

Section One

JUL 27 1937

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The Fight

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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM
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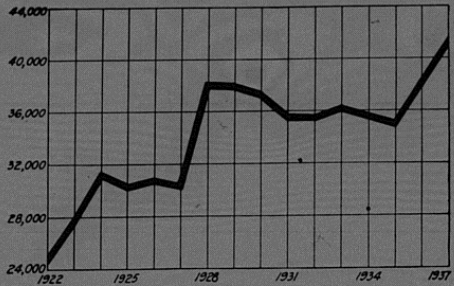
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With the Readers

THIS number is in commemoration of one year of the Spanish war. The day we go to press is exactly twelve months to the day since the reactionaries fired the first shot against the Spanish Republic. A memorable year! A year during which the people of Spain, determined and united, established and re-established the efficacy of Democracy. A year in which the Fascists of Italy and Germany received their first serious military defeats.

THIS has been a year of forging and welding the peoples of the world into one solid force against the weak barbarian rulers of Italy and Germany and their prototypes in other countries—the enemies of labor and the people in general. In the forging of this mass of fighting sentiment undoubtedly many mistakes have been made, but the proof of the pudding is in the simple indisputable fact that all the planes and guns and armies and battalions and poison propaganda of Mister Mussolini and Herr Hitler have not been able to defeat the Spanish people.

THE welding and forging of this will of the people for a free and decent life goes beyond, of course, the pure and simple military front. Mussolini has been in power since 1921 but this is the first time—and it is the beginning of the end—that we have witnessed such general and popular sentiment against Fascism. Proof? After one year of the Spanish war, where can you find one trade union, liberal-minded person, first-rate writer or artist or thinker who is on the side of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco? This sentiment is now pretty nearly an accomplished fact. What remains to be done is to educate and organize this sentiment.

THE job ahead of us is threefold. First, it is not sufficient to have "pretty nearly" everyone in sympathy with the democratic forces. That "pretty nearly" still leaves out millions of people who are influenced by the reactionary groups or who are so-called neutral because they are not conscious of the social forces at play. Second, there are the millions who are in sympathy—in varied degrees—with the democratic forces but who are not yet in the picture as an organized body. We must reach them with the written and spoken word—through literature, meetings and demonstrations. Third, we must train ourselves to be constantly on the alert for the misleaders of the people, the slick and foolish phrase-mongers. We must keep the front of the people intact. Whoever is against that front is an enemy of the people and consciously or unconsciously plays into the hands of the Fascists.

WE are writing this column on a hot Sunday afternoon (one of the hottest of the year, regular fascist weather) and as we write, we can hear and see through a window on the tenth floor, the symphony of the people. Children's voices, music, cries, kisses, fist fights, young and old; love and hate, beauty and ugliness. This is America. This is Democracy. Out of this will come, in the very near future, a land where hunger and ugliness will be no more, if we the people stand firm and fight for our rights.

THEREFORE this number is issued at the end of the first year of the Spanish war, so that we in America should be able to understand why the Spanish people are dying that freedom may live—and why their struggle is our struggle.



A young Loyalist volunteer returning from the front

IN THIS ISSUE

August, 1937

VOLUME 4 NUMBER 10

The U. S. Plays Ostrich. By Mauritz A. Hallgren. ILLUSTRATED BY LOUIS MYERS	5
Britannia Waives the Rules. By Harold J. Laski	8
American Aid to Spain. By Bernice E. Noss	10
The People's Army. ILLUSTRATED BY WILL BARNET	13
Out of Darkness. ILLUSTRATED BY WILL BARNET	15
At a Hospital. By Herbert Kline. ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM WESTLEY	16
Forging Labor Unity. By E. P. Greene	21
52 Weeks of War. ILLUSTRATED BY PUNO	22
The Culture of Spain. By Paul Patrick Rogers	25

DEPARTMENTS

Radio	12	As to Women	24
Movies	14	Building the League	27
Books	18	Youth Notes	28
Wall Street	20	Editorial	31

JOSEPH PASS, Editor
 CHARLES PRESTON, Assistant Editor

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The Contributors

SINCE the inception of this magazine this corner has been given over to a sort of who's who among the writers and artists in these pages. We have been told by editors who are not enough to be our grandfathers that these "who's whoses" are eaten up by the readers and that they must never be dropped from their allotted corners. So be it. But these old timers have never told us how to squeeze forty or fifty odd notes about forty or fifty odd contributors into one column of presentable type. "That's your tualer, my boy," we hear the old fellows say.

NO, as a matter of fact we have been wanting to break this *must* rule for a heck of a long time. We like every one in a while, to stroll off the beaten path. And we have a screaming idea that the readers like it too.

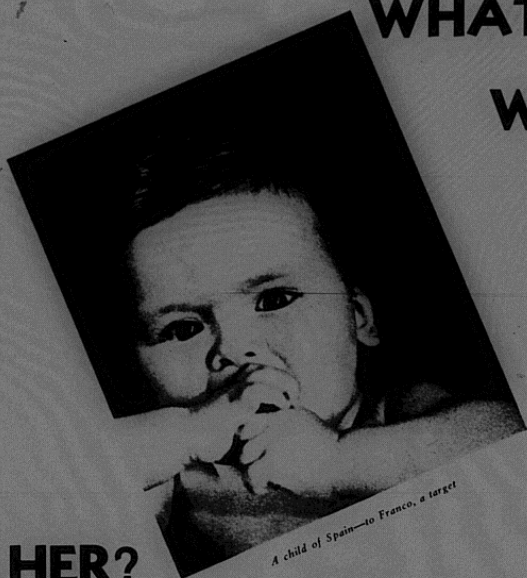
WHY should we go into detail about the lives and fortunes of the contributors to this number? Let their work speak for itself. Why should we tell you that Harold Laski is one of the greatest living British economists and that he has and that he teaches in this or that college or university? Why should we tell you that Mauritz A. Hallgren is on the editorial staff of the *Baltimore Sun* and was formerly with *The Nation*, etc., etc.? Why should we tell you that George Bidle, who made the fine and beautiful lithograph for our special section, is a great artist and has long been so recognized in the American art field and that we are ever so proud to have him in *THE FIGHT*? We could go on forever.

INSTEAD, we would like to tell you, our readers, that the writers and artists who have made this special Spanish number are *here* because they believe and feel and think with the great and heroic Spanish people who are giving their lives so that they and we may be free to live a little worth living. These articles and drawings are not made to order. No dollars and cents are involved. The writers and artists are here for the same reason that John Brown gave his life or for the same reason that Walt Whitman wrote his *Leaves of Grass* or for the same reason that a steel worker in Chicago goes down on the picket line.

THE writers and artists of America who are worth their salt as good craftsmen in their respective fields are with the people in their struggle for a world where peace and Democracy and good living will be an established fact. The artists and writers of America are not only *with* the people, they are *part* of the people. And that is why they are here in this magazine, reader.

NEVERTHELESS, we, the editors of these pages, wish to extend our personal appreciation to the writers and artists who made these pages. Their pens, typewriters, pencils and brushes, for weeks and months before this number reaches you, reader, have been at work (and sometimes at a sacrifice) so that America may know and understand the people of Spain and their struggle.

"THE steel mill sky is alive. The fire breaks white and glowing hot on a gun-metal gleaming. Man is a long time coming. Man will yet win."



A child of Spain—to Franco, a target

WHAT CAN WE DO

TO SAVE HER?

EACH air raid in Spain has left hundreds of homeless children. Each air raid has left bodies of children lying on the streets of Spanish towns.

The homeless children must be cared for.

Towns which may be the next to be raided from the air must get their children away to safety.

A social worker writes: "The children have shown great courage but their nerves are in bad shape. The clanging of a church bell is enough to send them into wildest panic. They must be taken to safety and at once."

The American League answers by opening, in this issue of **THE FIGHT**, its drive for Spanish Children's Homes.

The evacuation of Santander section makes it imperative that the first series — five homes — be established immediately. Make a Spanish child safe today!

\$550 will establish a home for 20 Spanish children.

\$180 will maintain these 20 children for one month.

\$250 will equip bedrooms for 20 Spanish children.

\$100 will equip a kitchen and office for 20 children.

\$50 will equip a classroom for 20 children.

\$12 will equip an infirmary for 20 children.

\$9 will maintain one Spanish child for one month.

\$4 will maintain one Spanish child for two weeks.

\$2 will maintain one Spanish child for one week.

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM, 268 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.



The
Fight
AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM
August, 1937



The U. S. Plays Ostrich

Is our State Department's policy on Spain simply short-sighted, or is it stupidity, or are there influences at work? Which? Would our people tolerate this policy if they could be brought to understand its true character?

By Mauritz A. Hallgren

ILLUSTRATED BY LOUIS MYERS

EARLY in January of this year a dealer in used machinery applied to the U. S. State Department for a license to ship rebuilt airplanes and airplane parts to the Spanish government. Within a few hours after the receipt of this application Congress rushed through to enact the Pittman resolution forbidding the sale or shipment of military supplies to either side in a civil war, meaning in this case the Spanish war.

Proclamation, Neutrality and the Rebel Lobby

Appropriate proclamations laying down embargoes on arms shipments to the Spanish government as well as to the Fascist rebels were promptly published by the President. Laws prohibiting American citizens from serving with the military forces of either side were invoked and implemented. Measures were taken to prevent funds from being publicly raised in this country for use in the civil war. In April the Pittman resolution was written into the neutrality law and still further proclamations were issued to keep the United States and its citizens out of the Spanish war.

Time alone, perhaps, will tell just what forces led up to and brought about this hurried change in American policy. As yet there is too much confusion attending the event, there are too many hidden factors and obscure maneuvers to enable us to trace clearly and certainly the chain of develop-

ments that produced this result. We do know that various propaganda groups had for some time been busying themselves in Congressional lobbies with the neutrality question and that these lobbies included "Italian-American committees," religious societies, pro-Fascist business organizations.

We know, too, that since the American government has no important political or strategic interests in Spain or in the Mediterranean, and since American citizens have no great or compelling economic interests in that area, the United States, unlike Great Britain, could not have been influenced by factors of this nature. On the other hand, it is no secret that the State Department has long been inclined to heed Great Britain's views in European affairs, nor that the British created and dominated from the start the non-intervention committee sitting in London. It may be significant, therefore, that the Pittman resolution was adopted soon after this committee had decided that arms and ammunition should be withheld from both the Spanish government and the Fascist rebels.

"Keeping Out of War"

Probably, however, the decisive factor was the fear, entertained more in Congress than in the State Department, of American entanglement in a general European war. It was believed that the Spanish conflict would spread if one or more outside





powers intervened, and in spreading might involve the United States. It seemed to follow that it would be hazardous for the United States to take sides, or to appear to be taking sides, in the civil war, since by such partiality the country might find itself unavoidably taking sides in the larger war that might grow out of the Spanish controversy. The policy framed in the light of this situation was called one of "neutrality" and its main purpose, so far as it concerned Congress at any rate, was to "keep us out of war."

The legality and objective validity of this "neutrality" may well be questioned. Borchard, for example, has written that the Pittman resolution "was thought to be neutrality legislation." In fact, it was the precise opposite. International law required the United States to treat the elected and recognized government of Spain as the lawful government of Spain and, until the belligerency of the rebels is recognized, until the only government entitled to receive the assistance of the United States in suppressing armed insurrection." Instead, by the Pittman resolution and other measures the United States placed the "unrecognized rebels and the constituent government on the same footing."

Not Neutrality, Not Law

The significance of this is quite clear. No one—except the Fascists themselves, of course—has denied that the government which now has its seat in Valencia is the true and lawful government of that country. Indeed, in all matters except those pertaining to "neutrality" the United States continues to deal with Valencia on that basis. The right of this lawful government to suppress rebellion is expressly recognized by the laws of Spain. It is fully recognized by the laws of nations. Now, neutrality, as understood by international law, requires that outside powers, to be genuinely neutral, shall refrain from taking any action that disturbs or disregards this relationship between government and rebels. In their relations with the warring parties, neutrals must accept the real facts of the situation and shape their own policies and conduct accordingly.

The new American policy does not do that. It not only assumes that the government and rebels are equals in law and in fact, but the American government has proceeded to treat them as equals. This contravenes international law and the laws of Spain. It gives the rebel party a standing that it possesses neither in law nor in fact. It tends to close to the legitimate government certain doors to assistance from without, doors to which it is entitled under the law of nations. Thus, the American policy not only disregards the realities of the Spanish situation, but disturbs the actual relationship between government and rebels, and by this action degrades and injures the former and helps the latter.



To call this "neutrality" is to distort the plain meaning of language.

This attitude becomes doubly difficult to understand when we consider that the United States has for many years taken the position, as a matter of high policy, that it is morally and legally obligated to refrain from intervening in a rebellion in any manner that might be regarded as detrimental or unfriendly to a legitimate government. To quote Borchard again, "during the years of the Cuban insurrection, from 1868 to 1878, and again from 1895 to 1898, the United States strictly observed its obligations to Spain and treated the rebels in such a manner as to avoid giving any offense to the Spanish government."

Our Pro-Government Tradition

In 1912 and 1922 this policy was reinforced by Congressional resolutions whereunder the President was authorized to embargo the shipment of arms to American countries, or to countries in which the United States exercised extraterritorial jurisdiction, in which "conditions of domestic violence exist." The debate in Congress and the subsequent use to which this authority was put shows that it was intended to be employed to prevent military supplies from falling into the hands of rebels bent upon overthrowing lawful governments. This power was so used by the American government to aid the governments of Mexico in 1912, 1919 and 1924; of Cuba in 1924; and of Nicaragua in 1926. (It had previously been used, but without Congressional authority, to help Santo Domingo in 1905. In 1915, on the other hand, President Wilson lifted the then existing embargo upon arms shipments to Mexico to help a rebel party overthrow the Huerta regime.

At the Havana Conference in 1928 the United States fostered a convention specifically forbidding the supply of arms and war materials to rebels whose belligerency had not been recognized. The American government has gone even further than that. It has itself furnished military supplies to legitimate governments threatened with rebellion. It did this in the case of Cuba in 1917, Mexico in 1924 and 1929, and Nicaragua in 1927. Commenting upon this policy in 1933, Secretary of State Stimson declared that it had been "employed with great effect and negligible friction. . . . Our experience has shown that the refusal of the United States to allow munitions to revolutionists has never provoked serious resentment and has substantially stabilized conditions. . . ."

A Reversal of Policy

Yet, literally overnight, this long-standing policy has been radically revised. There may be some who will argue that there has been no real revision, that the United States has simply broadened its policy to embrace both parties in a civil war, and that by thus withholding supplies from both sides its efforts to check civil strife are strengthened. But the purpose of the original policy was not merely to check "conditions of domestic violence." It was also and more particularly to aid legitimate governments with which the United States had friendly relations. That purpose has now gone by the board. Under the present policy the United States engages instead in unfriendly acts against legitimate governments with whom it is supposed to be on amicable terms, for its elevation of the Fascist rebels to a status of equality with the Spanish government and its denial of lawful assistance to the latter must be set down as unfriendly acts.

Putting moral, ethical and legal questions aside, however, and taking into account only the hard

realities of the situation, what do we find to be the effect of the American policy? The democratic republic of Spain in practice could turn only to the other democratic republics for such help as it needs. But most of these other countries, including the United States, have followed the British lead in withholding this assistance in the name of peace. The Fascist powers are not so unmindful of realities. They gave lip-service to the London committee while at the same time pouring munitions and troops into Spain to help the Fascist rebels. Thus, while the United States, pretending to a lofty impartiality, holds aloof from the Spanish struggle to the hurt of Spanish Democracy, the interventionist powers, taking advantage of this "impartiality," do what they can to aid the rebellion. This is not to suggest that the American government either ought or ought not to intervene itself in Spain to check the interventionist powers or to help the Valencia government, but it is intended to show that the net effect of American "neutrality" is to promote Fascism in Spain.

The Wrong Time to Be Neutral

This Fascist intervention puts the American policy to a really vital test. Let it be presumed that the authors and proponents of that policy are wholly sincere in contending and believing that its purpose is to keep the United States out of a European war. Let it be supposed that the policy has been impartially applied in the Spanish situation with this one object in mind. Granting this, it still must be asked how a civil war in Spain could involve the United States in a general European war. Certainly that would not follow, so long as the issue was confined to the two Spanish factions. It is not even possible to imagine American emotions being so aroused or American economic interests so heavily engaged by a purely Spanish quarrel that the United States would be compelled to take active part in the fighting. To the extent, then, that this quarrel is an internal affair, there is no danger whatever of American entanglement. Yet the American neutrality policy has been applied just as though this were nothing but a domestic quarrel, for it has been applied only against the two Spanish parties.

Where the War Danger Lies

The danger for the United States becomes real and grows only when the issue moves beyond the domestic concerns of Spain itself, when it actively involves other powers who seek to meet the issues with belligerent measures. Intervention by armed forces has already taken place. Indeed, it is no longer correct to call it intervention. Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany have openly committed one act of war after another against the Spanish government and the Spanish people. But the American government blinds itself to this situation and in the process circumvents its own neutrality policy. It applies this policy in a situation that holds not the slightest danger for the United States; but when danger arises, when intervention of a most ominous nature actually takes place, when, in brief, the Spanish war shows signs of turning into a general war into which the United States might be drawn, the American government suddenly decides that there is no danger to itself—and, therefore, no necessity for invoking the neutrality law against the interventionist powers now at war with Spain.

In Washington it is carefully explained in defense of this attitude that "intervention" or a "reprisal" does not necessarily constitute an "act of war" and that, in any case, an "act of war" is not the same as a "state of war"; hence the United States has no

lawful excuse or reason for bringing the neutrality law into play. Still it may be noted that the legal experts themselves disagree on these questions. For example, Hall, the great British authority, holds that "prima facie intervention is a hostile act." Other students have somewhat cynically suggested that such acts can be regarded as "war" only if the countries whose independence is intruded upon offer resistance. But the important thing is that there has been not just one "act of war" committed in Spain by the Fascist powers, but a continuous series of them.

From the very start, Germany and Italy have been supplying the Fascist rebels with munitions and men. It is no longer denied that the rebels have been almost entirely equipped by these two countries, or that Germany and Italy between them have now on Spanish soil regular troops to the number of at least 100,000 and perhaps as many as 150,000. Nor do the Nazis or Fascists themselves conceal the fact that they have themselves engaged in a series of hostile acts, beginning with the *Deutschland's* intervention at Ceuta in the early days of the war and running through the massacre by Italian troops of thousands of Loyalist refugees at Malaga, the Italian offensive at Guadalajara, the German bombardment of the defenseless population of Guernica and other Basque towns, and the shelling by German warships of the city of Almeria. Really, one must ask, how many of these open and calculated "acts of war" will it take to convince the democratic world that the Fascist powers are waging war upon Spain?

Encouraging the Fascists

Washington still looks upon these indisputable facts as "propaganda" and refuses to be moved by them. It still thinks a minor civil war offers a grave threat to American peace, and that the far more ominous German-Italian offensive in Spain, which is literally an international war, holds no such threat. It is still blind, deliberately blind perhaps, to the fact that its attitude not only lends indirect aid to the Fascist dictators, but incites them to further attacks of the same nature. For by its very silence the United States appears to Berlin and Rome to be saying that their aggression in Spain does not meet with American disapproval. Interpreted in the light of the neutrality law, indeed, its silence can only mean that the American government regards this Fascist aggression as wholly lawful and in no wise detrimental to peace.

