NEW MASSES

MAY 25, 1937

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

How the Wagner Act Works

An Explanation by

BEN GOLDEN

★

William Green in Action

FOLLOWING THE GOMPERS TRADITION

By Bruce Minton and John Stuart

A Fascist Charter

THE MENACE OF THE SHEPPARD-HILL BILL

By Willard R. Espy

Stephen Spender John Strachey

BETWEEN OURSELVES

THE day the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee brought Jones & Laughlin to its knees, we had a visitor. Pat Cush, veteran organizer in the coal fields and steel towns, dropped in and recalled a few things about the history of steel organizing that lent special satisfaction to the fact that Jones & Laughlin had acceded to the union demands. Time was, and not so long ago, either, Brother Cush informed us, that anyone stepping off a train at Aliquippa, Jones & Laughlin's feudal domain, was at once asked to state his business by special police who kept watch over the railroad station. If it chanced he could give no better account of himself than that he had merely dropped in for a visit, he was likely to find himself undergoing a third degree at police headquarters. And for many years, Cush remarked, there was a city ordinance in Aliquippa making it a penal offense to lower window-shades beyond a certain point. Drawn shades would mean a police raid and arrest—and for that matter, if your shades were up, and prowling Coal & Iron Police peering into your windows saw an unfamiliar face, you would be required to give an account of your visitor.

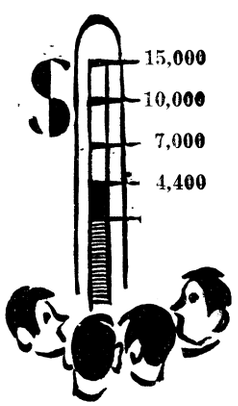
At least one reader regards us as being pretty backward, instead of vigorously leading the masses who are our readers. Maybe our correspondent is right; anyway, here's what he says:

"Dear low-pressure salesmen: If I ever went out on the street corner to sell the *Daily Worker* with as little gusto as that with which you are conducting your 'drive' for funds, I wouldn't sell a copy. Enclosed find a check for five dollars. If you will snap out of your lethargy and *double* your fund quota, I pledge another five dollars out of my next pay envelope. Well, I'm waiting!

"Do you call what you are conducting a *drive?* The magazine is great. Why the inferiority complex?

"F. G. L."

We are inclined to think our friend is right; we've been lagging, with the result that *you've* been lagging. Our $15,000 fund drive has been on for over a month now, and we've only hit the $4400 mark. This can't go on. We



keep hearing rumors and remarks about how various of you are going to do something, but that "going to" should at once be translated into present tense. Folks who have moved to the country have already started having lawn parties and week-end house parties, specifically for our benefit. Another friend writes that he's going to have a subscription party for us this weekend, at which his friends will be asked not to contribute outright but to buy the $100 lifetime subscriptions or the $25 ten-year subscriptions that we are featuring in connection with the fund drive. But the main point is, the drive is lagging and it mustn't if *your* magazine is to continue to improve to the point where it attracts enough extra readers to make the improvements permanent. In plain, blunt language, get busy and do your bit in connection with our drive; make sure you do your part in sending us over the top within the month.

What's What

BETTY LAWFORD, whose onstage sitdown bath in *The Women* this past season was supposed to have put a premium on balcony seats, is one of the Broadway luminaries taking part in a benefit performance at the Manhattan Opera House in New York Saturday night, May 22, under the auspices of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy. Other notables associated with the preparations for this event include Marc Connelly, George S. Kaufman, Sidney Kingsley, Arthur Kober, Philip Merivale, Burgess Meredith, George Gershwin, and Margalo Gillmore. The affair is being held to establish a Third American Base Hospital in Spain.

Librarians and other sharp-eyed readers will notice that this week's issue of the NEW MASSES carries the number 9—the same number last week's issue carried. This is to correct an error made earlier this spring when our numbers jumped from Number 2 in the April 6 issue to Number 4 in the April 13 issue. For the sake of library records, therefore, all the issues from April 13 to May 18, inclusive, should be renumbered by one less. And we might as well answer now a question that has been raised occasionally about our volume numbering: we issue four volumes annually of thirteen numbers each.

Film reviewer Peter Ellis, whose comments will be missing from our pages for the duration of the strike in the Hollywood studios, is co-author of an article on the social study of the film in the new issue of *Theatre Workshop.* His collaborator on the piece is Jay Leyda, curator of the film library at the Museum of Modern Art. The issue as a whole features a series of articles on directing and staging by various authorities, including Mordecai Gorelik and B. E. Zakhava, director of the Vakhtangov Theatre in Moscow.

The Critics' Group is offering a prize of $100 for a Marxist essay on a literary subject. The judges will be Kenneth Burke, Joseph Freeman, and Granville Hicks. For further details write The Critics' Group, P. O. Box 78, Station D, New York City; or consult their pamphlet, *Dialectics,* for sale in Workers' Bookshops.

Now that the committee filibuster on the President's proposal for reforming the Supreme Court has been broken, and the plan is out for open debate, great importance will attach to the speech by Earl Browder on "What Kind of Supreme Court?" Comrade Browder's address will be given Wednesday evening, May 26, at Carnegie Hall in New York under the auspices of the NEW MASSES, with Joseph Freeman as chairman. All seats are reserved, and can be obtained through our office.

Who's Who

BEN GOLDEN, until recently associate director of the National Labor Relations Board, is now a labor-relations consultant in New York. . . . Willard R. Espy, who has been the Washington representative of the American League Against War and Fascism, is also our correspondent there. . . . Charles Wedger is an expert on Latin American affairs who has just returned from a tour of South and Central America. . . . Stephen Spender, a Britisher who has been one of those taking part in the English-language broadcasts from Station EAQ2, Madrid, is the author of the recently published *Forward from Liberalism.* . . . John Strachey, whose writings are well known to our readers and whose most recent work is *The Theory and Practice of Socialism,* is now in England. . . . Dorothy Brewster, editor of several collections of short stories, is a member of the English department at Columbia University.

Flashbacks

C. I.O.'d steel workers may be amused to note that May 25, 1923, open-shop Elbert H. Gary, president of the American Iron & Steel Institute, uttered a great lament on returning from a Mediterranean cruise. Of those he had recently kayoed in the 1919 steel strike, he still found it in his heart to wail, "Eighty-five percent or more of the cost of producing steel is paid to the workmen." What percent of the sale price of steel went to these same workmen he did not say. . . . Reactionary New England's last acquiescence in the southern doctrine of "Once a slave always a slave," came May 24, 1854. On that day, the long arm of the law reached out, seized Negro Anthony Burns in the streets of Boston, ordered him returned to his master. Two days later, revolutionary New England made its effective answer. Thomas Wentworth Higginson led indignant citizens to the court-house in an effort to free Burns. The police attacked the would-be rescuers, wounding several, but Boston never again attempted to enforce the fugitive-slave law. . . . "I do not know of any crime that the oppressors and their hirelings have not proved by the Bible," said Eugene Debs in the course of his acceptance of the Socialist presidential nomination, May 23, 1908, insisting for good measure that "Politics is simply the reflex of economics."

THIS WEEK

May 25, 1937

Vol. XXIII, No. 9

Art work by Louis Lozowick, Abe Ajay, Gardner Rea, John Mackey, William Gropper, Lester Polakov, Scott Johnston, Darryl Frederick, Martin, Tromka, William Sanderson, R. Gikow, Dan Rico, Joe Bartlett, Abis.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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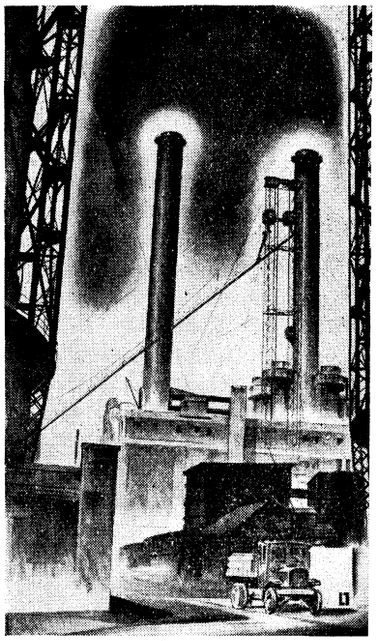

Lithograph by Louis Lozowick

How the Wagner Act Works

Responding to a request from the New Masses, an authority on labor relations explains the measure

By Ben Golden

THE Wagner Labor Relations Act intends to safeguard "commerce from injury, impairment, or interruption . . . by removing certain recognized sources of industrial strife and unrest, by encouraging practices fundamental to the friendly adjustment of industrial disputes. . . ."

The act recognizes the disparity of bargaining power between labor and employers, and is designed to remedy that inequality. Therefore the act attempts to insure certain conditions necessary for equality. It is obvious that there can be no genuine parity of bargaining power and no genuine bargaining carried on if one of the principals is actually dominating or controlling the policy of the other. For any bargain which is not a fraud is based upon the independence of the parties. Hence Section 7 of the act states that "Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." And in order to implement this right of employees, Section 8 sets forth a list of unfair labor practices which are intended to prevent the employer from sitting on both sides of the bargaining table in any way.

But the mere independence of employees in the bargaining process is not enough. For a bargain assumes that each party has something to offer which it can effectively withhold if the barter does not suit it. Labor can withhold only its labor power, and the strike is labor's method of refusing to accept a bargain. Hence the act, in Section 13, provides that "Nothing in this act shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike."

The act sets up a National Labor Relations Board to effectuate its provisions. The board is represented in various regions by the regional boards, which are the agencies actually receiving and investigating complaints. Now let us see how the act accomplishes its end of promoting collective bargaining in order to avoid industrial disputes and consequent stoppages of production.

LET'S FOLLOW the organization of a union in a plant up to the stage of a written or verbal agreement, and see how the act at each step facilitates the process. Our plant must, of course, be in interstate business. Some of the two hundred workers have been led by a series of grievances to start a union. News of this attempt usually gets back to the employer, and usually his first reaction is to break it up. I will illustrate these steps by using cases from my experience. If one of the ringleaders is a young man who is attending college in the evening, the manager may suddenly shift him to evening work, so that the employee must drop his studies. This move is readily understood by the employee as a warning and an attempt at intimidation. He can file charges with the Regional Board alleging discrimination because of union activity. The complaint is then investigated by a staff member, who very often during his investigation will act in a certain mediatory capacity in an attempt to secure compliance with the act.

If management restores the employee to his former shift, then the complaint is withdrawn, since compliance has been obtained. If the employer does not comply, a complaint is issued by the board, and a hearing is then held before a trial examiner. On the basis of the evidence presented at the hearing, the examiner then prepares an intermediate report which presents his findings and his recommendations in the form of directions to the employer for compliance. This report then goes to the union, the employer, and to the board. If there is still no compliance with the directions of the report, the board may then hold another hearing, accept the trial examiner's report, or modify the report without a hear-

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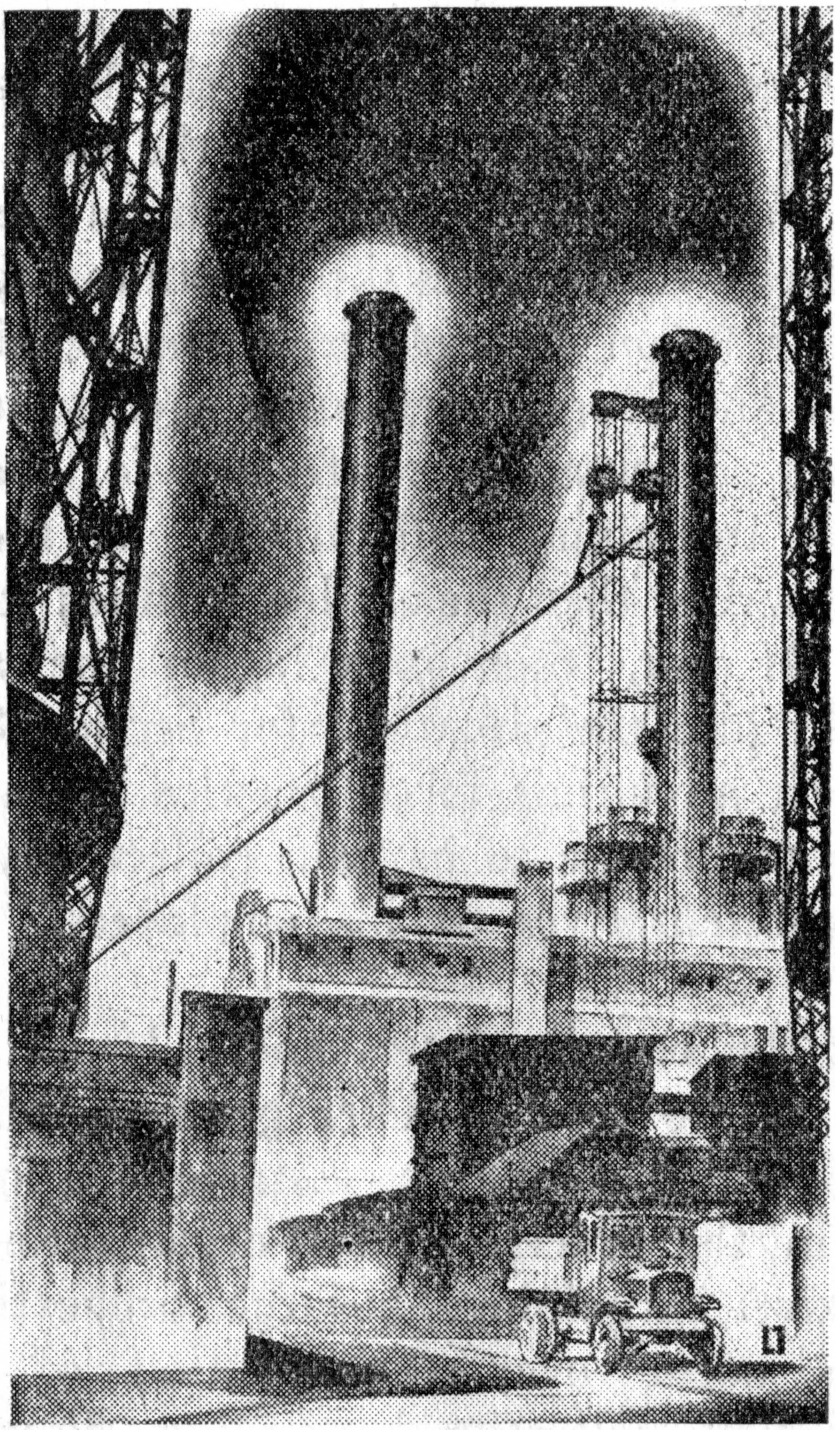


Lithograph by Louis Lozowick

ing. A final report and a cease-and-desist order is then issued. Lack of compliance at this stage sends the board to the Circuit Court of Appeals for a cease-and-desist order to the employer.

But perhaps management in our plant will not be so subtle as to intimidate by transfer to another shift. Perhaps it will find that the ringleaders are guilty of some minor infraction of rules, and will dismiss them wholesale. There again, if it seems to the board that the real motive for the discharges was an attempt to restrain self-organization, the board will direct the employer to take such measures as will assure compliance with the terms of the act. The employees will be restored to their former positions, and they will be given back pay for the time they were out. If, during that period, they have held some other lower-salaried job, they will receive the difference between what they would have got had they not been dismissed and what they actually earned.

Perhaps, however, management will persuade a group of loyal employees to form a "reasonable" union, will rent a headquarters for it, and spread the word around to the employees that the loyal union will get more in a process of collective bargaining. Here again, the bona-fide union may file charges, and if investigation discloses that the loyal union is in any way dominated by the company, or has been fostered by the company, the board will issue an order directing its dissolution. It will be interesting, in this connection, to see what happens when, because of the rivalry of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., unions are accepted by one of the two groups, or formed as rivals to the other with the encouragement of management. There will undoubtedly be charges, filed by the union, of company domination in the other parent body, and it is not inconceivable that the board's investigation will sustain such a charge.

Another tactic that management has used in an effort to discourage the formation of a genuine union has been to hold some sort of gathering of its own to coincide with an announced union meeting. Of course, at gatherings held by the employer the employees know that the supervisory staff of the company will be present, and note all absences. In one instance, in a small town, a notice was posted asking the employees to attend a special church service Sunday morning, at exactly the same time that a union meeting was scheduled. This sudden concern for the spiritual welfare of the employees was found to be restraint and interference with the self-organization of the men.

Let us suppose, however, that the board can discover no link between the loyal union and the company. The employer in this case will often sign a contract with the loyal union, granting it sole bargaining rights. In such a situation, the bona-fide union can continue its organizing until it has a majority of the employees, and can then request a conference. The conference will be politely refused by management on the ground that it is already under agreement with another union. The bona-fide union at this time files a request for an election with the board, so that the genuine collective-bargaining agency may be determined. If the board finds that such an election is necessary to designate the bargaining agent or the representatives of the employees, it can then proceed to hold such an election. A majority vote chooses the bargaining agency.

If our union emerges from the election as the sole and proper bargaining agency, it then proceeds to demand a conference for the purpose of bargaining collectively. If the employer agrees, then the act has fulfilled its purpose. If not, then once again the act is brought into the situation, for Section 8 (5) makes it an unfair labor practice for an employer to "refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives of his employees."

HERE the board's duties end. If no agreement can be reached after genuine collective bargaining, there may be a strike or a lockout. But, in the process of self-organization and collective bargaining, a large proportion of strikes occur over the question of union recognition, collective bargaining, discriminatory discharges, and other such points. These strikes the Wagner act is constructed to eliminate. And there is no doubt that it will do its work.

There are various subtler questions involved in the administration and application of the act which will undoubtedly assume larger proportions after the practice of collective bargaining is well established. Especially is this true of the issue of the proper bargaining unit. For the act leaves to the discretion of the board the question of determining which of several units is the appropriate bargaining unit. For example, in a company which has several plants widely scattered, each plant concerned with a different part of the productive process, and within each plant various craft divisions, how shall collective bargaining proceed? Shall one agency bargain for all the employees of the company, shall each plant have its own bargaining agency, shall each craft have its own union and representatives? In view of the growing split in the labor movement, this question can assume very grave importance.

Or again, what of factional disputes within the union, such as the East Coast marine workers have just had? Is it wise to permit a faction within a union to demand an election for the purpose of determining who represents the men? I don't know. But I do feel that such a practice may become very dangerous indeed.

There are several general points about the Wagner act which are apparently subject to widely divergent interpretations. Some of these interpretations are no doubt being offered with the intent of falsifying and vitiating its provisions. In the first place, the act does not require anyone to sign a contract with a union, although I cannot see much difference between entering into a verbal agreement and entering into a written agreement. Secondly, the act in no way imposes a closed shop upon employers. A closed-shop contract provides that only union members in good standing may be employed, and that all hiring is to be done through the union. The act distinctly allows for a closed shop, but in those cases where a union does not have a closed shop, the act provides for individual bargaining in the form of presentation of grievances.

