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THE CROSS AND THE FLAG

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"THE NEW CONGRESS"

An Editorial

HENRY A. WALLACE - *Super Internationalist.*

OUT OF THE DEPTHS.

BLIVEN, COWLEY, SOULE & CO.

A STATE OF CONFUSION.

SIR WALTER VENNING'S PLAN -

To Merge Our Senate with the House of Lords.

LEON HENDERSON & CO.

WHY SHIP FORD TIRE MACHINERY?

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Chapter 1 - HUEY P. LONG -

THE POLITICAL MYSTERY OF THIS CENTURY.

FOUNDED BY GERALD L. K. SMITH

Out of the Depths

The long night is ended and from millions of hearts a prayer of thanksgiving has arisen. The people of this land have turned back the most terrible threat which has confronted them in their national history. The victory at the polls on Tuesday means that the last remaining land of freedom will remain free.

The republic had not been in such peril since Washington was at Valley Forge, since the militia were gathering to resist Burgoyne. The crisis was graver than any which this country had encountered even in the darkest days of the Civil War. Our nation survived the rebellion and even the assassination of Lincoln but it could not have survived in freedom another (New Deal) Democratic victory at the polls.

Most of those who voted the (New Deal) Democratic ticket are beyond all question sturdy Americans. They voted for the party they had always favored, the party which, more often than not, their fathers had favored before them. Few of those who cast (New Deal) Democratic votes realized that their party had fallen completely into the hands of a ruthless combination of political corruptionists, Communists, and men of great wealth who were united for different purposes but would have destroyed our country had they won the election.

A (New Deal) Democratic victory would have been a vote of confidence in an administration which has marched steadily toward the destruction of constitutional liberty in this country. The administration had sought to destroy the independence of the courts; it had sought to make of congress a mere adjunct of the executive will. Only the other day it proposed that congress give the executive the authority to suspend federal statutes.

The Communists instinctively and inevitably supported these endeavors. Their aim was to kill the free republic and replace it with a tyranny of blood. The victory on Tuesday was a victory of religion over atheism, of morality and conscience over licentiousness, of patriotism over foreign interference and colonialism.

When the people went to the polls November 3 to decide this momentous issue they were asked to give their consent to the processes which had been depriving them of their birthright. If they had sustained undiminished the present party control of the national legislature they would have been understood as indorsing every autocratic method, every un-American practice, and every subversive idea, and they would have written their future in the terms of such a government.

The re-election of the complacent congressmen would have been a complete indorsement of the destructive procedure. With the consent of the people thus obtained there would have been no reason for any further lip service to the doctrines of this republic.

God be praised the momentum in the direction of autocracy has been stopped. The people, by increasing the opposition in congress, have saved themselves. The only thing that stood between them and the gulf into which they were running was the representative system of government. That system they have strengthened against the autocracy and they have put another memorable day in the history of their successful fight to win and to preserve the liberties without which no people can survive self-respecting, in a life politically and economically enduring.

Editor's Note: The above is an editorial taken from the Chicago Daily Tribune for Thursday, November 5.

A Statement of Principles

This magazine is a crusading journal subsidized by the modest contributions of old-fashioned American people all over the United States. It is the voice of the Committee of 1,000,000, a patriotic and dynamic crusade which began with nine constituents and now has more than 3,000,000.

The work of this committee and the policy of this journal are built around three expressions of sentiment:

First—Foundation principles.

Second—Vital issues.

Third—The battle cry.

The foundation principles of this committee, which have been unchanged since its beginning in 1937, are as follows:

1. To rebuild the spirit of America.
2. To wipe out to the last vestige, Communism, Nazism, and Fascism in all forms. (In view of the attempt now being made to join us in a political union with foreign countries, we express our bitter objection to all such schemes to compromise the sovereignty of America, such as "Union Now With Britain," "Federal Union, Inc." etc.)
3. To redefine the American national character.
4. To instill a new spirit in American youth, dedicated intellectually and physically to the maintenance of

American institutions.

5. To issue a call to farmers and laborers to resist what is now known to be an international plot to make them part of a world revolution.

6. To rededicate the citizenry of America to the family altar and to the spirit of the Church.

7. To secure the maintenance of a well-defined standard of American living.

The crusade for which this magazine speaks will deal in the days that are ahead with three major issues. These issues are approached with the understanding that, at all times, every loyal and patriotic American is committed 100% to the winning of this war as our immediate and major responsibility. With this in mind, we shall devote much space to the following three issues:

1. The danger of losing the war because of boondoggling and bureaucratic politicians who put their political machine above America.
2. Internationalists who are working day and night to get us into some sort of world imperialistic government, thus surrendering our independence and sacrificing our sovereignty.
3. Communist propagandists, who are taking advantage of our military collaboration with Russia to publicize atheistic Communism in America and promote a Red revolution.

The battle cry of this crusade is, "CHRIST FIRST IN AMERICA."

