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FEBRUARY 5, 1935

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Masses

Wall Street's Fascist Conspiracy

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BY JOHN L. SPIVAK

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By George Simpson

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new Masses

FEBRUARY 5, 1935

THERE is talk all over the country of the need to form a new political party—a labor party. Great sections of the American population, disillusioned with both the G.O.P. and the Democrats are groping about, seeking new political weapons. The America of 1935 presents a vastly different picture than that of the latter Twenties. Discussing a labor party in those days, the delegates to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928 advised the Communist Party to “concentrate its attention on the work in the trade unions, on organizing the unorganized, etc., and in this way lay the basis for the practical realization of a broad labor party organized from below.” A labor party in 1928 would have been a hodge-podge affair trailing along after the existing capitalist parties. A labor party today can be an entirely different thing—that is, if it is based on the trade unions which have been infused with new blood, with millions of proletarians willing and eager to match strength against their bosses for the sake of better living conditions. The past year has witnessed a remarkable growth of workers’ organizations, especially the A.F. of L. unions, independent unions, and others. The desire of the masses for a united front has increased everywhere. Their will to present a solid front to combat monopoly capitalism’s offensive was evidenced in such actions as the West Coast general strike and the textile strike. The reformers are aware of this, they cashed in on this spirit in the recent elections—the stock of the Sinclairs, the Olsons, the Zimmermans rose to new highs. The mass disintegration of the traditional party system shows all signs of having begun.

THE Communists at the recent session of their Central Committee foresaw the following possibilities concerning the prospective labor party: it may be modelled along the lines of the “Popular” or “Progressive” movements led by the La Follettes, the Sinclairs, the Huey Longs; it may be a “Farmer Labor” party of the same character as the Progressives, differing only in name and degree of demagoguery; or it may be



“SPEECH, SPEECH, SPEECH!”

Mackey

a “labor party” based predominantly on trade unions and possessing a program of certain immediate demands. Such a labor party, however, would have a great deal to say about a “cooperative commonwealth” à la Olson, and, assisted by the Socialist Party, would diligently exclude all Communists. The fourth possibility is that of a labor party built up from below on a trade union basis, warring with the bureaucracy, and armed with a program of demands based on the tactics of mass struggles, strikes. Its leaders would be drawn from the most militant sections of the proletariat, and would include the Communists, of course. The Communist Party, therefore, has posed the question of a labor party to its membership for discussion. The party, of course, must

be strengthened as the only real independent proletarian party. It cannot be replaced by any other organization in the struggle of the working-class for liberation. But, unfortunately, it cannot at this moment expect an influx of the millions breaking away from the old parties. It will guide these millions, help them keep the labor party from falling into the hands of those whose program is class-collaboration. For along that path lies defeat—a tiresome repetition of the British Labor Party, of the German Social Democracy. The Communist Party would act as catalytic agent in the political chemistry of this time. The Communists would enter the labor party movement to help the masses tear away from the bourgeois and social-reformist parties and discover

the road to the revolutionary class struggle.

THE second anniversary of Hitler's accession to power somehow did not throw the German people into paroxysms of rejoicing. The news from both the Bourse and the labor exchanges offer little cheer. Trade, domestic and foreign, is tobogganing, while unemployment is on the rise. Germany's foreign trade cleared the year with an unfavorable balance of 285 million Reichmarks (\$69,000,000). Since Hitler took over the reins for the big boys, Germany's total volume of exports has declined by \$285,140,000 and the imports in the same period have sunk by \$52,000,000. Hitler nationalism has achieved isolation with a vengeance. But while the German population enjoy a "totalitarianism" of want, Krupp, the famous German munitions firm, reports record earnings. A Berlin wireless of Jan. 25 states that the armament company is far ahead of the rest of German industry. Total production of war materials increased 56 percent. Pig iron production rose 80 percent, raw steel 50 percent, rolling mill production 63 percent. The Krupp family realized a profit of \$2,680,000 for the year 1934. These statistics should help clear the minds of many who were befogged by Der Fuehrer's flamboyant orations in those days before February, 1933.

"A NARCHY" is a burning subject in Arkansas, judging by recent news dispatches which report that Ward H. Rodgers, a teacher employed by the F.E.R.A., was found guilty last week on that charge and sentenced to six months in jail. Rodgers is a member of the Socialist Party and for some time has been helping to organize the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, an organization to protect the share-croppers who have been evicted by thousands and their property confiscated for "debt" under the feudal laws of the state. The F.E.R.A., immediately upon Rodgers' arrest, dismissed him from the staff. He had previously been warned by the school board, composed of landlords and planters, who had with the customary Southern regard for the social amenities informed him that if he didn't cease his activities in organizing the share-croppers there was a very strong likelihood that he might find himself hanging from a nearby tree. Rodgers was arrested soon after the warning at a meeting of Negro and white share-croppers

who had gathered to hear a report from a group of delegates whom they had sent to Washington to ask for aid. The defense of Rodgers, according to reports in the press, does not seem to have been carried on with any idea of mass pressure, which as all our readers know is labor's most effective weapon in the courts. Negro and white share-croppers were told by the defense attorney to stay in their homes during the trial. Meanwhile, the jury was being drawn from planters and landlords who were about as eager to see that Rodgers got justice as they were to see the tenants on their lands get a decent living.

LABOR in the textile areas throughout the country is still in ferment, even though Francis J. Gorman, first vice-president of the United States Textile Workers of America, babbles on about the sweeping victory of the workers in the big textile strike last September. That the textile workers have reason for their firm belief that they were tricked and double-crossed by the strike settlement was made evident last week in a report issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The report proves that the textile workers are the poorest paid class of workers in the country and that their wages have been falling with murderous speed. The real earnings of almost every textile worker were less in August, 1934, than they were in August of the previous year, the proportion being a 15 percent decline in the North and a 25 percent decline in the South over this period. In August, 1934, the average weekly earnings for males in the North and South were no higher than they had been in July, 1933, with the cost of living soaring throughout the country. According to the report, the wages of women workers had risen 13 percent in the North and 25 percent in the South. The Bureau shows its class alignment in its white-washing of the big industrialists on the charge of a double system of bookkeeping whereby operatives are cheated out of part of their earnings. All of the textile mill workers know that such a system is universally practised and they also are beginning to realize that only through strikes and organization can they obtain decent wages from their employers.

EVENTS in the automobile industry have completely confirmed the analysis made in the first of A. B. Magil's articles published in THE NEW MASSES of Jan. 1. The second article appears

in this issue. Though the current automobile code was scheduled to end Feb. 1, no announcement has to date been made that open hearings will be held on the code, despite the insistent demands of workers in the industry that they get their chance to be heard. On the contrary, a Washington dispatch of Jan. 19 quoted W. A. Harriman, administrator under the National Industrial Recovery Board to the effect that the present code would be extended another ninety days. Donald Richberg hastened to broadcast a denial the next day. Evidently Mr. Harriman had made a slip of the tongue. At the moment President Roosevelt is supposedly giving his fullest executive attention to the recommendations of the N.R.A. Board regarding the findings of the Henderson committee which conducted the hearings in Detroit. Meanwhile the workers are being fed large doses of company unionism through the elections for the so-called "collective bargaining" representatives. These polls are being held under the auspices of the Automobile Labor Board. On Jan. 24 the Board took another fall out of bona fide unionism by issuing statistics designed to create the impression that nearly 90 percent of the workers who had voted in eight plants had cast their ballot against the trade unions. The Detroit Free Press, mouthpiece of the auto companies, was quick on the uptake: its Jan. 26 issue printed a page-one article headed "Auto Workers of Detroit Declare Independence of All Outside Labor Unions." They considered this so important the story took almost as much space as the Hauptmann case.

WHAT they failed to mention, however, was that the so-called "unaffiliated candidates," for whom the workers were duped into voting, were in most cases company-union men. Moreover, despite the fact that the leadership of the two biggest unions in the industry, the A.F. of L. United Automobile Workers and the Mechanics Educational Society of America, boycotted the elections, 2,011 workers voted for these unions, while only 508 favored the official company unions. The total vote for all the legitimate trade unions was 2,318 — nearly three times the company-union vote. Clearly, had majority rule prevailed, with the workers voting for either the A.F. of L., or the company union, the latter would have been snowed under. A further important development has been the move

for the creation of a national federation of disguised company unions that are being created by the Labor Board's elections. This was initiated on Jan. 22 by the "collective bargaining" group of the Cadillac Motor Car Co., a General Motors subsidiary. After it adopted a resolution to cooperate with the management on all wage questions, the leadership decided to send a letter to twenty-five plants calling for the launching of a Federation of Automobile Industrial Employees. The entire picture would not be complete without a mention of the current profits of General Motors. Net profits in 1934 totaled \$94,769,000, compared with \$83,213,676 for 1933, which incidentally was more than 5,000 percent more than 1932!

THE big ship-owners and the big money-bags behind them had hardly enough time to recover from the jitters brought on by the West Coast general strike when the threat of a general strike in the East almost sent them back to the sanatorium again. Last week 22,000 New York City teamsters climbed out of their trucks and went on the picket line, while 40,000 more were ready to answer the call to strike. The strike was a protest against an anti-labor injunction which the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce was jockeying through the

courts to prevent joint action between the teamsters and the longshoremen. The injunction had plenty of teeth in it and would have meant the wholesale discharge of workers, wage cuts, the smashing of union contracts and the use of scab teamsters. The strike was called by a rank and file committee against the will of the leadership. Thomas C. Smith, head of the union strike committee of twenty-five announced that if necessary other sections of the industry would come out on strike. The Ward liner Orizaba docked in New York Sunday, but not a longshoreman would volunteer to unload its cargo. Similarly with the British liners the Britannic and the Caledonia. The morning of the one-day walkout saw groups of teamster pickets stationed at most piers halting trucks. The drivers in most cases willingly drove the trucks back to the garages and went out. Garages were picketed. The United Trucking Company, one of New York's largest, admitted that most of their trucks were idle. The officials of the International Brotherhood pooh-poohed the strike movement with statements that the strike was "not official" and that "it was just a rank and file movement." They lost no time blaming it on the Reds. Judge Humphrey postponed signing the injunction and the men went back to

work, threatening to walk out and cause a general strike if he dared put his name to the document.

LAST week the newspapers announced that our great iconoclast, Mr. Sinclair Lewis, had joined the American Academy of Arts and Letters. This organization, as our readers know, is an institution devoted to the specific purpose of supplying saw-dust to a large group of professional stuffed shirts who think they are some pumpkins and aren't afraid of letting the world in general know that they are. The headquarters of the Academy is in New York City and we have received reliable information that when members walk around they leave a little trail of saw-dust behind them. It is painful to learn that Sinclair Lewis has joined it. Time was when he would have given the academy the Bronx cheer, but evidently there comes a period in a bourgeois writer's career when his vanity will gobble up anything you pour into the trough. We're sorry to see Lewis go that way, but if it's true, as Oscar Wilde said, that nature imitates art, we might also say that Sinclair Lewis is now imitating Babbitt.

THE Ward Line in the last five months has had three major disasters—the fire aboard the Morro Castle, the wreck of the Havana, and now the sinking of the Mohawk. As every seaman knows the Ward Line is one of the worst firms in the business so far as labor is concerned and any accident that occurs is largely due to the fact that they underpay, that they exploit their help and that they play fast and loose with the lives of the passengers and the crew. The sinking of the Mohawk with the loss of forty-five people is supposed to have been due to some fault in the steering apparatus which had been tampered with, according to a tabloid's reports, by Reds who for the sake of ruining the Ward Line were willing to sacrifice the lives of their fellow workers. There will be an investigation, of course, and the lawyers for the defense will try, just as they did during the hearings on the Morro Castle disaster, to pin the guilt for the collision on some sailor who believes in fighting for decent wages and treatment aboard ship. Perhaps the steering gear of the Mohawk became disabled but if the line quit paying starvation wages to the crew and kept their ships in better condition they wouldn't have to turn

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Published weekly by the NEW MASSES, INC., at 31 East 27th Street, New York City. Copyright, 1935. NEW MASSES, INC., Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies, 10 cents. Subscription, \$3.50 a year in U. S. and Colonias and Mexico. Six months \$2; three months \$1; Foreign \$4.50 a year; six months \$2.50; three months \$1.25. Subscribers are notified that no change of address can be effected in less than 2 weeks. The NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers, in prose and verse, and of artists. MSS must be accompanied by return postage. The NEW MASSES pays for contributions.



to the casualty insurance companies which have evidently been supporting them during the past five months.

THE Hauptmann case continues to crowd everything else out of the news and if the British Isles should suddenly disappear beneath the sea the city editors probably would not be able to give the news more than a brief mention in the obituary columns. Though the trial has been going on now for almost a month, there is no sign that the interest in the case has abated in the slightest degree and the newspapers are drafting almost anybody who can write a simple declarative sentence to tell the story of the trial. Meanwhile the crowds throng the courtroom, friends of newspaper editors jostle the newspaper men out of their seats, and peddlers are doing a land-office business selling little ladders that you wear in your buttonhole. The schools around Flemington have been almost completely demoralized because the pupils spend all their time hanging around the courthouse to see the famous people go in.

THAT mass pressure can successfully free defendants under criminal syndicalism charges was again demonstrated in Hillsboro, Illinois, Jan. 7, when fourteen defendants were released on suspended sentences after the actual "conspiracy" charges had been dropped. Conditions leading to the indictments last year are graphically described by a correspondent: "Southern Illinois has a background of terror and murders that have sprinkled every ton of coal mined there with the blood of militant workers. . . . There was no relief to speak of until the Unemployment Councils entered the scene. . . . While families were hungry, thousands of dollars had been assigned to the names on tombstones in the local graveyard. . . . Workers began to picket the homes of grafters. The Mayor issued a proclamation forbidding more than five to assemble and several were arrested, but on May 28 a demonstration forced the Aldermen to rescind the proclamation." By June hundreds of Vigilantes, members of the Chamber of Commerce, American Legion officials and the "Anti-Horse-Thief Association" flouted all law and attacked the homes of workers where they made illegal arrests. Eleven were kidnaped and spent four months in the filthy jail. Three others were later arrested. Persons offering to go on their bonds were threatened. In this

atmosphere a special grand jury, with a Federal judge present, indicted the whole group for criminal syndicalism. Three of their lawyers were driven out of town. From the beginning mass pressure and public protest grew to tremendous proportions. The I. L. D. took up the cases. Delegations of miners, workers, intellectuals visited officials. A united front of Progressive Miners, Socialists, Communists and unemployed stormed at the authorities and the jail. Three Communists were elected aldermen in the nearby town of Taylor Springs. The dramatic trial in the early days of this month was constantly interrupted by the cheers and boos of workers inside and out of the courtroom. The result is historical. Mass pressure was triumphant. By similar methods the Sacramento defendants can be freed.

THE Red scare increases in intensity each week and if Hearst, Macfadden, Matthew Woll, Father Coughlin, et al., continue their barrage against Communism we may expect to see a revised version of the Palmer raids. Liberty and the Hearst publications are fighting desperately to outdo each other in their denunciation of the Reds. Liberty won last week with a crashing uppercut which left the Hearst papers hanging on the ropes. In an editorial written by one of Mr. Macfadden's prize hacks the Communists were referred to as "man-eating tigers" who should be strung up from the nearest lamp-post by an outraged citizenry. Posing as a defender of law and order the editorial writer cries for mob violence and makes it quite evident that anyone who doesn't eat spinach and subscribe to the Macfadden publications should be shot down in the street like a dog.

UNDER the guise of attempting to be "fair" Mr. Macfadden's Liberty opened its pages last week to H. L. Mencken who, since he left The American Mercury, has become a sort of Billy Sunday in the anti-Communist movement. Mr. Mencken in this article tears off his coat and does so much pulp-thumping, snorting and howling about hell fire that you begin to believe you are in a tent listening to a circuit revivalist ripping Mormonism to pieces. According to Mencken, who hasn't had a chance to work himself up into such a lather since atheism and prohibition became dead issues, the

Communist leaders are "transparent mountebanks" whose motives are "palpably self-seeking and the utopia they preach too plainly fraudulent. There is in them no actual concern for the poor and lowly. . . . The thing they conjure up in their grandiose visions is not a society in which all men shall be equal and all men shall be free, but a social organization as brutally despotic as that of the Moscow house of correction, with themselves on top in the Washington Kremlin, hordes of slaves kowtowing to them and the keys to the public treasury in their hands." Mencken rants on in this manner for only a minute and fifteen seconds less than Matthew Woll did the week before. We don't want to embarrass him by giving our readers a complete picture of him foaming at the mouth and talking the sort of nonsense he would have scorned ten years ago. When he was editor of The American Mercury he used to print just this sort of poppycock as "Americana" with a few caustic observations at the head of each quotation. Evidently he's writing it himself these days.

THE newspapers of Jan. 28 which chronicled the death of Thomas Boyd failed to mention the significant fact that last fall he was the candidate of the Communist Party for Governor of Vermont. No one who had read *Through the Wheat* could be surprised at Boyd's becoming a Communist. America has not produced a sharper, more vivid, more devastating novel of war. The man who wrote it was certain to recognize, sooner or later, that war was an integral part of the capitalist system and that war and the system must be destroyed together. With Boyd such recognition led inevitably to action and he joined the Communist Party. When it was decided that he must head the Party ticket, he dropped the work he was doing and obtained signatures enough to put Communism on the ballots of Cal Coolidge's rock-ribbed Republican state. When the campaign was over he resumed his work, revising *In Times of Peace*, a sequel to *Through the Wheat*, and writing a biography of John Fitch, the unhappy and victimized inventor of the steamboat. Both books are to be published this year. His death at the age of thirty-six, just at the time when his awareness of the class struggle was beginning to find clear expression in his writing, is a major misfortune for revolutionary literature.

Writers in Union Square

ON UNION SQUARE in New York there are two large and popular stores owned respectively by Mr. Klein and Mr. Ohrbach. Both these gentlemen are constantly boasting about their enormous generosity and every time they give ten cents to the Salvation Army they have themselves photographed and then put the picture, highly enlarged, in their display windows. However, their generosity is not what one could describe as disinterested and strikes have occurred in both stores. The girls on strike have shown amazing courage. They have picketed in rain and sleet and they have withstood the brutality of the police without flinching. There have been over 150 arrests.

The city administration has been doing everything in its power to help Ohrbach break the strike and an injunction was recently issued limiting the pickets to two and forbidding them to carry on any active propaganda against the Ohrbach store.

The Klein strike is in its tenth, the Ohrbach in its seventh week. At Ohrbach's 154 workers, whose average weekly wage is \$14.50, are out for a 10-percent increase, a permanent forty-hour week and recognition of the Office Workers' Union. Ohrbach does considerable advertising in local newspapers which in turn have displayed a corresponding lack of interest in printing news which might affect his trade. The only channels of publicity open to the strikers were the labor press, leaflets and mass picketing. Their constitutional right was revoked by an injunction issued by Justice Louis Valenti.

Last week a number of well known writers determined to test the Ohrbach injunction by picketing with the workers. They were Nathaniel West, James T. Farrell, Edward Newhouse, Leane Zugsmith, Edward Dahlberg, Herb Kline and Oakley Johnson. They carried signs which protested the injunction and marched in double formation in front of the store. The picket line was augmented by several hundred workers who joined the writers in asking customers not to patronize the store.

In the injunction against mass picketing, it is stipulated that the entire injunction must be read in full to the violator. While a lawyer spent forty-five minutes reading the order to Edward

Dahlberg, picketing continued. Dahlberg is up on a charge of violating the injunction while the nine others arrested at the same time are to be tried for disorderly conduct.

After picketing Ohrbach's, the pickets proceeded across Union Square to S. Klein's, where they were assaulted by the police and ridden down by the mounted cops. Newhouse was clubbed by one of La Guardia's cops and a girl picket was knocked to the ground by a horse's hoofs. The pickets, though they tried to hold their line, had little chance against the cops, who finally loaded the

writers into a patrol wagon and took them to the station house, where several policemen and detectives explained that everybody who picketed was a Red and all Reds ought to be dumped into some old ferry boats and sent to the bottom twelve miles out. They couldn't imagine how a "good Irishman" like Farrell could have been implicated in such a scrape.

The arrests, however, not only called attention to the strikes in the Ohrbach and Klein stores, but they proved how powerful a weapon mass picketing is when properly utilized. And they also proved the growing sympathy among writers with the working-class movement which they can aid not only by word, but by deed.

The Students Fight War

AT THE International Student Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Brussels the latter part of December, the united front of militant students became world-wide in scope and organization. From thirty-two countries, from England and from its great colonial empire, from the United States as well as from South America, from Germany and Bulgaria, from France where the united front of the working class has thus far repulsed the attacks of Fascism, there gathered 380 delegates of varying points of view and diverse political affiliation. The key-note of the congress was unity of action. Of the delegates about seventy were Communists and about an equal number were Socialists; the rest were liberals, pacifists, League of Nations supporters and unorganized students. At the final session Jef Rens, Secretary of the International Socialist Student Conference, announced the unanimous support of the Socialist delegates for the decisions of the congress.

