

for the people, and that America's place is strictly out of this war. Not to stay out, but to get out, for Mr. Roosevelt has of course put us in. Several US senators said to me lately that Hitler has saved us from the danger of sending American boys abroad by leaving us no place to send them. But when England, the sacred Motherland, is invaded, there'll be a frenzied demand by the financial allies and intellectual colonists of Britain to save her. And King George may set up in Ottawa, and there will be terrific pressure to salvage the brave empire which goes on fighting even after its head is cut off.

When Weygand failed to attack along the Somme, it was obvious that the French fifth column was betraying France. Poor France was governed by a gang of whom some were in Hitler's pay and some in England's; the first faction held the cards. The most powerful inner circles of international capitalism by this time had decided that the Nazi machine was just what the doctor ordered to put the insolent peoples of Europe back into the serfdom from which they began to emerge about 1789. So France's throat was cut and the English jackal made a fine exhibition of rage over being balked at feeding on the choice parts of the corpse. But obviously the British government is largely in the hands of men eager to let Hitler bring Nazism to the Tight Little Isle. First, however, better let a few hundred thousand unemployables get killed off. It would still be nice to get America in. Maybe a "slaughter of the innocents" would do it. So Churchill stops the evacuation of British kiddies. No shipping space available to save them—but Lady Astor shipped a dozen horses in the SS *American Farmer*, according to CBS reporter Edmond Taylor, quoted in the "Listening In" column of the *New York Post*, July 18. Slaughtered horses wouldn't make Americans clench their fists and say, "We must get into this and stop the Nazis." But slaughtered children might.

We Irish Americans have always been for strong national defense. But when, after spending seven billions on defense in seven years FDR asks for fourteen billions more on the assurance that he hasn't a warlike thought in his mind, it strikes us as odd.

People of any shade of politics, conservatives like me, can well be grateful to the Communist Party for its pioneering analysis of the plans now being speeded up for a great American imperialist adventure. The case has been demonstrated. There is no doubt this is what's in the wind. The long range fight before us is to keep this country, long the exemplar of liberty to all peoples, from becoming, full scale, a competitor of Britain, Germany, and Japan in the enslavement and exploitation of the peoples. During the course of which, inevitably, we'd have to join with these other empires in the effort to crush socialism out of the world by crushing the Soviet Union. Take my word, if Hitler eats his spinach and lives a few years longer, the British and (if they can put it over) the American governments will be his devoted buddies in that great adventure. Why, the Axis has its partners in seats of power at Washington today! Mr. Knudsen, Hitler lover, whose General Motors still has a subsidiary doing business in Germany; Mr. Forrestal of Dillon, Read & Co., big backers who helped fasten dollar imperialism on the countries below the Rio Grande. It can't happen here? Why, brother, it is happening. The Smith and Voorhis bills, the Thurman Arnold campaign against labor, Dies and J. Edgar Hoover, "bombs bursting in air"—these are all parts of the swift fascisization of this republic, now going on. Only *resistance all along the line* can save this republic!

Books

The Bridges Case

HARRY BRIDGES ON TRIAL, by Estolv E. Ward. Modern Age. 50 cents.

THE conspiracy to deport Harry Bridges for alleged intent to overthrow the United States by "force and violence" is one of the most persistent in contemporary labor history. The conspiracy has had three dramatic stages: the calumny called testimony before the Dies committee; the deportation trial before Dean James M. Landis, special trial examiner of the Bureau of Naturalization and Immigration; and the passage of HR 9766 directing the attorney general to deport Harry Bridges.

For his subject Estolv E. Ward has chosen the second of these phases, the deportation trial of Bridges. His range of analysis is not limited to concentrating upon this incident alone. A discrediting beam is cast also upon those witnesses who appeared in the first phase, and the development of the third is clearly presaged.

DRAMATIC STORY

Ward's book is the most fascinating story of a labor trial that this reviewer has read. In dramatic interest it overshadows even the more technical and brilliant brochure of Felix Frankfurter on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. It is a thrilling detective story with social overtones. After a swift background account of the West Coast employer drive against Bridges since the 1934 general strike, Ward painstakingly presents the trial itself. From the testimony of hostile witnesses is reconstructed the conspiracy contrived by Harper L. Knowles, ex-secretary of the Associated Farmers and chairman of the California American Legion's Radical Research Committee; Stanley M. Doyle, special subversive activities agent of Oregon's Governor Martin; and Capt. John J. Keegan, chief of detectives of Portland. Ward relates the testimony of each witness under direct and cross examination, the argument of counsel, and the rulings of Dean Landis. Sometimes he summarizes; more often he offers the actual testimony. Interspersed throughout are his own comments on the demeanor of each participant, the spectators' reaction to the witnesses' statements. There is Maj. Lawrence Milner, self-professed Communist chauffeur and undercover operative of the Military Department of Oregon, cornered by his admitted perjury, virtually begging for mercy; Captain Keegan, star Dies committee witness, proven a paid agent of reactionary labor leaders; Stanley Doyle, eluding subpoenas, issuing brave press releases and refusing to testify in support of his charges against Bridges unless he were paid \$50 a day.