The act does not deal with the problems of employers, but is designed to carefully de-

Handout A. Ajav

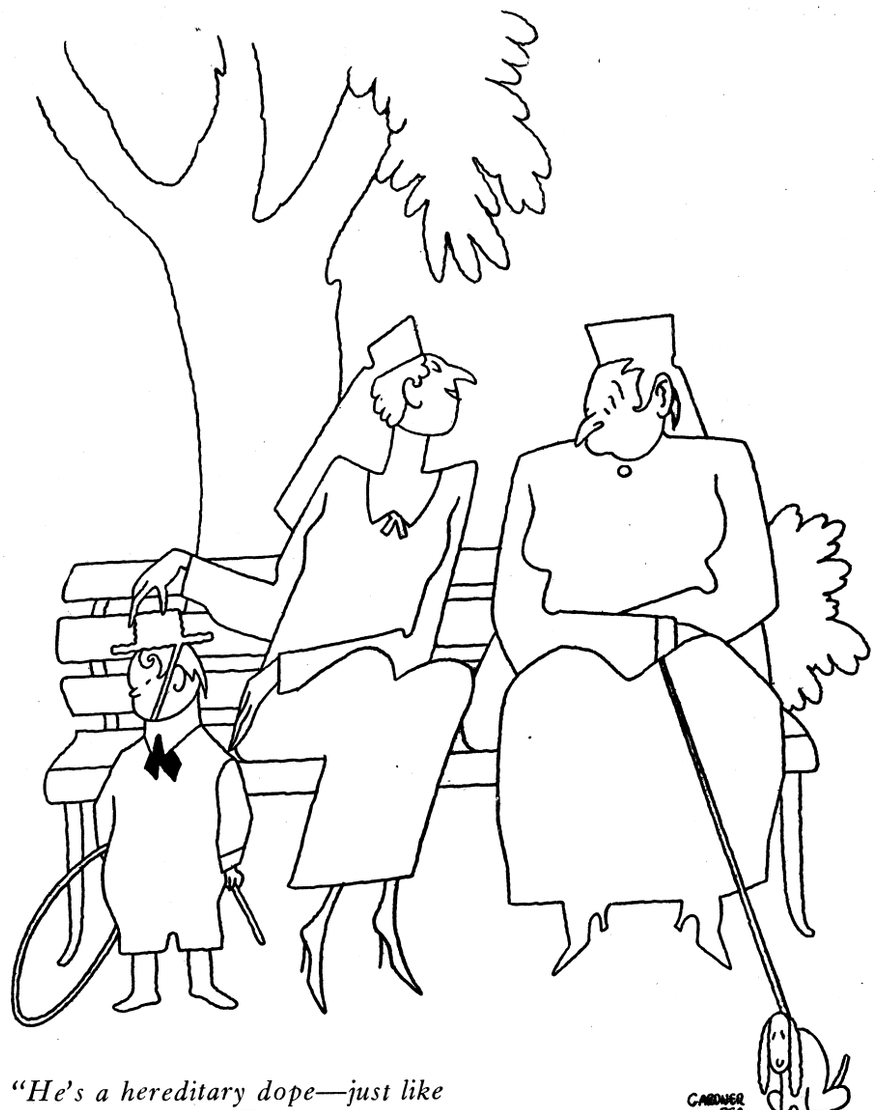
fine and protect certain rights of employees. The board can act only upon the complaint of an employee. No employer, for instance, has the right under the act to demand an election. For it is not the business of the employer, the act intends, to be concerned with the self-organization of his employees.

THE FAILURE of the act to apply to intrastate commerce is a serious shortcoming. But, in this direction, the Doyle-Neustein bill, which has just been passed by both houses in Albany, is a great step forward. I have been unable to learn what the final form of the bill is. In its early form it was excellent, and in some points superior to the Wagner Labor Relations Act. For instance, the Doyle bill specifically names it an unfair labor practice for an employer to spy upon or keep under surveillance, whether directly or through agents or any other person, any activities of employees or their representatives. Besides this very important point, the Doyle bill defines very completely and carefully other unfair labor practices so as to leave no loophole for evasion. Included in its list of unfair labor practices are the maintenance of a blacklist, formation of company unions, and refusal to bargain collectively. Besides this, the Doyle bill provides that the majority of employees *voting* in an election shall choose the bargaining representative, and, significantly, prohibits the commission it sets up from investigating any dispute or controversy between individuals or groups within the same labor organization or between labor organizations affiliated with the same parent body. This is a highly important provision, since it makes sure that the commission will not interfere in intra-union affairs.

The Doyle act further provides that no election shall be directed by the commission solely at the request of an employer or of any employees prompted thereto by their employer; and in elections, employees employed only for the duration of a strike are ineligible to vote. This last provision is, of course, necessary to prevent the packing of elections with strike-breakers.

If the Doyle bill has not been amended in these provisions, it will undoubtedly prove to be a highly effective instrument in extending the principles and policy of the Wagner act into fields where it does not now apply. In doing this it will hasten the acceptance throughout industry of the method of collective bargaining, and will bring us further along on the road to maturity in our industrial relations.

There has recently been considerable clamor set up by people who feel that the Wagner act is unfair to employers in that it gives only employees the right to file complaints. Sound and fury issue from Chamber of Commerce meetings, and the burden of their laments is that labor now has too much power. I cannot accept these cries seriously. Labor, under the Wagner and Doyle acts, does not have the right to arrest employers, yet employers for years have availed themselves of injunctions, anti-picketing ordinances, nuisance, disturbing-the-peace, blocking-traffic, littering-the-street, and assault-and-battery charges to arrest and fine labor leaders and striking employees. They have many more and stronger legal devices at their disposal than labor has. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the Wagner act in no way intervenes in an industrial dispute if collective bargaining is practised.



"He's a hereditary dope—just like the king of England."

Gardner Rea

Coupled with the groundless complaint that labor has been given too much power under these collective-bargaining laws comes the drive for other laws to extract the teeth from the Wagner act. These suggestions include laws for compulsory arbitration, for long mediation periods, for listing of unfair labor practices which labor cannot use, etc. I want particularly to mention my position on any laws for compulsory arbitration. I pointed out at the very beginning that in any bargaining process labor's method of refusing to accept the bargain is to withhold its commodity, labor power. This means a strike, and the Wagner act very carefully provided against any construction of its provisions which might in any way infringe upon the right to strike. Compulsory arbitration, however, actually prohibits the right to strike, thus depriving labor of its ability to refuse to accept a bargain. Under these conditions, collective bargaining becomes a meaningless affair. There can be no real collective bargaining if the right to strike is in any way impaired, and any law for compulsory arbitration makes the Wagner and Doyle acts frustrate legal gestures. Another weakness of governmental compulsory arbitration was demonstrated in Australia, where the method of compulsory arbitration by the government failed mainly because the results of such arbitration varied widely, depending on whether a labor or a conservative government did the arbitrating.

Industrial relations in America have long lagged behind those of other democracies. Our story of employer-employee affairs is the bitterest and most sanguinary in the world. The Wagner act now offers us the opportunity to catch up with other democratic lands. To labor, it means an opportunity to organize even more thoroughly than the workers of France and England and Australia, and it means the establishment of more friendly and efficient plant relationships for employers.

The Sheppard-Hill Menace

The bill approved by the Senate Military Affairs Committee plans real regimentation for you and you

By Willard R. Espy

IT took thirty-one days after April 9th for the Sheppard bill, S. 25—known also as the universal-service, labor-draft, war-profits, or industrial-mobilization bill—to travel down the hall from the Senate Military Affairs Committee, where it was approved with minor alterations, to the chambers of the Senate Finance Committee, where detailed tax provisions are being inserted. The reasons for the delay are noteworthy.

The majority report of the Senate Military Affairs Committee was written by Col. John Thomas Taylor. Colonel Taylor is not a Senator; he is national counsel for the American Legion, whose hierarchy and Barney Baruch served as godfathers of the measure. Taylor did not wish to issue his majority report until he had seen the minority report, which was in the capable hands of Senator Gerald P. Nye. It is anybody's guess whether Nye waited because he wanted to see the majority report, or because he wanted to delay action on the measure, or simply because he wanted to annoy the colonel. He could afford to dawdle, for the industrial-mobilization bill, which would set up a twenty-four-carat tory dictatorship whenever a jittery Congress might shout "Emergency!" contains revenue provisions; and under our constitution the House of Representatives must institute all revenue measures. So the Sheppard bill will not be reported to the Senate floor until the House has acted on its equivalent, the Hill bill (H. R. 1954; revised version H. R. 6704).

The Sheppard-Hill bill, says its title, is designed to "prevent profiteering in time of war and to equalize the burdens of war and thus provide for the national defense, and promote peace." How does it happen that a measure of such lofty aims has been roundly damned by every liberal publication in the United States, by labor organizations, peace bodies, progressives, and anti-fascists, while even today a quarter of our congressmen have never heard of it, another quarter assume that it is justified by its title, and the remainder, with the exception of the progressive bloc and their part-time adherents, who number perhaps seventy-five, approve of it as pointing the direction in which America must move in order to retain the profit system?

The arguments that have been leveled against the Sheppard-Hill bill are simple and damning. They are divisible into two segments: its failure to achieve any of its avowed aims, and the camouflaged *carte blanche* written by it for aims that are not avowed.

It does not "prevent profiteering," because it imposes a 95-percent tax only on income "above the previous three-year average." This means that business can retain the profit ratio of its pre-war boom (and remember that fear of the boom's collapse will be a major cause for our taking the final-war-step) and will get a five-percent bonus besides. The pre-war period drips with profits. Senator Nye has remarked that had this law been effective in 1917, 1918, and 1919, the du Ponts would have paid no penny of income tax, their greatest profit increase having occurred during the pre-war business pick-up.

It nullifies any tax imposed by permitting "proper adjustments for capital expenditures," which means that for big business the levy will exist only on paper. Excess-profits, taxes, and price-fixing laws galore sprang from the last war. So did twenty-one thousand new millionaires.

It assumes that profits can be eliminated in war though they have not been eliminated in peace, and though the lust for profits is a principal factor in the war situation. Baruch has declared repeatedly that war is no time to tamper with our economic system. General Pershing conditioned his approval of the measure with the warning that "industry cannot operate without profit, and munitions must be provided *regardless of cost.*" Witnesses before Senate and House committees have iterated and reiterated that profits must not be reduced to the point where industry will cease to coöperate.

THE BILL does not "equalize the burdens of war." On the contrary, it legalizes the supreme conscription, that of human life, and the supplementary conscription of human labor; but it does not permit the minor conscription of profits, which, as committee members point out, might be unconstitutional.

"Provide for the national defense?" It doesn't even say what national defense is. If it means the defense of our coasts and harbors, there is no conceivable emergency so grave as to require conscription of armies and labor, freezing of our national economy, destruction of our least civil right, and emergence of a full-blown presidential dictatorship. If it means shipping American boys to Europe, Asia, or Africa to fight, or if it means the defense of industrialists against the C.I.O., then—well, the masses should know about those meanings too.

"Promote peace"? On the contrary: a premium is set on pre-war business expansion by the "previous three years" phraseology. Only war can postpone the sudden, utter collapse of such expansion, with all the devastating effects of panic and a major depression. Moreover, the bill deals exclusively with regulation of our economy during, not before, a war or "emergency." Not a line of the bill would go into effect before the war or "emergency" was declared. How, then, "promote peace?"

It appears, then, that the Sheppard-Hill bill does not prevent profiteering, equalize the burdens of war, provide for the national defense, or promote peace. It is loosely drawn; no two of its backers agree on exactly what it provides. Moreover, it is questionable whether automatizing the life of a nation would increase even its material efficiency. If dictatorship has failed to increase the efficiency of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in peace time, there is little reason for supposing it will increase the efficiency of the United States in a modern war—which, as General Hugh S. Johnson told the committees, is a matter of day-to-day improvisation. Representative James W. Wadsworth questioned whether such an act was needed, pointing out that the National Defense act of 1920 covers all the significant aspects of war-time effectiveness, and that the changes required by an altered world situation might be obtained by a simple amendment to the old law.

Yet the bill has definite "accomplishments" to its credit. Here are some samples.

It lays the legislative groundwork for the notorious Industrial Mobilization Plan of the War Department. Secretary of War Woodring writes: "The bill as a whole is favorably considered by the War Department. The broad control measures provided *form the basis of the recently revised Industrial Mobilization Plan.*" As to what the plan itself provides—more of that anon.

It makes the President of the United States an absolute dictator. Colonel Charles T. Harris, Jr., red-faced director of the planning branch of the War Department, testified before the Senate Committee that "it transfers to the executive arm in time of war complete control of the resources of the nation." General Johnson told the committee: "You practically turn over the whole economic structure of the United States to the Chief Executive in this bill." And Senator Lee, of the committee, remarked on another occasion: "Colonel Taylor is correct when he says that when our nation goes into war our form of government must become a dictatorship, with the President the Commander-in-Chief." All these men back the bill.

In its loose use of the word "emergency," it enables a dictatorship to be entered into at

the whim of any president who has a complaisant Congress. Anything from a sit-down strike to a boil on the President's neck could become a pretext for putting the law into effect. In approving the bill, the Senate Military Affairs Committee struck out all references to an "emergency," but there is every likelihood that this will be reinserted later on the floor of either House, or in the conference committee.

Despite all denials, it facilitates a draft of labor. The unorganized militia between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one are subject to immediate draft, says the bill, "subject to such conditions, exemptions, rules, and regulations as the President may prescribe and publicly proclaim." If he wants to prescribe service in a factory at thirty dollars a month, that's his privilege. Deferment likewise is at the President's whim and under the conditions laid down by him. Here again General Johnson let the cat out of the bag. Asked by Nye whether he "looked on this as being in the strict term a universal draft bill," the general replied: "Yes; I think that is the intention of it." Woodring has confided to the press in a regular interview that the War Department will "favor a labor draft."

It specifically sets an arbitrary limit on the wages of labor. Colonel Harris testified that "as labor is the greatest single element of cost, the War Department feels that the control should be extended to cover labor." Colonel Taylor, who reputedly is the author of the bill, pointed out as he was discussing a line of it: "I am suggesting now, Mr. Chairman, that after the word 'article' the word 'service' be inserted, so we shall very specifically know that this legislation shall apply to wages." When Senator Pepper inquired, "You mean a clerk in a store should have his salary fixed?" Taylor replied, "Everything." This provision has been backed even by some liberals who feel that the workers at home should not be receiving more than the men in the trenches, but who forget that if home wages are cut, say to the military rate of one dollar a day, the soldiers themselves will come home to that wage scale once the war is over. Only the men left behind can preserve labor standards.

Since wages cannot be fixed as long as labor retains the right to strike, the right to strike logically must be abrogated. Labor unions become emasculated and meaningless. Indeed, the very existence of the unions can be ended if the President chooses to utilize the power that is given him in Section 5, to "announce what classes of public service . . . shall be required to operate under licenses, to fix the conditions of such licenses, and to grant licenses under such conditions." This same licensing provision would *end automatically* the freedom of the American press.

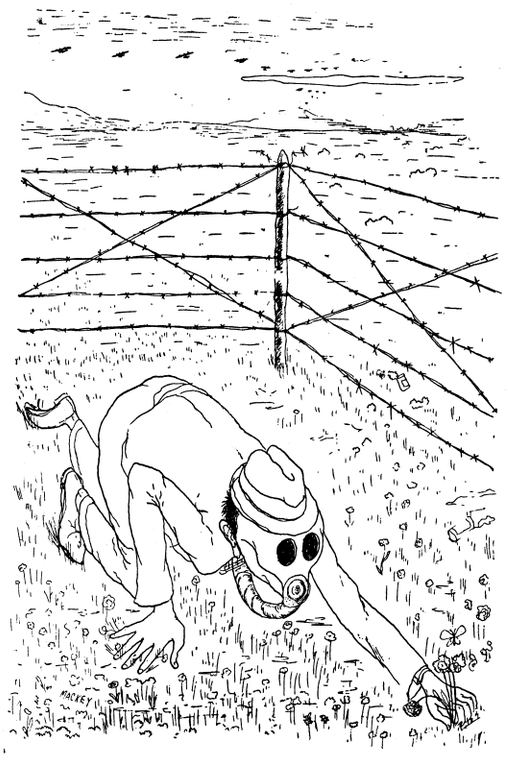
The provisions that are implicit in the Sheppard-Hill bill are explicit in the War Department's Industrial Mobilization Plan, of which it is part and parcel. Says the plan's prologue: "The objective of any warring nation is victory, immediate and complete. It is conceivable that a war might be conducted with such regard for individual justice and administrative efficiency as to make impossible those evils whose existence in past wars is well known. It is also conceivable that the outcome of a war so conducted might be defeat." Not desiring defeat, the plan provides, for instance, that "While the employment of children under the age of sixteen years in industry and agriculture will be avoided wherever possible, it must be recognized from the beginning that the nature of the emergency may require such employment in its later stages." And again:

> For economic reasons, the statutes of the various states prescribe certain restrictions in the hours and conditions of employment of women in industry. Other restrictions are brought about through regulations issued by various authorized Federal and State agencies, by agreements with trade unions, and in other ways. Many of these regulations and restrictions are expedient rather than necessary to the well-being of either the Nation or the workers. In a national emergency much of this expediency is lost, and the operation of some of these regulations and restrictions should be suspended.

There go a hundred and fifty years of American progress.

The Nye Senate committee's report on the Industrial Mobilization Plan (quoted in the cogent condemnation of S 25-H.R. 1954 that has been issued by the Council of U.S. Veterans, Inc.) has this to say on the Industrial Mobilization Plan's provisions for a labor draft:

> Local draft boards will classify men as those available for immediate draft and those whose induction into the armed service is deferred for one reason or another. The War Department has stated that "a deferment once made is not final," and any man can be reclassified and called. . . . The government . . . can say that if a man be called and found unfit for military service, but fit for other work in the essential lists [of industries], he *must* so employ himself or be cut off from rations, transportation, fuel, and supplies. . . . Mr. Baruch has said that . . . the work-or-fight method is a better way [than a draft of labor]. It is compatible with our institutions and far more effective than any chain-gang or impressment that could be invented.



John Mackey

WAYS AND MEANS of erasing evidences of the Sheppard-Hill bill's fascist nature were considered by both Senate and House Military Affairs Committees. As a result of the House deliberations, Mr. Hill introduced a revised measure. To quiet the loud criticism of the word "emergency" in the older version, the new law would go into effect only "whenever Congress shall declare war." But the whole gigantic machinery would begin to throb even if the war were with a country as small as Cuba or Nicaragua. The revision no longer makes even a gesture at preventing profiteering; instead, it resorts to "a system of taxation which, without preventing a fair normal return to labor, management, and invested capital, such return to be fixed by Congress, shall absorb all surplus profits above such return." That, stripped of legal obscurantism, means that wages shall be fixed, but that profits can bloom like the flowers in spring. Lastly, the revision guarantees the freedom of the press.

