

THE final month of the presidential campaign got under way with Candidate Roosevelt proclaiming himself a "far-sighted conservative," Candidate Landon conferring with Herbert Hoover, and Candidate Browder resting up in an Indiana jail, held on a charge of vagrancy. The New York State Democratic convention was the occasion chosen by the President to cast aside his "non-political" mantle, which he did by repudiating a Communist support that was never his to repudiate. The President's entire speech was a confirmation of the Communist view of him as one who would make only enough concessions to American workers to keep them from becoming militantly class conscious. This view of Roosevelt was clearly echoed two days later by the *New York Times*, which formally called for the President's reelection to "provide insurance against radicalism" and offered the opinion that he would "make his second Administration more conservative than his first."

Support for the belief that Roosevelt contemplates no further "radical" experiments such as the N.R.A. and A.A.A. was afforded by his address in Pittsburgh two days later. Ardently defending the expenditures and the record of his first term, the President predicted a balanced budget within a year or two, without additional taxes. The glowing picture he painted of his administration's accomplishments found faint reflection in the comprehensive survey of the New Deal published during the week by the *Economist*, most important organ of financial opinion in Great Britain. "Relief there has been," says the *Economist*, "but little more than enough to keep the population fed, clothed, and warmed. Recovery there has been, but only to a point still well below the pre-depression level. Reform there has been, but it is slight in comparison with the reformers' blueprints." But for all that, the journal believes Roosevelt deserves reelection because the Republicans have even less to offer.

ONCE more the Social Security Act served as a focal point in the campaign. Governor Landon made public a report attacking the old-age provisions of the act which he said had been made by the Twentieth Century Fund. Since the Fund is supported by Edward A. Filene, a Roosevelt backer, publication of the critical report might have had a telling effect but for a few circumstances not mentioned by the Landon command. The report, given to Governor Landon with the distinct understanding that it would be kept confidential, was only a tentative analysis by one member of the committee's research staff, and not the official report of the organization. Much more serious, as the *New York Post* pointed out, was Landon's use of the document "in an attempt to bolster his own views." The report, said that journal, "is written from a viewpoint even more liberal than that of the New Deal—whereas Governor Landon's criticism is from a viewpoint considerably less liberal."

This was the view expressed more force-



*Covering the events of the week  
ending October 5*

fully by Earl Browder over the radio. Assailing the law as a "mockery" of its title of "social security," Browder called attention to Landon's speech on the subject in Milwaukee, in which the Republican candidate offered to repeal entirely the principle of federal responsibility and leave it all to the states. The governor's own state of Kansas, as Senator Wagner pointed out, is one of the few states that have not even entered into cooperation with the federal government on an old-age security program, has no pension law, and provides nothing more than pauper relief on a county optional basis.

THE Landon forces got the worst of the week's bargaining in the way of supporters. To the sunflower standard came pathetic Al Smith. Before a gathering sponsored by what is in effect a woman's auxiliary of the Liberty League, the once-popular wearer of the brown derby apologized for having a high hat on the ground that "so has every other man that ever goes to a wedding or a funeral." Embittered because Roosevelt had never asked for his advice, the man who less than a year ago declared that he had been born in the Democratic party and would die in it urged the election of Landon. Descending to invective that smacked almost of senility, Smith said of his party: "Why, even a Communist with wild whiskers and a smoking bomb in his hand is welcome as long as he signs on the dotted line."

But while Landon was attracting such has-beens as Al Smith, the one-time Socialist John Spargo, and Henry L. Mencken, he lost the support of a still active and powerful leader in his own party, William E. Borah. For twenty years Borah has been noted for his savage attacks on the tory leaders of his party up to the day of the convention, and for his complete submission and loyalty from then until election day. Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover he managed somehow to swallow. But of Landon he told a reporter of the *Philadelphia Record*, "I have absolutely no intention to speak in his behalf. Principles are more important to me than my election. . . . If certain parties persist in forcing me into the Presidential race I shall make clear in no unmistakable terms what I think about Mr. Landon, the forces about him, what really happened at

Cleveland, and who wrote the telegram to the convention that bore his name."