Of course it was understood that the work of the congress was yet to be done, in forging the broadest united-front action in the various participating countries. The declaration, adopted by the delegates, provides the basis for an inclusive and militant united front of students against war and Fascism. It was particularly stressed by students from the fascist countries, in many instances by students who had themselves been fascists, that the congress must in large measure base its appeal on the

daily experiences and the immediate problems of the student body. The congress recognized that campus issues, the curtailment of educational facilities, academic freedom, military training, discrimination against minorities, reflect broader social conflicts and that students can be involved in the broader struggle against war and Fascism primarily through their own problems.

In one of the most important resolutions, the student strike against war, which took place in the United States last year, was declared international. Another one will take place in April of this year although the exact date has not yet been fixed. The American delegation of ten, representing every section of the country, reports that the most eager interest was manifested by the delegates in last year's strike. In the United States the preparations for the strike will be the most important factor in all student anti-war activity. Already it has received the endorsement of the National Student League, The National Council of Methodist Youth and the Student League for Industrial Democracy. Although over 25,000 students came out of their classes in 1934, the extension of the united front and impetus of international action make it probable that a far greater number of students will participate this year.

From a small group of dissenters the student anti-war movement in the United States has grown until it has become the most powerful movement on the campus. The prodigious strides

Tanaka Still Talks

made by anti-war sentiment and organization bear testimony to the efficacy of the united front. For over a year the National Student League and the Student L. I. D. have worked together in a national united front. Members of both organizations have participated side by side in strikes and demonstrations and conferences. The united front has been of decisive influence in determining the direction and the program of the student anti-war movement. Almost unanimously the student anti-war conferences have gone on record as supporting the working class as the most important force in the fight against war. A good many conferences have shown this support by affiliating with The League Against War and Fascism. Several Conferences supported the peace policies of the Soviet Union. It is of some importance that the anti-war strike had as one of its major slogans—fight against imperialist war. There can no longer be any doubt that anti-war activities on the American campus have taken the path of militant struggle.

The N. S. L. has maintained that the next step ahead for the student movement lies in organizational unity on the basis of a program of action against war, Fascism, retrenchment, academic repression and discrimination against Negro students. Although the militant student movement has embraced tens of thousands of students in various activities on specific issues, the energies of these students have not yet been consolidated into powerful and effective organization. Student unity has begun to attract many adherents among L. I. D. members. For this reason the L. I. D. leaders were unable to pass a motion categorically rejecting unity. The motion that was passed endorses unity in principle, but postpones it for the indefinite future. However, campus realities and the pressure from L. I. D. members make unity an immediate problem. As the militant student movement grows, lines on the campus become more sharply drawn. Administrations engage in more brazen suppression of student liberties. As John Spivak pointed out in his NEW MASSES series, Nazi and fascist cells are formed, frequently with the tacit permission of the administrations. Only one united student organization will be able to unite the thousands of unorganized student anti-fascists. The student fight against war and Fascism makes student unity imperative.

IT IS all very well that the Tanaka Memorandum, published in 1930, was repudiated by the Japanese government, poohpoohed by capitalist diplomats and called "spurious" by some honest investigators. However, it continues to tally with the Japanese conquest of China and Manchurian news reports this week read like excerpts from it.

The Tanaka Memorandum was prepared at a secret conference of Japanese military and civil officials in Manchuria and Mongolia, held in June, 1927. It was handed to the Emperor on July 25, 1927, by Prime Minister M. Tanaka. Tanaka, who died in 1929, was chief of staff at the siege of Port Arthur in 1905. He held the post of Minister of War in three cabinets and led the campaign of intervention against the Soviet Union in 1918 and 1919, in Siberia. The Memorandum calls for the conquest of Manchuria and Mongolia first, then the Soviet Union and the United States and finally Europe. Some of the experts, once skeptical of the authenticity of the document, today have revised their opinion. There is proof that it was based upon actual reports of the military caucus—with minor discrepancies that crept in later—and that it is broadly the program of the military party still.

The first objective of Prime Minister Tanaka has already been attained—the control of Manchuria by Japan. The second, the conquest of Mongolia, was partly achieved by the invasion of Jehol, a Mongolian province, and is carried forward this week by the violation of the Chahar border, the capture of strategic posts at Dolun Nor and Tung-pengtze, and the killing of 300 Chinese. An armed force crossed into Outer Mongolia 120 miles from Soviet territory.

As this is written reports indicate that the Japanese drive has two objectives, one northward to cut off communications by way of the caravan route to Siberia, the other southward toward Shansi. The southern drive may be directed against the new strategy of the Chinese Red Armies. As we stated last week the eastern Red Armies are on the march in Kweichow to join forces with the Red Armies of northern Szechuan, which has recently gained important victories over Gen-

eral Liu Hsiang, the provincial governor. The background of this movement is the loyalty to the Soviets of a huge peasant population forced to live on two and a half cents a day by Chinese landlords. When the maneuver is effected the Communists will be greatly strengthened in central China. Obviously Chiang Kai-shek is in collusion with the strategists of the Tokio imperialists.

What are some of the aims established by the Tanaka Memorandum? We quote from the text: "Japan cannot remove the 'difficulties' in Eastern Asia without pursuing a policy of blood and iron. . . . The Chinese Eastern Railway will become ours just as the Southern Manchurian Railway became ours." The Soviets, in pursuance of their peace policy, have carried on negotiations for the sale of the railway. The policy of "blood and iron" had made it impossible for the U. S. S. R. to operate the road in peace. "We shall seize Kirin as we seized Dairen." This has been done. "The inevitability of crossing swords with Russia on the fields of Mongolia . . . is part of our program of national development," and, "in order to gain control of China we must crush the United States. . . ." The names of places actually captured Jan. 25, in Chahar, are mentioned as objectives in the Memorandum.

The key to this Napoleonic program is, of course, the attack on the Soviet Union, by which Japan hopes to lure her English and American rivals into an alliance. These two powers are as silent as Nanking on the Chahar invasion. Britain, with £40,000,000 invested in China, out of the total £140,000,000 of foreign capital, with her thirty-nine branches of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, which averages an annual dividend of 50 percent, is as anxious as Chiang Kai-shek for Japan's aid in crushing the Chinese Communists. The U.S. State and War Departments are as eager to see Hitler armed against the U.S.S.R., as Downing and Threadneedle Streets. The naive professions of Japan seem to parallel Gilbert and Sullivan at times, but her acts threaten the peace of the world. International M-day against the Soviet Union approaches with every shift of the diplomatic barometer, whether it registers in Rome, Washington or Tokio.

SUPPRESSED NAMES OF JEWISH CONTROLLED BUSINESS WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO AMERICAN VIGILANCE INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION

SUPPRESSED FACTS WHILE INVESTIGATING FASCISM

SUPPRESSED BUTLER TESTIMONY NAMING AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE

IGNORED FRANK BELGRANO AFTER HE WAS CALLED TO TESTIFY

ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO OULAWY COMMUNIST PARTY BEFORE INVESTIGATION

SUPPRESSED NAME OF REMINGTON ARMS

↑ DICKSTEIN COMMITTEE ↑

OPPOSED BOYCOTT OF NAZI GOODS

HENRY LITTLESON - PRESIDENT COMMERCIAL INVESTMENT TRUST - AKTIEN GESELLSCHAFT OF BERLIN

ALBERT D. LASKER - ON NAT. ADVISORY COUNCIL OF CRUSADERS

IRVING LEHMAN - LEHMAN BROS. HAVE INVESTMENTS IN GERMANY.

LESSING J. ROSENWALD - COMMITTEE FOR THE NATION - CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD - SEARS ROEBUCK WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO THE AMERICAN VIGILANCE INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION MONEY USED TO DISSEMINATE ANTI-SEMITIC PROPAGANDA

ROGER W. STRAUSS - DIRECTOR REVERE COPPER AND BRASS IN WHICH GERMAN INDUSTRIALISTS WERE INTERESTED

LOUIS EDWARD KIRSTEIN Vice. Pres. Wm. FILENE'S SONS Co. FILENE'S DAUGHTER MARRIED JOUETT SHOUSE PRESIDENT AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER - DIRECTOR AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE

ORGANIZED AS A MONETARY REFORM GROUP TAKES ACTIVE PART IN POLITICS

GETS MONEY FROM AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE

GETS MONEY FROM MYSTERIOUS SOURCES.

JAMES P. WARBURG AND ALBERT D. LASKER ON NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

JOHN W. DAVIS

↑ THE CRUSADERS ↑

↑ AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE ↑

FELIX WARBURG - DIRECTOR - MORGAN CONTROLLED AMER. SECURITIES

ALSO WALTER FREW WHO GAVE MONEY TO MACGUIRE

KUHN LOEB UNDERWROTE NORTH GERMAN LLOYD

MAX WARBURG - BROTHER - IN U.S. TO ARRANGE FINANCIAL MATTERS WITH HITLER GOVERNMENT

LEWIS L. STRAUSS - PARTNER - DIRECTOR N.Y. AND SUSQUEHANNA R.R. - U.S. RUBBER CO.

SIR WILLIAM WISEMAN - PARTNER - HEAD OF BRITISH ESPIONAGE WORK IN U.S. DURING WAR - DIRECTOR U.S. RUBBER - NATIONAL R.R. OF MEXICO

ELISHA WALKER - PARTNER - DIRECTOR - RADIO KEITH ORPHEUM - BANK OF AMERICA - TRANSAMERICA CORP. - GENERAL FOODS - BANCAMEICA - BLAIR -

↑ KUHN-LOEB ↑

GRAYSON M.P. MURPHY

WILLIAM S. KNUDSON GENERAL MOTORS

NATHAN L. MILLER - COUNSEL FOR U.S. STEEL

ALFRED SMITH - NAME SUPPRESSED BY DICKSTEIN COMMITTEE IN BUTLER TESTIMONY

IRENEE DU PONT

JOHN J. RASCOB (NAME SUPPRESSED)

↑ AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE ↑

ORGANIZED AS A MONETARY REFORM GROUP TAKES ACTIVE PART IN POLITICS

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JOHN W. DAVIS

MURPHY KEPT GERALD MACGUIRE ON PAYROLL WHEN MACGUIRE TRIED TO GET BUTLER TO ORGANIZE FASCIST ARMY WHILE APPARENTLY WORKING FOR ROBERT STERLING CLARK

MACGUIRE - \$100. A WEEK BOND SALESMAN SUDDENLY BEGAN TO HANDLE LARGE SUMS OF MONEY.

MAC GUIRE ACTIVE IN AMERICAN LEGION AFFAIRS WHILE SPENDING \$65,000.00 HE CANNOT ACCOUNT FOR

↓ MORGAN ↑ CONTROLLED ↑

GRAYSON M.P. MURPHY, DIRECTOR IN NEW YORK TRUST - ON MORGAN PREFERRED LISTS, DIRECTOR OF GUARANTEE TRUST - FINANCED AMERICAN LEGION WITH \$125,000.00

JOHN W. DAVIS - ON MORGAN PREFERRED LISTS - MORGAN'S CHIEF ATTORNEY, NAMED IN BUTLER'S TESTIMONY AS WRITING GOLD SPEECH

AMERICAN LEGION PASSED GOLD RESOLUTION FOR WHICH BUTLER WAS OFFERED \$18,000.00 TO SPEAK

FRANK M. BELGRANO, PRESENT COMMANDER OF AMERICAN LEGION, CALLED TO TESTIFY BEFORE DICKSTEIN COMMITTEE BUT NEVER QUESTIONED.

CONTROLLED BY DU PONT

REMINGTON ARMS CO. NAMED BY BUTLER AS PLANNING TO SUPPLY ARMS FOR FASCIST ARMY

TESTIMONY SUPPRESSED BY DICKSTEIN COMMITTEE

J. H. RAND JR. - EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE NATION

↑ REMINGTON ↑ RAND

EDWARD H. CLARK HELPED HEARST MAKE MILLION DOLLAR INFLATION ADVOCATED BY COMMITTEE FOR NATION

HEARST MEN IN MARINE MIDLAND CONTROLLED BY REMINGTON RAND

GIANNINI OF TRANS AMERICA TIED UP WITH HEARST

BELGRANO A GIANNINI MAN IN TRANS AMERICA

CLARK ON SEABOARD OIL

↑ WILLIAM ↑ RANDOLPH ↓ HEARST

SEABOARD OIL IN JOINT INTERESTS WITH ROYAL DUTCH SHELL

ROYAL DUTCH SHELL CONTROLLED BY DETERDING

DETERDING FINANCIALLY BACKED MOSLEY - ENGLISH FASCIST

HEARST AND ROTHERMERE IN CANADA PAPER DEALS

ROTHERMERE BACKED MOSLEY

DICKSTEIN KNOWN AS HEARST MAN IN WASHINGTON

THE INTRICATE STRUCTURE OF WALL STREET'S FASCIST CONSPIRACY

WALL STREET'S FASCIST CONSPIRACY

2. Morgan Pulls the Strings

JOHN L. SPIVAK

AS Wall Street moves toward a fascist dictatorship to head off the growing revolt of the people against continued hunger and misery in a land of plenty, its activities take in a far wider range than the purely military aspects of a seizure of power. The suppressed testimony of the Dickstein-McCormack committee, disclosed in *THE NEW MASSES* last week, dealt largely with the efforts made to induce Gen. Smedley D. Butler to assume the leadership of a military coup. Side by side with preparations for such an attempt goes the daily and hourly campaign of manipulating the mind of "the public" into a mood receptive to Fascism in the United States.

Three main agencies are at work in the fascization of public opinion; the press, the radio, and propaganda organizations set up for this specific purpose or converted to it.

In the press, of course, the most important figure is the sinister one of William Randolph Hearst; Father Coughlin and a host of would-be imitators of the priestly demagogue fill the air from morning to night with radio appeals to exterminate the Reds; and the American Liberty League, and the Crusaders, are outstanding examples of the organizational aspects of the fascist conspiracy.

All these activities go on simultaneously, and to some extent, on a superficial view, independently of each other. It will be shown in this article that there are organic links tying the various branches of Wall Street's fascist conspiracy together. An understanding of the financial tieups behind the propaganda for Fascism, as well as behind the more spectacular moves for a fascist army, is essential before the effect of such propaganda can be successfully combatted. The buyer of a capitalist newspaper who reads a violent assault on the Communists, and then listens to an equally bitter tirade against "the Reds" on the radio, should know that there is a definite connection between these two pieces of fascist propaganda. There are rifts and contradictions within the capitalist camp itself—Morgan against Rockefeller interests, to name the main one—but on this question of Fascism vs. Communism Wall Street works as a unit.

In the open attempt to get Gen. Smedley D. Butler to organize 500,000 war veterans as a fascist army we can trace the financial backing and from there continue on to the

interlocking financial interests of those behind the fascist conspiracy and the reasons for the suppression of evidence about it by a Congressional Committee instructed to seek just such evidence.

Gerald C. MacGuire, the \$100-a-week bond salesman who approached Butler with the suggestion, was ostensibly working for Robert Sterling Clark, who inherited the Singer Sewing Machine millions. During the period that MacGuire was seeking a leader for the proposed fascist army, he was kept on the payroll of Grayson M-P Murphy, a Wall Street broker. In his testimony before the Dickstein Committee which was suppressed, MacGuire said to Butler:

The Morgan interests say that you cannot be trusted. . . . They want either (Douglas) MacArthur or (Hanford) MacNider. . . . You know as well as I do that MacArthur is Stotesbury's son-in-law in Philadelphia—Morgan's representative in Philadelphia. . . .

The man named by MacGuire as having written the gold standard speech, for delivering which Butler was offered an \$18,000 bribe by MacGuire, is John W. Davis, chief Morgan attorney, and one of a select few on the Morgan "preferred lists"—friends of the firm who are offered stocks or bonds at the original price of issue regardless of the market price. Say a stock was originally issued at \$20. It is quoted at \$36. Those on the Morgan preferred list are offered 1,000 shares at \$20. They can sell it the same day for the market price of \$36,000—making a neat little profit of \$16,000. That is the way money is disbursed by the Morgan crowd to its favored few.

Murphy and Morgan

Grayson M-P Murphy, like John W. Davis, is one of the favored few on the Morgan preferred list.

Murphy is known in Wall Street as a Morgan man.

Murphy is a director of the New York Trust Co., a Morgan bank. A bank is known as a Morgan institution when one of the Morgan partners is on the board of directors. On the New York Trust there are two Morgan partners: A. M. Anderson and H. P. Davison.

Murphy is a director of the Guarantee

Trust Co., on which two more Morgan partners are directors: Thomas W. Lamont and George Whitney.

Murphy put up \$125,000 to organize the American Legion, which has functioned openly many times as a strike-breaking organization.

So much for Murphy's history for the time being. We will return to him.

John W. Davis, once in the field for the Presidency of the United States, is Morgan's chief attorney. When a Senate investigating committee tried to get income tax reports of the world's leading private banking house, this man who wanted to be President of the United States bitterly fought every move designed to reveal its income.

Davis is one of those on the Morgan preferred lists.

Davis has borrowed money from the Morgans.

Davis is a director of the Guarantee Trust Co. of New York—the same bank that Murphy is a director of and which has two Morgan partners on the board of directors.

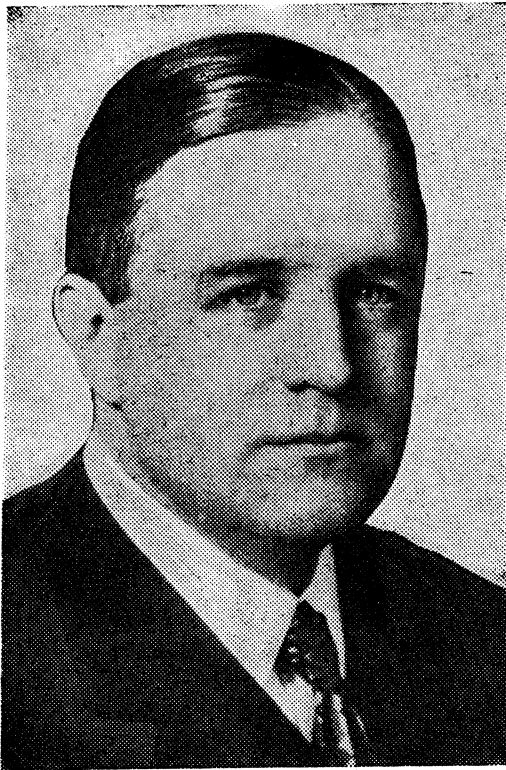
Davis is the man who was named in Butler's testimony as the one who wrote the gold standard speech which MacGuire tried to bribe Butler to make at the American Legion convention.

Davis' name was suppressed by the Dickstein-McCormack Committee.

Davis was never questioned, either in a hearing or by a Committee investigator, whether he ever wrote that speech.

The reader is asked to bear these italicized facts in mind, for the financial tie-ups of the Wall Street financiers and their fascist activities are complicated.

During the period that MacGuire, Murphy's employe, was maneuvering to get Butler to make the gold standard speech as well as organize a fascist army with a guaranteed backing of an initial \$3,000,000 and a promise of \$300,000,000 more if necessary, this bond salesman who had never had more than a few thousand dollars to his credit in any bank suddenly began to make amazing deposits. Let me quote a few from his bank record. At the Irving Trust Co., listed in his own and his wife's name: G. C. MacGuire and Eliz. W. MacGuire "or either of them" of G. M. P. Murphy & Co., 52 Broadway, New York, he made these deposits:



GRAYSON M-P MURPHY
Morgan's man, who kept Gerald C. MacGuire on his payroll

On July 27, 1934, he deposited \$39,106.78. On July 27, 1934 (the same day) he again deposited \$97,766.94.

On August 14, 1934, he made four deposits as follows: \$51,222.62; \$51,128.36; \$25,395.39, and \$25,643.35.

Two days later, on August 16, he again deposited \$45,805.56.

Before this sudden splurge in high finance MacGuire's normal deposits were less than \$100 and occasionally \$250 or \$500, as commissions for selling bonds. Never did he deposit sums anywhere approaching these considerable figures quoted above.

In accounting for his expenditures during the American Legion Convention in Chicago in 1933 to the Dickstein Committee, this seeker for a fascist army lied repeatedly in trying to account for an expenditure of \$65,000 which he could not account for.

The Dickstein Committee never cited him for contempt or called his employer, Murphy, to explain what all these high financial transactions meant.

Belgrano and the Legion

Murphy has had his fingers in the American Legion pie ever since he first advanced the \$125,000 to organize it. The Legion has been in the control of a small clique, but suddenly at the last convention the clique was overthrown and a California banker, Frank N. Belgrano, put in as Commander.

