the banker-owners of the railroads. And, what was worse, the facts and figures of Plumb's presentation openly revealed the devious ways in which the roads were using the privileges of the war-time emergency legislation to mulct the government of money.

Government Supplied Profits

The steady increase in efficiency of operation made very apparent the railroads' increasing profits. Trains were run over the shortest distance between their point of origin and their destination. A solid sixty-car train of

flour was run from Minneapolis, Minn., to the Atlantic seaboard over eight different railroads, where in pre-war days only five lines of a greater distance overall might have been used.

This concession of so routing freight, granted the roads by setting aside the anti-trust laws, made it plainly evident to the practical eye that the companies were making reasonable, if not exorbitant profits.

However, there seemed to be some discrepancy between what was taking place on the right-of-ways and the reports of the railroads in Washington. There, the railroads were pleading "poverty." But these were days of sacrifice and high costs. Maybe the roads had emptied their coffers in helping to win the War. At least Congress, in session on April 1st, 1918, had good reason to think so. On that date, W. G. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads, reported to Congress that a total of \$294,845,170 had been distributed among eighty-five different railroads within a period of six months. And in April, 1919, about one year later, the Director General asked Congress for a "deficiency appropriation" of \$750,000,000.

Railroad officials, high in the operating staffs over the country, were apparently doing all they could to justify the need of Federal money. Their most obvious purpose, it seemed, was to build new equipment with appropriated money and store it away for future use. The rehabilitation of old rolling stock was given particular attention. Not that old junked box-cars and locomotives were needed to win the war; rather their rebuilding opened many channels through which the railroads could pocket incidental profits.

Car repair shops sprang up like mushrooms over the country. Practically no capital stock was needed to set these shops in operation. The railroads had ample idle real estate on hand. Old scrap rails were laid in and around the marsh lands. No roofs or structures are necessary in car repairing. Car repair workmen work out in the open and carry their own tools. Replacement material, since the anti-trust laws were supplanted, could be purchased from concerns that had a directorate hook-up with the railroads. This made the fixing of costs a matter of profits. In time, general orders to repair all worn-out equipment were prevalent throughout the country. Every old "condemned" coal and boxcar was rushed from its quiet resting place to the hubbub of the mushroom repair shop.

Railroads and the Spoils of War

Withal, the railroads were beginning to release a barrage of propaganda against government control. The "Plumb Plan" must be proved an utter fallacy. Now that war victory was assured, the banker-owners were reluctant to sell their fully-stocked, well-equipped roads to the government on the installment plan. The railroads were their spoils of war, and they were determined not to give up the

(Continued on page 26)

The law in its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets and to steal bread. —*Charles Fourier*

Books

Our contest is not only whether we ourselves shall be free, but whether there shall be left to mankind an asylum for civil liberty. —*Samuel Adams*

Occupied Territory

INVASION, by Maxence van der Meersch; translated from the French by Gerard Hopkins; 707 pages; Viking Press; \$3.00.

NORTHERN France near the Belgian border during the earliest years of the World War is the setting for M. van der Meersch's long novel of life in the occupied territories. A young man, who was only eleven years old at the time the events related in his novel were in progress, M. van der Meersch has successfully consummated what must have been an extremely arduous task of documentation and inquiry. *Invasion* is practically a historical novel.

His work, however, does not achieve the stature of Louis Guilloux's recent *Bitter Victory*, despite its great length, the multiplicity of characters it exploits (there are some 56 main characters), and the relatively skilful treatment of his intricate task of weaving these many narratives into a finished fabric. The novel is so long and the human territory it covers so broad, that what is gained in scope is lost in intensity. The difficulty of retaining in the memory the previous episodes in the lives of the many characters makes it inevitable in this instance that what cumulative power the narrative may inherently possess, is dissipated in the course of the long story.

It is a story of a group of towns in the vicinity of Lille, which felt with great severity the hand of the invader. When the Germans came the lives of these people assumed a new and violent pattern which was so alien to their normal sensibilities that many were wrecked in the process, physically, morally and spiritually. The great demoralization they experienced as conquered people, the severance of their ties with their homeland—although they were Frenchmen living on French soil—warped them and served to intensify their normal potentialities for good and for evil. Faced with the brutality of a section of their captors, some replied in kind; others gave way to despair; others organized secretly to obtain information from the battle-lines and faced firing-squads as a result; still others capitulated to the desires of the enemy and furnished him,

openly or on the sly, with the goods that should have been saved for their own people. With a hysterical cry of patriotic fervor, a group of manufacturers refused to operate their mills for the benefit of their conquerors; and conspired with them to profit by their stores and the miserable official rations from the citizens.

It is stated by the publishers that the author is "not a propagandist; he does not take sides," and this is true. So little does he take sides in the relation of a series of episodes that demands the taking of sides, that it is possible the reader may find himself totally unmoved by his narrative. Van der Meersch writes with skill; he is a keen observer of what goes on around him, and yet he gives to the relation of his human dramas an equality of emphasis and attention that does not display "the understanding of the artist" so much as the studied (and prescribed) "subjectivity" of the reporter. Chapter follows chapter and there is no shift in emphasis, no modulation of values, whether the author is describing the slow starvation of the Senneville women on their hill, the degradation of young Zidore Duydt, the boxer, a meeting of the manufacturers of Roubaix or the despair of Judith Lacombe when her German lover deserts her. As a result of this "objectivity," there is not a character of major proportions whose features remain in the reader's mind, nor a situ-

ation whose solution he is anxious to observe.

M. van der Meersch's abstinence from "propaganda" makes one desire, in this instance, the partisanship of even so poor an "artist" as Zola, the misery of whose working-class characters could move the reader to a comparable misery. —*ALVAH C. BESSIE*

On the Spanish Situation

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY, 1930-1936, by E. Allison Peers; 247 pages; Oxford University Press; \$2.50.

BEHIND THE SPANISH BARRICADES, by John Langdon-Davies; 275 pages; Robert M. M. Bride and Co.; \$2.75.

A GREAT help in understanding the news from Spain is knowledge about the Spaniards, their economic and political development in relationship to the outbreak of the military rebellion last summer. To date, these two books present two of the best popular accounts of Spanish developments as they relate to the civil war. Professor Peers teaches Spanish at the University of Liverpool and has spent many years in Spain. Mr. Langdon-Davies has been, not only Spanish correspondent for an English newspaper, but also a student of Spanish affairs for many years. They write with an unusual sympathy for Spanish culture. Each author hopes to dispel some

of the ignorance about Spain and overcome the misinformation which has been deliberately spread abroad about the civil war.

Professor Peers traces the political changes that followed the downfall of the dictatorship and the monarchy. The political complexion of the government under the Republic was quite different from that which excited newspaper reports would have us believe. The government did move from left to right and back again in a manner that cannot be catalogued in our own political terms. The "Red Menace," which the Fascists advertised so widely as an excuse for starting the civil war, was mythical. In fact, the Catalonian Anarchists and Anarcho-Sindicalists were so strong that the government had to lean over backward in being non-Communist. Sr. Caballero and Sr. Azana felt it necessary to avow their non-Communist positions. Bakunin is still strong in Spain. The peculiarities of the Spanish political attitudes, according to the authors, make difficult an easy separation of Spain into the "warring camps of Communism and Fascism."

As the Republic attempted to introduce various reforms which had been advocated for years they received increasing opposition from the conservative groups. The absentee landholders opposed the redistribution of land to peasants, the Church opposed the religious and educational reforms. In the Basque country in the north, however, the Church remained Loyalist. But these things in themselves were not insuperable difficulties for governmental stability. Other countries have gone through the same troubles. They developed at a period of international friction in Europe. Countries such as Italy and Germany saw advantages in assisting a revolt which was being planned by the older military and conservative groups who hated the new regime's efforts to appease the peasants' demands. With the assistance of the foreign groups the civil war has settled down to a sort of preliminary European War.

Mr. Langdon-Davies feels that unless the Loyalists win, Democracy, as it has been known in Western Europe, will disappear. And because of the anger and bitterness aroused by civil

war, Spain will be in turmoil for years to come.

The two books do not answer all the questions that one may have on the Spanish situation. But they give enough detail to suggest that there is more involved in the problem than appears in most of the newspaper reports. If the Rebels, with the assistance of the Fascist countries, Germany, Italy and Portugal, succeed in overthrowing the government there is no assurance of peace for Spain. Not only are the Rebels divided among themselves but the Western European powers may be involved in further conflicts over the balance of power in the Western Mediterranean. A decisive Loyalist victory seems to carry more possibilities of European peace, whatever may occur internally in Spain, than does a Rebel victory. At any rate these two books should give a better basis for forming one's opinions about the current chaos than is generally available.

Mr. Langdon-Davies has a very useful topographical map for understanding the separatism that prevails in Spain and Professor Peers includes a bibliography which is useful for investigating the nature of Spanish economic and political conflicts. —*DONALD MCCONNELL*

Hitler's Road to Ruin

HITLER OVER RUSSIA?, by Ernst Henrich; 340 pages; Simon and Schuster; \$2.50.

GERMAN Fascism, in convulsive pace toward its ultimate objective, explodes with loud detonations all obstacles which bar its road. This is the life process, the categorical imperative of Fascism, able to prolong its transitory existence only through war. *Hitler Over Russia?* continues the description of this process from the point where Henri's earlier work, *Hitler Over Europe?* ended.

The book begins, in tragic and ominous undertones, with the Nazi purge of June 30th, 1934. The German middle class, filled with illusions of liberation through Fascism, led by sinister and degenerate adventurers, challenged the power of Hitler and met annihilation. Henri discloses the fact that Roehm and his clique had the support of the Chemical Trust, the great I. G. Farbenindustrie, displeased with Hitler's foreign policy. Now the lords of German Fascism consolidated their power on a narrow base, produced the "fundamental State form—oligarchic despotism."

From Germany Hitler turns to foreign fields, wages a relentless struggle with Mussolini for impotent Austria; the masters of the Ruhr covert the rich iron fields of Styria, controlled by Italian capital. On July 25th, 1934, comes the Nazi putsch in Vienna, the

murder of Dollfuss. "Peace" reigns in Vienna, but even now Hitler prepares for a new assault on the positions of Mussolini.

But all this is for Hitler a mere diversion, a bagatelle, compared with the final goal toward which the Fascists gaze with fond hopes—the broad expanses of the Soviet Union, which is to be utterly destroyed as once was Carthage, to be partitioned, to be enslaved. Tirelessly, relentlessly, Hitler and Rosenberg organize their Fascist leagues and legions in the countries of northeastern and southeastern Europe—the lands of the Baltic and the Balkans. Through the pages of *Hitler Over Russia?* passes an endless procession of vicious and insidious manoeuvres whose wires lead to Berlin—Horthy, Henlein, Coudraun, Pavlich, Beck, Mannerheim, Woldemaras, Gopper, Larka. Mounted on a white charger, surrounded by the flower of his army and the troops of his vassal states, Hitler prepares to set out for Moscow, as Napoleon before him. The military plans for the expedition have been ready since 1919.