WHILE the two old-party leaders wrangled over almost meaningless points of difference, it remained for the Communist candidate to crystallize the one real issue of the campaign: civil liberties, democracy or fascism. The crystallization was not of Browder's making. It was handed to him on a platter by the petty Republican officials of Terre Haute, Ind., who clapped the candidate and four companions into jail as vagrants in order to prevent Browder's speaking in that city. The high-handedness of Terre Haute's two-penny Fascists went unremarked by both Landon and Roosevelt, but to Browder it was a significant step, an attempt on the part of reaction to see how far it dare go in openly flouting those constitutional guarantees to which it had hitherto given at least lip-service. "My arrest," he said, "served to show the arbitrary power of the capitalist interests and their ability to put behind bars anybody at all. It illuminated the movement in this country toward fascism."

Further illumination on that score was not lacking during the week. In New York's Madison Square Garden, a crowd of 20,000 gave Avery Brundage, chairman of the American Olympic committee, the straight-arm Nazi salute as he extolled Hitler and declared, "We can learn much from Germany." Another speaker was Mayor Karl Stroehlin of Stuttgart, whose admittance to the country was protested by the American League Against War and Fascism. The State Department a few weeks ago barred Willie Gallacher, Communist member of the British Parliament, as a possibly subversive influence, but it found no reason to keep out the anti-Semitic Stroehlin, who is in charge of disseminating Nazi propaganda to Germans outside the Reich.

If more illumination of the fascist trend were needed, it came on the labor front. The toll of one dead and over two hundred injured resulted from a charge of state troopers on several thousand pickets at the Berkshire Knitting Mills in Reading, Pa. In California's Salinas Valley, where the lettuce strike continued, the affected area remained in the grip of vigilantes and the equally menacing and irresponsible "law-enforcement" agencies, mobilized and "coördinated" by professional Red-baiters and agents of the growers and shippers. Citizens of Salinas responded by forming a Defense Committee. With the support of the state labor federation and the sympathetic walkout of 3000 Filipino field workers, the drive was intensified to stop the sale of "hot" lettuce. Governor Merriam, on the spot because of his own encouragement of violence, was forced to offer a compromise settlement. But the grower-shippers, bent on destroying the agricultural union, rejected the plan.

While Salinas Valley workers held firm, a few miles north in San Francisco the President's newly-appointed Maritime Commission succeeded in dragging out of the ship-owners a fifteen-day extension of the awards

which were due to expire at midnight, September 30. Harry Bridges, leader of the West Coast longshoremen, indicated that the two-week truce, during which negotiations are to continue, does not bind the unions to accept "blanket arbitration"—a ruse of the owners to cancel all the gains obtained in the 1934 strike. Labor solidarity on the West Coast was encouraged by the pledged support of eastern maritime unions.

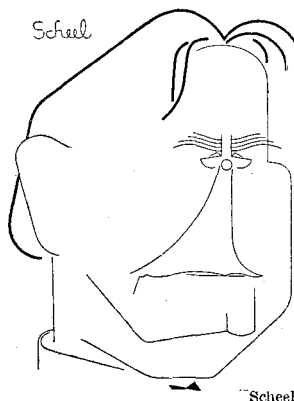
**A**MERICA'S fascists got something of a jolt in Michigan when a jury found seven Black Legionnaires guilty of first-degree murder in the death of Charles A. Poole, a young Catholic W.P.A. worker. Four more were convicted of second-degree murder. A series of crimes, including several other murders, were laid at the door of the fascist organization, sworn to exterminate "the anarchist, Communist, the Roman hierarchy and their abettors."

Sinclair Lewis, whose graphic picture of an American fascist state is scheduled to be produced by the W.P.A. theater project, suggested labor organization such as that offered by the C.I.O. as a preventive measure. "Strong industrial unions," he said, "will prevent fascism in this country. . . . I don't see how there can be any strong unions except industrial unions."

C.I.O. progress was dramatically portrayed during the week by *Fortune* magazine in an article which placed the number of steel workers enrolled in the past three months at 40,000 to 50,000. The magazine, estimating the total strength of the thirteen C.I.O. unions as 1,441,000, compared its drive to the abolitionist movement before the Civil War. In the event of an "irrepressible conflict," suggested the magazine, the C.I.O. might enlist as many as 10,000,000 men.

Hints of peace between the C.I.O. and the executive council of the A.F. of L. were gleaned from a statement of David Dubinsky that a settlement was possible "only on condition that the organization campaign of the steel workers continues uninterrupted," and by William Green's statement to President Roosevelt that "everybody connected with that controversy is becoming a bit more temperate in point of view." They were lessened, however, by Dubinsky's subsequent declaration that organization of steel and other mass production industries along industrial lines is the only basis for peace within the Federation. Philip Murray, chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, announced that the drive would take another step forward by pressing for higher wages.