It is difficult to understand just how these alterations, if the Senate accedes to them, can be considered as camouflaging the plain purpose of the Sheppard-Hill bill. It provides still for a planned economy in which, as Colonel Harris avows, "Labor is the greatest single element of cost," and accordingly must be rigidly controlled. It provides still for Presidential dictatorship, price-fixing, priority of certain types of production and transportation, licensing of industry, and registration of individuals. Such items as it drops can be easily replaced when the time comes; and since without them the whole Industrial Mobilization Plan is meaningless, replaced they will be. For above all else, in judging the Sheppard-Hill phraseology we must remember that it lays the cornerstone of the Industrial Mobilization project. The bill still provides for fascistic regimentation which is not likely to permit, say, freedom of the press, no matter how loudly sponsors of a bill that opens the door to fascism may insist that freedom of the press is to be preserved.

Yet unless public opinion is even more completely aroused than it now appears to be, the Industrial Mobilization Plan will roll down the Congressional skidways without pausing for a futile and divided opposition. The American League Against War & Fascism has been responsible for awakening thousands of individuals to the need of dispatching postcards, letters, and wires to their senators and representatives. Other organizations and individuals have done as much. Now they must do more.

In the Industrial Mobilization Plan of the War Department, big business is trying to hire the undertaker and buy the coffin for a living democracy. When that is accomplished, the next step will be to run her through the belly with a bayonet.

William Gropper

William Gropper

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Spain's New Government

THE Spanish government has been reorganized, after a critical period of indecision, on a stronger basis than before. The previous cabinet, under Largo Caballero, suffered from lack of unity on key issues. There was no unanimity on the very question of military organization, with one tendency, represented by the Communists and many Socialists, calling for one supreme command over every aspect of the war, another, represented by some Anarchists, among others, reluctant to part with the system of divided authority. The Caballero cabinet also failed to represent the relative strengths of the various parties; the Socialist representation of six important posts was far out of line with actual mass following or membership.

The short-lived putsch in Catalonia made it dangerous any longer to evade issues such as these. On Saturday, when the government crisis was recognized by everybody, the Communists stated their position in a note to President Azaña. The most important condition for Communist participation in the government was reorganization of the general staff with responsibility to a war minister whose sole duty should be the direction of every aspect of his department, from the condition of the troops to the appointment of the high command. This arrangement would prohibit the prime minister from holding the office of war minister, as was not true of the Caballero cabinet, where the two functions were held by Caballero himself.

The new cabinet, headed by the left Socialist Juan Negrin, is truly a cabinet of the People's Front in the sense that all parties of the People's Front are represented in it. The posts of war minister and prime minister are separated, with the Socialist Indalecio Prieto in the former post. There are three Socialist ministers instead of six. The Communist representation remains the same, but there are no Anarchists, who have therefore refused to coöperate, which may cause very serious complications.

In the past, whenever the loyalist forces encountered a period of stress, adaptation to the new problems and new conditions has been made through reorganization of the government. In essence, the Negrin cabinet represents an assessment of the past and the attempt to find a better alignment for the future.

False Face

THE sponsors of the American Committee for Spanish Relief are using strange tactics in their efforts to raise money for the rebels under General Franco. Note particularly the huge poster which these rebel supporters put up in various parts of New York announcing its meeting in Madison Square Garden Wednesday. All three photographs on this poster were sent out by the government from Valencia. They have been given wide circulation in publicity issued by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. One picture, that of a murdered child, has been put to a particularly revolting use. The Spanish fascists killed this child; now their supporters in the United States are using this very child as bait in raising money for support of the fascists.

First Down

THE measure to reform the Supreme Court is now out of the hands of the Judiciary Committee and on the floor of the Senate, thereby ending the under-cover filibuster of those members of the committee who are opposed to the plan. The filibuster was conducted by calling dozens of unqualified persons to present their opinions on the reform measure to the committee. This delayed consideration of it in the Senate. Other tricks to persuade the public against the measure are still being used, among them the grotesque attempt to paint Justice Roberts as a liberal. The Court will adjourn for the summer on May 31. But before doing so, it may be expected to hand down a favorable decision on the validity of the Social Security Act. The judges know that if they kill this act, they will only increase popular support for the measure to reform the Court.

Meantime, the fight against the reform is carried on by other methods. Latest of these is the resignation of Associate Justice Willis Van Devanter and the rumor that Associate Justice Sutherland will follow that example. Both these men were irreconcilable reactionaries, and President Roosevelt's choices for their posts will probably change the existing balance of forces completely. The President anticipated this move by announcing that he will accept no compromise. It is now up to him to keep his word.

These resignations provide a public admission that the President's strength on the Court issue is greater than the violently anti-Roosevelt press has dared admit.

New Yorkers can hear a Communist analysis of the whole issue by Earl Browder at Carnegie Hall, May 26, under NEW MASSES auspices.

C.I.O. Tonic

THE convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has done much to strengthen the Committee for Industrial Organization internally. For a time, there was some confusion within the convention in respect to the C.I.O. issue. As we noted last week, a progressive caucus called for unequivocal support to the C.I.O. Another caucus, of which the chief spokesman was Isidor Nagler, was more anxious to befriend the executive council of the A. F. of L., with a "peace at any price" program, than to push the industrial-union movement. All uncertainty about the issue was dissipated after John L. Lewis delivered a powerful speech in which he advocated no compromise with the executive council.

As a result, the convention went on record emphatically supporting their general executive board "in helping to initiate and in affiliating our union with the C.I.O." This resolution also administered a sharp rebuke to the chieftains of the A. F. of L. executive council, which "exceeded its rights and committed an act of the grossest illegality when it suspended the unions compromising the C.I.O." In essence, the resolution means that the C.I.O. had succeeded in protecting its rearguard precisely at the moment when expulsion orders by the executive council against C.I.O. unions make a fight along a wide front imminent.

But There Is No Peace

NO event at the I.L.G.W.U. convention was better adapted to inspire support for the C.I.O. than the masterly address delivered by John L. Lewis. It was a speech of primary significance in American labor history, and the petulant denials which William Green wired to President Dubinsky only served to enhance its importance.

"Peace in the labor movement?" Lewis exclaimed. "Who created the war? The C.I.O. did not withdraw from the A. F. of L. They dedicated themselves to the proposition of organizing unorganized workers and bringing them into the A. F. of L. If that be treason, let the federation make the

most of it—and they have." Recounting the story of the C.I.O.'s birth, Lewis pointed with unconcealed contempt to the A. F. of L.'s record: "The fact that after fifty-five years of activity and effort we have enrolled under the banner of the A. F. of L. approximately 3,500,000 members of the 39,000,000 of organizable workers is a condition that speaks for itself."

Lewis's speech was not only a vivid summary of the C.I.O.'s development since its inception last year, but also a definitive expression of its perspectives, its role in the American labor movement, and its social aspirations. The peace overtures of today, Lewis pointed out, have been forced on the A. F. of L. by its own sense of inadequacy and defeat in the face of C.I.O. victories. A year ago such overtures were not made, although that was the time to make them. Now they fall on ears that hear clearly the call for genuine organization. Now the C.I.O. is on its way and nothing can stop it from organizing those "councils wherein more Americans may get together and consider the policies which the America of tomorrow must adopt."

Fordisms vs. Facts

HENRY FORD'S manifestoes against trade unionism would be more persuasive if he could disprove some of the facts gathered in the April-May survey of business just released by the American Federation of Labor.

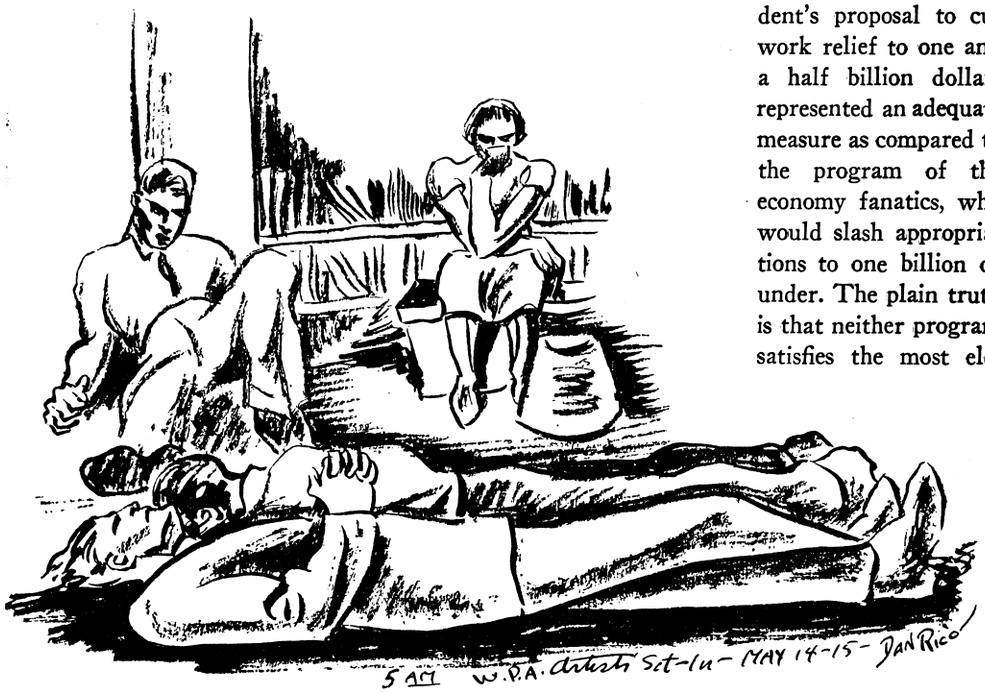
The report shows that during the entire depression wages fell faster and farther than prices or living costs. By 1933, workers' income was 45 percent below 1929, while living costs had fallen only 25 percent. Since 1933, both prices and wages have moved upwards with wages gaining on prices. This gain is relative, however. In the first two months of 1937, workers' income was still 19 percent below the 1929 level, while living costs were only 13 percent below. One ominous feature is the tendency, since the middle of 1936, for wholesale prices to climb more rapidly than either living costs or workers' income. This forecasts a still more rapid rise in living costs during the current year.

What has happened, essentially, is that the workers, having suffered more than any other class during the crisis, sought to better their conditions by winning back part of their pre-depression wage scale. This was all the more necessary because increased industrial activity since 1933 forced price increases. The economic basis of the strike movement thus lies in an increased cost of living. This increased cost of living, in turn, reflects the industrial upturn and increased profits for the owning class.

In Henry Ford's own industry, where the strike movement has been particularly strong, the wage cost between January 1935 and January 1937 rose one percent, but profits rose as much as 24.6 percent.

Heads I Win . . .

ADMINISTRATION leaders, in the debate over the federal work-relief appropriations bill, sought to give the impression that the President's proposal to cut work relief to one and a half billion dollars represented an adequate measure as compared to the program of the economy fanatics, who would slash appropriations to one billion or under. The plain truth is that neither program satisfies the most elementary needs of the unemployment situation today. One plan throws half a million workers into the breadlines; the other deprives a million workers of necessary public support. Both plans swell the ranks of the jobless.



Sketched during the sit-in by Dan Rico

W.P.A. artists strike in New York City against the threat to fire three out of every five.

Lester Pelakov

Half a million depend on him.

That the much-heralded recovery has not substantially removed employment difficulties is indicated by official figures. Some six million families must still turn to the government for some form of assistance, as opposed to 7,000,000 before recovery began. These figures include 2,000,000 persons on W.P.A. and 1,500,000 who live on handouts by local and state governments. According to Department of Labor figures, unemployment can be eliminated only if production reaches a peak 20 percent above 1929.

On the basis of these obvious facts, the Workers' Alliance bill, sponsored by Representative Boileau of Wisconsin, called for an appropriation of three billions for work relief and one billion for direct relief. Only such a measure could provide for a decent minimum of federal aid. Another progressive measure, introduced by Congressmen Maverick and Voorhis, insisted upon a rock-bottom appropriation of two and a half billion dollars. Between these minimum proposals and the fantastic pittance demanded by the reactionaries, there could be no "compromise" which was not a serious blow to the workers, farmers, professionals, and small business men.

Good News from Chile

CHARLES WEDGER'S article in this issue on the People's Front in Chile is prophetic of the most recent developments there. Late dispatches state that all the progressive forces have decided to join together under the banner of the People's Front in the coming presidential elections. The pros-

pect for complete reversal of the reactionary trends of the present Alessandri regime are thus made infinitely brighter. Two candidates have definitely been ruled out: General Carlos Ibañez, who was president from 1927 to 1931, and Gustavo Ross, the millionaire who recently resigned from the finance ministry. The New York *Times* correspondent in Santiago writes that "the regrouping of the left-wing adherents under one combination dispels all doubt in the political field in regard to the future position of one of the most important political associations."

Remember Ponce!

WE have received information direct from Puerto Rico which largely explains Governor Blanton Winship's reluctance to permit the investigating committee headed by Arthur Garfield Hays to examine the causes of the police massacre in Ponce on Palm Sunday last.

The administration of justice on the islands has been distorted beyond recognition by Winship's deliberate intrigues. It was he who persuaded the Legislature in July 1936 to deprive the grand juries of the right to investigate and indict public officials. This act has now been very useful in shielding those responsible for the Ponce killings, because the evidence points an accusing finger at the highest government officials, as our account of the episode showed [issue of April 6, 1937].

District Attorney Perez Marchand, on whom responsibility rested for the investigation and indictment, was fortunately inclined to see justice done. He brought charges against a policeman who, according to the evidence, had run two blocks from the scene of the shooting to murder a youth in cold blood. It was even rumored that Insular Police Chief Orbeta had cause to worry. At this point, Attorney General Benigno Fernandez Garcia stepped in, insisted that all the Nationalists be reindicted for homicide instead of riot, and forced Perez Marchand to resign. That is how the District Attorney was removed as an obstacle to a fraudulent investigation. There can be no doubt that the attorney general was acting for Winship himself.

Such is the grip of Winship on the insular House of Representatives that little can be expected from that quarter. By a shrewd exercise of pressure and intimidation, every department of the government has been induced to thwart a genuine investigation into the Palm Sunday murders. Popular pressure on the State Department in Washington will help to loosen Winship's grip and strengthen the hand of the investigating committee now in the islands.

A Child Was Born

IN the long prison sentence imposed upon Luis Carlos Prestes there is high tragedy which reaches from Rio de Janeiro to Washington to Berlin. As noted last week, Prestes, together with thirty-five others, has been sentenced to a term of sixteen years and eight months after an utterly farcical procedure by a military tribunal. His "crime" was that of leading those opposed to the present regime of violence under President Getulio Vargas.

In Washington, D. C., a committee headed by Rockwell Kent and including Isobel Walker Soule, James Waterman Wise, David Levinson, Gifford Cochran, and Sasha Small, visited Brazilian Ambassador Oswaldo Aranha and departed with some important promises. The ambassador gave them his pledge that an American committee will be permitted to visit Prestes and his fellow political prisoners in the immediate future. He denied that Prestes had been sent to the fever-ridden penal colony in the jungles of Matto Grosso. Prestes, according to Aranha, is confined in a prison on the Isle Grande in the bay outside Rio de Janeiro.

In Berlin, the prison of the German State Secret Police is at No. 8 Prinz Albrechtstrasse. A little child, six months old, is held prisoner there. She wears a prison uniform just as though she had been sentenced. She is there because she is the child of Olga and Luis Carlos Prestes.

Prestes has never seen his child. Two months after the Vargas government banished Olga Prestes to Germany, little Anita was born behind the bars at No. 8 Prinz Albrechtstrasse. The German government imprisoned Olga Prestes without a trial, without an indictment, with no reason other than that she is the wife of the man now in Isle Grande.

We shall keep our readers posted on the fate of Prestes in the critical months before us.

Joe Bartlett

Prestes—Americans will visit him

Meanwhile, we urge our readers to pour into the Brazilian embassy at Washington protests on behalf of Prestes, his associates, his wife Olga, and their little daughter Anita.

Ferment in Brazil

AMERICANS have other reasons than that of simple humanity for taking active interest in Brazilian politics. It is not unlikely that Brazil, if its present political set-up remains unchanged, will side with the fascist aggressors in the event of a world war. There are today 200,000 Germans, 150,000 Italians, and 100,000 Japanese in Brazil. Both Germany and Italy have made strenuous efforts to organize Brazilian branches of their native fascist organizations. These, together with the Integralistas, the Brazilian fascists, constitute the main support of the Vargas regime.

Right now President Vargas is casting about for a candidate whom he can control to succeed him in office following the presidential election scheduled for next January. Brazilian politics is semi-feudal; there are no real political parties; candidates are selected by the various states, of which only three or four really count owing to their population and commercial importance. Until quite recently, Vargas's candidate for the presidency was Aranha, Brazilian ambassador to the United States. Aranha was one of the triumvirate which staged the successful revolt of 1930 and put Vargas in office. The other two were Vargas himself and Flores da Cunha, at present governor of the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

This triumvirate now appears shattered beyond repair. Da Cunha's candidate for president is Armando Salles de Oliveira, former governor of Sao Paulo. Ambassador Aranha seems to have decided that Vargas is through, and that no candidate linked to him can win. Recently Aranha had occasion to gauge his own political position in Brazil. He returned home, en route to the Pan-American Peace Conference in Buenos Aires, and came back to Washington convinced that he was out of the running.

The presidential election promises to be one of the most important in Brazilian history. Unquestionably, the savage treatment meted out to Prestes has done much to weaken Vargas's influence among the non-fascist sections of the Brazilian people.

Headache in Hollywood

THE situation in the film industry has not been clear from a mere reading of the newspapers, but from Hollywood, Edward Newhouse wires us confirmation of our worst suspicions. It appears that the execu-

tive board of the Screen Actors' Guild has betrayed the strike of the Federated Motion Picture Crafts in return for vague promises and a partial guild shop, so called. This arrangement leaves the way open for producers to decide who shall be members of the guild, and is a virtual guarantee that the guild will be speedily packed.

Disfranchised junior and some senior guild members registered resentment against the board's policy by rising in honor of Lionel Stander and vociferously applauding his criticism of the board's action made from the floor of the guild meeting.

The guild's agreement with the producers contains a no-strike clause valid for ten years. Active board members who have been singled out for the unfair star list on account of this reactionary agreement are Robert Montgomery, Frank Morgan, Franchot Tone, Humphrey Bogart, Edward Arnold, and Chester Morris. Other board members who countenanced the sell-out were Frederic March, James Cagney, Joan Crawford, Boris Karloff, and Paul Muni.