Embodied in the Hoffmann Plan No. 2 is the strategy for the campaign against the U. S. S. R. Drawn up as long ago as 1919 by General Hoffmann, greatest German strategist of the World War, elaborated by Hitler's military leaders, this plan calls for a simultaneous assault on Leningrad and Kiev, followed by a converging movement on Moscow. Highly significant the fact that under Fascism even the science of war degenerates, for this grandiose military plan throws overboard the advances made in military strategy during the 19th century, goes back rather to the feudal concept of war which reached its zenith under Napoleon.

Through minute analysis of the human, mechanical, economic forces involved, Henri concludes that Hitler will never see Moscow, unless as prisoner, that German Fascism will suffer the most crushing and decisive defeat in the history of the world, a defeat not alone at the front but in Germany as well, where the banners of peace and liberation will be unfurled above the barricades. —*E. P. GREENE*

The Short Story: Old and New

A BOOK OF CONTEMPORARY SHORT STORIES, Edited by Dorothy Brewster; With an Appendix on Writing the Short Story by Lillian Bernard Gilkes; 754 pages; The Macmillan Company; \$3.50.

MISS BREWSTER'S anthology of short stories differs from the usual run of such compilations in so far as it is actually the embodiment of an attitude toward the writing of short fiction, and not merely an arbitrary attempt to select

from the year's or the decade's prodigious "the best" that has been done.

This attitude finds expression in her intelligent preface, when she says: "Meanwhile the preoccupation of critics has been shifting as the third decade of the century has moved on into the fourth, from form to subject-matter; or rather—since no serious critic regards form and subject-matter in any other light than as two aspects of the same entity—the emphasis has shifted. And with the shifting of emphasis there have developed sharp conflicts of opinion. Just as in politics it has become more and more difficult for the indifferent and the neutral to avoid being drawn to the right or to the left, so in criticism lines of battle have been formed on what had been only a pleasant parade-ground."

Miss Brewster's recognition of the current split between those creative artists who believe (with something amounting to despair) that the artist has no business descending into the marketplace to try conclusions with the major issues of his time, and those emergent artists who believe he can do nothing else, is what makes her anthology infinitely more valuable than the O'Brien annuals and the O. Henry collections. Although she has a tendency toward oversimplification of the issues, when she codifies her material as under the Ivory Tower classification or under the Red Square, the major schism has at least been recognized, and the results of that recognition are amply set forth in the contents, and are richly relevant.

The stories in Part I, which she classifies as the product of the artistic impulse at work above the battle, range from the utterly trivial and inflated posturing of Raymond Weaver's "Penthouse," through Isak Dinesen's lush romantic story of "The Old Chevalier," Conrad Aiken's ingenious exploitation of psychiatry in "Silent Snow, Secret Snow," Kay Boyle's poignant "Rest Cure" to Langston Hughes' hilarious exercise in broad social satire, "Rejuvenation Through Joy." Few of the stories in this section are entirely lacking in social implication, although it is an implication rarely managed by the artist himself and perhaps incidental to his material.

In Part Two, the collection broadens into the explicit commentary on our society that has reached its culmination in work as fine as some of the younger French writers are producing, and some as bad as that displayed in our worst proletarian magazines. Examples in this section may be found, of the latter, in Erskine Caldwell's "Candy-Man Beechum," which is the barest skeleton of a story whose social conscience does no more than draw attention to the dead bones; and of the former, in Sandor Gergely's "Wine," a sharply drawn and infinitely moving transcription of experience, Chekhov's

"The Princess" (not strictly contemporary but doubly indicative), Robert Smith's "Mrs. Kent," a bitter and self-explanatory portrait of a social "worker," and Denji Kuroshima's "Outpost" (reprinted from THE FIGHT), which is impressionistic, keenly defined, and moving.

Miss Brewster has done a service to her contemporaries by compiling the first anthology that explicitly defines the issues of our day. —*ALVAH C. BESSIE*

Labor in War Time

REVOLT ON THE CLYDE, by William Gallacher; 301 pages; International Publishers; \$2.50.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF Reviewers in tackling this book (not too many deigned to notice it) realized that here was an autobiography which gave you a picture of a member of Parliament and a labor leader via the turbulent period of war time in the shipyards of Glasgow. The



A common scene in a shipyard—launching a battleship

big "I" is not here. And perhaps because the "I" is not here; and perhaps because the artificial bedroom story is not here; and perhaps because the writer is able to "forget" himself occasionally, there emerges almost a full portrait of an important labor leader on the Clyde where warships were being built. The Clyde shipyards which caused Mr. Lloyd George, the wartime Prime Minister, such nasty "sinus" headaches.

But our fellow workers in the Brotherhood of Reviewers missed out on the essence of this book—that the struggle for better wages and decent hours and the struggle for economic and political supremacy does not stop during war. And above all, that the workers are able to distinguish, sometimes consciously and often unconsciously, between wars. (Continued on page 24)



Here is the scene of ruin in one of Madrid's principal streets after an air raid by General Franco's Fascists

WALL STREET'S bogey man—the militant worker who is demanding his right to a share in the recovery in the basic mass production industries—is causing plenty of worry and receiving a heavy crushing out from profit-hungry brokers. The reason, according to the big-time market operators, is that "labor unrest" is the only barrier standing in the way of stock market killings unparalleled since 1929. Unless the organized workers fight for and get a fairer wage, the Street expects business incomes to show tremendous gains during 1937.

After six weeks of concentration on the General Motors strikes, the C.I.O. and the stock market fraternity have simultaneously shifted their attention back to the steel industry. With the union leaders rushing plans for a convention of steel workers in order to place their demands before the steel magnates by April 1st, the Wall Street gamblers have been doing a little whistling in the dark by pushing U. S. Steel common stock to its highest price for many years.

Within ten days of the publication of U. S. Steel's report for 1936, the mar-

In addition to warming the heart of Wall Street with enormous profits, the Steel report provides plenty of ammunition for the organization campaign among the steel workers. According to the corporation's own figures, the average earnings of Steel workers last year increased about 18% because of a comparable increase in working hours. But the corporation's operating profits jumped 113% to \$112,380,000 and the net profits, after all deductions, pyramided from \$1,146,000 in 1935 to \$50,525,000 in 1936. And dividends paid to stockholders increased seven times, amounting to \$50,439,000 in 1936 against \$7,205,000 in 1935.

U. S. Steel was not alone, of course, in its harvest of profits last year. Republic Steel, headed by Tom (back-to-the-farm) Girdler, who swears he'll throw up his job and retire to growing apples before he deals with union labor, Bethlehem Steel, which has been getting a juicy cut with more in prospect from the Administration's battle-shield program, and National Steel, headed by E. T. (Tear Gas) Weir, have shown big gains in earnings, to cite only a few.

One effect of the increased momen-



A foundryman in a steel mill

ket price of Steel common had increased 20%. The explanation is that the size of the corporation's profits was astounding even to market insiders. During the final three months of 1936, when Myron C. Taylor and the other U. S. Steel bigwigs were pleading poverty as an excuse for not raising wages, their actual net profits were \$20,650,000, the largest in more than six years and comparing with only \$5,326,000 in the final three months of 1935. And then when U. S. Steel finally foisted its meager "cost of living" wage increase on the workers in December, Taylor and his gang had the "astuteness" to pass the entire cost on to the public through higher prices.

rum of the labor campaign, combined with the increasing social tension abroad, has been to smoke cut Wall Street's true hatred of labor and love of Fascist reaction, and to make more difficult the continued observance of its post-election tactics of mock devotion to "social progress."

A prime example of the Street's far reaching efforts to spread this spirit throughout the nation is offered in the February issue of the reactionary farm magazine, the *Farm Journal*, which boasts of a 1,300,000 circulation. Using the classic technique of "divide and rule," the *Farm Journal* features a piece on the General Motors strike by that "eminent philosopher," Walter



B. Pitkin, who advised the farmers:

You'll pay your share and more for the strikes now raging in automobile centers. The price may be even more than anybody would now predict, if the small group of labor leaders now trying to muscle in on the great automobile corporations should win out. If they achieve even a halfway victory, that will be the signal for every other minority in the country to cut loose. The time is ripe for racketeers in the labor union game. Business is picking up. The depression is half forgotten. Pickings are good. Let's grab 'em boys. And some of the boys grab.

With palm outstretched, the *Farm Journal* reproduced this and other labor-baiting articles in a full-page advertisement in the *Automotive Daily News*, the trade sheet of the motor industry. A not so gentle hint to the motor barons to pay for anti-strike propaganda with some nice juicy advertising contracts.

Wall Street's Boy Franco

ON THE international front, the growing strength of the Spanish People's Front government is forcing more and more into the open Wall Street's support of Franco and Fascism. But the corresponding support of Spanish Democracy by the great majority of the American people is troubling the Street, and is leading the Street's apologists into tortuous paths of twisted propaganda. Thomas F. Woodlock, the sage of the *Wall Street Journal*, and spokesman for the reactionary capitalist groups in the Roman Catholic Church, is alarmed by the American support of the heroic Spanish people because this support "is not a sign of health in a people which still supposes itself to be a democratic nation."

Pretending that Franco has nothing in common with Fascism, Woodlock continues:

It is not a healthy sign because it indicates that we mistake the whereabouts of our most dangerous enemy. Even if it were the Fascism of Mussolini or the National Socialism of Hitler that were in handiwraps with the Caballero ideology, there would be more danger to our Democracy and our liberty from the latter than from either of the former.

This prostitution is part and parcel of Wall Street's constant sympathy with and support of Fascist régimes and reaction everywhere. But there comes a time when even this sympathy

and support is cut short by threats to Wall Street's pocketbook.

Apparently this time is fast approaching as far as Germany is concerned. *Barron's Financial Weekly* recently featured a piece headed "Germany Nears End of Rope," which contrasts sharply with the applause previously handed out in the Street for Hitler's destruction of labor rights and elementary political liberties.

The article warns:

In the next few months Germany may face a serious crisis. The vast deficits with which rearmament and the exploitation of domestic natural resources have been financed, have created conditions resembling those of the inflationary period of 1919-23. . . . The foodstuff situation is approaching a critical stage. . . . Germany has reached, for the time being, the height of her industrial estate, particularly when it comes to capital goods and rearmament industries. . . . In addition, the foodstuff situation is threatening worse than ever the standard of living of German people. . . . These two developments have brought Germany nearer to an economic crisis that may lead the Continent of Europe to a long period of peace or war, depending on the course which the Nazis will choose to follow.

The War Machine Rolls On

MEANWHILE, war preparations are continuing apace and are boosting the cost of basic commodities for the people who are destined for slaughter unless their organized fight checks the war machine. Wheat prices have been boosted by heavy orders from abroad, mainly by Germany and Italy, seeking to accumulate war reserves of this commodity. Similar demand for cocoa, an important war food, has forced suspension of dealings in this commodity at times in order to allow dealers to catch up with their orders. In the metal markets, military orders have boosted the price of copper and platinum, both basic war materials, and have caused wide-scale reopening of quicksilver mines, many of them idle since the War.