**F**ROM Rome came word that the United States is soon to have a visit from Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State. The suddenness with which the Cardinal changed his plans for a trip to Switzerland immediately gave rise to rumors that his visit might have political implications. Most credible is the report that the Cardinal comes as a special envoy from the Pope to enlist the support of the



Borah—Landon was too much for him

United States in the anti-Communist drive which has become the keystone of Vatican diplomacy.

On a world-wide front the war between Right and Left issued during the week in two sanguinary battles far beyond the confines of Spain. Paris saw its worst street fighting since February 1934 when Colonel de la Rocque's fascists attempted in vain to break up a huge Communist meeting. The Communists to whom a permit had been issued, had the full protection of the police, and the violence originated entirely with the forces of the Right. As a result of the clash, the French Social Party, formerly the Croix de Feu, branded itself as a military corps rather than a legal political party, and it was accordingly predicted that criminal prosecution would soon be undertaken against de la Rocque. Significant of the distaste of the French for fascism were the signs posted in various cities by the fascists, describing French Communist leaders as "Fascists of Soviet Russia" and carrying the slogan "Down with Fascism!"

London got its taste of fascist-bred violence when Sir Oswald Mosley attempted to lead his Blackshirts through a predominantly Jewish section of London. Five thousand fascists were routed by a vast crowd which barricaded streets and hurled stones at the Mosley army. So serious did the situation become that police officials finally ordered the procession to disband. Communists and Laborites pronounced the Mosley debacle "the most humiliating defeat ever suffered by any figure in British politics."

**R**EACTION scored a point in France when the Senate and Rightist opposition in the Chamber succeeded in killing legislation that would have raised wages to compensate for any rise in living costs resulting from the devaluation of the franc. An inadequate compromise measure, providing fines and jail sentences for those who raise prices beyond the limit made necessary by devaluation, was passed. In the meantime, sporadic strikes made it evident that labor would not relinquish its gains of the last few months and would pit its collective weight against the attempts of employers to sabotage agreements.

Encouraged by the Anglo-French-American agreement in connection with the devaluation of the franc, the Economic Committee of the League of Nations undertook to encourage a

general reduction of trade barriers. Of great significance in this connection was Italy's devaluation of the lira, severing in a sense that country's tie with Germany, which has refused to devalue. Internally the move will benefit Italy only as long as Il Duce manages to keep prices down.

Where the Left-Right war is at its bitterest, in Spain, the Loyalists scored a pronounced victory by recapturing the key town of Maqueda, forty-five miles southwest of Madrid. The move cut off the Rebel forces in the Toledo sector from other insurgent forces in the west and north, affording the Loyalists an opportunity to delay indefinitely the encircling movement about the capital.

While Madrid's defenders dug in to repel the invading forces, the Spanish government's delegation in the Assembly of the League of Nations made public the notes it had dispatched on September 15 to the powers that accepted the French non-intervention proposal. The notes furnished proof that Portugal, Italy, and Germany had flagrantly violated their pledges and demanded that the embargo on Spain's government be raised and the rebels prohibited from receiving war materials. In separate notes to the three powers that have been aiding the fascists, Spain enumerated in detail shipments of munitions and military planes and cited the bombing of a government hospital ship by an Italian air squadron. The note to Germany cited the numerous arrivals of Junker planes for use by the rebels.

With foreign planes bombing Madrid nightly and battalions of Moors hired for the slaughter, fascist General Cabanellas had the effrontery to reject—at least theoretically—an offer of volunteers from Ireland with the statement: "We do not want the collaboration of foreigners in the work of liberating the fatherland."

**G**ERMANY staged another show—this time for its farmers—in an effort to offset a further tightening of belts. According to the Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times*, who is not hostile to the Nazi regime, "Short grain crops and restrictions on feed imports have already produced shortages in various kinds of meat, butter, eggs, and fat, and the Olympic guests consumed so much of these that the shortages are again getting acute."

In the Far East, imperialist Japan suddenly checked its mad lunge at China. The inordinate degree of caution which marked Japanese activities during the week indicated that Tokyo is aware of the temper of China's millions, and of their readiness to fight back. The strength of the sentiment for anti-Japanese resistance may be gauged by the Nanking government's reported rejection of Japan's humiliating demands and by its strong counter-demands. The latter were said to have included recovery of Manchukuo, suppression of Japanese smuggling, cessation of Japanese interference in the administration of the northern Chinese provinces, and the halting of further increases in Japanese military strength in North China.



