

PACIFIC WEEKLY

A WESTERN JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

JANUARY 20, 1936

SINCLAIR STATES HIS CASE

IN REPLY TO MARXIST

+

FASCISM, AMERICAN STYLE

HOW SERVICE STATION FEUDALISM WORKS

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PACIFIC WEEKLY

A Western Journal of Fact and Opinion

VOLUME IV

MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1936

NUMBER 3

CONTENTS

Notes and Comment	25
Lincoln Steffens' Column	27
Upton Sinclair States His Case	28
Demand of the Workers, by Harold M. King	29
Fascist Flop in Seattle, by Cole Stevens	30
The Nature of American Ideals. III. What Do Intelligent Americans Believe? by Elmo A. Robinson	31
Fascism, American Style, by James Arrowsmith	33
Hollywood-Week	34
Books	
Forever Blowing Bubbles, by Lew Miller	35
Reviews by Ella Winter and Harry Conover	36
Our Contributors	36
Correspondence	III
"They Tell Me—" by Ella Winter	III

NOTES AND COMMENT

DEPENDS ON WHO SPENDS IT

ONE of the main arguments used by the ex-soldier lobby in propaganda for immediate payment of the bonus is that the veterans will stimulate industry by spending the money they get from the government. They will spend it for cars, say the lobbyists, furniture and household equipment, repairs, etc. The argument is said to be deeply impressive on the congressmen. But when agricultural workers here in California agitated for higher pay than three dollars a week for migratory workers, the farmer-bankers used a clinching argument against the raise. "If we did pay them more," they demanded, "what would they do with it? They'd only spend it." Which only goes to show that the two things to be decided in the matter of money changing are: Who pays it and who spends it?

PORTENTOUS

AND Imperial Valley is girding for a possible strike of lettuce and pea workers by rounding up all possible "agitators" and instituting a renewed terror before even the season begins. "The crop will be picked," is the ominous announcement of the sheriff. That phrase has a meaning for those who have seen a California agricultural strike. It doesn't portend law and order.

"ACADEMIC FRONT", A NEW VOICE

A NEW and interesting voice has joined the chorus of left-wing publications with the first issue of *Academic Front*, a ten-page bulletin published by the Berkeley campus unit of the Communist Party. On the format the editors have listed in their declaration of principles that they are fighting against the suppression of freedom of thought and speech, to defeat the offensive against living standards of educational workers,

and to prevent reactionary mobsmen from regimenting our educational institutions.

This first bulletin published for the teaching and administrative staffs is a credit to the editors for the excellence of the material used. The critical comments seemed to be made with calm and steady hands. The article on the militarization of the campus at the beginning of the last war should be read to appreciate the present expansion of war training preparation on the campus to-day.

WATCH THIS ONE

SOUTHERN California Councils of the Knights of Columbus celebrated the initiation of their far-from-negligible contribution to coming fascism with a banquet at the California Club in Los Angeles last Tuesday. Joseph Scott, Los Angeles attorney, first deputy of the Knights of Columbus in California, was the host. Mr. Scott is also general chairman of the plans for an entertainment to benefit a proposed "uniformed patrol" to be organized and sponsored by the Knights. Plans for the entertainment and details of the proposed patrol were discussed at the gathering.

Attending the dinner were Dr. John A. Schwamm, state deputy and supreme representative of the Knights in California, who is in direct charge of the organization of the patrol; Edward C. Purpus, Captain Lawrence McDonald and Captain Harold Greenbaum of the executive committee, and Rev. John Dunn, editor of *Tidings*.

The proposed patrol, according to press notices sent out by the Knights, is to be established in 21 councils of the order, from Bakersfield to San Diego, and eventually, "it is hoped", it will become national. The initial organization will consist of 400 members. "The primary purpose," reads the press release, "is to instil the spirit of Americanism in the young generation to combat the influence of communism and fascism".

Through cooperation of Hollywood studios and screen stars, the following will appear on the entertainment program: Leo Carillo, Walter Kelly, James Haley, Vince Barnett, Frank McHugh, Ted Healey, Pat O'Brien, Wallace Beery, Wally Ford, Joe E. Brown, Irene Dunn, Maureen O'Sullivan, Irene Hervey, Bob Taylor, Chic Sale, Ruby Keeler, Dick Powell, Winnie Shaw, and others.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

ONE of California's many crimes against society—its treatment of political prisoners—is to be the subject of particular scrutiny by organizations which are solely dedicated to the good of mankind. Six such organizations—Fellowship of Reconciliation, San Francisco Democratic Council, Conference for Repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Act, National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, American League Against War and Fascism and the International Labor Defense—have issued a call for a conference on the subject at the California Club, 1750 Clay Street, San Francisco, January 20 at 8 p. m.

The call is to other organizations with mutual interests to send delegates to this conference and it is to be hoped that

there will be a representative gathering of men and women who desire justice and are determined to arrest the tide which is sweeping us toward fascism. California's prison treatment of such men as Mooney, Billings, Matt Schmidt and J. B. McNamara, and the persecution of the frame-up victims in the Modesto and Sacramento cases, is one of the most definite steps toward fascism in the west. California has more long-term political prisoners than any state in the union. Practically all of these men and women have been imprisoned because of activity in the labor movement and in most cases directly because of strike struggles to better conditions.

Only the United States and England of all the nations legally refuse to recognize the status of political prisoners. In these two countries they are all sentenced under criminal charges which are generally frame-up cases of the most noisome sort.

Recently labor and liberal organizations in New York State drafted statutes which will be introduced in the next legislature of that state. It is with a view to such action here that the conference is to be held in San Francisco.

THIS PAROLE BOARD

THE minimum sentence of the Criminal Syndicalism prisoners is up February 27. It is necessary to mobilize as much pressure as possible to make the Parole Board set the sentence at the minimum figure.

There are three members on the Board. Frank C. Sykes, Kohl Building, San Francisco, is the chairman. Sykes is a contractor and carries on his private business—as do the other two members—besides drawing down \$5,000 a year in his parole job. He has little sympathy for prisoners in general—he told a visitor that he “doesn’t like their attitude”—and certainly has no love for radicals in particular.

Regarding Joseph H. Stephens, second member of the Board, the *Sacramento Bee* for January 10, 1934, carried this statement by him: “Regardless of the costs, the local communist trial should be carried through to completion with the best of legal talent. It is my thought that as long as Neil McAllister started the case and is familiar with the facts he should continue as the prosecution. This trial is of state-wide importance.”

Stephens is the president of the Sacramento Merchants National Bank. He was appointed parole member as a reward for his work in Sacramento County as manager of the late Jim Rolph's campaign. He was at one time a floor walker in a department store in Sacramento. He receives a salary of \$10,000 a year as bank president besides his \$5,000 as Board member. Despite this he is badly in debt and was only recently sued on a large note. He had Rolph appoint his son to a position in the motor vehicle department.

The third member is David F. Bush of Oakdale, California. Bush is an attorney, a prominent American Legion member and a pronounced reactionary. His record as chairman of the State Senate fact-finding committee during the 1933 session is that of a mouthpiece for Big Business. It is known that he never does anything without first conferring with the Bank of America of Oakdale. Right after the 1933 session he was boomed for Superior Judge of his county but lost, due to the opposition of the California State Grange. Then an attempt was made to get him on the Highway Commission. Here, too, he was opposed and so he was finally landed on the Parole Board.

Here are three incompetent and untrained men who have complete control of the liberty and destiny of California's

8,000 state prisoners. They spend most of their time carrying on their private businesses despite the \$5,000 a year they get for being members of the Board. These jobs are “political tions.” The background of this Board obviously shows that they are unfit for this important post involving the very lives of so many human beings. They are neither sympathetic nor do they understand the problems of the State prisoners. They meet only once in several months and then only for a few hours.

Individuals and organizations should send letters to each of the above and to the Board collectively, demanding that the least they can do is to let the C. S. prisoners out as soon as the law allows. The important facts of the case should be explained over and over again—the “prisoners” weren't convicted for doing or saying anything contrary to the law, but were sent to prison for organizing agricultural workers into unions and believing that the country should be owned and run by the people.

The second point is to increase the demand that they be released on bail pending appeal. This is especially necessary for the five self-defendants who cannot prepare their briefs unless they are free to have access to the one transcript granted the entire defense.

The Board meets again some time next month. The time is short. The Conference for the Repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law is making this issue their central immediate task.