And the orders and profits continue to pile up for the manufacturers of war equipment. Sales of military aircraft and equipment by American manufacturers in 1936 were valued at \$41,518,000, almost triple the 1935 total, whereas sales of commercial planes were only \$35,386,000, about one-third greater than in 1935. Wall Street is gambling on still larger war orders for the plane companies this year.

March 1937, FIGHT

ON WEDNESDAY, January 13th, Paul Miley was speaking for the United Automobile Workers of America, over Station WHK, Cleveland, when the station saw fit to censor the second half of his speech. Why? Because Mr. Miley was about to give the union's version of what happened at Flint, Mich., where the auto strikers and their sympathizers had been attacked, with tear gas and rifle fire, by General Motors' guards and city police.

Nothing in the Federal Communications Act can, by the stretch of the imagination, be construed as license to censor radio programs. No Government agency, and certainly no private organization or individual, is directly or by implication blessed with the privilege of violating the Bill of Rights in respect to broadcasting.

Yet, a nation-wide survey, recently completed by Minna F. Kassner, of the New York Bar, and this writer, in behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, disclosed about 150 case histories of suppression. Although widely publicized and implicating the leading chains and "independent" stations, our report *Radio Is Censored!* is still unchallenged at this writing. Hundreds of other cases will never come to light, if we are to judge by the understandable reluctance on the part of perpetrators to give information and a similar unwillingness of most broadcasting individuals to reveal how they are victimized by self-anointed censors, lest they jeopardize their chances of staying on the air.

Radio Trust Gags

Thus, many highly paid comedians

are steadily running afoul of informal but potent censorship. Will their contracts be renewed if they spill the beans? Nevertheless, the very staggering volume of censorship militates against secrecy and, bursting its confines, comes into the open. When light is thrown on the situation, we find that gagmen are not the only ones who are gagged; restrictions also embrace Senators, radicals, liberals, minority political parties, every now and then the major party which happens to be out of power, opponents of lynching, trade unions, public health



FIGHT, March 1937

Air Censor

Nothing in the Federal Communications Act can be construed as license to censor radio but what is really happening is a horse of another color

By Lucien Zacharoff

ILLUSTRATED BY FRANK DAVIDSON

experts, educators and many others.

Remarks which are banned by the interests controlling America's broadcasting scheme of things range from the most innocuous to serious discussions of political, economic and social problems, the airing of which is vital to the preservation of Democracy. With an estimated total audience of 70,000,000 in this country, radio, thanks to censorship, appears the most appalling monopoly of public entertainment, dissemination of opinion, education and propaganda. No wonder any criticism of the utilities combines, which constitute the "radio trust," is stifled, and former Senator James R. Reed of Missouri was cut off the air in the midst of a bitter condemnation of the Radio Corporation of America, over the facilities of the Columbia Broadcasting System. He had offended the powers that be with the following:

I invite your attention to the latest piratical development commonly known as

the "radio trust." It is impossible, by the millions yet devised, to picture that constellation. . . . Its field of operation is the air we breathe and the ether by which we are surrounded. . . . It would seem that human cupidity could not reach so far, or human insolence become so gross as to attempt to control and monopolize the very atmosphere we breathe and to withhold from the public use the instrumentalities of communication through the air, and yet that is exactly what a group of great capitalists are attempting through the organization of a huge monopoly.

(The "group of great capitalists" has been riding the crest of the ether waves, making huge fortunes from their sway over the public domain of radio broadcasting, without assuming in return any obligations to the public. The "group" which has made many millions out of radio received its monopoly without any compensation to the Government.)

Censoring Minority Politics

No wonder radio station managers

impunity legal contracts, which they enter with minority groups. For instance, Station WTCN, Minneapolis, signed a contract with the Communist Party for a series of campaign broadcasts in September, 1936. Nearly \$1,000 was spent by the party in advertising the series. When Nate Ross, candidate for Presidential Elector and one of the proposed speakers in the series, submitted a copy of his talk in advance, as demanded by the station, the latter ordered the following deletions:

In Minneapolis where the rapid growth of the trade unions and a series of militant strikes have led to better conditions for thousands of workers. . . . My friends, you can well imagine what a Republican victory backed by such a combination of reactionary labor leaders would mean to the people of this state and nation. Wars will be caused, child labor, education curtailed, and a sales tax forced upon us. Because of this threat of organized reaction, the people of Minnesota and the nation must defeat the Republican Party at all costs. Because of this danger to the elementary interests of the broad masses, every liberty- and democracy-loving person in Minnesota must unite in support of the Farmer-Labor Party and bring victory to its candidate. Against this united front of reaction build the united People's Front for progress and Democracy.

The Party withdrew the speaker entirely, and Sam K. Davis, not himself a candidate, offered a manuscript which was approved. Just before the broadcast, Mr. Davis asked permission to make a slight addition. His request was granted. After the talk, the station charged that the Party had violated the contract by changing the speech and cancelled the series. Following protests by various groups and the threat of a mandamus suit by the Civil Liberties Union, WTCN agreed to resume the series.

Rules for Broadcasters

From the foregoing it may properly be gathered that the cause of organized labor is none too popular with the radio moguls, and, in fact, Station KIEM, Eureka, California, cancelled a series of nine broadcasts by the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union. After accepting payment for the first broadcast, KIEM backed out two hours before the program was to

(Continued on page 25)

Tom Johnson's Town

Paul Patrick Rogers



FIVE hundred and seventy-six miles west of New York and three hundred and thirty-five east of Chicago, Cleveland is neither so big as the one nor so bad as the other. If you live in Main Street, you will think Cleveland a metropolis; if a larger city is your home, you may find it a Main Street.

In point of fact, Cleveland is both. It is a "Me too!" city. Its irrepresible burghers will not have it otherwise. Does another city do something? So does Cleveland. Does Chicago or San Diego have an exposition? So does Cleveland. Do other cities have the biggest this of the biggest that? So does Cleveland. Do others lay claim to first things? Cleveland does too. Cleveland is a deservedly proud city, and, as American cities go, it is as good as, if not better than, the next.

A City Among the Great

More than one-half the population of the United States lives within a radius of five hundred miles of Cleveland; more than one-half the entire country's manufacturing is done within a lesser radius; Cleveland is the world's largest producer of paints, oils and varnishes; Cleveland is one of the world's greatest iron ore markets; eighty per cent of the Great Lakes' freighters are owned or managed in Cleveland; Cleveland is a leader in the fabrication of iron and steel products; Cleveland is one of the country's most important trade cities; Cleveland is a great electrical center; Cleveland has the country's largest airport; Cleveland is a key city in the manufacture of auto parts; the first automobile put on the market was made in Cleveland; Cleveland is the home of the first successful test of street-lighting; Cleveland was the first important oil-refining center; Standard Oil had its beginning in Cleveland; Cleveland has seven railroads, fifteen miles of lake front, twenty parks, an art museum, a symphony orchestra, a mammoth public auditorium, an excellent public library, 450 churches, and several universities and colleges.

"This" the Union Trust Company (whose directors owed \$6,881,000

when it closed its doors) used to say every year to the public school children of the city, "is the Cleveland we are proud of, the Cleveland we like to show to our visitors."

But the Union Trust Company, which advertised itself as "A Safe Place for Savings" while it took the public snipe hunting, never told the school children that Cleveland was once the home of Tom L. Johnson, that a famous muckraker once described the city under him as the best governed city in the world; that during the War Cleveland cast a large mayoralty vote for Charles Ruthenberg who later became the leader of the newly formed Communist Party; that in 1924 Cleveland gave a large majority of its presidential vote to Robert M. LaFollette; that Cleveland's Negro district is mostly a slum section; that only thirty per cent of the City's population are native-born whites of native parentage; that most of Cleveland's foreign population is crowded into congested or slum districts; that Cleveland is the home of several strike-breaking organizations; that the police were lauded and encouraged in their attack on the May Day peace parade in 1919; that they and the highest city officials went berserk against the Chinese population in 1925; that several of its largest banks gambled with depositors' money and mulcted the public.

Wall Street Outpost

So Cleveland really is a very American city, part and parcel of America's growth and expansion, one time clearing house for the frontier, now a Wall Street outpost in the Middle West.

About a hundred and forty years ago, General Moses Cleveland, head surveyor for the Connecticut Land Company, said, "While I was in New

Connecticut, I laid out a town on the bank of Lake Erie, which was called by my name, and I believe the child is now born that may live to see that place as large as old Windham."

So rapidly has the town "called by his name" grown that the little Connecticut village might comfortably repose in any one of its many wards. Cleveland has doubled its population every twenty years, and now stands a city of a million people, the largest in Ohio and the sixth city of the United States, still suffering from its growing pains.

A key point in Great Lakes traffic and strategically located for the exchange of Northern ore and Eastern and Southern coal, when these began to impose their importance on American life, Cleveland boomed. Her flourishing industries needed workers. The nation's immigration bars were down.

The trick to Cleveland started—even before the Civil War. Today it is another melting pot where nationalities are preserved for a generation and then fused. More than 400,000 of her citizens are of foreign or mixed parentage, while 250,000 of them were born in other countries. What races make up this number? There are over 100,000 Czechoslovaks, 100,000 Germans, 87,000 Poles, 50,000 Italians, 42,000 Hungarians, 40,000 Yugoslavs, 36,000 Russians, and 31,000 Irish, with good numerical representations of at least eighteen other racial groups. Add to these 75,000 Negroes and a few thousand of "real American stock" and you have the racial conglomerate which goes to make up Cleveland's citizenry.

Tom Johnson, Liberal

High above this heterogeneous mass rises the Terminal Tower. An index finger of Wall Street raised in stern

caution, it is at once a warning to the City's populace and a monument to its rulers. And far below the Tower's tip, in Public Square sits the squat bronze statue of one who devoted every energy to fighting for the "peepul," the masses, the common man. And it is still the common man who today speaks with some warmth of Tom L. Johnson and of what he stood for. But even so, those who remember him, for whom he was the champion of ideals, are fewer than they were. Time has brought on another generation, one which cannot understand the ardor of its elders.

It is because of Tom Johnson that Cleveland still has the reputation of a liberal city—because of Johnson and the group of men he gathered about himself. His is still a name to conjure with, and today the politician capotes his audience *ad nauseum* with the name of Tom L. Johnson. This liberal reputation, on the wane of late years, is being recently fostered. Though reaction is in the saddle, many a conscious effort has been made to bolster Cleveland's liberal fame. The City Council endorsed the Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism, Mayor Burton (who has the most engaging mayoralty smile in the United States) welcomed the Congress to Cleveland in the name of free speech, the Mother's Day peace parade on May 1st marched to success unmoled, the City authorities refused to ban the mass meeting for the Spanish delegates in spite of tremendous pressure brought to bear by the Roman Catholic Church, and speakers are no longer arrested in Public Square for reading the Constitution of the United States, as they were when Harry Davis was mayor. And just as this is written, Tom Johnson's portrait is discovered in a sub-basement of the City Hall, and hung by order of the Mayor in his ante-room.