# Browder in Birmingham

*The speech there by the Communist Party candidate was a victory in the fight for workers' rights in the South*

By Beth McHenry

THEY say the South is the South and you can't expect things to happen in a hurry. They say, take the race question now, you can't buck the race question and anyone that tries to do it is a damn fool. But every once in a while, even in the South, there's an incident that points the general direction and that direction is ahead.

It was, for instance, such an incident when 500 white miners followed the body of a Negro union brother to his grave in the coal strike of 1935 in Birmingham. It was such an incident when Negro and white workers in the building-trades strike in Chattanooga last spring sat together along benches in the picket tent, eating the same food and drinking from the same glasses, talking and being fellow to fellow and not at all white to Negro. And when Browder came South and spoke in Chattanooga and Birmingham, well, that was an incident too.

The tradition about the Communists in the South may not be as old as the one which refuses to end the War Between the States, but up until lately it seemed as vigorous. The hatred for the Communists was different in that it didn't just grow up in the South. It was a steel-company child and every good Southerner who doesn't own stock can tell you about the steel corporations not being indigenous to Alabama. One difference between a Yankee who comes South to be a Tennessee Co. official and a Yankee who comes down to be a union organizer is that the official speaks at Chamber of Commerce and Rotary Club luncheons and becomes one of the boys while the union organizer is a carpet-bagger and a foreigner. The hatred for the Communists in itself was an outside hate, introduced by Yankee industrialists and made welcome by native plantation owners.

There were a lot of people who said that the tradition about Communists would keep Browder from speaking in the South. In Birmingham there was a rumor that the Tennessee Co. (U.S. Steel) officials had said he wouldn't speak and even the newspaper boys picked it up and shook their heads and said "Well, I guess he won't." The Tennessee Co.'s voice sounds like God's in the wilderness and everyone is always mistaking it for thunder. A few of the textile bosses sent rumors flying too. All of the officials sent thugs down to the hall to represent them and it seemed to me the thugs were looking mighty surprised and restless, having to stand back and listen to Earl Browder speak. It seemed to me they were giving the chief of police and all the cops hurt glances, like children

restrained for the first time. They didn't seem to understand that the cops were there to protect Earl Browder because a lot of liberals and trade-union leaders around town had said they'd better.

But maybe it was the press which surprised everyone the most. Some of us have been watching headlines in southern newspapers for quite a while. They have a way of making a striker out a criminal and of produc-

of all. The Committee for Industrial Organization rose out of the need of the working people for unity, and it brought with it the first real unified struggle for civil liberties and human rights. Down South, where they used to think civil liberties meant license labeled "Communism," the steel workers and the miners and all the rest are discovering that it means the things they ought to have been having all along. They've got around

to figuring that if they want to hear a Communist speak, well, that's their privilege. And if he says things that sound better than pretty good to them, well, it makes you pretty mad to have corporations pick your politics for you and send around thugs to keep your sentiments pure. And when organized working people get mad, even southern bosses can see that it's better to hush the press a bit and keep the thugs in their kennels for the night and let the working people have their fling for a little while. The bosses have funny ideas about the psychological moment to crack down on the workers, but the funniest part about it is



*"Driscoll! Those Browder and Ford speeches aren't short-wave relays from Moscow. They're making them over here!"*

ing bombs out of the air, just like the Hearst press. They've always found Communists good copy. It increased the circulation to show scare headlines about overthrowing the government and burning churches; and better yet, the steel and textile magnates would smile and there's a future ahead for a newspaper man who hits a pleasing note for the bosses down South. But even a reactionary newspaper has to mark a change of events. The southern press sniffed the air and suddenly there appeared "Let Browder Speak" editorials, and after he had spoken he was interviewed and quoted on the front page with pictures.

Someone said now if this had happened two years ago we'd all have died from shock but as it is, well, everything's different now.

Everything's different now, even in the South, and maybe there it is most different

that the union people know about the bosses' ideas, so the cracking-down process won't be so simple.

The Committee for Industrial Organization came easily to Alabama particularly, because the largest organized group in the state are the coal miners and they're tough from bitter strikes and seeing their brothers mowed down by machine guns. There weren't many votes left for the craft unionists at the state convention of labor, and the district president of the U.M.W. became president of the State Federation. When Green began to make his threats to expel the C.I.O., it didn't mean a split within the state labor forces in Alabama that amounted to anything, for the craft unionists are far in the minority anyway and many of them are militants who've been wanting industrial unionism for a long while.

The Alabama coal miners three years ago