WHAT ARE THE SHIPPERS PLANNING?

THE national convention of the International Seamen's Union is meeting in Washington. One of the chief issues will be the seamen's demand to have West Coast pay and conditions of work apply to Gulf and Atlantic ports. The present discrepancies in these is creating great discontent. Paul Scharrenberg has also demanded that the West Coast

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charters be revoked and the "radical" leaders thrown out. This would mean that the Pacific Coast marine unions, democratically governed since the 1934 strike, would be back in the fold of corruptly-led unions, led by compromising A. F. of L. officials, and more—that the Sailors' Union would be back under the "leadership" of the very man expelled for his anti-union activities.

If there is any doubt in people's minds that these officials are as anti-labor as the Industrial Association, one has but to read their unbelievable telegrams to the Houston officials last week, where Gulf marine workers were to meet to form a Maritime Federation of the Gulf Coast. I. L. A.'s president, Joseph Ryan, wired to all I.L.A. locals in the Gulf: "... Should your local or any other local send representatives to Houston conference Monday it will naturally reflect an unfriendly act and result in severe disciplinary action."

I.S.U. representatives were instructed by their officers to have "nothing to do with any attempt to form a Maritime Federation".

The Convention nevertheless adopted the proposed constitution and will meet again February 24 to elect officers.

Meanwhile the steam schooner lock-out continues on the Pacific Coast, about fifty steam schooners now being unable to sail while the employers refuse to meet with the men to consider their demands for shorter hours; 300 members of the Machinists' Union are on strike (a raise of from 75 to 90 cents an hour for machinists and 49½ to 60 cents for helpers) in the Bay area for the establishment of minimum wages, a five-hour day, 40-hour week. Nine shops are completely closed down. With the exception of the Bethlehem Company and Moore Drydock all repair shops have agreed to the wage raises, but all have refused the shortening of the work week. The strike is solid.

Meanwhile the Panama Pacific Line has announced temporary shunning of the port of San Francisco for its ships. And the shipowners' charge is that the Reds are trying to "ruin California shipping".

As we have repeatedly contended, it is the shipowners who are asking for, working for, and ceaselessly agitating for the "show-down" that, if it comes, may well end with the inauguration of fascism on the West Coast.



AGITATOR

I SPEAK of minds warped cruelly;
 Streaked, starved,
 Ravished with rumors,
 Pitted with subtle plagues,
 Disfigured, like a painting wept upon,
 Twisted like a doomed society.

I speak of stomachs.
 I speak of minds.
 I bring weapons.
 I bring the strength of good, clean,
 savage healthy hate!

—PETER QUINCE

LINCOLN STEFFENS SPEAKING--

THE BONUS BILL for our ex-soldiers is passing; another step toward the redistribution of all our earned wealth.

IT LOOKS as if the rains would pour back on Africa before Italy has taken Ethiopia. Another year of war, maybe several years. At that rate how long will it take Mussolini to conquer the world? And, an equally civilized question—how long will it take our modern world to lay the Duce low? He is either an obstinate cuss or full of understanding. He heard of the planned display of the English and French fleets in the Mediterranean without a flicker of the eye or a movement of his pokerface. And, you realize, that the show of ships is all for him. As if to say that they are not his ships. No, it looks like a long, if not a permanent war.

SOME OF OUR PEOPLE are out for Liberty, others for a mere living, and it is almost as if there were a class struggle. The political game is to make the majority, who now seek a living come out for the higher ideal of the minority. It's hard, but not impossible.

THE BIG NEWSPAPERS report as news that Du Pont is backing the Liberty League. Of course. The munition men all need liberty. They are up against a lot of cranks who would abolish or limit war; believe in living; they want everybody to live, not only munition-makers and nice people. It's very trying, but it will all come out right in the end, the very end.

ALREADY YOU SEE the evil of the West Coast victory over our shipowners of our seamen and longshoremen. The Eastern sailors and dock-wrestlers are demanding West Coast wages and conditions. If this goes on the shipping business will be reduced to a competition of owners' brains. An example is hard to deal with. That, by the way, is the menace of Soviet Russia. The Russian workers are teaching by example that they don't need capitalists at all at all.

HITLER'S THROAT is failing him, going bad and taking the joy out of the demagogue's life and Deutschland's. We ought to train our children's voices to scream till we know that they can stand the racket. Which is just around the corner. They must be able to shout without losing their organ of command.

RAYMOND SWING, a writer and reporter of the Nation, says that Governor Landon is a better man than Hearst thinks and, though he isn't sure yet, might make a Kansas president. Knows about farmers, but not labor.

J. P. MORGAN, nodding at that Washington hearing, was not expressing contempt for the Government and people of these United States, only his weariness, the fatigue which we elder statesmen feel when new experiences arise to confront us. I get that way myself when the moving world gets too much for me; when things happen to me that I was not educated for. J. P. Morgan is going through difficulties that his father and the firm never met before.

SOME "REDS" are challenging me on my involuntary

regard for Mr. William Randolph Hearst. Well, I have felt that I knew the great editor for a long time and I have known all that time a lot of other sons of the rich; and heard of their daughters. My hero is above his class and generation. He inherited enough money to go along with them to ruin and he didn't. He built as big a business as he received from his parents; which is exceptional. He set out on his journalistic career as a friend of labor and a democrat and hung to it till he or some respectable member of his class warned him that that way his fortune would be confiscated and distributed. That made him class-conscious. He is fighting now for his own interests, his economic privileges, as his class is generally. The "reds" know this from top to bottom, and they must know, as Karl Marx did, that it is off the line to hate Hearst. It's his wealth that is wrong. Take away the millionaire and no good would be done; take away his riches and Mr. Hearst would be all right or, I think, all left.

AMERICANS WHO believe in Fascism may go to Germany for the annual Sports International. Why not? It were hypocrisy for some people to cut a lynching. Or a murder trial, or a mob.

THERE MUST be something just about President Roosevelt, the way the law-abiders hate him. Ever see and hear them rage? And he's a gentleman, you know; resisted revolution, violence and tried to do the minimum of justice gradually. Tried to "feed the populace and keep them from looting". Tried to offset the Communists, who advocate eating when hungry.

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THE MARXIAN DISCUSSION

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UPTON SINCLAIR STATES HIS CASE TO-DAY IN A REPLY TO HAROLD M. KING

I NOTE Mr. Harold King's courteous statement in *PACIFIC WEEKLY*, and his invitation to me to answer him "in the spirit of education rather than that of political controversy". The invitation is cordially accepted. I have sometimes permitted myself to be drawn into political controversy, but I am much more deeply interested in education, and basically the significance of the EPIC movement to me is educational.

We were discussing Marx's ideas expressed in 1872 and their application to America in 1935. Mr. King says, "America has changed." He is correct; but unfortunately for the Marxian point of view, America has changed the wrong way. For many years the trend appeared to be as Marx had predicted, and so my beliefs and course of action were nearer to those of the Marxians. But now the trend has changed the other way, and I recognize that economic events are not coming in America as Marx expected.

Mr. King argues that "objectively there is a class struggle

but subjectively the workers are not aware of it." Yes, there are quite a number of class struggles in our complicated society. There is a struggle of the workers against the capitalists; but Mr. King errs in thinking that this is the dominating struggle. The dominating struggle is a struggle of the common people against the big capitalist interests, and that includes not merely the workers but also large elements of the middle classes. And it is my contention that if we include the middle classes in our plans and remedies, we can win the struggle; whereas, if we exclude the middle classes and concentrate upon working classes alone, we are taking the course which led Italy and Germany into Fascism, and will lead us there by exactly the same process.

I have just been reading a book, *Insurgent America*, by my friend, Alfred M. Bingham, editor of *Common Sense*. This book is a study of "the Revolt of the Middle Classes", and it is full of the education which I would like Mr. King and all other Communist sympathizers to absorb. In an appendix, Mr. Bingham studies the United States census reports for light on the growth of various occupational classes in America. He cites the findings of various experts, and combining their conclusions, he tells us as follows:

Beginning with 1870, approximately the time of the Karl Marx quotation, farmers in America were 40 per cent of all those gainfully employed. In 1930, they were 16 per cent. Of course, not all farmers are workers, but the nature of the trend is proved in the figures for farm laborers, who are pure proletarian, and who were 13 per cent in 1870 and 5.5 per cent in 1930. Servants, who are proletarians, have decreased in the same time from 7.5 per cent to 5.5 per cent. The industrial workers were 23.5 per cent in 1870 and they increased to 37 per cent in 1920, and it was this trend which caused me to expect a Marxist change in America; but the 1930 figures show a decrease to 34.5 per cent. This, of course, is a consequence of a development of power and the improving of processes, and the trend has been greatly accelerated in the past five years. The same causes have been working upon farmers and farm-laborers, and the 1940 census will show a big drop in all the proletarian classes.