Cleveland's C. of C.

But Tom Johnson is no hero to Cleveland's ruling class—to the Privileged Interests. He fought them all his political life and by them he was bitterly fought in turn. He was a millionaire. He fought for the common

man. He betrayed his class. This can never be forgiven him.

No—the rulers of Cleveland have no love in their hearts for the memory of Tom Johnson. And with ominous regularity the shadow of the Terminal Tower moves each day across Public Square and falls upon and dims the radiance of that bronze effigy.

Within this tower are the luxurious offices of the Chamber of Commerce, Membership 4,000. Dominated by a faction. Its heart throbbing with many an ache for the people and its bosom swelling with genuine Americanism, this group watches over Cleveland, its schools, its labor unions, its churches, over all its multi-faceted life. It lashes out against every foreign-ism while with fatherly hand it gathers unto itself both that which is of Caesar and that which is of God. Quiet, dignified and well-groomed, these men sometimes quarrel among themselves and the outside world gets only an echo; but side by side they stand courageously against the common enemy whenever and wherever it raises its ugly head.

With full solemnity the Chamber of Commerce decided that Communism had come or was coming to Cleveland. The Secret Seven was organized—secret were the Seven that they were not known even to the Chamber. With Mrs. Dillinger's *Red Notebook* as their Bible and the state's criminal syndicalism law as their Magna Charta, they entered upon a search and study of subversive activities in Cleveland and discovered that they prefer company unions, that Communists prefer bona fide labor unions, that speeches in Public Square are sometimes listened to, that liberals are even more dangerous than "Reds." In their report to the parent body the Secret Seven attacked educators, rabbis, labor leaders, all progressive and forward-looking individuals and organizations. But, the report assured the Chamber, "Cleveland's state of preparedness is complete."

Where Are the Liberals?

And what of the Johnsonian liberals, those eager young fighters who gathered about the great leader? They are like the snows of yesterday—they are gone. Some have died, and those who live have either sold out or grown weary. The two outstanding names of the whole group were Newton D. Baker and Peter Witt. Baker, talented City Solicitor under Johnson, once fought tirelessly for the City and its masses. Johnson said of him, "He did for the people for love what other lawyers did for the corporations for money." Under his mayoralty social and civic gains were numerous. But he retired in 1915 with the excuse that personal and family affairs needed his attention. Shortly he was seen in the courts representing big money. He later became counsel for the New York Central and associated railroads in their successful attempt to change the City

Plan and bring the Union Station from the lake-edge of town to the civic center, the Public Square. He is now partner in a big-fee law firm, university trustee, newspaper attorney, director of the Cleveland Trust Company, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the Radio Corporation of America and the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company; he is an ardent supporter of military training in the nation's schools, and is the Democratic co-author with the Old Guard Republican James M. Beck of an opinion that the TVA is unconstitutional. So changed a man is Newton D. Baker that the notorious *National Republic* magazine said of him by way of reference to his former liberalism, "He knows more now."

The Case of Peter Witt

None of the group gave greater promise of real mass leadership, none more valiantly or more violently wielded the sword in defense of right than did Peter Witt. Iron moulder by trade, he stuck with his class and became the scourge of Privilege. While Tractor Commissioner under Baker, he refused a check tendered him by the railway company as royalty on an invention. He ran for governor in 1928 and swept his own county. His followers have repeatedly groomed him for mayor.

But sad is the case of Peter Witt. He is now a sort of traction expert or general adviser for his ancient enemy, the Cleveland Railway Company. Shall we say that Peter Witt grew tired? That would be the charitable thing to do. For there is no denying that he fought much and vigorously. But he fought *alone*, and the burden of battle grew to be more than he could

bear. So only on occasion now is his voice heard rising in protest—still alone, never in union, never part of the great organized protest of awakening humanity that roars more loudly with every passing day.

A Railroad Pyramid

The enemies of Tom Johnson are once more on the throne. Cleveland is their pawn to do with as they please. The Van Sweringens showed them how when, with a wizardry which was later to startle complacent Senatorial investigators, they added railroad to railroad and property to property, building for themselves with the money of others an industrial empire that was a fantastic fulfillment of the American dream of success. They brought to perfection and abuse those two implements of predatory capitalism, the holding company and the use of other people's money. But the depression came. Mr. J. P. Morgan bore down upon them, and their properties went the way of all economic flesh to join the echoes of departed souls in Wall Street.

Two of the banks which were most kind with their loans to the Van Sweringens when they were still Cleveland's darlings, are today buildings with closed doors. The Union Trust Company and the Guardian Trust Company, like the brothers' ideas, they organized a few holding companies of their own in order to extend their operations—depletions. They hid losses, sold notes to themselves, loaned to their officers on poor security or none at all, speculated, loaned to friends, diverted depositors' funds to personal uses, and ran the whole gamut of financial malpractice. The nature of their dealings is illustrated by this detail

that when the Union Trust shut down, the Van Sweringens, Cyrus A. Eaton and Kenyon V. Painter had loans totaling \$24,000,000—more than the bank's entire capital stock!

And the muckraker, were he to go behind the scenes in Cleveland, could add many a racy tale of land scandals, of a murdered councilman who knew too much of bribes, of violence, of racketeering of every form of civic corruption. He could tell the whole sordid story of how the elect of Cleveland have bled the people and nearly brought to ruin the City's economic structure, while they ran the town, paid the preachers, bought the press, denounced the reformer, cursed the "red," praised a false Americanism, and anathematized as bolsheviks all who protested or demanded justice.

A City Falls

Between the long-continued plunderings by her leading citizens and the depression Cleveland was nearly done for. Whole blocks of her downtown business areas shut down. Great buildings that were once thriving businesses became empty shells. The spick-and-span appearance for which she was once famous to the casual visitor gave place to civic shabbiness. All at once, it seemed, the wear and tear of her many years began to tell. Streets went into mourning. Stores, shops, factories fell into ruins. Banks went to the bone yard and never returned. The slums, already crowded, became congested—families moved in on family. People went into the streets, and relief cases grew by thousands. Foreclosures became the order of the day. Thousands of families were driven from their

(Continued on page 30)



Capitol of the Van Sweringen brothers' railroad empire in Cleveland

A great liberal city with a great liberal tradition is Cleveland . . . Part and parcel of America's growth and expansion . . . One time clearing house for the frontier . . . And now?

March 1937, FIGHT

FIGHT, March 1937

Letters

Mr. Leech writes on the Copeland Bill
... A union secretary protests radio censorship ... There is trouble in Houston

The Copeland Bill

A COMMITTEE from the Maritime Federation has just asked for our cooperation in the matter of the Copeland Bill. There are two primary issues



Schulz

involved. First, the Certificate of Efficiency; second, the Continuous Discharge Book. We must rally all possible protests throughout the nation on these two points. A delegation is going from the West Coast to Washington to present the position of the waterfront workers, and they will meet our pressure applied about the middle of this coming week. —BERT LEECH, San Francisco, Cal.

The Auto Strike

THE EXECUTIVE board of the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America, Local No. 45, again wishes to protest the action of station WHK in Cleveland.

The station authorities of WHK have yesterday abruptly terminated our contract with them and refuse to allow our union to continue to present its side of the present dispute between General Motors and its employees.

We assert that WHK is acting under pressure from the same interests who would like to see the workers defeated in this battle, and that this station now is overtly and deliberately aiding General Motors by suppressing the issues of the present strike. During the course of these broadcasts the station management has more than once arbitrarily censored the talks. Several days ago, they red-penciled out a large portion of the speech by Paul Miley, member of the local executive board. Yesterday the speech of Louis F. Spisak, president of the local, was abruptly and without warning to us, cut off the air in the middle when he was speaking verbatim from the copy as censored by the station authorities. ... We are now convinced that

the action of Station WHK is nothing else but a flagrant violation of the freedom of speech and fair access to the air by the use of the radio. ... We urgently request you to use your efforts in protesting the above action of WHK. — STEVE JENSO, Secretary, Fisher Body Local, No. 45, Cleveland, Ohio.

On the Waterfront

NO DOUBT you have read of the Christmas Eve occurrence on the Houston waterfront. Our Actions Committee protested. I am enclosing a copy of the letter that we sent as well as clippings with regard to it, although I am sure that you have already read of it in the papers. We also sent copies of these letters to other organizations in the city, stating that we had sent them and suggesting that they also protest.

We are not yet through with protesting such violations of the rights of Houston citizens and in seeking to pub-



licize the cause of the assaults. We hope to have a visit of the four word speakers from Spain—Mrs. INEZ CRAWFORD, Houston, Texas.

Books

(Continued from page 19)

This is the great contribution Mr. Gallacher makes in the writing of his autobiography.

The workers on the Clyde were perhaps not politically wise and their leaders were fumbling, still immature, mainly for lack of experience and knowledge in such situations. Imagine, a great war is on. All the avenues of propaganda are open to the dogs with hydrophobia. Dare say something (even think something) and the mad beasts are at your throat. But the workers on the Clyde pointed the way. The tens of thousands who were build-

ing the ships of war said: "So this is our war, is it? You tell us we are fighting for the preservation of Democracy. All right, we will take you at your word. So Democracy it shall be." But the workers on the Clyde had not only the Imperialists to contend with. They had some of their own labor leaders to deal with. And above all, the workers themselves and their honest and able leaders, including Mr. Gallacher, were not fully aware of the political significance of their own actions in the period between 1914-18.

The Clyde is not an isolated case. In our own country, during the last war, the workers in the Seattle shipyards moved in a similar direction. It is the hope of this reviewer that some day, someone will write a history of Puget Sound in war time.

This book is a *must*. A *must* if you are active in the anti-war movement and are interested in how to stop war. If you are to make the program of the American League a reality, this book is a valuable addition, an indispensable one to your reading list and to your library.

—GILBERT DAY

Betraying Democracy

(Continued from page 9)

against the Chinese Communists) have raised no fears of war in the mind of the Administration and have required no drastic embargo. Apparently it is only when a People's Front government tries to defend itself that the reactionaries in Washington suddenly become concerned about strict neutrality and peace at all cost.

A Neutrality Program

It is obvious that the anti-war and anti-Fascist forces must mobilize opinion in support of a neutrality program that will not only protect peace but also Democracy. The key to such a program must involve two principles: (1) it must be against economic or material aid to the Fascists and (2) it must provide for support of democratically-constituted governments when they are under attack from Fascists either from within or without. Thus the legitimate and duly recognized Spanish Government should be given free access to our markets, provided that its purchases are on a "cash and carry" basis. In this way all danger of our becoming involved in war is eliminated. At the same time, Germany and Italy should be branded as open aggressors against the Spanish government and, accordingly, denied access to American supplies, credits or loans. These principles should be embodied in any future neutrality legislation. Civil wars should not, as is now proposed in Congress, be included in a general neutrality measure. For that would be the surest way of assuring the Fascist powers that they need

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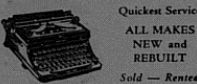
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March 1937, FIGHT

have no fear of the United States in carrying out their tactic of planning and then supporting revolt in democratic countries.