The agreement does not abolish the hated Call Bureau and leaves control of Central Casting to the producers. The vaunted closed shop is promised only after five years. Certain wage categories agreed upon are below the N.R.A. level. At that, the agreement was railroaded through without a vote of guild members, and the meeting was swiftly adjourned over loud protests.

It is now evident that the fanfare of lofty generosity for low-paid players was a board ruse to temporize while the strike mood was burning. The guild board went William Green one better by denouncing the strike of the Federated Motion Pictures Crafts as "outlaw." The guild magazine shamelessly lauds the International Alliance of Theatre & Stage Employees for winning their sell-out agreement for them. Moreover, the board, under I.A.T.S.E. influence, has employed gangsterism and strong-arm methods. Progressives like Lionel Stander, Joe Bromberg, and Fred Keating have had their lives threatened. Meanwhile, rank-and-file indignation against the board's sell-out is mounting.

American Labor Girds for the Show-Down

THE outstanding developments in the world of labor during the past week showed a distinct tightening of lines by both the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization. The executive council of the A. F. of L. has begun to resort to a variety of administrative measures, mainly expulsions and suspensions, in its effort to obstruct the vast organization drives of the C.I.O. The C.I.O. continues to gain ground on the strength of just these organizational drives among the unorganized in the mass-production industries—for which purpose it was originally founded.

It is altogether likely that the executive council intends, at its session opening in Cincinnati May 24, to carry out its threat to expel outright the ten international unions affiliated with the C.I.O. which previously it suspended. If so, the recent suspension of three C.I.O. unions by the Los Angeles Central Labor Council (on specific orders from President Green), and the arbitrary removal of all the officers of the North Carolina State Federation of Labor (also at Green's order), were made with that larger object in mind.

In reply, the C.I.O. continues to sink deep roots among the masses of organized and unorganized workers. Herein lies the hopeful aspect of the present situation. The "counter-attack" by the C.I.O. takes an altogether different form and thereby is given an altogether different significance. When the Transport Workers' Union, a C.I.O. affiliate, walked off with a ten-to-one victory in the N.L.R.B. election held among the employees of the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. of New York, no expulsions from on top were involved. The workers themselves decided whether two A. F. of L. craft unions, one badly disguised company union, or the C.I.O. union should represent them in collective bargaining with the company. Such a vote of confidence has nothing in common with purely coercive measures designed to smother just these expressions of confidence.

But more impressive and more important from the long view than any of these developments was the victory of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee of the C.I.O. over the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. Only two and a half years ago, on October 14, 1934, the company-owned town of Aliquippa, domain of Jones & Laughlin, saw its first public union meeting. For more than thirty years, this corporation has had no relations whatsoever, except that of brutal repression, with any bona-fide union. Yet, within the last week, thirty-six hours after a strike call, Jones & Laughlin was forced to come to terms with the S.W.O.C. By the time these lines are read, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, & Tin Workers, affiliated with the S.W.O.C., may, by virtue of an N.L.R.B. election, be the exclusive bargaining agency for every one of the 27,000 workers employed by Jones & Laughlin.

That is how labor history is being made under the C.I.O. The steel industry is focal in the set-up of American big industry and finance. Upon it rested the open-shop practices of many industries, especially auto It excelled all others in its flagrant use of espionage, thuggery, bribery, blacklist, and the company union to prevent or shatter union drives. Since the historic strike at Homestead in 1892, every steel strike except the Jones & Laughlin strike was broken by company violence.

Several factors contributed to the union victory at Aliquippa. Foremost was the C.I.O. itself. Workers in the mass-production industries have confidence in the C.I.O. and are thus willing to take a valiant stand. The C.I.O. drive in the mass-production industries has developed a momentum which is infectious. Secondly, the great armament programs of practically every government in the world, combined with the industrial upturn, make strikes very costly to corporations in steel right now. Jones & Laughlin stocks on the Curb market dropped 9.5 points on the day of the strike; news of the settlement immediately sent the stock back to its previous level. On the whole, corporation profits are hitting new highs. The net profits of United States Steel jumped 4500 percent from 1935 to 1936. The LaFollette committee's exposé of terrorism and spying by the great industrial combines also helped to swing public opinion in favor of the strikers.

The campaign to organize steel is by no means over. The leading producer, Carnegie-Illinois, an affiliate of U.S. Steel, signed with the union on March 2, but only Jones & Laughlin of the big five independent producers in steel—the others are Bethlehem, Republic, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, and National—has followed suit. It remains to be seen whether Tom Girdler, chairman of Republic Steel, whom *Business Week* reports as boasting that his "industrial relations set-up" can "go into the shop at any time, anywhere, and talk turkey to the men," can be induced to talk turkey with the union. And Ernest T. Weir of National Steel, notorious for uncompromising reaction during the N.R.A. days, has announced that he intends to buck the Wagner act just as ferociously as he bucked the N.R.A.

In the last analysis, the struggle between the leadership of the A. F. of L. and the leadership of the C.I.O. will be settled on the basis of votes of confidence by the workers, not by attempted coercion from above. The decisive moves will be organizational drives, not disorganizing intrigues.

Will the executive council of the A. F. of L. at its coming session be able to point to one affiliated union which, like the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, & Tin Workers, increased its membership from a poor 9795 in May 1936 to a thumping 500,000 in May 1937?

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN CHILE

First in the Americas!

The embattled liberal and radical Chilenos have forged a fighting progressive coalition

By Charles Wedger

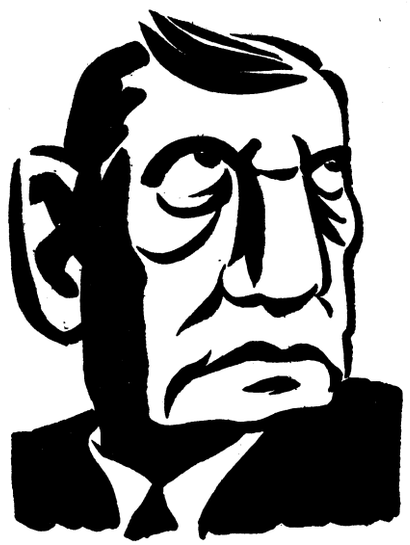
TO far-off Chile goes the honor of creating the first full-grown people's front in the Americas. On March 7, a coalition of eight parties and political groups, including Communists, Socialists, and the influential middle-class Radical Party, went to the polls and emerged with nineteen out of a total of forty-five seats in the Senate, and sixty-six of the one hundred forty-three seats in the Chamber of Deputies. While the People's Front failed to obtain a majority, its achievement is none the less of historic importance and, for all practical purposes, represents a smashing victory.

In recent years, perhaps no South American people, not even the heroic Brazilians of the National Liberation Alliance, have shown a greater determination to throw off the double yoke of native feudalism and foreign imperialism than the Chileans. The stirring days of June 1932, when the Socialist Republic of Chile was proclaimed, the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere, has never been adequately chronicled. Premature and ill-prepared to defend itself, it lasted only twelve days, but it clearly foreshadowed future success.

The five years that followed the defeat of the short-lived Socialist Republic have been a period of bitter struggle, economic as well as political, for the Chilean people. Like all semi-colonial countries, Chile serves its foreign exploiters as a source of cheap raw materials, chiefly nitrates and copper, and as a dumping ground for finished products. Before the World War, British capital dominated the Chilean market, but since then Wall Street has controlled the economic destinies of the country, increasing its holdings from fourteen million dollars in 1914 to eight hundred million today.

Foreign imperialism has so corrupted the political institutions of Chile that the government has been nothing more than a shameless instrument of the Guggenheim interests, the Electric Bond & Share Co., the Grace Line, and other despoilers of the nation's wealth. Imperialism has stunted the growth of native industry and delayed the full development of a middle class by preëmpting the Chilean market for its own manufactured articles. It has also hindered the modernization of agriculture by supporting the feudal landlords, with the result that the great mass of Chilean peasants are in a state of semi-servitude.

The world economic crisis brought untold suffering to Chile when copper and nitrate mining was cut down to almost nothing. To-



Scott Johnston

Chile's President Alessandri

day, the pre-war boom in these minerals is boosting production to new heights. Official Chile points to a 75-percent rise in exports during the past four years, and to a favorable balance of trade as indications that Chile is entering upon a new era of "prosperity." But it conveniently fails to mention that at least 65 percent of total exports consists of copper and saltpeter, altogether in the hands of foreign corporations, and consequently of little benefit to Chile.

Thus the living conditions of the great mass of Chileans remains at an incredibly low level. The worker in the copper mines, for example, who is paid in a fantastically debased currency and burdened with high retail prices and exorbitant sales and transaction taxes, actually earns from ten to fifteen times less than the corresponding worker in the United States. And the income of the Chilean peasant is only a fraction of what his proletarian brother receives.

IN SPITE of renewed mineral production, there are still some seventy thousand unemployed workers in Chile, a high figure for a country of four and a half million inhabitants, most of whom are engaged in agriculture. Chile also holds the unenviable record of having one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world—two hundred twenty-eight out of each thousand children born never reach their first birthday. When Dr. Enrique Dickman, well-known Buenos Aires physician and a member of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, visited Chile a year ago, he declared in a public lecture that living conditions in Chile were the worst he had seen in forty countries and during thirty years of medical practice.

These are the social, economic, and political conditions out of which the People's Front grew. The first stirrings in this direction were visible in 1934 when the Socialists, Independent Communists (Trotskyites), and two small, lower-middle-class parties joined hands to form a "left wing" in the Chamber of Deputies and Senate. However, the two Communist deputies, Andres Escobar and José Vega, were given the cold shoulder.

Events moved rapidly during the next two years. One event in particular lent a powerful impetus to the movement—the railroad strike of February 1936 and the terror that followed. In the previous year, a strike was lost because of lack of unity between the two chief railroad unions. Both unions finally joined forces to form the Comite Unico Relacionador Ferroviarro, a coördinating, united-front committee representing some eighteen thousand workers. The main Chilean railroads are state owned. Sensing the threat of the Comite Unico to his semi-dictatorial regime, President Alessandri, a vicious and astute servitor of foreign imperialism, deliberately provoked a new strike in the hope of crushing the railroad unions once and for all.

Alessandri was partly successful in his maneuver. Insufficiently prepared, still weakened by reformist elements within the organization, and taken by surprise, the Comite Unico was nevertheless forced to call the strike on February 2. The government hit hard and fast. It clamped down the *"estado de sitio,"* or martial law, arrested the whole strike committee as well as all radicals and liberals it could lay its hands on, and placed the railways under military control. Altogether, some seven hundred persons were imprisoned, of whom two hundred were deported to the bleak, cold penal islands of the far south. The strike lasted only six days.

Several things happened, however, which Alessandri had not counted on. Despite the terror which the government immediately unleashed, within three days a series of sympathy strikes turned the railroad walkout into a spontaneous general strike. In the heat of battle, a *"commando unico"* was formed, the first broad united proletarian front in Chile. It drew up a program which not only backed the railroad workers, but went beyond the imme-

diate struggle on hand, demanding respect for civil liberties and democratic procedure and the abolition of the hated five-percent sales tax and other economic measures of general interest to the whole Chilean people.

Thus what at the moment was undoubtedly a bitter defeat for the Chilean labor movement actually provided the experience out of which arose the powerful People's Front. As a matter of fact, two months later, when a sudden vacancy occurred in the Senate, the Radical Party, even though it had representatives in Alessandri's cabinet, joined forces with the Communists and other progressive groups to elect a People's Front candidate to the Senate. The People's Front of Chile was definitely launched.

By the summer of 1936, the battle for the general elections of the following March was in full swing. Election periods in Chile, debased by the petty rivalries, jealousies, bribe-swapping, and gun-toting of corrupt politicians, are traditionally violent. This time the preëlection tension was at white heat. Chile has ten major parties as well as five or more minor political groups. With eight of these within the People's Front, the remaining parties, ranging from the ruling Conservatives and Liberals to military organizations like the Nazis, mobilized every resource at their command—state power, untold sums of money, press, radio, provocation, intimidation, and just plain assassination—to crush the People's Front.

The newspapers screamed denunciations of "communism" with holy frenzy. Two attempts were made against the life of Marmaduke Grove, the Socialist leader, but each time he escaped unhurt. A band of one hundred uniformed Nazis shocked the nation by shooting into a peaceful group of people at Rancagua, seriously wounding eight, including a six-year-old girl. Finally, but only after a bitter fight in the Chamber, Alessandri pushed through his infamous measure of *seguridad interior del estado,* a law designed solely to suppress the civil liberties of the progressive opposition.

Nevertheless, the People's Front forged ahead. In November, the constituent parties reached definite agreements on electoral quotas and a political program. The latter contains thirty-three points which can be summarized as follows:

I. Against oppression: (a) restitution of civil liberties and democracy; (b) amnesty for political prisoners; (c) dissolution of military parties.

II. Against imperialism: (a) nationalization and state control of mineral resources and public utilities; (b) obligation for all foreign companies to employ Chilean labor, technical and otherwise, to the extent of 95 percent of total personnel.

III. Against poverty and ignorance: (a) minimum-wage and maximum-hour legislation; (b) lower cost of living; (c) shifting of the tax burden from the workers and middle classes to imperialist monopolies, landlords, and the church; (d) social security and unemployment relief; (e) adequate public health facilities; (f) secularization of education and construction of new schools.

Steadily gathering strength, the People's Front launched a daily newspaper, *Frente Popular,* with the slogan "Chile for the Chileans" printed on its masthead. Popular enthusiasm reached the point where a tobacco manufacturer saw fit to put a new cigarette on the market with the magic name, "Frente Popular," perhaps the first use of the People's Front as a trademark. Then, on December 27, occurred one of the most important events in the century and a quarter since the Chilean people gained their independence from the Spanish monarchy: the unification of the labor movement. The great railroad strike of the preceding February had given birth to its second child: the *Confederación General de Trabajadores de Chile* (Confederation of Chilean Workers). Juan Martínez was elected General Secretary by acclamation.

Here was the reply of the Chilean workers to the violence of the reactionaries, to the rumors of a sudden stroke that would annul the elections, as the Peruvian despot Benavides had done a few months before. Considering the conditions under which the elections were held, the victory of the Chilean People's Front is second only to that of the Spanish People's Front, which won a full majority in the parliament a year ago February. As in Spain, Chilean Reaction spent enormous sums of money not only for every sort of propaganda, but also for the direct purchase of votes, for bribing election officials, and for terrorizing workers who came to the polls. Hordes of Indian serfs were driven from plantations to near-by towns, and given huge quantities to drink and a peso or two to vote for the "right" candidate.

In the cities, however, the vigilance of the People's Front was nothing short of heroic, so that in the end it carried the large centers like Santiago, Valparaíso. Antofogasta, Concepción, and Atacama. Of particular significance was the record-breaking achievement of the Communist Party, which increased its representation four-fold. Seven Communist deputies, including Contreras Labarca, General Secretary of the Party, gained seats in the Chamber, while Elías Lafertte, "grand old man" of the Chilean labor movement who, as a member of the Commando Unico during the railroad strike, had been arrested, severely beaten, and then exiled, was elected during his absence to the Senate, the first Communist to achieve that feat.

That the People's Front failed to win a majority is less important than it may seem if we take into account the essential weakness of its opponents. Nothing less than a total defeat of the People's Front could satisfy them; hence the election results struck them as a major catastrophe. Like the Right and the Center in preëlection Spain, Chilean conservatives and reactionaries are badly split. This is due not only to internal conflicting interests, but to the rivalries of opposing foreign imperialisms.

Wall Street dominates Chilean economic life, but it must continually defend itself against British imperialism and, of late, against the triple threat of Germany, Italy, and Japan. The Nazis in particular have made great headway in Chile. With a considerable number of fairly prosperous German farmers in the south to draw upon, they have built up a military organization which has enjoyed full freedom of action. Hitler's ambassador, von Schoen, openly maintains the closest relations with the Chilean Nazis, who, moreover, often proclaim at their frequent gatherings that "Chile is a *second* fatherland" to them. The local *"Führer,"* Gonzalez von Marees, won a seat in the Chamber, the first avowed Nazi to enter the Chilean parliament.

Italian activities are less spectacular, and reveal themselves chiefly in economic relations. During and after the Ethiopian war, large quantities of Chilean nitrates went to Italy, and at the present time Mussolini is buying tons of farm products as well as important amounts of nitrates, copper, and sulphur. Just before the elections, a commission of Italian bankers visited Chile and proposed even closer economic relations between the two countries. Japan, like Germany and Italy, is also a good customer for nitrates, but at the same time carries on a clever and relatively subtle campaign for "cultural" relations. A large delegation of students recently left Chile for an extended visit to Japan as the official guests of the Japanese government.

It was only at the very end of January, and after two ministerial crises had occurred, that four of the right-wing parties, including the governing Conservatives and Liberals, could work out a common electoral program. Even then, it was only a temporary agreement, and now that the elections are over, the old animosities are coming to the front again. The resignation of Gustavo Ross, multi-millionaire minister of finance, often referred to as the power behind Alessandri's throne, can be interpreted only as a serious weakening of the reactionary coalition.

Then again, the reports of the new minister of finance, Garces Gana, point to an impending economic debacle. Already one hundred and sixty million pesos have been appropriated for which no revenue exists. The minister of finance further reminds his countrymen that heavy overhead (particularly the military budget) and diminishing income will require strictest economies and new sources of revenue.

Translated into political terms, all of this indicates that when the Chilean congress convenes on May 21, Chile will enter one of the most critical periods in its history. What sort of government will Alessandri be able to form with the new line-up in the Chamber and Senate? Very likely the best he can hope for is a coalition of the center, something like the Portela Valladares government which ruled Spain just prior to the People's Front victory at the polls. Yet it is difficult to see how such a government could long exist in the face of the deep antagonisms that would divide it and the desperate economic situation it must face.

Hitch-Hiking in Spain

The casual traveler in republican territory has his difficulties, but the charm of the people dispels them

By Stephen Spender

TODAY, in order to go from one town to another in Spain, it is necessary to obtain a safe-conduct, on which is stated the extent and nature of one's journey. In order to obtain a safe-conduct, one has to submit oneself to one of those tests of faith in exasperating circumstances which correspond to the tests to which the saints submitted themselves in other days: in Republican Spain, the counterpart of the hair-shirt, the days of fasting, the penitentiary, is the endless waiting about in government offices, the journeys in trains set on establishing new records of unpunctuality, the arrival at a destination where there may reign a perpetual Lent of no sugar, no coffee, and little meat.

Yet no experience is so charming as traveling today in Spain. I use the word "charming" advisedly, for during a war, when one is surrounded by suffering and hatred, the charming is that which strikes one immediately as the unforgettable. Even the least observant travelers in Spain notice the extraordinary contrast of the gay, the spontaneous, the charming, with the war. No one who has to wait for five hours on his way to Barcelona at the little frontier town of Port-Bou forgets his first impressions of the new democracy which is fighting in Spain.