And now how is it with the middle classes? The census reports do not enable us to separate the small business man from the big capitalists, but the latter are so few in number that they hardly count in census figures. From 1870 to 1930, business men increased from 6 per cent to 8 per cent. Professional workers, including teachers, increased from 3 per cent to 7 per cent. White collar workers from 3 per cent to 17 per cent. The service trades from 2.5 per cent to 5 per cent; and government employees not elsewhere classified, from .5 per cent to 1.5 per cent. All these trends have been largely increased in the past five years, especially the number of government employees having doubled.

When you put all this on a chart, as Mr. Bingham has done in his book, you see the middle classes spreading out like a fan and you see the proletarian classes decreasing like a fan turned the other way. It seems to me that no one except a man blinded by a formula can deny the meaning of these trends. Proletarian revolution cannot happen to America, and if there is any serious threat of it the middle classes will organize and put it down (of course with the help of the capitalists' money).

On the political field this formula works out to a program for the benefit of all the exploited classes, but by democratic action of a majority of the people. As I have said to a hundred audiences in California, we have in our state a complete set of democratic institutions: direct primary, secret ballot, initiative, referendum, and recall. If we cannot use

these weapons, we confess ourselves unworthy of self-government. We can bring about any economic changes we desire by the political means at our disposal in California, and it is our business to do it.

And, of course, if we set out to do it we must really mean it, and must persuade the people that we mean it, and we shall only stultify ourselves if we attempt to co-operate with persons who denounce and jeer at democratic institutions, and say that the needs of the workers are only to be met by the overthrowing of democratic government and democratic institutions, and the setting-up of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

And that is why in our EPIC clubs "there is an active anti-Communist bias". The EPIC clubs are composed of persons who believe in democracy and intend to make it work by democratic methods.

But Mr. King is mistaken when he says that I have "denounced the Communists so roundly". I think I could safely challenge him to quote a sentence in which I have "denounced the Communists". I have denounced the Communist theory, as applied to America or any other country which has democratic institutions; but for the Communists I have sympathy as victims of social wrong, also pity for them as men who have been blinded by that wrong, and are therefore unable to think clearly or understand the institutions of their country. In my writing and my speeches I follow the plan of paying no attention to Communists, but talking about constructive remedies. When I mention Communism it is only to answer some Communist who has misunderstood my arguments, as Mr. King has done.

I trust that all the above is clear, and educational, as requested.

—UPTON SINCLAIR

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DEMAND OF THE WORKERS

BY HAROLD M. KING

THUS far in this series we have traced the emergence of the bourgeoisie from the womb of feudalism. The *Communist Manifesto* proceeds to describe the victory of this new revolutionary class over its feudal oppressors.

"The bourgeoisie has played a most revolutionary role in history . . . It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors', and has left no other bonds than naked self-interest; than callous 'cash payment' . . ."

The American Civil War, viewed by a Marxian, becomes a struggle between Northern capitalists and Southern feudal landlords for the labor of the Negroes. When these Negroes were freed, they ceased to work for their keep. They became 'free' to sell their time for a cash wage. The Northerner crushed the political power of the Southern landlord, and also created a purchasing power of the Negro so that he could sell his cotton cloth in the South.

"The bourgeoisie has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm . . . In one word, for exploitation veiled by religious and political illusions it has substituted . . . shameless, direct exploitations.

"It has converted the Physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet and the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers . . .

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation."

We have already given a thumbnail sketch of the static condition of life under feudalism. The reader would benefit from a complete picture, such as is to be found in Engels' *The Peasant War in Germany*. This sleep was disturbed by the rumblings of new technique, new markets, a new class. In meeting the needs of the rising population, the new class disrupted the feudal traditions of family, school, church and state. Conservative writers of their day called the leaders of the bourgeoisie all the names that the Communists are called to-day.

This dynamic quality of capitalism was the dominant factor in its rapid rise, and is to-day threatening to burst through the legal fetters restricting its further development.

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production . . . The need of a constantly expanding market chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe . . . They have, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, drawn all nations into civilization . . .

"It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization . . ."

In the feudal epoch, travel was dangerous. Europeans knew only Europe and Asia Minor. The great civilizations of the past; the existing cultures of China and India were virtually unknown. The New World had not yet been discovered. For those who had not actively participated in the Crusades, life and barter were confined to their particular manor. The new mercantilists fought to extend their trade without legal restriction. Free competition was to set the "just price". Competitors fought one another for the trade by changing technique, by finding new markets. The world market displaced the narrow confines of the manor. Marx and Engels foresaw the inevitability of centralization in government, and the ultimate need of internationalism as a result of world capitalism. We must remember that they wrote the *Communist Manifesto* in 1847; and before Abraham Lincoln had centralized our own government.

"We see then that the means of production and of exchange which served as the foundation for the growth of the bourgeoisie, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development . . . the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder."

Please note that there was no miracle of spontaneous bursting of the fetters of the feudal ties which were so irksome.

"Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economic and political sway of the bourgeois class.

"A similar movement is going on before our eyes. (1847, not 1936). Modern bourgeois society . . . that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange (is unable to control them).

"It is enough to mention the commercial (now industrial) crises . . . In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that in all earlier epochs would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over production . . . The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered . . . The weapons with which the bour-

geoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself."

The Chart of Plenty has computed that during the depression more than two hundred billion dollars' worth of goods has been kept off the market because the capitalists could see no profit in producing it. When the present Administration sought to aid the prostrate farm population, they found no better method than to limit farm production to match restricted industrial production. Secretary Wallace has actually thanked God for the past year's drouth. When these legal and private restrictions are insufficient, a fascist government limits the number of new enterprises (Nazi Germany), or resorts to the use of destructive war (Italy). The constantly growing productive power of the Soviet Union proves, on the other hand, that the new class of modern times, the working class, when it succeeds in gaining control of the tools of production, introduces a new technique (Stakhanovism) and once again frees the productive system of its fetters.

"But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians."

The word "proletariat" has caused so much disturbance in the hearts of some of our best people, that I would like to point to its synonym: the working class. There can be no doubt that the composition of this class, as well as of the middle class, has changed with the advent of the "power age". Lewis Corey's *The Crisis of the Middle Class* goes into great statistical details concerning the present status of these two classes. What needs to be mentioned at this point is that this new class, the working class, has taken over the revolutionary role in the modern picture. The workers demand the right to utilize the machines that they operate, to the utmost capacity. They cannot succeed without the assistance of the farmers who feed them and their machines; the technicians who guide operations and increase efficiency; the professional men who provide them with comfort and culture; all these are essential to them as allies. But they man the machines that produce the necessities of life; therefore, they must break the fetters that restrict the goods these machines could produce.

Other contributions to the Marx discussion are to be found in the correspondence column of this issue. Readers are urged to send us their opinions as to the value and interest of the series by Mr. King.



FASCIST FLOP IN SEATTLE

BY COLE STEVENS

THE right of political minorities to assemble peacefully in Seattle was challenged January 7 when the Police Department's "red squad" and a band of World War veterans, apparently cooperating closely, raided the opening session of the Communist Party's Social Science school. Seattle has been known as a "liberal" town ever since the days of the wobblies and the General Strike, and this incident produced unex-

pected repercussions that have upset the veterans involved and which may upset the political apple cart of Mayor Charles L. Smith.

Mayor Smith, a very small man both in physical and mental stature, was unknown two years ago. He was elected by a large campaign fund and has cooperated beautifully with the Chamber of Commerce crowd ever since his election. His first anti-labor act consisted in personally leading an attack on the picket line during the maritime strike of 1934, and he was nearly recalled as a result. Last fall he came out in the open again when the Hearst *Post-Intelligencer* featured his discovery of a "Red Plot" in the Fisher Flouring Mill strike. No mention was made of the fact that the Fisher management was being brought before the Northwest Labor Board on eleven counts of violating the Wagner Act. The comic-opera mayor, unable to produce evidence of "Moscow gold" when challenged by the Labor Council, nevertheless signed warrants for the arrest of two leading Communist functionaries, Morris Raport, district organizer and Harry Jackson, maritime organizer. He made little effort to find them, however.