The all-important question, in any neutrality program, is obviously whether the United States will lend its strength and encouragement to the forces of peace and Democracy or to those of war and Fascism. Clearly, by following our present pseudo-neutrality toward Spain, we are playing the Fascists' game, pure and simple, even to the point of encouraging them in their program of war and aggression. A program, incidentally, that may engulf us at any moment. When we close our eyes to the dangers confronting Spanish Democracy, we are simply ignoring identical dangers confronting our own. Spain, it may develop, is merely the dress rehearsal.

Air Censor

(Continued from page 21)

go on the air, justifying its action under a clause in the contract which gave it the right to withdraw "in case of an emergency or unusual event." An investigation revealed that the only unusual event at the time was a lumber strike.

A glaring case of anti-labor sentiment and something else is provided by Station WLW, Cincinnati, one of the most powerful in the world, operating on 500,000 watts as compared with 50,000 watts for its nearest competitor in the United States. Owned by the Crosley Radio Corporation, it accepts programs of both the National Broadcasting and Mutual networks. In May, 1935, the station issued the following dictum to its news commentators:

No reference to strikes is to be made on any news broadcasts from this station.

Two days later, although there had been no violation of the first order, another dispensation ensued:

Our news broadcasts, as you have already been told, and which has been our practice for some time, will not include mention of any strikes.

This also includes students' strikes and school walkouts.

The latter portion of the decree was clearly designed to anticipate the publicity for the expanding anti-war protest on the American campus. The Civil Liberties Union's letter on the subject, addressed to Powell Crosley, Jr., said in part:

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The station issued an indignant denial of the existence of such a ban. When confronted with photostatic copies of the orders, it suddenly decided that the matter was a "closed incident."

Freedom of the Air

On the rare occasions when the insolent broadcasting interests condescend to offer an alibi for their censorship, their most frequent rejoinder is that they are merely exercising their right of "editorial selection," conveniently omitting that private editorial rights claimed by newspaper publishers on the grounds of "freedom of the press" can hardly apply in a field where channels are severely restricted in number. There are only 90 air channels available for simultaneous high-power broadcasting, if stations are not to drown each other out.

The author rejected by publishers, can publish on his own account. But the speaker barred by broadcasters has no similar recourse. Licenses for all available air channels have long since been distributed by the former Federal Radio Commission and the present Federal Communications Commission (without any franchise tax or fee).

No wonder the names of big business magnates and of giant corporations are among the sacred cows of broadcasting, mentioned in reverential whispers and not too close to microphones. A case in point—Morris L. Ernst, a prominent member of the New York Bar, was scheduled to debate Major Henry Curran on "Balancing the Budget" over Station WOR. Prior to the broadcast, Mr. Ernst was asked to exclude from his script, previously submitted, all references to Rockefeller, Morgan and Ford, as their mention might prove objectionable to interests backing the station's advertising. The speaker had merely used these names as examples in his references to budget-balancing in relation to wealthy people.

Radio's String Pullers

And when Dr. Harry W. Laidler, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, arranged to speak over Station WKY, Oklahoma City, on "Concentration of Control in American Industry," the station manager examined his script in advance, a degrading but widespread procedure, and advised that the talk could not be delivered because it contained the names of a number of large corporations, such as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Only on the speaker's assurance that he would refrain from mentioning the names of the concerns, was he finally permitted to broadcast. The names of the corporations in question were used, in a simple statement of the proportionate business controlled by each in its particular sphere.

Congressional and other investiga-



Trade union volunteers in New York making clothes for the Loyalist forces of Spain

tions of recent years have amply shown that it is the power trust that pulls the strings of the radio industry. Unfavorable mention of utilities is definitely taboo. New York City's WHN cancelled a scheduled talk by an attorney for the Utility Users Protective League of New Jersey. The talk was to be a calm presentation of the position of the organization regarding public utilities. The station explained that the subject was "controversial" and might "antagonize some factions."

Shortly afterward Station WNEW also cancelled a talk which it previously agreed to carry, by John A. Timine, chairman of the Utility Consumers' League. It was to be a discussion of telephone rate abuses. The station denied no explanation. It was subsequently learned that its special-features man who arranged the broadcast was discharged.

Several instances of censorship showing the anti-Negro bias of the broadcasters are available. Baltimore's WCAO, for example, demanded that some matter be deleted and other toned down in a dramatized program under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Written, acted and directed by Negroes, and staged to raise funds for a court fight to secure admission of Negro students to the University of Maryland, the period was to consist of re-enactment of anti-segregation campaigns as well as the dramatization of lynching episodes. The Association refused to submit to censorship.

Public health problems, involving sickness and death of millions, pressing for widespread educational campaigns, are often kept off the air. This was the case with the address of Dr.

John L. Rice, New York City Health Commissioner, before the Kiwanis Club. The National Broadcasting Company tolerated him as long as he confined himself to safeguarding mothers and babies and countering tuberculosis. But he was abruptly cut off, when he turned the attention of his audience to venereal diseases, particularly syphilis.

A Safeguard for Radio Freedom

Birth control advocates have been having their full quota of trouble with the broadcasters. "Not can any product, however dangerous to the public, be attacked over the radio, if it is promoted on the air. And so we have censorship cases involving public health, politics, racial minorities, criticism of 'interests' and virtually every other conceivable classification that may be interpreted as even slightly 'controversial.'" But it is the so-called controversial subjects that should have the widest possible play and expression in a Democracy, and a minimum federal legislative program designed to safeguard freedom of the air must, in the light of our findings, incorporate the following points:

1. Require each station, as a condition of its license to use a given regular period at desirable times of day, and existing for un-censored discussion, on a non-partisan basis, of public, social, political and economic problems and for educational purposes.
2. Make it mandatory for every station presenting a controversial issue to give a hearing to at least one opposing view.
3. Free stations, but not speakers, from legal liability for remarks on such programs.
4. Compel stations to keep accurate and public records of all applications for time, indicating which are granted and which refused.

Such a legislative program was embodied in a series of bills introduced

in the last Congress by Representative Byron Scott of California. Experience of the past year or so points to the urgency of re-introducing these measures. Aimed at providing a genuine open forum, such a program would go far in doing away with the one-sided propaganda of labor-haters, war-mongers and pro-Fascist sympathizers. It would at the same time protect the broadcasting companies from legal action, the fear of which often keeps them from granting time to speakers, removing the most convincing reason they have for censorship. Public records of applications would make readily available information as to the precise spots where censorship is practiced.

It is not asserted that such legislation will provide the ultimate solution to the evils of American broadcasting. But it is the utterly indispensable first step if radio is to be lifted from the shameful state wherein crooners and sales of injurious laxatives crowd out discussion of vital social and political problems.

We Love Dictators

(Continued from page 15)

sult: "Business has been immeasurably benefited."

A group of New England textile manufacturers visited Europe in 1935 and their impressions were recorded in the *American Wool & Cotton Reporter*. "We are told," it reported, "that Mussolini has done a great job which as perfection of manufacturing efficiencies and economies are concerned. . . . Mussolini's fundamental thought on this matter is that efficiency will make the most profits, and therefore he able to stand the highest taxes."

More Mussolini Worshipers

One of the most brazen endorsements of Fascism by any American big business man was that of Carle C. Conway, chairman of Continental Can Co. and director of U. S. Rubber, Skelly Oil and other concerns. Conway said early in 1934 after a trip abroad: "Business men in Italy are happy rather than unhappy under the Mussolini régime." Of the crisis Conway said, "Italy is a living proof that a solution is possible." (This makes swell reading now after the war on Ethiopia.) "Germany," Conway continued, "is organizing its industrial life. . . . Over here we are moving in a similar direction." In private conversations, he was even more enthusiastic about Fascism than in his public utterances.

Fascism has received the apparent blessing of Wall Street prophet Roger Babson who in 1933 predicted establishment here of "a temporary dictatorship. . . . Of course, Fascism is only a temporary bridge in the natural

growth of a nation." (My emphasis H. K.)

Some years ago, George Seldey disclosed, the late Col. H. H. Rogers of Standard Oil and Richard Washburn Child—ambassador to Italy when Il Duce came into power and later a leading Hearst writer—were united in a plan to spread a Mussolini propaganda film in this country.

I have named some of our leading tycoons who have nothing but praise for the Nazi and Fascist dictators. There are undoubtedly others, especially in the auto and steel industries, whose remarks seldom reach the public. I'm waiting for the papers which so recently denounced Nazism and Fascism as incompatible with Democracy to say something about such American exponents of these dictatorships as Taylor, Schwab, Mooney, etc. I am waiting . . .

Railroad Labor

(Continued from page 17)

fruits of a hard fought battle already in hand.

It was soon evident that the workers and the railroads had no mutual interests in achieving victory. Organized labor was beginning to understand it could expect to receive the treatment of a hired mercenary army. For their devoted services the lord and master had fully compensated them in the course of hostilities. As for social betterment, the Paradise to be regained, that was merely a battle cry of commanding days to be forgotten. This was a pathetic disillusionment, to say the least, for the valiant, aspiring railroad workers. But they were on the alert and ready to fight. They awaited only a first blow from the railroads. And with no pretense of good-will, in early 1920, when through a new Transportation Act the railroads returned to private management, the first parry was made.

Under the new Act, a National Labor Board was set up. It supplanted the Adjustment Boards of the war-time Railroad Administration. The personnel of the Board eventually became just what the railroads needed to accomplish their anti-labor objective—and that was to smash organized labor's most cherished war-time achievement, the national working agreement.

Hard Times for the Brotherhoods

The pivotal point of the railroads' attack seemed to be Chicago. The Conference Committee of Managers declined to meet a committee representing the switchmen of twenty-six major lines in the district. Proposed courses toward amicable negotiation were repeatedly turned down by the railroads. The Chicago switchmen were in an ugly mood. On April 4th, 1920, a strike took place without the

sansction of the Standard Railroad Union. John Gruno, a Chicago switchman and erstwhile Illinois assemblyman, organized and led the strike. The outlay was about so-called, spread well into the East, and part way into other sections of the country. It was effective while it lasted, but due to interresne strife was called off September 13th of the same year.

This ill-advised move to some extent sapped the strength of the Transportation Brotherhoods, for had they retained their war-time morale for a later date, they would have had fighting allies in the strong railroad shopcrafts.

But while the Brotherhoods might have been waiting, and also losing their national agreements piecemeal, there was an almost invincible anti-labor sentiment being worked up all over the country. Big industry was seeing to it that organized labor in general was not going to hold to the profits of the War. Minute men were shouting "American Shop Plan" from platform and pulpit. The K.K.K. was running amuck. Outrages, too numerous to mention, were perpetrated against labor organizers. Out of the shopcrafts' strike, which was in the making at the time of the Chicago switchmen's walkout, came a case of bloody terrorism that drew nationwide attention. E. G. Greer, leader of the Federated Shopcrafts on the M. N. & A., a strike-bound road, was lynched by a hooded mob in January, 1923, at Harrison, Arkansas.