THE CROSS AND THE FLAG is a monthly magazine. Editor and publisher, Gerald L. K. Smith, National Chairman of the Committee of One Million. Associate editors: E. M. Smith, Bernard A. Doman, Constance Doman, Gerald Smith, Jr. Manuscripts submitted become the property of THE CROSS AND THE FLAG unless accompanied by instructions to the contrary. Subscription rates per year, \$2.00. Address all communications to THE CROSS AND THE FLAG, matter is pending. Printed in U.S.A. All material copyrighted. Reprints only by consent. (Application for entry as second class

HUEY P. LONG

The Political Mystery of this Century. by Gerald L. K. Smith

While Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the late William Howard Taft said:

"HUEY LONG WAS THE MOST BRILLIANT LAWYER WHO EVER PRACTICED BEFORE THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT."

People who knew the late Chief Justice Taft knew that he did not indulge in flattery. Mr. Taft must have known when he spoke those words that he was in danger of inspiring the jealousy and calling into question the judgment of many great legal minds.

Anyone who knew Huey Long intimately and personally, as did the writer, could easily believe that Mr. Taft was correct.

In the series of articles that I shall write for this magazine concerning the life, labors and assassination of Huey P. Long I shall attempt to take the life of this misunderstood statesman out of the background of smear and present him to the reader as I knew him—and I knew Mr. Long not only as an intimate friend but as a Christian, a statesman, a crusader and a scholar.

Recently expert students of public opinion measured the sentiment of the people in Louisiana to discover that more than three-fourths of the people of his native state believed Huey Long to have served the most constructive purpose of any individual in the history of the state.

I was born and raised in Wisconsin in the home of a Gospel preacher. My people are all Republicans—Abraham Lincoln Republicans. I worked my way through college and university, having graduated from high school at the age of seventeen.

In the late twenties I was the pastor of a large congregation in Indianapolis, Indiana. I had never been in the South. I had never seen the city of New Orleans. If anyone had inquired of me, I should have been quick to say that not only had I never been South but that was one part of the country I never expected to go to.

Mrs. Smith was taken ill. Without discussing the details of her ailment, suffice it to say that I returned home one afternoon only to be informed by our physician that she could not live through another northern winter. After weeks of great anxiety, we accepted a call to the largest congregation of our faith in the State of Louisiana, with the understanding that we would remain in the South until Mrs. Smith's recovery.

When we went South we heard of Huey Long. We had been told that he was dangerous, boorish, uncouth, ignorant, a demagogue. In future articles I will tell you how he and I became fast friends.

One pleasant evening in September, 1935, I was walking with Senator Long through the corridor of the state capitol of Louisiana. A young man stepped out as if to shake his hand—only to expose himself as an assassin. He fired one shot which proved to be the fatal shot. He attempted to fire other shots but the assassin, whose name was Dr. Karl Weiss, was himself killed on the spot.

I was with Mr. Long when he breathed his last. The family called on me to deliver the funeral oration. I stood by the grave as 200,000 mourners came to pay their last respects to this dramatic figure whom

some who knew and loved him most referred to as the Lincoln of the South.

The floral bouquets that were brought in as a tribute covered three acres of ground. These floral tributes came from every land on earth, but the majority of them were hand-picked flowers from the woodlands, brought in by the humble people who knew that the best friend they ever had had been struck down by a cruel assassin.

In other articles I will name the names of the men who met in a certain hotel and planned the assassination of Huey Long. I will tell the name of the hotel and the room number, and I will repeat the conversation as it was recorded through a dictaphone apparatus.

It is the conviction of the writer that this is the most sensational story of this century having to do with the murder of a man.

The close tieup between those who plotted the death of and killed Huey P. Long and certain high political figures in Washington is sensational enough to rock the world. We warned the world of this conspiracy and even members of the United States Senate laughed at us.

I have been warned that I will not live to complete this series of articles. I have been warned that this magazine will be put out of existence rather than to see this series of articles come to the eye of the reading public. Well, we shall see.

The writer knows that many of the people who read this article are very prejudiced against Huey Long. Millions of dollars were spent on newspaper articles, merely for the purpose of smearing and destroying the good reputation of this great commoner who was rapidly breaking the yoke of Southern feudalism and who was the only political figure since the Civil War to really threaten one-party dictatorship over the South.

His break with Franklin D. Roosevelt cost him thousands of political favors—but, even so, when he was killed he was receiving more mail than the President of the United States. Two mail trucks were used for the Senate. One truck hauled the mail for Huey Long and the other truck hauled the mail for the other 95 senators.

If Huey Long was bad, as the press has painted him, why was he so loved by his neighbors and fellow citizens? If he was a vicious and ruthless dictator, why did the citizens of Louisiana pronounce him as their most valuable citizen five years after his death?

It will be argued that important figures in the Huey Long organization were sent to the penitentiary for corruption. On the contrary. These men who have been sent to the penitentiary for corruption, and justifiably so, were all traitors to the Long organization who went over to the New Deal. Their corruption involved a misappropriation and mishandling of funds which were granted long after the death of Huey Long to the state of Louisiana after these men, now in prison, had agreed to play ball with the New Deal machine in return for a flow of political money from the Federal Treasury into the coffers of the New Deal Louisiana machine.

No real Huey Long man, no man who refused to betray Huey Long and go into the New Deal camp, has ever been indicted or convicted of any crime by the United States Government.