The current Hearst red-baiting campaign blossomed in the Seattle P-I with the horrifying news that a workers' school was to open early this year. Said Smith's Police Chief: "The day the radical school opens we'll back the patrol wagon up to the curb and give the faculty a free ride to jail." The Communists, to have a showdown on the question of civil liberties, moved the opening date up to January 7. Raport sent the mayor a letter notifying him of the place and time.

On the scheduled evening, the preliminary class opened, with many persons who were not Communists in attendance. Raport was telling of the issues involved when five members of the Red Squad walked in. They arrested Raport and five others, including Robert Stephens, boilermakers' delegate to the Central Labor Council and former candidate for the city council.

Wesley Randall, leader of the school, took Raport's place as the squad left, but before the police and their charges had quit the building the hoodlum veterans converged on the building. They charged upstairs, some forty brave and slightly intoxicated patriots with overseas caps on their heads, eager to "uphold American traditions". In the fight that followed, several on both sides were injured. Strangely or otherwise, photographers for the Hearst P-I and the evening *Times* were right on hand to get pictures.

Things did not go as smoothly as Smith had anticipated, however. Seattle was not prepared for such a flagrant violation of civil rights. During strikes such things were to be expected, perhaps; but here the issue was clear. Liberal organizations joined the Communists in protesting to the mayor, keeping his phone ringing all that night. The next morning, the American Civil Liberties Union sent Attorneys Jack Cluck and Rolla V. Houghton to court for a writ of habeas corpus. Smith, who had admitted several days earlier that he could find no legal grounds for arresting the officials of the school, was having the men held incommunicado. But with pressure from both liberal and trade union groups, he had to release all six prisoners the following day.

Then the veterans discovered that they were not immune from the law. Five of them were identified and arrested on the order of Assistant Prosecutor Paul Coughlin for unlawful assembly. All were members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; one, C. R. Christie, was a former national commander, and two others are heads of Seattle posts of the organization. All were released on their personal recognizances, unlike the "reds".

The V.F.W. is slightly bewildered by all this. Their paper

had given much publicity to the workers' school before the raid, but they deny that they laid any plot. According to the *Seattle Star*, "Christie, asked if the veterans would raid future meetings of the 'Communist college', declared that the attitude of the veterans toward the school was the same as it had been Tuesday night, but he would not definitely commit himself as to whether veterans would stage another raid." State Commander Walter L. Daniels says that his organization will "fight to a finish for the freedom of the vets". Six prominent attorneys engaged by the V.F.W. declared that they will demand a jury trial.

Further, the A.C.L.U. attorneys declare that they will sue the police chief for false arrest. Meanwhile the Social Science

school has declared that it will proceed on schedule. In a letter to the mayor, Randall specified the place and time and asked for police protection.

The upshot of this fiasco may be a liberal-labor ticket in the field in the spring municipal election. Conservatives in the labor movement have been inclined to support Smith, who has given them a few jobs, in order to beat the reactionary Order of Cincinnatus candidate. Present sentiment makes this impossible. A liberal candidate might win, since Smith and the Cincinnatus man would split the conservative vote. If this occurs, "Seattle's Boy Friend" (as a recent slushy article in the *American Magazine* called Mayor Smith) will be the most surprised little man in town.



THE NATURE OF AMERICAN IDEALS

III - WHAT DO INTELLIGENT AMERICANS BELIEVE?

BY ELMO A. ROBINSON

THE preceding sections of this discussion have raised certain questions about the nature of American ideals and about the methods of determining what these ideals are. Before the writer presents his own conclusions he wishes to present some of the contributions of his more thoughtful correspondents. Let us hear first from the educators. This is from a professor, a scientist, in an eastern college for women.

"Among the ideals that are traditionally American I would put democracy, 'liberty and justice for all', freedom of speech, and the ideal of the rugged pioneer. The first we may not have any more than England. The same with the second, and all but the last are dwindling in many countries, but still there are plenty of limitations here and we do not have a corner on them. In regard to the pioneer spirit with its courage and its hardihood, its lavish use of nature, its strong individualism—it seems that that is an ideal which is fading and which we can afford to forget for the present. I wonder too if based on traditional ideals we could call radicalism un-American. Didn't we start because of radical ideals and rebellion?"

A professor of English literature in a college on the Pacific coast writes as follows:

"I am now finishing my thirty-fourth year of teaching in schools and colleges. In all that time I have never discovered any instructor teaching dangerously radical doctrines in the classroom. I have heard professors proclaim against injustices and inequalities permitted under the present economic regime—but that is an entirely different thing from radicalism.

"As to some opinions about American Ideals, I offer the following:

"Respect for the basic document, the Constitution, but the absolute right to work and agitate for such changes in it as I think would improve it, and the right to work and agitate for the calling of a Constitutional Convention to write an entirely new Constitution, should changing conditions demand this.

"Obedience to any law as long as it is on the statute books,

but the absolute right to speak and write against that law if I think it should be repealed . . .

"My obligation to do my part in suppressing any tendencies on the part of police officers, prosecuting attorneys, Department of Justice officials, and courts to use illegal means of obtaining information or confessions from suspected persons or depriving any person illegally of his liberty . . .

"Protection of the public education system of this nation."

An educational administrator in the public school system of a prosperous city has given the questions considerable thought.

"In our opinion, the statements frequently made concerning the teaching of radicalism in American colleges are exaggerations not too well founded upon fact. Of course, ideas are being expressed in college classrooms somewhat out of line with traditional beliefs, but this is not necessarily radicalism.

"In the course suggested on *American Ideals*, emphasis should be placed on the *true* rather than on what may or may not be considered *American*. America has no corner on ideals. There are, on the other hand, a very considerable number of social ideals so fundamental in nature that they have been recognized by the leaders of thought in all countries in all ages. . .

"Many of the so-called 'American ideals' came into existence and were fostered under conditions, both social and economic, which no longer prevail . . . Times have changed. What was once considered American may now be conspicuously un-American . . . In every major decision the Supreme Court has attempted to render its judgments not necessarily in line with 'American ideals' which are traditional but in accordance with the ideal goals of human society . . ."

A president of a well-known protestant theological school writes rather frankly:

"I have never met, nor have I ever talked with anybody who ever met, a professor in any institution of higher learning in our country who in his classroom has advocated extreme left-wing Marxianism as a substitute for the system which

now prevails in the United States.

"I do know a number of professors who have studied at first hand, with minds which have sought to be unprejudiced, the Marxian system as now in operation in Russia. A Professor of Social Science who does not study in this way this government, would be, by judgment of educated administrators everywhere, not qualified long to hold a chair in his department . . .

"I find myself hardly ever using the term 'American ideals'. I am not greatly impressed by it . . . What ideals have we that the Canadians do not have? I suppose it may be said that the most insistently uttered 'American' ideals are in origin partly Scotch-Irish and partly midland English. On the other hand, through the central part of the country, lying largely in a triangle drawn from Cincinnati to St. Louis to Milwaukee, we have a huge population whose American ideals are chiefly of German background. I am frankly sceptical as to whether it would be possible for you to formulate any statement of American ideals which is not, after all, highly sectional . . .

"I do not know of any living persons who best exemplify the American ideals. I should suppose, however, that Postmaster General Farley comes as near it as anyone. He is energetic, loyal to his friends, personally clean, strong for success, genial in manner, tall and vigorous in appearance, and not unduly perturbed by the niceties of morals and manners . . .

Another religious leader, the editor of the journal of a protestant denomination, writing under date of April 4, 1935, vividly describes a significant incident:

"Boston had one of the worst exhibitions yesterday at the State House that it has ever had. The President of Boston University, the President of Harvard, the President of Amherst, the President of Boston College, and the President of one other institution, went to the State House to protest against a bill requiring all of the teachers of the public schools to take the oath of allegiance. These distinguished educators, who conducted themselves like gentlemen, were booed and hissed, and one of the members of the committee told the State Commissioner of Education, who was with them and supporting them, that his action would cost him his job. It made one of the strongest believers in democracy I know of exclaim, 'If this is democracy, give me a right-minded king.' The people who did the booing and the cat-calling were members of patriotic societies, so-called, Legionnaires, Veterans of Foreign Wars, etc. It is all a part of the drive against the Reds that has been stirred up by William Randolph Hearst."