Possibly Washington is simply short-sighted, or possibly its attitude is the product of stupidity, or it may be that there are influences at work in the government that have succeeded in shaping American policy in such a way as to serve the Fascist cause. But it is certain that the American people, if they could be brought to understand the true character and effect of that policy, would not tolerate it for a moment.





The Almeria Hospital as it appeared after German warships had ended their long-distance bombardment of the helpless seaport

Britannia Waives the Rules

A noted British political economist analyzes the National Government's key role in "non-intervention" and gives his views on the part played therein by old-guard Labour leaders

By Harold J. Laski

EVER SINCE the advent of the National Government to power in 1931, the main characteristic of British foreign policy has been the sabotage of the idea of collective security. No power is more responsible for the victory of Japan in Manchukuo. No power did more to destroy any prospect of success at the Disarmament Conference. The betrayal of Abyssinia followed naturally from the premises of the earlier period. It is wholly logical that the betrayal of Abyssinia should be succeeded by what is virtually the deliberate betrayal of the Spanish government.

Aid to the Rebels

Certain things stand out clearly in the record:

1. The denial of the legal right of

the Spanish government to purchase arms abroad was nothing so much as direct assistance to the Rebels.

2. The pressure brought to bear upon France to accept the non-intervention agreement had a similar result.

3. The refusal to bring pressure to bear upon Portugal as, in effect, a center of Rebel organization, had the same consequence.

4. The long connivance at breaches in the non-intervention agreement by the Fascist powers was, throughout, an announcement to them that they could act without fear of serious action by Great Britain.

5. The refusal of Mr. Eden to allow the use of the League of Nations as an instrument in the dispute has had a similar result.

6. The absence of any effective pro-

test against the German bombardment of Almeria has whetted the appetite of the Fascist powers.

7. There has been no real protest against the Italian occupation of Majorca.

8. There has been a constant effort to reduce the struggle in Spain to the level, in Sir Samuel Hoare's phrase, of a "faction fight" in which the British government has no interest.

9. Legislation has been passed to prohibit volunteers fighting with either side in Spain even though Mr. Eden was aware that this would operate only against the Loyalist government.

10. The German and Italian armies in Spain have been persistently treated as volunteers even though Mr. Eden is fully aware that they have been recruited under the auspices of their

respective pro-Franco governments.

11. Mr. Eden is well aware that the plans for naval and military control of Spanish frontiers have been consistently violated by Italy and Germany; nevertheless he has throughout avoided the obligation to act upon the consequences of this violation.

Why the Tories Help Franco

What are the reasons for this attitude?

1. In part, no doubt, it was the belief that Franco would win and the desire—in view of the Mediterranean problem—to be on the winning side.

2. In part, it was the desire to aid Franco. The British government felt that a Loyalist victory (a) would injure the prestige of the Fascist powers

and (b) add to the prestige of the Soviet Union.

3. In part, again, it was feared that some incident in Spain might lead to international war. The British government preferred the sacrifice of the Spanish Loyalists to this risk.

4. In part, it was the fear of social revolution. Desirous of avoiding a war in the West, disbelieving in the reality of the Rome-Berlin alliance, Mr. Eden was prepared to use avoidance of Western complications as a basis upon which Germany should see her "true enemy" in the East. He has been playing power-politics at its worst. (a) He wants time while Great Britain rearms. (b) He counts upon a Russo-German war as one in which Great Britain can remain neutral. (c) When these enemies are exhausted, a rearmed Britain will be the effective arbiter of Europe. Loyalist Spain is the victim of these manoeuvres. Her victory might begin the downfall of Fascism with its momentous consequences for capitalism. A Franco victory does not necessarily mean war in Western Europe and injures the prestige of the Soviet Union.

Sabotaging Democracy

I do not need to dwell upon the implications of the policy. It is a threat to the democratic powers of Western Europe: a Fascist Spain would leave France in a weak position; and a weak France is a positive invitation to Fascist adventure. It is even had imperialism: a Fascist Spain alters the whole balance of power in the Mediterranean, is a threat to Gibraltar, and endangers British communications with the Far East. The magic force of non-intervention has, further, definitely encouraged the

Fascist powers to believe that they can break international agreements with impunity. Today the theatre of their unchecked aggression is Spain. What will it be tomorrow? Can they not now assume that so long as they do not directly threaten a Western power or actual British territory, they can count on British neutrality?

British policy in Spain is inexplicable except upon two assumptions:

1. The government is favourable to a Franco régime. While it dare not encourage it openly, it has indirectly done all it can to assist it.

2. The government is convinced, as its rearmament programme shows, that the Fascist powers, and especially Germany, mean war. But it believes that by skilful manoeuvring it can persuade Germany to leave the West alone and concentrate upon an attack on the Russian government. At the least this leaves British capitalism unshaken and armed before the results of such a war. At the "best," by the overthrow of Soviet Russia the main threat to European capitalism is removed.

Labour Party Policy

What has the Labour Party done in Great Britain in the face of these manoeuvres? Officially, its policy has gone through three phases:

1. A period up to the Edinburgh Conference of 1936 during which it expressed sympathy for Spain but expressed agreement with the policy of non-intervention.

2. A period from October, 1936, up to June 24, 1937, during which it denounced the farce of non-intervention but was inactive in rousing public opinion against the consequences of the

failure of the non-intervention plan.

3. A period, now appearing to open, in which it associates itself with the right of the Spanish government, in view of the farce of non-intervention, to its legal right to League assistance and the purchase of arms.

During the first eleven months of the conflict, official British Labour has been the main opponent in the Second International of any policy which might mean taking risks on behalf of the Spanish Loyalists. It has run no great campaign on their behalf. It has been adamant, also, in refusing any united action with the Communists on behalf of Spain. It has even preferred to force the acceptance of the resignations of the leading figures in the International (Adler, de Brouckere), who felt that united working-class action against Fascism on this question had become vital. The main battle for the Spanish Loyalists in Great Britain has been fought by the left-wing groups and by non-party organizations horrified by Fascist activities in Spain.

What is the explanation of official Labour's attitude? (1) Fear of the accusation of war-mongering; (2) hatred of any policy which might involve relations with the Communists; (3) to some extent, fear of the Catholic working-class vote in England; and (4) to some extent, fear that war might find Great Britain unprepared. In the result, the British Labour Party has not been an effective opponent of the government's policy. There have been noble exceptions: Mr. Noel-Baker and Mr. Arthur Henderson, Jr., deserve great credit for the fight they have made in the House of Commons. But the government has been amply aware

that the official Labour policy was hostile to any action of which it was feared war might be the outcome; and full advantage has been taken by it of the fact that this has been the case.

Weakness of Official Labour

The real weakness of Labour has been its refusal to see a major issue in the Spanish conflict. Had it done so, it would have insisted that the international Labour movement use all its authority to end the schism in the working-class in the face of the danger. But this would have meant at least the united front. Its leaders preferred to see whether non-intervention might not by some miracle be successful and thus avoid the need for working-class unity.

It is well known that at the conference of the International in London last March, British Labour leaders were adamant in their refusal to put the Spanish issue in the front of the battle against Fascism. In the result there is no strong working-class opinion which has been made to see that issue in its true proportions. Without that opinion, the British government has no difficulty in maintaining what is, in effect, its pro-Franco attitude. The official Labour Party has so acted that British aid to the Loyalists, however desirable, has seemed to threaten peace. It has accepted the government view that Germany and Italy would fight rather than see a Loyalist victory in Spain. In doing so, it has sheltered itself behind the enforced neutrality of the Blum government. This has been, as a policy, pitifully weak and indecisive. Only the future will show whether it has not been fatal in its shortsightedness.

Basque child refugees, all orphans as the result of the war, on their way to be adopted by sympathetic families



THE FIGHT, August 1937

American Aid to Spain

America's answer to Fascism . . . Medical aid for the torn and tortured bodies of the soldiers and civilians . . . Food and clothing for the children, women and old people . . . Homes for the orphans in Spain and abroad . . . The American people heed the voice of Democracy

By Berenice E. Noar

THE HUMAN family is split in many ways. Politics, religion, nationality—these divide the men of our strife-torn century into advocates and anti-advocates of a thousand causes. But of all the divisions, perhaps the saddest to contemplate—and most humiliating—is that between the destroyers and defenders.

Destroyers and Defenders

On the one hand, those who deliberately and wantonly blaze trails of disaster. On the other, those who follow in their wake, picking up the tattered ends of the tragic and futile destruction, and doing what they can to mend the damage. Ruthlessness and cruelty and selfishness and greed are earmarks of the first classification. A love of humanity, a need for that justice which George Elliot says is "within us as a divine yearning," a vision of a better world, characterize the second. The first group victimizes. The second gives aid and succor to the victims.

Against the background of war these two groups are thrown into sharpest contrast. In Spain today, the activities of General Franco, aided and abetted from all evidences instigated by the Fascist leaders of Germany and Italy, express the motivations of Group One. Indeed, Fascism itself is the very quintessence of them; of ruthlessness and cruelty and selfishness and greed.

But fortunately those others who envision a happier society are no mere idle dreamers, either. They, too, are people of action; and they have now, as in other crises, organized promptly for their counter-activity. In the United States, the American League Against War and Fascism has been in the vanguard of Group Two; and with its collaboration, the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has been brought into being, and has notable accomplishment to its credit, in itself and through its affiliates. The latter include, beside the American League: American Student Union, American



A victim of Franco's air raids

Friends of Spanish Democracy, Book and Magazine Guild, Communist Party, Communist Party (Opposition), International Labor Defense, International Workers Order, Italian Anti-Fascist Committee, League for Industrial Democracy, Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, Progressive Women's Council, Socialist Party, Trade Union Committee and United Youth Committee.

Food, Clothing, Medicine

All these organizations, and kindred ones, such as the Spanish Anti-Fascist Committee, the Association to Save the Children of Spain, and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, have a common purpose, in part material and in part moral, with different units taking charge of different aspects. There are so many aspects, so many things to be considered. Food and clothing must be supplied to take care of the needs of the non-combatants, the women and children and old people, who are always the helpless victims of war. Medical aid must be provided, for the torn and tortured bodies of the soldiers, and for the civilians who too often are just as much the prey of Fascist bombs and bullets.

The little luxuries, in the way of sweets and smokes, that do so much to keep up the morale of the fighters and workers, must not be lacking. A letter from Fredericka Martin, head nurse in one of the American Base Hospitals in Spain, bears on this point:

I had a small fruit-cake and one day we had such a strain and a patient we all loved died, and I made tea and called them (the nurses) into my room and fed each one a table-spoon of fruit-cake. The result was dynamic. Anne stopped sobbing. Sally's lips got a bit of color in them, etc. And I wished I had brought a trunkful of fruit-cake for them.

The psychological as well as the physical value of proper clothing is recognized by those giving help. A representative of the Committee on Spain of the American Friends' Service Committee, a non-partisan Quaker organization with headquarters in Philadelphia, reported that "the refugees are in such terrible condition that their rags have to be stripped off them and burned. Giving the people clothes is not only a material help to them; it cheers them up, too. Children especially can be made to smile by a bright-colored jumper or a new pair of shoes."

August 1937, THE FIGHT

This organization is especially concerned with the welfare of children. Their representative tells a graphic story, in reporting relief needs in Loyalist territory, of "the remarkable system of children's homes or colonies, established. . . . These are groups of between 15 and 100 children housed in empty villas, mansions or hotels"; but he adds a warning that, because there is such a food shortage, "the authorities of towns and villages, in self-protection, have to refuse to grant facilities for establishing colonies unless the latter can guarantee that the bulk of the food used will be brought in from elsewhere, and so not prejudice the local supply." This is another evidence that the shipment of food must be the constant concern of all friends of Spanish Democracy, and of all humanitarians who cannot contemplate unmoved the spectacle of the suffering of little children.

The Children's Colonies

The United Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy is also primarily concerned with the welfare of children. A \$500 fund for the establishment of a home for children—the first to be financed by Americans—was raised by this committee on International Good Will Day, May 18th, when enthusiastic young people agreed to forego one meal, and contributed the money saved to create the fund. Their colony is known as the Thomas Jefferson Home for Children, and is far from the lines of battle.

The home houses 20 children. The United Youth Committee regards its establishment as merely the first step in an ambitious program of help for these little ones, in which they are cooperating with the International Committee for Coordination of Aid to Spain, whose headquarters are in Paris. The members of the United Youth Committee, according to Nancy Bedford-Jones, its executive secretary, are carrying on an extensive publicity campaign to raise funds for the installation of as many of these homes as possible. They have ascertained that there are any number of villas empty, in regions safe from bombs, readily convertible to their purposes if only the money can be procured to start them going. Three groups of young people have pledged themselves to establish homes for 20 children each within a short time; the American Student Union will found the Jack London home, the Young People's

Socialist League the Norman Thomas home, and the Philadelphia branch of the United Youth Committee the Betsy Ross home. At this time of writing, there are excellent prospects of further activities along the same lines, though they have not yet materialized into pledges.

The Medical Bureau

It would be impossible to overemphasize the importance of the part played in this struggle by the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy. This organization, whose national chairman is Dr. Walter B. Cannon, of Harvard Medical School, and whose executive secretary is Dr. William J. Crookston, retired Colonel in the United States Army Medical Corps, has many units all over the country. Under its auspices, in January of this year the first group of 16 surgeons and nurses went to Spain. With Dr. Edward H. Barsky, New York surgeon, in charge, this group established the first American Base Hospital in Albacete, 50 miles from Madrid. Before May 1st, three more groups of surgeons, nurses and technicians had been sent to Spain, in charge respectively of Dr. John Jacob Posner, New York oral surgeon; Dr. Donald H. Pitts, former army surgeon of Elk City, Oklahoma; and Dr. A. Ettleson, brain surgeon of the Chicago Loyola University Medical School.

Up to the time of writing, 24 more surgeons and nurses have gone to Spain under the Medical Bureau's auspices, the number of surgeons, nurses and technicians now totalling 88. They have established three base hospitals 50 miles from the Madrid front, one hospital in the Basque country, and one mobile hospital, which with three surgeons, four nurses, and two ambulance drivers, follows the Cordoba front line.

Raising Money

For all these activities, it has been necessary to raise money; and the methods of doing it have been in many cases ingenious, and the effort in every case untiring. Innumerable parties have been held in private homes, with an admission fee asked, and entertainment of various sorts at further charge. Collections are taken at some of these parties; and prominent artists have in several cases contributed pictures, which have been auctioned off, materially augmenting the proceeds. Theatre and film benefits



Collecting funds for Spain

have been given. Prominent persons, such as Lord Dudley Marley, deputy speaker of the British House of Lords, and André Malraux, whose novels have placed him high in the ranks of contemporary writers, yet who did not hesitate to fight in the ranks of the Spanish Loyalists, have been guests at dinners where considerable sums have been raised. Never a day passes but one's mail is heavy with announcements of benefits, mass meetings, and parties of one sort or another, picnics, boat rides, lawn parties, and dances. And in spite of the summer heat, in spite of the weariness which one might expect, the response remains gratefully cordial.

That is why the Medical Bureau has been able to send, along with its personnel and its ambulances, the much-needed ether; gangrene, tetanus and diphtheria antitoxin; hypodermic needles; absorbent cotton, bandages, and so on, without which supplies the efforts of the doctors and nurses would be in vain. And that is why, too, up to May 1st alone, the North American Committee was able to send 250,000 pounds of used clothing; 53,000 pounds of used shoes; 12,000 pounds of new clothing, coats, sweaters, raincoats (manufactured free of labor cost, through the aid of the Trade Union Committee); 560,000 pounds of condensed and evaporated milk and baby foods; 350,000 pounds of flour; and 250,000 pounds of coffee, sardines, peas, chicken broth, and other canned and dried foods.

Educating the Public

Not for a moment do the workers in behalf of Spanish Democracy forget the need to keep the real issue in Spain squarely before the American people. "These are not ordinary men dying," wrote one of the American nurses from a hospital in Spain. "These are not ordinary men dying," wrote one of real struggle for you and for me, for the Spanish people and the liberty and democracy of the whole world." For, incredible though it may seem, there is a surprisingly large number of persons, and often well-meaning persons at that, who greet discussions of the Spanish strife with an indifferent shrug. There is not a worker in the Spanish cause who has not been told, more than once: "Spain is so remote. What is going on there doesn't touch my

(Continued on page 24)

America remembers its democratic tradition. Ambulances on a New York dock on their way to Spain



Herbert Kline, American writer and editor, interviewing wounded Loyalist soldiers in Spain



AMERICAN listeners to EAQ, short-wave station in Madrid, will be glad to know that it is back on the air again after a short period of silence for repair, overhaul and increase of power. The new call letters are EAR, but the wave length, which for months has baffled efforts of German stations to jumble the broadcasts, remains the same at 31.65 meters.

News bulletins are presented in English every night from 7:30 to 7:45 P.M., Eastern Daylight Saving Time. On the Tuesday and Friday evening programs Ralph Bates, English author of *The Olive Field* and *Lean Men*, acts as special commentator.

The Madrid station has been a voice crying in the wilderness of conflicting reports on the Spanish struggle. It broadcast the first news that German and Italian planes had destroyed Guernica. This aroused the Berlin and Rome stations to such a pitch of frenzy that they rushed on the air immediately afterward with ridiculous "news" programs in English declaring that the city had been soaked with kerosene and burned by the Loyalists themselves.

Pranks of the Networks

ANNOUNCEMENT that the Columbia Broadcasting System grossed over \$12,000,000 during the first five months of 1937, coupled with the network's liberal money-plunge on a summer Shakespeare Cycle, its construction of a palatial "home" for KNX (its Los Angeles station), and its plan for an even more elaborate structure to house WABC in New York, has given rise to a fresh crop of rumors that CBS is suffering from an embarrassment of riches.

While NBC is able to plough part of its excess earnings back into RCA—its shaky affiliate—Columbia has no similar way of hiding the fact that its net profits are out of all proportion to its assets—which consist mainly of "free" air.

Realizing that a shakeup of the Federal Communications Commission is in the offing, what a possible Senate investigation of radio stands not far back of that, and that President William S. Paley's income-tax return is being looked at skeptically in Washington, CBS is doing everything possible to spend money, and spend it fast.

The precipitate announcement by both CBS and NBC of simultaneous Shakespeare series this summer has elements which might provide the Bard of Avon with material for a new comedy if he were alive.

The most charitable way of looking at the mix-up is to believe that since great minds flow in the same channels, officials of both chains hit upon the idea at the same moment and rushed into print without checking each



A Loyalist worker-soldier greeted by his wife upon his return from the front

other's plans. The idea that cutthroat competition was involved also bears consideration.

Be that as it may, the result is that every Monday night listeners in all parts of the United States can now pick up two distinct and different Shakespeare plays by switching from one network to the other around 9:00 P.M., Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

At this writing John Barrymore, who plays most of the leads for NBC's productions, has made a mess of *Hamlet* and turned out a fine job as *Richard III*; Columbia, which starts its series on July 12th, is frantically rewriting scripts and music to avoid the mistakes its competitor has made; while in order to cash in on the deluge of publicity sent out by the networks, WNEW, New York, has started a third Shakespeare Cycle of its own.

Variety sums up the whole situation by remarking that this "will give the Bard the new experience of turning over in his grave two different ways at once."

All of which reminds us of what happened recently when the privately-owned network in Australia decided that it was a good time for a revival of interest in opera in the antipodes and announced an elaborate series of programs beginning with *Aida*.