Huey Long died a poor man. His widow was compelled to surrender the family homestead, and only the thoughtfulness of close friends made it possible for the children to continue their school work after the assassination of their father.

The reader will observe that we have only given

Oration by Gerald L. K. Smith

"Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." John 15:13.

The lives of great men do not end with the grave. They just begin. This place marks not the resting place of Huey Pierce Long; it marks only the burial ground for his body. His spirit shall not rest as long as hungry bodies cry for food, as long as lean human frames stand naked, as long as homeless wretches haunt this land of plenty.

His affection for these sufferers was stronger than the flesh and is as everlasting as the soul. Hatred cannot touch him now; malice cannot reach him more. He sleeps in the shadow of the spire which he gave the sky, sepulchred close by this emblem which he raised.

He fell in the line of duty. He died for us. This tragedy fires the breast of every comrade. This untimely death makes restless the soul of us who adored him. We cannot be appeased by flattery, we cannot be set at ease by superficial consolation. The ideals which he planted in our hearts have created a gnawing hunger for a new order. This hunger pain, this parching thirst for better things can only be healed and satisfied by the completion of that victory toward which he led us.

To summarize the influence and the noble attributes of this man is as though one went out to measure the boundary of a lake, only to discover that he was on the arm of an ocean. In him there was no touch of religious prejudice, but at all times a warm, deep faith in God.

In answer to a query which I made in his home one Sunday he replied: "I know, Brother Smith, that the arms of God are about me every moment."

Can it be that God consented to this fate in order that by this dramatic exit he might retire from the battle ground of political torture to find the quiet of eternity, while at the same time his torch was left to light our way?

In him there was no trace of racial antipathy. Mental wizard was this man and we who hovered close to him never ceased to marvel at the instinctive, intuitive workings of this mental giant. Social crusader, thinking at all times of victory and power only as they related to a better social order. Educational statesman determined that his children and the children of his neighbors should not be handicapped as he was. Political genius, so much so, that his passing, so they think, has relieved the arch-enemies of his crusade the world around. An orator supreme, speaking the words of the masses in campaigns and at the same time recording in the Congressional Record a series of Senatorial addresses supreme in rhetoric, artistic in style, permanent in value.

A statesman true, whose leadership led out so far ahead that short-sighted contemporaries were unable to see the star which he followed.

A tender father, a loving husband, lost to a family willing to give him up for the sake of his broader call-

ing. A loyal friend, whose memory of tasks well done seemed flawless.

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Oh, God, why did we have to lose him?

...With his removal from the arena of political activity it will no longer be necessary for any force to suppress liberal and accurate descriptions of his mighty work. Like other martyrs, from the moment of his death forth, there will be an ever widening and deepening understanding of the true greatness of this apostle of progress.

Some day the people will sit on the heights above their selfish prejudices and look upon the real man that he was. Some day they will know, some day they will understand.

Children of generations unborn will be rescued from drudgery, guarded against hunger, protected from ignorance because of the life and work of Huey Pierce Long.

God willed, God ruled, God commanded Destiny to make him great. He was the victim of every form of persecution and abuse, struggling every moment of his public life under the cross of misrepresentation and the bur-

Sir Walter Venning's Plan - To Merge Our Senate with the House of Lords.

Editor's Note: We reprint herewith in full a news story appearing in the Detroit Daily News for October 30. This is one of the most sensational news stories we have ever read. It speaks for itself. We are not foolish enough to believe that Sir Walter Venning represents all of the British people. We could easily imagine that his severest rebukes come from certain logically-minded Britishers who realize that nothing could be more unwise than to attempt a British-American political union after this war.

This is the sort of stuff which has no place in America. Let the foreigners who come to our shores be welcome at the counsel tables where the strategy for victory is planned, but let's have a holiday on foreign propaganda.

Washington, Oct. 30.—A British-American union, with a common senate, to rule the after-war world, was frankly advocated by Lieut-Gen. Sir Walter Venning, newly-appointed director general of the British Ministry of Supply mission in the United States, in his first meeting with Washington newspaper reporters Thursday.

"We have had a Pax Britannia and it did not work. You have had a Pax Americana and it did not work. I think Pax Britannia cum Americana, if we can accomplish it at the end of this war, will work," Sir Walter said.

This phase of his remarks stemmed from a discussion of the reciprocal lease-lend arrangement now prevailing between the United States and Great Britain, which Sir Walter said was working remarkably well.

"Where we have something we can supply to your men in Britain we give it without question and the same is true in the reverse," he said. "You can't evaluate lives as between allies in war, why should you evaluate materials?"

"We have evolved a system where no accounts are kept. There is to be no more of the wretched business over how many pounds we owe you or how many dollars you owe us.

"I would like to see that same sort of union continued after the war. We might very well have a common currency and a combined senate, sitting one year in London, the next year in Washington, another year in South Africa, and so on. You could continue to have your President, and we could continue to have our king."

Spoken in a gathering which included not only British and American, but Russian, Free French and other non-Anglo-Saxon correspondents. Sir Walter's

den of misunderstanding; sacrificed to blind prejudice, but these only served in violation of precedent and convention to lift him higher and higher into the stratosphere of greatness. These tortures seemed to mark his course. They increased his necessity.