Belgrano was summoned to Washington to testify before the McCormack-Dickstein Committee about his knowledge of American Legion activities. Before he was called to the Committee room, Belgrano had a private conference with President Roosevelt at the White



GERALD C. MacGUIRE
Who tried to get Gen. Smedley D. Butler to organize a fascist army

House; thereafter Belgrano's name was stricken from the list of those who were to be questioned by the Congressional Committee.

The McCormack-Dickstein Committee has refused to explain why Belgrano was not called.

In this connection Belgrano's financial interests become important.

Belgrano is associated with the Giannini financial interests on the West Coast, and more specifically with A. P. Giannini in the Trans-America Corp.

One of the directors of the Trans-America Corp. is Elisha Walker, a Kuhn-Loeb partner.

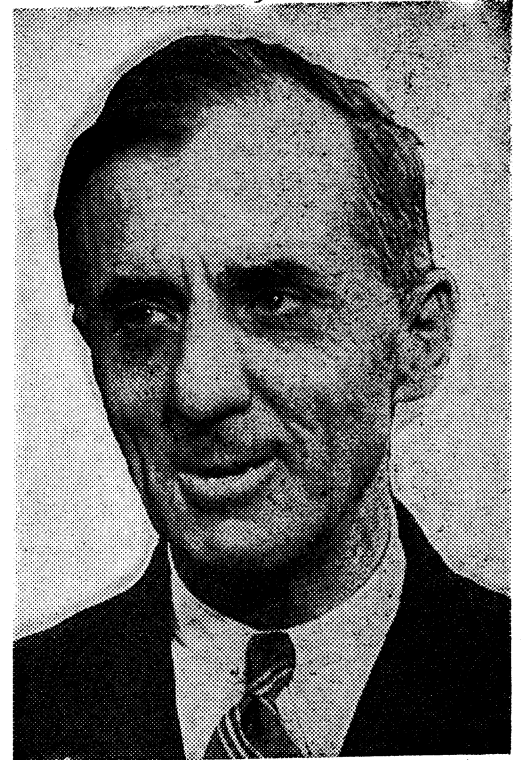
Giannini is tied up in many financial ventures on the West Coast with a gentleman named William Randolph Hearst, and is known in California as a Hearst man.

The Giannini banking interests are closely tied up with the National City Bank where both Rockefeller and Morgan interests merge. When Charles Mitchell was thrown out of the presidency of this world-powerful bank, it was known in Wall Street that President Roosevelt had recommended Perkins as the new head because the President knew him well through the Roosevelt family holdings in the Farmers Loan and Trust Co.

In this connection I should like to call the reader's attention to two more bits of testimony suppressed by the Dickstein-McCormack Committee:

Paul Comley French, reporter for the New York Post and Philadelphia record, swore under oath:

He (MacGuire) suggested that the General organize this outfit himself and ask a dollar a year dues from everybody. We discussed that and then he came around to the point of getting outside financial funds, and he said that it would



GEN. SMEDLEY D. BUTLER
Who turned down this particular offer of a ride on a white horse

not be any trouble to raise a million dollars. He said that he could go to John W. Davis or Perkins of the National City Bank, and any number of persons and get it.

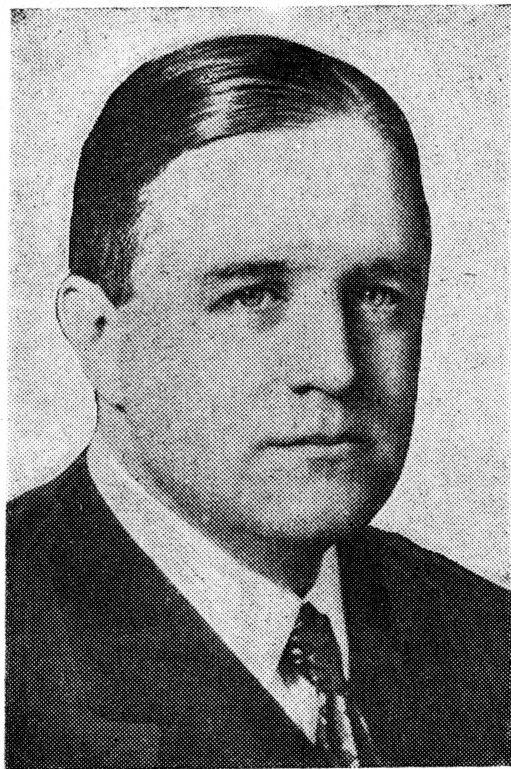
And Robert Sterling Clark told Butler, according to the suppressed testimony:

He said, "You know, the President is weak. He will come right along with us. He was born in this class. He was raised in this class, and he will come back. He will run true to form. In the end he will come around. But we have got to be prepared to sustain him when he does."

Wall Street's Crusaders

Let us now consider some of the leading fascist organizations and see where the Wall Street financial trail leads.

There is an organization known as the Crusaders with national headquarters in Chicago which has been broadcasting on a national hook-up twice a week and carrying on an intensive propaganda campaign of printed matter. The Crusaders were originally organized to fight for the repeal of the Prohibition Amendment. At that time Wall Street financiers, fighting against increasing taxation due to unemployment relief legislation, thought that by giving the people beer and liquor they could get their own taxes reduced. The Prohibition Amendment was repealed and the Wall Street interests which had backed the Crusaders, instead of letting the organization die, decided that so well organized a body could be used. It was next used in matters involving monetary changes, which was Wall Street's particular problem at the time. When the inflationists won out and the 59-cent dollar was established the Crusaders were then used as a political and anti-labor body, this being the first time that this



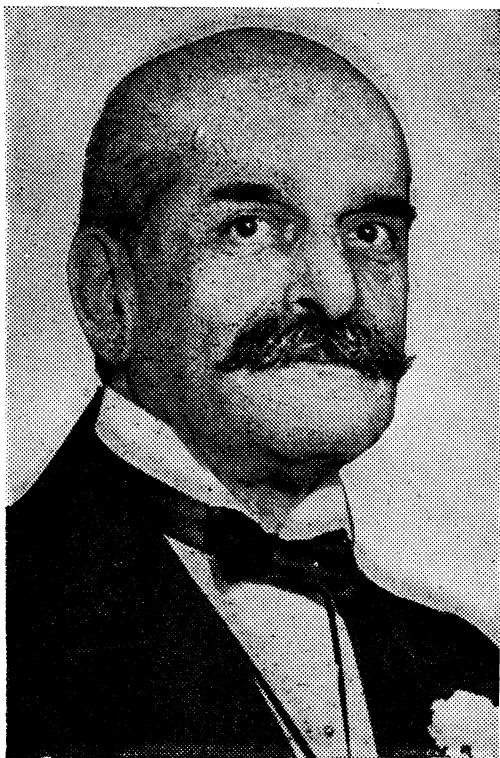
GRAYSON M-P MURPHY
Morgan's man, who kept Gerald C. MacGuire
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GERALD C. MacGUIRE
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GEN. SMEDLEY D. BUTLER
Who turned down this particular offer of a
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FELIX M. WARBURG

Who virtually controls the American Jewish Committee



SAMUEL DICKSTEIN

Whose "investigation" of Fascism was steered by Warburg and his financial interests



JOHN W. McCORMACK

Chairman of the "investigating" Committee which suppressed testimony on Fascism

organization, first organized to fight prohibition, began openly to participate in politics and anti-labor moves.

Its first active work was to help defeat Upton Sinclair for the governorship of California. The California financiers and industrialists were afraid of the effect of a victorious campaign based, as Sinclair's was, on the deep-seated discontent of the masses of the people. The Crusaders jumped into the fight on the air and in disseminating countless thousands of leaflets and throwaways. Samples of the sort of propaganda they issued can be seen in their comment upon a meeting of unemployed. Their headline was:

UNEMPLOYED HORDE FACES CRUSADERS' OPPOSITION

In other propaganda they warned that "The California Crusader Rides Again!" Most of their warning was against "radicalism" and the rising militancy of the California workers.

Today the Crusaders following pretty much the same tactics, keep the sources of their income a deep secret; it thus becomes important to see who are their active supporters:

There is John W. Davis, Morgan's chief attorney.

There is James P. Warburg, of the Kuhn-Loeb Warburgs.

I name just these two to show the tie-up of Morgan and Kuhn-Loeb interests when it comes to supporting a fascist body actively participating in anti-labor moves. These two represent apparently opposing financial interests, as well as different racial and religious groups, both of which are now working together in promoting a fascist organization like the Crusaders—an invaluable help to capital in carrying propaganda against militant labor.

The Crusaders are still in the organizational stage and are trying to get 10,000,000 members. They are extremely active among military men and in military schools. Most members do not know that one of the organization's chief functions is "fighting subversive elements," particularly in the schools. In charge of this branch of their activities is Col. Roy Felton Ferrand, head of St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin, a member of the Crusaders' Advisory Council.

Other Crusaders

Other Crusaders on school and college boards are also using their influence "to protect the country from subversive elements" like Fred I. Kent of New York, vice-president of the Morgan-controlled Bankers Trust Co. Kent is President of the Council of New York University where student anti-military movements have been rigidly suppressed.

Kent also is an officer of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce which recently issued a broadside against "subversive" elements and particularly against elements which are trying to organize workers.

Wallace McK. Alexander, of San Francisco, of the Crusaders' National Advisors. Alexander is a sugar planter, a big business man and a trustee of Stanford University, where an anti-radical drive was started by the faculty after the formation of the Crusaders.

Sewell L. Avery of Chicago, a director of the Morgan-controlled U.S. Steel, is one of the Crusaders' National Advisors. Avery is a trustee of the University of Chicago where an anti-radical drive took a sudden spurt after the Crusaders went into active anti-labor activity.

Francis B. Davis, Jr., of New York, right hand man of the du Ponts, a director of the firm of the Morgan-controlled New York Trust Co.

Cleveland E. Dodge, of New York, vice-president of the Phelps Dodge Co., big copper producers, a director of the City Bank Farmers Trust Co. (where he ties up with the Hearst-Anaconda copper interests), Crusaders' National Advisory man, is chairman of the Board of Teachers College, Columbia University. The Dean of this college, Thomas Alexander, has been working with an agent of Royal Scott Gulden, head of the anti-semitic secret espionage Order of '76.

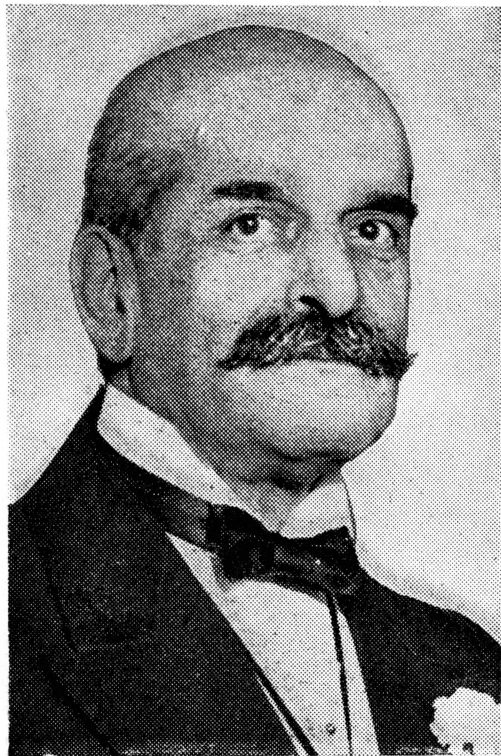
Albert D. Lasker, a member of the Crusaders' Advisory Council is a member of the American Jewish Committee.

Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., President of General Motors Corp., a director of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. and other Morgan-controlled industries.

These few directors of this fascist organization are, I think, sufficient to show who are back of this organization and the effects of its activities.

Let us now consider the American Liberty League, an organization fighting for "respect for the rights of persons and property as fundamental to every successful form of government" as well as the "retention"—and the re-establishment where necessary—"of the American traditions of government and individual liberty."

This organization is especially strong on upholding Constitutional rights. I have never yet come across a fascist organization which did not base its righteousness upon "upholding the Constitution." The Liberty League, with almost one million dollars in its treasury and



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Who virtually controls the American
Jewish Committee



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Whose "investigation" of Fascism was steered
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which suppressed testimony on Fascism



WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST
Red-hunter-in-chief, boss of the American Legion, who nurses the fascist plot

many more millions available if necessary, is now on a campaign to get 4,000,000 members—a powerful band if properly financed by the country's leading financiers.

Among the heavy backers of the American Liberty League (the name of which was suppressed by the Dickstein Committee when Butler and French testified about it) are:

John W. Davis, Morgan's chief attorney.

Sewell L. Avery, of Chicago, a Crusader advisor.

W. S. Carpenter, Jr., of Wilmington, one of the original organizers of the League, tied up with the du Pont-Morgan interests.

Robert Sterling Clark of New York, who gave large sums of money to Gerald C. MacGuire, the \$100-a-week bond salesman, to find a leader for a fascist army.

Irene, Lamot and Archibald du Pont, all of the duPont munitions family.

There are others, but these are sufficient to see who is organizing a body to "re-establish where necessary" the "respect for property."

Liberty League officials who are on the National Advisory Council of the Crusaders are:

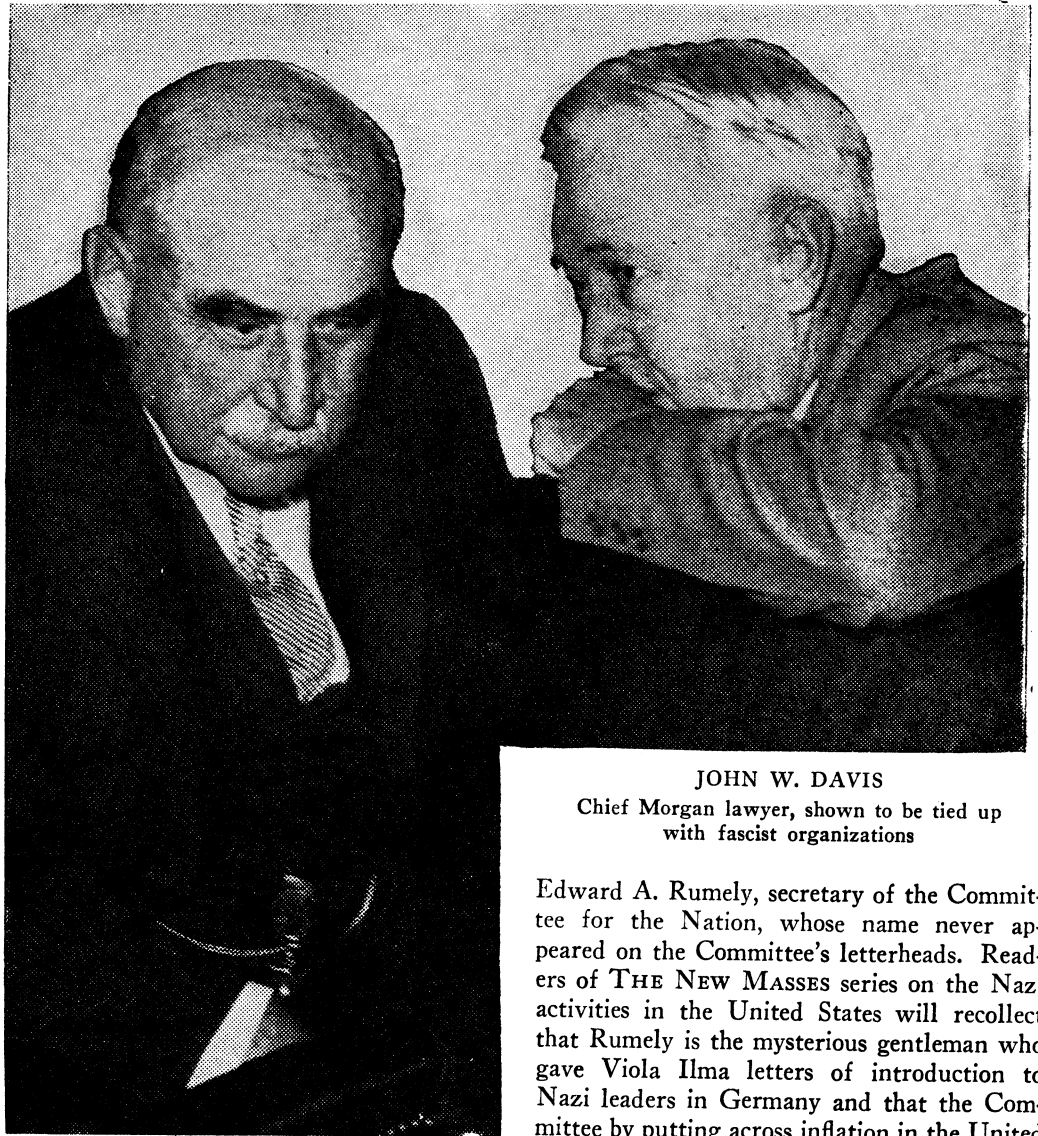
John W. Davis, Morgan man.

F. B. Davis, Jr., du Pont right-hand man.

Sewell L. Avery, the big business and education man from Chicago.

One of the original founders of the American Liberty League is Jouett Shouse, at present president of the League. Shouse married the daughter of Filene, partner of Kirstein, who is on the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee.

Joseph M. Proskauer, former Appellate Court Judge of New York, a director of the American Liberty League, is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee.



J. P. MORGAN

Ultimate fountain-head of the whole fascist conspiracy of Wall Street

JOHN W. DAVIS

Chief Morgan lawyer, shown to be tied up with fascist organizations

Edward A. Rumely, secretary of the Committee for the Nation, whose name never appeared on the Committee's letterheads. Readers of THE NEW MASSES series on the Nazi activities in the United States will recollect that Rumely is the mysterious gentleman who gave Viola Ilma letters of introduction to Nazi leaders in Germany and that the Committee by putting across inflation in the United States saved Germany millions of dollars since Germany had the largest floating debt here of any country.

Father Coughlin is tied up with the Rockefeller interests as well as with Ford and Hearst and is not so guileless in his attempts to organize a fascist army under the guise of a Union for Social Security. The monetary reforms which he is advocating are of great help to the Rockefeller interests, Ford and Hearst.

Let us now consider William Randolph Hearst and his current efforts to scare up the "Red" bogey as one of the first steps in preparing the country for Fascism. Hearst with his chain of newspapers reaches millions of readers. Just before he started his anti-Red drive he returned from a visit to Germany where he had conferred with Hitler and other Nazi leaders. Shortly after his arrival home he stated in a front page editorial that this country need not fear Fascism, that Fascism can come only when a country is menaced by Communism.

Mr. Hearst has about a quarter of a million acres of land on which he grows vegetables and fruits. California migratory workers work for him as they do for other land barons. For years the approximately 100,000 migratory workers in that state had wandered from farm to farm working from sunrise to sunset

Leaders of the American Jewish Committee steered the work of the Dickstein Committee in its investigation and helped direct the anti-radical publicity. The Dickstein Committee suppressed Gen. Butler's testimony regarding the American Liberty League.

John J. Raskob, du Pont and Morgan man.

And — Grayson M-P Murphy, the Wall Street Broker, who kept MacGuire on the payroll while the latter was trying to get Butler to organize a fascist army.

There are other organizations similarly tied-up with powerful financial cliques like the Committee for the Nation and Father Coughlin's Union for Social justice, the details of which would only clutter up a story of the interlocking financial powers behind the moves to establish Fascism in this country. I shall mention only one or two individuals and their relations to the financial powers behind the Dickstein Committee and its suppression of evidence of Fascism.