While officials were scurrying about rounding up the best singers whom Australia affords, the competing government-owned network wired to Europe for the finest available recordings

of the opera and prepared to fight.

When the great night came both chains aired *Aida* at the same hour. The home-talent team retired in deep confusion and the privately-owned stations are now concentrating their attention on the horse races and other sporting events.

Some Plus Signs

APPARENTLY the idea for radio versions of Shakespeare originated with the Columbia Workshop, which has presented several experimental versions of the Bard's works in recent months.

Irving Reis, the young director of the Workshop, has some novel ideas about aerial dramatics and has been attracting much attention with his programs during the past year.

Sometimes his efforts are awful but more often they make cooking entertainment. His recent dramatization of Guy Endore's novel, *Babouk*, is particularly to be commended. This story of an heroic but unsuccessful slave revolt in the French West Indies carried a terrific wallop at the climax, while interest was considerably enhanced by the singing of an all-Negro chorus headed by Clyde Barrie, Columbia's finest baritone. Other recent Workshop productions have included Archibald MacLeish's *Fall of the City* and Albert Maltz's *Red-Head Baker*.

Another series of programs which dares to touch on controversial subjects is broadcast over WNYC, New

York, every Saturday evening at 8 P.M., under the title *We, the Living*. This cycle of anti-war plays opened with a brilliant performance of Irwin Shaw's *Bury the Dead*. Other productions scheduled are *Paths of Glory*, *Miracle at Verdun*, *Idiot's Delight* and *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

Labor News

ALTHOUGH radio is making so much money it doesn't know what to do with it, officials have been grumbling considerably of late about efforts of their employees to win increases in their shamefully low wages with the help of the C.I.O.

Against the earnest advice of CBS' President Paley, the Association of Columbia Broadcast Technicians, a company union, has dissolved in order to affiliate with John L. Lewis' group, the American Radio Telegraphists Association.

C.I.O. pressure induced the RCA-Victor Company at Camden, New Jersey, to boost wages from three to five cents an hour for its 8,500 employees.

Announcers and technicians of WCAU in Philadelphia have won a five-day, 40-hour week.

The National Radio Writers' Guild has been formed with a charter membership of 402; the Radio Artists Guild of America announces that it now has 184 members in Hollywood alone; and the American Guild of Radio Announcers and Producers is making rapid headway in New York, Philadelphia and other large cities.

On the other side of radio's labor ledger this month, the W.P.A. project in New York has discharged 83 of the 204 capable actors and actresses heard on 11 worthwhile programs this season. And WFIL and WDAS, Philadelphia, acted as strikebreakers for the *Evening Bulletin* when that newspaper's staff went on strike. The stations carried vastly augmented news reports and presented numerous spokesmen for the employers but none for the workers.

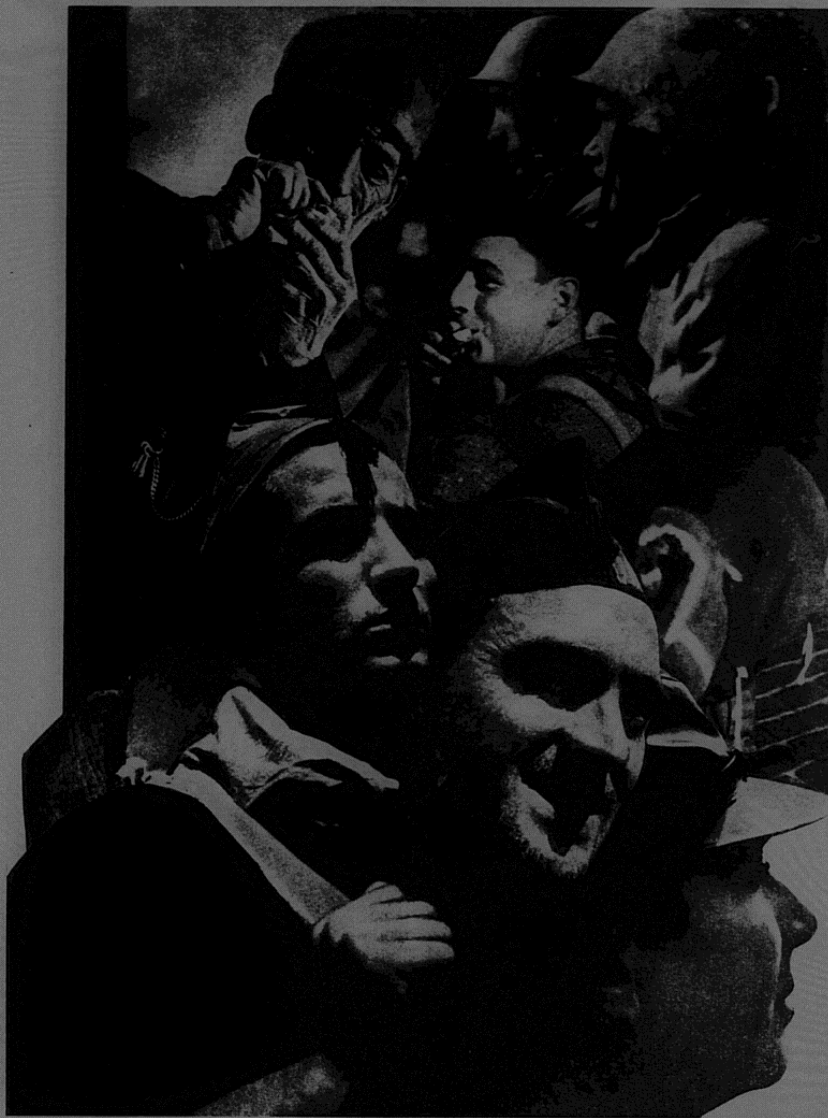
A genuine effort to straighten out the chaos into which Cuban broadcasting has fallen was made by delegates of the *Asociación de Radio-Emisores* during their recent convention in New York.

At present Havana has 35 tiny stations while the rest of the island boasts 25 more. Interference is terrific while program directors depend mainly on phonograph records for their talent.

A new 25,000-watt station is being constructed in Havana, but improvement of other transmitters is extremely difficult, due to the fact that RCA and other electric companies boost their prices for equipment to outrageous heights when selling outside the United States.

—GEORGE SCOTT

August 1937, THE FIGHT



THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

THE FIGHT, August 1937

SOMEWHERE in Spain, a Loyalist soldier or civilian falls, the victim of Fascist fire. So much blood is lost that medical or surgical treatment without transfusing to restore the lost blood is unthinkable. Someone's blood must be given.

Multiply this instance by hundreds and thousands and you see one of the basic problems facing Spanish medicine. For there is not only the question of quantity of blood needed, but time and place. The records of dozens of hospitals in the Madrid area show how many times doctors and nurses gave their own blood to comrades in need because there was no time to wait to find a civilian donor. On examining the records of the Ocana hospital, I found that every doctor, nurse and worker on the staff had given blood at least once, the majority two or three times, and one doctor—a German exile with a body of the strength of Jean Valjean—gave his blood twelve times during the first three months of the siege of Madrid.

The problem of blood transfusion was solved on the Madrid front when Dr. Bethune and his transfusing Canadians stepped into the picture, extracting, storing and transfusing "bottled blood" with the same regularity and efficiency that milk is delivered by your favorite milk company.

Direct transfusions are still given, but for six months now the Canadian "blood trust" has carried the most precious of all commodities to the hospitals in and near Madrid. "Bottled blood" has saved nearly a thousand Loyalist lives in this one sector alone. Under Dr. Bethune's leadership, the Canadians, like their fellow messengers of mercy in the American hospital and ambulance units, have earned the admiration and won the love of the people to whose aid they have come.

A Movie on Medicine

IN THE month of February, Geza Kárpáthi, a young Hungarian cameraman, and I were asked to collaborate on making a film about the Hispano-Canadian Blood Transfusion Institute. We accepted gladly, and put in three months working in Madrid and at nearby fronts and hospitals on the film, which has just been completed under the skillful editorship of Paul Strand and Leo T. Hurwitz of Frontier Films.

Although the film was originally conceived primarily as a record of the Canadians' blood-transfusion work, it has grown in the making—and especially in the editing by Strand and Hurwitz. Kárpáthi and I found that the "blood trust" could best be shown as part of the "life behind the lines" work of the rear guard that stands behind the Loyalist forces of the central fronts. Therefore, a good part of the film (which will be 35 minutes sound and dialogue in both 35 and 16 millimeter versions) will deal with the life cen-



PHOTO BY GEZA KARPÁTHI
Behind the lines in "Blood For Spain"

MOVIES

Life behind the lines in the Madrid area proves exciting material for a film which we can assure you is not Hollywood-made

tering around the transfusion units rather than with the work itself.

Life behind the lines in the Madrid area proved exciting material for a film. In spite of the terror of the shellings and bombings and the bloody front-fighting, life, somehow, goes on. Scenes in our film show young Spanish children skipping ropes turned by members of the International Brigade who have just come out of the front lines. Others show children in trenches inside Madrid that were used against the Fascists in the Montana Barracks. Throwing sand-filled old tin cans *dynamitero* style, and shouting "¡Adante! ¡Adante!" the kids charge on the imaginary Fascists while the real Fascists are at that moment hurling shells into the city. The determination of the civilians to carry on in the face of terror proved for us the most impressive aspect of the Loyalists' struggle. Nowhere is this civilian determination expressed more strongly than in the giving of blood.

Our film shows how these people line

up in queues before the Hispano-Canadian Institute—more men, women and children waiting to give their blood for their fallen brothers at the front than are needed. Day after day they come, forming lines similar to the lines that wait for bread and the little food that is the lot of the Madrid populace. Mothers and daughters, mothers and sons, men too old to fight, boys too young . . . girl-friends coming to the Institute together, telling us how glad they are to give their blood. . . . Their brothers and boy-friends are at the fronts. Perhaps their blood will save their own! If not, someone else's lover or brother. Seeing the volunteer blood-donors day after day makes one realize the truth of the saying that an army is as strong as its rear guard.

Perhaps the most unusual sections of our film are the actual extraction and transfusion scenes. In the extraction scenes arm after arm is stretched out for the blood to be drained. Curiously enough, the outstretched arm and hand moves almost exactly like an arm and

fiat raised in the Loyalist *salud*. The pressure of the arm-band and the nature of the extraction cause the donor to clench and unclench his fist. Thus, symbolically, the act of blood-giving expresses the full determination of Loyalist Spain that "they shall not pass."

Dr. Bethune and Dr. Pitt and Anne Taft of the American Hospital give a life-saving "bottled blood" transfusion to a badly wounded Spanish soldier, in one scene of the picture. Direct transfusions are also shown, with the Spanish doctors who work at the Canadian Institute doing the transfusion.

Purpose of the Film

ALTHOUGH the film is a general one, dealing with life behind the Loyalist lines rather than solely with medical work, the main emphasis is on the medical aid rendered by the Canadian and American Units. The title will probably be *Blood For Spain*. We made the film primarily for the use of the North American Medical Committee and the Canadian supporters of Dr. Bethune's unit, but it is our hope that it will prove an aid to all the various groups and organizations who band themselves together as friends of Spanish Democracy.

During the making of the picture, we spent a great deal of time in the hospitals. It is a terrible thing to be with the war wounded day after day. The horror of it grows with knowing the sufferers. The people of Spain are, literally, being hacked to pieces in the fight to stop Mussolini and Hitler from enslaving them. If the proceeds from this film will, as we hope, aid greatly in alleviating their suffering, it will have served its purpose. Since both Kárpáthi and I are returning to Spain to work on another film before this one receives its public release, we shall be happy to receive, in care of THE FIGHT, letters of criticism or letters describing the use of the film. We are especially eager to hear details of showings given to raise aid for Spain's wounded.

—HERBERT KLINE

Spanish Earth

JORIS IVENS' film, *The Spanish Earth*, with titles by Ernest Hemingway, should be a knockout. The reels shown at the American Writers Congress indicate that the picture will have the authenticity, brilliant photography and talented editing which characterized *The New Earth* and other of Ivens' works. The story of the war as it affects a village a few miles from the front, photographed by a "crazy" Dutchman who goes into the front-line trenches armed only with a camera and takes the daily risks of an infantry captain—and titled by our foremost chronicler of the World War—*The Spanish Earth* will be on the must list for the blood to be drained. Curiously enough, the outstretched arm and hand moves almost exactly like an arm and

hand raised in the Loyalist *salud*. The pressure of the arm-band and the nature of the extraction cause the donor to clench and unclench his fist. Thus, symbolically, the act of blood-giving expresses the full determination of Loyalist Spain that "they shall not pass."

August 1937, THE FIGHT

Out of Darkness

The story of the Spanish people from the Middle Ages to 1931 when the Republic was born . . . The mad Hapsburgs . . . The landlord, church and army . . . Napoleon . . . The Bourbons . . . Primo de Rivera . . . The struggle of the people

By Roberto Rendueles

ILLUSTRATED BY WILL BARNET

FOR MORE than 450 years the Spanish people have been victims of exploitation and misgovernment. Over two centuries of mad and half-mad Hapsburgs were followed by two centuries more of Bourbon rulers, about whom the less said the better. Those who are interested in such morbid subjects are referred to a book about the Bourbons called *Pathological History of a Degenerate Dynasty*. The landlords, the Church and the Army, a very small minority, have joined forces to keep the nation in a state of feudalism.

But although the people were ground down in ignorance and misery, the Spaniard has always possessed a vitality and spirit of independence, which have been the admiration of men who have visited Spain even in the darkest periods of her history. Napoleon tried to conquer Spain in 1808. He thought, according to a letter to one of his marshals, that he probably would need some 12,000 men for the invasion. Although he did take Madrid and finally Saragossa, after an eight-month siege, his Spanish adventure cost him 300,000 men, and paved the way for his ultimate doom.

The Cadiz Parliament

The Spanish liberals of that time assembled in Cadiz and established the *Cortes de Cadiz* (the Cadiz Parliament). They proclaimed the rights of man and enacted a constitution greatly limiting the royal power, granting manhood suffrage, imposing universal taxation, and abolishing the Inquisition.

After Napoleon's fall Ferdinand VII returned to Spain. He is one of the most despicable figures in Spanish history. The people expected much from him. He had an opportunity to rebuild

his country, but he preferred to betray it. He restored the old régime in all its glory, imprisoning the liberal leaders, sweeping the constitution aside, recalling the Jesuits and reestablishing the Inquisition. No wonder Spanish historians ransack the dictionary for opprobrious adjectives when referring to him.

"Holy Intervention"

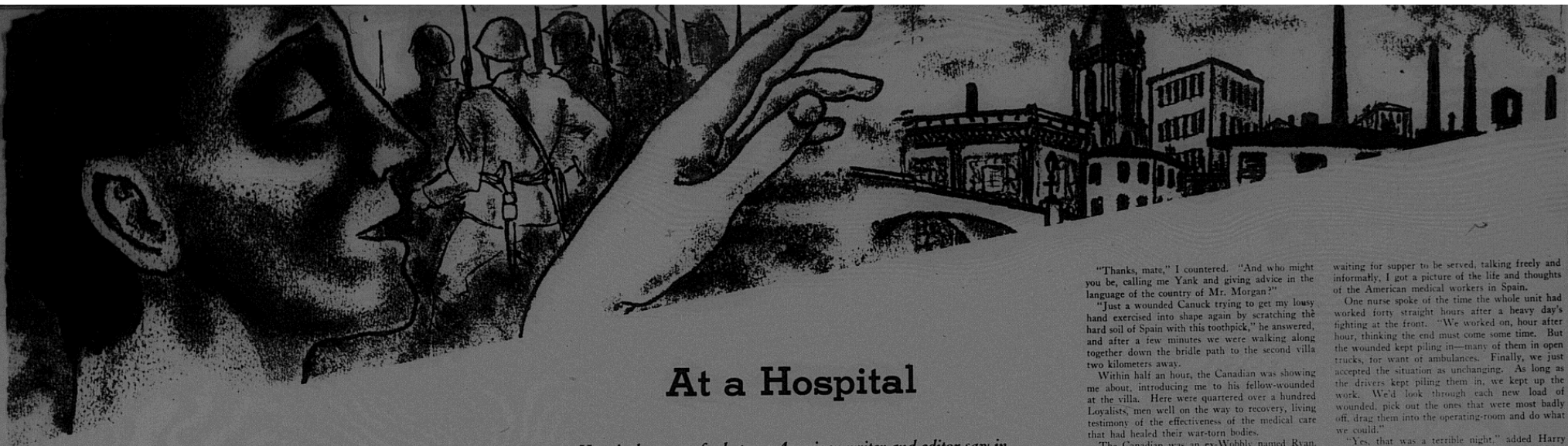
The people revolted against Ferdinand VII. They demanded the restoration of the rights which they had so dearly bought. Ferdinand was ready to yield, and went so far as to say: "Let us advance, myself leading the way along the constitutional path." He convoked the *Cortes* (Parliament) in order to discuss a new constitution. However, the Holy Alliance, under the domination of the Czar, Alexander I of Russia, feared that Spain might become a Democracy and thus endanger their despotic grip on Europe. They permitted Louis XVIII of France to send an army of 100,000 into Spain, and the old order was saved. 40,000 constitutionalists were imprisoned. It was another triumph for reaction.

There are very few instances in history of a more horrible reign of terror than that which followed. Riego, El Empecinado, Torrijos and other lovers of freedom were executed. All universities were closed. Ferdinand VII ended his disgraceful career by abolishing the Salic Law, thus making his daughter Isabella heiress to the throne. At his death, his brother Don Carlos also claimed the throne. The dispute between them led to the Carlist War, which lasted seven years, bringing much destruction and misery. The Catholic Church supported Don Carlos, priests

(Continued on page 29)



THE FIGHT, August 1937



At a Hospital

Here is the story of what one American writer and editor saw in a hospital in Spain established with our help . . . Meeting with Raven, a Pittsburgh boy who gave his eyesight so that the Spanish people might be free . . . The story of mercy and Democracy

By Herbert Kline

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM WESTLEY

WE APPROACHED an American base hospital in Spain—formerly one of King Alfonso's loveliest villas. To the north and west of the adjoining estates was a countryside dotted with olive trees. Rich grain fields extended far into the distance, disappearing in a snow-capped mountain range that marked the horizon to the south and east. The white mountain tops seemed designed to match the bright white stone of the villas and the tiny white-stone village nestling in a break in the cool, green olive trees. Even the sight of a hundred-odd peasants smoothening the rough road leading to the Madrid-Valencia highway, could not destroy the tranquil picture-book quality of the panorama.

Inside the villa's great central courtyards, however, the nearness of the war was brought home sharply. Here the Stars and Stripes and the colors of the Spanish Republic floated together over America's modern way of life and its mechanical messengers of mercy. Odd little donkey-carts competed with carefully camouflaged American trucks and ambulances for the right of way into the crushed-stone courtyards that once knew the hooves of fine horses returning with their noble masters from long, pine-shaded bridle paths. In the rooms and halls opening on the central square, peasants from the collective that has operated the former royal domain since the July rebellion labored side by side with convalescent Loyalist soldiers and American medics.

As I entered the villa's courtyard, Pierre Quinzies, ambulance driver, cried, "Come on, give us a hand." I hustled over. "Climb in and meet Raven before he help me carry him upstairs," Pierre said.

A Wounded Volunteer

I climbed into the ambulance hesitantly. Before we I could speak, the young, blinded American volun-

teer raised his hand, fumbling for mine, and said, "Hello, Kline. I'm Raven. I heard you were coming to see me. I've been trying to remember if we ever met before."