His unlimited talents invariably aroused the jealousies of those inferiors who posed as his equals. More than once, yea, many times, he has been the wounded victim of the Green Goddess; to use the figure, he was the Stradivarius, whose notes rose in competition with jealous drums, envious tom-toms. His was the unfinished symphony.

For the benefit of autograph collectors and rare copy collectors, the writer has the copy of the funeral oration written in his own original handwriting. This is being photostated for framing and will be sent free to all who mail in a year's subscription to *The Cross and the Flag*. The subscription price is \$2.00.

remarks created a decided furore, particularly so since, even under questioning, he failed to soften his exclusion of the other United Nations from his conception of after-war union.

"What about the British Imperial Council? The British nations now have eight representatives on it; how many Americans would you allow?" a Canadian correspondent asked.

Sir Walter did not venture an opinion on that point, nor did he reply to a facetious American query as to whether he thought Britain could stand the American Senate.

"This is the first time I have been in America and I have been here only 10 days," he said. "The thing that has struck me most is the standard of living and the comforts you have in comparison with the British people—for example the great number of motor cars still in operation here.

"We're not starved in Britain, but our food restrictions are much more stringent than yours. I've noticed the great amount of lighting and the warmth of your private homes. In Britain both electricity and fuel of all sorts are very strictly rationed. We don't do these things because we want to, of course, we do them because we have been forced to do them."

Sir Walter said that his associations had convinced him that there was not the slightest basic difference between the British and American people.

"Those Americans I have dealt with in Britain I have found keen, industrious and co-operative," he said. "Where there are differences between our people I think it is due to ignorance. We don't know enough about you and you don't know enough about us. Much of our guidance with respect to America, for example, has come from motion pictures, which often feature racketeers, gangsters, political corrup-

tion and the like. It has given us a very false picture of American life.

"Over here you have heard too much about British class distinctions. I will admit that these once existed, but they do not exist any more. War has wiped them out."

American soldiers in Britain, Sir Walter said, are receiving substantially the same rations of restricted foods, such as meat and eggs, as are supplied to the British soldiers.

Previous to coming to the United States Sir Walter was Quartermaster General of the British army, a post closely comparable to the position of Lieut. Gen. Brehon B. Somervell, in the American military setup.

The issue which you are now reading of this magazine is the October-November issue combined. However, all subscribers will receive an extra issue. If you subscribed for 7 months, you will receive 7 different magazines. If you subscribed for a year, you will receive 12 different magazines.

Bliven, Cowley, Soule and Company

AN ANALYSIS

One of the most violent organizations in America is a political propaganda group known as the Union for Democratic Action. This organization is headed by one Bruce Bliven, who is the editor of the left-wing pro-Communist magazine called the New Republic.

Bliven and others organized a purge committee for the purpose of not only electing New Dealers to Congress but for the purpose of electing pink pro-Communist New Dealers. They swore vengeance on such men as Hamilton Fish and many others.

No magazine has ever dealt more bitterly with the editor of THE CROSS AND THE FLAG than has the New Republic.

Bliven associated with himself in this political committee one Malcolm Cowley and one George Soule. Cowley was formerly associated with Archibald MacLeish, head of a department in Washington known as the Office of Facts and Figures.

MacLeish is also in charge of the Congressional Library. Under pressure Cowley was discharged from the O.F.F. because he was a known Communist.

The chart below is an analysis of the pro-Communist activities of these three men who set out to name the Congress of the United States.

As you study this chart, please remember that these three individuals are very high in New Deal politics and are on intimate cordial terms with such men as Leon Henderson and others in positions of high authority.