An editor of a different type of journal, one dealing with matters of interest to business men, expresses himself concisely:

"The object of a liberal education is to show college students all sides of all questions to which they must find their own answers in tackling the job of living. The most characteristic 'American ideal' seems to me to be the willingness to listen to all sides of all questions."

A third editor holds similar ideas. His magazine, a monthly with general appeal to the educated, circulates widely:

"I was brought up in the Harvard school, and believe that the vitality of teaching comes from the conflicting ideas of the faculty. The less conscious the control that is exerted over opinions, the further will pupils advance toward what for them is the truth. It is a fact that there is radicalism widespread among the young, but I think experience will temper it."

From the managing editor of a large publishing house there

came a detailed reply, from which these paragraphs have been selected:

"I certainly do not believe that the American colleges are teaching radicalism or are fostering un-American ideals. The depression and the obvious maladjustments of our haphazard economic structure have made more radicals than the colleges. On the whole, the conservatism of the colleges in the past is a contributing factor to the present unrest . . .

"Some of the ideals considered characteristically American must be modified in view of the changing world. Nevertheless, it does seem to me that we are committed to the ideals of democracy but have not yet fully realized an important corollary: *Social responsibility on the part of those who have achieved eminence or positions of leadership* . . . Free speech, freedom of religion, free press—these are difficult to preserve but are an essential part of the American ideal scheme. They are abused but they must not be abolished for that reason.

"We must achieve an economic as well as a political democracy . . . And we must, by equalizing opportunity and security, so stabilize the mechanics of existence that we leave the individual mind and spirit free . . . When these problems are solved we may expect the development of real American culture."

The chairman of the board of an important bank has also taken considerable pains in formulating his reply:

"Our basic ideals are not really national. Perhaps 'American ideals' are less the ideals of a certain nation or its citizens than the general ideals of man, which in the United States are modified by the environment and by the character and history of the people. The first place must be given to honor and integrity, and to courage . . . They must be followed with due considerateness to others . . . Another ideal of basic importance is that one should do his work as well as it can be done, or at least as well as he can do it. This is an artistic ideal. It certainly comprises an indispensable ingredient of happiness.

"These considerations would doubtless apply in any civilized country. In America we have a further ideal: that the individual should strive to do the work and to accomplish the things highest with respect to the limits of his capacity. Work that requires thought and judgment is higher than routine. It is also an American ideal that one should continually try to make progress so that he is a better man at thirty than at twenty, and at forty than at thirty, and at x plus 1 than at x."

A city official puts his view into few words:

"Do you, yourself, believe that American colleges are teaching radicalism? No. They are likely teaching equal justice."

"That they are fostering un-American ideals? No. They are likely urging a return to the cooperative fair-play idea of pioneer days."

"What ideals are characteristically American? Ideals are a minor interest in modern America."

The final exhibit is from a nationally known radical:

"It is beyond proving, in my opinion, that there are any distinctive American ideals, or that if such exist American colleges are controlled by them to anything like the extent in which they are controlled by the material make-up of our economic life . . . American ideals are largely an imaginative dream. The Industrial Revolution . . . is the primary factor in the economic plight in which the United States of America finds itself to-day, as a nation, and is primary also in the attack of ignorance and intolerance upon educational freedom . . . To divert attention from this basic area of the

social confusion and catastrophe in which we are by putting the emphasis upon ideals is, as I view it, to add to the confusion and enlarge the catastrophe . . . The need of the hour is the adaptation of cultural life to the revolutionary transi-

tions which are operating in the economic field."

(This is the third of four articles by Professor Robinson on "The Nature of American Ideals". The concluding discussion of the subject will appear next week.)



FASCISM, AMERICAN STYLE

BY JAMES ARROWSMITH

DESPITE repeated warnings on the part of competent observers, the American citizen refuses to see the fact that fascism presents a real and present menace to this country. He persists in looking on fascism as something utterly foreign to these United States, seemingly confident that we Americans have some sort of magic rabbit's foot that enables us to see through all propaganda and hence laugh off any attempt at capitalistic dictatorship. If we could only induce Mr. Citizen to take his rabbit's foot in hand and look a bit more carefully at the huge service station chains of the major oil companies on the Pacific Coast, perhaps he could see that fascism already rules the economic lives of thousands of young Americans.

These service stations provide fascistic training schools of the most efficient sort wherein intelligent and well-educated young men are daily being schooled to accept intimidation, espionage, propaganda and a semi-military mode of operation as a matter of course. Fascism for these young men would be merely the extension into politics of the conditions under which they already live during the greater part of their waking hours.

Let us see how the typical oil company takes the best products of our American schools and colleges and turns them into good fascists. Chosen especially for their intelligence, education and personality, these young men are enlisted in this typically American "youth movement" on promise of rapid advancement and large salaries if they work hard. After filling out lengthy application blanks, bonding papers, filing data—everything but a formal oath of allegiance to the employer, they are given a lecture by the supervisor on the advisability of making a career (!) of the petroleum business and assigned to a training school for a period of from ten to fourteen days. In this brief time the recruit is expected to become a lubricating expert, super-salesman, bookkeeper, janitor and one-man information bureau. He must memorize sales talks, learn page after page of company rules, policy and regulations as well as familiarizing himself with prices, products and the doings of his competitors. He learns that his uniform (furnished at his own expense by "approved" stores) must be of a certain cut and material and must be worn in the specified way. A customer must be "approached" in a set fashion and he is told word for word what must be said to that customer. Every move is made in accordance with company regulation, even to cleaning the station, opening and closing and arranging window displays. If the recruit happens to show any originality by suggesting some improvement, he is soon informed that he is not paid to think, that the company pays "experts" to take care of that task.

The new man, slightly dizzy from all this "learning", usual-

ly expects much more lenient conditions once he is assigned to a regular station. He is invariably disappointed. The maze of company law learned in training must be carried out to the letter, as well as the flood of new policies, sales plans and data of all sorts which flows constantly from the main office. The company not only regulates the service station man's working day, but advises him to spend the major part of his time off in securing new customers and building up sales. One company, about a year ago, sent a form to all of its station employees asking where they bought their groceries, clothes, etc., and asking if they would be willing to transfer their business to another source if it would benefit the company.

But do all these things have to be obeyed implicitly? In a country where traffic regulations, income tax laws or liquor laws carry so little weight, how can a private corporation carry out its laws? Let us see. The station manager acts as corporal and is personally responsible for his entire station. The supervisor in turn is personally responsible for all the stations in his zone, and so on up the ladder, forming a perfect military organization. Inspections of the stations by supervisors or visiting "big shots" are frequent and unexpected, coming at any time from the opening hour until late at night. These known inspections, however, are far from being the most potent factors in keeping stations "in line with company policy". Station men soon learn that company spies are efficient, secret and merciless. They may be parked across the street or in the next block, watching the station for hours. Any strange car that drives in for service may be one of the many employed by the company to check up on the station personnel. Calls are even made on regular customers in order to determine if the station employees are making the proper "sales attempts". An excellent example of the methods of company stool pigeons occurred at a San Diego company station recently. Some five minutes before the station's scheduled 10 o'clock closing time a large, imposing automobile was driven onto the station lot and the driver demanded a lubrication job. The attendant explained that it was closing time and the equipment had been put away. He then enquired if he might call for the car the next morning and, this suggestion being refused, he sent the "customer" to a neighboring unit of the same company where he believed there were two men still on duty. The car was a "mystery car" and the young man was called to the office a few days later and severely reprimanded because he had refused to undertake a lubrication job on his own time and without pay. The fact that it would have taken him until one o'clock in the morning to have done the job according to the company's requirements, and the additional fact that he had to open the station at 7 o'clock, giv-

ing him all of about six hours in which to clean up, eat and sleep in preparation for a long day of speed-up labor, carried no weight with his employers.

Why do men stand for it? Has American youth become so meek, so unthinking, so bovine that it will stand for intimidation, spying, open slavery, without a protest? Are well-educated and intelligent young Americans going to let anything so "subversive" and "un-American" to be put over on them? There are the questions that logically come to mind in such cases as the one just outlined. They need not puzzle us longer, however, for the answer can be found in just one word—propaganda!