I clasped his groping fingers in my hands as he said, "I guess you can't see enough of my face under all this bandaging to tell if you know me."

"You're right, Raven," I answered, searching for words that wouldn't hurt. "Guess we can't tell until they get that bandage off you."

"Have you a good memory for faces?" he asked, and I wondered what words wouldn't bring up the subject of sight to a boy whose eyes had been splattered out on the soft brown earth of Morata only three weeks before.

"Yes," I answered, barely restraining the expression, "once I see a face I never forget it."

"I Can't Take It"

We talked a while and found that we had a mutual friend. "When you write home, tell him hello for me and that I'll begin writing again soon," Raven said. "Tell him that I'm getting on O.K."

"O.K.," I answered dully, looking at the burned, swollen, pain-bitten lips visible just under the bandages that covered his explosion-scarred face and burned-out eyes.

"Well, not O.K. yet," the blind boy added. "But I'll be back at work within three weeks, tell him. It's my legs that are bad off, you know. I'll get used to my eyes being gone in a little while I suppose, but I can't do any work with my legs like this. Guess I'll have to lie in bed for a few weeks more before I can get up and start doing some useful work."

I couldn't say anything. "C'mon," said Pierre. "You feel rested enough now for us to carry you in, don't you, Raven old boy?"

"Sure," Raven answered. "I'm rested enough. Just be careful. The left leg isn't so bad now, but the right one feels twisted in the cast. I get scary when anyone gives it a tiny jerk. . . . Guess I can't take it."

As Pierre drew back the blankets, I could see the burned, scabby, shrapnel-scarred left leg, shrunk to a thinness of skin over bone, and the whitish plaster-thickness of the shattered right leg. I helped Pierre arrange a soft pillow under Raven's legs. Then we carried him upstairs into a bright sunny room.

"I'm glad you came to see me, Kline," Raven said, as soon as we got him into bed. "Did you bring something good to read to me?"

"Sure I did," I answered, lying without shame, groping for something to say before he could ask me what book I had brought. "If you'll find it interesting, I'll read you the scenario of an anti-war film that we're making about the Canadian Blood Transfusion Institute."

"That'll be swell. I've always wanted to know what a movie scenario is like. But I'm a bit tired

"Thanks, mate," I countered. "And who might you be, calling me Yank and giving advice in the language of the country of Mr. Morgan?"

"Just a wounded Canuck trying to get my lousy hand exercised into shape again by scratching the hard soil of Spain with this toothpick," he answered, and after a few minutes we were walking along together down the bridle path to the second villa two kilometers away.

Within half an hour, the Canadian was showing me about, introducing me to his fellow-wounded at the villa. Here were quartered over a hundred Loyalists, men well on the way to recovery, living testimony of the effectiveness of the medical care that had healed their war-torn bodies.

The Canadian was an ex-Wobbly named Ryan. An explosive bullet had shredded the sinews of his left wrist. The doctors had done a skillful job and with the exercise he was getting, he hoped to handle a rifle again soon. I met his two closest buddies, an Italian-American fur-worker named Fraccini and a young Spanish peasant boy named Morales. Fraccini had received one bullet through his left shoulder and another through the small of his back when he charged Mussolini's men at Guadalajara as a member of the famed Garibaldi Battalion. Morales' nose was creased with a long, healing scab that covered a wound from a bullet that had ricocheted from his trench helmet, missing a fatal lodging-place in his brain or eyes.

Like Raven, the three men spoke of "getting back into action." They were going back into the front lines as soon as their wounds would permit. Like everyone else in Spain, all three had their own special theories on the course the war would take.

With the Medicos

When I returned to the first villa, the doctors, nurses and drivers were seated, drinking light wine. "Somebody's birthday?" I asked.

"Hey, don't mention birthdays around here," Dr. Barsky said, then explained: "Last time we celebrated a birthday, two weeks ago tonight, we were sitting around like this when the lights went out after three warning flickers. A moment later, the Fascist bombers started blasting hell out of us. They didn't hit the hospital, but they killed and injured quite a few townspeople in the little square just outside."

"Talk about something else, will you?" one of the nurses said apprehensively.

"Don't let him think you're scared, Anne, or he'll put it in an article back home," another nurse commented.

Not much chance of scaring this gang, I thought, and sat down to share the wine with the doctors and nurses. As we sipped the good red wine,

waiting for supper to be served, talking freely and informally, I got a picture of the life and thoughts of the American medical workers in Spain.

One nurse spoke of the time the whole unit had worked forty straight hours after a heavy day's fighting at the front. "We worked on, hour after hour, thinking the end must come some time. But the wounded kept piling in—many of them in open trucks, for want of ambulances. Finally, we just accepted the situation as unchanging. As long as the drivers kept piling them in, we kept up the work. We'd look through each new load of wounded, pick out the ones that were most badly off, drag them into the operating-room and do what we could."

"Yes, that was a terrible night," added Harry Wilkes, the pharmacist. "Remember how the lights went out when Doc Barsky was halfway through that tough stomach operation on the Englishman?"

A Miracle of Surgery

"I certainly do," said Anne Tatt, the ^{hair} nurse who had been in charge of the operating-room that . . . "That was some job, finishing the operation under searchlights. I think the recovery of that Englishman was the greatest miracle I've seen. We all thought he was a hopeless case. I guess Doc Barsky was as surprised as the rest of us to see him pull through. What a brave chap he was. . . ."

"I got a letter from him saying he misses us, much as he likes that seashore hospital where they sent him," another nurse added.

The talk went on around the table, as our peasant friends brought in our meal of soup, beans, potatoes and fish. I heard about the brave little *miliciana* girl of sixteen who was brought in with a severe scalp-wound, and was furious when she learned during her convalescence that she wouldn't be allowed to return to the front lines again. I heard the story of the Indian youth from America who was now recovering in a base hospital in Madrid from a severe stomach-wound received in an attack in which he lost his brother. The two Indians, I was told, had arrived in September to help the Loyalists. After fighting for months without injury, they were both shot down in one heavy burst of machine-gun fire. I heard stories of men who had lost their minds in the fighting, of others who had lost legs and arms and eyes. And above all I heard of Raven's bravery.

Reading to Raven

Immediately after supper several of us went upstairs. Raven was expecting us. "Sit close beside me and read slowly so I don't miss anything," he asked. I read the scenario slowly, carefully, adding

(Continued on page 24)

Books

Pamphlets on Spain

THE SPANISH situation was made to order for the pamphleteers. Here was a country that was as incomprehensible to most Americans as South America or the Balkans. The events were further complicated for us by the fact that the major nations of Europe had taken sides in the Spanish conflict. One set of partisans said the Rebels were defending the Church against the Reds, and the other, that the Government was defending Democracy against a military-Fascist junta supported with men and arms by Germany and Italy.

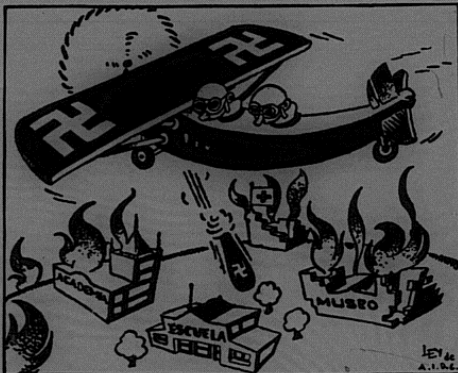
Before we go on to those pamphlets that tell what the Spanish situation is, let us see what the Spanish situation is not. Is the People's Front Government of Spain a Communist government? Senior Marcelino Domingo, former Minister of Education, has told us in *Spain: Democracy and the People's Front* (35 cents), that it is not. Is the People's Front Government of Spain a Communist government? Senior Marcelino Domingo, former Minister of Education, has told us in *Spain: Democracy and the People's Front* (35 cents), that it is not. Is the People's Front Government of Spain a Communist government? Senior Marcelino Domingo, former Minister of Education, has told us in *Spain: Democracy and the People's Front* (35 cents), that it is not.

Recent writings, chiefly in mimeographed and printed releases and in occasional magazine articles, have shown, also, that Germany and Italy are after concrete winnings as a result of their part in the war. The Union of Democratic Control, of London, has published a pamphlet, *Germany Tells the World*, from which we quote:

Thus, whether regarded as a jumping-off ground for Germany's struggle in the Mediterranean; as a country rich in copper, iron ore and mercury essential for the Nazi armament programme; or as a link in the chain of encirclement she is forging round France. Spain is important to the Third Reich. Mussolini's friendship with Hitler—temporary though it may be—gives these two dictators the chance of dividing the Mediterranean into spheres of influence. This is the main reason why both Dictators have considered it good tactics to help General Franco.

THE FIGHT of July, 1937, stated that Italy wants iron and a monopoly on mercury, and Germany needs copper and other raw materials for its rearmament program. If there is any doubt about the existence or the extent of the Fascist International which is supplying arms and men to the Rebel leader Franco. (*The Fascist International*, American League Against War and Fascism, 2 cents).

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"Even schools? Certainly! If not, how can we tell the world these barbarians have no culture?"—From "Thirty Caricatures of the War"

ments, Union of Democratic Control, twopenny).

Fortune magazine, which is far from democratic in its appeal and in its emphasis, has reprinted in pamphlet form (*The Struggle in Spain*, 5 cents) a comprehensive journalistic recital of the Spanish situation. The following appears in that pamphlet:

Hitler and Mussolini had been swelling and blowing the Rhine and in Ethiopia for some years, but prior to the Spanish war their swelling and blowing had been directed against Russia or against the Jews or against such remote figures as Haile Selassie. They had sneered at democratic institutions but they had not actually attacked a democratic government. Now suddenly they were supporting, if they had not actually engineered, an attack upon a government which was republican and liberal in form.

Among the authentic sources of information upon which most of us base our opinions are the *Manchester Guardian*; Lawrence A. Fernsworth, a Catholic and a correspondent for the *New York Times* and the *London Times*; and Walter Duranty and Frank L. Kluckhohn, both of the *New York Times*. All of these sources and more are quoted in *Spain* (American Friends of Spanish Democracy, 10 cents), and other proof and "exhibits" are to be found in *The Crime of General Franco* (North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 10 cents).

What is now happening in Spain has been described from a distance by many. But there are also on-the-spot stories, as presented by Joseph Cadden (*Spain—1936*, International Youth Commission, 3 cents), who was one of several young men and women who visited Spain last fall after the close of the World Youth Congress in Geneva; and stories as told by victims of the Rebel bombardments (*It's Happening in Spain*, International Labor Defense, 5 cents). A corollary of the problem of reducing the suffering of those who are in Spain is that of providing for those numberless men, women and children whose homes were occupied or destroyed by the Fascist forces (*The Situation of the Refugees in Spain*, International Bureau for the Right of Asylum and Aid to Political Refugees, Paris).

It is well to remember that, despite the factional disputes that threatened to end the common front with which the Spanish people opposed the Fascists,

it is the People's Front Government that has made it possible to hold the Fascists at bay. Among the most vigorous supporters of the Popular Front are the Communists (*Spain and the People's Front*, G. Dimitroff, 3 cents); *The Spanish Revolution*, M. Ercoli, 5 cents; *Spain Defends Democracy*, Harry Gannes and G. Marion, 5 cents; *Spain and Spain*, Earl Browder, 1 cent; *How the Soviet Union Helps Spain*, Harry Gannes, 5 cents).

Finally, to illustrate what cannot be described adequately with words, no matter how well they are put together, there are at least three vivid photo histories which have proved their value. One (*The Crime of Guernica*, North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 10 cents) deals with one episode of the war, showing the major rôle the German Nazi forces played in the razing of Guernica. *Spain: The Spanish War in Pictures* (United Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, 10 cents) attempts to give a more comprehensive picture of what is happening in Spain, but the most important series of pictures which give a running story of the whole Spanish situation is *War in Spain* (35 cents), the first special quarterly number of *Photo-History* magazine.

One of the most encouraging things in the reports of those who have been on the scene is the almost universal conviction that the Government will put down the Rebels. The distinguished scientist, J. B. S. Haldane, who contributed a vacation period to advise the people of Madrid on defense against gas attacks, is no less certain that the people will win the war (*This Is Our Station*, Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Toronto).

The Spanish people are going to win. The only question is how many will be murdered (murder is the correct word) by German and Italian bombs and shells before the victory is won.

—FRANK B. BLUMENFELD

The Nazi Régime

THE SPIRIT AND STRUCTURE OF GERMAN FASCISM, by Robert A. Brady, 413 pages; The Viking Press, \$3.00.

THIS WORK contains the material for an appraisal of what the Nazis are attempting to do in Germany. Mr. Brady thinks that if any sense is to be made out of the various plans, programs, terrorisms, shibboleths, war-cries of the Nazis, the whole thing must be approached by asking: Who profits from the present régime? His answer is:

"The régime which the Nazis proceeded to establish is fairly described, by the very nature of the major interest which sponsored it, as a dictatorship of monopoly capitalism. Its 'fascism' is that of business enterprise organized on a monopoly basis, and in full command of all the military, police, legal, and propaganda power of the state." Cer-



Loyalist sailors watching enemy planes

tainly from Brady's documentation it appears that the "National Socialism" in Germany is a rather desperate effort to preserve private business enterprise as it existed just prior to the Nazis' capture of the state. It seems that Big Business has been the only class whose activities have not been seriously interfered with. The study should be particularly enlightening to those who think of Fascism as the triumph of the middle class or the small business-man.

Nearly all the elements of the present Nazi régime were present in Germany before the coup d'état. Mr. Brady reveals the manner in which these factors were exploited to the advantage of the business groups. The idea of Nordic supremacy, for example, was used not only to intensify German chauvinism but also was interpreted to mean that even within Germany there are certain individuals naturally superior to others. As this works out in practice it means, "Labor Must Follow Where Capital Leads." Labor must endure a lowered standard of living and turn its attention to "spiritual" values in order that Germanic (capitalist) culture may survive.

The chapters on the Nazi policy toward labor and the peasant reveal that more attention is being paid to immunizing opposition and leftist tendencies among the underlying population than to improving standards of living. Apparently there is no solution to the farm problem by reviving small farms and fixing the peasant to the soil. But from the standpoint of controlling the rural workers and isolating them from the urban proletariat the agricultural program is significant. The so-called Labor Front seems to be a device whereby employees are controlled for national purposes which again seem to be business purposes. Of course, the Nazi régime works against "unfair" and "illegal" business enterprise and to that extent "controls" employers. But this is a control, while distasteful to some, that is considered necessary by Big Business itself for the sake of preserving capitalism. But it is necessary to go directly to the book to see what this control means in practice for labor, education, the arts, the position of women, science, the press.

The book contains a much needed emphasis on the imminence of fascism in the United States but there is little as to what can be done about it. A plea for the preservation of Democracy will be well received in all quarters

but the trouble is, nothing is said about how to preserve it. I think Brady has not explained the means by which the Nazis accomplished their coup d'état. Despite this, the book will give a thorough and authoritative account of what a rule by monopoly capitalism means. *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism* is an indispensable manual for understanding the nature of the world's economic system today.

—DONALD MCCONNELL

Catching the Kaiser

OUR GALLANT MADNESS, by Frederick Palmer, 320 pages; Doubleday Doran and Company, \$2.50.

THE ADULT young man may not think that he will be among the killed or maimed when he goes to war. This will be the fate of someone else, since there must be killed and maimed. But granting he escapes, the others who do not are his concern in the common concern of the whole. . . . In the World War . . . he fought in the biggest killing spree in all history. . . . Colonel Palmer is a man who calls a spade precisely what it is. In his present book he gives us an excellent account of the mechanics of how the United States was dragged into the War inch by inch by Allied propaganda. He demonstrates how after that an organization was built up that, had it been a peace-time effort, would certainly have been denounced as "socialistic" or "communistic" by the very same people who made it technically possible that the A.E.F. "got over there," was "fed over there," was "clothed over there," and in part killed "over there." The most interesting thing to me in Mr. Palmer's book—I am not quite sure that he hoped for such a reaction—is the fact that whatever military success the American Expeditionary Force had in France was due to the collective effort in organization that stood behind it. The author shows brilliantly how a whole nation and its resources were collectively mobilized on behalf of a fictitious cause.

The Allied missions to the U.S.A. certainly sold a bill of goods: "Papa" Joffre with his "Just come and show the flag," and the British with their smooth diplomacy about "mutual economic interests." And the press assisting. From Mr. Palmer's discussion it becomes clear that at least half the dispatches in the entire American press during the whole course of the War, were plain lies.

All these things are revealed in Colonel Palmer's book more by implication than by direct statement, for the author can be called a liberal only in the largest interpretation of the word. But honest he is, and he shows conclusively that the madness in the fracas outweighed the gallantry.

The best paragraphs in the book are those speculations as to what the

Unknown Soldier would feel today if he should come to life again. They are moving passages and a passionate plea, "not to let it happen again."

—JOHANNES STEEL

The Trend of Culture

THREE WAYS OF MODERN MAN, by Harry Slochower; 240 pages; International Publishers; \$1.50.

IN THIS study of the literary scene, the author describes our present-day cultural movements and indicates the directions they are taking. Dr. Slochower uses the dialectical method, whereby the various works are seen exactly and in their true relations to each other; and he throws light on the basic unity—existing and maturing in spite of certain deep differences—of art in the twentieth century. His objective analysis, which is free of all narrow factionalism, goes far to clarify the problem of a "people's literary front."

The "three ways" are feudal socialism, as seen in Sigrid Undset's *Kristin Lavransdatter*; bourgeois liberalism, in Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain*; and socialist humanism, in Martin Anderson Nexø's *Pelle the Conqueror*. These ways of thought have been widely divergent, representing what have been hostile social tendencies. The political views embodied in them have been hopelessly at odds. But in expressing their "ways" in works of art, these great writers (sometimes in spite of themselves) have revealed their common concern with the human values and problems of our time. The human problems have often intruded into the writer's work against his will, and warred there with his consciously held political views; and where the writer is a better artist than he is a political thinker, his artistic integrity has triumphed over his short-sighted politics. There remains only to bring the politics into agreement with the art.

The conflict between the writer's social consciousness and the reactionary political viewpoint which he is trying to defend, is illustrated best in the chapter on "Fascism and Culture." In a remarkable discussion of the writings of self-styled Fascists, Dr. Slochower points out: "Recent novels from Nazi Germany, presumably upholding the Fascist idea, are illuminating in that their art does precisely the opposite."

In short, there can be no "Fascist works of art." All modern writers of stature are intrinsically united, whether they yet realize it or not. Each can contribute to the culture of man. "The argument is not for an indiscriminate merging. . . . Yet, the plea is for a higher synthesis of elements that are analogous in spirit."

Three Ways of Modern Man can be truly said to open a new vista of solidarity and growth to the writers and readers of today.

—CHARLES PRESTON

THE FIRST anniversary of the outbreak of the Spanish civil war and of the heroic armed defense of the Spanish people against Fascist oppression and invasion has found the Wall Street prototypes of the genus Fascist actively forging the same weapons of brutalization and terrorization that are the standard equipment for such movements throughout the world.

From the start of the rebellion in Spain, Wall Street's sympathies have been definitely with Franco and his murderous hordes, just as they have always been aligned with the gangsterism of Hitler and Mussolini. What has limited the objective manifestations of this sympathy to occasional public demonstrations of solidarity, as through the American Committee for Spanish Relief, and to sub rosa pro-Fascist pressure upon the State Department, has been the simple fact that Wall Street's capital commitments in Spain are of relatively small proportions. The major capital stakes in Spain have been in the hands of Italy, Germany and England. Wall Street has therefore allowed its fellow-reactionaries in these nations the privilege of carrying the torch of treason in Spain.