Communist-front organization	BRUCE BLIVEN	Association of the individual	Authority
American Youth Congress	Member, national advisory committee	Youngville, U. S. A., p. 62	
Demand pardon for German Communists	Signer	Daily Worker, June 17, 1937, p. 2.	
Frontier Films	Member, advisory board	Daily Worker, Apr. 6, 1937, p. 9.	
International Juridical Association	Signer of statement	Daily Worker, July 25, 1936, p. 2.	
International Publishers	Writer	Catalog, p. 12.	
New Masses	Contributor	New Masses, Jan. 2, 1934, p. 22.	
Nonpartisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio	Member	Letterhead, Oct. 3, 1936.	
Protest against ban on Browder	Signer	Daily Worker, Oct. 17, 1936, p. 1.	
	MALCOLM COWLEY		
American Friends of the Soviet Union	Chairman of Lenin meeting	Daily Worker, Jan. 24, 1938, p. 2.	
American League Against War and Fascism	Member, national executive committee	Letterhead, Aug. 22, 1935.	
American League for Peace and Democracy, New York City Division	Member, advisory board	Letterhead, dated Sept. 22, 1938.	
Do	do	Letterhead, Mar. 21, 1939.	
American League for Peace and Democracy, Fifth New York City Conference	Indorser	Daily Worker, Mar. 4, 1939, p. 2.	
Call for the support of the Communist Party, national elections and its candidates	Signer of call	Daily Worker, Sept. 14, 1932, p.1,c.2.	
Citizens Committee for Amter	Member	New Masses, Nov. 8, 1938, p. 25.	
Committee for I. Amter's candidacy	do	Daily Worker, Oct. 21, 1936, p. 2.	
Communist Party	Literary editor		
League of Professional Groups	Signer of statement supporting Communist Party	Daily Worker, Nov. 6, 1933, p. 2.	
	GEORGE SOULE		
New Republic	Elections	Daily Worker, Nov. 6, 1933, p. 2.	
Friends of the Soviet Union	Contributing editor, Soviet Russia Today	Letterhead, June 28, 1932.	
Frontier Films	Member, advisory board	Daily Worker, Apr. 6, 1937, p. 9.	
Gerson supporters	Signer of letter	Daily Worker, Feb. 10, 1938, p. 1.	
Golden Book of American Friendship	Sponsor, Christmas drive	Soviet Russia Today, Nov. 1937, p.79.	
International Labor Defense	Vice president	Equal Justice, Nov. 1938, p. 4.	
League of American Writers	Member	Letterhead, July 7, 1939.	
League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford	Sponsor	Culture and the Crisis, p. 32.	
Mother Bloor Banquet	do	Program, Jan. 24, 1936, p. 9.	
New York City Conference Against War and Fascism	Signer, protest against attack on right of Communist Party to use ballot.	Daily Worker, Jan. 11, 1937, p. 2.	
Open letter to President Roosevelt	do	Daily Worker, July 23, 1940, p.1,c.6.	
Protest against ban on Browder speech	Signer	Daily Worker, Oct. 17, 1936, p. 1.	
Soviet Russia Today	Speaker at discussion at Mecca Temple, Mar. 19, 1937.	New Masses, Mar. 16, 1937, p. 30.	
Sunday Worker	Contributor	Daily Worker, Dec. 21, 1935, p. 3.	
Third American Writers' Congress	Speaker, general delegates session	Program of the Third American Writers' Congress.	
	GEORGE SOULE		
American Friends of the Soviet Union	Speaker	Daily Worker, Jan. 29, 1938, p. 8.	
Do	do	Daily Worker, Feb. 2, 1938, p. 2.	
American Youth Congress	Member, national advisory board	Youngville, U.S.A., p. 64.	
Congress of Youth	Signer of call	Proceedings, July 1-5, 1939, p. 2.	
Demand pardon for German Communists	Signer	Daily Worker, June 17, 1937, p. 2.	
Frontier Films	Member, advisory board	Daily Worker, Apr. 6, 1937, p. 9.	
International Juridical Association	Signer of statement	Daily Worker, July 25, 1936, p. 2.	
International Publishers	Writer; introduction to pamphlet by V. Chemedanov, of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union.	Daily Worker, Apr. 30, 1936, p. 5.	
League of American Writers	Signer of Statement	Daily Worker, Sept. 1, 1936, p. 4.	
Do	Signer of petition supporting Gerson	Daily Worker, Mar. 10, 1938, p. 1.	
New Masses letter to President	Signer	New Masses, Apr. 2, 1940, p. 21.	
Soviet Russia Today	Contributor	Soviet Russia Today, Sept. 1936, p.29.	

Editor's Note: The above analysis appeared in the form of a chart in the Congressional Record for October 15. The facts contained in this chart will help the reader to appreciate the victory of November 3. Practically every candidate endorsed for Congress by these three men had also been endorsed by Vice President Henry Wallace and other outstanding New Dealers, including Eleanor Roosevelt.

A State of Confusion

(An Interpretation by Congressman Carter Manasco of Alabama).

From time to time, we have had many reports on the state of the Union. It has occurred to me that we should also report from time to time on the state of confusion. Today the temple of freedom is being assaulted from without by known enemies of liberty. At the same time it is being wittingly or unwittingly undermined from within. The American people are now in a state of confusion resulting partly from the war. But a large amount of confusion is created right here in Washington.

For the last eight or ten months, criticism and ridicule of the Congress have been the popular pastime. Much of this abuse has been looked upon by many of our administrative heads with favor. A large part of the criticism directed at Congress has not resulted from any dereliction of duty by the Congress but has been caused by improper administration and, at times, flagrant disregard for the intent of Congress by those administering acts passed by the Congress.

The Seventy-seventh Congress has speedily enacted every law requested by the Chief Executive as being necessary for the prosecution of the war. On measures that have been adjudged as emergency, the Congress has even waived the usual procedure of holding hearings on the bills recommended and has passed many bills with little or no debate.

Our Congress is the only forum in existence that hears the views of the people and makes an effort to see that their views are carried out. Without a Congress the people would be governed by bureaucratic edict, without hope of ever having their wishes enacted into laws. It can be safely said that we have many people connected with our Government who would like to see the Congress abolished as being an obstacle in their program of establishing a new order.

Bureaucratic Dreamers

These bureaucratic dreamers have long since reached the conclusion that they know what is best for the people. They would regulate every movement and impulse of the people from the date of conception until rigor mortis set in and many of them would have you believe that there is no hereafter.

Your wartime Congress has left the conduct of the war entirely in the hands of our leaders charged with its prosecution. We have placed no obstacle in the way of the War and Navy Departments. Every dollar requested has been hastily appropriated and no strings have been attached.