With me, the little incident that I shall not forget was the sudden halt of a whole lorry load of militia in front of me. I was sitting on the parapet of a bridge, reading *Humanité:* they had stopped merely to greet me and ask what I was reading. I showed them the newspaper, and as I had almost finished it, offered to give it to them. At first they refused as though I were offering them some overwhelming favor; however, I managed to make them accept it, and then they thanked me with an emphasis that was related not to the gift of a newspaper but to their consciousness of my "solidarity" with them.

It is again and again this added significance of small things—the offering of a cigarette, the raising of a hand in the *"Salud,"* the refusal of a tip by a waiter—which surprises one in Spain. The truth is that the outward and visible sign of popular freedom is generosity: the Spanish people feel themselves to be free, and they behave to each other and to strangers with the generosity of those who feel themselves to be equal.

Now, on one's safe-conduct is written that "all the civil and military authorities are called upon to assist the bearer on his journey." This is not a formality; it is true. You can, for example, show the safe-conduct to the guard of a town, and he will then stop all lorries until he has found one which will take you to your destination. Recently, I have traveled from Valencia to Madrid, to the front, and circuitously back to Valencia in this way. On all these journeys, the drivers, the workers, the soldiers and peasants, who use the same means of conveyance, have amazed me by their kindness, their generosity, and their good-humor. These people share everything with each other: no one who has a bottle of wine takes a drink without handing the bottle round to all his neighbors; it is the same with cigarettes. Once I gave a soldier a bar of chocolate, and he instantly divided it into small portions and gave one to everyone in the lorry.

In the same way, the people show the utmost consideration in helping each other. For example, two days ago, the camion in which I was put did not go quite as far as Valencia, where I was due. The lorry driver and his three mates discussed at great length what it would be best for me to do: whether I should sleep a night at Gandia and then proceed to Valencia next morning, or whether I should go on by train from some point. Finally they took me to a junction of the main road and railway, where I had the choice of staying a night or going by train or by road.

When we stopped for lunch at an inn, they insisted on paying for my meal. At these small villages the food is today the best in Spain. That day we chose fried eggs and lamb chops; we went into a hall where there was a charcoal fire and watched the woman cook our food in olive oil in a huge frying pan.

Usually on these journeys there is some joke current amongst the travelers—a simple, almost pointless joke about someone or some phrase, such as children have amongst each other. On this journey the joke was the phrase "To Tarracon!" Apparently before I arrived someone had said "To Tarracon" in an especially ludicrous manner. At intervals in the journey, particularly as we started again after a halt, one of the workers would shout, "To Tarracon!" in an effort to excel the original, and we would all laugh. Finally, I became infected, and although I have never learnt the origin of the phrase, I now think of it as extraordinarily funny.

Yesterday I met in Valencia an American who told me that although he had no interest in politics, he would not leave Spain unless he was obliged to do so. "Why?" I asked him. "Because I love the people," he replied. And it is a remarkable fact of this war that the foreigners who have come here to aid Spanish democracy find that it is not only an idea which they are fighting for, but a people who are perhaps the most interesting and most likeable in Europe.

Sketched in Spain by Abic

William Green in Action

Adhering to Gompers's policies, the A. F. of L. chief frowned on militancy, fawned on employers, and tolerated racketeering

By Bruce Minton and John Stuart

WILLIAM GREEN no more thought of questioning the Gompers heritage than Moses dreamed of challenging the Ten Commandments. In 1935, Green was still insisting that "the majority of employers sincerely and honestly wish to maintain decent wage standards and humane conditions of employment. They neither seek the exploitation of labor nor the exploitation of the consuming public. They are inspired by a keen sense of justice and are influenced in all their business dealings by a spirit of fair dealing and fair play."

At times, Green's reiteration of this theme sounded suspiciously like whistling to keep up courage. No doubt he desired above all things peace and pleasant relations with the employing class. But the price he paid for it was steep. "The right to strike," he informed the labor movement, "involves so many considerations that it ought to be utilized only as a last resort." Throughout his twelve years as president of the A. F. of L., Green never fully conceded that conditions warranted the use of this "last resort." Though the wage of thirty-three million American workers in the "prosperous" days of 1929 averaged twenty-five dollars a week, placing their incomes below what the U.S. Bureau of Census found to be a minimum comfort level, Green and the executive council gave no thought to raising this level. That half the workers received even less than the meager twenty-five-dollars-a-week wage, existing at a bare subsistence standard of living or worse, failed to alter Green's steadfast resolution to discourage organized struggle by the working class. When pressure from the membership grew so powerful that Green was forced to make a show of supporting a strike, he immediately attempted to smooth things over by settling it before the strikers had gained their objectives. Jurisdictional disputes between the unions continued feverishly enough: but Gompers had ordered peace with the employers and Green guarded the tablets of the law. "If reason and judgment are enthroned," he asserted doggedly, "directing the lives and actions of men, we can establish a relationship in industry which will speed the cause of peace, satisfaction, and prosperity."

His conviction stemmed from the belief, borrowed from Gompers, that it was vital to abide by

our consistent refusal to commit our movement to a class-conscious philosophy which would have entailed tactics based upon a belief that irreconcilable conflict exists between owners of capital and labor. The American trade unionist has always believed that conference and joint negotiation were the way to decide conditions written into the work contract.

Darryl Frederick

William Green

The flaw that marred Green's empty homily was the failure of the American labor movement to grow. When Green became president in 1924, the average membership of the A. F. of L. totaled 2,865,799, already a drop of approximately two and a quarter millions from the high mark of four years before. Green disregarded the warning. In consequence, the Federation limped along until 1929 with a stationary membership, shockingly inadequate in the light of the thirty million American workers still eligible for organization. The subsequent economic crisis, instead of increasing membership, lowered it, until by the middle of 1933 it had sunk to the 1916 level of 2,126,796.

Such was the objective result of Green's stewardship during the first nine years after Gompers's death. His energy had been directed against the "Red menace," and, in conjunction with the employers, against such militant independent unions as those created by the Trade Union Unity League in 1929. The independents of the T.U.U.L. emphasized the need for bringing the unorganized into effective industrial unions. Their program, supplemented by a policy of attempting to spur the A. F. of L. into motion, not surprisingly terrified Green and his associates on the executive council who saw in it a threat to their jobs. For the T.U.U.L. exposed to the majority of American workers just how illusory was the "prosperity" hailed by Green and just what steps should be taken to protect the working class from the terrific exploitation.

Once threatened, Green hit out blindly against this effort to vitalize the labor unions, and simultaneously drew closer to the employers for protection. His sense of decorum, shared by the executive council, prevented the A. F. of L. from undertaking a serious campaign to organize workers outside the labor movement. When the officialdom did contemplate such a drive, Green first notified the employers and meekly asked permission to proceed. If permission were refused—as inevitably it was in the mass-production industries—Green repeated his polite plea for employer "reasonableness" and promptly relinquished the drive. His experience with Henry Ford proved typical. After the Ford Motor Co. rebuffed Green's overtures toward organizing its plants, Green clucked like an angry hen, but he scrapped the elaborate plans just as he had previously canceled his intention to organize General Motors. Sweet reasonableness led only to capitulation.

In lieu of an aggressive policy, Green busied himself explaining labor's objectives in countless speeches and magazine articles. He sounded alarmingly like a cautious social worker with his requests for free public schools, insurance, holidays, extension of contracts, and arbitration. Characteristically, he neglected to back his program with any suggestion as to how it could be achieved, overlooking the fact that to realize his aims, labor had first to face more basic problems. In reality, Green had no serious intention of forcing his program on reluctant industrialists. Instead, he waited for generous employers to drop concessions into his lap. He begged from door to door, hat in hand, with a tenderness that found a ready response from the owners: they flattered Green with soft words, reassuring generalizations, and of course no action.

The Gompers tradition led Green even farther afield. From it stemmed not only the ineffectualness of the official labor movement, but the abuses: lack of democracy in the unions, grafting, racketeering, shady political deals. Even the cautious Green was infected by the demoralization that poisoned the entire A. F. of L. Well aware of the corruption, though he managed to avoid personally implicating himself too deeply, Green closed his eyes to the dishonesty that surrounded him. Yet class coöperation involved him in acts which brought discredit and defeat to the labor movement. In New York City, the A. F.

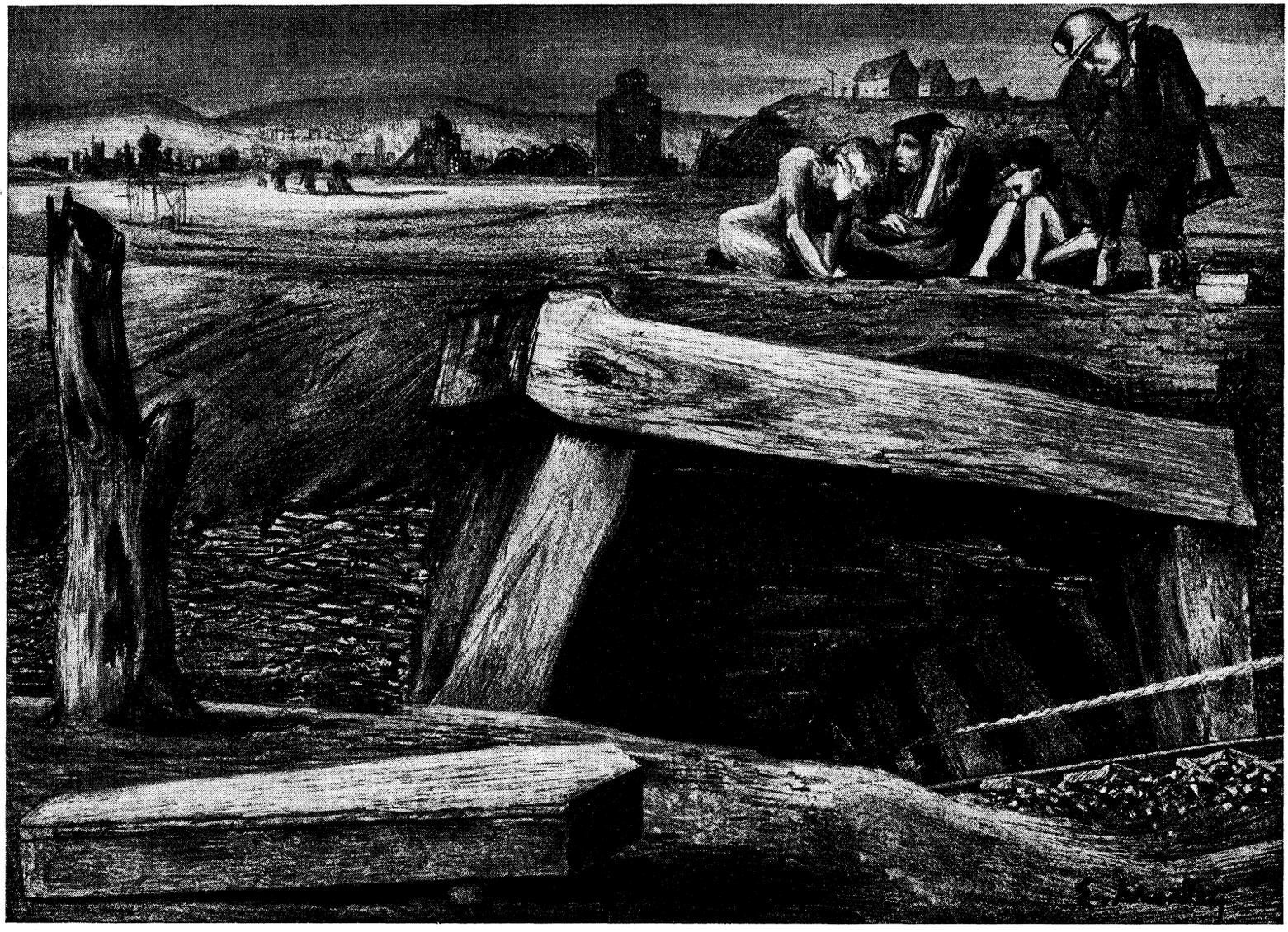
of L. as late as 1936 granted craft charters to notorious labor gangsters (such as Charles and Arthur Herbert, poultry racketeers). When Green was asked to help stamp out this abuse, he side-stepped the issue and declined to interfere. The liberal press charged him with encouraging racketeering. Green realized that interference meant treading on the toes of Matthew Woll. At the 1936 Tampa convention, he sided with the officials of the International Seamen's Union against the striking membership, who protested that their leadership had illegally refused to hold union elections. Green approved the motion to declare the rank-and-file strike outlaw, and by so doing, allied himself with David Grange, president of the Marine Cooks & Stewards, though Grange was unable to explain what he had done with $143,000 in union funds; with Oscar Carlson, who had been defeated for office in a supervised union election; with Ivan Hunter, who hired gangsters to bolster his rule on the waterfront.

Honesty virtually disappeared among the high officials in the A. F. of L. Green reflected this laxity. As editor of the *Federationist,* official magazine of the A. F. of L., Green accepted an advertisement from the open-shop General Electric Co. though this corporation had forced a company union on its employees and was having labor troubles at the time the magazine carried its advertisement. In response to an inquiry by an indignant union member, Green explained that the printing of an advertisement did not necessarily imply endorsement of the company's labor relations. He was astounded when in 1929 the Typographical Union rebuked him for speaking over the radio on a program sponsored by *Collier's.* Union printers had been locked out several years before by the Crowell Publishing Co. in Springfield, O., where *Collier's* was printed. The union had spent large sums to inform labor that *Collier's* remained on the unfair list. But Green felt it no contradiction to talk under the auspices of the open-shop magazine and, by lending his name, help to sell an unfair product.

Even more flagrant were Green's dealings with William Randolph Hearst, whom even Gompers had excoriated as a vicious enemy of labor. When the Federation Bank & Trust Co. of New York, controlled by William Green, John Sullivan of the New York State Federation of Labor, and other leading A. F. of L. officials, failed in 1931, the statement of assets and liabilities showed loans of over $250,000 made to Hearst newspapers. Ferdinand Lundberg, in *Imperial Hearst,* revealed that the bank loaned

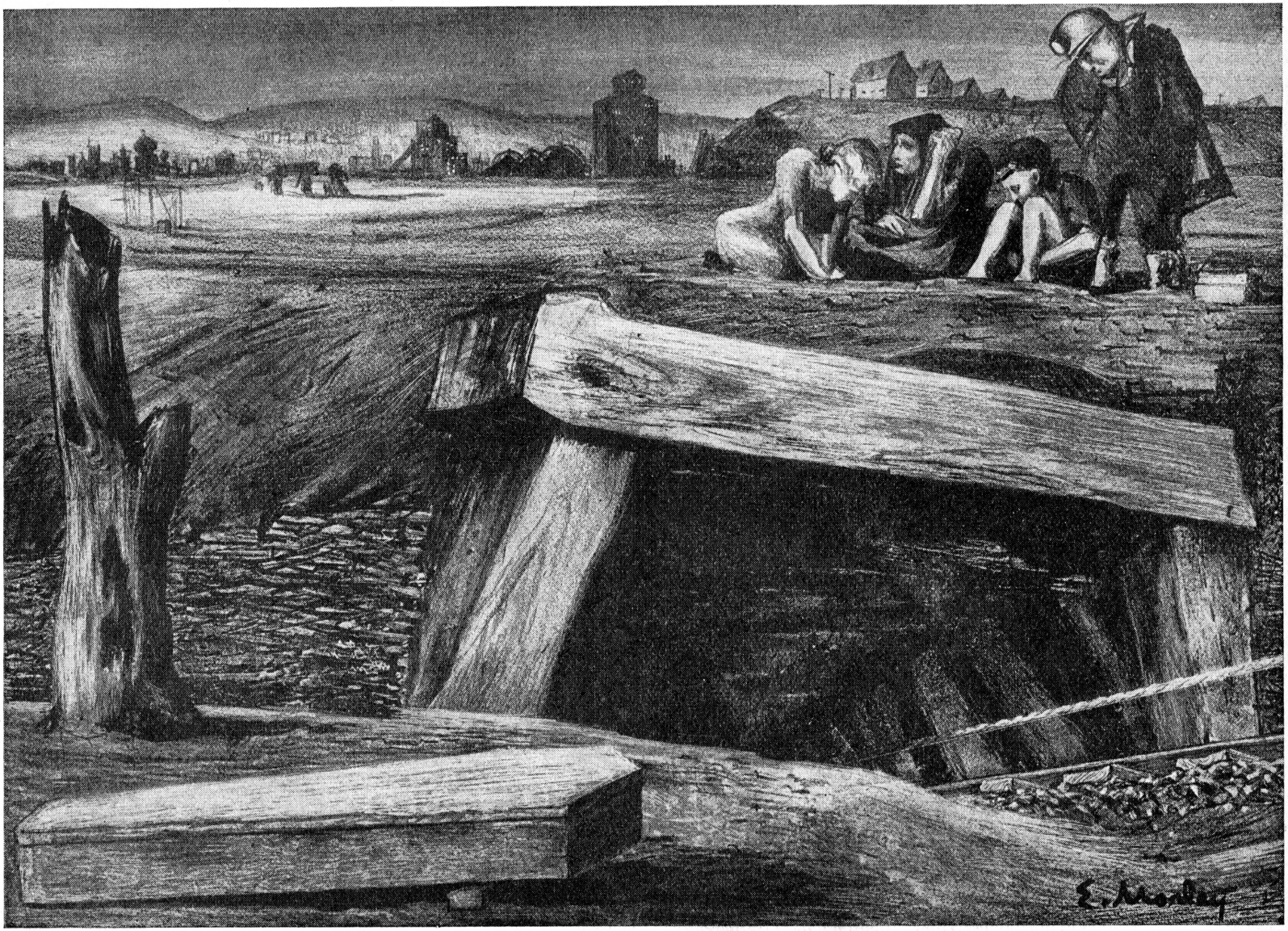
> $50,000 to Moe Annenberg, general circulation manager of the Hearst chain of newspapers, who with his brother Max had slugged and shot dealers refusing to handle Hearst papers during the Chicago circulation war, who also endorsed a note of $12,687 for Joseph A. Moore of the New York *Morning Telegraph,* the leading sporting and theatrical sheet of the city; two *unsecured* loans of $50,000 each to Hearst's *American Weekly, Inc.;* two *unsecured* loans each to Hearst's *International Publications* and two *unsecured* loans of $50,000 each to Hearst's New York *American.* Moe was also a borrower of $20,000 on collateral [Lundberg's italics].

Green did not only approve lending large sums of money to Hearst. The executive council, at the 1936 Tampa convention, forbade the Seattle Central Labor Council from taking further sympathetic action in support of the American Newspaper Guild, and condemned its past aid to the Guild's strike against Hearst's *Post-Intelligencer.* At the same time, Green and the executive council killed six resolutions advocating a boycott of the Hearst press because, as Green so nobly stated, "can we come before this convention



Abandoned Mine

Lithograph by E. Morley



Abandoned Mine

Lithograph by E. Morley

praising freedom of the press with our lips and denying it with our votes?"