Tear-Gas Americanism

BUT the real demonstration of the Street's common bond with Fascism everywhere has occurred in the deliberate campaign to found a broad basis for Fascist action *à la Americano*, out of the tension of the steel and motor labor conflict. While great efforts have been made to picture the frequent attempts at fanning a lynch spirit in the strike areas as of spontaneous local origin, the threads uniting these maneuvers lead directly to those Wall Street offices, and sub-offices in the financial centers of other large cities, where the real decisions of Big Business are made. The countless "law and order" leagues, "John Q. Public" societies and "Americanism" clubs which have sprung up simultaneously at strategic strike points, with the support of the finances and supplies of arms and munitions of the large steel and automobile companies, represent the current climax of Wall Street's campaign to manufacture widespread anti-labor hysteria—a campaign that has kept pace in momentum with the progress of the C.I.O. organization of the essential mass-production industries. It is a campaign, moreover, which has now seized upon the "purely American" tradition of vigilante action, in the hope of founding thereon the shock troops for larger battles still to come.

These exercises on the steel and motor fronts have necessarily been conducted indirectly or at long range, insofar as the main group of Wall Street gentry are concerned personally. Seeking more immediate expression, the pent-up anger, hatred and exasperation of the spoiled, over-stuffed Street birds has broken out in a frenzy of vituperation and bitterness that surpasses even

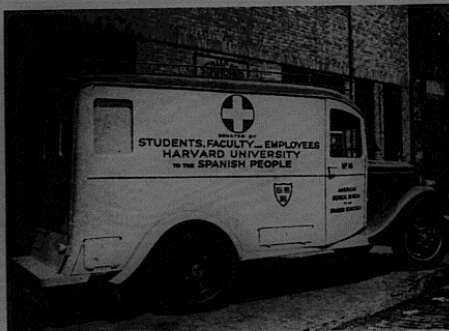
WALL STREET

The panic-stricken fat boys of Big Business in this country are one hundred per cent for Franco, Ford and Fascism

the outpourings during the national election last fall. Requiring as always a personal object for their anger, the paunch-heavy brokers, bankers and corporation executives are now speaking of direct action against their pet hates—John L. Lewis and President Roosevelt. Over the lunches, highballs and directors' tables of these "loyal Americans" there has even been heard serious talk of assassination.

Reaction's Trained Seals

ALTHOUGH the Street's powers of reasoning and of clear thinking are naturally limited by its irrational position, precisely because of this the current crescendo of anti-labor activity has created even greater demand for sophists who try to rationalize the irrational stand of Big Business. Even Street magnates intermittently require soothing written assurances that their anti-social policies actually are dictated in the interests of civilization, culture



Some Harvard graduates go Wall Street. But many others won't, as witness the Harvard ambulance for Loyalist Spain pictured above

by positing a false definition of Fascism: it is, he says, a nationalistic movement arising out of national fear or some other national inferiority complex. These factors not being present in the United States, therefore we can never have Fascism. Having thus neatly sidestepped the true anti-labor bias of Fascism, Woodlock proceeds as follows: "What is threatening our democracy is the Left Front. Fascism is out of our question for we are afflicted neither by fear nor by an inferiority complex. Our democracy must defend itself on our own democratic lines, if it can. Even should it come to real violence, resistance to the Left Front would not thereby become fascism. It is important that this distinction be kept clearly in mind." (Italics ours).

In brief, prepare for the Fascist rebellion in America.

Doings of Adolph Ford

MEANWHILE, Henry Ford, *Der Fuehrer von Dearborn*, has been initiating some practical experiments in streamlined industrial Fascism, in an effort to head off organization of his oppressed workers. On the one hand, as was conceded even by such a conservative newspaper as the *New York Times*, Henry is preparing for terror and violence on a mass scale by recruiting a vigilante army from the ranks of the local American Legion and other corrupt groups under his domination. These forces will supplement the gorillas and strong-arm men who now make up the private army of Harry Bennett, Ford's "service" man.

Having built up his vast organization through the speed-up, terrorization of his workers and widespread espionage, Ford on the other hand is endeavoring to revive and give some modern dressing to the well-worn demagoguery by which he has for many years attempted to conceal these unpleasant facts. The Ford propaganda is based upon two falsehoods: first, that he is interested not in profits but only in the welfare of his workers; second, that he is basically opposed to Wall Street and is conspired against by the "financiers."

These two chestnuts, long exploded in fact, have been pulled out of the hat again and fed to the Ford workers and to the public. The union campaign to organize the Ford workers is, it seems, a plot by the "financiers" to set up a "wage dictatorship" under which Ford would be compelled to cut his wages! Moreover, the previous efforts to paint Henry merely as a foe of Wall Street have now been abandoned in favor of transforming him into a proletarian (with an income of millions of dollars a year). "Henry Ford worked long years as a day laborer," the Ford workers are told. "That experience burned into his soul the hatred of industrial injustice that has characterized his every action since he became an employer."

Hitler himself has never lived more glibly than this.

For more than six decades the Spanish workers struggled under the handicap of a badly split labor movement. Division in their ranks spelled defeat after defeat



Decorating a train about to leave for the front

Forging Labor Unity

By E. P. Greene

IN THE memorable year 1873 a German economist sat down to write on the stirring and momentous events then transpiring on the stage of the Iberian Peninsula. Since 1868 Spain had been rent by civil war: Queen Isabella expelled, the Bourbons declared deposed; King Amadeo, former Italian princeling, driven weeping and terrified from the throne after a precarious two years reign; finally, in 1873, the first Spanish Republic proclaimed, then overwhelmed by the forces of reaction at home, aided by supporters abroad. But it was at the rôle of the working people of Spain in this great battle for the Republic that the indefatigable economist above all directed his attention. It was to the errors of their leaders that he devoted a large part of his *Study on the Revolution of 1873*, which bore on its title-page the name, F. Engels.

Split from the Start

1873. Two years before, the Paris Commune had declared itself to the world; one year before, the First International had passed into history. The ideas and traditions of the International had left firm seed in all industrialized countries of the world, were now spreading into backward Spain, which soon became the scene of long, bitter conflict between the partisans of Marx and

Bakunin. Nowhere had this struggle assumed such proportions; in Spain the Anarchists had found the ideal field for their theories and experiments. Anarchism and its offspring, Anarcho-Syndicalism, everywhere moribund, find there today their sole potent reality. Pablo Iglesias and Anselmo Lorenzo, leaders of the Spanish section of the First International, were to become the founders of Social Democracy and Anarchism in Spain. Thus Spain's labor movement, split into two main groups, battling for its life against a particularly ruthless and reactionary régime, faced from the start odds seemingly insuperable.

Feudalism had discovered in Spain a soil more fertile than in any country of Europe; even by the end of the 19th century industrialism had penetrated but in fragments. A feudal monarchy, a feudal church, a feudal army, all servants of a feudal landowning nobility, ruled unchallenged over the country. Of the people, more than two-thirds were peasants; a large artisan class carried on the economically important handicraft industry. Isolated from Europe by the frowning Pyrenees, Spain was divided internally by arid mountain ranges into a series of regions having little intercourse one with another, each bitterly tenacious of regional customs, autonomous rights.

The monarchy had always been more reminiscent of centralized Oriental despotism than European absolutism. It was these factors which had made the people of Spain fierce individualists, regionalists, stubborn and tireless haters of oppression; the loose, corrupt, inefficient feudal state had bred in them contempt for government of any kind. Thus, all Anarchist doctrines were here to blossom like the rose.

Rise of Anarcho-Syndicalism

In 1873 the working people had entered the battle under the red and black banners of Anarchism. It has been said that at that time there were in Spain 300,000 Anarchists. But the refusal of the Anarchist leaders to carry on political activity, their indifference to independent action on the part of the working people, were factors which contributed to the defeat and overthrow of the Republic. Anarchism lost by thousands its adherents, began to be displaced by Anarcho-Syndicalism, then rising in France under Sorel and Pellouier. Here was Anarchism adapted to new conditions, based on the trade union; Anarchism which did not have as sole aim destruction of the state, which also envisaged government by trade union, recognized class struggle as a fact, emblazoned on its banner the slogan "Libertarian Communism."

With the formation of the People's Front in 1935, the U.S.A.T. and the C.N.T. began to fight side by side. Real mass action was now possible. The workers could now win.

Proudhon, in 1840, had coined the term "Anarchism" to define a social doctrine based on the conception that all constituted authority is ethically wrong, antagonistic to man's higher development; Anarchism would abolish all constraint save rational obedience to natural laws, would substitute for the state a voluntary association of free individuals. Bakunin, knowing at first hand the power and repressive facility of the modern state, invigorated these idealistic and irresolute theories with his thesis that only through force and surprise could the state be exterminated. But Proudhon and Bakunin failed utterly to realize the necessity of an organized mass movement in this process.

Side by side with Anarchism, Social Democracy grew up, slowly, painfully, gained for years but small influence. Paul Lafargue, driven from France after the fall of the Commune, found refuge in Spain, began to combat the theories of Bakunin, formed with Francisco Mora the New Federation of Madrid. Pablo Iglesias organized the Socialist group *Agrupación* (1879), founded the weekly *El Socialista* (1886). In 1888, at a congress in Barcelona, the Socialist Party of Spain (*Partido Socialista Obrero*) came into being; next year the U.G.T. (*Unión General de Trabajadores*: General Union of Workers).

(Continued on page 26)

THE FIGHT, August 1937

August 1937, THE FIGHT

From rebellion to civil war to Fascist invasion to unified Loyalist counter-offensive: a concise week-by-week resume of the course of Spain's year of conflict

52 Weeks of War

By Carlton Brown

ILLUSTRATED BY PUYOL

July 12-18, 1936. Telephonic communications with Spain were cut off this week, foreshadowing monarchist-reactionary uprising led by army generals. Gen. Quiepo de Llano illegally declared martial law in Seville and attempted rebellion which was quickly quelled. Spearhead of revolt was Foreign Legion under Gen. Francisco Franco in Spanish Morocco, where force of 20,000 seized control. "State of alarm" declared in Spain.

July 19-25. Rebel detachments crossed Strait to seize Algeciras. By radio, garrisons throughout Spain were urged to rise against government. From north, Gen. Emilio Mola led column toward Madrid, while Franco's forces marched from south. Revolt in Madrid crushed, 1,000 officers seized, death toll estimated at 25,000. British and American warships began evacuating nationals. With frequent shifts of position, Rebels held 28 provinces, government 22.

July 26-Aug. 1. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy went to aid of Rebels with munitions and airplanes, while France struggled with question of Loyalist aid. Britain disturbed by naval warfare near Gibraltar. Fascists held Seville and Oviedo. San Sebastian was recaptured by the government, to which navy and aviation corps remained loyal.

Aug. 2-8. Loyalist battleship "Jaime I" headed toward Rebel stronghold at Ceuta, Morocco, was impeded by Nazi vest-pocket battleship "Deutschland." French, seeking neutrality assent of other powers, were balked by Italy and Germany. Bloody battles of this week effected little change in military situation. "Jaime I" inflicted heavy damage on Rebel-held Algeciras. In north, port of Gijon was battered by Insurgent fire.

Aug. 9-15. Italian and German forces reported at Seville, with 25 German and 7 Italian planes in air. Government fought in Guadarrama mountains against attempted Rebel capture of capital. 4,500 Foreign Legionnaires, 8,500 Moors invaded Spain via the Strait. Italy and Germany continue

to delay efforts at neutrality legislation.

Aug. 16-22. Loyalist cruiser halted and searched German ship "Kamerun" off Rebel-held Cadiz. Berlin rushed 7 warships to join 9 already in Spanish waters. Rebels extended control in west, waged mighty battle to oust Loyalists from San Sebastian-Irun area, and started big push toward Madrid, with much sanguinary fighting.

Washington spurned suggestion that U. S. mediate.

Aug. 23-29. Fascist attack from north stalemated by stubborn Loyalist defense in Guadarrama mountains. Moors and Foreign Legionnaires defeated in objective of attacking Madrid from south. After three days of fierce besieging by Rebels, Loyalists still held Irun. European powers agreed to keep hands off Spain, Italy and Ger-

many cynically pretending to concern.

Aug. 30-Sept. 5. Moderate cabinet of José Giral Pereira made way for new Ministry headed by Francisco Largo Caballero, strongly anti-Fascist, indicating renewed vigor in Spain's defense against Fascism. Irun fell to Rebels, who slaughtered scores of Loyalists. Franco's Fascists approached Toledo, where 1,700 Rebels, imprisoned in the Alcazar, held out against surrender to Loyalists. Mussolini, on pretext of killing of Italian artisan, sent another battleship.

Sept. 6-12. Despite strikes of thousands of workers demanding French support of Spanish Democracy, France held to neutrality. British Trade Union Congress sent "warmest fraternal greetings" to Caballero. London neutrality conference again stalemated by Italy and Germany. Crews of two Portuguese warships mutinied, intending to take ships to support of Loyalists, but were shelled into submission. Rebels moved to encircle San Sebastian, while Loyalists repulsed Fascist drive on Madrid.

Sept. 13-19. Franco's German-Italian air fleet made possible the Rebel capture of Maqueda, strategic town between Talavera de la Reina and Madrid. In Toledo, after weeks of ordering the Rebels to evacuate the Alcazar peacefully, and pledging to protect the women and children if they surrendered, Loyalists dynamited part of the castle.

Sept. 20-26. As the Rebels sought to extend encirclement of the capital, Loyalists blasted a dam on the Alberche River, south of Madrid, slowing the advance. Toledo fell before a Fascist onslaught and Rebel survivors of the Alcazar, after a 71-day siege, were rescued.

Sept. 27-Oct. 3. In Burgos, Fascist generals designated their commander-in-chief, Francisco Franco, "dictator of Spain," while Rebel columns pushed nearer the capital in an effort to earn him the title, and Madrid prepared for desperate defense. Women and children were conveyed to Loyalist-held

northeastern coast. At Geneva, Madrid's envoys presented data proving Rebels were receiving supplies from Germany, Italy, and Portugal.

Oct. 4-10. Fascist forces, entrenched in semicircle from Guadarrama mountains to Toledo, pressed closer to Madrid. At London non-intervention committee meeting, Samuel Kahan, Soviet delegate, cited instances of military supplies being delivered to Insurgents by Italy and Germany, with Portugal as base of operations.

Oct. 11-17. Franco's armies fought to within 21 miles of Madrid, taking many towns in suburbs, while government troops made progress in Toledo sector. "Impartial" observers continued to predict early victory for Insurgents. Soviet Russia continued to be strongest champion of Loyalist cause at London, demanding that non-intervention committee put stop to Fascist shipments to Rebels.

Oct. 18-24. Volunteers dug trenches and strung barbed wire in Madrid's streets as the Fascist forces closed in and word was received that defensive town 12 miles away had fallen to Franco's Foreign Legionnaires and Moors. Manuel Azaña, president of the republic, shifted offices from Madrid to Barcelona. 50,000 Legionnaires and Moors had been imported from Morocco thus far. Germany, Italy and Portugal prepared to recognize Fascist "government." At non-intervention meeting, Spanish delegates charged a Portuguese ship had fired on Loyalist vessel off Africa, drowning 40 sailors.

Oct. 25-31. At Madrid, Loyalists pushed back Fascists on southeastern front and reopened railway to Mediterranean. Fascists sent bombing planes over heart of Madrid, killing more than 150, mostly non-combatants. A Loyalist air raid on Insurgent bases destroyed many Fascist planes. In London, non-intervention committee continued ineffectual wrangling, exonerated Lisbon and Rome of charges of Rebel support—Russia, alone, dissenting.

Nov. 1-7. Loyalists desperately guarded Madrid from onslaught of reactionary forces they had defeated at the polls. With death toll thus far estimated at 200,000, Rebels began most horrible phase of war in short-range shelling of Madrid, with its 1,500,000 residents, many refugees. Airplanes fought over streets, bombs set fire to buildings, machine-gun bullets whined, as every able-bodied man and woman joined the defense of Madrid. Civilian government set up new headquarters at Valencia.

Nov. 8-14. In a week of desperate fighting, the valor and determination of Loyalists staved off Fascist seizure

of Madrid. Black Fascist bombers dropped bombs in the midst of an open-air meeting, killing 50. Rebel artillery launched shells into business district and Rebel infantry stormed the bridges in vain effort to penetrate the capital. Loyalist ranks were swelled by troops from Catalonia and a corps of International Volunteers — anti-Fascists from the four corners of the world. Desperation turned to confidence as Loyalists drove Fascists back through territory they had conquered.

Nov. 15-21. Berlin and Rome officially recognized the Spanish Insurgents. Move was expected to commence open and official shipment of war supplies to Rebels, though Italy and Germany ironically maintained membership in non-intervention committee. At latest Fascist Grand Council meeting ever held, Italy pledged victory to Franco at any cost. Under frightful bombardment, with food supplies low and appalling suffering of the wounded, the defenders of Madrid fought valorously.

Nov. 22-28. Loyalists gave evidence of better direction, subjecting Talavera de

la Reina to surprise attack. Madrid Embassy of the U. S. was finally abandoned. Loyalist *communiqué* charged direct aid to Rebels by Fascist powers' naval vessels, citing the striking of cruiser "Miguel de Cervantes" by torpedo as latest instance. Port of Barcelona kept open despite Franco's threatened blockade.

Nov. 29-Dec. 5. Battle of Madrid still raged, with Insurgents' greatest hopes centered in diversion created by attacks in north. Government offensives around Oviedo and in Basque provinces helped weaken Rebels' central front at Madrid. Government successfully attacked Grados, near Oviedo, Vittoria, in Basque country, and Solcillo, near Burgos.

Dec. 6-12. Rebel forces around Madrid hampered by cold, with only sporadic air raids and artillery-fire. Two Loyalist armies advanced from Bilbao and Santander toward Rebel headquarters at Burgos. Death toll to date estimated at 500,000, majority non-combatants. France and Great Britain's proposal of plebiscite met with lukewarm reaction from other

powers, especially from Fascist states.

Dec. 13-19. Insurgents in San Sebastian and Loyalist Basques defending Bilbao, after agreeing to exchange 8,000 prisoners, were reported negotiating Christmas truce. Russian freighter "Komsomol" reported seized and burned by Rebel craft. Madrid's defense held off Fascist attackers despite air raids and bombardments. Italian planes joined Rebels' first attack on Catalan territory—a bombardment of Port Bou. The raid unified Catalans into anti-Fascist front.

Dec. 20-26. Fascist armies on Madrid repeatedly turned back. Irish Fascist troops, under Gen. O'Duffy, arrived to help Moors, Germans and Italians make Spain safe for Fascism. Franco asked Hitler for new contingent of 40,000. Fascist troops moved to south in effort to cut off Madrid from Valencia. Loyalists strengthened defenses, advanced three miles in area west of Madrid. Under constant bombardment, Madrid held its regular Christmas lottery.

Dec. 27-Jan. 2, '37. On New Year's Day a Loyalist freighter was seized by German naval forces in Spanish waters, and a Spanish merchantman forced ashore by gunfire in retaliation for seizure of German ship "Palos" by Loyalists. German shelling was termed "act of war" by Loyalist government. London and Paris sought to prevent sending of Nazi soldiers to Spain, but recruiting was continued. Advantage in fighting continued with the Loyalists.