One of the leading members of the Committee for the Nation is Lessing Rosenwald, of Sears, Roebuck. Rosenwald is on the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee. Rosenwald worked closely with



WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST
Red-hunter-in-chief, boss of the American Legion, who nurses the fascist plot

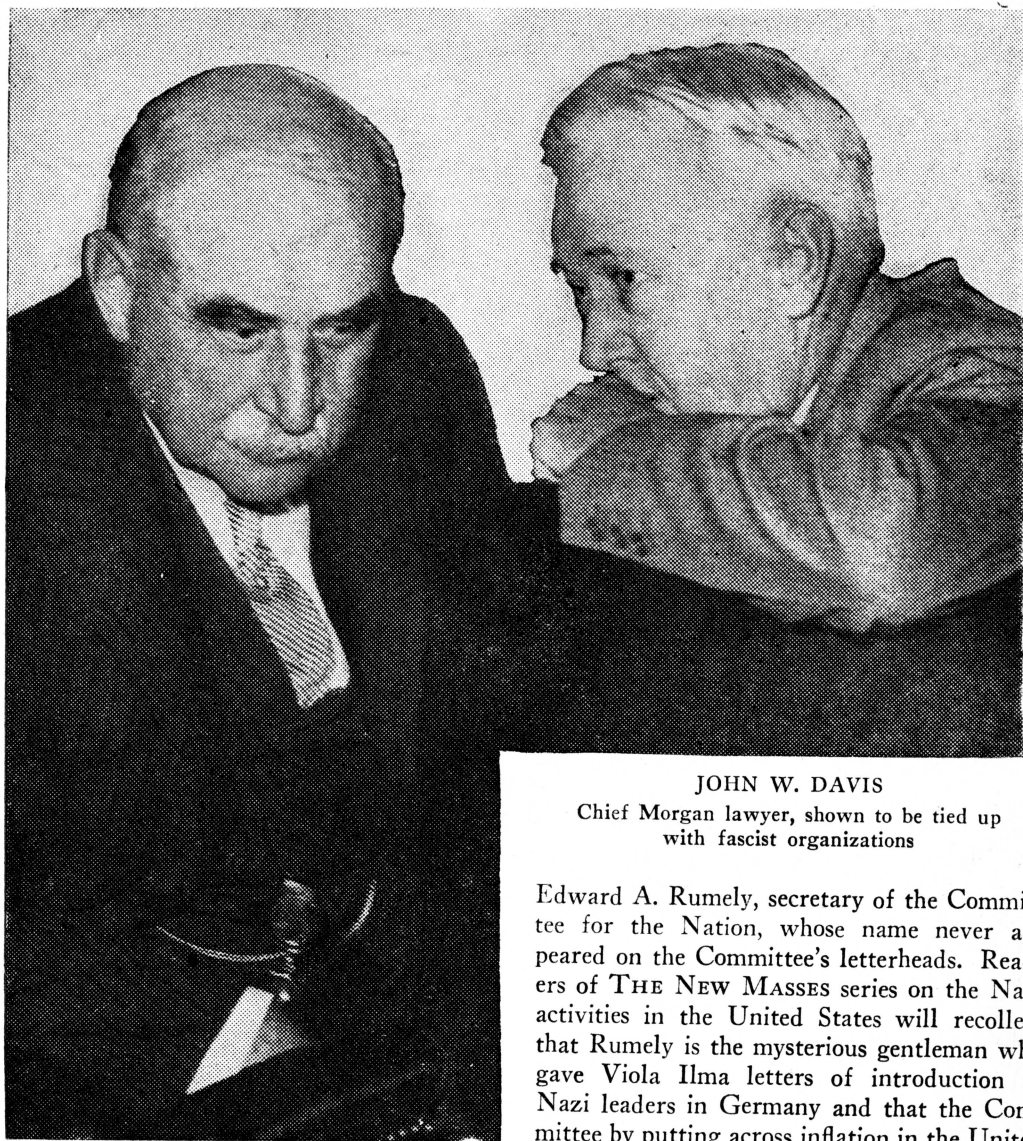
many more millions available if necessary, is now on a campaign to get 4,000,000 members—a powerful band if properly financed by the country's leading financiers.

Among the heavy backers of the American Liberty League (the name of which was suppressed by the Dickstein Committee when Butler and French testified about it) are:

John W. Davis, Morgan's chief attorney.

Sewell L. Avery, of Chicago, a Crusader advisor.

W. S. Carpenter, Jr., of Wilmington, one of the original organizers of the League, tied



JOHN W. DAVIS
Chief Morgan lawyer, shown to be tied up with fascist organizations

J. P. MORGAN

Ultimate fountain-head of the whole fascist conspiracy of Wall Street

Edward A. Rumely, secretary of the Committee for the Nation, whose name never appeared on the Committee's letterheads. Readers of THE NEW MASSES series on the Nazi activities in the United States will recollect that Rumely is the mysterious gentleman who gave Viola Ilma letters of introduction to Nazi leaders in Germany and that the Committee by putting across inflation in the United States saved Germany millions of dollars since Germany had the largest floating debt here of any country.

Father Coughlin is tied up with the Rocke-

and earning scarcely enough to buy food for themselves and their families. The American Federation of Labor had never tried to organize these workers because they did not pay dues. The Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Union, affiliated with the militant Trade Union Unity League, did organize the migratory workers and did win an overwhelming majority of the strikes they led. The cry "Communist agitators" sounded all through the state. Then came the great general strike last summer. Again the cry "communist agitators" was raised. It was Hearst's attorney, Neilan, working with A.F. of L. men, who helped break the strike by creating a split in the ranks of the strikers.

Hearst owns the Homestake mine, one of the world's largest gold mines. When inflation came and your purchasing power was reduced by a 59 cent dollar the price of gold went up. Hearst made millions of dollars. The Committee for the Nation, steered by Rumely, close friend of Nazi leaders, brought about the inflation.

Hearst has tremendous copper interests, especially the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corp. Hearst's copper interests tie up with Morgan and Kuhn-Loeb financial interests. At the time Hearst opened his barrage against the Communists in the United States, a Nazi commission was about to leave Germany for this country to try to arrange credit of millions of dollars worth of copper and other war materials. Hearst's copper was among those the commission had under consideration. Among those on the Nazi commission were directors of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the German steel trust which originally gave Hitler money to organize his fascist army, and Berlin bankers. Visiting Germans included:

Albrecht von Frankenberg and Ludwigsdorf,
Dr. Oskar Sampell,
Hugo Stinnes,
Dr. Georg Solmssen, banker of Berlin,
Prince Gottfried zu Hohenloe von Langenberg
of Berlin.
Ernst Wallach, Berlin banker.

Present in the United States at the same time was Max Warburg, brother of Felix Warburg who controls the destinies of the Kuhn-Loeb financial empire. Max was interested in the "stand-still" agreement with Nazi Germany which would result in the bankers getting their interest on short term loans, of which the Warburg-controlled Bank of Manhattan held millions of dollars. This would enable Hitler's Germany to get credit.

Hearst's Tie-ups

Hearst, too, is tied up with the Morgan-du Pont interests in the Marine Midland Trust Co.

Hearst is tied up with the Giannini interests, and Warburg partners are similarly tied up with Giannini interests.

Giannini controls Frank N. Belgrano, present Commander of the American Legion, which the Morgan interests want to use as a base for the fascist army.

Belgrano is at present cooperating with Hearst in his red scare propaganda.

Hearst's financial man, Edward H. Clark, is on Seaboard Oil and Seaboard Oil has joint interests in oil properties with the Royal Dutch Shell. The Royal Dutch Shell is controlled by Deterding, who backed Mosley's English fascist army financially.

Hearst is tied up in Canada paper with Rothermere, who also backed Mosley's fascist army in England.

Samuel Dickstein, vice chairman of the Congressional Committee which suppressed testimony of Wall Street's fascist plot, is known as a Hearst man in Washington with Hearst papers playing up almost everything that the Congressman utters, particularly against the Reds.

Warburg's Tie-ups

Let us now consider the Warburg financial tie-ups, the reader bearing in mind that leaders of the American Jewish Committee, virtually a Warburg-controlled body, directed the activities of the McCormack-Dickstein Committee.

Felix Warburg is a director of the Morgan-controlled American Securities. Another director on this Morgan-controlled corporation is Walter Frew. Frew is one of the men who gave money to Gerald C. MacGuire while the latter was trying to organize a fascist army.

Warburg is a director of the Bank of Manhattan and virtually controls it. In this bank worked F. X. Mittmeier, a secret Nazi agent.

The Bank of Manhattan, Warburg-controlled, is one of the largest holders of German short-term notes in the country.

Kuhn-Loeb underwrote the North German Lloyd Line and the City of Hamburg, where Felix's brother Max is a Jewish banker getting along very nicely in a land where poor and middle class Jews are being killed, tortured and driven into ghettos.

Lewis L. Strauss, a partner in Kuhn-Loeb, is a director of the Morgan-controlled New York and Susquehanna R. R. and the United States Rubber Co., the latter of which is controlled by the du Pont-Morgan interests who are the leading figures in organizing the American Liberty League and giving support to the Crusaders.

Sir William Wiseman, a Kuhn-Loeb partner (formerly head of the British secret service in the United States during the World War) is a director of U. S. Rubber, du Pont-Morgan controlled and of the Morgan-controlled National Railroad of Mexico.

Elisha Walker, a Kuhn-Loeb partner, is a director of the Morgan-controlled Radio-Keith-Orpheum, the Giannini-controlled Bank of America, Transamerica Corp., General Foods, and Bancamerica-Blair.

When I say Giannini-controlled, I mean also Hearst-controlled.

I think these few Warburg partners' financial tie-ups with the forces at work in pro-

moting Fascism in the United States will give the reader a clearer notion of why the Warburg interests are not fighting Fascism though if Fascism comes it will inevitably bring anti-semitism in its wake.

The Committee's Tie-ups

Let us now consider the financial tie-ups of the American Jewish Committee, leaders of which steered the McCormack-Dickstein Congressional Committee which investigated the Nazis a little, issued a lot of propaganda against Communists and suppressed evidence of Fascism.

I point these out not as casting reflection upon the great body of sincere Jews cooperating with the Committee's work in fighting anti-semitism but to point out that the banker, whether he be Jew or gentile, is interested first in his class interests and in fighting for these interests he forgets racial and religious affiliations.

The American Jewish Committee has always opposed the boycott of German goods.

Kuhn-Loeb underwrote the North German Lloyd and the City of Hamburg and have millions of dollars invested in Germany.

Henry Ittleson is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee. Ittleson is president and director of the Commercial Investment Trust Aktien-Gesellschaft of Berlin.

Irving Lehman is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee. The Lehman brothers have large interests in Nazi Germany.

Albert D. Lasker is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee. Lasker is on the National Advisory Council of the Crusaders which got money from the American Liberty League.

Lessing J. Rosenwald is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee. Rosenwald is on the Committee for the Nation; Sears Roebuck gave money to the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation of Chicago, money which was used to disseminate anti-semitic propaganda.

Roger W. Strauss is on the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee. Strauss is a director of Revere Copper and Brass and is tied up with other copper interests in which the German commission to this country was profoundly interested.

Louis Edward Kirstein is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, is vice-president of William Filene's Sons & Co. of Boston. Filene's daughter married Jouett Shouse, president of the American Liberty League.

Kirstein is a director of the Morgan-controlled Radio-Keith-Orpheum on which Warburg partners are directors.

Joseph M. Proskauer is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee. Proskauer is close to Hearst interests and is a director of the American Liberty League.

These tie-ups become very significant when we consider the testimony suppressed by the McCormack-Dickstein Committee.

"Investigating"

The Congressional Committee was empowered to investigate "subversive" activities. The chairman and the vice-chairman announced that these included Nazism, Fascism and Communism. Nazi anti-semitic activities were investigated—except where they crossed the interests of wealthy Jews and gentiles—as for instance those who gave money to the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation of Chicago.

This evidence was suppressed. One of the Jewish-controlled firms was Sears Roebuck, the head of which, Lessing Rosenwald, is a member of the American Jewish Committee.

Investigation into Nazi activities stopped short when it meant calling Felix Warburg to ask how F. X. Mittmeier, a secret Nazi agent, happened to be working in the Warburg-controlled Bank of Manhattan. Felix Warburg is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee.

Investigation into the financial activities of Edward A. Rumely, of the Committee for the Nation, stopped short. Lessing Rosenwald and other prominent Jews were members of this group. Lessing Rosenwald is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee.

Frank N. Belgrano, commander of the American Legion, was scheduled to testify before the Committee. He was never called. The activities of the American Legion were bound up with the efforts of Morgan interests to establish a fascist army. Kuhn-Loeb interests are tied up with the Morgan interests and Kuhn-Loeb financiers dominate the American Jewish Committee.

The Congressional Committee never called Grayson M-P Murphy, Morgan's man, to explain why he kept MacGuire on the payroll while the latter was trying to organize a fascist army; why he supported Edmondson's financial organization which was disseminating anti-semitic propaganda; why so many of Murphy's men were tied up with Nazi and anti-semitic organizations including the secret espionage Order of '76. Murphy is a powerful Morgan man and the Warburg interests,

we have shown, are tied up with Morgan.

The Congressional Committee suppressed all mention of the American Liberty League. Leaders of the American Jewish Committee like Judge Joseph M. Proskauer are members of that fascist organization.

The Congressional Committee suppressed all mention of the Remington Arms Co. supplying arms and equipment to the fascist army. The Remington Arms Co. is controlled by the du Pont-Morgan interests and the Warburg interests are tied up with these in the financial world.

I could go on listing additional points but I think these are sufficient to show that quite apparently the Congressional Committee was far more interested in guarding the fascist conspiracy of a small clique of Jewish and gentile bankers than in guarding the interests of the millions of Americans.

Certainly with these facts, Congress cannot avoid asking the McCormack-Dickstein Committee just why it did not investigate Wall Street's fascist conspiracy and just why, when evidence of it was presented it deliberately suppressed testimony pointing to Wall Street financiers.

Prospect for an Auto Strike

A. B. MAGIL

DETROIT.

Political expediency rather than principle in the end determines the conduct of the government.—Joseph Stagg Lawrence in *Automotive Industries*, Nov. 17, 1934.

There has been much apprehension of late, particularly in the financial districts, over the possibility of labor tieups of the steel and auto industries early in the new year. Weighed judgment here, however, is that the strikes will not materialize—*unless they should be runaway affairs with the leaders losing control of their men.*—National Whirligig column, Dec. 31, 1934. (Emphasis mine.—A. B. M.)

THE N.R.A. hearings on the automobile industry, which were held last month in Detroit, revealed conditions of exploitation and company terrorism that were not generally known outside of the industry itself. The testimony showed that these conditions affect all workers, skilled as well as unskilled. William Dennison, representing the Society of Designing Engineers, an independent union of highly skilled craftsmen, most of them with college degrees, testified that the members of his organization are earning less per year than the city garbage collectors ("some of the more unfortunate individuals actually earned less than \$3 in one year"), that they are subjected to the same conditions of speed-up as production workers and that "a general campaign of terror prevails," under which "old and experienced employees are discharged when showing any signs of organizing activity."

The hearings, which were ostensibly for the purpose of gathering material on "regularizing employment and otherwise improving the conditions of labor in the automobile industry," also revealed that at the heart of every grievance of the workers lay the very question which was barred from the testimony—the question of the right of the workers to organize in unions of their own choice, supposedly guaranteed by Section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Was the purpose of the hearings the one stated by the N.R.A., or did the government have other motives?

The official announcement declared:

"Representatives of the various interests involved, including labor, management and consumers, may present orally, or in writing, their opinions and any supporting factual data relating to the problems of the study."

Representatives of labor appeared at the hearings, some consumers testified, but management—the companies—were conspicuously absent. True, their stool pigeons were on the job, spotting witnesses and attempting to photograph them, but no official representatives of the automobile manufacturers or any of their company union agents appeared to testify at what was supposedly a serious investigation into conditions with which the companies are certainly vitally concerned.

If one approaches politics eclectically, from the standpoint of middle-class humanitarian liberalism, one might express surprise at this

and be tempted to scold the automobile magnates for their apparent indifference to the government's invitation. But there is really no mystery and the government, we can be sure, was not offended. The tycoons of the auto industry knew the real purpose of the hearings, knew they were not organized to secure data for "regularizing employment and otherwise improving the conditions of labor in the automobile industry."

I have been informed, though I cannot vouch for the authenticity of the information, that the idea for the hearings originated in the fertile brain of Sidney Hillman, member of the National Industrial Recovery Board and, incidentally, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Hillman, let it be remembered, has been the pioneer in this country in transforming class collaboration and betrayal from a racket into an art. In preparation for the hearings, Hillman, the "labor" man in the N.R.A. administration, according to a Washington dispatch in the *Detroit Free Press* of Dec. 5, contacted the labor leaders. He held conferences—the nature of which was never divulged to the membership of the organizations involved—with Francis J. Dillon, national organizer of the American Federation of Labor in the automobile industry, W. E. Chalmers, in charge of the A.F. of L. research division in Detroit, and Matthew Smith, general secretary of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, independent union of tool and die makers. In other words,

the N.R.A. was instructing the labor leaders as to just how the show was to be run and what part they were expected to play in it.

But if the idea for the hearings was Hillman's, the whole strategy in regard to the automobile industry was worked out in higher circles—probably with Hillman's participation. There had been sporadic vague talk about "stabilization of employment" in the industry ever since the adoption of the Automobile Code in August, 1933. This trial balloon got its first real breath of wind when President Roosevelt, in extending on Nov. 1 the code for another three months, announced that a "study" of the matter would be undertaken. This was followed ten days later by General Motors' announcement of its plan to stagger the introduction of new models in order to "stabilize" employment. The trial balloon was now in full flight. On Nov. 21 came Roosevelt's letter to S. Clay Williams, chairman of the N.R.A. Board, proposing the public inquiry which was held in Detroit on Dec. 15-16.

Roosevelt had extended the code only after holding secret conferences—noted in the press—with the direct representatives of the automobile manufacturers, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president of General Motors, and Walter P. Chrysler, head of Chrysler Corp., the two companies which, together with Ford, dominate the industry. I have not the slightest doubt that the raising of the slogan of "stabilization of employment" as a central strategic maneuver was decided on at these conferences.

It is possible that the original plans for the hearings called for the companies putting in an appearance and going through the motions of presenting testimony. When it was, however, decided—belatedly (*there is no hint of it in the President's letter of Nov. 21*)—that no evidence relating to Section 7a would be permitted, *precisely because this question is the focal point of all the grievances, of all the boiling resentment of the workers*, it was realized that with company officials or company union agents testifying, it would be virtually impossible to exclude discussion of Section 7a.

The manufacturers do not of course need public hearings to make their desires known to the government. Automotive Industries, weekly trade paper of the industry, reports in its Dec. 22 issue:

"The industry made no presentation at the hearing. Instead, *N.R.A. representatives are contacting executives directly.*" (Emphasis mine—A.B.M.). In other words, more secret conferences.

The question may be asked: why was it necessary to have these hearings at all since they revealed so much that was damaging to the companies? For this it is necessary to understand the broader outlines of the Roosevelt strategy in the automobile industry and its relation to the perspectives of the next few months.

The beginning of the new production season in the automobile industry has been signaled by a new offensive against the living standards

of the workers. Throughout the whole period since the President's settlement of March 25, which "charted a new course in social engineering," attempts to whittle down wages were made by various companies; now, however, this has been crystalized into a program for the entire industry—part of the larger program adopted by the recent conferences of the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. This program was officially enunciated by Sloan, president of General Motors, in a speech Dec. 11 before the Illinois Manufacturers Association, in which he called for a "flexible wage scale" (wage cuts), opposed the thirty-hour week, reviled the trade unions and defended the "Works Council" (company union) as "best promoting the real interests of both employer and employee."

The testimony of the N.R.A. hearings revealed that wages have recently been cut in the following plants: Dodge (Chrysler), Buick (General Motors), Fisher Body (General Motors), Pontiac (General Motors), Plymouth (Chrysler), Hupp and Hudson. This by no means covers all the plants where wages have been slashed. The testimony also indicated that the employers are using the elimination of the group bonus system to cut rates.

The group bonus system has been in operation in most of the automobile manufacturing plants in the country. The only outstanding exception has been Ford. The system is as follows: a gang of men is set to work on a certain operation. They are given a base rate and told that if they produce above a certain amount, they will receive a bonus of so many percent. In this way the companies are able to get the men to speed themselves up.

Another feature, the one responsible for the greatest number of complaints, is the fact that the workers never know how the bonus is being reckoned and are frequently cheated by the company which, moreover, is in the habit of cutting the bonus rate without any notice.

The Dec. 8 issue of Automotive Industries contains an article announcing that most of the companies, in an effort to allay the widespread discontent on this issue, are now eliminating the bonus system and introducing flat day rate pay. The testimony at the N.R.A. hearing revealed, however, that the new rates of pay are in many instances lower than the total that the workers were able to make under the group bonus system.

Hand in hand with the reduction of wages goes the drive to disrupt and destroy the legitimate trade unions and to place the workers under the complete domination of the company unions. In this the elections now taking place at various plants under the terms of the President's settlement of March 25 are playing the central role.

The President's settlement, which was negotiated with and accepted by the A.F. of L. leaders, clearly established the principle of proportional representation in the automobile industry, with the company unions included in the setting up of collective bargaining agencies.

"It is my hope," Roosevelt's statement declared, "that this system may develop into a kind of works council in industry in which all groups of employees, whatever may be their choice of organizations or form of representation, may participate in joint conferences with their employers, and I am assured by the industry that such is also their goal and wish."

The President's settlement also established the Automobile Labor Board, headed by that consummately corrupt and cynical intellectual, Dr. Leo Wolman, who got his training in a good school: the Hillman bureaucracy of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. To the Automobile Labor Board was entrusted the task of preventing strikes and establishing the Rooseveltian "works councils" on the principle of proportional representation.

The history of the Automobile Labor Board is the history of one of the shrewdest and most brazen of the New Deal chicaneries. At the time when the settlement was made, the A.F. of L. was a decisive factor in the industry, with substantial organization in a number of key plants. Because of this, the government conducted its negotiations with the A.F. of L. leaders alone, excluding all other unions, appointed an A.F. of L. man (Richard L. Byrd) to the Automobile Labor Board, and created the general impression that in the setting up of the collective bargaining groups in the various plants only the A.F. of L. and the company unions were in the picture.