Surrounded as he was by corruption, Green neither condemned it nor attempted to curb it or stamp it out. Rather, he pretended ignorance. By overlooking abuses, he could maintain friendly relations with the other members of the executive council. In every way, Green desired to be just the kind of president the council wanted. Things functioned smoothly in official circles, the dues came in, and the A. F. of L. was slowly dying of dry rot from the top.

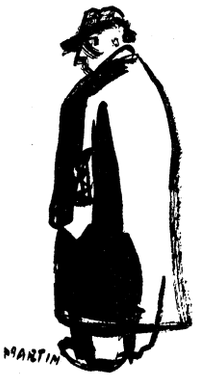
The economic crisis raised contradictions even within the sheltered executive council. The officials found that they could restrain their membership no longer: throughout the country, strikes broke out, the workers defeated outworn leaders and elected militants in their stead. Everywhere union men demanded the organization of the unskilled, and talked industrial unionism. Green was at his wit's end. Unrest meant friction; friction led to clashes with employers, and Green had spent his life building peace and understanding. His speeches no longer had effect: the rank-and-file failed to heed his warning that the Red hordes of Moscow would destroy them if they didn't toe the line drawn long ago by Samuel Gompers and carefully preserved by his successor, William Green.

The difficulty arose primarily because economic crisis raised economic problems. Green's years as statistician for the United Mine Workers, collecting neat pages of figures and facts, hardly equipped him to cope with a period of intense breakdown. He cast about desperately for a solution. After two years' worry, he announced the cure that would pull America out of the morass. Mr. Green, formerly an advocate of prohibition, called for beer. Once America regained beer, the country would receive the spark that would "exhilarate industry and lift us out of the depression just as the automobile took us out of the bad times of 1921."

In the meantime, he agreed with President Hoover that "coöperation" between industry and labor should be intensified. The owners pledged no reduction of employment and wages; the union leaders agreed to frown on strikes. The employers thereupon instituted wholesale discharges and wage cuts, the speed-up and stretch-out systems. But to William Green, a bargain was a bargain; he lived up to his end by maintaining the frown on his round, humorless face.

Beer came and still unemployment increased and American economy declined. Helplessly, Green threw up his hands, insisting that after all he was not to blame. "The responsibility for the application of remedies to the existing situation," he protested, "must rest with the owners and managers of industry and with those who control the economic and financial institutions of the nation." It was up to the owning class, he pointed out, since "policies, both economic and financial, are originated by those who own and control industry." If the capitalists did not do something, Green nor the rest of the executive council had any plan to offer. The labor movement must remain inert, waiting for the industrial and financial powers "to overcome our existing difficulties and bring about a return of prosperity." Now that Green had convinced himself that the solution was not in labor's hands, there remained nothing for the A. F. of L. to do but wait. Certainly, Green would never allow labor to bring pressure on those in power.

Unemployment embarrassed Green even more. For two years he pretended that it did not exist; he would have liked to continue the pretense, but that was impossible. Finally, at the 1931 Vancouver convention, he breathed deeply and burst out with a warning that hunger could cause revolution. It took him another year before he could summon the courage to threaten that if labor were not relieved by a six-hour day and a five-day week, the A. F. of L. would resort to "force." The word stuck in his throat. By force, he explained, he meant economic force, perhaps even picketing and boycotts.



Martin

The defiant pose did not become William Green. He never risked it again, but resumed his polite, friendly reasonableness. Even when the N.R.A. was enacted and stimulated organization, Green failed to capitalize on Section 7a, which assured employees "the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing."

Not that Green disapproved of the N.R.A. —far from it. But his participation virtually ended with his endorsement. He failed to launch an aggressive organizing campaign, though individual unions did, and he was forced to grant many federal charters. At one moment, Green secretly ordered organizers to slow down the enrollment in the Federation. The wave of strikes that followed the enactment of the N.R.A. worried Green. He knew only one response: to discourage, if necessary to break, the workers' offensive. Accordingly, he resisted the West Coast maritime strike and proclaimed the general strike that followed "illegal," "unauthorized." He brought pressure on Francis Gorman to end the general textile strike in the East on the assurance that the government would investigate. Green's desire for peace at any cost in this case brought the workers nothing except blacklists and violence. The Federation president refused to protest killings of workers by police, the brutality of the vigilantes, the terror that raged throughout the South. Nor did he lend aid to the teamsters in Minneapolis (in fact, Green sent a special representative, Meyer Lewis, to the strike area to raise the Red scare and disorganize the workers); he disregarded the Toledo Auto-Lite strikers, the agricultural workers, and the hundreds of other labor battles.

He remained the bewildered foil of the most reactionary group within the executive council. The more serious conditions grew, and the more insistent workers became for immediate, decisive steps against economic oppression, the more stubbornly Green refused to commit himself.

(This is the second of three articles on William Green. The final article will appear next week.)

* * *

The Morning Rising

Your eyes differ with mine. One look and away they glance.
We lie on our arms in the little meadow.
We pluck the grass. We scrutinize the shadow.
We admit by cold degrees our difference.

My definitions are passionate. Never
Did reality cut such a scimitar shadow
In quietness; never more splendid the meadow.
This grass is the edge and color of forever.

But you caught in quagmire cold. Poor cheer, sweet friend.
I can taste the yellow of your moody thinking,
Can feel the eclipse of your polar star, quick-sinking.
When I speak, you shrug . . . and hear me to the end.

So sore you are, so sure of my despising,
So certain of my scorn, and darkly thinking:
"All's wrong. All's lost. Everything is sinking.
And this lunatic at my elbow who sees the morning rising—
This half-wit at my elbow who sees the morning rising."

GENEVIEVE TAGGARD.

HEW TO THE LINE

By Simon Eddy

MAHOMET, please take note: The eye that keeps alert to hot new schemes in commerce will please fix itself on the enterprising city of Minneapolis, where the mountain-moving business is the latest racket. In order to combat a proposed state tax on the rich, the Chamber of Commerce there wrote neat form letters to the big boys and asked them if the passage of such legislation wouldn't make them move their plants. And who do you think, among the many, keeled over headlong in haste to write Yes? A stone quarry. Bet they've got the ghost of Paul Bunyan signed up as a scab, too.

SUDDENLY it becomes blindingly clear why Mussolini has been allotting such heavy funds toward the establishment of modern Italian movie studios. Gradwell L. Sears, general sales manager for Warner Bros., gave the clue when he told delegates to the company's convention at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York about film love. For it seems that it is Hollywood which has kept us all in love with love, "even during periods of financial depression"; seen to it that we remained biologically active, and maintained a high birth rate in America.

Rush along that first colossal production of *Boy Meets Girl,* Benito—and watch them spawn. If they still don't heed your maniacal pleas to increase the population toward enlarging the army, don't blame Gradwell L. Sears: he works only for the Warner Bros., not for Secretary Dern.

JUSTLY alarmed by the monstrous popularity of the Left Book Club in London and its steadily growing membership, Christina Foyle has gone and founded a Right Book Club with great bursts of respectable thunder. Our circulation-conscious soul is uplifted to learn that the lady receives new enrollments at the rate of two hundred a day—yet one gnawing concern tends to chill our heat a little. It's nice to have the subscribers, but which books will you distribute, lady? They just aren't turning out enough drivel to go around. And you can't send Hilaire Belloc out every single month.

A YEAR ago you would have unhesitatingly defined francophilia as an addiction to the Gallic race; today you stand the serious chance of getting it interpreted as devotion to the insurgent Spanish general and his vicious cause. So watch your language, friends; even the innocent "nationalism," now that it has been so thoroughly deformed by Franco, may never have the same meaning again.

IF ANY OF YOU dream that the Pennsylvania Railroad has an easy time spying on its workers' union activities, you have another guess coming. Last year the train boys shelled out $9,173 to the Railway Audit & Inspection Co. and $45,823 to Pinkerton's—all to see that their unfortunately impressionable employees weren't misled by professional sowers of discontent. This is part of the annual report made to the Interstate Commerce Commission. No categories have been stated as yet, but we just know that the funds expended for spying will go under the heading of Employees' Welfare Fund, since such a service is clearly to protect the workers from their own Baser Selves.

SOUTHERN GIRLS MAKE GOOD: For *Gone with the Wind,* Margaret Mitchell is reputed to have earned half a million berries so far; and for having Gone with the Windsor, Wally Simpson recently wangled the same pretty penny out of the royal family of England. The second sum is hush money for laying off the pure-blooded English; the first is a reward for an unreserved attack on the Negroes. Between the two of them, these two Southern gals have certainly gone out and made their way in the world, and Stark Young and Allen Tate have excellent reason for renewal of pride in the only part of the country where People Know How to Live.

CUE TO CONDUCT IN THE NEXT WAR: When S. H. Dalrymple returned from the A.E.F. and asked for his job back at the Firestone plant, the anti-union hiring boss turned him down. "Firestone promised the soldiers could come back!" Dalrymple objected. "Only them what got drafted," the boss told him; "you enlisted."

P. S.: Dalrymple is today the international president of the United Rubber Workers of America.

Ballade of a Slightly Addled Cultural Worker on the United Front

(For J. F., who thought of it first)

William Sanderson

I used to be redder than any rose—
  My novels and plays never failed to extol
The embattled worker (in a Gellert pose)
  As he mounted the System's slick greased pole.
  But I've drifted far from that open shoal
Where sectarian banners waved high, unfurled;
  Today I *conceal* the proletarian soul:
I'm of much more use in the bourgeois world.

For why should we Marxists naïvely disclose
  Our essential aims in a barefaced scroll?
They're far more effective in plangent prose
  Where the Message is blurred by the honeyed whole.
    One passage in *Scribner's* will sooner cajole
  Than all the Red bolts that are locally hurled.
    How forceful when no one's aware of my role!
  I'm of much more use in the bourgeois world.

You say such a writer too quickly goes
  From a *Scribner* passage to a one-line dole
And ends in a fog where nobody knows
  What's his point of view or his social goal?
  That the shift is swift from a burrowing mole
To an old drugged cat lying endlessly curled?
  Well, I *won't* stay blackened with radical coal.
I'm of much more use in the bourgeois world!

ENVOI

Comrades, I'll grant it: I've lost all control;
  I covet the heights to which fame can be whirled.
For those berries I crave in that sweet-cream bowl,
  I'm of much more use in the bourgeois world.

READERS' FORUM

Waldo Frank replies and we rebut—The story of a Puerto Rican without a country

● Recent examples of sheer falsehood in the NEW MASSES about my position toward the Soviet Union must be answered, because their importance transcends the individual.

In an editorial of the issue dated May 18, it is said: "Several years ago Mr. Frank signed a protest against the execution of Kirov's assassins." What is the fact? A committee of which I was a member (and still am) sent a protest; I refused to sign it, and wrote a dissenting letter of my own in which, disclaiming the right to sit in judgment on Russian legal procedure, I nevertheless found fault, as a faithful friend of the Soviet Union, with methods incomprehensible to the rest of the world and therefore dangerous to the Soviet Union's prestige.

The editorial continues: "The first Moscow trial found Mr. Frank *again ready* to abandon the Soviet Union." This is a lie, and I defy the writer to produce evidence to the contrary. Moreover, the implication that in my letter about Kirov I had already "abandoned" the Soviet Union admits of only one interpretation: that to question in any way any action of the Soviet Union is to "abandon" it. Many a petty Catholic priest through the ages had doubtless told his parishioners that if they in any way question any action of the church, they are "abandoning God." Is this the inward attitude of the NEW MASSES toward the government of the Soviet Union?

In a review of my book *In the American Jungle* by Mr. Burgum, published the week before in the NEW MASSES (a review, by the way, so contemptible that I shrink from discussing it), there is a similar misstatement. Mr. Burgum writes that in my *Rediscovery of America* I was *"tolerant"* toward the Soviet Union. Here are a few sentences that give the crux of my position toward Russia in *The Rediscovery,* as published serially in the *New Republic* (1927-8) and in book form (1929):

"The sole duty of our group would be to avow the sanctity of the Soviet profession, the universal value of the Soviet experiment: to keep hands off and to help with reverent respect. . . . For this experiment is crucial. It is nothing less than the attempt to raise the base of human life above the nutritive. . . .

"And now in Russia, a race of genius rises from this base of servitude. Not we, not France and England have risen from it. Less honestly, but no less really than Greece and Rome, we are slave empires. And our masters, looking at this dawn of man in Moscow, buckle their swords, summon their legions. I do not know what is actually happening in Russia. . . . I doubt not the Russian is still human: is still as we are, a pitiful, wayward creature sunk in violence. The point is that he is working at a *method* to bring about what men have always professed. *And this is holy work:* this is a Cause and a soil for those who need a concrete thing to fight for. . . . If our state threatens the peace of the high experiment in Russia, it would be (our) business to fight for it—to fight for the truth no matter how close to home were the lie." (pp. 266-7)

If the proper characterization for such an attitude (expressive of my constant position since the October Revolution) is *"tolerance,"* then—well, then, Mr. Burgum is a literary critic!

I do not wish here to take up in full the NEW MASSES'S attitude toward my proposal that the third and second Internationals or their representatives in Britain and America conjoin to form a Court technically equipped to study the full evidence, published and secret, of the Moscow trials and of all matters pertaining thereto in order to interpret them to the western mind. But I must say that the statement that this proposal is "innocent of political awareness" because of differences between the parties strikes me as either unintelligent or dishonest. How about the united front between Socialists, Communists, and other groups even more divergent? Has not the united front called for and put through coöperations *infinitely* more complex than would be the naming of such a Court? If, moreover, the NEW MASSES truly believes that the trials and the counter-attacks of Trotsky have confused and are confusing none but "a Trotsky clique," their sectarian blindness has become absolute, their ignorance of reality has become 100 percent. All you have to do is to go out of the portals of the party, to go up and down the land, and all lands, to talk to all kinds of "fellow travelers" of the Soviet Union (most of whom don't give a damn about Trotsky) to know that in my letter to the *New Republic* I did not overestimate the danger.

I await a more intelligent word from the Communist Party and from my many friends in the U.S.S.R. To state the dangers of the situation baldly, as I have done, and to propose an organic way to meet it, is the true mark of the friend of the Soviet Union, of the intelligent revolutionary—and his first duty.

Sincerely,
WALDO FRANK.

Coal Miner — Tromka

We Reply

● WALDO FRANK'S good intentions toward the Soviet Union recall the well-known adage about the road to hell. In this case, desire is nullified by method. Protestations of friendship for the U.S.S.R. cannot undo the damage of action whose complete meaning Mr. Frank does not seem to have thought out. Like other reasonable men who have carefully read the record of the Moscow trials, he has expressed his belief in their validity. Observers at the "trial" staged by Trotsky have described it as farce. Nearly every American correspondent present in Moscow was impressed by the fairness of the proceedings and the confessions of the defendants. Nearly every American correspondent present at Coyoacan was impressed by the fact that Trotsky proved nothing. And Carleton Beals, one of the commissioners, was so impressed by the bald attempt to whitewash Trotsky that he resigned from the so-called investigating commission.

Noteworthy is the change in *Excelsior,* leading reactionary newspaper of Mexico. During the January trial, this sheet spoke up loudly in Trotsky's defense; it damned the Moscow trials, protested Trotsky's innocence, and gave columns of space to his statements. But after the "investigation" at Coyoacan, *Excelsior* bluntly declared: "That it was a farce was evident from the beginning."

This is the conclusion which the facts have imposed upon a semi-fascist Mexican paper which has shown every anxiety to aid Trotsky. Why, then, does Mr. Frank persist in confusing the issue? He asserts that the record has convinced him of the validity of the Moscow trials. Yet he refuses to face the fact that *Trotsky has had an opportunity to prove his innocence and has failed to do so.* What Mr. Frank now proposes is another commission which will put the Soviet Union on trial. This, of course, contradicts the facts, Mr. Frank's own professed belief in the validity of the Moscow trials, and his protestations of friendship for the U.S.S.R. It reminds one of the man celebrated by Gilbert and Sullivan who dissembled his love by kicking its object downstairs.—THE EDITORS.

A Case of Oppression

● Raimundo Estrada was born in Puerto Rico on March 14, 1906, and came to the United States mainland in 1919. In 1928, he was sentenced to two and one half years in Sing Sing. Upon his release he was deported to Chile in 1931. He returned to the U. S. a few months later and after serving in the Federal Detention Station for illegal entry was again deported to Chile. In 1934 he returned to the United States and was again deported to Chile.

Returning to the U. S. in 1935, he was again apprehended by Immigration officers and was taken to Ellis Island. This time Chile refused to issue a passport for his return and he was held at Ellis Island for ten and a half months.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, having secured a copy of Estrada's birth certificate and a seaman's certificate establishing his right to American citizenship by birth in Puerto Rico, secured his release from Ellis Island on April 16, 1936. He was brought back to Ellis Island in November 1936.

In December 1936 this Committee sued out a writ and took the case to court in an effort to secure the release of Estrada from Ellis Island. Federal Judge Lester Patterson dismissed the writ on the ground that at the time of his arrest in 1928, Estrada had said he was born in Chile. (Estrada says he made this statement on the advice of friends who told him he would be deported immediately and thus avoid the prison sentence.)

The importance of the Estrada case as an issue at the present time lies in the fact that Estrada has been detained for more than six months at Ellis Island with no prospect of deportation or release. The government cannot secure a passport for him as he is in reality an American citizen, born in Puerto Rico.

Every recourse has been taken to the Labor Department, the Board of Review, and the courts.

Under such a precedent it would seem that American citizens may be taken to Ellis Island and held indefinitely while the government attempts to find some country that will receive them.

Only public protest can secure the release of Estrada from Ellis Island.

DWIGHT C. MORGAN.

Coal Miner Tromka

REVIEW AND COMMENT

Christianity and revolution—James Farrell's progress—An interpretation of the days of '76

THE nine Canadian divines who have written this book* have pierced the veil which shrouds, and which is intended to shroud, the real nature and consequences of capitalist relations of production. They have performed that indispensable feat of intellectual reëquipment which is so difficult for those of us who were brought up in the cultural tradition of capitalist society. Yet with all they have remained essentially Christian priests, interested, that is to say, primarily in religious, theological, and ethical problems, or rather approaching economic and political problems from an essentially religious, theological, and ethical standpoint. If I may say so without offense, this is the first fully intellectually adult work on the social crisis from the pens of churchmen. Its publication will leave no one of the churches untouched.