The Law Kicks Back

The Federated Shopcrafts had suffered many rebuffs in the "normalcy" period following the Armistice. In August, 1921, a general wage cut of 10 per cent for all classes of railroad employees was approved by the National Labor Board. The outlay strike had weakened the Transportation Brotherhoods beyond protest. The shopcrafts took the cut with much murmuring and let it go that. But a second cut was approved to apply to the shopcrafts only, and the Board ordered this reduction to take effect July 1st, 1922. Now the crafts' wage scale was lowered to more than 12 per cent below the war-time rate, all occurring within a year. The Federation was in a fighting mood. Their answer to the Board's order was a 100 per cent walkout on the date set for the second wage cut to become effective.

Many lasting lessons of war-time rewards came out of this great strike, particularly the Federal court's opinion as to the strikers' rights under the much heralded Clayton Anti-trust Act. A little clause in the law was made discovered by some astute corporation lawyer. Perhaps James A. Emery, counsel for the National Industrial Council during the War, and

(Continued on page 29)



THE VELVET GLOVE

Refinements of the Hitler Terror by a German Worker

THOMAS MANN: EXILE
My Father's Political Development by Klaus Mann

SONG FOR THE LOST
A poem by Ernst Toller

THE MARKET LEVIES TOLL
The High Cost of Distribution by George Pfeil

UNBRANDED
Many Maverick Interventions by Alfred M. Bingham

HOW MUCH IS PLENTY?
The Abundant Life as Promised by the Power Age by Harold Loeb

The above are the lead titles from the current issue of COMMON SENSE.

The following issue will contain a long important article by JOHN L. LEWIS

COMMON SENSE is a journal of opinion that is intelligent without being high-brow, serious but with a sense of humor, sophisticated but not supercilious, critical but not savage, more constructive than destructive. It appeals to American attitudes and American sense. It draws inspiration from American traditions and the American ideals, without ignoring or being hostile to the rest of the world.

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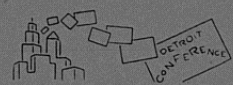
Building the League

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid

EMERGENCY CALL.—The American League is calling a Conference on Legislation for Peace and Democracy to convene in Washington, D. C. March 5 and 6. Labor, religious, fraternal and peace organizations in the East are requested to make immediate plans to be represented at this important assembly. Legislation for the establishment of Peace and the protection of Democracy will be the vital concern of the conference. Neutrality, the War Department's Industrial Mobilization Plan, war appropriations and the Senate sub-committee's civil rights investigation will be the chief items on the agenda. Round-tables on these matters will be addressed by outstanding leaders. Delegates are expected from the Eastern seaboard and from as far west as Pittsburgh.

FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS.—Defense of the rights of organized labor in the auto industry has been the chief



concern of the League in the Middle West during the past month. Telegrams and letters of protest have rained upon the authorities in Flint and Detroit, urging a guarantee of the full exercise of labor's civil rights and prevention of violence and the use of the National Guard against the auto workers.

Professor Robert Moss Lovett and Professor Paul Rogers of our National Executive Committee, along with Ralph M. Comper, our Mid-West organizer, attended an emergency conference in Flint on January 17th. Plans were laid for a broad conference for the protection of workers' rights, and organizational work began at once. At this time the date has not been set definitely, but March 12-13 will probably be chosen. Fisher Body Local No. 45, of the Cleveland Auto Workers, called upon the Cleveland League and the National Office for assistance in their fight for freedom of the air over station WHK. Speeches by several of their members had been censored and the station finally rescinded the union's contract. Protests by wire and mail

were immediately sent to the Federal Communications Commission and to the offending station. On February 7th the Cleveland League supported a huge mass meeting called by the auto workers with Heywood Brown as one of the speakers.

CHICAGO.—The Regional Conference held in this city, January 8-10, was attended by 175 delegates who represented over 300,000 people of the Mid-West. Trade Unions sent 58 of these delegates, while fraternal bodies sent 29 and League Branches 24. They heard Van A. Bittner of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee say, "Industrial Fascism is the godfather of political Fascism. Political Democracy is only an empty shell without industrial Democracy. In order to save our country from political Fascism we must first destroy industrial Fascism." Five round-tables at the conference took up the problems of labor, fraternal and language groups, youth, religious groups and the major current issues of war and Fascism. The labor round-table adopted strong resolutions calling for disarmament of the corporations, rescinding of criminal syndicalism laws and the defeat of the War Department's Industrial Mobilization Plan. The religious round-table drafted and adopted a very significant manifesto stating, "We believe that the present attempt to force the world towards Fascism and ultimately

war is the one great menace which lies in the path of progress of the human race." These religious leaders outlined a concrete program of education, cooperation and action in their communities, and resolved, "to spend our time, our energy, our money and if necessary our lives, in preventing these evils and in bringing about the liberation of the masses of mankind."



C. D. Norling, Secretary, Sioux City, Iowa, American League Against War and Fascism

CALIFORNIA.—A committee of the Maritime Federation asked for the League's cooperation in removing anti-labor sections of the Copeland Bill. A national campaign of pressure on Congress for the revision of this bill has now been organized. All over the country, League and labor groups are addressing their Congressmen, requesting them to support the Resolution presented by Representative William I. Stovich of New York and calling for the elimination of the "continuous discharge" ("nink") book and the "certificate of efficiency."

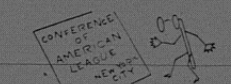
NEW YORK STATE.—Working through the local North American Committee, the Buffalo Branch has helped collect over two tons of food, clothing and medical supplies, and more than \$2,000 in cash for Spanish Democracy. Plans are being laid for a huge mass meeting in March, concerned with labor's democratic rights. When Colonel E. N. Sanctuary attacked the American League in a speech before the Utica Rotary Club, the local Branch of the League immediately reported through the local press. Dr. Frank J. Slater, League chairman, answered the Colonel's red-baiting and ridiculous attack and urged the Rotary Club to continue its search for information about the League by coming directly to its members. The newly organized Branch of the League at Rochester held a dinner meeting for Roger N. Baldwin, member of the National Bureau, on February 9th. Mr. Baldwin spoke on the subject, "Can Democracy Survive?"

NEW YORK CITY.—The 4th Annual Conference of the New York City division of the League took place on January 29-30 at the New School for Social Research. Over 600 delegates representing almost a million people in Greater New York took part. The mass meeting held in Stuyvesant High

School on the 29th was addressed by Congressman John T. Bernard and Gerald Boleau; James Waterman Wise, associate editor of the *People's Press*; Dr. Malaku Basen, chairman of the Haile Selassie Fund; and Ashley P. Totten of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Congressman Bernard's staunch support of Spanish Democracy was warmly received. At the Saturday sessions, the delegates participated in ten commissions dealing with labor, religious societies, youth, Negroes, veterans, women and other groups. Trade unions sent 237 delegates representing 338,000 workers. The organizational commission was attended by delegates from 73 Branches of the League in New York City. The conference brought together the widest representation of anti-war and anti-Fascist forces ever assembled on such an occasion. Resolutions adopted covered the important issues before Congress—neutrality, the Industrial Mobilization Plan, war budgets, and the LaFollette investigation—and dealt with many local and state issues involving the protection of Democracy in the labor field. Organizational recommendations provided for the establishment of a department on Negro problems and for the formation of a Junior division. The breadth of the representation of this conference and the seriousness with which the delegates took up the pressing problems of peace and Democracy, indicated the beginning of a new phase of anti-war and anti-Fascist work in New York City. The Staff of the City Office deserves considerable credit for the organization and conduct of this most significant conference.



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NEW JERSEY.—Jersey City Leaguers rallied to support the seamen in their fight for the right to picket the Jersey waterfront, and helped organize the Hudson County Council for this purpose. A mass meeting to protest the denial of this right of labor took place in Jersey City on January 21st, in spite of Mayor Hague's repressive actions and under the noses of po-

lice spies. Resolutions and protests were sent to the President, the Governor of the State, Mayor Hague and the LaFollette Committee. League Branches in other cities of New Jersey are supporting this fight. Passaic County Branch sent a contribution of \$5, while Union City Branch members adopted resolutions which were presented to the civil authorities and attended the mass meeting. At New Brunswick the League Branch was instrumental in forming a local organization of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. A mass meeting for Spain netted over \$500 and a large supply of food and clothing for the defenders of Democracy in Spain. At Toms River, the Auxiliary of Jewish Women contributed \$9.50 for Spanish Democracy through the local Branch of the League. A membership campaign has been organized by the Leaguers and the local work is expanding. Trenton Branch is participating in a local united front committee for aid to Spanish Democracy and has distributed collection boxes for funds. A monthly newsletter, issued to members, is being used effectively to secure prompt action in League campaigns. A letter of protest on the question of civil liberties was sent to Mayor Hague of Jersey City by the Newark Branch. A mass meeting and conference for peace and Democracy will soon be held by the League in this city.

HOUSTON, TEXAS—Police brutality against striking seamen on the waterfront on Christmas eve brought



forth a campaign of protest and defense in which the Houston Branch took an important part. They demanded immediate dismissal of the police officers involved and a prompt investigation. Three League members spoke at an open-air mass meeting called by the striking seamen in defense of their right to picket. Letters of protest were sent to the city authorities by the Branch and copies to other community organizations urging similar action.

NATIONAL OFFICE NOTES—We are glad to announce two additions to the National Staff of the League. Patrick Mulholland of Chicago has been assigned to the position of League organizer among the trade unions of the Middle West. He is a member of the Amalgamated Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers and of the American Federation of Teachers. Not only has he taken part in the organization of two unions, but he has conducted educational classes in a number of the unions in the Chicago region. At present,

Mr. Mulholland is busy organizing support for the auto workers in their fight for their democratic rights. Willard R. Espy has been appointed national representative of the League in Washington, D. C. Formerly on the staff of the *World Tomorrow*, he has been active for the past year in the volunteer leadership of the Washington Branch of the League. The anti-Hearst and Spanish campaigns of this Branch testify as to his ability and leadership. Mr. Espy is now busy organizing our pressure for the various pieces of legislation in Congress involving war and Fascism. A National Staff Conference was held on January 23 in New York City with over fifty volunteer and paid workers taking part. Reviews of various departments of the League work during the past year were given with a critical analysis of the results of this work and the state of the organization. Plans covering national and extension work for 1937 were evolved. Wider and more basic work in the field of organized labor and broader distribution of publications were the chief recommendations adopted. A new leaflet—*Action Against War and Fascism in 1936*—has just been released as a result of the preparatory work for this conference.

HERE AND THERE—The Scranton, Pennsylvania, Branch cooperated in organizing a meeting for the Spanish Youth Delegation in that city. Over 500 people came out to hear these young Spanish anti-Fascists and made a liberal contribution. Ironwood, Michigan, recently secured the affiliation of the Wakefield Farmers' Union and the local branch of the Michigan Workers' Committee. Steps are being taken to organize a Branch of the League in Springfield, Missouri, where the Veterans of Future Wars at Drury College is an active organization for peace. The new Branch of the League at West Palm Beach, Florida, is growing in membership and gaining the attention of the community. Springfield, Massachusetts, was host to a Western Massachusetts Peace Conference on February 14. Oliver Laikín of Smith College, New England chairman of the League, was head of the arrangements committee and the main address was given by Harry F. Ward.