The Labor Board began checking the A.F. of L. membership lists against the company payrolls for the ostensible purpose of setting up collective bargaining groups. Since in a number of factories the A.F. of L. had organized a majority of the workers, it looked as if it was due to get the upper hand in the partnership with the company unions. Weeks passed into months; workers, disgusted with the leadership, were dropping out of the A.F. of L.; the production season came to an end and the bulk of the men were laid off. The checking went on.

And what finally happened? Exactly nothing. Astonishing as it may seem, to this day no public report of the results of the checking has ever been made.

On the contrary, having succeeded in breaking the hold of the A.F. of L. on key plants in the industry, the Automobile Labor Board has now completely ditched the original scheme for setting up proportional representation. Instead of checking A.F. of L. membership lists, it has decided to hold "free, democratic" elections in which the workers can vote for any union or no union—at a time when the A.F. of L. is so weakened that it has little chance of getting the majority of the votes. And to make assurance doubly sure, the Labor Board holds its first two elections in plants, the Cadillac and Detroit Chevrolet, where the A.F. of L., even at the height of its organizational strength, had few members.

But even this is not enough. The employers, knowing that, despite all intimidation

and pressure, only an insignificant number of workers will vote for the company unions, have put forward "unaffiliated candidates" who are in reality company union men. The Dec. 29 issue of *Automotive Industries* boasts of the fact that of the sixteen highest candidates in the Cadillac primaries, *eleven are members of the company union council works council and two are former members.*

The Cadillac collective bargaining group thus set up has now taken the next logical step: it has elected E. H. Gustafson, secretary of the Cadillac Employees Association (company union) as its chairman.

The President's settlement has completed the cycle of its development. Instead of the "union recognition" which the labor bureaucrats claimed it provided, it has now given recognition—official, legal and sanctified—to the company union as the only collective bargaining agency of the workers. For all of which the A.F. of L. leaders, who helped negotiate the settlement, bear full responsibility—even though the virtuous whore may now cry "rape."

The piston rod in the employers' drive against the living standards of the workers is the fierce competitive struggle for the market, especially among the Big Three, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. Nine out of every ten cars sold in the past year were manufactured by these three companies. In the passenger car field the share of the so-called independents declined from 9.61 percent in the first ten months of 1933 to 8.90 percent in the same period of 1934. This tendency toward pushing out the independents has been continuous during the past few years.

Among the Big Three the year was marked by the comeback of Ford, who in 1933 had for the first time dropped to third place. In 1934 Ford registered by far the largest proportionate increase of any producer—80.6 percent in the first ten months—climbed back

to second place behind General Motors in total sales, and nosed out Chevrolet in highest sales of a single make.

The struggle for the market is, of course, greatly aggravated by the economic crisis. The crisis finds expression in the fact that with a productive capacity of 10,000,000 cars a year, output in the past year, which was the highest since 1930, was only about 2,850,000. It finds further expression in the fact, which has been carefully buried under resounding ballyhoo about the "recovery" of the auto industry: *that sales in 1934 fell short of production by at least 2,000,000 cars.*

In view of this, I see no basis for the inflated predictions that have been made concerning increased automobile production in 1935—some estimates have run as high as 3,500,000. This is more ballyhoo organized for a purpose. On the contrary, with 200,000 unsold 1934 cars that must be dumped at reduced prices, cutting into the new car market, with the purchasing power of workers and farmers either stationary or declining, there is every likelihood that the market will shrink. Which will mean a further widening of the gap between production and consumption, a further intensification of the crisis in this basic industry, sharpening of the struggle for the market, increased attacks on the living standards of the workers in the effort to cut production costs.

In this situation one thing is obvious as far as the workers are concerned—so obvious that one might expect a child to understand it. Unless the workers unite their forces, the steamroller of the employer-government offensive will flatten them still further into the mire of the "new economic order" of company unionism, wage cuts and speedup. Such a call for a united front of all legitimate labor unions, addressed particularly to the A.F. of L. and the Mechanics Educational Society of America, was issued by the Communist Party

in its official statement at the N.R.A. hearings. An important historic step toward such unity was recently taken by the Auto Workers Union, affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League. This union, which pioneered in the organization of the automobile workers, which led the great strikes of January and February, 1933, and has implanted militant traditions in thousands of workers, has decided to disband its own organization and has called on all its members and sympathizers to join the A.F. of L. if they are production workers, and the M.E.S.A. if they are tool and die makers.

The leadership of both the A.F. of L. United Automobile Workers and the M.E.S.A. have thus far shown a tendency to swallow the bait of the "guaranteed annual wage" and "stabilization of employment." But among the rank and file the desire for unity and for militant action is growing. This has found expression in the development of a rank and file movement in the A.F. of L. auto locals which held their third conference in Detroit on Jan. 26; it likewise found expression at the third national convention of the M.E.S.A., held in Cleveland, Jan. 2-5.

The Auto Workers Union, in leaving the field in the interest of unity, declared through its secretary, Phil Raymond, at the N.R.A. hearings:

"There is only one way that the workers can solve their problems, and that is through organization of a militant industrial union, based upon rank and file control, that does not depend upon government commissions or arbitration committees, that will depend only on the organized power of the working class, and that will take steps for a general strike in the automobile industry. I believe that the only way a code can be written that will protect the interests of the workers in the industry is a code written by the automobile workers marching on the picket line."

The Greatest Story

NATHAN ASCH

IN HOLLYWOOD one morning Ernest Light was called into his supervisor's, Mr. Landau's, office. Mr. Landau, when Ernest came in, stood above his paper-littered desk and held in his hand a fresh unlit cigar. He was so impatient he could hardly wait until Ernest sat down. He said: "I've been up all night with a great idea." His eyes gleamed. "We're going to do a picture about one-sixth of the world's population, about the land that stretches from the center of Europe, across great wastes and deserts of innermost Siberia, to the Pacific Ocean. We're going to show the world what Russia's like."

Ernest Light said:

"I don't know anything about Russia."

"You know about human nature," Mr. Landau said. "It's the same as any other place. And that is what we must bring out. Each man has a father and a mother. He is not a dog. He acts like you and I would act. I want you to try to put yourself in Russia, and imagine just what you would do. With feeling, with tenderness, I want you to come back in four weeks and bring me a great, a human, and a sympathetic story."

Ernest Light left Mr. Landau's office, went to the parking station and got into his car, drove out of Hollywood and up into a canyon. On top of a mountain he stopped the car and gazed, without seeing, at the city of Los Angeles stretched in a haze below.

Somehow it was late at night, and he was home, sitting before a fire, a pipe in his mouth, a highball in his hand. In the next few days he found himself in the Public Library borrowing a pile of books; meeting a man recently out of Russia; on his way to the office of the Communist Party; being bawled out by a cop for missing a traffic light.

He didn't answer his mail nor his telephone; at lunch in the Brown Derby he cut a lady columnist; his friends when they asked him what he was on now got a vacant stare. Rumors went around that he had had a fight with Landau and punched him on the nose, that he was away in Connecticut working on a play; that he was living in a room-

ing house because his contract had not been renewed. The lady columnist tried to find out who was the girl with whom Ernest was in love. All this time Ernest Light was in a hotel room working on the Russian story. His secretary became sick from eating too many sandwiches, she worked so many hours she almost fell asleep, she nearly became hysterical when he lost his temper. At the end of the allotted time Ernest delivered the manuscript to Mr. Landau's office, and sat himself in his office to wait at the telephone.

He was surprised by being called next day. Mr. Landau, when he entered the executive office, was busily smoking on a big cigar. He called: "Comé in, Ernest, come in," looked at Ernest, at his own cigar, breathed in some smoke, and then puffed it out.

"That's a great story you wrote for us there. You know the famine sequence where the Russian mother refuses to eat her child. Stupendous idea. I read it last evening, and then I thought all night; and then I understood what Russia is really like. Do you know the one word that will describe all Russia?"

Ernest Light did not.

Mr. Landau said: "The word is SACRIFICE. Think of the young men, sons of the nobility, who sacrificed careers to help the starving peasants. Think of the students who sacrificed their lives for a great ideal. Think of the exiles in Siberia, of the Cossack's knout, of the young and sensitive girls locked up in the prisons, under the leering eyes of some greasy Russian jailer. . . ."

Mr. Landau held up his cigar and waited. Then he said:

"You know me, Ernest. When I am pursued by a great idea, time does not matter and money is no object. I want a sweep of vastness. I want the audience to feel that its heart will break. Then I want a tremendous lift.—Give me that, Ernest. Go back and think a long time, and when you are ready, bring me back a story of sacrifice in Russia."

Ernest Light went home. For the next few days he thought: about Father Abraham and Isaac, about Timon of Athens, about the Man from Nazareth and the sacrificial cross He bore, about Sidney Carton. He read biographies of early Bolsheviks. He looked up an old I. W. W. and talked to him about the Seattle days. He thought a great deal more. He tried to close his eyes and mind, and then, through transcendent will, place himself in Russia, open his eyes again, and see. He did not shave, bathe, eat or sleep. For some time he did not even answer when his secretary spoke to him. He sat and he thought, and then one day he began to dictate, kept on without interruption for sixty hours, did not read the typed script, but went to a Turkish bath, and the next day again he sat at the telephone and waited.

Two days later he received the call. Mr. Landau, when he came in, was talking to his assistant, did not greet him, but finished his conversation, waited until his assistant

left, took a puff of his cigar, and said:

"I liked your story, Ernest. I noticed you got excited through certain parts of it. I want you to understand I'm not the least bit disappointed. Any story that can make me think is valuable to me. You know the place where Dasha sacrifices her virtue to save her comrades' lives. Where she is *pursued* by the thought of her past and rips her mother's locket from her throat; and then looks at the pool and is *pursued* by visions of herself, a child, dancing in the reflection of the quiet water. That is the key, Ernest, to the heart of our story."

Mr. Landau took a look at his cigar and then looked at Ernest.

"PURSUIT is the word. Think of Peter the Great pursued by the idea he must chop off people's heads; think of Russian literature, of all the Dostoyevsky heroes pursued by madness; think of during the Revolution: sons pursuing fathers; fathers pursued by God. Give me the thrill of a mad pursuit, people chasing each other over Russia's vastness. Let the audience root for a lovely fugitive, who tries to run away, and always is on the verge of being caught. Why, finally when she escapes, everyone will cheer. . . ."

Mr. Landau had risen and was speaking loudly.

"I don't care how long a time you take, whom you use, and how much you spend. I want the greatest story that could possibly be written about the largest country in the world today."

When he left Mr. Landau's office Ernest Light thought he would like to get drunk, but decided not to. All that he knew or could imagine about Russia he had already written, so he hired himself an expert. Captain Preobrazevsky wore a corset, and said he had served in the Imperial Guard. He held a Russian wolfhound on a leash, and while waiting for counter-revolution he acted as an extra. The wolfhound slept at his master's feet; the guard told tales of old Moscow, of the gypsies that sang in the restaurant Yar, of how once he had been permitted to hold the infant Czarevitch in his very own arms; he started to tell the story of how during the Terror his mother and his sisters. . . . Ernest did not believe him, but abandoned the guardsman sitting in his office, did not take his car, but walked as he had in his old newspaper days aimlessly through the streets, stopping off for a drink in a likely bar, remembering the old irresponsible days and thinking that once he had been quite happy. Were the canyon home he had, the car, the money he lost gambling worth the agony he was going through? As he lost the count of the number of drinks he decided that they were not. Better leave it and go back to the East. The idea grew into a hope, a wish, an imperative desire. He began to feel that if he did not go back, and again see grass, and plain instead of fancy trees, he would soon be mad. He looked at the naked bluish hills that were a wall

around Hollywood and he shook his fist, and he made a vow that soon he would cross them and never would return. And then he laughed. But first he would even scores with his supervisor.

On his way back to the studio lot, to his own room in the Writers' Building, he began to think of the tritest story he could possibly imagine. He would put into it everything but the kitchen stove. In the night there would be horsemen galloping to a house, arresting the patriarchal owner, mistreating his young and lovely daughter. The mother would be shot. The little tots would become Russia's homeless children. The daughter would be a princess. The hero would be a man from the G. P. U. Or maybe he would be the villain. There would be a chase all over Mother Russia. And sudden death. And the Five Year Plan. And the Volga Boat song. The two brothers, White Guard and Red Commissar, would meet, swords drawn, on the battlefield. . . . By this time Ernest was in his office, feverishly dictating the crazy rigmarole. The Imperial captain and his Russian hound, both astonished, stared. The secretary's pencil flew over virgin paper. It all ended with the gigantic cement plant completed, and Russia's workers singing "Oczy czornyia." Ernest Light laughed loudly as he stopped dictating and as his secretary ran toward her typewriter outside. When she came back with the script he put in each comma, changed a word here and there, told her to hand it personally to Mr. Landau, and began cleaning out his desk.

However, as he stood some time later in the narrow hall of the Writers' Building, saying goodbye to "All of you slaves," an excited messenger ran up the steps and said he was wanted in Mr. Landau's office. Ernest said: "All right," and to the others he said: "I hope you ship each separate piece of me carefully back East," shook hands with his secretary, and went toward his doom.

When he entered Mr. Landau's office that gentleman was moodily looking at the wall. He did not move as Ernest crossed the room, nor as he sat down. In the room there was silence, then Mr. Landau turned his eyes toward Ernest, and Ernest saw that there was pain in them. Mr. Landau said:

"Ernest, I'm surprised at you. I always thought you were. . . . No, I mean, how could you. . . .?"

Tears formed in Mr. Landau's eyes. Ernest stared at him.

Mr. Landau said: "I just read the greatest story in the world. One that had everything. Everything, except one thing. . . . How could you leave it out? What do we live for, Ernest? What is the greatest thing today, what is it that makes the world go 'round?"

Mr. Landau took out his handkerchief. Before he applied it to his eyes, he leaned forward and he whispered:

"Don't you know? Don't you know what you have forgotten? Ernest, don't you know love?"

England "Revives"

HAROLD WARD

SIR GEORGE NEWMAN is Chief Medical Officer of the British Ministry of Health. In the final chapter of his 1932 Report this incredible titled optimist had the effrontery to say that "the exceptionally good health of the English people continues to be maintained." Just how this miracle was being accomplished did not appear from the facts then presented, nor is the mystery cleared up by Sir George's recently issued Report for 1933. For example:

In 1933 the infant mortality rate for the whole of England was 64 per thousand live births, meaning that nearly 37,000 babies died before they were a year old. That this figure, though slightly below the 1932 record, is a disgrace to any "civilized" community, is amply shown by the extremely low rate of 32 for Oxford and 39 for Cambridge—both highly favored districts, and by such opposite extremes as 116 and 110 per thousand for the congested and impoverished districts of St. Helens and Wigan. Also, in the one highly industrialized city of Birmingham the infant mortality rate ranges between 60 and 81, according to the section.

The diseases most responsible for the deaths of children under five years are bronchitis and pneumonia: both of these are admittedly brought on, *not by biological incapacity*, but by such definitely social facts as overcrowding, rickets and anaemia. Consider the mortality from these two diseases of children from one to five years: it has been shown that in London alone the death-rate is 86 per thousand in districts sheltering 0.7 occupant per room to 123 per thousand where each room must house 1.15 occupants. For England and Wales (excluding London) the rates for the same extremes of congestion are 76 and 192 per thousand. A similar connection between disease and housing conditions has been shown with numerous other ailments—excepting, in London, those which are congenital in origin: that is, not *directly* attributable to the environment. Tuberculosis is notoriously associated with living conditions: so much so that a bourgeois humanitarian, Sir Pendrill Varrier Jones (organizer of a tuberculosis settlement) is quoted in the Report as saying that "economic conditions determine the spread or otherwise of the disease." Mortality from this cause in England has increased in the age-group 15 to 20 years; it is three times as great among unskilled workers as among the upper and middle classes, and despite a fall in the national average, its ravages are increasing among the younger working women in London (from 15 to 25 years): an infallible sign of more ruthless economic exploitation and general hardship.

After this we are not surprised to learn that the figure for maternal mortality (the number of deaths in childbirth per thousand

live births registered) reached 4.51, *the highest on record since 1911*, date of the present method of classification. For this deplorable state of affairs the Report has a remedy which has long been enjoyed by the wives and mothers of England's ruling classes: the pregnant woman "should become accustomed to a diet which includes ample milk (two pints a day), cheese, butter, eggs, fish, liver, fruit and fresh vegetables, which will supply her body with the essential elements, salts and vitamins."

No doubt . . . Unfortunately, the milk alone would cost about \$1.25 a week (present exchange), and John Strachey (in an article published last year in *THE NEW MASSES*) pointed out that in the single city of Newcastle numerous unemployed men on the dole could spend on food little more than 77 cents a week. The result: anaemia, one of the most vicious—and preventable—diseases of modern society. The Committee Against Malnutrition, a non-political research organization with headquarters in London, in one of its bulletins cited an investigation made in 1931, showing that more than half of 50 nursing mothers from a poor section of London registered a haemoglobin content of less than 80—that is, were gravely anaemic. The same tendency to "social murder" (as it is called by the Labor Research Department) is shown by data from the same investigator indicating that "45 percent of breast-fed and 51 percent of artificially fed children under 12 months of age showed subnormal values when examined"—which leads straight to rickets, lowered resistance to infection, and lives of incessant suffering. Note also: that between 1925 and 1931 the proportion of undernourished children in English schools rose from 9.5 to 11.2 per thousand; that defective vision increased from 57.6 per thousand in 1925 to 88.3 in 1930; that enlarged tonsils and adenoids (both subject to dietary habits) grew in the same period from 53.3 to 66.5 per thousand; and that physical deformities and crippling disorders—very largely brought about by rickets—increased during the five years by 35 percent: from 7.1 to 9.6 per thousand.

While on this question of food, we might refer to a report of the Ministry of Health to the effect that, for the year ending in March, 1934, there was a marked increase over the previous year in the quantity of adulterated and faked foods: from 4.6 to 5.5 percent of the samples examined. The following "impurities" were discovered—among others: lead in chicken and ham paste, arsenic in yeast, copper in cider, powdered glass in bread, soap in flour, insects and insect eggs in raisins and walnuts, iron and Glauber's salts in tea, tin in milk, cheese, canned spiced beef and tongue.

And the bourgeois wonder, irritably, why there are Hunger Marches . . .

As for the perennial "housing problem." Government paper schemes are drawn up in 14,000 separate regional "plans," involving the demolition of 250,000 old dwellings and the rehousing of over a million people. But Sir Ernest Simon estimates that there are at least 4,000,000 English dwellings unfit for occupancy, and another official statement concedes a shortage of 800,000 dwellings of the proper standards. A "Slum" number of the (British) Architects Journal estimated that 750,000 inhabitants of the cities of Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield are now living in unsanitary conditions: the Ministry of Health gives a figure less than half that total! Furthermore, those new dwellings which have been erected (with government aid) cannot be rented *at a profit* for the 10-shilling a week figure which is considered "reasonable"; the 16-shilling rate which prevails in many of them is admitted even by the conservative economist to be "quite considerably above the means of the poorest paid workers (to say nothing of the intermittently or permanently unemployed) whose need forms the measure of the housing problem."

More recently we have been treated to the reports of the four commissioners appointed by the British Government to investigate the so-called "depressed areas": notably those in West Cumberland, Durham and Tyneside; and in Wales and Scotland. Again we may allow the Economist to summarize:

All the reports [states this firm champion of the capitalist status quo], are ultimately confronted with variations of a single lugubrious theme, the existence—after all the probabilities of recovery from the present slump have been discounted and all the possibilities of tranference fully exploited—of a surplus population of substantial magnitude.

Here are some of the "variations": for County Durham and Tyneside (location of a flourishing chemical industry) Captain Euan Wallace reports a serious surplus of 80,000 unemployables—even under 1929 conditions. Forty thousand of these have been idle for more than three years. In West Cumberland the figure is 7,000 over 18 and a large group of juveniles; South Wales contributes 39,000 men, *after allowing for an extreme absorption* of 42,000 in any "revival" and Sir Arthur Rose gives Scotland a *permanent* surplus of 60,000 men and boys alone. None of the reports, except that of Captain Wallace, makes any proposals of the slightest value: timidity, irresolution and downright barbarity characterize the government's approach to this gigantic problem. Even the Economist is forced to conclude that, unless drastic means are applied to its solution, "Nothing can arrest the dreadful progress of paralysis and decay."

In those words, as by a flash of grim insight, the capitalist world reveals its true nature, and by them it stands condemned.

Mr. Knopf Makes a Sale

GEORGE SIMPSON

THE AMERICAN MERCURY has been sold, and its brief career of left liberal militancy is over. Charles Angoff, who survived ten years of Henry L. Mencken, and four months of Henry Hazlitt, tried to conduct the Mercury along lines reminiscent of the old trust-busting muck-raking days of two decades ago. In the 1900's the bankers took care of the muck-rakers. They bought up the magazines. They have just taken care of the American Mercury, by making things unpleasant enough for the publisher, Alfred Knopf.