The book begins with four papers written from a fundamentally theological standpoint. I will not attempt to analyze them, for I am not competent to do so. But this does not mean that they are not perhaps the most valuable in the book. For they demonstrate that the writers' socialism has not emerged as something separate from their religious position, but as an essential consequence of and completion of their theological views. Naturally, there is plenty in these papers on which I should like to comment. For example, Mr. R. B. Y. Scott's paper on "The Biblical Basis" would, I feel, have been enormously enriched if he had undertaken a study of Engels's "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," and other works of Marxist anthropology. After these theological chapters we come to Mr. Eugene Forsey's papers on "The Economic Problem" and "The New Economic Order." These chapters seem to me the most important in the whole book. For it is they, above all, which convince the reader that the authors really have understood what is happening in the world today. Moreover, Mr. Forsey takes special trouble to present a critique of all the substitutes for genuine social reconstruction which are being offered by well-intentioned persons today. For example, he tartly describes the tendency now current in North America to regard the coöperative movement as a panacea of all social ills, as an effort to produce a "painless substitute for socialism, colorless, odorless, guaranteed not to irritate the tenderest skin." The book's answer to these "just as good" substitutes for socialism is unequivocal.

There is no cheap solution of the problem of social reconstruction. There is no escaping the cross. The devil of social injustice goeth not out but by grappling with the fundamental issues. This generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall be no sign given it but the sign of the prophet Marx. Until Christians learn to understand and apply the lessons of Marxism they cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven—nor, probably, can anyone else.

Decidedly these authors are what Lenin used to call "hards," not "softs."

Readers of this review must, I fancy, be wondering what the personal attitude of a Marxist like myself must be to such a book as this. I would like to state briefly my own position, both in connection with this book and in answer to many correspondents who write to me in connection with the chapter on religion in my recent book *The Theory and Practice of Socialism.*

I find that in these discussions I am often seriously at cross purposes with members of the Christian churches. The word "religion" quite clearly connotes something different to them and to me. I am afraid I take what may seem to them an old-fashioned and literalist view of religion. The word "religion" connotes to me a belief in the existence of a deity, and, in connection with Christianity, of the historical existence of Jesus, who was in some sense divine. It connotes, in a word, a belief in divine revelation as the chief source of our knowledge about the nature of the universe. Now it is to religion in this sense that I and so many others are unable to adhere. But I find that the word "religion" connotes something totally different from this to perhaps a majority of religiously minded people in England today. They evidently regard religion as practically synonymous with altruism. The whole question of the validity of divine revelation seems to have been pushed completely into the background. Though no doubt they believe in a deity, and in the divinity of Jesus, they are not really in the least interested in such questions of fact. Religion to them is an attitude of mind, a capacity for impersonal devotion and service for unselfish ends. Naturally, therefore, having this conception of religion in mind, they are astonished that any Socialist or Communist finds any difficulty in a whole-hearted acceptance of religion.


Martin

My own view can be stated briefly (and I am sure that this would be the view of the authors of *Towards the Christian Revolution*). On the one hand, I believe that the question of belief or disbelief in divine revelation is ultimately vital and cannot be slurred over. But equally I am convinced that a different view of the ultimate nature of the universe cannot and must not be allowed to prevent us from coöperating to save human civilization from destruction by establishing a socialist society. We who cannot believe must coöperate with those who can. For we deceive ourselves (though no instructed Marxist has, I think, ever suggested such a view) if we think that the whole religious idiom of thinking and feeling can suddenly be abandoned by peoples such as the British and the American, who have rich and varied religious traditions. As one of the authors of this book says, religion "can be discarded about as easily as history itself." But religion, we believe, can be comprehended; that is one of the greatest and most prolonged of the intellectual tasks which face mankind today. Meanwhile, many men and women will certainly continue thinking and feeling in the religious idiom, and Marxists would commit a frightful error of sectarianism if they were to cut themselves off from communion, and the possibility of common action, with such persons.

JOHN STRACHEY.

* TOWARDS THE CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION, *edited by R. B. Y. Scott and Gregory Vlastos. Willett, Clark & Co.* $2.

Deadlock

CAN ALL THIS GRANDEUR PERISH?, *by James T. Farrell. Vanguard Press.* $2.50.

JAMES T. FARRELL has collected seventeen of his recent short stories and published them under another striking title. In fact, his titles grow progressively more startling as the work itself assumes more and more the character of the familiar and the expected. Nonetheless, Farrell's mastery over the accustomed material has not ceased to grow. He knows better than he used to how to compress and when to stop. The social meaning emerges quite as forcibly as ever from the dramatic texture of the stories. And more important because less common in left-wing fiction: Farrell can still exert a power over the imagination of his reader. He turns on the heat and something really happens, something well-rounded and dense with suggestion is really created. This is the case in at least two of the stories appearing here, and from now on "The Precinct Captain" and "The Oratory Contest" must figure in any list of Farrell's best work.

But surely the collection as a whole is no better than his other stories as a whole; it is

considerably less good than the fine Studs Lonigan trilogy, and in essentials it represents no development at all. All the themes long associated with this writer, the dullness and the vice, the fantasy and the frustration, stalk once more in these stories, and Chicago with its hoodlums and stuffy households is again the setting. Indeed, it is amazing that a writer so remarkable as Farrell enjoys so little creative freedom. His characters never break completely with their South Side world; in fact, they rarely leave it. And when they do, they must first, it seems, be posed against that background, stamped in that mint before they can become psychologically and artistically negotiable. When, infrequently, they criticize themselves, they do so in a naïve and almost "literary" vein, and Farrell's criticism of *them,* his fury, effective as it often is, remains always close to the level of discovery.

What is it, then, that drives this writer, who engages so freely in the international disputes, political and literary, of the day, forever back to a single district of a single midland city, and to a social class which is as naked of ideas as it is of historical character? Whatever it is, this same compulsion also puts limits to Farrell's freedom in other directions. It ties him stylistically to a raw naturalism which corresponds to the primitive forms of life and the low order of awareness he deals in. Style and subject delimit each other, and Farrell so far is unable to break the deadlock, for all his will to do so.

That such a will really exists is plentifully evident in these stories. An attempt is made here—for the first time, I think—to write about intellectuals and business men in terms other than Studs Lonigan's. But what is the use in making characters well-to-do, in giving them a respected profession, if they are to remain for all that practically unconscious; or rather, if the *quality* of their consciousness is not to change? Why write about a university professor and a business man, if one is to be no more than a wooden campus version of a frustrated salesman, and the other is only to be sifted for his petty-bourgeois traits, his helplessness and imbecility?

For Farrell's compulsive literary psychology, there are plenty of precedents in American literature, but no easy explanation and no easy cure. Farrell himself, in reviewing Edwin Seaver's *Between the Hammer and the Anvil* (*Nation,* March 13, 1937), invokes present-day politics to explain a case of "retrogression," as he calls it. And without going into the merits of the case in question, it may be conceded that political pressures are sometimes bad for a writer. They may conceivably spoil a talent so that one need not look beyond them for a cause. But in approaching most writers it is necessary to see them in their relation to the general American literary dilemma, to the discrepancy between a complex and bristling industrial order, on the one hand, and on the other a culture almost painfully underdeveloped, even in its Marxism. It is to this condition, this discrepancy, that any serious critic ought to look first, when he is seeking the explanation for individual cases of "retrogression." And it is probably there that we shall find the reason why Farrell himself, like so many other talented writers, seems compelled to return again and again to an accustomed quarter of the world and an easily manageable order of consciousness.

F. W. DUPEE.

R. Gikow

1776: An Interpretation

THE FIRST AMERICAN REVOLUTION, *by Jack Hardy. International Publishers.* $.75.

THAT the D.A.R. and the Hearsts could for so long have perverted the great revolutionary tradition of America in the interests of Reaction was in itself a reflection of the lack of any adequate synthesis of American historiography in this field. Considerable work had been done, it is true, to demonstrate that the American Revolution was the inevitable consequence of the restrictions that British merchants, manufacturers, fur-traders, speculators, creditors, and sugar planters imposed upon northern colonial merchants, southern planters, colonial land-grabbers, and debtors. However, this material lay about in the form of extended studies of particular aspects like the work of Alvord and Harrell; or as provocative essays that lacked extensive detail (Hacker, Corey, Beard). Relatively little or no attention had been given to the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie and their artisan allies, exerted through the Sons of Liberty, the Committees of Correspondence, and the like, against the upper classes. The same may be said of the development of the machinery of revolutionary governments and of the use against Loyalists of dictatorial Committees of Safety to save the Revolution.

Jack Hardy's *The First American Revolution* attempts to provide a Marxian synthesis of all this material, with sufficient balance and detail to avoid the bulkiness of the specialized work and the leanness of the essay. It is the first offering of a series of volumes, under the editorship of Richard Enmale, covering the historical development of America from colonial times to the present. There are features of this book which will make it particularly useful alike to the inquiring student and to the busy worker for whom it is intended: editorial notes, unobstrusive references to sources, select bibliography, appendices of revolutionary documents, and index. The editor's foreword presents a clear analysis showing wherein this interpretation of the American Revolution differs from various other ones.

It is precisely because this work is to fulfill so important a function that we must expect from it the highest fidelity to facts. It is regrettable that there appear to be serious blemishes. The gravest error is the tendency to accept the American revolutionary heritage as

a movement that "was fought and won by the humble and underprivileged masses" (p. 127), without noting its bourgeois aspects. The heroic role of the selfless masses in "the revolt against oppression" (p. 126) should not blur the fact that their revolutionary zeal and discontent were turned to profitable account by the colonial middle and upper classes against the British. One is reminded of Kropotkin, who failed to note that the French *ouvrier* and peasant were used by the French bourgeoisie to break the landed aristocracy. This failure to understand the bourgeois phases of the American Revolution manifests itself in several other ways. The description of the social composition of the Sons of Liberty (p. 55-6) suggests, though not even as clearly as in Corey's and Hacker's analyses, its lower-class and petty-bourgeois basis. Yet no mention is made of the lawyers, tradesmen, and merchants that led the Sons of Liberty—John Morin Scott, James Alexander, Philip Livingston, Alexander MacDougal, John Hancock, and Benedict Arnold. Furthermore, the Declaration of Independence, which the colonial bourgeois revolutionary leaders employed as the propaganda of Revolution, should not be cited as expressing the real essence of the revolution (p. 128).

Nor can one wholly argue that the "Patriots . . . did not scruple about the constitutionality of their authority" (p. 96). While Committees of Safety might bear this out, the care with which Otis, John Adams, and Franklin argued the illegality of the British view might be cited to the contrary. In fact, McIlwain's thesis, if not a demonstration of the legality of the colonial position, certainly shows that they thought they were on the "legal" side.

The view that the "confiscation and sale of Loyalist estates to the common people during and after the war did much and went far to break up the land monopolies and the landed aristocracy" (p. 123), although it has the authority of Van Tyne, Flick, and Jameson, is open to serious question. Redistribution of land did not mean a redistribution of wealth to the yeoman, at least not until the speculator had exacted his tribute. The Livingstons and Beekmans were but a few of the great buzzards that gathered around the DeLauncey estates. Furthermore, the persistence of great manors and patents in New York that led to the anti-rentism of the 1840's, which both Spaulding and Cheney describe, should certainly have prevented the reference to the abolition of "all feudal obligations and tenures" (p. 124). A similar carelessness is found in the reference to "*all* of the troops" (p. 63, my italics) opposing the citizenry in the Boston Massacre, or in the lumping of Burke, the conservative Whig, with Barré and Wilkes as "all English agitators" (p. 53).

Unfortunate also is the loose terminology employed in several places. For example, there seems to be a confusion of "mercantilists" with "class" (p. 18). As a matter of fact, only part of the middle class, *i. e.*, the merchant-traders, held mercantilistic notions. Nor

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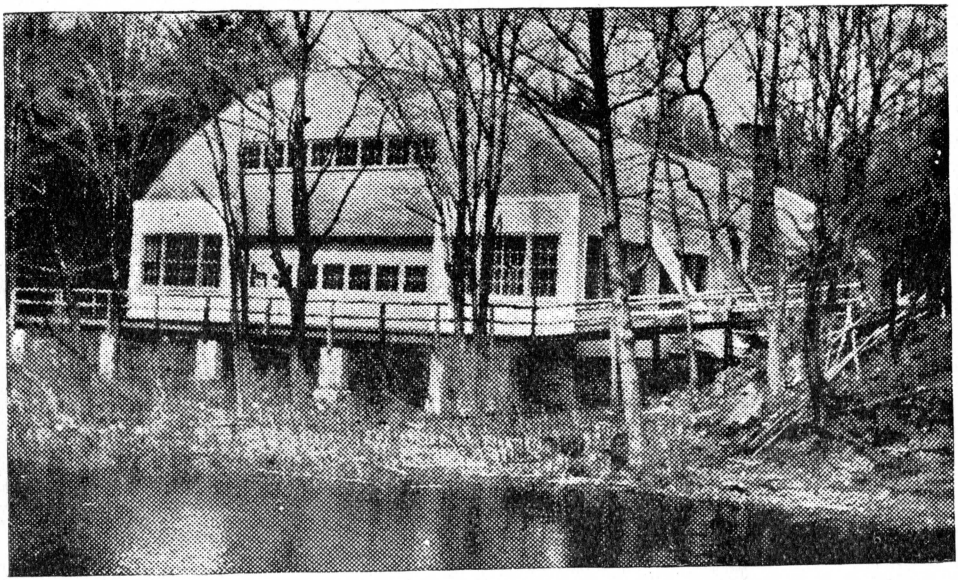

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were they the "ruling class at home . . . under state protection" (p. 19), for surely the landed aristocracy was the larger segment of the "ruling class" and they did not necessarily benefit from commercial operations. One cannot refer to a class as "able to determine its own existence" (p. 125) without leaving open the door to a kind of class voluntarism. For we know that it is the conditions within which a class functions that determine its development.

Mixed metaphors, awkward sentence structures, and a not very fastidious choice of words mar several passages. On the whole, one misses the moving pageantry of the scene of which the Beards have caught a good share. There are, moreover, several surprising omissions. One looks in vain for any treatment of the social struggle, on the eve of the Revolution, that split the colonies along sectional lines (Selsam, Adams) and of Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys. Only the size of the work can excuse the lack of a more extended analysis of the economic background of the eve of the Revolution (Faulkner, Gray, and Clark).

There is reason to believe that subsequent studies in the series will reach progressively higher levels of scholarship and analysis as each one provokes critical rejoinder and investigation. THOMAS C. HATCH.

Worth Waiting For

NOON WINE, *by Katherine Anne Porter. Schuman's.* $5.

MISS PORTER'S *Noon Wine* is a long short story or novelette of about twenty-five thousand words, published in an edition limited to 250 copies. It is beautifully done, possessing the virtues one expects from the author of *Flowering Judas* and *María Concepcion*: atmosphere, pictorial vividness, clarity, authenticity of speech, faithfulness to the color and rhythm and thoughts of the lives whose destinies are worked out in a convincing pattern. Miss Porter, for whatever reason, writes few stories, but they are worth waiting for, even in limited editions. *Noon Wine* has been five years in the writing. It deals with certain happenings on a south Texas farm between 1896 and 1905. A Swedish farm-hand, named Helton, a fugitive from a North Dakota lunatic asylum where he had been confined after killing his brother, appears one day at Mr. Thompson's little dairy farm in Texas and is taken on as the hired man. Harmless, but unsociable and almost inarticulate, he works so well that the rather shiftless Mr. Thompson and his pathetic half-invalid wife find their run-down place gradually becoming neat, comfortable, and modestly prosperous; and Mr. Thompson, as the years go on, begins to think he has made a pretty good job of raising his crops and his family. He is obscurely aware of his debt to the Swede—even increasing his wages now and then.

Then one hot afternoon a stranger comes in the gate, a most objectionable fellow, whose appearance and conversation so irritate Mr.

Thompson that he is ready to throw him off the place even before the purpose of his coming becomes clear. He is after Mr. Helton. This Mr. Homer T. Hatch has made his living for years by rounding up escaped prisoners and lunatics and claiming the rewards. The scene ends dramatically. Mr. Thompson, after some confused violence, finds he has killed Mr. Hatch; the spectacle has once more unhinged Helton's mind, and his doom, too, is sealed. Thompson is acquitted, but not by his own conscience, and he arouses the suspicions of his neighbors by his anxious efforts to justify himself. His suicide is a convincing dénouement, and the note he leaves behind a suitable epitaph. "It was Mr. Homer T. Hatch who came to do wrong to a harmless man. He caused all this trouble and he deserved to die, but I am sorry it was me who had to kill him."

Miss Porter calls her story "the history of an innocent man pursued to his death by the will to do evil of another man, a will to work harm almost as blind and pointless as a catastrophe of the elements." The "almost" deserves much more emphasis in the story than Miss Porter has given it. Mr. Hatch's will to work harm was, after all, just a will to make his living in a manner approved by the society we live in; nasty as it was, it was a nicer manner than some others one can think of, which are also approved as contributing to the reign of law and order. Mr. Hatch prided himself on his devotion to law and order, and certainly the devotion of such "low-down hounds" as Mr. Hatch produces catastrophes enough, but they can scarcely be compared to those of the elements. *Noon Wine* is a beautifully wrought story—in spite of the slightly perverse or disingenuous or romantic (select your own adjective) insistence on a blind and pointless will to do evil.

DOROTHY BREWSTER.

★

Recently Recommended Books

Living China: Modern Chinese Short Stories. Compiled and edited by Edgar Snow. Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.50.

Predecessors of Adam Smith, by E. A. J. Johnson. Prentice-Hall. $3.50.

In the American Jungle, by Waldo Frank. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.50.

The New Soviet Constitution, by Anna Louise Strong. $1.50.

Bonaparte, by Eugene Tarlé. Knight. $4.50.

The Tragic Fallacy: A Study of America's War Policies, by Mauritz A. Hallgren. Knopf. $4.

The Cock's Funeral, by Ben Field, with an introduction by Erskine Caldwell. International. $1.25.

Mortgage Your Heart, by Sophus Keith Winther. Macmillan. $2.50.

Mathematics for the Million, by Lancelot Hogben. Illustrations by J. F. Horrabin. Norton. $3.75.

Peace Is Where the Tempests Blow, by Valentine Kataev. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.50.

The Private Manufacture of Armaments, Vol. I, by Philip Noel-Baker. Oxford. $3.75.

Rainbow Fish, by Ralph Bates. Dutton. $2.

Look Through the Bars, by Ernst Toller. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.75.

Low Company, by Daniel Fuchs. Vanguard. $2.50.

Spain in Arms, 1937, by Anna Louise Strong. Holt $1; paper 25c.

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

The disappearance of Henry Johnson—Luis Arenal's paintings—Recent dance recitals

HENRY JOHNSON is no more. That irresponsible, globe-trotting correspondent whose column appeared with alarming irregularity has decided to abdicate in favor of the equally untrustworthy John Hammond, who solemnly promises his readers a record critique at least twice a month, even in the slack summertime.