Information

I, the undersigned, am interested in the struggle against War and Fascism. I wish to receive information about membership in the League and its activities.

Name _____

Address _____

City and State _____



By James Lerner

Youth Notes

DOWN in Houston, Texas, we are told that they are building a youth branch of the American League. We are certainly glad to hear that because we are always glad to welcome new branches of the League. But it is more important since the South happens to be one of our weak links. News of a youth branch is therefore very heartening indeed. We agree with Miss Darnell of Houston that "the need is pressing and the possibilities great." So, good luck, Houston!

We are no less pleased by the remarkably efficient way that Chicago has set to work on reorganization. They have set up a central youth committee for the city to supervise the work of the five youth branches in Chicago. Their first meetings have been taken up with discussing problems and formulating procedure to remedy these problems. They have begun active work, particularly in launching a milk campaign for Spain. In the future more things will be expected from them.

THE Spanish Youth Delegation have reached the Pacific Coast. To date the amount of money that they have collected, in round figures, totals \$18,000. This, however, does not tell the entire story. It does not tell the story of the amount of sympathy and understanding that has been expressed on the part of hundreds of thousands of American Youth from one end of the country to the other. It does not tell the story of the intense work that has been done by hundreds of young people in preparation for the meetings. And here we want to thank every one, including our own youth members, who has aided in this work so generously.

We have indicated, before, the intention of the Youth Section of the League to build clubs around the issue of Spain—to be known as the Defenders of Spanish Democracy of the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism. Application cards have been sent out and some of them have been returned. Membership cards and buttons are now available.

The pledge taken by each member of the Defenders reads as follows: "That Democracy may live in Spain and in the world and that reaction may be vanquished, I pledge myself, as A Defender of Spanish Democracy, to do all in my power to inform others of the truth of the Spanish Struggle; to do all in my power to protest against the blockade of the legitimate Democratic Republic; and to assist in the raising of foodstuffs, clothing and medical supplies for the succor of the Spanish People."

It is our earnest wish that millions of American young people will take this pledge and carry it into effect wherever they may be and wherever young people may be reached.



AT the recent City Conference of the League in New York the youth session was one of the most widely attended, outside of the trade union session. Many young people who were present from other organizations have already indicated that they would like to operate with us in our program and campaigns more closely in the future.

IT has been our custom to point out interesting happenings in our youth branches, to be used by others. This month we want to call attention to the Bedford Branch of New York. They have adopted a very good and appealing custom. Meetings begin with an informal review of the news of the week. Then follows a fifteen-minute discussion by the other members of the Branch. The custom will add to the attractiveness of our youth meetings.

We want to announce the preparation of a bibliography on youth, war and Fascism. This bulletin, which is very comprehensive, will be available in the next few days and will be of tremendous importance for our work in the educational field.

Railroad Labor

(Continued from page 26)

present-day anti-labor lobbyist at Washington, had been perusing the statute. However, there was a phrase in the Act sufficiently forceful to render void all the civil rights of the strikers. "Unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property" were the few words that did the work. But, first, the men must be detected committing "irreparable injury." So by a resolution of Congress the Department of Justice was ordered to investigate the charge of "interference by force of interstate commerce."

The Federated Shopcrafts were first charged with disobeying the orders of the National Labor Board. Strange to say, several railroads had attacked the authority of the Board in the Federal courts. And in the instance of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which had filed several suits in the Northern District of Illinois, the company was sustained for lack of appearance on the part of the Board. Now to prove "interference by violence" was the first requisite step to get a restraining order against the Shopcrafts under the Clayton Act.

The strike was going along most effectively. Due to faulty equipment, most railroads cut their maximum freight speed to 20 miles an hour. Misfit coal and boxcars began to fill most of the side tracks. The railroads were panicky in their effort to hold the other crafts at work. Anti-labor forces were never so vociferous. Every local chamber of commerce was turned into a hiring hall. Where the American Legion was susceptible, it was enlisted to help defeat the strikers. But if there was violence, it was similar in cause to the lynching of E. G. Gregor at Harrison, Arkansas. W. J. Burns, then head of the Department of Justice, was going about investigating and determined to fix "interference of interstate commerce" on the fighting shopmen.

Under no dictatorial government was a decree against the working class more fraught with tyranny and destruction. The injunction brought despair and want into the homes of 500,000 union workmen. Homes were lost, savings gone. Liberty Bonds patriotically bought for one hundred dollars were surrendered for half price. The railroad workers were now reaping the rich spoils of war, with a threat from the high court that the worst was yet to come.

On January 5th, 1923, Judge Wilkenon denied a petition of the defendant shopcrafts that the government's bill be dismissed, and on July 12th, 1923, the infamous injunction was made permanent.

It was then that Harry Daugherty seemed to think he had sealed the doom of organized labor on the railroads of the country.

"I have stopped railroad strikes for all time," he declared, meaning the Federated Shopcrafts were never to breathe the breath of life again.

But thanks to the traditional courage of organized labor, Harry Daugherty did not sound the death-knell. Though badly disintegrated for a time, the shopcrafts eventually began to gain in numerical strength. By 1926, the railroad organizations were

win the War and made huge profits for the companies, was trying to boom again. But it remained for the Federal court to strike the most effective blow at the strikers.

W. J. Burns had somehow fulfilled his assignment. On September 1st, 1922, Harry M. Daugherty, U. S. Attorney General, through Charles F. Cline, District Attorney in the Northern District of Illinois, put the findings before Federal Judge James W. Wilkenon, and asked for a restraining order against the Federated Shopcrafts, specifically naming B. W. Jewel and J. W. McGrath, the Federation's president and vice-president, respectively.

Judge Wilkenon was not long in openly subscribing to the cause of the government, which was appealing to the court in behalf of the railroads. It is of some interest to note a few excerpts from the injunction granted the Attorney General by the court.

The officers of the Federated Shopcrafts, all members and those acting with them, were restrained from doing the following:

In any manner conspiring, combining, confederating, organizing and arranging with each other or with any other person or persons, organizing or associating to injure or interfere with or hinder said railroads.

Entreat, reward or otherwise directing or encouraging in the practice commonly known as picketing . . . by displaying force of numbers, the making of threats, intimidations, opprobrious epithets, jeers, suggestions of danger, taunts, entreaties, toward persons desirous or contemplating or entering the employ of said railroads.

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"I have stopped railroad strikes for all time," he declared, meaning the Federated Shopcrafts were never to breathe the breath of life again.

But thanks to the traditional courage of organized labor, Harry Daugherty did not sound the death-knell. Though badly disintegrated for a time, the shopcrafts eventually began to gain in numerical strength. By 1926, the railroad organizations were

in a position to have what is known as the Railroad Labor Act passed by Congress. This Act was weak in many ways, but did abolish the prejudiced National Labor Board of 1920. In 1934 the Railroad Labor Act was strengthened by an amendment which severely penalized the employer who might interfere with or coerce employees in their efforts to organize and elect their own union representation.

Since January, 1933, to November, 1935, approximately 850 company unions on 77 railroads have been displaced by the Standard Shopcrafts organizations. These gains do splendid credit to the rank and file as well as the leaders of the railroad unions. But, in the light of the Federation's wartime experience, there remains in the way of an active program against war quite a bit to be done. And, without a doubt, militant preparations should be made to cope with Fascist abuse of power such as has been exemplified in the Daugherty injunction.

True enough, the A. F. of L., with whom the shopcrafts are affiliated, went on record as against war and Fascism, even to a nation-wide boycott of German made goods, at its conventions of 1933, '34, and '35.

This action and its application is not sufficient now; for there are new forces attempting to indoctrinate affiliated unions with the need of preparations for another war. Military organizations are trying to have its union members destroy anti-war tendencies in the local unions.

A Definite Force For Peace

We know now that the various reactionary forces mean when they talk of Universal Draft in the event of war. It seems these gentlemen want to allow the war lords the same legal claims on private property that is to be applied in the conscription of men. Imagine if you can, in face of recent high court decisions, what would happen if the government attempted to seize private industry. Of course the courts would see that just remuneration was paid to the owner; and, perhaps, at the profiteers' standard of value. But who would pay for the death of a single soldier on the field of battle?

It is high time that all the laboring classes regard these bodings of another war and the consequences of the last conflict with suspicion and alarm. It behooves all the workers to join forces against war and arbitrary power. The Federated Shopcrafts, in conjunction with their affiliated bodies, have a most appropriate means of a nation-wide campaign in the cause of peace. From their tragic experience of the past, the railroad unions could strengthen the resolution of many pacific organizations, and teach newly organized unions that the workers' spoils of war are alone bitter disillusionment.

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CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS—John Mackey, Art Young, Rockwell Kent, Theodore Schell, Herb Kruckman, Soriano, Gardner Ray, William Gropper, Darryl Frederick, Louis Lozowick, Lynd Ward, Maurice Becker, Jacob Burck, and many others.

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Take Profits Out of Prejudice

(Continued from page 11)

from a concept of mystic solidarity to a concerted political program. It envisages the organization of American and of World Jewry into a unified cohesive body which will plan on its own behalf and act in its own defense. Such a policy, however, ignores two essentials. First, the limited and restricted scope of any action which even a unified Jewry could take—so limited and restricted as to be inevitably futile against the vast social and economic forces with which it would have to contend. Second, the impossibility of creating "Jewish Unity" in a world which finds Jews, just as it finds Gentiles, set against each other along lines which no plea for racial solidarity can alter.

Mr. Gessler makes this unmistakably clear. He cites instances of wealthy German Jews who have received the title of Honorary Aryans from the same Nazi butchers who have tortured their poorer co-religionists in concentration camps; and they received those titles because they had earned them by services rendered to the Nazi régime! Nor is it necessary to go so far afield. There are Jewish bankers and industrialists in the United States who, knowing the reactionary and Jew-baiting program of the American Liberty League and similar organizations, yet apply for membership in and offer financial assistance to it. No, the false and futile concept of "Jewish Unity" will not serve as a bulwark against the rising tide of prejudice and persecution.

Struggle Against All Reaction

We have examined some of the roads proposed for American Jews who seek security and freedom for themselves and their children. They have turned out to be "Dead Ends." One road remains; it is neither easy nor without obstacles. But it, and it alone leads forward. It is the road of determined, militant struggle by Jews against every manner of reaction and Fascism—including anti-Semitism and excluding nothing.

I am aware that objection will be made: Such a struggle cannot be undertaken by a minority; it cannot be waged by Jews alone. Of course not. But the essence of the matter is that for the first time in their long history as scapegoats, Jews are *not alone!* If they are being attacked today with unparalleled fury by vested greed, they have a host of allies with whom to fight. The underprivileged and the insecure; other oppressed minorities, racial and religious; the menaced middle class, the artists, teachers, professionals of the nation; the millions of organized and unorganized workers and farmers—these are their po-

tential, these are their natural allies.