Criticism of our war effort has not been indulged in by Members on the floor. The Members cannot be accused of being swivel-chair strategists. We have been tolerant of inefficiency in many instances for we realize that mistakes are expected due to the fact that we did not have a large Army and Navy before the war and had to take enormous numbers of untrained officers and men from their peacetime vocations.

Some criticism must be made when justified, for this is a people's war and not the war of a dictator. Constructive criticism will cause our departments to get their houses in order. We must not stand idly by and watch democracy destroyed at home when we are fighting all over the globe to preserve it.

Untried social schemes must be delayed until the successful conclusion of the war. We must, for our own self-preservation, look upon with suspicion any

person or group who attempts to use our war effort as a stepping stone to reform or change the well-established order.

The people of our country are criticised daily in the press and over the radio by some high Government official for not being conscious of the war. It is high time that we, as representatives of the people, call to the attention of some of our administrators that our Nation is at war with enemies who will not wait for us to create a Utopia at home while our boys are dying on land, sea, and in the air in every geographical section of the globe.

Agitators Must Be Silenced

The agitators for the second front could well spend their time by starting it here in Washington. We cannot win the war against the Axis Powers until we win the battle of Washington. Of course, the second front in the Washington theater of warfare will not result in bloodshed, but if we lose on this front, it will result in the loss of life of untold thousands on real fronts and could result in the loss of the war.

We all know that many liberties and age-old customs must be given up during wartime, but some of our planners here have no intention of permitting us to return to our old ways after the war is over. They are greedy for power, and if it means the loss of liberty, they do not care.

This well-entrenched ruthless group would like to see our States destroyed. They have succeeded in driving a wedge into our Constitution, and if not checked, sooner or later they will succeed in the ultimate destruction of our States. If we do not keep on guard every moment, we will awaken and find that the next tax bill will accomplish that end.

Unbalanced wages and income have resulted in a serious threat to production of farm products and other necessities of life. Those charged with the manpower allocation have awakened to the folly of our artificial boost of wages on war production projects without, at the same time, bringing all wage earners in line.

Food Shortage Faced

Today we face a serious food shortage and many small necessary factories will have to close unless subsidized by the Government. What have they decided to do about the problem—equalize wages and income by Government edict? No! They want to try another revolutionary experiment, that of drafting manpower and freezing certain groups in certain fields without giving them an opportunity to seek higher income elsewhere. Will this answer the problem? We will encounter serious difficulties unless we decide that there shall be equality of sacrifice.

We hear daily that Germany will soon collapse as a result of an internal revolution. People of all nations are not very different. You can dictate to some people easier than you can to others. Americans are more individualistic than any other people, and resent being dictated to more than others.

Let us be careful in our attempts to alter conditions here. Let us not attempt to make social and economic reforms while we are fighting for our existence. Such a program contains the seeds of rebellion and we must not allow them to be planted.

{Continued on Page 14}

"THE NEW CONGRESS"

Before we entered the war, the question as to whether or not we should enter the war was a debatable question. Before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the American people were divided into two intense camps.

Those who wanted war prematurely, those who would have entered the war with England at the same time England entered the war, were known as interventionists. Frequently their political enemies would refer to them as warmongers.

Those who were opposed to entering the war before Pearl Harbor, who found their leadership in men like Lindbergh, Wheeler, Taft, Fish and others, were referred to as isolationists.

When the word was first introduced, it did not sound so evil, but gradually propagandists, feature writers, radio commentators and the pro-war element so misused the word "isolationist" that many good Americans rather thought it was a disgrace to be referred to as an isolationist.

All Americans who opposed entry into the war before Pearl Harbor were dubbed by their political foes as isolationists, appeasers, pro-Nazis. Their leaders were referred to by the Communists as the Cliveden Set, and other uncomplimentary names were given the anti-war element.

The fact remained, however, that prior to Pearl Harbor, according to scientific polls of public opinion, 81% of the people were against any premature involvement in the war.

Then came Pearl Harbor. This tragic and dramatic event united the nation on the importance of declaring war, and the Congress of the United States in harmony with the Constitution declared war. Since that declaration of war no objective thinker has been able to detect any difference in the patriotism of the pre-war interventionists and the pre-war isolationists. In fact, the states which were the most opposed to our entering the war before Pearl Harbor are now leading the list in patriotic endeavor, such as prompt payment of taxes, contributions to the Red Cross, voluntary enlistments and bond purchases.

This does not mean that the philosophy of isolationism is dead. When reduced to its simple meaning, isolationism means the conviction that America can remain independent after this war. The interventionist mentality denies that we can remain independent and insists that we begin now to plan for a program of inter-dependence.

Those of us who have been dubbed isolationists have never opposed world commerce, international trade, trade treaties—but we believe that our native land should be isolated from the rest of the world in a unique sense, just as the home of an individual is isolated from the other homes on the same street.

Even neighborly goodwill should have its limitations. A next-door neighbor who begins to enter one's home without knocking, who insists on prowling through the house on the assumption that everything in the house is as much his as it is the owner's, soon becomes an obnoxious and offensive individual.