The pressure came down on Knopf in earnest after John L. Spivak's expose of the Red Cross in the November, 1934 issue; but for a year before that the publisher of the Mercury had been sitting on the sixth floor of the Heckscher Building, holding his head in his hands. The headache was labelled Mercury. Henry L. Mencken, who now writes like a Salvation Army captain in the front ranks of Fascism, gave up the editorship of the Mercury a year and a half ago when he saw that militant Americans were no longer interested in revolting in a vacuum. Mencken owned the magazine together with Knopf. He had founded it in January, 1924, and for a while had edited it together with George Jean Nathan.

For four months after Mencken finally left Knopf had Henry Hazlitt as editor. But Victorian liberalism was not likely to sell magazines any more than snooty Nietzscheanism in the rococo English of Mencken. Circulation fell, so did advertising. Knopf was losing money; the banks had already helped him to keep going, and he didn't seem to be going anywhere. He began looking for a buyer for a down-and-out magazine with no set policy. Meanwhile, Hazlitt was ushered out and Charles Angoff continued producing the magazine, as he had for ten years.

Mencken had taken a shine to Angoff when he was in his early twenties and made him managing editor. This meant substantially that Angoff did all the hard work and Mencken took most of the glory for writing an editorial a month and rambling around the book field in *The Library*.

In Angoff there had lurked a sense of revolt against things as they were, a desire to see injustice exposed, and a general feeling of identity with the mass of the people; and the Mercury's pin-pricking at minor chicaneries had been far short of satisfying him. When Hazlitt went and Knopf appointed Angoff to the editorship, he thought he saw his chance. For three months he was acting editor, and then, with the issue of August, 1934, he was formally named editor. The Mercury's readers were in for a surprise.

In the September, 1934 issue some of the articles were out-and-out revolutionary; others were a sop to tired professionals. Hanighen and Engelbrecht wrote "Don't Blame the Munition Makers." An article on Governor Lehman tore the cover off that dignified personage. Meridel LeSueur wrote "Cows and Horses Are Hungry!" Anna Louise Strong did "The Soviets Fight Bureaucracy," and there was an article of mine on Daniel DeLeon showing that the logic of his development led to Leninism.

The circulation began to rise. October saw an article by Agnes Smedley called "The Truth About the Chinese Reds"; another by Anna Louise Strong called "The Soviet 'Dictatorship';" my article on Sam Gompers. Circulation continued to increase.

Then the November issue. In smelling out rats, Angoff smelt out one too big for Knopf and Knopf's backers. He assigned John L. Spivak to collect material on the Red Cross, and Spivak, of course, came back with the story. Angoff published it. "Shady Business in the Red Cross" filled thirty-one pages; Spivak made twenty charges against the Red Cross. He charged it with being a war machine; said it had subsidized White Russians in the civil war, while leaving Bolsheviks to starve; accused it of being a strike-breaking organization, controlled by bankers—all this with funds collected from the masses. Angoff, in a prefatory note, said Congress owed it to the American people to investigate the Red Cross.

Knopf went to his usual luncheon appointment downtown, and was addressed by several of his banking friends, as "Comrade Knopf." Every month Knopf had fought with Angoff, trying to tone him down; but this was too much. The Red Cross article was ruining him. Circulation was climbing upward, but—within a week every advertising agency in New York began complaining to the business department. The bankers named in the Spivak article were out for blood. Advertising was being cancelled.

With greater avidity than ever "Comrade Knopf" looked around for a sucker to buy the magazine and turn it back into "proper" channels. Angoff, rather naively unaware of how serious the pressure must be on Knopf, continued trying to do the impossible—maintaining a critical, militant attitude toward the capitalist structure, in a capitalist-owned and controlled magazine. In December he published an article by Stolberg and Vinton, attacking the New Deal. (Knopf had said in the office: "It's either Roosevelt or nothing.") There was also a continuation of the articles on the Roosevelt cabinet members, this time on Attorney-General Cummings. (In August Marguerite Young had written

an excellent piece on Frances Perkins.) There was also in the December issue an article called "The New Deal Woos the Army," and one by David Ramsey, "Progress and Confusion in Science" which showed the theological basis of all non-materialistic "science."

At this point Paul Palmer appeared. Palmer, ex-newspaper man, married a lot of Lewisohn money a few years ago. He had once edited the Sunday World Magazine, quitting that job the year before the whole Pulitzer property was sold; and had had a few years of playboying. Now he wanted to buy a magazine, with his wife's money, and Mr. Knopf wanted to sell a magazine. They got together. At the end of December Knopf quietly sold the Mercury to Palmer, and got on a ship for Europe. Angoff was told nothing. The Mercury moved to the fifteenth floor, because "Knopf needed more room."

On Saturday, Jan. 19, Angoff was told by Lawrence E. Spivak, business manager, that the magazine had been sold to Palmer. With the April issue Spivak will blossom out as "publisher." Palmer, naturally, does not want it known that he had actually to buy a magazine in order to become an editor. With Palmer as owner, the understanding was that there would be lots of money behind the magazine.

That evening, Angoff met Palmer, who offered him the job of associate editor. Angoff asked what kind of magazine Palmer intended to run. From this point we can imagine the conversation going something like this:

Palmer: There will be no propaganda, either right or left; everything will be presented fairly. Both sides of every question will be considered. Your book reviews, Angoff, are too violent. Book reviews must be fair and interesting. I have appointed Laurence Stallings literary editor.

Angoff: I don't want to be associated with you in any capacity. The magazine you have in mind does not interest me in the slightest.

Palmer: You're a leftist, a radical, a propagandist.

Angoff: You can say what you like, but I have a point of view and you haven't. The magazine you have in mind is no magazine at all—it is a raffle-barrel.

Palmer: Well, you have the right of free speech.

But Palmer wanted Angoff, because after all Angoff does know how to run the magazine. Mencken came up from Baltimore and spent an evening pleading with Angoff to try to persuade Angoff to stay. Angoff said no.

The March, 1935 issue will be the last under Angoff's editorship. After that, according to the best information, look for a Mercury that is a combination of *The Forum*, *Scribner's*, *Collier's* and *The New Yorker*—whatever that may be.

Correspondence

Mr. Lewis's Story

TO THE NEW MASSES:

There appeared in the Jan. 1 issue of THE NEW MASSES, a letter signed by Miss Gertrude Lane, Secretary Literary Trade Section, Office Workers Union, to which I wish to make a reply.

Her letter stated that a person, not named in her communication had been discharged by myself for alleged attempts to unionize employees.

The party referred to in this communication was discharged purely for inefficiency and for no other reason. This party has been discharged time and time again previous to the final discharge but was each time reinstated after tearful appeals by her.

When this party came to me for employment she stated that she recently lost a position paying \$8.00 a week, and if she failed to secure a situation she would be forced to seek employment as a stewardess on a boat. I told her that we paid no one less than \$12.00 a week and she was most grateful when I gave her a job. Several months after that, when others in my office received increases I raised her salary to \$14.00.

At no time did this employee ever present a union card to me or inform me that she was a member of a union, or openly urge a union of other employees. Those who have backed her in her protest may very shortly come to the realization of the unreliability of this party and the falsity and absurdity of her charges.

Union activities of any kind had absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with her discharge. She knows this better than anyone else.

The patience and consideration and sympathetic understanding which I showed this party during her time of employment, instead of redounding to my benefit has apparently been used by others as my approval of her constantly unsatisfactory work.

This party has been in this country only a few years, and her familiarity and knowledge of the English language is far from complete. Before her discharge, I questioned another member of the Society who had given her work to do, and he reported that it was almost impossible to work with her because of her inefficiency.

I had also communicated with the agency through which I had employed her and was informed that she had, a few months previous to her discharge by me, made an application for another position, expressing the utmost dissatisfaction with her employment in our office, coupled with derogatory remarks about myself. And from information received since her discharge, I am inclined to believe that her persistent annoying mistakes were part of her campaign of sabotage, because I am in possession of information from reliable sources, of her campaign of villification of myself and of her contempt of the Society's activities.

Her threats of personal retaliation can be attested to by numerous persons.

I wish to emphatically state that it was only after Mr. Lamont threatened me that I "was a marked man for the rest of my life and would have to suffer the consequences" that I told him I would resort to the law to defend myself against any and all false accusations regardless from what source they might come.

I see no reason why I should not resort to the law to protect myself from vindictive attacks based upon false statements from presumable friends, when even my worst enemy would not stoop to such despicable means.

It seems strange that Miss Lane should speak of a legal right to conduct her endeavors while at the same time deny the same right to me.

My years of association with liberal causes as

well as my sympathetic support in the interest of labor are only too well-known for such an unfounded and untruthful charge to be given even the slightest credence by my friends.

Inasmuch as you published Miss Lane's letter in THE NEW MASSES I will expect you, in all fairness, to publish this letter.

JOSEPH LEWIS, President,
Freethinkers of America.

The Union Replies

TO THE NEW MASSES:

Since Mr. Lewis applies to the columns of THE NEW MASSES to make public certain distortions of fact, outright falsifications, and lamentations of self-pity, all of which had already been disposed of by the delegation of union members who visited him, it only remains for the union to point out that Mr. Lewis' self-revealing letter merely duplicates our efforts to expose him. In order, then:

(a) Mr. Lewis knew before he wrote his letter that his secretary had earned \$25 per week in her former position. We can produce her former employer.

(b) She took Mr. Lewis' \$12 job on the understanding that her pay would shortly be doubled. After six months she reminded him of his promise and received the magnificent \$2 raise to which this "sympathetic supporter of the interests of labor" refers.

(c) We concede that Mr. Lewis' secretary did not present *him* with a union card.

(d) "This party" has been in the country fourteen years, and her "familiarity and knowledge of the English language" would seem, from the very paragraph in which they are mentioned (to say nothing of the grammatical errors, mispunctuation, and quaint spelling throughout the letter) to be of a higher order than Mr. Lewis' command of his mother-tongue. There is evidently intended to be something more in this charge than an accusation of incompetence, and it may perhaps have something to do with the fact that an inspector from the Department of Immigration recently came to the home of Mr. Lewis' secretary in response to an anonymous letter advising investigation of her.

(e) We challenge Mr. Lewis to produce his secretary's application for another position. But in any case she would indeed be a curious example of skilled secretary had she not been on the lookout for a better position than hers was by his own account.

(f) He did *not* communicate with the agency until *after* he had discharged his secretary. The agency is, of course, subject to some pressure from its customers, but this it will not seek to deny.

(g) The brand-new charge of "sabotage" is another *ex post facto* reason for firing his secretary, and demonstrates besides the sort of weapons Mr. Lewis will use against a worker.

(h) The "numerous persons" who will attest to her "threats of personal retaliation" are undoubtedly the TWO assistants who appeared in such an unlovely light before the investigating delegation.

(i) His "years of association with liberal causes" have evidently taught him nothing about the workers' right to more than coolie wages in his *own* office, and do not explain why his employees are not allowed to join a union, "vindicative" or otherwise.

Between the time of the writing of our letter to THE NEW MASSES and the writing of Mr. Lewis' reply, one other interesting event has taken place. When union members picketed a lecture which Mr. Lamont had refused to address, and where Mr. Lewis spoke instead, he said that he had never been frightened by Catholics, and would not now be scared by "Communists"! Upon this hack-

neyed attempt at a red scare, several persons marched out of the lecture hall.

We appeal again to liberal Freethinkers to repudiate the anti-labor attitude of their president, and to support the action of two of their vice-presidents, Corliss Lamont and Granville Hicks, who have resigned from their posts in protest. Organized labor is not an organized religion.

GERTRUDE LANE,
Secretary, Literary Trades Section,
Office Workers' Union.

Note by Corliss Lamont

TO THE NEW MASSES:

I want to deny that I ever "threatened" Mr. Joseph Lewis. I simply pointed out to him the undeniable fact that the Office Workers' Union would start picketing his organization and that to break with the labor movement would be a very unfortunate thing for the Freethinkers of America to do. It was then that Mr. Lewis launched into *his* threats of injunction actions and libel suits.

Later in the conversation I told Mr. Lewis's assistant, Mr. Ford—and what I said no doubt included Mr. Lewis by implication—that he and his co-partner, Mr. Brosseau, would, on account of their attitude, be "marked men" in the sense that they would be considered, like Henry Ford, definitely anti-labor.

CORLISS LAMONT.

A Cooperative Theatre

TO THE NEW MASSES:

May we call the attention of NEW MASSES readers to the formation of a cooperative theatre, namely the Social Repertory Theatre, whose objective is the production of plays of definite social content. The Social Repertory Theatre is seeking plays on social themes, preferably dealing with the contemporary American scene, and requests that playwrights address them to: Social Repertory Theatre, 5 West 19th Street, New York.

LEE PRENTIS.

The Pharmacists Union

TO THE NEW MASSES:

A short time ago, the worst oppressed, overworked and poorest paid group of professionals were the drug clerks of New York City.

Before the inception of the Pharmacists Union of Greater New York, two years ago, the drug clerks in this community were being paid an average of \$20 a week for sixty to eighty hours of exacting and responsible work. This, despite the fact that they had to have three to four years of college training and four years of practical experience for the doubtful privilege of slaving under the above conditions. After two years of painstaking labor, the Pharmacists Union of Greater New York overcame, among other obstacles, the professional conceit drummed into the heads of the pharmacists' clerks by their employers and college professors. The drug journals contributed to our difficulties by continually shouting "pharmacists are too ethical, professional, and simon pure to align themselves with unions." At first, most clerks had a general apathy towards concerted and organized cooperation with other clerks and took an attitude of remoteness towards labor organizations. However, in spite of all these difficulties, the Pharmacists Union succeeded in organizing the clerks of New York City into a cohesive mass of enthusiastic men who responded to its call for a general strike in the Bronx, in October, 1934. The result of this strike was an overwhelming victory for the union.

The demands won for all the clerks of the Bronx were \$32.50 minimum salary for a fifty-four-hour

week for registered pharmacists, \$23.50 minimum for junior pharmacists, union recognition and closed shop terms.

On Friday evening, Feb. 8, the Pharmacists Union will hold a dance and entertainment at the Hotel Delano, 108 West 43rd Street, to celebrate the Bronx victory and inaugurate its drive to bring to the drug clerks of Manhattan and Brooklyn the advantages it has gained for the Bronx membership.

We feel that THE NEW MASSES is a magazine interested in the improvement and betterment of economic conditions for professionals and as such will urge its readers to support us in our efforts.
I. REGELSON, Educational Chairman.

A Professional Fascist

TO THE NEW MASSES:

Perhaps the most disgusting example of the type of Southern mind that produces our Scottsboro and Crawford cases, is the recent review of Carl Carmer's book "Stars Fell on Alabama," by Prof. Richmond Croom Beatty, in the December issue of The Southwestern Journal, (Southwestern College, Memphis, Tenn.). Prof. Beatty reveals every evidence of his fascist character, not only by this review, but by his contributions to The American Review, The Yale Review, etc. He says in part:

There is never the suggestion of an effort on the author's part to account rationally for the occasional—he would say diurnal—ride of the Klan or for lynchings. And yet the explanation is self-evident. When people find that the ordinary agencies of government have broken down (through the activities of scalawag lawyers, Communists, or publicity-mad crusaders like Leibowitz) they will inevitably, if not terrorized past redemption, proceed to take the law into their own hands. Manifestations like the Klan or lynchings are thus very often traceable directly to a sense of outraged or subverted justice. Both manifestations are, in theory, deplorable, but it is safe to say that they will keep on appearing so long as apostles from the North insist on tampering with the traditional, and quite effective, method which Southerners have evolved for dealing with social difficulties. The significant parallel in the South between extra-sectional interference and the growth of extra-judicial agencies for dealing with crime is too obvious for anyone except a Northern sociologist or a Southern liberal to miss. Yet so long as such idealists choose to miss it, or to ignore it, the conditions they deplore will be aggravated.

Prof. Beatty is surprised and annoyed because Mr.

Carmer feels "sick" about the lynchings. I wonder if it would annoy Prof. Beatty any to know that I feel "very sick" to realize that such a person as Prof. Beatty is allowed to address and influence college students in the South. The place for Prof. Beatty is in the ranks of Hitler's Brown Shirts, not in the ranks of American professors. And this Prof. Beatty; this Negrophobe, who is an avowed Fascist, and pro-Klan, is a professor in a college dominated by the Christian religion! And the masthead blurb of the Journal states: "Although the primary purpose of The Southwestern Journal is to encourage the literary revival in the South, it does not intend to be concerned with *Sectional Doctrines*." (Italics mine.)

With such persons controlling, or trying to control, the educational and political life of the South, it is strange that we have our Scottsboro, Angelo Herndon, and Crawford cases? JAMES HARRISON.

"Students in Revolt"

TO THE NEW MASSES:

In your editorial, "Students in Revolt" printed in the issue of Jan. 19, you did not indicate clearly enough the existence of the united front among the

students during the past year and its continuation during this one. As a member of the National Student League I wish to point out that your statement that "a motion to elect a committee to investigate the possibilities of united action was also defeated" is incorrect. Such a motion was not introduced. It was decided to continue the united front with the N.S.L. You were incorrect in characterizing the Student L.I.D. as "administration controlled." The Student L.I.D. is an organization of students with Socialist sympathies, which, despite numerous mistakes in tactics includes many militant students who have participated in important student activities. What was rejected at the convention of the Student L.I.D. was the N.S.L. proposal for one united student movement, for the amalgamation of the N.S.L. and the Student L.I.D. into one organization.
ESTHER DROPKIN.

In the present issue we are printing an editorial which we think clears up the situation of the Student L.I.D. and N.S.L. The mistakes which occurred in the leader mentioned by our correspondent were due to misinformation.—THE EDITORS.

Letters in Brief

Henry Henkin of Los Angeles thinks that certain of the contents of THE NEW MASSES and The Daily Worker "should be made available in the form of a news service to every revolutionary organization in the United States. In this way the farthest mining or farming district will have the same advantage as New York, Chicago or Boston. Certain articles should have been circulated in advance or simultaneously with THE NEW MASSES instead of being confined to its pages and considered as a journalistic 'scoop.'" He notes that "There is too much scattered and therefore ineffective effort on the part of revolutionary writers in this country. THE NEW MASSES appeals for help to increase its circulation to 100,000. This aim is far too low. In 1905 the Petrograd Russian Gazette with a circulation of 30,000 was transformed into a fighting organ for the masses and within a few days the circulation rose to 100,000. A month later it reached half a million. This was accomplished under the most adverse circumstances with the Czar's secret police constantly at the heels of its publishers and editors. Compared to the superior opportunities in this country with its

technical facilities, freedom to print, promote and distribute, the combined circulation of our revolutionary press is relatively insignificant."

We refer R. Deaman of Philadelphia, who wants a clear definition of Fascism to R. Palme Dutt's book, *Fascism and Social Revolution*.

In view of the revived interest in the Crawford case and the recent development in the Scottsboro case, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners proposed a debate between its representative and someone from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Committee received this reply from Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.: "We do not see that any good purpose would be served by engaging in such a discussion, and we are so rushed with work that we do not have the time to participate, even if we felt that any lasting good would come of such participation."

As a result of Jacques Roumain's activity in organizing a Scottsboro committee in Haiti, he was charged with treason, court-martialed and sentenced to three years' imprisonment at Port-au-Prince. The conviction was based on a letter from New York informing Roumain that "materials," that is, books and pamphlets, had been forwarded to him. This word was conveniently interpreted by the prosecution as bombs and munitions although the confiscated shipment contained only literature of the International Labor Defense and copies of Le Cri des Negres, organ of the French Negro workers. As a promising young author Roumain is highly esteemed in France. As a progressive educator and liberator he is beloved by the oppressed masses and feared by the reactionary government in Haiti. In order to consider effective means to remedy this injustice, we request your organization to send a delegate to a meeting of a Committee to free him. The Committee is absolutely non-partisan and not affiliated with any particular group. The meeting will be on Friday, February 1, at 8:30 in the studio of Emil Holzhauser, 51 West 10th Street, New York City.

The Committee to Support Southern Textile Organization reports that as a result of the many protest telegrams and letters sent to Governor Ehringhaus of North Carolina, Fred MacMahan has been temporarily taken off the chain gang and transferred to lighter work. MacMahan, a textile worker active in the great Gastonia strike, has been serving an 18 month sentence on the chain gang on a framed-up charge of "inciting to riot" There is an excellent chance for his release if mass pressure is continued.

EARL BROWDER

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

A Test for Critics

MR. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH'S book, *Was Europe a Success?*, is a crucial document in the long controversy between the literary right and the literary left. Although it seems to me of relatively little intrinsic importance, it has become, as intrinsically unimportant books sometimes do, the center of a tremendously important debate. Inasmuch as I have already discussed the articles incorporated in this volume (*THE NEW MASSES*, Oct. 23, 1934), and inasmuch as the book itself is to be reviewed in these pages, I shall limit myself to a few comments on the debate that the book has aroused.