But the alliance must be effected, the union must be realized. On the defensive level this means that Jews must resist every encroachment not only upon their freedom but upon the liberties of any and every group which is menaced by the forces of Fascism. It means that Jews will fight for the preservation of civil rights, for the rights of Negroes and of the foreign-born, for the right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively, for the rights of political minorities—in short, for the defense of Democracy. It



Damascus Gate, Jerusalem

means that Jews will lend the fullest support to the American League Against War and Fascism in its campaign to make clear to the American people that attacks upon the Jew are in reality attacks upon them, that anti-Semitism is a trick of predatory and imperialist interests in order to divide and oppress. It means that Jews will do these things undeterred by charges of "radicalism" and "Communism"—the bogeys invariably invoked against any liberal and progressive movement by the servitors of reaction.

A Society Free of Prejudice

The achievement of genuine and permanent security for the Jew, however, requires more than merely defensive measures. In the long run it implies the creation of a society in which the need for defense will be eliminated. Mr. Gessler sums up the issue: "Only in a non-profit economy where the fundamental basis for racial and minority frictions has been removed and the psychological secondary motivations thereby lessened and eventually removed, can Jews or Catholics or Negroes or Mexicans or liberals or any distinguishable Americans survive as decent human beings. Only upon that basis can there be constructed a new Jewish culture—for those who want it. . . . Jews should

have the right to continue their existence within the framework of a cultural identification—if Jews feel so identifiable—but the economic content within the frame must be different."

Such is the goal toward which American Jewry must strive. Such is the road which leads toward that goal. I have intimated that there will be difficulties to face, dangers to overcome. Whatever the hazards of the journey, however, the Jew will be companioned in making it by the overwhelming majority of his fellow-Americans. The goal, when it has been achieved, will constitute no private status of security or separate privilege for him, but a country and a world in which he will be free and at peace—because all men are at peace and free.

Tom Johnson's Town

(Continued from page 23)

homes. All the City, save the residential suburbs and the heart-of-town area, began to take on a slum aspect. Former residence streets are now miles of run-down property—Franklin Avenue, Brooklyn—a relatively new suburb, has turned into a slum.

Slums

Housing the City's population has become an acute problem. Yet nothing real is being done to solve it. While thousands need homes, houses come down, apartments and dwellings are boarded up. The last four years have seen over 4,000 houses deliberately wrecked, exceeding by far the number of those erected. In the last ten years there have been 26,000 foreclosures, nearly eighty-five per cent of which were on homestead property and directed against the middle and working classes. The three slum clearance projects, now nearing completion, have had as their only effect so far, to aggravate the housing situation in the adjacent slums, where outmoded firetraps are taxed to more than capacity. An echo of the abject acuteness of this state of affairs reaches the public's ears only when some conflagration takes a wretched toll in human lives.

Ruhr of the Mid-West

But Cleveland founders on. Who can say for how long? Cleveland has played her part in past American history. An important rôle in the country's future is certain. Is not Cleveland the Ruhr of the Mid-west? During the World War her thousands of industries became war industries. And today she is one of the country's most important munitions and war supplies centers. Here were and can still be manufactured every war accessory from tanks and poison gas to uniforms and epaulettes. The Winton Engine Corporation does special work for submarines; the Grasselli and Lake Erie Chemical Companies are important

makers of poison gas; Thompson Products, Inc., the Industrial Rayon Corporation, and literally hundreds of other firms are prepared to become war manufactories overnight. And, significantly enough, these basic or war industries form an interlocking directorate with the banks and the newspapers.

Democratic Forces Still Live

But Cleveland also has its forces for good. The peoples who make up its diversified population came to America in search of Democracy. What if they didn't find it? They still have the idea that it ought to be here. They are waking up and joining hands to form an ever growing army for right. If Cleveland is a center of Nazi and Fascist activities, it is also an important center of anti-Fascist and anti-war organizations. There are strong movements grouped around the American League Against War and Fascism, the League for Human Rights Against Nazism, the Emergency Peace Campaign, the American Civil Liberties Union, and too many others to mention here. Organized labor, with the C.I.O. in the van, is undergoing a progressive ferment which threatens to break the stranglehold capitalism has imposed upon it through reactionary leadership. Even the white-collared workers are losing the scales from their eyes—the Cleveland Teachers Union, Local 279, has grown from approximately 25 in 1933 to a present membership of more than 2,250, while the "company union," the Cleveland Teachers Federation, which formerly had 3,000 members, now has less than 900 (and there are only 3,900 teachers in the public schools!). Every anti-war move, every step in the direction of peace and in the defense of Democracy finds almost unlimited support, in spite of the silence or opposition of the press. The reception given to the American League Congress last year and December's mass meeting for the Spanish delegation bear ample witness to this.

There is also a growing civic consciousness among the masses, which, unlike earlier manifestations, derives this time from an awakening though still groping class consciousness. With high-spirited indignation the populace rejected the attempted red-scare of the Chamber of Commerce, answering, "We are good Americans, and for that reason we refuse to accept the fascist monstrosity of your Secret Seven." With equal dauntness they refused to tolerate the fascization of WPA workers last winter, the attempted undercover system in the trade unions, the effort to establish a good and bad neighbor policy, the proposal to fingerprint relief workers. The people's reaction to these and similar things is the handwriting on the wall that bids Fascism beware.

March 1937, FIGHT

Oh Say, Can You See?

THE PRESENT struggle for power between Democracy and Fascism is gradually but inexorably swinging in favor of the former.

Last fall, when the *Literary Digest* was predicting Landon's election, when Ethiopia supposedly had been conquered and when Franco's Foreign Legion was sweeping everything before it in Spain, there was considerable head-shaking in liberal circles.

But starting with the election landslide things began looking up and have continued to do so. Consider the record.

The Liberty League crowd beat a retreat, at least temporarily.

The Black Legion was crushed in Michigan.

The Newspaper Guild defeated Hearst in Seattle and Milwaukee.

The great maritime strike was won.

The LaFollette investigation in Washington exposed vast use of espionage against workers by American industrialists and made it harder for such tactics to be employed in the future.

What amounts to a united front of most of the world's peace organizations was started at the Brussels Conference and further advanced during the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War in Chicago.

The German-Japanese alliance isolated those countries from the world.

The Japanese army failed in its effort to establish Fascism at home.

Hitler insulted Sweden by announcing that Nazis no longer could accept Nobel peace prizes, thus wrecking friendly relations with a former friend.

Poland drew away from Germany and closer to France.

Word began to drift out of Ethiopia that Italy's conquest is far from complete, that the natives are gaining considerable ground and that they have inaugurated a world-wide campaign for funds to carry on

up a totalitarian state exactly like that of Italy.

And last, but by no means least, James Braddock flatly refused to fight Max Schmeling because of the wide-spread anti-Nazi boycott and agreed to meet Joe Louis for the heavyweight boxing championship.

There are items on the other side of the ledger, of course.

Al Sloan, General Motors dictator, defied the U. S. Government and alienated public opinion in his drive to end the strike at his plants even though it should become necessary to commit mass murder.

Charles E. Coughlin broke his solemn pledge to long-suffering humanity by going back on the air to defend his most important backer, General



Motors, and to attack the United Automobile Workers of America.

A hastily improved amendment to America's neutrality act prevented further shipment of war supplies to the regular, recognized Spanish government, although by every rule of International Law it was entitled to them in defending itself against a rebellion.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the United States permitted Mussolini to buy oil here during his war on Ethiopia and that last year we sold \$1,000,000 worth of airplanes to Chiang Kai-Shek to carry on his war against the Chinese Red Army.

Explosive rifle bullets now are being used by the Fascists in Spain. This was reported by Herbert L. Matthews in the *New York Times*.

Such bullets have been outlawed by International Law. They are even more barbaric than the dum-dum which was found very effective by the British in their colonial wars.

The Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians has discovered a surprising fact about the recent Ohio and Mississippi River floods. Although such inundations take terrific toll of life and property each year, no comprehensive system of topographical maps has been made for the purpose

of planning a unified system of levees.

Floods are largely man-made and their cure must be man-made also. Destruction of forests and moisture-absorbing top-soil, because of our lack



of knowledge about forestry and agriculture, now allows drainage water to surge unimpeded down the river courses. It will take generations to put back such natural brakes. But in the meantime much could be done with dikes and levees, providing always that they were planned on a nation-wide rather than a local basis.

Even the conservative British press could find no hope for peace in Hitler's speech before the Reichstag. The awful truth is beginning to dawn upon the London *Times* itself that Adolf has maneuvered himself into a position where he couldn't work for peace even if he wanted to. German industry has been geared up to make war materials. If it endeavored to shift its activities into peaceful channels the resulting disturbance would be so great that millions would starve. As it is the Frankfurter *Zeitung* announces that ninety per cent of Germany's workers earn less than \$10 a week while prices of food are higher than in America.

No, Hitler can only keep going by obtaining concessions and possibly loans from the rest of the world until there are no more concessions left to give. Then he will start a war, or be overthrown—or both.

Anthony Eden and the other Downing Streeters know this perfectly well. It has been suggested that England is trying to keep Germany and Italy occupied in Spain until such time as she has brought her own armaments to war-time strength. The fact that the British threw some support to the Loyalists when they seemed on the verge of defeat, but became more friendly to General Franco as soon as he got stuck in the mud outside Madrid, lends some logic to this argument.

While Roosevelt talks of the beauties of peace, American war appropriations amount to record heights and new battleships, cruisers and bombers are put into service weekly. But the most significant fact is that practically all of

such armaments are built for offense across great stretches of ocean.

America already has sufficient arms to protect her own shores. Any military expert will admit as much. But the munitions industry, which is geared up to sell offensive weapons abroad and which also is made up of men who have vast investments in foreign countries, practically rams offensive weapons down Uncle Sam's neck.

Isn't it about time that the government owned and controlled its munitions factories? And isn't it about time that a law be passed declaring that no munitions shall be sold outside of the United States unless a democratic government is endangered due to a military revolt?

And, while we're imitating Don Herold, there ought to be a law preventing reactionary elements from collecting funds and agitating for support of the Fascists who are trying to overthrow the legal government of Spain, a government which is recognized by the United States and with which we always have had the friendliest relations.

That Europe is becoming desperate in its efforts to obtain loans from the United States to pay for its huge armaments, as evidenced by the visit of Walter Runciman, president of the British Board of Trade, to the White House recently. Supposedly Runciman talked about settling the Empire's war debts in order to borrow money from Uncle Sam. But it is rumored he also hinted that loans to Italy would



be friendly gestures at this time and also that it might be wise to lend a helping hand to Herr Hitler in his present dilemma.

One of those things finally happened to us. The August issue of *THE FIGHT* carried an article by Professor Gustavo Salvemini, the noted educator and Italian exile. The article was not written by him. Here we want to offer our apologies to Professor Salvemini and to our readers, and our deep appreciation to him for his amiable cooperation in uncovering and tracing down the facts of this incident.

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