America has been built on the principle that every man's home is his castle and should be isolated in a very peculiar sense from all the other homes in the community.

In a similar way we isolate a city or a village and thus we develop civic pride. This pride is stimulated by inter-scholastic sports and other competitive enterprises. We are taught to say "my home," "my town," "my state," "my nation."

This is all a part of the philosophy of isolationism. It develops pride. It inspires the individual. It encourages

rugged and justifiable individualism.

Of course, we always have people in communities and states who would like to run the range, ignoring local responsibility, ignoring county, state and community boundaries. These people are found among tramps, hoboes, confidence men, gamblers, racketeers, dope peddlers, promoters and opportunists.

In about the same way we have developed a set of international personalities who rove the world like Texas cattle which run the range. They go wherever the grass is green. Things like national boundaries, tariff walls, and so forth, are very annoying to these people. They would like to see America brought into a great world empire, so that without difficulty these exploiters, financiers and opportunists could play the field, whether it be Shanghai, Paris, Berlin, London or New York.

Those of us who are opposed to this philosophy are dubbed isolationists. We are even willing to include South America in our circle of major responsibility. We favor all of the missions of mercy, such as the international Red Cross, Christian missions, educational and philanthropic enterprises—but just as we favor the individual home with its domestic pride, with its father and its family over against the Communist settlement, so we believe that the nation should keep its identity, its national pride.

We assume that treaties and agreements and understandings shall be reached with other nations, but we want no League of Nations, we want no world court and no world congress made up of a few Orientals and a few Russians and a few Europeans and a few British and a few South Americans and a few Americans to make laws for us to obey—any more than we want our neighbor, three houses down the street, telling us whether we're going to have coffee or milk for breakfast.

Unfortunately, after we were in a war a certain set of interventionists who actually represented a very small segment of our population assumed that the declaration of war was equivalent to branding all the isolationists as traitors, seditionists, Nazi dupes and Axis agents. These former interventionists—and I want to make myself clear. When I say interventionists I do not mean all the interventionists. These few interventionists, which became sort of a loud-mouthed gang, assumed that they were going to so whoop it up that it would only be a matter of weeks until men like General Wood, General Hammond, Colonel Lindbergh, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Congressman Clare Hoffman, Congressman Hamilton Fish, Gerald L. K. Smith and many more would be in concentration camps.

These vicious ones, these character assassins, who hoped to wreak revenge on us, were merely carrying over into the war period a bitterness and a viciousness that they had developed during the war and anti-war debates which were conducted before Pearl Harbor.

The leading exponent of vituperation was Walter Winchell. He came on the air once a week prophesying dire consequences for many isolationists. He used the oldest and most vicious trick known to propaganda—the trick of associating the names of good people with the names of individuals whose reputations were obviously bad. The theory of such propagandists is to get the general public to the place where they will put the name of a good man like Senator Gerald P. Nye into the same thought processes used when they think of an enemy of America like Fritz Kuhn.

Winchell and others used the names of Senator Wheeler and Senator Nye in the same breath with the names of known Nazis.

an Editorial... by Gerald L. K. Smith

A purge committee was organized. This purge committee was so sure of itself that it just assumed that anyone attacked by Winchell or smeared by the above described technique would be retired from Congress, their leadership would be impugned and it would only be a matter of days until men like Congressman Hamilton Fish would be serving as librarians in the Atlanta Penitentiary, Lindbergh would be a bus boy in Chillicothe and Nye would be a bookkeeper in Leavenworth.

Certain bureaucrats seeking to cover up for blunders and mistakes in preparing for the war effort hoped that they could identify a long list of scapegoats made up of isolationists, point the finger of scorn at us and so arouse the hysteria of the people that we would be blamed for everything that went wrong.

Elsewhere in this magazine is an article entitled "Bliven, Cowley, Soule and Company." This article contains some very illuminating facts concerning the purge committee.

This purge committee became so presumptuous and so brazen and so aggressively bold that they just assumed that they could make up a list of congressmen and senators that should be elected and a list of those who should be defeated and that under the hysterical pressure of war psychology and with the co-operation of certain Washington bureaucrats every man who had opposed our premature entrance into this war would be destroyed at the ballot box, by the newspapers and through the instrumentality of such scurrilous broadcasts as those indulged in by the notorious character assassin, Walter Winchell.

The method of attack was so effective that the general public was silenced. Seldom did the people gather in large assemblies to express their opinions, even though the British people have continued to meet in great assemblies not only to demonstrate concerning the matters on which all the Britishers are agreed, but to demonstrate when there was a difference of opinion between certain large groups of citizens and the government itself.

American citizens when approached by inquiring individuals, such as the representatives of the Gallup Poll, either hesitated to express themselves or said whatever they thought was necessary to please the poll taker.

As a crusader, I sought the United States Senate in Michigan with little hope of winning but with the conviction that I wanted to so goad the Republican party of my state that it would not capitulate to Willkie-ism. I not only got more votes than I personally expected, but I got four times as many as my enemies expected—and along with it we completely whipped Willkie-ism in this great central area.

I killed two birds with one stone. I carried on my own campaign, but my campaign broadcasts were heard just as clear in western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio and Indiana as they were in Michigan.