There never was much point to the pseudonym. Record magnates who were stung by NEW MASSES comment from time to time were quick to blame J. H. for H. J.'s material. More than one company closed its doors to both correspondents, with the result that there appears to be no further reason for keeping the myth alive.

An enormous pile of records has accumulated since the last reviews appeared, and it would be impossible to attempt to cover them all. Master and Variety popular records have increased the monthly output of popular and swing disks to gargantuan proportions, while Musicraft and Brunswick-Polydor have supplemented the already large classical catalogues.

Both Columbia and Victor have issued new versions of the Beethoven eighth symphony, the first by Weingartner and the Vienna Philharmonic (Set 292—$5) and the other by Koussevitzky and the Boston (M.336—$6.50). Because of the difference in price we would like to record a tepid preference for the Columbia, despite the fact that there is an enormous auditorium echo which emphasizes the thinness of the orchestral tone and the lack of vigor in the conducting. The magnificent recording in the Victor album is more than offset by Koussevitzky's quirks. The cautious reader will bide his time until Toscanini records this great work next year or later, for none of the present versions can remotely compare to his interpretation.

The American Columbia company has issued a new album of the Mozart clarinet quintet in A-major (Set 293—$6) by Simeon Bellison and the Roth String Quartet, fondly believing that it would supersede the previous version by Charles Draper and the Leners. Although Bellison is the distinguished first clarinetist of the New York Philharmonic, his conception of this exquisite work is pedestrian in the extreme. His tone is dry and his playing absolutely without feeling. Even though Draper is not the technician that Bellison is, his playing has a charm and ensemble sense that is altogether absent from the new set. The Roths play well enough, but they cannot overcome a tendency to sentimentalize a work of such emotional warmth that it needs no gilding.

Swing hasn't produced so many good records in the last few months. The record I am most moved by is Teddy Wilson's "I Must Have That Man" (Brunswick) backed by "Why Was I Born?" in which Benny Goodman and Buck Clayton, Lester Young and others from Count Basie's orchestra play with feeling and extraordinary ensemble sense. Wilson's "Carelessly" and "How Could You?" both contain fine samples of Johnny Hodges's unmatched alto sax and Cootie Williams's growling trumpet, while all of them have elegant vocals by Billie Holiday. There have been no new Benny Goodman records in over three months (contract difficulty?), so that one must be content with the snatches of Goodman that appear on Wilson's disks from time to time.

It's difficult to recommend any of the new Duke Ellington records on Master or the Fletcher Henderson on Vocalion, but Frank Newton and his Uptown Serenaders, a group of very talented Harlemites, have produced four grand sides on Variety. Four recordings that masquerade as swing are Raymond Scott's "Twilight in Turkey," "Minuet in Jazz," "Powerhouse," "Toy Trumpet" (Master 108, III). Scott's stuff is entirely cerebral and not improvised, but many people find it extremely amusing and clever, in the Broadway sense of the word. I prefer Billie Holiday's records of the Gershwin *Shall We Dance?* tunes, "They Can't Take That Away from Me" and "Let's Call the Whole Thing Off" (Vocalion) to those by Fred Astaire and Johnny Green on Brunswick.

The Columbia Phonograph Co. was good enough to invite Henry Johnson to visit its plant as a result of his last article in the NEW MASSES, where he charged that deficiencies in Columbia and Brunswick records could be attributed to bad working conditions and underpaid labor.

After an extended trip through the factory, H. J. is able to report that conditions are infinitely better there than they used to be. Although pressmen must be content with very low wages, partly because they are not unionized, they work on a five-day, forty-hour week at a speed far less grueling than that in any European factory I have visited. Since last October, the plant has been moved to a more modern building with ample light and ventilation, and the quality of the record stock has been consistently improved. The company has had no run-ins with the Connecticut Labor Board since December 1935, so that one can safely assume that conditions now compare favorably with other plants in the industry.

Martin

The advertising manager of the NEW MASSES acted as the successful mediator in the strike of the Charles Bloomfield employees in New York. A seventy-two hour week for salesmen (which obtains in at least four other record stores in New York) was reduced to forty-eight hours, a 10-percent wage increase was put into effect, and a closed shop was guaranteed the men as members of Local 830 of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.

JOHN HAMMOND.

THE FINE ARTS

LUIS ARENAL, like most contemporary Mexican painters, is primarily a mural painter. He has been trained to cover vast surfaces of walls with monumental designs. He understands how to tell the story of the Mexican people—their work and their aspirations. For this reason, his show at the Delphic Studios in New York represents but a part of his diverse activity. In the lobby of the new Psychopathic Building of Bellevue Hospital, he has just completed two panels, *Tropical America* and *North America* for the W.P.A. Federal Art Project. His new lacquers and gouaches in the present show maintain the same monumentality of design.

It is difficult to understand how a young painter achieves a mastery over so many media —wood, oil, water color, fresco, and lacquer— unless one knows the richness and variety of the Mexican tradition in painting.

Luis Arenal's first memories coincide with the revolution. His father, a captain in Madero's army, was killed in action. His young mother was left with four children to feed in those tumultuous years. Perhaps without these memories he would never have painted these strong, sad-eyed Mexican women waiting for their men to come home from war, or Zapata's mother and wife weeping over the slain leader. Perhaps without those hard years, he could not have made these concise, energized patterns of his people.

Settled with his family in California, Arenal found a suitable plastic form. His first efforts in Mexico had been in wood carving. His sculptured figures are in the Indian tradition; they have that hard-hewn simplicity of outline and mass, the direct expression of a strong race. In 1932, Siqueiros came to Los Angeles. He invited Arenal to work with him on several murals. For the first time in non-com-

Martin

mercial art, they applied their color with the air-brush. Siqueiros had observed our American billboards. Why not use their excellent invention for a better purpose? Why in the most advanced industrial country did the artists conservatively stick to the same instruments that were used by pre-historic artists? Luis Arenal and Siqueiros experimented; they painted murals outside, attempting a new technique to reach a wider audience.

In 1934, Arenal went back to Mexico. There he helped to found a Mexican workshop for technical experiments. He worked with Mendez, Zalce, O'Higgins, Pujol, Gamboa, and later Siqueiros. They were not afraid to design posters and placards for demonstrations, to exhibit their work in trade-union halls. They accepted orders and filled them just like a carpenter or tailor shop. They had no fear of losing their individuality but were proud of their collective craftsmanship.

When the American Artists' Congress was called in 1936, Arenal was among the delegates sent from Mexico. He decided to remain in New York. Together with Siqueiros, Anton Pujol, Berdiccio, and Bracho, he set up an experimental workshop here. The lacquer paintings now on exhibit derive from this workshop. They are painted in commercial lacquers such as are used for furniture or automobiles. Difficult to handle, this medium is rich in possibilities. It is eminently suited to photographic reproduction, enabling the artist to distribute his work widely at little cost. Arenal uses an air-brush most successfully to complement the hand-brush. He maintains that there is no essential conflict between these different functions. While the air-brush cannot give the anatomic structure of organic life like the hand-brush, it is superior in creating certain textures such as fire, smoke, water, etc.

Arenal's open-mindedness and his prodigious vitality demonstrate that the younger generation of Mexican painters is carrying on the work of the first generation of revolutionary painters.

CHARMION VON WIEGAND.

THE DANCE

MODERN dancers have had no easy time of it in the W.P.A. First there was the fight for a dance unit, then a dance theater; there was the early fight against cuts, the fight against incompetent and sometimes vicious supervision; there were delegations to Washington, strikes, picketing. If dancers never knew that their art was not something distinct and wholly separate from the business of something to eat and a place to work, they learned fast. And of all the leading dancers, Tamiris was the sole vigorous voice among all the younger people in their struggle for decent wages, decent working conditions, and a decent theater.

There were some half-hearted attempts on the part of the authorities to get their dancers before the public. *Candide* got an early run of no more than a couple of performances;

Tamiris's *Salud au Monde* ran for a few days, but despite excellent press reception, it wasn't until almost a year after the inception of the Federal Dance Theatre that anything in dance was given any sort of production. And when it came, it was some odd concoction of "modernistic" dance theater which strangely enough played to good houses for a good number of weeks. Which indicated more than anything else not simply an acceptance but a public eagerness for the work of the federal dance project.

Nevertheless, there followed a lapse—and what with the imminent threatening abolition of the entire W.P.A. apparatus, it looked as if the whole thing would blow up before a modern dancer got a decent showing, and with it whatever prospects there had been for a federally subsidized modern dance theater.

Whether *How Long Brethren?* (Tamiris's brilliant suite now at the Nora Bayes Theatre in New York) will change the prospective gloomy picture of tremendous cuts in W.P.A. appropriations isn't predictable. But if the audience that has come every night, to greet these seven Negro themes of protest with as spontaneous a burst of approval as has ever been witnessed in the dance theater, is any index, then there'll be more, not fewer, federal dancers; more, not fewer, federal dance productions. And it is in the nature of some sort of justice that it is Tamiris who has so stirred the press and the federal authorities (for they have been moved), and who is filling the W.P.A. theater with a new and enthusiastic audience—not strictly a dance audience, but, on the contrary, people who have never seen in dance anything but incomprehensible gesture.

Simple in line, simple in pattern, almost literal and simple in its rhythms, *How Long Brethren?* is in the nature of a pageant. Its seven episodes are seven stylized movements such as cotton picking, "walking de street," the familiar chug-chug of the railroads. Its groupings are simple: there are no startling effects in the piece, there are no subtle abstractions; Tamiris has given herself back to her early free-swinging syncopations.

And this is all in praise. Tamiris has captured a folk manner in all this simplicity. Not a naïveté, but a searching quality moves her compositions. Short, sharp phrases tell the story of a rising rebellion against "nothin' to eat," "Cap'n kill my buddy." And a stirring, ironic, jazz-running climactic "Let's go to de buryin'" forces the composition to the militant promise that lies in the firm unity of "Too long, brethren, too long," which rings the curtain down on one of the finest choreographic works seen this or any season.

Tamiris has worked consistently with themes of proletarian origin, but here she has tapped a rich vein and realized as never before the brilliance of its thematic substance.

The work of the W.P.A. orchestra, the beautiful singing of the Negro chorus, the excellently performing group of well-equipped dancers, the magnificent dancing of Tamiris herself, must not be missed.

New York saw three ballet troupes per-

form during April: the familiar Ballet Russe; the American Ballet, which performed this year only incidentally with the Metropolitan Opera House; and the comic Trudi Schoop (to be reviewed next week), who made her first American appearance last season.

There was nothing very new in the seasonal farewell performances of the Ballet Russe. Massine's *Scuola di Ballo* was revived and Nijinsky's *L'Apres-Midi d'un Faun* and the Berlioz *Symphonie Fantastique* (Massine's choreography) were repeated.

Massine's *School of the Ballet* has one of those thoroughly complicated Commedia dell' Arte plots. The story, however, might be boiled down to "love and art conquer," or "the swindler swindled." In any case, it is a swift-moving ballet, has some good comic touches, allows for a number of excellent passages in technique, and altogether is one of the happier (theatrical) works in the repertory of the Ballet Russe. Ideologically slight, it nevertheless does point to the choreographer's distrust of the business of trade, and should not be without value in developing the thesis of the pre-bourgeois nostalgia that permeates the whole ballet school of dancing.

L'Apres-Midi d'un Faun (Debussy's music) is slight, sensuous; it moves lightly in the tenuous fields of a symbolism concerned with the faun and his loves, and fades. The composition is possessed of some excellent choreographic material which demands an assertive precision that Lichine did not quite succeed in giving. The ballet is of course completely a dream-world affair, completely in the spirit of wishful thinking and escape.

As to the *Symphonie Fantastique,* the autobiographical dope-dream of Berlioz, the prison scene in which the condemned composer is executed is still one of the ballet's brightest spots both for its excellent group movement and for its burlesque on the courts (not "nine old men," but an equivalent number). There's a bit of good satire, too, in the mock religious scene in which, before the priests sanctify the spirit of the deceased composer, the devils have their own inning at pulling the leg of the churchly rite. In both cases, however, it is interesting to note that the attacks are never directed at anything but the smugness and the hypocrisy of the order (the courts in the first instance, the church in the second), typical of liberal attacks on the "manifestations" of an order, typical of the "bohemian" attacks on "respectability." The hysteria of the masses of people (in the prison scene) indicated the choreographer as well as the composer had as little faith in them as he had in the "judges," and equal contempt for both. His satire was certainly not inspired as social protest, but evidently in complete line with bohemian self-righteous self-pity, self-righteous justification, and self-righteous contempt.

Considered historically, this ballet (contemporary with Gautier and Louis-Phillippe, the citizen-king), may be seen readily as a development from a reactionary viewpoint. Its escapist and defeatist attitudes are obvious (it begins with an overdose of an opiate—ends with

death); and it is axiomatic that, if not at all times, certainly in times of political duress, bohemianism is certainly not a force for progress.

Of the American Ballet, as a corps the dancers have improved remarkably from the viewpoint of technique. Thematically, its work still leans heavily to the nostalgic. *Apollon Musagete* (first New York performance) is a high-school mural. The Tschaikovsky-inspired *Le Baiser de la Fée* (*The Fairy's Kiss*—first American performance) is a fairy tale, romantic after the traditional "yearning" school. *The Card Party* (world premiere), much publicized and much vaunted, is a collapsing deck, is neither Alice-in-Wonderland-like in comedy or satire, nor is it in the slightest sense more than the story of love (the "heart" family, from the ace down) conquers all. Stravinsky, who provided the musical score for each of the ballets, has done (politely) considerably better. It must be said for George Balanchine (choreographer of the three works), however, that there was nothing in the evening that approached quite the ephemeral nonsense of *Errante* (produced in 1935) nor the pseudo-American football ballet (of the same year). Among other things, he has learned to limit the choreography to the technical capabilities of the dancers. And even if much of his ballet is considerably reminiscent of Roxy's and the Music Hall, still the work is not overburdened with tinsel histrionics and is pleasant if only for that reason.

OWEN BURKE.

★

Forthcoming Broadcasts

(Times given are Eastern Daylight, but all programs listed are on coast-to-coast hookups)

Farmers' Union. Guest speakers under the organization's auspices, Sat., May 22, 1:30 p.m., N.B.C. blue.

Cordell Hull. The secretary of state on "The Next Step for Trade and Peace," Sat., May 22, 8:45 p.m., N.B.C. red.

Relief. National Conference of Social Work, with speakers including Paul U. Kellogg, Aubrey Williams, Jane Hoey, and others, on "What Next in Federal Relief?" Tues., May 25, 10:30 p.m., N.B.C. blue.

Education. National Education Association program, "Equal Opportunities for Every Child," Wed., May 26, 6 p.m., N.B.C. red.

Recent Recommendations

MOVIES

(We are omitting the listing of recommended films for the duration of the strike in the Hollywood studios.—THE EDITORS.)

PLAYS

Professor Mamlock (Daly. N. Y.). Family of German-Jewish physician is caught in maelstrom of Nazi regime. A fascinating study of the psychology of changing human nature.

Babes in Arms (Schubert, N. Y.). Pleasant and talented cast of youngsters in amusing, tuneful Rodgers and Hart musical.

Excursion (Vanderbilt, N. Y.). Thunder on the left in comic vein by Victor Wolfson.

Power (Ritz, N.Y.). The Living Newspaper's powerful and amusing attack on the utilities racket.

HOW TO WIN FRIENDS and INFLUENCE PEOPLE on your vacation

IT'S A CINCH vacations are going to be different this summer. There's going to be a lot more serious talk sandwiched in between fish stories, travel tales and lovemaking. You can't go far enough away in two weeks to get away from Spain. The most beautiful girls talk glibly about sit-down strikes and unions. People who used to accept blindly what they read in the papers now see through sham neutrality talk.

You'll have to know what you're talking about to make an impression on people this summer. You've got to know more than they do. It takes some intense pre-vacation preparation to be able to diagnose the daily news when the papers come up from the city. The kind of preparation that comes from reading New Masses — that indispensable magazine which takes no vacation, but stays on the job 52 weeks a year, giving you a back-stage view of history in the making.

Consider the Case of Charlie Crawfut

Charlie was a likable junior executive in a bond house. Or was he an advertising man? Anyway, he'd got to the point where the boss and his wife were asking him to occasional parties, and he was getting fond of country week-ends with just the right people. The boys in the office called him the new white-haired boy, and gradually dropped him from their luncheon klatsches at the corner bar and grill. He never contributed much to the conversation, anyway, and they got tired of his everlasting "put yourself in the boss' place." They'd like to, they said, but there were too many relatives in the way.

Charlie got pretty lonesome, for though he liked the feeling of importance he got from moving in the boss' circle, he knew he didn't really belong, and so did they.

Charlie's Vacation Was a Flop . . .

During the winter he and Hank Wilson had planned a fishing trip for their vacation, but by summer Hank had apparently forgotten all about it and drove out around Pittsburgh with a college pal who'd become a union organizer. So Charlie went off alone to a camp in, say, New York State.

Here of course he met A Girl. He decided it was "The Girl." She had everything. But she wouldn't have him. Charlie couldn't figure out why he never could get any time with her, and his best friends couldn't tell him because he didn't have any best friends any more.

Then one dav, when he was lounging on the lodge verandah, he overheard The Girl's father teasing her as the two came up from the boats. "Aren't you being pretty rough on that young Charlie?" her father asked. "Well, I can't help it, Dad," he heard The Girl say. "He still thinks the Spanish rebels are 'reds,' he never heard of the C.I.O., and he doesn't see what all that's got to do with people like us anyway. Why should I spend my time with a fellow that doesn't know what anything is about?" "Guess I'll have to put him wise," laughed her father, "or slip him a few copies of New Masses. I sort of like the guy. It might kindle a smoldering spark."

. . . Until He Woke Up!

Where have I been all my life, said Charlie to the back of his teeth, and tore for the camp library to grab off back copies of this wonderful magazine. They laughed that night and many nights thereafter when Charlie sat around asking questions. But by the time he went back to town, he had found out about things and people he never knew existed before. He'd found out that skimming the headlines was no way to read the papers. He'd begun to read behind them.

The day he got home he subscribed to New Masses. After a couple of weeks he got himself invited back to the luncheon forums. "Gawsh, Charlie, what's happened to you?" asked Hank Wilson, after Charlie had given them a hot harangue on the Cuban situation and how their bosses in Wall Street "keep the peace" down there.

"I got next to myself," said Charlie. "And then I got next to New Masses. And That Girl . . . well, she'll never out-talk me again, though I'm willing to have her spend a lifetime trying."

Let Charlie be a lesson to you. Don't *you* make the mistake of going off on a vacation without being prepared to hold your own in the front ranks of conversation. Use the coupon on the left *now!* And get others to subscribe. Help us get 5000 new subscribers by July 1.

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Gold Eagle Guy (a play) *Melvin Levy*
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The First American Revolution *by Jack Hardy*
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