Then Mr. Ward moves from that atmosphere of perjury into the docks, union offices,

employers' clubs, newspaper plants, to show the daily effect of the testimony upon the listening world. It is an interesting study in methodology to compare this book with Dean Landis' report to the secretary of labor exculpating Bridges and exposing the conspirators. For the trial examiner's report, which deserves study by every reader of the Ward book, is too carefully written, too coldly, though devastatingly, analytical to appeal to the lay reader to the extent achieved by the popular educational instrument which Ward has fashioned in *Harry Bridges on Trial*.

This is an exciting, an important book. It merits and will have a wide circulation. For the Bridges case has not been ended by Dean Landis' report and Secretary of Labor Perkins' subsequent cancellation of the warrant of arrest. We have now entered the third phase. On June 13 last the House of Representatives passed HR 9766 which provides:

That notwithstanding any other provision of law, the attorney general be, and is hereby authorized and directed to take into custody forthwith and deport forthwith to Australia, the country of which he is a citizen or subject, the alien, Harry Renton Bridges, whose presence in this country the Congress deems hurtful.

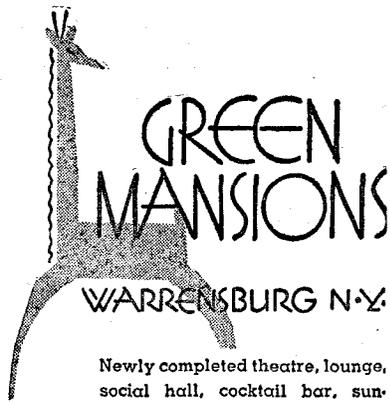
Representatives Case, Starnes, and Keefe, respectively, described this bill of attainder as "a shocking thing," an "unusual procedure," with only "a fair chance that the Court will hold this legislation to be constitutional"; all three nevertheless supported the bill. Other congressmen, however, were specific on the proposed disposition of the labor leader. Mr. Gross wanted him "shot on American soil as a warning to his kind." Mr. Schafer suggested hopefully that the British government "can use him to good advantage in the fighting line." Mr. Johnson of Oklahoma screamed that "he needs to rot."

The opposition to this legislative lynching lost no dignity in equal frankness. Representative Havenner remarked that "whether the members of Congress realized it at the time or not, if Harry Bridges is deported by this action it will be because he has been a militant leader of labor." Representative Sabath viewed the fight as "one angle of the eternal effort of great and powerful employers to discredit organized labor—as that and nothing more." The bill passed, 330 to forty-two.

TRADE UNIONISM

I have quoted these remarks at some length for they show as plainly as does Ward that the sole issue in the Bridges case from beginning to end is trade unionism, honest and militant. They render imperative the widest distribution of this book among trade unionists and progressives everywhere if another major blow is not to be delivered to American labor. If Bridges is deported, other "troublemakers" will be disposed of, and those whose birth in this country bars deportation may be subjected to the alternative remedies proposed by Congressman Gross and his more virulent colleagues.

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Two Biographies

FELIX GRUNDY, by Joseph H. Parks. Louisiana State University Press. \$3.

SIMON BOLIVAR BUCKNER, by Arndt M. Stickles. University of North Carolina Press. \$3.50.

THESE biographies are, in some ways, interrelated. The subjects of both were prominent figures in the border states of Kentucky and Tennessee. Their careers, moreover, are complementary, for Grundy's ends in 1840, a date which marks the beginning of Buckner's fifty years of leadership.

The two books fill a long-felt need in the field of American biography and they may be considered as definitive treatments, well documented, thorough, and accurate. Parks' work is valuable for the insight it throws on the Jacksonian period of American history. It is especially good in describing the sinuosities of local and national politics.

Professor Stickles' book is also rich in political history, particularly of Kentucky just before, during, and for some thirty years after the Civil War. Because Buckner was a Confederate brigadier general a considerable portion of the biography is devoted to military history. In the course of this, two very important, but hitherto undeveloped, fields for investigation are touched upon: the effective and widespread opposition of many Southern whites to the Confederacy and to its cornerstone, Negro slavery; and the existence of treason behind the Union lines. This last subject is begging for careful study, something which its seriousness certainly merits, and toward which this work makes a distinct contribution.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

Science for the People

ADVENTURES OF A BIOLOGIST, by J. B. S. Haldane. Harper. \$2.75.

THERE are twenty-seven essays in this highly readable volume. Some of them were written seven years ago. They are more formal than the brilliant thousand-word pieces contained in another volume by Haldane published this year, *Science and Everyday Life* (much of the contents of which appeared in the *Sunday Worker* here and in the *Daily Worker* of London).

Though more formal they are not any less readable. Haldane, as is well known, believes that the world needs more science, not less, "and science applied not only to certain branches of production, destruction, and medicine, but to human life as a whole." He dedicates this book to "readers who know enough history to realize that history is a record of pretty nasty facts, and that in spite of this, human culture, including science, has advanced and will continue to advance." This dedicatory note, incidentally, was written by Haldane "in London, waiting to be bombed, but refusing to believe that even if western Europe is seriously damaged, this will spell the end of civilization, or prove the danger of scientific knowledge."

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