So effective is this indispensable tool of fascism that most of the men, far from being ready to rebel, either accept these methods as being necessary or are enthusiastically in favor of them. If dissatisfied they console themselves by thinking that working conditions with any other corporation would be just as bad, or take it out in blaming some individual supervisor or station manager for their troubles. Frequent sales meetings, company periodicals and well-placed gems of philosophy from the executives convince the men that they have excellent jobs after all, giving them far more wages and better working conditions than any comparable job. The old "career with the company" line is fed to them at regular intervals and their immediate hopes are raised with the promise that if they do a good selling job they will earn a promotion to a bigger station with better commissions. This usually suffices to make most of the men willing to be exploited now in return for a chance to exploit their fellow workers later on. If they still dislike working ten to twelve hours a day at the station, then going out in their time off and selling to their friends, relatives and neighbors, they are told that they are merely lazy. Speeches, cartoons and bulletins constantly inform them of what happens to the lazy station man.

Do the facts bear out the claims of the employers? A few figures from a Southern California zone of one company should convince even the most badly fooled individual that they do not. In this district there are approximately sixty stations, with an average personnel of three men each, making around one hundred and eighty service station employees. During the last three years only one man has been promoted from the stations to supervisor. Figuring one promotion to supervisor every three years, it would take the newest man of the hundred and eighty employees five hundred and forty years to work his way up by seniority! It must be obvious to even the most enthusiastic that politics, bootlicking and spying on his fellow employees count for more with this company than "hard work and ability". The doubting station man could also observe that instead of promotion to a better station, the experienced or unusually competent man is rewarded by being transferred to a smaller and poorer paid unit in order to build up the business. However, if the station man values his job or ever expects to work for a corporation again, he had better avoid such thoughts. They lead only to the realization that his company regards him as a not too valuable piece of machinery which can be moved, changed, thrown away or promoted as suits their financial interests, that his entire future depends on his ability to give more than he receives and that his employers are interested, not in rewarding work well done but in operating him and his fellow machines at the lowest possible cost. Once the discovery is made, his enthusiasm for propaganda, fourteen hour days and company fascism will show a strange decline, and lack of enthusiasm means dismissal and the blacklist.

Meanwhile Mr. Citizen continues to spend his dollars for the maintenance of fascist training camps, while teaching his

children to pronounce the words "With liberty and justice for all". The working man drives his old model car up to the pumps of the shiny super units of the major companies, then condemns the "depression" for robbing him of his "American standard of living". The conservative business man gives them his trade because of their systematic service and military procedure, then goes to the polls and votes against "regimentation" and praises "rugged individualism". The lemonade liberal searches every nook and corner for signs of fascistic outcroppings in America, yet remains absolutely unperturbed at the sight of his young neighbor wearing a stiff uniform and learning to obey orders unquestioningly. Perhaps when the American storm troopers, inspired by propaganda and pushed by intimidation and espionage, have finally captured Washington, advocates of economic justice and the friends of labor will, from their places of exile or from jail, wonder whatever became of that nice young man who used to sell them gasoline at the corner service station.

HOLLYWOOD-WEEK

(Hollywood News Bureau—Exclusive to PACIFIC WEEKLY)

LIBEL

A DECISION against monopoly in the news was last week handed down in a Los Angeles court. Radio Station KNX was awarded damages of \$2,501 plus costs in its libel action against Harry Chandler's Los Angeles Times which, in a libelous front page editorial, took up the cudgels for the Press-Radio Bureau, publishers' monopolistic set-up for giving news to broadcasters. The KNX victory will mean additional libel suits against Columbia Broadcasting System's KHJ and independent KMTR, both of which permitted the reading of the libel on their programs. KNX, subscriber to *Transradio*, independent news service, had been accused of broadcasting false news reports.

BIG NEWS

MILLE SIMONE, French actress recently added to the 20th Century-Fox roster, has been eating her meals at the Cedar of Lebanon Hospital for the past two weeks. Meal times find her in the dietary kitchen where her food is weighed and measured. For movie star Simone must lose weight before starting work in *Under Two Flags*, picturization of Ouida novel. . . After eight months of preparation, Marlene Dietrich and Charles Boyer started this week in *Invitation to Happiness* (once made as *Hotel Imperial*) without a script!

POSTPONED

MODERN TIMES, Chaplin's famous Production No. 5, previewed at the United Artists Theater, San Francisco, December 28, received the strangest reception. As a result the picture goes back to the studio for remakes and the January 16 New York opening has been indefinitely postponed.

Says *Variety Daily* following the preview: "Much touted radical inclination of the picture seems to be mostly talk. If Chaplin intended to be propagandist then he has been the best in America since *Easy Street*. It's all just part of the Chaplin formula. It is a fact that left-wingers will go big for *Modern*

Times because they can read anything they want into film. Certain of the sequences most easy to turn into satire on modern economic conditions brought noticeably the biggest reaction from Saturday night preview crowd." Not only left-wingers, but all audiences will like best that first portion of the picture which is a satire on capitalist rationalization; this even *Variety* admits. The picture, however, will receive its most severe criticism from the left-wingers who will point at the innocuous Chaplinesque ending which has Chaplin and Paul Goddard walking down the road into the horizon.

ERROR

WARNER BROTHERS are now sorry for their hasty break with ASCAP and are beginning to realize that they need dance bands and radio stations to ballyhoo forthcoming pictures. This week, Warner rescinds that portion of their music ban by offering to permit advance playing of song hits of future pictures and hits from musicals of Warner-controlled Broadway producers. Advance air plugging is considered essential to stimulate box-office returns. But the broadcasters still say "No" and are looking over English music catalogs for the purchase of broadcasting rights to foreign music which will make up for the loss of Warner-controlled catalogs of Harms, Remick, et al.

The most amusing story to come out of the ASCAP-Warner split is Paramount's inability to get radio time for the grand music on *Anything Goes* which contains the famous Cole Porter tunes (with new lyrics) and a quartet of new hits. For Cole Porter is in the Harms catalog and Paramount inadvertently gave Harms the rights to publish the new tunes as well.

BOOKS

FOREVER BLOWING BUBBLES

BY LEW MILLER

SOME time ago a writer offered Stuart Chase the alternatives of leadership of the American working class in its present struggles, or a statistician's job in a U. S. workers' and farmers' government. After a reading of his latest economic treatise* I want to go on record in protest against any such suggestion. Mr. Chase will become our outstanding bed-time story teller, for throughout his writings we find the elusive stuff dreams are made of.

Two ideas are to be gleaned from *Government in Business*: public ownership will benefit the people, and the method of acquiring ownership is in operation through a system of "control-without-ownership" by the state. The former is adequately demonstrated by illustrations of the superiority and necessity of government ownership—all done in the best Chase fashion with figures, tables and quotations.

When it comes to the problem of how we are going to get government ownership we simply can't go along with Mr. Chase. It wasn't such bad reading (although quite redundant), but the next morning we awoke with a bad economic hangover and knew there was something drastically wrong.

*GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS, by Stuart Chase.
(Macmillan Co.) \$2

For some strange reason you can't wish Socialism into existence. And that's the essence of this "control-without-ownership" idea—wishful thinking. We know you hate the word, Mr. Chase, but we must maintain that taken in large doses this idea of transition to Socialism is dangerous, if not disastrous, to the body politic.

The gist of Mr. Chase's "control-without-ownership" is this: the U. S. government through legislation and loans has become part of the economic structure, acquiring to a certain degree control over industry. This control can be exercised to drive business into more social forms and in certain cases the government can take over the industry as a whole. The balance of the book is devoted to examples of government ownership and some suggestions on methods for operating control or taking over branches of business. New Deal legislation is the principal basis cited in support of this theory; with particular reference to the NRA, AAA and RFC.

Mr. Chase points out that "The New Deal is primarily concerned with losses. It was inaugurated because private business could not keep the banks open, was losing billions of dollars annually, and had abandoned all support for some 15 million workers". Further, in speaking of Hoover's economic legislation:

He organized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which promptly poured billions into the tottering financial structures of banks, railroads, insurance companies. In prior depressions, tottering organizations had been allowed to totter into the grave as a part of the so-called cleansing process.

Here is the explanation and analysis of these legislative measures:

Capital has undoubtedly had the lion's share, but the price of taking it has been to make the State a partner

The RFC is now socializing private losses rather than profits, but it is in a position to control the future profits of many enterprises.