Jan. 3-9. At news the Germans were landing in Spanish Morocco and erecting fortifications, France and Great Britain concentrated battleships in Gibraltar section. \$1,000,000 shipment of airplanes and munitions got off from America before Neutrality Act amendment could stop it. Rebels launched fierce offensive on Madrid, with 14 Nazi Junker planes bombing city almost daily, killing more than 100.

Jan. 10-16. Nazi Air-Minister Goering conferred with Mussolini on aid to Franco. Britain warned citizens enlistment in Spain would constitute criminal offense, and Paris sought to pass similar measure. Franco started drive on port of Malaga. Despite Fascist bombardment the Loyalist government collected almost all masterpieces of art in Madrid and stored them away safely.

Jan. 17-23. Madrid ordered civil population to leave within three days, as Loyalists repelled Insurgent besiegers in University City section in hand-to-hand encounters, and advanced on the south against artillery positions. Backed by foreign planes and warships, Rebel

(Continued on page 30)



August 1937, THE FIGHT



THE FIGHT, August 1937

AS TO WOMEN

Gibraltar to Malaga. The "real" Spanish women and the women of the people

I VISITED Spain just after the general strike in Malaga several years ago. I remember the drive from Gibraltar to Malaga particularly vividly. We were held up for a few minutes as we crossed that no man's land that separates Gibraltar from the mainland and I watched the Spanish women being searched at the customs for contraband. Staples were much cheaper in Gibraltar than in Spain. The women were being searched most carefully for sugar. I heard a despairing cry. One woman had been caught.

We drove over the empty land with its dry rivers. The white watchtowers left by the Moors were the only things that suggested war at that time. Often we passed a woman going to market sitting on a little donkey. It was in the Autumn and the grain was being winnowed. They used the old method of wind winnowing and here again the women were most in evidence, the handkerchiefs over their heads almost blinding white in that sun. Nowhere in any other country had I seen so much participation in the daily work with the men as I saw in this short drive among these Spanish women.

I turned in surprise to an Englishman who was with our party and said: "I thought that the Spanish women were so protected that one never saw them on the public road."

"Oh," he said, "that is true of the real Spanish women. They are very much protected. But with these women it is different. These are the women of the people and they have always worked with the men in Spain."

DURING the first months of the Spanish civil war the papers were filled with the part the Loyalist women were playing in the conflict. The early heroes of the war were heroines. John Langdon Davies has told of the matter-of-fact way the girls fell into line to march off to the front. He says that there was absolutely no sex-glorification, which could have been played up into the kind of sloppy propaganda we were used to in the World War. Fighting was a job to be done.

No one can estimate how much those early days of the war had to do with

Aid to Spain

(Continued from page 11)

life. Besides, there are needs here in America. Charity begins at home."

Part of the work of propaganda that is being done is aimed at enlightening those befuddled souls who confuse the fight against Fascism with charity, instead of seeing it in its true colors as self-defense. The American League, the North American Committee, and the allied groups, strive through the publication of literature and the sponsoring of speakers to make this clear; they show that the struggle in Spain is the world struggle of Democracy and progress against special privilege and reaction; that this struggle happens to have been brought to a head in Spain but is no less real, no less formidable, no less threatening in other parts of the world; and that in this great conflict which for future historians will highlight the twentieth century, the defeat of the liberal forces in any one country would react most unhappily upon all other countries.

Envoys of Democracy

Three important Spaniards—Señora Isabel de Palencia, Minister to Sweden; Marcelino Domingo, Minister of Education; and Father Luis Sarasola, of the Roman Catholic Church—were brought to America last year through the efforts of Dr. Harry E. Ward of the American League. They toured the United States and Canada, and spoke before many thousands of persons. The especial value of the visit of Father Sarasola, like that of the Irish priest, Father O'Flanagan, now speaking in both countries, has been to refute the misconception so industriously fostered by the enemies of Spanish Democracy that it is a religious war that is being fought in Spain.

Indeed, a very important aspect of the work of the various organizations supporting Spanish Democracy has been to show up the many fallacies in the contentions of the enemy. An excellent leaflet, headed "The Truth About Spain," brief but clear and comprehensive, is offered by the American Friends of Spanish Democracy; and all sympathizers should aid in its widespread distribution. This leaflet takes the various distortions of fact which are the weapons of the forces of reaction in their anti-Spanish campaign, and one by one tears them to bits. Such absurdities as the idea that the revolt was instituted to "pluck Spain from chaos," that the Madrid government is Communist instead of liberal, and so on, are shown for what they are.

Fighting "Non-Intervention"

It has been the source of great distress to many patriotic Americans to note the American interpretation of the idea of neutrality. The result is that the Rebels continue to be supplied

by countries friendly to them—who in turn have been supplied by the technically neutral countries—whereas the Spanish government has been cut off from aid. To such an extent at first was this country intent upon pushing its neutrality that it put a ban even upon unofficial aid; but so much pressure was brought to bear upon Secretary Hull by the American League, the North American Committee, and the affiliated groups, that the restriction was removed. Pressure is also being brought to bear by these groups upon the United States government to stop the shipment of arms and supplies to those Fascist nations who no longer make a secret of their aid to the Spanish Rebels.

Never Stop Trying!

These are the things, material and moral, that are being done in the United States to support the Loyalists in Spain, and thus to aid in the fight against Fascism and the strengthening of Democracy throughout the world. These are the efforts that must know no abatement, until the strife is ended and the Loyalists are victorious.

"Tell the American people," the message comes from American workers in Spain, "they simply must help! Thousands of boys are dying. We can save them if we have supplies. Beg, if you must. . . . Do anything! Don't let the American people forget. They can never fill the need, but they must never stop trying."

The American people here. They know that they must never stop trying; for the salvation of Spain, of themselves, of Democracy, of humanity, is at stake.

At a Hospital

(Continued from page 17)

explanations here and there to help the blind boy recall the shape and color of objects and scenes in the script. He listened attentively to the story of the work of the Blood Transfusion Institute. He was visibly moved while listening to how the blood donors asked to see the wounded whose veins had received their life-giving blood. When the reading was over, he made some very helpful criticisms, suggesting ways that audiences in America could be made to understand how much the medical-aid work meant.

"You've got to be careful not to show too much of the horror," Raven said. "You've got to make the audiences understand the full meaning of all this bloodletting and blood-giving. Make them understand that those of us who are wounded or worse in this war are different from ordinary war victims. We're part of the thing we're fighting for. We've got lives to live, no matter what happens to us, because we've got work to do. Make them

(Continued on page 26)

THE BLACK obscurantism which settled like midnight over all Spain with the expulsion of the Moors in the first days of 1492 could muffle, but not still, that independent spirit of the masses which has always been the deep and throbbing diapason of Spain's cultural harmony. The Spanish people have been at the same time artist, hero, and critic in their nation's great gift to humanity. Their deeds, their thoughts, their tastes, their wishes, their very needs are indelibly impressed upon every phase of Spanish intellectual expression which posterity has approved. The kings and nobles made artists, poets, and musicians who have passed into oblivion; but those whose names are chiseled in the hard rock of time drew their creative breath from the masses and ate at their table. The common touch is the very essence of all the great art of Spain. From the troubled strains of El Greco, the twisted buffoons of Velasquez, and the cowed wretches of Zurbaran it runs in continuity through the dying patriots of Goya to the workers and peasants of today's people's art. It marks every masterpiece of the nation's literature and characterizes almost its entire musical output.

The Ballad Literature

The greatest flowering of popular verse Europe has ever seen is the ballad literature which developed in early Christian Spain. This manifestation of the popular genius, which began at some uncertain time in the Middle Ages and was at its highest in the sixteenth century, at the very moment when the learned and humanizing influences of the Renaissance were strongest, is one of the remarkable phenomena of literary history. No other nation has a folk song to compare with it in wealth of number or quality. Medieval minstrels told their epic pieces to lords and ladies in feudal courts; but they also spoke them in public places where the folk gathered to hear the exploits of their heroes. The listeners tore favorite passages from their context and retold them to son, to grandson, generation after generation, adding here, taking away there, polishing and retouching with unconscious skill until perfect gems of poetry remained.

A Democratic Tradition

The most characteristically national of all European dramas was that of Spain's great Golden Age. It was also the most democratic. In its heroic pageantry peasant and serf march side by side with king and courtier, their heads held equally high, their honor equally sacred. In medieval times kings were forced to make common cause with the people against the feudal lords. This united struggle laid the foundations of a living democratic tradition which was to prevail throughout the country's history. To those dark times when king and commoner were one in their battle against the oppressive tyranny of robber barons, the nation's greatest dramatists have returned time and time again, and their plays abound with plebeian heroes of monumental proportions, whose insistence upon their personal nobility and their honor was backed by history itself. They rejected unanimously the ancient and upper-class conception that lofty sentiments and intense sufferings were reserved only for the breasts of the nobly born. This is nowhere more clearly shown than in Lope de Vega's *Peribañez and the Comendador of Ocaña*, in which the well-to-do peasant, Peribañez, slays a feudal tyrant in defense of his conjugal honor and has his act justified by the King; or in Calderón's masterpiece, *The Alcalde of Zalamea*, in which the stubborn farmer-mayor, Pedro Crespo, defies the

King's law to take justice into his own hand against a captain of the privileged army who has brought shame to his good name. In Lope de Vega's *The Greatest Alcalde, the King*, we have the monarch taking sides with the lowly Sancho and himself ordering the execution of noble Don Tello, who has violated the rustic's bride-to-be.

This recognition of human honor and dignity in the humble member of society is a commonplace in Spanish literature and art, and attests in no small way to the fundamental Democracy that underlies the culture of the nation that produced it. From the individual to the mass is a long step, but it is one that was taken with unerring genius by Lope de Vega in his *Fuente Ovejuna*. The mass as hero!—a bait which has tempted countless authors of the last century and our own day. Based upon a historical incident of 1476, the play dramatizes with consummate skill the revolt of an entire peasant village against the oppression of an overlord. Goaded to extremity by the brutal assertion of his "rights of seigniority," the people of Fuente Ovejuna rise up and kill their feudal master. Realizing the seriousness of their act and its possible consequences, they decide to take collective responsibility. The King and Queen (Ferdinand and Isabella) send an investigating judge to apprehend the guilty parties. There follows a scene of tremendous dramatic intensity, when the judge applies torture to the people of the village, from the most venerated graybeard to the bumptkin Mengo. In answer to his question, "Who killed

The Culture of Spain

"The people have been at the same time artist, hero and critic in their nation's great gift to humanity"

By Paul Patrick Rogers

the Comendador?", one after another, with unflinching courage, cry out from their pain, "Fuente Ovejuna did it!" Weary with his application of lash and garrote, the investigator abandons his fruitless efforts; the peasants appeal to the King and Queen and are accepted under the crown.

Epoch-making in its implications, *Fuente Ovejuna* brought to the seventeenth-century stage a mass rebellion against the authority of privilege. The submission to the crown represented, in the words of one critic, "the uniformity of law, a broader ideal, a greater guarantee of justice for the people." It was, in fact, the one democratic solution conceivable at that time. Because of this, and in spite of the date of its composition, the play is sure of a great future. It has always enjoyed popular favor in Spain and has been played repeatedly in the theaters of many European countries.

A Popular Culture

The exceedingly small role played by the elite few in the determination of cultural standards is nowhere better illustrated than in the history of Spanish literature. The ballads, already mentioned, are a case in point. Another is Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, with its profound plebeian character. Sancho Panza, who has been called "that great revolutionary," Lope de Vega, who wrote for the masses, declared that he threw the rules out of the window—he meant the class precepts of Greek drama. Even the courtly Calderón is best remembered for his plebeian characters. When the ambitious policies of Charles V and succeeding monarchs had at last brought decay and ruin to national life and culture, a group of eighteenth-century intellectuals tried to foist upon Spain the aristocratic concepts of French Neo-Classicism. Though plays in this manner found favor in the palace and among the nobles, the people would have none of them. They preferred the great dramas of the preceding century or the realistic farces of that superb debunker, Ramon de la Cruz, whose social satires tore the mask of respectability from the arrogant and pretentious bourgeoisie which was coming into its historical position of power. It was this popular opposition to specifically upper-class literature which at last, in the nineteenth century, was responsible for its final and complete defeat, and the rise of the more democratic Romanticism and the literature of *mœurs*.

The Mass as Hero

The Rise of Liberalism

Those intellectuals who opposed the Neo-Classics allowed themselves to be jockeyed into an untenable position. In defending the cause of the national culture, they felt themselves obliged to defend as well the reactionary views of a decadent hierarchy. Thus they cut themselves off from popular sup-

port. Consequently, while these two groups of intellectuals battled over the rules of art, the people went their way, exerting pressure in the direction of their needs, while they mulled over the bits of Voltaire and other liberal ideas which had come over the Pyrenees, despite all efforts of Church and State to stop them. The growth of these ideas expressed itself in many ways, in the humanizing of law, in the extension of education, in social advancement, and politically in a great liberal document, the Constitution of 1812. From this date on, liberalism grew by leaps and bounds, struggling bitterly against Jesuitic fury; and its story, when told, will be a red-letter volume in the history of human society—by 1825 there were forty thousand liberals in prison, twenty thousand in exile, and a hundred thousand more under persecution. The great wave had started on its tidal sweep; ministry after ministry fell, feudalism found its back to the wall and fought with tooth and nail throughout the century and into our own times, until bowled over by the Popular Front Government—a climax with heroic logic back of it.

Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century in Spain saw the bourgeoisie come into its own—though, as in Czarist Russia, feudalism still dominated. This rise of the middle class brought with it great social advances; but art was now more than ever class art, middle and upper class. Nevertheless, it still relied to an infinite degree upon the masses for inspiration and subject matter. The last of the truly great Spanish painters, a hangover from the eighteenth century, was Goya, who painted the aristocrats as they were and made them like it, and whose numerous etchings and drawings are people's art with a capital "P." In music the popular *zarzuela* reached its apogee, and folk music and dances found gifted interpreters in men like Albeniz and in our own day, de Falla and Hálfrer. Literature, though for the most part under French influence, often used popular themes, but bid for upper-class approval. An exception is Galdos, the last great Spanish novelist, who was not only concerned with social problems facing his country, but also rewrote for the masses, in novel form and with remarkable accuracy, the entire history of the nineteenth century in forty-six *Episodios nacionales* (National Episodes). In spite of being placed on the Index Expurgatorius, these books have been read by millions. Another exception was Joaquin Dicenta, whose plays about industrial workers and modern peasants to the stage in such vigorous plays as *The Feudal Lord* and *Juan José*.

Education for the masses had been conceived to a limited extent in the eighteenth century; and though some noble efforts were made in this direction and more than one liberal educator

went to prison for his advanced thinking, little was done to wipe out illiteracy until toward the end of the nineteenth century when a pure humanist, the pacifist Francisco Ferrer, took education to the workers, for whom he founded more than one hundred modern schools. But they were anti-clerical and used socialist manuals, and Ferrer was judicially murdered in 1909. Ferrer's was the most substantial effort made to educate the people until after the Republic came into being in 1931.

Loyalist Intellectuals

The cruel war which grew out of the Fascist rebellion of a year ago is the crucible in which have been fused into one whole all the progressive and far-seeing forces of the country. The intellectuals almost to a man stayed with the Government. None went over to the Fascists, not even Unamuno, though they claimed him until he publicly denounced them on October 12. Spain's great scholars, thinkers, scientists, writers, poets, artists, and musicians remained true. The scholars of the Center of Historical Studies, with Menéndez Pidal at their head, carried on in Madrid long months after the beginning of the war. Today, writers like José Bergamín, A. Sanchez Barbedo and Damaso Alonso; poets like Antonio Machado and Leon Felipe; scholars like Tomas Navarro Tomas; architects like Luis Lacasa, and many other middle-class intellectuals are devoting their every effort not only to fighting the enemy, but also to cooperating with proletarian thinkers and writers like Ramon J. Sender and Rafael Alberti, in taking learning to the masses. This is a great fact, and certainly is a fitting climax to the liberal tradition in Spanish culture. If there is any suspicion that these intellectuals do not understand what they are doing, let it be reconsidered in the light of these words of contemporary Spain's greatest middle-class poet, Antonio Machado: "To write for the people is to be called Cervantes in Spain, Shakespeare in England, Tolstoy in Russia. This is the miracle of genius."

At a Hospital

(Continued from page 24)

understand that these American hospitals are important not only for the kind of good work they do, but as symbols of the solidarity of our people with the Spanish people. Don't make them pity the wounded. Make them understand us. Make them understand the whole struggle against war and Fascism that brought us here and keeps us going through everything."

How Long, America?

After talking with Raven about his plans to write and to work as an anti-Fascist organizer when his legs had healed, I walked downstairs to the bed

that had been fitted up for me in a room that once knew the gaiety of nobility. I stayed up most of the night, thinking of Raven, of the wounded trenchers, of the doctors, nurses and drivers who had left their good jobs and safe homes in America to risk their lives in the service of the Spanish Republic. I thought of the blind, the maimed, the wounded I had seen in weeks of work at the hospitals, of the crippled children and women and old men who had suffered the same fate as the Loyalist soldiers. I thought of soldiers at the nearby fronts, of wounded civilians from Madrid and the countryside about, and I prayed for more aid and more aid from America to relieve all this suffering until its end comes with the inevitable Loyalist victory. I thought of the requests that were cabled for more surgeons, more nurses, more equipment, more trucks, more operating ambulances; and I wondered how long it would be before the American people would rush this aid to the people fighting against Franco, Hitler and Mussolini in Spain.

Forging Labor Unity

(Continued from page 21)

national trade union, was organized, drawing its strength mainly from Madrid and Bilbao. But the Socialist movement continued to remain small in numbers. The workers, in great part, remained faithful to Anarchism.

Strike Battles

With the new century began that series of intense strike battles which was to continue almost unintermittently to our own days. In 1902 came Spain's first great strike. January saw fighting in the streets of Barcelona and Saragossa; February witnessed a general strike. The Sagasta cabinet, in panic, hastened to resign. General Weyler, upon whom had been bestowed the title of "Butcher" for his bloody actions against the people of Cuba, entered Barcelona at the head of an army, smashed the strike in characteristic fashion, left corpses exposed for days in the streets as example to the populace. In the year 1909 the putrescent fabric of old Spain was rocked to its base. It was a time of severe economic crises, the Riffs in Morocco had revolted and the Maura cabinet introduced conscription in Spain. To the last man the people of Catalonia protested, a general strike was declared in Barcelona, in chorus issued a great shout from all: "Down with the infamous war! We will not fight!" In the sky, in great black clouds, mingled the smoke from burning estates of landowners and factories of industrialists. Upon this spectacle gazed the ruling classes of the world, terror in their hearts. Again an army marched into Barcelona, fought

for a week against the people, carried out a three months reign of terror under martial law. On October 13th Francisco Ferrer, famous Anarchist educator, was executed by a firing squad in the fortress of Montjuich. It was an act which aroused the fury of the world.

Founding of the C.N.T.