In the first place, the fact that Mr. Krutch wrote the book is a beautiful confirmation of one of the principal Marxist theses, that literature and politics cannot be separated. Mr. Krutch has not been one of the more prominent defenders of the art-for-art's-sake position, but he has frequently accused Marxists of introducing extraneous considerations into their criticism. Now he himself admits that his literary theories rest upon certain assumptions about the nature of society, and these assumptions he hastens to defend.

His defense is shrewd enough to make a good deal of trouble for his fellow-liberals. When John Chamberlain reviewed the book he did more than straddle; he vaulted from side to side of the fence—and not with the greatest of ease. "Such, more or less, is Mr. Krutch's position. And yet, though I am in essential agreement with this position, there is just enough in the astigmatic radical's case against Mr. Krutch to make chastisement plausible." "Because some radical critics lack humor, or are dull and portentous, or see bogies where there are no bogies, or are scared of missing the party line, it does not follow that virtue is all in one camp and vice wholly in the other." Mr. Chamberlain even says a good word for *THE NEW MASSES*. The review ought to make everyone happy except those who want to know where Chamberlain stands.

But if Mr. Krutch did not succeed in making John Chamberlain reveal his position, he did bring Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes into the open. Dr. Barnes says that he believes capitalism is finished; he sympathizes with the revolutionary movement; when he rebukes the radicals, it is always, as I have previously noted, in the interests of radicalism. Now, however, we know what radicalism means to Dr. Barnes; it means the views of Joseph Wood Krutch. *Was Europe a Success?* is not a defense of liberalism, Dr. Barnes tells us in his review in *The Nation*

for January 23; Mr. Krutch "comes far closer to writing a brief for civilized radicalism."

On this particular point I should like to quote from Malcolm Cowley's review in *The New Republic* for January 9. I have the greatest respect for Cowley as a critic, and, though he sometimes seems to me to oversimplify literary problems, he is almost always clear on political issues. Cowley says, "Mr. Krutch has aimed at Communism and has overshot his mark. In effect, his argument is a defense of inequality and injustice on the ground that the suffering of the masses makes possible the culture and disinterestedness of those who rule over them. In effect, it strikes at the base of the whole humanitarian tradition. . . . He has not one word to say against the philosophy of the fascist leaders. This of course does not mean that Mr. Krutch accepts their philosophy or hopes to see it put into effect. He is a liberal and a humanitarian; he sincerely hates all dictatorships, but his arguments have carried him into a strategically weak position. . . . He does not agree with Maurras and Mussolini, but he no longer has a logical base from which to combat them."

I should like to go on and quote what Cowley has to say about Krutch's method of handling history. Dr. Barnes is by way of being an historian; he has just completed no less a task than a history of world civilization. Yet he has nothing whatsoever to say in criticism of Krutch's bizarre generalizations about Europe. There are two perfectly clear questions: To what extent and on what terms did the values Krutch attributes to "Europe" really exist? How can these values be preserved today? The very essence of the Marxian analysis is the assertion that, even if these values did exist, they are now threatened by the decay of the system that Mr. Krutch identifies with "Europe." Dr. Barnes, as an historian, might have been expected to examine Krutch's assumptions; as a soi-disant radical, he was under obligation to question his conclusions. He does neither of these things.

What Dr. Barnes does do is to dodge.

"Perhaps," he says, "the best way of resolving the dilemma is to regard Dr. Krutch as writing not so much a refutation of, or direct attack upon, the basic principles of economic radicalism as a most powerful and engaging argument for better intellectual manners and sounder esthetic values on the part of contemporary radicals." At this point there is nothing to do, rudeness or no rudeness, but guffaw. Mr. Krutch is trying to attack the whole basis of Communism, and, as Cowley points out in the sentences I have quoted, he goes beyond that and undermines the very foundations of liberalism.

This question of manners seems to bother Dr. Barnes considerably. "Urbanity," says he, "has appealed to me as the highest of human virtues." Looking back on Dr. Barnes' record, I am pleased to report that he does not practise what he preaches. For myself, I think urbanity is probably a very nice thing—in its place. I am very glad, however, that Lenin and not Montaigne—Dr. Barnes' ideal man—happened to be the leader in Petrograd in November, 1917.

Dr. Barnes says, "It is becoming ever more evident that capitalism neither can nor will feed its sheep. It begins to look as though revolution, though not necessarily a bloody one, is the sole way in which the economic requirements of a civilized society can be assured." But revolutionaries must be gentlemen; otherwise they will offend "those who count." Dr. Barnes is quite right; gentlemanly revolutionaries will never offend "those who count" because they will never seriously threaten their power. The rules of the game are very nicely drawn up so that the people on top will always win; the good doctors help out by shouting to the people on the bottom, "You must abide by the rules."

A singularly bright light is thrown on Mr. Krutch's liberalism by the correspondence with Roger Baldwin published in the same issue of *The Nation* as the Barnes review. Mr. Krutch sent a check to the Civil Liberties Union, accompanying it with a letter in which he said, "I would be happier if I were convinced that the majority of members really believed in civil liberties as such." Mr. Baldwin replied very reasonably, justifying his personal support of the dictatorship in the

Lecture by GRANVILLE HICKS

LITERATURE AND DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Discussion of the American Writers' Congress

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Soviet Union. I think it would have been more logical—though very rude, and especially to a contributor—for him to have inquired how Krutch had ever demonstrated his belief in civil liberties.

In regard to civil liberties, the radical maintains, it seems to me, a perfectly tenable position. We live under a supposedly democratic government that guarantees certain civil rights. Every teacher in this state has had to take an oath to support the constitutions of state and country. So long as he keeps his side of the bargain, he has every right to demand that the government keep its side. The Marxist knows, of course, that the government is not the impartial instrument that it pretends to be, but there is certainly nothing illogical in his insisting that the pretended principles be adhered to. He knows that ultimately issues are determined, not by abstract principles, but by the application of force, and he knows that only mass pressure can save the victims of class "justice." At the same time, however, he would be foolish to disregard the legal and theoretical weapon, and he very properly demands that all those who believe in civil liberties as absolute rights join with him in the struggle.

Mr. Krutch is one of those who believe in freedom at all times and for all persons. But what does he do about it? Did he take an active part in the fight for Sacco and Vanzetti, for Tom Mooney, for the Scottsboro boys? I am putting myself entirely on Krutch's own ground. If a person believes in civil liberties, he does not put himself on record and let it go at that; he goes out and fights. If Mr. Krutch has ever done anything on behalf of civil liberty, beyond giving a little money to Roger Baldwin, I have yet to hear of it.

Mr. Krutch says that Communists are "full of an intense and burning hatred for that urbanity, detachment, and fair play which liberals pretend, at least, to admire." I am sorry that that is how it looks to Mr. Krutch, but I think I can explain to him why he gets that impression. Let us take a concrete example, the San Francisco general

strike. The longshoremen were striking for exceedingly reasonable demands. They were attacked by police, militia, vigilantes, college boys, gangsters. The press lied about them with the utmost ferocity. A. F. of L. officials did their best to sell them out. There was no pretense of maintaining civil liberties in the San Francisco strike. There never is when profits are seriously threatened.

What did Mr. Krutch do for the strikers? Did he write even one letter of protest to Governor Merriam? Did he contribute five cents to a relief fund? I imagine not. And now he comes along, and he says to militant workers, "You ought to be urbane." He says to Communists and radicals in general, "The trouble with you is that you don't work for civil liberty for everybody, but merely for the workers." He says to every

Communist intellectual, "You ought to be detached and see both sides of this matter."

And then he is surprised because the answer is a resounding razzberry, and he shouts that we're all boors. No, Mr. Krutch, we don't hate urbanity, detachment and a sense of fair play. We think we care a lot more for them than you do because we're working to establish a society in which they would be possible—as they are not possible, for you or for us, in our present society. We do, however, feel a good deal of resentment, if not hatred, for persons who, in the name of urbanity, detachment and a sense of fair play, tolerate the most outrageous abuses of the rights they pretend to believe in, use the language of liberalism to defend reaction, and spend their time in attacking Communism.

GRANVILLE HICKS.

Descent from Marx to Scott via Veblen

THORSTEIN VEBLEN AND HIS AMERICA, by Joseph Dorfman. Viking Press. \$3.75.

ESSAYS IN OUR CHANGING ORDER, by Thorstein Veblen. Viking Press. \$3.

THORSTEIN VEBLEN, most noted iconoclast among American economists, died in August, 1929, during the month in which industrial production in the United States began its downward slide. More recently Veblen's shade has met the unhappy fate of appointment as spiritual godfather of the Technocrats. In some ways it is true that Thorstein Veblen hardly deserved this harsh verdict. But least of all in discussing Veblen can we afford to be sentimental. It is just possible that Veblen himself is at least partly responsible for the tragi-comic burlesque put on by the Technocrats.

Mr. Dorfman's biography of Veblen sets out to accomplish more (or less) than a resuscitation. It is an attempt at a scholarly treatise on Veblen, his works and his relation to the social currents of the time. In some measure it is successful. It contains a painstaking collection of interesting material relating to Veblen's life and associates. The summaries of Veblen's various pieces of writing are able, although sometimes exhausting to the reader. There are many flashes which help to illuminate the American social scene which produced Veblen. Yet Dorfman at no place essays a serious and probing analysis of the economic or class forces of the time. In general the continuity or organization of the book is poor.

All, or almost all the necessary raw materials for a real evaluation of Thorstein Veblen are found in the Dorfman biography. And yet the author is singularly reluctant to pin down our Peck's Bad Boy of the economists. He might have been able to do it in spite of Veblen's elusive qualities. Is it Dorfman's "scientific caution" which holds him back, or is it a fear of offending the many academic moguls who, in their very different fashions, regard Veblen as their teacher? I do not

know. The question is relatively unimportant.

The central feature of Veblen's thought, which is repeated endlessly through all his writing, is the conflict between business interests and industrial pursuits. In different phrasing it is the contrast between making money and making goods, between the bond-and-stock conscious financier on the one side, and the engineer together with the "underlying population" on the other. Veblen did not hide the overwhelming exploitation in this relationship which he sometimes calls the plundering of the "common man" by the "vested interests."

The Marxist sub-stratum of this thought is clear. It goes to the point of considering how the productive forces will break through the restrictive property relations—although the latter is of course the language of Marx rather than of Veblen. It is at this point that the Technocrats jump out from behind Veblen's mausoleum and perform their tricks, including the straw-man of the "price system" and the miracle rabbit of the erg, all with a blithe ignoring of class lines and forces. (See the article by Foster and Browder entitled "Technocracy and Communism" appearing in *Technocracy Review*, February, 1933, for a concise exposure of the cult.)

The relation between Veblen and Howard Scott, high priest of Technocracy, is made clear by Dorfman. In the early post-war years Scott was a member of the Technical Alliance which included Veblen, Stuart Chase and others, and had as its purpose the spread of Veblenian ideas among engineers. Scott was not the most popular among the group, although he was treasurer. The "Alliance" petered out. When the Technocrats appeared on the scene in 1932 they actually mentioned Veblen as a former disciple of Scott. When the newspapers began to play up Veblen's undoubted part in the ancestry of Technocracy, Scott and the others were alarmed. As soon as Veblen's ideas about a "soviet of technicians" were bruited about, a "radical" stamp was placed upon Technocracy. Then the newspapers camped down on the free pub-

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licity. Since Technocracy had no roots in the masses—exit. It remains a vestigial nuisance.

The Technocrats were enabled to use Veblen's formulations because Veblen himself employed a faulty class analysis. It was then only a step from Veblen to the no-class burlesque of the Technocrats. Veblen saw correctly the main outline of the two opposing camps under capitalism. But on the workers' side he developed a picture which inverted the truth. In the march toward the new social order he saw the engineers in the vanguard. "Supporting" them were the skilled workers. The other workers apparently didn't count. In fact at one place he actually aligns the unskilled workers and the poorer farmers on the side of reaction. "Those affected by socialist tendencies are the skilled mechanics of the highly organized urban industries and the men in the material sciences, as opposed to the bankers, the backward rural population, and the general run of the laboring population." (This is an indirect quotation from Veblen's *Theory of Business Enterprise* as stated by Dorfman on page 232. The premonitions of fascist strategy are interesting.)

The importance of Veblen's error in this respect need hardly be emphasized. We witness today a genuine movement among technicians to support working-class action, rather than vice-versa. And the poorer farmers are hardly on the side of the bankers!

There is a growing movement among American technicians to press their immediate demands for livelihood in the face of capitalist decline. This leads them to employ many forms of working-class strategy involving alliance with industrial workers. But they do not fool themselves into believing that they will give political leadership to the workers. From another but related angle they find their scientific interests stifled by the destructive aspects of capitalism in crisis. A growing num-

ber of them are coming to believe that their scientific abilities can be put to work only through the assumption of political and economic power by the workers. Veblen is being corrected by experience along with the ideological corrections of the Communist movement.

Veblen was profoundly influenced by Marx, as he always admitted in private and sometimes in public. I personally believe that the Marxian elements in Veblen were taken directly from Marx (although completely rephrased) rather than appearing as a coincidence or a sample of independent generation, as some of Veblen's friends would have us believe. And it should be noted in passing that Veblen frequently excoriated Social Democracy as a sham socialism.

The vast range of history and anthropology at Veblen's disposal was at once his strength and weakness. He was more interested in the likenesses between different stages in society than in the differences. This involved a reading back of capitalist contradictions into pre-capitalist forms. For instance, Dorfman states, in connection with Veblen's translation of *The Laxdela Saga*, "The different historical episodes and factors discussed in the preface, such as the blood-feud, the Propaganda of the Faith, the Viking Enterprise, the Icelandic Aristocratic Republic, had been used by Veblen before, but in this limited space they merge with one another, and appear merely as different ways of portraying the nature of modern capitalism. For an understanding of Veblen this is one of his best essays."

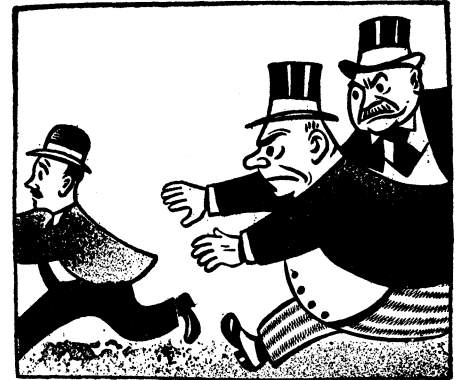
If one single clue to Veblen's defects is to be found, I believe it lies in his dread of action and his contempt for the concrete. He was even less friendly with workers than with other intellectuals. His students and friends were always speculating as to whether he was "really a socialist." And you can search his books in vain for the name of a single banker

or corporation which might illustrate the thesis of the vested interests.

A recently published collection of Veblen's essays called *Essays in Our Changing Order* provides good samples of Veblen's thought in various fields. There is a very good essay written in 1919 called "Bolshevism Is a Menace—to Whom?" in which he states sensibly that Bolshevism is a menace to the exploiters and is in the interest of the common man.

In "Peace" occurs the following passage which shows Veblen in a characteristic mood. (Unlike the Bolsheviki, Veblen supported the war, although, later, detested the peace settlement.)

The great war was fought out and peace was brought within sight by team work of the soldiers and workmen and the political personnel. The cost, the work and hardship fell on the soldiers and workers, and it is also chiefly their fortune that is now in the balance. . . . But in these deliberations on peace the political personnel alone had a voice. Neither those who have done the necessary fighting at the front nor those who have done the necessary work at home have had any part in it. . . . However, to avoid all appearance of graceless overstatement, it should perhaps be noted in qualification that the American workmen may be alleged to have been represented at this court of elder statesmen, informally, unofficially, and irresponsibly, by the sexton beetle of the A.F. of L., but it will be admitted that this qualification makes no serious inroads on the broader statement above.



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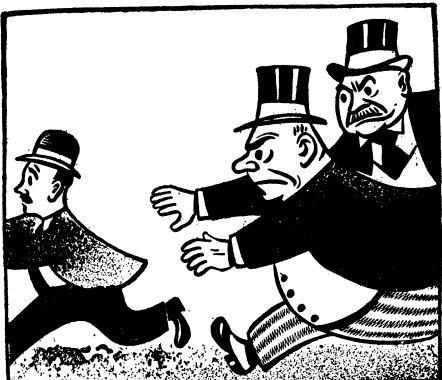
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Veblen flew into a rage when the editor changed "beetle" to "Beadle" in the printing of the above. Dorfman relates that Veblen "wanted to know if the unknown dunderhead who had mutilated his copy did not realize that a sexton beetle was an insect who spent its life in storing up and covering over dead things? Besides, there was an overtone in the allusion: Gompers looked more like a beetle."

Towards the conclusion of his biography Dorfman praises Veblen for having correctly predicted so many things such as the breakdown of the Social Democratic Party in Germany, the collapse of the Versailles treaty, European debt defaults, etc. "Japan seemed

to be fitting itself to Veblen's analysis; and business enterprise throughout the western world was being faced with Veblen's two alternatives in the form of fascism and communism."

This may be so, but I think that Mr. Dorfman will find on examination that the batting average as to predictions has been higher with the Communist Party than with Veblen.

In general, Veblen is interesting to read if you can spare the time from more important pursuits. But Marxism and Leninism should be studied directly. And Veblen's work is garbled Marxism, just as Technocracy is garbled Veblenism.

ADDISON T. CUTLER.

Still Wilder—Still Hollow

HEAVEN'S MY DESTINATION, by Thornton Wilder. Harper & Bro. \$2.50.

WELL, we are now asked to compare Mr. Wilder with Cervantes, John Bunyan, Sinclair Lewis, Mark Twain and Voltaire. I say this not without malice, but I say it in all seriousness. To begin with, the jacket of his new book describes it as "the story of a modern Don Quixote." And as if this were not enough, Dr. Henry Seidel Canby—chief of the editors who selected it for the Book-of-the-Month Club—adds a few casual references to *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Candide*, *The Man Who Knew Coolidge*, and *The Man Who Corrupted Hadleyburg*.

Let us examine in some detail this remarkable work. It relates the adventures of one George Brush, a traveling salesman. He sells elementary textbooks to what pass for schools in the "Bible Belt." He lives in the Middle West, he is a graduate of a small town denominational college, he is a professing and practising Baptist, and he loves God. He was first "saved" by a sixteen-year old evangelist—and it didn't matter to him that she was a drug-addict. As the years went by his love for God grew until at last it was an almost unbearable passion. We meet him at this point. Quickly we discover that he loathes alcohol, tobacco and women who use cosmetics. Soon we perceive that he has dedicated his life to doing good, and that includes converting the benighted. He writes Baptist slogans on hotel blotters, preaches in Pullman cars, pleads with young girls to mend their ways, delivers long moral homilies to his neighbors, and in general butts into everyone else's life. The point is supposed to be that his career is a "Quixotic" battle against a sinful and unrepentant world. Like the Don he is depicted as a ludicrous figure, yet manages to achieve a certain nobility. To be specific: George Brush is arrested several times, mauled and beaten frequently, and insulted and laughed at regularly. Through it all, however, he not only retains his illusion of bliss, but makes an impression on the very people he annoys and enrages. Somehow, it seems, they get to respect him. They are touched. They feel something "profoundly right" about him.

Ultimately, a domestic tragedy disillusioned him, whereupon he begins to smoke, frequent the movies, and eat dollar dinners! His health breaks down. He enters a hospital and starts to die. He is on the verge of joining the angels when he regain his faith. Immediately he recovers his health and once again goes out to fight the good fight. . . .

Consider for a moment the conceptual differences between George Brush and Don Quixote. Cervantes portrayed his hero as a mild madman—an imaginative, probably sensitive mind addled by too many romances of chivalry. His difficulties arose out of his misinterpretation of physical realities. His eyes were blinded by his fancies: wind-mills became giants, inn-keepers knights, and friars magicians because they corresponded with the paraphernalia of the fantastic dream in which he lived. Thus Don Quixote was a fool not because he believed something that others did not believe, but because he believed something that manifestly did not exist. The story of his career is a satire on illusion and artifice, an attack on "escapists" and romancers. It is not Cervantes' fault that the kind of people he jeered at have since embraced his masterpiece, twisted its meaning and handed down the theory that it describes the age-old struggle between idealism and realism, with realism indicated as vulgarity and the author's sympathies aligned with "Quixotic idealism."

George Brush, on the other hand, is presented as playing the part of a fool because he believes whole-heartedly in things that his fellows do not believe. Now that does not make a man a fool and Mr. Wilder knows it. What makes him a fool is the absurdity, the obvious idiocy of his beliefs. But Mr. Wilder does not think that Brush's beliefs are fundamentally idiotic or absurd. He thinks that Brush is foolish merely, if at all, because of his vociferousness, his lack of culture, his rawness and unreasonableness. At bottom Mr. Wilder respects and loves him. He feels that for all his unconscious clowning he is a fine soul who comes closer to the "eternal verities" than all the rational and prudent people he encounters.