This is a beautiful thought. If only all the workers and poor farmers knew they were on the road to a new society when they helped "socialize the losses" of big business!

The same wishful thinking is found throughout the book—subsidization of industry is identified with Socialism. In the present economic period, one distinguished by the domination of finance capital, the political structure is utilized by business interests. So much so, that the drive to wipe out the democratic aspects of government in order to facilitate profit-making becomes a major issue. This tendency to confuse the domination of the state by business with genuine government ownership and control is extremely dangerous. In searching for a definition of Fascism, Stuart Chase quotes from Charles A. Beard: "Fascism may be regarded as an effort to organize industry, agriculture and labor, thus serving as a preliminary to socialism." Nothing of the sort is true. Fascism is the open domination of the political apparatus by big business, with control maintained by terror, murder and suppression. Nor is it controlled capitalism, as Mr. Chase implies when he speaks of the syndicated (corporate) form of government in Italy. These syndicates have not been established, are only on paper.

Another case in point. Some years ago the index of the number of bankruptcies was an indication of the depth of the crisis. This index is no longer useful. Why? Simply because industry and the state have become so closely intertwined (for the benefit of business) that the collapse of industry would mean the crash of the whole structure. All the forces and finances of government are utilized to bolster up a failing economic system.

The inability of Mr. Chase to weigh and interpret his data renders the book of little value. No explanation is given for the collapse of New Deal legislation. If Mr. Chase would only pause to consider why the NRA and AAA were killed while the RFC (which has poured over 9 billions into the financiers' pockets) is continued, he might come to a more

correct conclusion.

The NRA, AAA and other governmental measures were inaugurated at a time when the capitalist social order in the U. S. was shaken by the crisis. Under the cloak of propaganda for a "new social era" the New Deal served the capitalists in carrying out the most important measures necessary in their interests: price inflation, granting of tremendous sums to save bankrupt capitalist undertakings, the abolition of legal hindrances to the formation of trusts, etc. When the capitalists exhausted the possibilities of the NRA, AAA, etc., and these measures became obstacles in the road to still greater profits, their termination was effected. Small wonder that with the death of the NRA came a wave of intense competition to wipe out the small fellow and a drive against wages and living standards. With the AAA out of the way the banks and large farming interests will renew their campaign (financed by the people through processing taxes and increased prices) to wipe out the small farmer.

A long time ago a gentleman by the name of Kautsky (then an ardent revolutionary) warned against finding socialism in the construction of every public lavatory.

REFINED SNOBBERY

WE SOVIET WOMEN, by Tatiana Tchernavin.
(E. P. Dutton & Co.) \$2.50

(Reviewed by Ella Winter)

TATIANA TCHERNAVIN, who wrote her personal story of "Escape from the Soviets" last year, has written this time fifteen sketches of women she met after the Revolution, students, administrators, gypsies, "servants", writers, officials and fellow-prisoners in jail in Moscow. The stories are all bitterly anti-soviet and their propaganda object is to show the untold harm done to a fine and noble Russia by dirty, uneducated, crude, drunken, dishonest proletarians who have taken the place of the nice, refined people who ran the country so well before. Mme. Tchernavin has no idea why any change had to take place in Russia; in no single phrase does she grant that anything has been gained by anyone in this greatest of all historic changes.

Since the stories are well-written and well-translated, and the first one of the priest's daughter who committed suicide because she could not get work, is very moving, the book will probably be welcomed by the bourgeois critics with acclaim as was the first book, which the *Times Literary Supplement* called "one of the most moving and convincing records of human experience . . ." Nevertheless, the author has made the same mistake this time as before: she has generalized from the individual case. Everyone knows that individual tragedies took place in the great overturn; that some individuals suffered "unjustly". Everyone knows that there are stupid, ignorant, petty and prejudiced people in a population of 171,000,000. But Madame Tchernavin has made every isolated case of stupidity, greed, red-tape or ignorance a peg on which to hang a general indictment of the whole regime. The silly and acquisitive wife of an official makes all Soviet women (and especially wives of Commissars) cupidinous and empty-headed gossips ("The Wife of a Soviet Official"): a few girls who cared more for silk stockings or chocolate than for their man call forth endless moralizing about the venality of marriage, the degradation of love, the lack of morality in the U.S.S.R. Men—especially Komsomols—are all dirty, smelly, coarse and lecherous, and the girls all treat all the men as sugar daddies (although there is, of course, no sugar and, since all children are illegitimate, there are no daddies). But when an old bourgeois (a pre-revolutionary friend of the author's) behaves like a reprobate toward a young girl, he is merely "gay, charming, light-hearted and exceptionally gifted" (p. 123).

The generalizations become almost funny. A girl dies of

consumption and it is the political terror that killed her (p. 29); two men steal and all communists are thieves (p. 52). The book abounds with such phrases: "None of them ever did any real work or understood what it was they were destroying so pitilessly." (p. 75)—this of art treasures, which every reporter, from Sir Martin Conway to Mrs. M. C. Sloss of San Francisco, found protected and treasured by the Soviets. All Russian artists of reputation "developed before the Revolution" and "we . . . are the last representatives of Russian culture" (p. 170); their (Soviet) system is simply not to consider the *workers* (italics mine, p. 85).

Even the Communist babies are infected with the frightfulness and ruthlessness. "A Russian baby would have screamed himself blue in the face", but the gypsy babe "sat on his grandmother's lap, waving his little arms, his eyes shining, thoroughly enjoying the noise and the singing"—in a smoky, smelly, stuffy cabaret!

But the apex of these snobbish conclusions is the one drawn from the miserable syphilitic wretch, mentally defective, with carious teeth, a prostitute, who uses vile and abusive language and is ungrateful and cowardly to her cell-mate, the author: with "dismay" the author reflects: "This was merely a sample of the new type produced by the Revolution" (p. 269).

I must indeed have been "shown around" when I went to the Soviet Union. "You cannot indict a nation," said Edmund Burke. He hadn't met Tatiana Tchernavin.

OF AUXILIARY VALUE

AN ATLAS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, by J. F. Horrabin. (Alfred A. Knopf) \$1.50

(Reviewed by Harry Conover)

IT IS an adage among historians that "To understand the present we study the past". There is much less agreement among historians as to what in the past we should study, as to which factors and events in the past have most deeply influenced the course of history and shaped the contemporary scene. Are the moving forces economic, racial, geographic, political, or the actions of great men? Every searcher into the past has to answer this question in order to select from his data those events which are meaningful and this selection is, oddly enough, largely determined by the author's own insight into the present he is seeking to explain.

To J. F. Horrabin it appears that political, territorial and geographical changes most effect man's behavior and he has set forth his position in this brief book containing 70 maps with a page of text facing each. Such a thesis to-day is certain to receive few adherents in face of the daily and more clearly perceived influence of the economic conflict between classes, but in the field of minorities problems, frontier questions, and disputed spheres of control considerably increased understanding may be gained by the use of such a book as this. Despite its pretensions of scope, the book is of auxiliary rather than prime value in the understanding of European history from the second to the twentieth century. As such it is a well done piece of work, with maps which are at the same time remarkably simple, clearly drawn and correct.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

ELMO A. ROBINSON is associate professor of philosophy at State College, San Jose, California.

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ELLA WINTER speaks of Russia from personal knowledge. She spent a considerable period of time there and afterwards wrote "Red Virtue: Human Relations in the New Russia".

HARRY CONOVER is a member of the Economics Department at the University of California. He is working on an historical study of violence in California to be published in the spring.

CORRESPONDENCE

TWO MARX LETTERS

Editor, Pacific Weekly

Correspondent Nowacki errs when he questions in Pacific Weekly of January 6, in his last sentence; "Does history cite one instance where ruling class power was changed except by revolution?"

Here are two instances out of a possible hundred, without reference to an encyclopaedia:

(a) 1912. The House of Commons passed the Lords' Veto Act which denied to House of Lords the right to veto acts of Parliament. This certainly changed ruling class power as did:

(b) The Magna Charta of England, June 1215. This document more than any other changed the ruling class power.

Had Mr. Nowacki said "ruling class" instead of "ruling class power" his otherwise excellent letter would have been all correct.