To the labor movement in Spain this struggle gave powerful impetus. In 1911, in Barcelona, the Anarchists organized a national trade union, the C.N.T. (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*: National Confederation of Labor). This great union was controlled by the far smaller F.A.I. (*Federación Anarquista Iberica*: Iberian Anarchist Federation) illegal, conspiratorial, central body of the Anarchists, who were at times to experience difficulty in forcing their theories and tactics on the C.N.T. At the Second Congress of the C.N.T. in June 1918, the program drawn up by Narciso Vidal and Manuel Buenacasa was officially adopted. It remains the perfect embodiment of the methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism in the struggle with capital: "We must use every weapon. Nothing, no one, must stop us. We hope that the Congress will accept, as basis of action, sabotage in all fields, boycott rigorously applied, general strike carried out in a revolutionary spirit of solidarity, direct action against the authorities. We further propose that all trade unions be transformed into industrial unions." Into Andalusia, great granary of Spain, the C.N.T. in 1919 sent its best leaders, Pestaña, Seguí, Buenacasa, Miranda, to organize the agricultural workers on the great estates, to prepare the seizure of the land. Although no revolutionary situation existed, leaflets urged the workers: "This summer the land will be yours. Show that you are men and, with the aid of our comrades in Barcelona, we will carry out the social revolution. The division of the land will become an accomplished fact." That year the harvest was fertilized with blood when the soldiers of General La Barrera rushed through the golden fields of Andalusia. Chief strongholds of the Anarchists were northern Catalonia, Saragossa, Valencia, Andalusia; of the Socialists, Madrid, Vizcaya, Asturias.

In 1917 occurred Spain's greatest strike since 1909. During August the workers on all railways in northern Spain walked out. They were supported in their action by a general strike throughout Spain. Better organized, better directed, far more extensive in field than the movement of 1909, this great strike was harbinger of the coming storm and crisis which led to Primo de Rivera, that impotent injection of morphia introduced into the decaying tissues of Spain. With the assassination of Premier Dato in 1921 ended

(Continued on page 29)

August 1937, THE FIGHT

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid

SINCE the very outset of the struggle in Spain, the American League has given its support to Spanish Democracy. In the early days of the civil war, the League raised approximately \$3,000 which it turned over to Labor's Red Cross for Spain. Through the services of its national chairman and the chairman of the Canadian League, the first Spanish delegation to tour this country was arranged for. In every city visited by these distinguished defenders of Spanish Democracy, the American League was in the forefront in arranging meetings and interviews. Señor Marcelino Domingo, Madame Palencia and Father Sarasola left this country in December with very warm spots in their hearts for the American League and its cooperation in their tour.

The League was co-founder of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and from the time of the Madison Square Garden meeting in October, 1936, which launched this committee's activities, to the present, the League has been a major factor in the widespread work of this committee. All over the country, League Branches have organized special meetings for Spain, have collected food and clothing from door to door, and have served as an important instrument of education and publicity in the communities for the cause of Spanish Democracy. To date over \$8,000 has been raised directly, to buy food, clothing and medical supplies for the Spanish people. Tons of clothing and hundreds of cans of food have been collected by League organizations and members at receiving stations set up by the League.

IN CONGRESS, the League has opposed the spurious Neutrality Bill which denies to the recognized and democratically constituted government of Spain the right to purchase here the means of its defense. Along with other organizations, the American League protested the State Department ruling regarding passports to Spain and was instrumental in getting this ruling rescinded. At the present, pressure is being concentrated on the President and State Department calling for an embargo on arms, ammunition and instruments of war to Germany and Italy, Fascist belligerents against Spain. In Chicago, Los Angeles, Washington, New York and other major cities, the

League organizations have held demonstrations and established picket lines around German and Italian consulates.

THE publication and circulation of literature bearing on the Spanish fight for Democracy has been an important function of the American League. Over 100,000 leaflets and pamphlets on this issue have been published and distributed. The November, 1936 number of its monthly magazine THE FIGHT was devoted to the Spanish struggle and carried a 16-page supplement of special articles, drawings, and pictures. This issue is of similar character. From month to month special articles, editorials and drawings dealing with the fight of the Spanish people for their democratic government have appeared in the magazine.

THE latest step in the League's program for support of Spanish Democracy is a project of founding and supporting homes for Spanish children. Already the campaign is under way to establish the first five of these homes. It is expected that the various local Branches of the League will undertake the support of a definite number of children or the establishment of a special home which the League will be privileged to name. By the time of its 4th National Congress, November 26-28 at Pittsburgh, the American League

expects to have a number of children's homes established in Spain. The congress will also stress the issue of denying aid to the Fascist belligerents and opening our economic resources to the recognized government of Spain.

ON JUNE 12TH, the Los Angeles League arranged a demonstration to protest the bombing of Almeria. This was preceded by a picket line before the German consulate, arranged by the North American Committee and participated in by the local League. Chicago Leaguists who were beaten by plainclothes police when they picketed German and Italian consulates in that city, are carrying their protest against this violation of civil rights to the local authorities and are continuing to stress the purpose of the picket line in this procedure. Albany, New York, Branch of the League aroused community protest against the bombing of Almeria and urged local citizens to petition President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull for an embargo on Germany and Italy. A successful picnic organized by the Plainfield, New Jersey, Branch of the League resulted in a liberal donation for Spain to the local North American Committee, Springfield, Massachusetts, is arranging for a benefit performance of the movie *Spain in Flames* and proceeds will go to the support of Spanish Democracy. The Philadelphia



American relief money gave Spanish children this nursery

League has pledged to raise \$500 for the support of Spanish children's homes and is busy organizing a campaign for this purpose. Union City, New Jersey, Branch of the League has challenged the Jersey City Branch to a contest of raising funds in support of Spanish Democracy.

IN AID to labor, the American League established a field organizer in the Northeastern Ohio conflict area. Sam Swerdloff, the man assigned, immediately threw his efforts into support for a People's Conference, Sunday, June 20th, called by the S.W.O.C. and other groups to take place in Cleveland, Ohio. Swerdloff toured the conflict cities with a union organizer, arranging for delegations from each city to attend this conference. A broad attendance greeted the conference, and the League took an active part in the sessions. A letter from Harry F. Ward, national chairman of the American League, was read in which he pledged the full assistance of the League in helping the S.W.O.C. to defend the democratic rights of labor. Resolutions were adopted calling for immediate action on the part of the President, Governor Davey, and Mayor Burton toward the disarming of the steel corporations, the passage of an Ohio State Wagner Act, the removal of armed guards from the steel plants and the guarantee of the fullest exercise of labor's democratic rights. The conference was attended by 352 delegates from 176 organizations representing a combined membership of 241,303. The effect of this conference upon the community was to give added strength to the forces working for the maintenance of the democratic rights of labor. Continued activity in Northeastern Ohio led to a Franklin County conference at Columbus, attended by substantial numbers of labor leaders from over the state. The immediate object of the conference was a protest to Governor Davey against the use of the national guard for strikebreaking purposes in the steel-mill area. At present, plans are being developed for an emergency conference of a state-wide character to organize the democratic forces of the whole area for support of the rights of labor. The National Office of the League has wired Governor Davey urging that the national guard not be

used for strikebreaking purposes. Many of the local Branches of the League all over the country are taking the same action. A special Civil Issues Leaflet, No. 4 entitled *Defend Labor's Rights* has been issued by the National Office and is being circulated widely across the country.

IN CHICAGO following the mass meeting organized by the Chicago Citizens' Rights Committee on June 8th, League work has centered on publicizing the facts about the Memorial Day massacre of steel workers and in pressing for complete investigation by the LaFollette Committee. The picket lines continue at the Republic Steel Plant in South Chicago. One of our staff members who was on the scene writes, "On my way down Sunday night, I sat down beside a cop who was on his way to the plant and opened him up. He said that the whole affair could have been avoided by an election, and further that one of the troubles of a cop was pulling people out of jams that they got into by their own stubbornness. I thought he referred to the strikers, but what he meant was that if Girdler had not been stubborn there would not have been any trouble. Girdler got into a jam and then yelled for the cops to save his hide. Furthermore this cop would not give a scab the time of day." At this point we reached our destination and got off. He got into the plant and I to the picket line." The Chicago League is also urging full investigation by the LaFollette Committee of State's Attorney Thomas J. Courtney, specifically for his direction of the police in the Hall Printing strike. The Chicago Federation of Labor voted to call the LaFollette Committee to Chicago for this investigation. Labor is determined to expose and remove public officials who utilize the police force for strike-breaking and lawless ends.

WHEN the League Branch of Rochester, New York, learned of the anti-labor tactics practiced against strikers at the knitting mills in Perry, New York, they sent an investigator into this town. It was learned from the Rev. Lewis Lowry of the First Universalist Church that his position in his church had been threatened because he met with C.I.O. organizers. When the League officer met with the mill owner, the Mayor of Perry and the Chief of Police, he discovered considerable determination to prevent trade unionism from spreading in that town. It was further found that the union had been forced to meet outside of Perry. Public meetings in Rochester called by the League on the Perry situation brought the attention of the community to bear upon the anti-labor tactics carried on in that town. On Sunday, June 12th, a cavalcade of 150 cars left Rochester for Perry and proceeded to Don Polski Hall where strikers and citizens held

the first meeting of its kind ever to take place in the community. By this campaign and this decisive meeting the siege of Perry was broken.

THE national convention of the Workers Alliance, held at Milwaukee in June, voted to instruct its national executive board to work out ways and means of affiliating to and cooperating with the American League.

THE League stood shoulder to shoulder with labor in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in establishing the right to picket. Cleaners and dyers of the community in their efforts to organize had met considerable opposition from one big plant in Cambridge. A picket line was established after some of the workers had been fired and others had gone out on strike. Authorities persisted in arresting the pickets and several were clubbed and had to be taken to the hospital. Three League members, including Mrs. Marion Pollard Burrows, New England organizer, joined the picket line to test the unlawful action of the police. Witnesses with cameras were on hand, among them Prof. Albert Sprague of Harvard, Mr. Lyman Paine and Mr. Costa of the Cambridge Central Labor Union. Free picketing was allowed for an hour and then all of the picketers were arrested. The case came up in court two days later and the strikers, with the support of the League members who joined them, won an overwhelming victory. Henceforth picketing will be safe in Cambridge.

TRENTON, New Jersey, Branch reports it has sent strong protests to the Governor of Illinois, and Mayor of Chicago regarding the murder of steel pickets on Memorial Day by the police in front of the Republic Steel plant. Fall River, Massachusetts, has taken similar action and has also addressed a protest to the President concerning the strike-breaking actions of public officials. In California, League members in the East Bay region have given their support to labor leaders for democratic rights in the case of Ortiz and Gray. Twelve League women at St. Louis picketed the Ford Assembly Plant in protest against the anti-labor position of Ford and the violence used against union organizers recently at the gates of the Ford River Rouge Plant. A labor picnic on August 8th is being organized by the Cleveland League and will take place in Wildwood Park. The picnic is dedicated to the commemoration of the outbreak of the World War and for the purpose of opposing industrial Fascism at home and the war-making Fascist powers abroad. The critical struggles in the labor field and the League's activities in behalf of labor's rights point toward a tremendous People's Congress for Democracy and Peace when the delegates gather at Pittsburgh, November 26th to 28th.



By James Lerner

YOUTH NOTES

RESPONDING to Harry F. Ward's stirring denunciation of the American state policy in regard to Spain, the congressmen at the Model Congress of Youth, held in Milwaukee over the July 4th week-end, voted their sympathy and support for the Spanish people in their struggle against Fascism. They also demanded that the State Department lift the ban on war supplies to the legitimate government of Spain and apply a ban on war-material exports to the German and Italian aggressors.



The Model Congress was organized along the lines of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. National organizations were entitled to four Senators and local organizations to Representatives in accordance with their membership. The two houses were divided into committees on agriculture, labor, civil rights, education, recreation, and peace.

The Peace Committee was addressed by a number of prominent peace leaders including Raymond Leslie Buell of the Foreign Policy Association, Clark M. Eichelberger of the League of Nations Association, and Dr. John Nevin Sayre of the National Council for the Prevention of War. There was a marked contrast between the enthusiasm with which the young people accepted Dr. Ward's straightforward declaration that the peace of the world required the defeat of Fascism in Spain and his outlining of concrete steps to attain this end, and the indifference which greeted the suggestions of certain speakers that economic appeasement would prevent the Fascist powers from making war.

In addition to declaring themselves on the Spanish issue, the Peace Committee men and women took a resolute stand on collective action against aggressor nations by demanding the implementation of the Kellogg-Briand pact. They also pledged their support to the youth of China in their struggle against Japanese militarism. Turning

from the international scene, the delegates drew up a number of measures to aid the peace work within this country: a bill against compulsory R.O.T.C. for demilitarization of the C.C.C. Camps, a protest against the infamous Sheppard-Hill bill, provisions for peace exercises on May 30th, Nov. 11th and the day of the Student Strike in April.

SEVERAL of the other committees also passed measures which affect greatly the issues of war and Fascism. The labor committee attacked the use of private armaments, of the police and military in labor disputes, and asked that the Paramount news-reel showing the Chicago Memorial Day massacre of striking steel workers be released for public view. The education committee asked for a "Wagner Act" for education which would guarantee students and teachers the right to organize as well as full academic freedom. The civil-liberties committee attacked the problem of Fascist suppression of civil liberties at home and abroad, calling for a boycott of goods manufactured in Japan, Italy, and Germany, as well as demanding the right of asylum for Spanish refugees and urging the freeing of Tom Mooney. It also asked that the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee be made a permanent body.



MANY other excellent bills and resolutions were passed by the congress, which was unquestionably the broadest meeting of the kind ever held. Representatives of almost every leading youth organization in the country were present. The Milwaukee press devoted front-page space daily to chronicling the doings of the young people and the Administration took official notice of the congress in a letter from President Roosevelt praising the work of the American Youth Congress and commending their achievements to date. All political parties sent greetings and official statements of their national committees.

Forging Labor Unity

(Continued from page 26)

the party system and the solemn fiction of parliamentary government. The workers were in ferment; the days of the monarchy were obviously numbered. This ferment had spread into the ranks of the Socialist Party.

The Russian Revolution had an overwhelming effect on the labor movement in Spain, roused the enthusiasm of hundreds of thousands in both Socialist and Anarchist organizations. In 1920 the Communist Party of Spain had been formed. The Socialist Party at its congress in June 1920 voted 8,000 to 5,000 in favor of affiliation to the Communist International; but, at the same time, the congress of the U.G.T. passed a resolution against support of the Communist International, 111,000 to 18,000. Socialist leaders, including Iglesias, Caballero, Besteiro, favored the stand of the U.G.T. Then, in January 1921, the executive committee of the Socialist Party rejected by 9 to 3 the measure of the congress for affiliation. At the end of 1919 the C.N.T. pronounced for the dictatorship of the proletariat, passed overwhelmingly a measure accepting the principles of the Communist International on the labor front. Furious at this show of independence, the leaders of the F.A.I. prepared to fight. From 1920 to 1923 there occurred within the ranks of the C.N.T. the fiercest internal struggle it had ever known, a combat from which the F.A.I. leaders emerged triumphant, but with a Pyrrhic victory.

Division and Discard

Expelled from the C.N.T. were Pestana and other leaders who had turned their eyes toward the Soviet Union. Gone too was hope of unity between C.N.T. and U.G.T. For, in September 1920, after years of effort, a united front between these two groups had been at last effected. Unable to conceal its rage and fear, the reactionary *El Dia* roared on September 6th: "The union of the two working-class groups marks a date of indisputable gravity in the political history of Spain. The organized workers have joined their ranks in order to declare war on the employers and to bring about the régime of the proletarian dictatorship." But, in December 1920, the united front split when the C.N.T. called for a general strike, the U.G.T. rather for participation in the coming elections.

Under the régime of Primo de Rivera the Anarchists were declared outlawed, almost completely disappeared; the Socialists were tolerated. With the overthrow of the monarchy and establishment of the Republic in 1931 the situation changed. Powerful again grew the C.N.T., possessed in 1932 almost 1,500,000 members, but after 1933 declined as a result of a series of

hopeless actions designed to seize power: at Alto Llosgat, January 1932; Casas Viejas, January 1933; Aragon and Rioja, December 1933. The U.G.T. began to surpass the C.N.T., grew in number to 1,600,000; Socialist participation in the government caused a rift within the Socialist Party, the emergence of a right wing led by Besteiro, a center by Prieto and Peña, a left by Caballero. Strong efforts on the part of Fascist elements among the ruling classes to lead the Republic down the road of reaction gave rise to continuous protests and strikes on the part of the working people, strikes which began with the battle in Seville in July 1931, culminated in the great general strike of October 1934 against the Fascist Lerroux-Gil Robles government. The bestial repression following that general strike opened the eyes of the people of Spain to the real design and nature of those who aspired to rule them, showed them the necessity for unity in the face of Fascist reaction, resulted finally, in 1935, in the formation of a People's Front, which included in its ranks Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, as well as Left Republicans and other groups. Spain's labor movement, for the first time, experienced unity, delivered its verdict against reaction in no uncertain terms in the elections of February 1936.

Today General Franco and his vengeful patrons desire to revive the glorious days of Alfonso when the government, though defeated on every field abroad, could yet gain bright laurels, win resounding victories at home over the people. But empty indeed were these triumphs, for in the end Alfonso was hurled violently from his insecure throne. Those who effected this action well know how to reply to the murderous performance of an inept and insidious marionette who minces to German and Italian airs.

Out of Darkness

(Continued from page 15)

joining in the war as in the present struggle.

Isabella II ruled Spain for more than 30 years. It was a most unhappy period, when reaction reigned unchecked. Finally in 1868 progressives, republicans and even her own generals united in ejecting Isabella from the country. The short reign of Amadeo of Savoy followed, and then came the Republic of 1873. It was formed by men like Salmeron, Espartaco and the great orator Castelar, well-intentioned idealists who were unable to make their democratic dreams work.

Two smart politicians, Sagasta and Canovas del Castillo, decided to put Alfonso XII, Isabella's son, on the throne. Under this king the political bosses ruled infamously, the Liberal

and Conservative parties alternating in power and dividing the spoils. The same condition prevailed during the regency of Maria Christina, under whose reign Spain fought her disastrous war against the United States, losing the remnants of her American and Asiatic possessions.

Last of the Bourbons

Then King Alfonso XIII, the last of the Bourbons, began his reign. In many ways he resembled his great-grandfather Ferdinand VII, and his career proved to be as disastrous. Instead of becoming an enlightened monarch, he surrounded himself with members of the military clique. During the World War Spain enjoyed a relative amount of prosperity, but in the post-war years unemployment and social unrest returned. The War had made a few industrialists wealthier, but the plight of the people had not changed. True, there had been a great advance in the labor movement: these years saw the growing power of the U.G.T. (*Union General de Trabajadores*) and the C.N.T. (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*). However, Spain is mainly an agricultural nation, a country where a few hundred feudal lords have owned 51 per cent of the land, and millions of peasants have had no land at all. Nothing was done to settle this maladjustment in the distribution of land.

There was a growing feeling of unrest. Alfonso and his military clique had made Spanish Morocco a sort of "happy hunting ground." It was a constant and growing drain on the country. The outlay for the protectorate increased from 70,000,000 pesetas before the War to 358,000,000 in 1919. Then the Spanish people awoke one morning to hear of the terrible disaster at Anual, where 16,000 men under Alfonso's pal General Silvestre suffered one of the most disastrous defeats in Spanish history. More than half were killed by Abd-El Krim's troops, and the rest taken prisoners, Silvestre himself committing suicide.

This debacle had a profound effect upon the people, especially when a preliminary Parliamentary report showed that Alfonso had gone over High Commissioner Berenguer's head and ordered Silvestre, a subordinate officer, to make the attack. In order to save his face, Alfonso dissolved the *Cortes*, and welcomed General Primo de Rivera as a dictator.