I think it is clear that the entire basis of Mr. Wilder's comedy is confused. As the

story is told, the joke is not on Brush, but neither, to the reader, is it on the rational and prudent ones. The fact is that the reader despises both the philistines and the jackass Baptist, and consequently if the book is intended as pure comedy it is a grotesque failure. Comedy does not exist where there is not, for the reader, at least a strain of sympathy. If it is intended as satire it misses fire similarly—for it neither offers nor implies an acceptable standard of thought by which the conduct of its characters can be judged. It is, of course, not intended as realistic portraiture. To whom, then, is the book likely to have meaning and value? To those who can regard seriously the religious and moral precepts of its hero. I am not referring to such people when I speak of "the reader." Such people don't read THE NEW MASSES.

I have compared this book with *Don Quixote* so far only in terms of actual story. That is too generous. The most important things remain. Think of Cervantes' joy in the spectacle of human life, of his marvelous understanding of men, of his contempt for sham, and, above all, of his robust sense of comedy—his adeptness at squeezing out of life all the laughs that are in it. Then think of Mr. Wilder's shrinking from the pain and lunacy of the real world, of his shallow appreciation of the forces that move human beings, of his inability to differentiate between truth and the false simplicity that passes for it and of his insistence that in every laugh there's a tear and that there may be a lot of deep, deep significance in the antics of a clown.

The other comparisons shouldn't keep you up nights. Mr. Wilder does not have the faith and passion of Bunyan, the rich vitality of Lewis, the folk cynicism of Twain, or the corrosive intelligence of Voltaire. What he has is a knack for smooth prose and the philosophical profundity of an educated Brisbane. But enough. Michael Gold polished him off nicely in *The New Republic* a couple of years ago. I have tried to do nothing more than show that it's still the same Wilder. He's still hollow.

BERNARD SMITH.

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Brief Review

LETTERS TO A YOUNG POET, by Rainer Maria Rilke. Translated by M. D. Herder Norton. Norton. \$2.

The *Letters*, ten in all, written between 1903 and 1908, were the young poet's response to a still younger poet, Franz Kappus, then in a military school, who wrote for advice about his poetry with special reference to the predicament of a poet forced into a military career. Kappus could hardly have guessed how passionately the then twenty-eight-year-old Rilke would come to his aid, seeking for his sake to crystallize a philosophy of life and art; for Kappus' tragedy had been his own.

What we have in Rilke are some fine and sensitive negations. For lack of understanding, he never won through to the affirmations for which he groped and without which he was never fully motivated, never fully energized. Confronted with the ugly complexity of modern industrial life, with its disease of dire poverty, Rilke's reaction was one of sheer fright. This fright ultimately resolved itself into an almost hypnotized fascination with scenes of horror and a muddled religiosity.

It is difficult not to write a doctrinaire review of Rilke, for here was one who should have become a major poet who remained a minor poet and traveled indeed in a narrowing circle through failure to understand his world in its social and economic categories, a failure which the under-educated product of the military school himself bitterly, although confusedly, recognized in the *Letters*.

MARIA CHAPDELAINÉ, by Louis Hémon. Translated by W. H. Blake. *The Modern Library*. 95c.

In a recent issue of *THE NEW MASSES*, Michael Gold snatched from the grip of a young bourgeois poet, the pioneer hero, Daniel Boone. "Daniel Boone belongs to us!" he challenged. And so does the authentic pioneer literature of this continent. Novels like *Maria Chapdelainé*, like Willa Cather's *O Pioneers* and *My Antonia*, are the flowers of that brief period, still yielding a fragrance of unwarranted optimism, when the disinherited of the old world found in the new land and their rehabilitation as human beings.

Look back a little and one finds an old-world story like Chekhov's *The Peasants*, in which the life of the soil had been stripped of all its poetry, all its adventure, by feudal oppression. Look forward only a little in Caldwell's *Tobacco Road*, one sees our own soil-makers and soil-tillers similarly despoiled

in the era of bourgeois decadence. In Grace Lumpkin's *To Make My Bread*, we see them driven into the factories, exploited, eventually ready to fight for their lost inheritance. The stories of the short transition between oppression and oppression also belong to us. In *Maria Chapdelainé*, we have one of them made available in the attractively bound (and priced) reprints of the Modern Library.

AUTOPSY OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE, by Gaston Nerval. *Macmillan*. \$3.50.

This is a good book as far as it goes. By means of a detailed and carefully documented account of the birth, growth and prosperity of the Doctrine, of the numerous occasions when it was invoked, Mr. Nerval (né Raúl Díez de Medina, formerly of the Bolivian Legation in Washington) has little difficulty in proving that President Monroe's message to the Congress of the United States on December 2, 1823, was prompted by (1) fear of European aggression against the United States; (2) American ambitions of territorial expansion; that, moreover, in a short time its sole function was to serve as a slogan for American imperialism. In addition to laboring his points too heavily and placing too great emphasis upon distinguishing the "original" from the "modern" Doctrine, the author's chief fault is his failure to draw proper conclusions from his own study. To be merely skeptical about Roosevelt's "good neighbor" buncombe is not enough; to suggest that the Monroe Doctrine be buried and a "Pan Doctrine of Joint Responsibility" take its place is to reveal ignorance of the true nature of imperialism.

VINCENT VAN GOGH, by Paul Rosenfeld. "Enjoy Your Museum" Series, *Esto Publishing Co.* 10c.

It is difficult to measure the value of this tiny pamphlet for those unfamiliar with Van Gogh's life and work. Written with comparative simplicity and a sincere devotion to the task, it should at least arouse in the sensitive reader the desire to learn more about its subject and inspire an almost pious respect for the problem he presents.

To those who know Van Gogh, however, it will probably seem curiously inadequate. It attempts to relate Van Gogh's background, his personality, his technique and his message by somewhat broad statements that do not quite convey any one of these elements, nor coordinate the whole into a clearly revealing image. This despite many touches that undeniably show an instinct for understanding. The author senses "bits" of the living truth, but the ability to organize them and estimate them in a conscious summation seems to be lacking. Thus the pamphlet is characteristic of the shortcomings of impressionist criticism generally. Real talent for mirroring the sensory nature, and even an awareness of the pro-founder (that is the human and social) aspects of art are present, but not the capacity to think things through, to arrive at a conclusion, to judge.

And so Paul Rosenfeld, while realizing the various factors that go to make Van Gogh's work, does not fully appreciate or sufficiently emphasize the fundamental isolation in which Van Gogh lived—a man with a desire for a unified (collectivized) world in a blindly individualistic atmosphere—an isolation that drove him mad, and which gives to his paintings a certain burning excessiveness that is at once their genius and their esthetic flaw.

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Music

THE cultural front in the class struggle is showing extraordinary signs of life. In fact, it becomes more and more difficult to keep in touch with all of the various ramifications of the workers' musical organizations—with their instrumental and choral ensembles, as well as concerts (mostly informal in character) of classical and modern compositions.

Having heard of the reorganization and enlargement of the activities of the Pierre Degeyter Club of New York, I wandered into the club's quarters at 128 East Sixteenth Street, last Sunday evening. I was enormously curious to learn what they were accomplishing and, if possible, to enjoy an evening of music in intimate comradesly surroundings. And it must be recorded that both my instinct for inquiry and my desire for real musical experience were gratified.

The Pierre Degeyter Club meets on the lower floor of a large old-fashioned house. The rooms have been thrown into one commodious hall in which some fifty people or more come together to hear and discuss music performed by the constantly increasing group of class-conscious musicians. The membership (and, of course, audience) is composed of these musicians, composers, performers, etc., as well as music lovers who are adding their forces to the workers' front. The ideological unity of this group created a new type of interest in music. Here music was a social force, cementing and vitalizing the common interests which made such a gathering possible.

A critical attitude would neither add to nor detract from the significance of the occasion. Nor was this an extraordinary or isolated affair. Such meetings devoted to hearing and discussing music—with the social meaning of the music performed always in mind—are held here every Sunday evening.

A Bach "Prelude" opened the program followed by four Shostakowich "Preludes" and four original compositions by the performer. The latter's self-effacing manner is worth some comment. Here, obviously, the music was the thing! It was not merely a vehicle for displaying the prowess of the performer—although he was thoroughly competent in this respect. Here was a real worker-musician, a craftsman—who probably

had experienced bitter disillusionment in his contacts with his economic betters who were playing the role of "patron" of the arts—turning to members of his own class, on a common meeting ground, and finding new life and hope.

The balance of the program was a performance of an early Beethoven Piano Quartet. Close critical scrutiny would probably have found some rough spots in the playing, yet I found thorough enjoyment in the youthful, zestful, as well as thoroughly competent performance of a youthful, zestful work by one of the greatest masters of music.

The cultural front expands, due to the demand of all the class-conscious workers for the culture which has so long been denied them. And our workers' music organizations are meeting this demand.

ASHLEY PETTIS.

The Auvelles' Songs

THE John Reed Club of Cleveland has taken the initiative of entering the field of proletarian music publishing. Ray and Lida Auville, two Southern mountaineers, have written the words and music for a series of workers' songs on themes drawn from the day-to-day life and struggles of the American worker. Eight of these compositions, with melody and text, have been gotten out by the Cleveland club in an attractive and inexpensive little folder.

That militant, catchy songs are as necessary to the workers' movement as bread and butter is an undoubted fact. Every revolution, every particular moment and phase of the workers' struggle, has its own particular variety of music, from the dimly-conscious peasant songs of complaint and protest of old Russia to the militant, ringing tunes of class-conscious, fighting workers on the barricades of Vienna or of Oviedo. In America, we too have a tradition of native revolutionary music dating back several decades which is all too little known, even in the revolutionary movement itself. Joe Hill, Aunt Molly Jackson, Ella May Wiggins are but a few of the American folk poets who have contributed to the store

of native American revolutionary songs. Their chief effort, however, was on the literary side, as they borrowed most of their tunes from already existing songs, adapting fresh proletarian texts to them.

Quite different from their songs are the efforts of such men as Schaefer, Adomian, Sands, Maynard and Howe—mostly professional musicians—in creating an American proletarian musical literature in which music as well as text grow out of the revolutionary movement itself and consequently are an effective part of it.

The songs of the Auvelles, in this writer's opinion, fall mid way between the efforts of folk-poets and the more sophisticated proletarian musicians. While the texts of their songs have a certain folk flavor about them and are written from the point of view of the revolutionary worker, they are marred by a great deal of artificiality and self-consciousness. These are no longer the songs of the Kentucky Hills, nor have they yet attained the musical and political level of such compositions as Adomian's "Army of Hunger" or Sands, "Barricades." This reviewer finds it difficult to see how such lines as,

I'm a civilized man, I'm a Red,
I have advanced thought in my head.
I'd rather by far enlightened be
Than own all the land, the sky, the sea.

can be regarded as anything else than doggerel—from any point of view.

The music which has been set to these words is the sort of thing one might have heard in some small movie-house about fifteen years ago, set to sentimental love-nest words. It has practically nothing in common with American folk-music, and, except for being twenty years too old, is typical Tin Pan Alley stuff. One has only to compare the "Red Front" song of the Auvelles with the "Rot Front" of the German proletarian composer Eisler, or with songs of the Hungarian Szabo or the late Soviet Composer Davidenko, to realize the strides that the Auvelles in particular, and proletarian music in general, have yet to make in this country.

The fact that such efforts are being made, not only in New York but in many other cities—and in the villages of America as well—is an encouraging sign, and is symptomatic of the growing desire of America's workers—so long fed on musical scraps and rubbish—to have a music and a musical outlook of their own.

L. E. SWIFT.

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The Theatre

Intermission

WHAT with the snow, the approaching Beaux Arts Ball, the arrival of Elizabeth Bergner and the return of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Lunt and their boy and girl friend, Noel Coward, the town has been enlivened to a great degree lately. There have been a few individuals who have insisted on freezing to death from sleeping in areaways, but they have not been allowed to dampen the spirit of the populace.

The Bergner opening was so resplendent with collapsible top hats, shining fronts and bare backs that The Bergner had all she could do to carry the play and overcome the competition from the floor of the house. The work was *Escape Me Never*, by Margaret Kennedy, and it can be best described as a typical English play, which is to say a production of such feebleness and hollowness that any other nation would be embarrassed at allowing it to leave its shores. That Miss Bergner is a great actress is well known, but no one in justice could determine it from this solitary attempt. She was hoydenish and charming, but the death of her child and the resultant retreat into tragedy was never anything but make believe and must surely be no fair test of the lady's capacities.

The English critics pronounced Miss Bergner the finest actress to appear in London in a hundred years. Just what standards they were using in their judgment is not clear, but the assertion was made in all seriousness by Mrs. Belloc-Lownes in an article in the New York Herald Tribune. In any event, the lady was ill advised to try America with her English success. She is known for her extraordinary playing of Shakespeare, Strind-

berg, and the finer German playwrights, and she could obviously have done more for herself by a critical success in Shakespeare than by a whopping hit in such nonsense as *Escape Me Never*. It finally came to me as I left the theatre, what the play reminded me of. It was *Peg o' My Heart*.

But I am not primarily interested in criticism of the drama. The audience was far more exciting. In addition to the usual sedate Theatre Guild first nighters, there was the Broadway death-watch and practically everybody in addition who could crowd into the Shubert. Between acts the parading was of high quality. The gentlemen donned their toppers and walked over everybody in sight, while the ladies had no niggardliness in showing the standees that the bodies of the elite are remarkably well preserved. The opening of Noel Coward's *Point Valaine* was an even doggie affair, with the Theatre Guilders eliminated and replaced by various ladies and gentlemen and gentlemen and gentlemen who invariably turn out to honor their hero. The play achieved a new altitude mark for Mr. Coward's particular brand of sexual nastiness and made even more evident the tragic decline of the Lunts. That the finest acting pair in the English speaking theatre can find nothing better than the plays of Noel Coward is a testimonial not to the paucity of good plays, but to the deficiency of spirit of the Lunts. They know the Moscow theatre and have been ardent in their praise of it, but in their own work they seem strangely unaware of the human currents which not only make good theatre, but the reputation of a good actor. They forget that great actors are only remembered for great roles. For the life of me I cannot recall parts they had more than three seasons back. Even at the Guild they were so worried about the possibility of failure that they insisted on actor-proof roles and in their latter years did nothing which could endanger their succession of personal triumphs. The result is that such a ham as Walter Hampden will be longer remembered for his *Cyrano* than the Lunts will for anything they have given us. The point is made when one imagines Alfred Lunt in *Chapayev* or *Sailors of Catarro* rather than *Design for Living* or *Point Valaine*.

What I started to remark upon in this piece was the naïveté of the spenders about their spending. For years we have been hearing the refrain, "You can't tell me things are as bad as people make out. Last night you could not push your way into the Stork Club." By this reasoning such vulgar displays of splendor are regarded not as immoral examples of callousness in the face of widespread misery, but as indications that prosperity has returned. It is also held to be a refutation of all forebodings of disaster. If people can laugh

and play and spend, there is surely nothing so bad with the world and no attention need be paid to the croakers. This feeling that because things are warm and comfortable where they sit, nothing can be wrong anywhere, has been characteristic of civilizations on the edge of ruin. I came across this in a chapter by Robert Briffault the other night:

At a time when the first European civilization was fast heading for dissolution, the Romans were wont to look with complacent pride on a material culture and luxury undreamed of until then. They pointed to the fleets that plied on a regular schedule from the ends of the known world to feed the Eternal City and bring to it exotic luxury and wealth, to the network of highways and the organized services which seemed to them to have brought the remotest corners of the empire to their door. They contrasted that wealth, those achievements, that power, that luxury with the rude conditions under which their fathers had lived, and they would have smiled at the fantastic suggestion that such power, such wealth, such triumphs of civilization could be other than imperishable. Yet even while they gloried in its material triumphs the structure was tottering to ruin. In its external and material aspect it was far richer on the eve of its downfall than at the height of its vitality. No marked material decay heralded the end, no appreciable lowering in the standards of luxury. Those were not the things that counted, or if they counted, it was in a manner very different from that which they seemed to betoken as the signs of prosperity and success.

While millions were going along the slow path of starvation of modern capitalistic civilization and other hundreds were succumbing to the more direct blasts of the wintry weather, plans were going on for the Beaux Arts Ball at the Waldorf-Astoria, in which society was appearing in costumes of the English Regency period for a pageant which for splendor and lavishness was to surpass any similar event of our time. Two weeks before there had been the celebrated party given by Julian Levy, the art gallery owner, in honor of Salvatore Dali, the surrealist painter, at which everyone appeared in costumes resembling a Dali painting. The host had a dead man's ear on his black tights. Mrs. Dali wore what resembled a dead baby with eyes gouged out—and on top of that a green lobster.

There is one fine thing about history. When a civilization shows by every twist of its tortured being that it yearns to commit suicide, there is always a fresh vital force waiting to help it along toward its heart's desire.

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THERE is something about a Warner Brothers' film that makes you think you've seen it before—not that the same thing isn't generally true of nearly every other commercial American film. The brothers not only produce their films but they direct them for their directors.

Their *Bordertown* is no exception. The idea of using the "savage" as a plaything for an upperclass playgirl has been offered before. It appeared last in *Massacre*, and portrayed by the same actress, Margaret Lindsay. The moral, or rather the warning to the proletariat (especially to the non-Nordics) not to mix with respectable California Nordics was also used in that film. But in *Bordertown* Paul Muni as a Mexican worker is put up as an example of the uncultured, savage foreigner, who has no right to practise law in the land of William Randolph Hearst.

Playing opposite Mr. Muni is Bette Davis who came into prominence as a psychopathic character in RKO's *Of Human Bondage* and subsequently played the maniac (with the southern accent) in *The Cabin in the Cotton* (Warners). In *Bordertown* she has the same part, but the effectiveness is beginning to wear down into a cliché.

Warner films have made a specialty of depicting the "passing of time." In some films they use the hour-glass. In others, the pages of a calendar falling away. In *Wild Boys on the Road* director Mayo showed the feet of the boys marching to a dramatic tune, super-imposed upon a map of the United States. And now, in *Bordertown* director Mayo does the nearly impossible: time passes via an hour-glass, super-imposed upon falling calendar pages, upon feet walking to dramatic music.

PETER ELLIS.

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Between Ourselves

THE benefit performance of *Waiting for Lefty*, given by the Group Theater for THE NEW MASSES, which was originally announced for the Belasco Theater, will be held instead at the Ambassador Theatre, 215 West 49th Street, Saturday evening, Feb. 9, at 8:30 p.m. Besides the play, a program of dramatic sketches will be presented.

The first open discussion meeting on the forthcoming American Writers Congress will be held Sunday evening, Feb. 3, at the John Reed Club, 430 Sixth Avenue, New York. Granville Hicks will speak on "Literature and Dialectical Materialism"; Joshua Kunitz will be chairman; discussion will follow.

Photographs with John L. Spivak's article are by Wide World, except that of Grayson M-P Murphy, which is by International.

In last week's issue the names of the artists were transposed on two pictures, presented with Louis Lozowick's article, "Aspects of Soviet Art." The painting, "Collective Farm Woman and Son," is the work of Eugene Alexandrovitch Katzman; "Earthquake in the Crimea" is by Kuzma Sergeevich Petrov-Vodkin.

New Masses Lectures

John L. Spivak will lecture on "Wall Street's Fascist Conspiracy" in the following cities:

Cincinnati: Sun., Feb. 3, 8:15 p.m. Workers School, 139 Opera Pl. Auspices: Pen and Hammer.

Indianapolis: Mon., Feb. 4, 8:15 p.m. Lincoln Hotel. Auspices: John Reed Club.

Chicago: Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. Morrison Hotel, Madison and Clark. Auspices: American League Against War and Fascism and the Chicago Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism.

Cleveland: Sat., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. Engineers Auditorium, Ontario and St. Clair. Auspices: John Reed Club.

On Spivak's return to New York he will lecture on the same subject Sunday evening, Feb. 10 at 8:30, auspices of The Forum Group of the Montefiore Hebrew Congregation, Hewitt and Macy Places, the Bronx; Wednesday evening, Feb. 13, auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism, at the Jamaica Jewish Center, 150-91 87 Road, Jamaica, L. I.; and Friday evening, Feb. 15, auspices United Front Supporters and I.W.O. Br. 8, at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, 28th Street and Broadway, New York City.

Ben Goldstein on "Anti-Semitism—Its Cause and Cure," Thursday evening, Feb. 7, at the Jack London Club, 1153 Elizabeth Avenue, Elizabeth, N. J.

Joshua Kunitz on "Cultural Advancement in the Soviet Union," Friday evening, Feb. 8 at the Premier Palace, Sutter Avenue and Hindsdale Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; auspices the Brownsville Branch of the F.S.U.

Leon Dennen on "Where the Ghetto Ends," Friday evening, Feb. 8, at the Brownsville Youth Center, 105 Thatford Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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