San Francisco

Herbert Morgan

Editor, Pacific Weekly

Upton Sinclair will find a correct interpretation of the statement of Marx which he quoted in Pacific Weekly (December 20) in Lenin's "State and Revolution". It is here that Lenin has to say:

"In 1871 England was still the model of a purely capitalist country, but without a military machine and, in a large measure, without a bureaucracy. Hence Marx excluded England, where a revolution, even a people's revolution, could be imagined, and was then possible, without the preliminary condition of destroying the 'ready-made state machinery'."

"To-day, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this exception made by Marx is no longer valid. Both England and America, the greatest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty' in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have to-day plunged headlong into the all-European dirty, bloody morass of military bureaucratic institutions to which everything is subordinated and which trample everything under foot. To-day both in England and in America, the 'precondition of any real people's revolution' is the **break-up**, the **shattering** of the 'ready-made state machinery' (brought in those countries, between 1914 and 1917, to general 'European' imperialist perfection)."

Carmel, California

Sara E. Reamer

CRITICIZING MRS. CARVETH WELLS

Editor, Pacific Weekly

On Tuesday, January 7, at the Paul Elder Auditorium a Mrs. Carveth Wells spoke on Russia, advertised as a lecture for "women only".

I had returned only this past September from a trip to Russia where I spent thirty-six days. Naturally, I was curious to hear what secrets Mrs. Wells knew about the Russian women that had escaped my observations. I speak German (German is the first ranking foreign language in Russia) and I also speak the Russian language fairly well, having studied it at the University of California, before I left on my trip. I was therefore well able to converse with the Russians in any of the three languages.

Mrs. Carveth Wells does not speak the Russian language.

Mrs. Wells opened the meeting with the announcement that she was in Russia nearly four years ago—the United States, the most highly developed country in the world, underwent tremendous changes in four years, so surely Russia, whose progress is at a pace hitherto unknown in the history of the world, must have changed considerably in the past four years. Yet, Mrs. Wells spoke in a deliberate manner to convey to the audience that whatever she claimed she found there at that time, still exists. She mentioned only two cities, Leningrad and Moscow, and stated that she made Leningrad in one day. How long she spent in Moscow she did not say.

Though the lecture was advertised for "women only" yet Mrs. Wells **never touched** on the life of the women in Russia, where they are on a par with the men in all industries and because of sharing life equally with the male population, have and still are making wonderful contributions in the building of their country.

Neither did Mrs. Wells touch on woman's emancipation from the kitchen drudgery. In fact, her entire talk was anything but about women or the actual life in Russia, except in spots where she said she starved with the peasants and ate well in the restaurants with the Communists; and that she saw dead women on the streets and on the stations.

The greatest part of the time of her lecture she spent inciting the audience against Russia and the wisdom of the continuation of the recognition of Russia. She also stated that the Russian Ambassador and Consuls, who are in the United States, are working for the overthrow of our government. When someone from the floor asked her how she came to that conclusion she answered that since the Ambassador and the Consuls are Communists it means that they are working for the overthrow of our government.

San Francisco

Claire Beaumont

"THEY TELL ME—"

A LETTER comes from Langston Hughes from a swell hotel in Cleveland, in which he says that he has been speaking for the League Against War and Fascism at its Third U. S. Congress both on the platform and on the air. The letter is dated 2 a. m., Feb 4, 1935—so he must have been busy with speaking! He met a lot of Californians and they had a good time talking about us all. "Look at the hotel I am staying at. The Congress does right by its speakers! . . ."

Hughes has just won first prize in the contest sponsored by the New Theater League and the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners for plays on Angelo Herndon. Hughes' play is called "Angelo Herndon Jones" and was awarded the prize because of its "unusual imaginative and poetic quality".

First prize for a play dealing with Negro life, sponsored by the same organizations, was won by Bernard Schoenfeld of Prof. Baker's 47 Workshop. His play is called "Trouble with the Angels" and is a dramatization of Langston Hughes' article of that name which appeared in "New Theater". It was the story of the Jim Crowing of "The Green Pastures" in Washington and the attitude of "de Lawd"—the late actor-preacher Richard Harrison—toward that happening.

In the meantime Hughes has finished another play—a comedy—in collaboration with Arna Bontemps.

WHILE THE DAILY newspapers report that District Attorney Buron Fitts of Los Angeles and his secretary-sister, Mrs. Bertha Gregory, are going on trial for perjury arising out of the Hollywood "Love Mart" case, a pamphlet arrives called: "So They Indicted Fitts: The Inside Story" in great black type with an exclamation mark reaching all down the page. It is by C. H. Garrigues, investigator for the D. A.'s office and the Los Angeles county grand jury, and a reporter for the "United Progressive News", "who is reputed to know more about the inside of Los Angeles politics than any other person". It is "an amazing, astounding and engrossing story"; it really is. It's one of those stories that make you say, "No; those things don't happen." It is told like a detective story with names and dates . . . And we have confirmation in the autobiography of Leslie T. White ("Me, Detective", to be published by Harcourt, Brace and Co.), who tells the whole sordid story in a chapter called "Three Little Millionaires Go to Market—Love Market".

READERS OF this column are fated to hear a good deal about John Steinbeck's new novel "In Dubious Battle". I have read an advance copy but the ethics of the profession don't allow you to review a book till publication date, which is January 28. It's hard to have to wait till then. It's the story of our little agricultural strikes out here, those strikes that taught so many liberals, artists, poets, photographers, painters so much in the last three years. They taught Steinbeck evidently, as they did Marie Welch, Consuela Kanaga,

Dorothea Lange, Arnold Armstrong, Carey H. McWilliams, Langley Howard and Bruce Minton. . . I'd love to see Caroline Decker's face when she reads this novel. Every apple, every wheezing Ford, every dirt lane will be familiar to her. Just wait till January 28!

KYLE CRICHTON is in Hollywood to do a series of articles for "Collier's Magazine". It is rumored that Robert Forsythe is not far behind. His Hollywood contributions for "New Masses" will probably break the circulation manager's back. Crichton is spending this week-end visiting in Carmel.

MAX EASTMAN and his wife Eliena Krylenko, former sister of the ex-Soviet Minister of Justice, have moved for the winter to Santa Barbara where Eastman will write a new book.

WHEN UNA JEFFERS gave her first little talk on Yeats Lincoln Steffens said: "You see; you'll like it, and, once started, you'll go right on lecturing." So far Mrs. Jeffers has spoken four times on Yeats and Irish literature, and Jan. 22 she will talk at the Century Club in San Francisco on Irish Music.

SINCE Dorothy Parker and Tess Slesinger went to Hollywood, New Yorkers are hard put to it for wit. So they've re-started the old old Goldwyn-Goldfish stories. They tell me that Sam Goldwyn said: "It is a complete carriage of misjustice"; "Please include me out of it"; "That liar, take what he says with a dose of salts."

ELLA WINTER

NEXT WEEK

SCIENCE IN THE SOVIETS AND UNDER CAPITALISM.

A reply by a Biologist to Dr. MacDougal's SOVIET SCIENCE FACES INWARD.

PROF. ELMO A. ROBINSON

of the San Jose State College makes "Some Semi-Philosophical Conclusions" in the final installment of his series on THE NATURE OF AMERICAN IDEALS.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CREDO

of SARA BARD FIELD, Western poet and an associate editor of PACIFIC WEEKLY.

TUBERCULAR FLOPHOUSE IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

THE INSANITY OF THE PWA.

LINCOLN STEFFENS' COLUMN.

"THEY TELL ME—"

Ella Winter's column on persons and things literary.

IN

PACIFIC WEEKLY

AN EXTRAORDINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

A discharged inmate of SAN QUENTIN is to tell his story in the columns of PACIFIC WEEKLY.

He has served his term—"expiated" his crime, as they have it. The State of California has no further hold on him. He will tell frankly and under his true name what actually goes on behind those walls.

It is not a pretty story; it does not redound to the credit of civilization as exemplified by California, but it is true and it is important.

COMING SOON in

PACIFIC WEEKLY

MORE THAN MONEY IN THIS LETTER

Dear Mr. Bassett

There isn't a magazine that comes to my desk that I find fresher, newsier, awaker than your Pacific Weekly. You've been sending it to me free. I think it time I subscribed.

More power to you!

January 2, 1936.

LEWIS GANNETT
New York Herald Tribune

PACIFIC WEEKLY,
Box 1300, Carmel, California.

Send your magazine for six months to

I enclose one dollar.