The Rivera Régime

It was generally believed that Primo de Rivera was another Mussolini. He was nothing of the kind. The strong man in back of him was Alfonso, and he was the real dictator from 1923 to 1930. During this period peace was made with Morocco, hotels were polished up, a new telephone system was installed, new roads were built, tourists were encouraged and trains were made to run "almost" on time. In addition

a couple of exhibitions were held at Seville and Barcelona. Millions were spent in propaganda, thus making the whole world believe that Spain had finally found a solution to all her problems in a dictatorship.

But the truth was that—although Alfonso had done something toward modernizing the country—taxes went up, free speech disappeared, unfriendly newspapers were suspended, and religious tests were even imposed upon state officials. Alfonso deprived the Catalonians of whatever rights they had enjoyed, dissolving the *Mancomunitat* (the central organization coordinating the work of the local councils), and forbade them to use the Catalan language in public meetings.

The nation began to show a strong passive resistance to the dictatorship. The Church, afraid lest the people might turn against it also, began to withdraw its support from the régime, and the Army, alarmed at the mounting popular dissatisfaction, decided that the time had arrived for a change. Finally Alfonso showed de Rivera that he no longer had confidence in him, so the dictator went.

But Alfonso's troubles were not over. The people knew who had been the power behind the dictator, and shouts of "Down with the King!" were heard all over Spain.

In December of 1930, Captains Fernin Galán and Angel Garcia Hernandez mutinied and declared the Republic in January. With 800 men they marched on to Huesca, where they met a strong resistance. The two young revolutionists were arrested and as a salutary example were shot.

Alfonso Abdicates

The government finally decided to hold an election on April 12, 1931. The whole world knows what happened. The monarchy suffered such a smashing defeat that Alfonso thought it best to leave the country. The Republic had been won, the provisional government making the following manifesto:

The Provisional Government of the Republic has assumed power without prolonged negotiations and without any kind of formal opposition or resistance. It is the people who have raised it to the position which it now holds, and it is the people who, throughout Spain, render it homage and invest it with authority. In virtue thereof, the President of the Provisional Government of the Republic, hereforth assumes the headship of the State with the express assent of the triumphant political forces and the will of the people, acquainted as they were with the composition of the Provisional Government before recording their votes at the recent election.

Interpreting the unmistakable desire of the nation, the Committee formed by the political forces which have collaborated for the installation of the new regime designates Don Niceto Alcala Zamora y Torres for the Office of President of the Provisional Government before recording their votes at the recent election.

A new dawn had arrived. The people of Spain began to hope.

52 Weeks of War

(Continued from page 21)

troops made some progress toward Malaga.

Jan. 24-30. A Fascist air raid on Malaga killed 80, injured 100. Four Rebel planes forced down in government territory were found to contain Italians only. League of Nations health commission lauded morale of Madrid and disproved vicious misrepresentations concerning sanitation of capital. Contrary to Rebel radio claims, Valencia road in Madrid sector was kept open.

Jan. 31-Feb. 6. Loyalists at Madrid pushed Fascists back and scored many gains. Foreign Fascist submarines and warships continued drive on Malaga, but were held at bay while government made surprise drive on Rebel-held Cordoba. In recognition of fiery heroism of women of "La Pasionaria" stamp, Loyalist government decreed them the equals of men "without limits other than those imposed by nature."

Feb. 7-13. In the name of Gen. Francisco Franco, 15,000 Italian troops led Rebel forces to occupation of Malaga. There were no Spaniards among the first forces to enter the city, and the attack was practically unresisted. Loyalists tightened lines of defense as Fascists sought to cut off lines to Madrid. In London, still another subcommittee was appointed, while German and Italian supplies arrived incessantly in Spain.

Feb. 14-20. The non-intervention committee passed bans on reinforcements to Spain, with Italy and Germany cynically agreeing to stop aid to Franco. There was fierce fighting at Madrid as Fascists, failing to penetrate the capital in attacks from north, south, and west, or break morale by shelling and aerial bombardment, sought again to block eastern roads to Valencia.

Feb. 21-27. Loyalists valiantly held Valencia road in Jarama River sector under fierce Rebel shelling. Basque militiamen stormed Fascist-held Oviedo in the north, while in the south Insurgents pushed along the coast from Malaga. Non-intervention committee made plans to enforce blockade of volunteers and supplies. American Writers' and Artists' Ambulance Corps was founded by intellectual leaders to furnish medical aid to Loyalist Spain.

Feb. 28-Mar. 6. Loyalist forces pushed toward Toledo and were again close to the Alcazar. Oviedo fell to government militiamen after two weeks' resistance. There was indecisive warfare on the Madrid front, in the south, and along the Mediterranean. Franco prepared for a new offensive on the capital with the aid of fresh Italian troops. The international patrol of

the Spanish frontier was postponed from March 6 to March 20.

Mar. 7-13. A Fascist offensive was launched in the hills north of Madrid, its immediate objective being Guadalajara. It was part of the encircling movement calculated to sever Madrid from other Loyalist territory. Italian prisoners of the Loyalists disclosed the presence of over 40,000 Blackshirts at Guadalajara. Madrid accused Italy of waging "undeclared war." The "Mar Cantabrico," with arms and aircraft consigned to the Loyalists, was captured by Insurgents in the Bay of Biscay.

Mar. 14-20. Loyalists routed 30,000 Italians and regained most of the Guadalajara territory lost to the Blackshirt legions. On the Cordoba front, Loyalists withstood an attack led by 8,000 Italians. Britain inquired at Rome into the landing of Italian troops at Cadiz on March 5, two weeks after Italy promised to halt shipments of men and munitions.

Mar. 21-27. Fresh Italian reinforcements checked the Loyalists on the Guadalajara front, though the government maintained distinct victory. In Cordoba the government forces routed 10,000 Italians. The Blackshirt troops, driving toward the rich mercury mines of Almaden, were expected to receive planes and mechanized forces from Mussolini. As Ambassador Grandi refused to withdraw any of Italy's 50,000 "volunteers," France threatened to take issue of Italy's intervention before the League of Nations.

Mar. 28-April 3. With heightened morale from a week of Loyalist gains, the government took the offensive in Cordoba, forcing a Fascist retreat, and advanced in the north toward Burgos. The Rebels began an offensive toward Bilbao, where the Basques were hard pressed by the onslaught. Disaffection appeared in Fascist ranks in Morocco, where scores of mutineers were executed.

April 4-10. Government forces launched fierce offensive against Rebel in-trenchments in western and southern suburbs of Madrid. Loyalist gains continued in Cordoba, while the Fascists drove relentlessly toward Bilbao. Non-intervention committee prepared frontier and naval patrol to prevent shipments of arms and men to Spain. The Fascist blockade off Bilbao stopped British vessels laden with foodstuffs for the stricken Basques.

April 11-17. British battleship "Hood," dispatched to Bilbao after six food-laden British ships were stopped by Franco's blockade, made no attempt to oppose Franco's plan of starving Basque women and children. Fascists pressed in on Bilbao from the mountains. In an effort to relieve Rebel pressure on the Basques, the Loyalists

counter-attacked on the front near Madrid, and laid siege to a Rebel salient in University City.

April 18-24. In spite of stiff resistance by the Basques, the Fascists, bombing and shelling Bilbao, made some headway. Fascist shelling destroyed parts of Madrid, where Loyalists staunchly defended their recent gains.

April 25-May 1. Nazi-manned German airplanes slaughtered 800 civilians, largely women and children, at Guernica, in the horribly ruthless Insurgent onslaught on the Basque capital. Under Gen. Emilio Mola, Rebels seized Eibar, Durango and Marquina, driving some 250,000 refugees to Bilbao. The threat of Insurgent bombing of the 400,000 starving civilians in Bilbao led Britain and France to take steps toward evacuating the women and children. A few British freighters ran the Fascist blockade, carrying some relief to the beleaguered city. An armada of Loyalist planes flew north to fight the Insurgent bombers, and sunk a Fascist battleship—the "España"—in aerial bombardment.

May 2-8. As Basques valiantly defended the gates of Bilbao, Britain prepared to aid stricken women and children. Franco refused cooperation, but the "Habana" and the "Izarra," carrying refugees, slipped out of Bilbao harbor and were convoyed by British warships to Bordeaux. At Barcelona, anarchist extremists rose against the Catalan government, and after several days of "war within war" were put down.

May 9-15. In a reorganization of the Loyalist cabinet, Premier Francisco Largo Caballero was succeeded by Dr. Juan Negrin. The new government met with wholehearted approval of all but the extreme Anarcho-Syndicalists. Investigation of the Catalonia disturbances revealed they were incited by extremists in the anarchist C.N.T., and many disguised Fascists. 3,800 Basque children, near starvation and overwrought from weeks under terror of Fascist bombing raids, arrived in England.

May 16-22. Gen. Emilio Mola's Rebel troops shifted the drive on Bilbao to the south, converting 30 more square miles of Basque territory into a no-man's-land. Using Gallician conscripts, Nazi and Italian mercenaries, the Insurgents carried several Basque positions. At Madrid, Loyalists shelled Fascist headquarters at Oviedo jail.

May 23-29. The Insurgents, keeping up their advance on Bilbao, made few gains against staunch Basque resistance. Italian planes bombed Barcelona and Valencia, killing hundreds. The non-intervention committee's proposal of withdrawal of all foreign volunteers

in Spain met with a cold reception from Italy and Germany, with, respectively, some 80,000 and 10,000 men fighting for Franco.

May 30-June 5. At Iviza in the Balearic Isles, Loyalist airplanes bombed the German battleship "Deutschland," which, presumably a part of the non-intervention patrol, had fired at the planes. General Mola, second to Franco in Spanish Fascist command, was killed in an airplane accident. The advance on Bilbao continued indecisively.

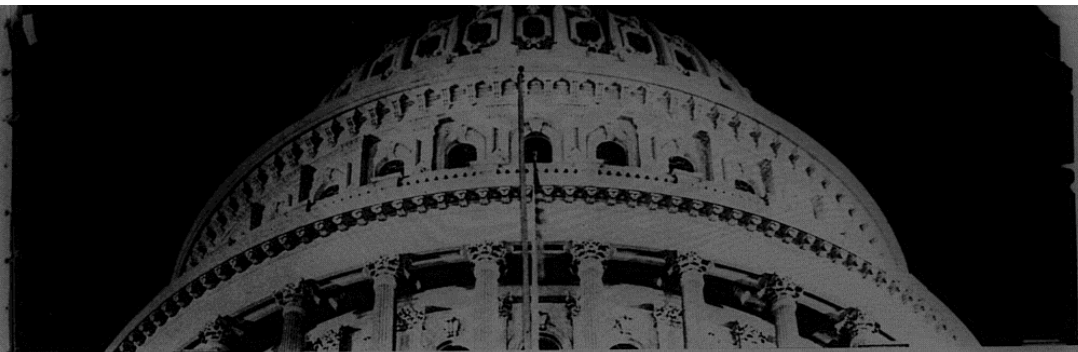
June 6-12. In a shower of shells and bombs, the Fascists appeared about to take Bilbao. Only bad faith on the part of the Fascist nations in the non-intervention committee could account for this staggering supply of Insurgent munitions. The Germans and Italians were persuaded once more to lend their grimly hypocritical support to the non-intervention patrol.

June 13-19. Bilbao finally fell beneath the fierce onslaughts of the Fascists, and Britain was moved to question whether Italy and Germany had maintained strict neutrality in the Basque campaign. Germany alleged a Loyalist attack on the cruiser "Leipzig," and asked for action against the Spanish government.

June 20-26. Germany and Italy again quit the non-intervention patrol, Germany's excuse being the flimsy charge that a Loyalist submarine had tried to sink the "Leipzig." There was no evidence of the attack other than the report of the officers that torpedoes had been heard passing the ship. Withdrawal from the patrol, Italy and Germany insisted, did not mean withdrawal from the committee. Neither, it appeared, did it mean withdrawal of the naval forces—"protecting" German and Italian commerce, they drew even nearer to the Loyalist coastline.

June 27-July 3. Mussolini published an article boasting of Italian victories in Spain and promising victory for Franco, while Hitler promised continued support to Rebels because of Germany's need of Spanish ore. As all hope of non-intervention died, Britain rushed three crack battleships to the Mediterranean. At Santander, Fascist airplanes dropped bombs near British warships on neutrality patrol duty.

July 4-10. Loyalists launched their greatest offensive of the war on the central front. In a series of smashing infantry and air victories, they captured 100 square miles of territory west and south of Madrid, and threatened to raise the siege of the capital. The offensive halted Rebel operations against Santander. France announced withdrawal of the patrol on her southern border.



The Capitol dome

A Good Neighbor Policy?

AS LONG as history is read, the story of the attitude of our government to the struggle of the Spanish Democracy will be regarded by all who seek the continuous development of peace and freedom as a disgraceful blot upon the record of this nation. Whatever this Administration may finally have to its credit in advancing the rights of labor will be darkened by the shadow of what it has done to help the anti-democratic forces in Europe.

There have been moments in the past year when the right word from a representative of a great nation would have checked the heartless forces of reaction and aroused the conscience of mankind. Our government, free from the entanglements of the European powers, having behind it the passionate desire of this people for Democracy and peace, was the one government able to speak that word. The word was never uttered; neither against the unprovoked invasion of a free and sovereign state, nor against the unprecedented mass murder from the air of helpless and fleeing civilians. The Administration ignored its duty to call the attention of Germany and Italy to their violation of the Kellogg Pact.

Instead, it pursued a policy of giving aid and comfort to the Fascist aggressors, by assuring them that the defenders of Democracy could have no access to our market. The Administration forces steam-rollered through an ignorant and bewildered Congress, an embargo resolution against Spain. To this day they have successfully resisted all efforts to apply the same treatment to the Italian and German invaders of Spain. They permit Italy and Germany still to buy materials of war here. They have the effrontery to call this "neutrality," while they evade and ignore their duty under the neutrality statute to proclaim the existence of a state of war and to enforce the terms of the Act. Without warrant of law, the State Department hinders and tries to prevent our citizens from going to Spain by marking passports *Not Valid for Spain* and by threatening prosecution. The limit of their right and obligation is to disclaim responsibility for those entering a war zone.

This whole Spanish policy is based upon a lie.

It seeks to justify itself on the ground that it is necessary in order to keep the United States out of war. That there is no foundation in fact for this claim, insofar as selling the lawful Spanish government the means of defense against a rebellion is concerned, is demonstrated by the experience of the Mexican government. Mexico has persisted in acting according to international law and selling its government-manufactured rifles to Spain, and it is no nearer war now than when it began this practice. The fact that the Administration had to back down in its attempt to keep American medical aid out of Spain, the further fact that the Lincoln Battalion and other American volunteers are fighting in Spain side by side with volunteers from other democratic countries, and we are no nearer war with anybody than we were before they went, completely shows up the hollowness of the Administration contention. The policy is basically dishonest, because it strengthens the Fascist powers and then uses their threat to justify an armament program. It is a war-making, not a war-avoiding policy.

This policy does not represent the people of the United States. A review of the press of the country shows a heavy balance of sentiment in favor of the Spanish government, particularly in the smaller papers. The amount of help sent to Spain, even to the extent of threatening financial starvation to organizations like ours without which such help would not be possible, bears ample witness to the sentiments of the American people. The Administration policy represents only the reactionary, anti-democratic section of the population. It expresses the views of most of those in the upper income brackets and of those below who have been misled by "anti-Red" propaganda. These are our potential Fascist forces. The Spanish struggle reveals them and makes them vocal. But why should the Administration implement their interests and prejudices? These are the people who are fighting it on the labor issue, on the court issue. Why should it act for them in its Spanish policy instead of for the masses of liberty-loving Americans who elected it?

The answer is that it is much easier for the forces of reaction, inside as well as outside the Democratic party, to make their pressure felt and get results in foreign policy than it is in the matter of the rights of labor. The customs of the State Department offer favorable ground for maneuver to the dark forces. In other sections of the government, as in Congress, there is instinctive class reaction against a government like that of Spain which gives the workers and peasants a real share of power. There are plenty of Liberals whose Democracy does not go as far as a People's Front government which admits Socialists and Communists, even though the program is only the reformed capitalism that is their own desire. These conditions enable the pressures which have sought our Spanish policy to succeed. Three sources have brought about our Spanish policy: British Tory imperialism, the Vatican, international capitalism. Consciously or not, we have played the British Tory game, under the guise of cooperation with the non-intervention policy, which all the time has been controlled by Franco sympathizers. The Vatican, carrying out its coordination with Mussolini, has deluged American Catholicism with misleading propaganda, silenced its liberal elements, and confused its workers with a fake religious issue. International capitalism is fighting its own war for control of Spanish mineral resources, with London in the dominant position and ready to make any bargain, at any cost to the Spanish people, that will conserve its interests.

It is time for the American people to make their own Spanish policy, aimed only at the extension of Democracy and the securing of peace. It is time for those who elected Roosevelt to demand unflinchingly that he stand for democratic rights internationally as well as nationally. This demand must focus on three things: an embargo on all materials of war for Germany and Italy; the restoration to the Spanish government of its unlimited right to trade here on a cash-and-carry basis; unequivocal rejection of the British-Italian scheme to grant recognition to Franco.

—H.F.W.

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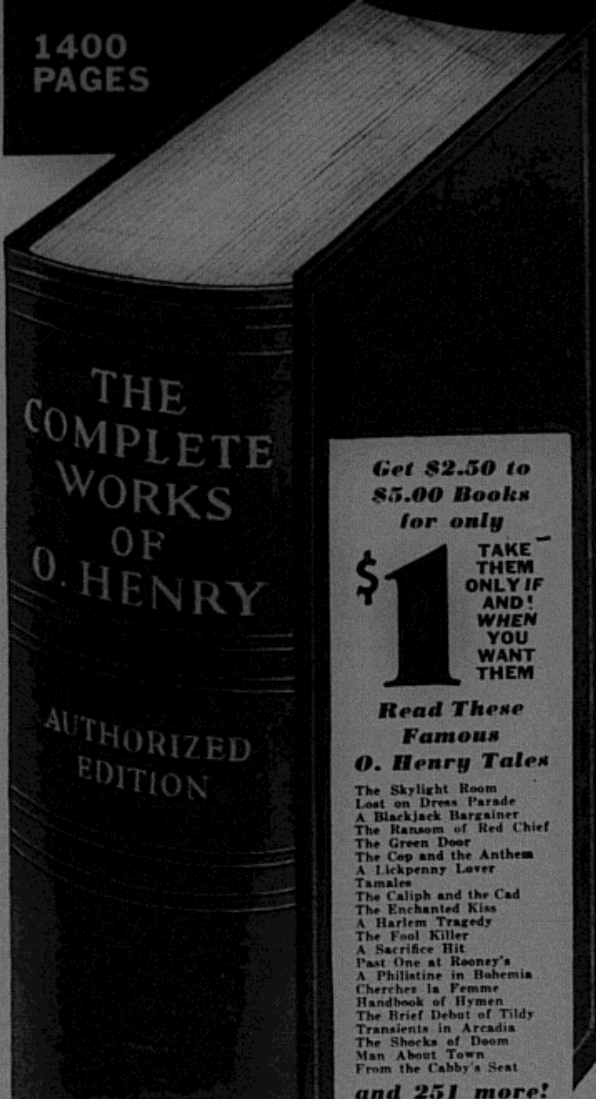
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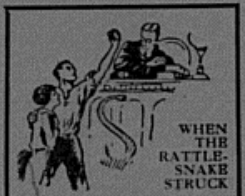
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