Why did I poll four times as many votes as my enemies expected in the primary and why did between thirty and fifty thousand people write my name into the ballot in the general election, even though no one had been able to get five thousand people to do that in the history of Michigan politics? The answer is clear. The people were afraid to express themselves in advance of the elections and were reserving an honest expression of their sentiments until they stepped behind the secret curtain.

I owe no obligation to Congressman Hamilton Fish. He does not need me for a defender. I will not publicize him as a perfect statesman any more than he would want me as a perfect statesman. He is the congressman from the district in which Hyde Park, the country estate of Franklin D. Roosevelt, is located. He is an

aggressive isolationist. He was in the front line with everybody opposed to entering the war before Pearl Harbor.

I sometimes boast of being a student of the history of American politics but, frankly, I cannot recall a single instance when one man, living or dead, outside of Huey P. Long was harassed and persecuted as much as Hamilton Fish in the recent congressional fights. All the newspapers but one or two in New York were against him. Most of the Wall Street Republicans were against him. All the New Dealers fought him. A few months before the election a clerk in his office was indicted and sent to prison. Editorialists attempted to associate the name of Hamilton Fish with all the vicious propagandists in America—BUT, on November 3 Mr. Fish was re-elected by a sizable majority.

This was probably one of the most phenomenal political victories ever to come to a candidate for congress.

The same wrecking crew worked on Congressman Clare Hoffman, of Allegan, Michigan—but he was re-elected.

To discuss such matters further would merely mean repetition, but suffice it to say that similar victories were won all over the United States. The purge committee was completely repudiated. The Gallup Poll prophesied a New Deal victory. The results have thrown Dr. Gallup into the same "dog house" as the Literary Digest, whose poll went sour in 1936 when they prophesied the election of Alf Landon.

Real Republicans who were elected November 3, plus isolationist Democrats, easily constitute a majority of our Congress. Every member of Congress whom Walter Winchell opposed was re-elected. Even in New York State, Mr. Thomas Dewey, who has been condemned by the left-wing elements as being too much of an American, was elected in the face of intense opposition. Mr. Willkie may have come out for Mr. Dewey the last minute because he had nothing else to do, but anyone who knows anything about New York politics knows that Willkie stabbed Dewey in the back in 1940 and has been whittling on his back ever since.

To summarize this account, there is no other way to describe what happened on November 3 except to say the isolationists won the election—BUT, does this mean that the victory was won by appeasers, pro-Nazis, etc.? Why of course not. On the contrary. I toured the district and spoke to the people who re-elected Clare Hoffman. They voted for Hoffman against the New Deal because they believed that certain "fuzzy brains," pinks, reformers, boondogglers, etc., were lengthening the war by their mistakes rather than bringing it to an early end by efficient, clean-cut, aggressive, hammer-blow statesmanship.

I presume I have as wide an acquaintance among the isolationist members of Congress as any man in America. They feel like I do. There is only one way to consummate this war and that is with complete victory—but if we win the way we must win, it will require all the people. There are not enough New Dealers, there are not enough Walter Winchells to win this war.

Such breeders of disunity might lose it, but it can only be won by proceeding on the theory that no public official, no man in a position of high authority in the war effort, shall be permitted to use the loyalty which the war inspires to build a political machine or a peace-time dictatorship, after this war.

My theory concerning the wrong way for a public official to conduct himself in war time is best illustrated by a recent speech made by Mr. Wallace, which appears

elsewhere in this magazine.

My advice to the persecutors and the purgers who set out some months ago to chop off the heads of all the isolationists—my advice to you is that you alter your strategy, because every good American you fought is either in Congress or represented in Congress by a majority.

You head-hunters have been repudiated. Your technique failed. What you did to Hamilton Fish was enough to destroy five hundred men if the American people had been in a mood to swallow your bunk and if we were in a mood to permit Winchell to become the Goebbels of America.

Enough evil things have been reported about me in the last one year to have made it unsafe for me to walk on the street—but instead of that, I am told by even my most consistent political critics that I have the largest single personal following of any independent citizen in my state—even though Mr. Winchell and others come into my state and my town over the radio with their poison tongues and poison pens every week of the year.

If some of you character assassins, who are still running loose merely because the great American public is notably patient, don't change your strategy—you're likely to suffer from the effects of a public revulsion, the like of which our people have seldom known.

My prayer is that the reaction against these extremists can be dissipated by common sense. My prayer is that this loud-mouthed wrecking crew will have enough common sense to go back in the "dog house" and lie down while the real statesmen of America, represented in this New People's Congress, are given an opportunity to work out a program of unity and understanding between the Congress and the Executive that will result in a practical, common sense program for winning the victory for which we all pray.

I'm proud to say that I have never expressed an opinion concerning military strategy. No layman has a right to express an opinion concerning military strategy, be-

cause we do not have access to military secrets necessary to the formation of sound conclusions.

I have never expressed an opinion as to where our soldiers and sailors should be sent. I have never advocated a Second Front or opposed a Second Front. I have assumed that the leaders of our Army and Navy would open such fronts as seem compatible with good judgment and military science.

I hope that this new Congress, which has a right to be independent and which for the first time in many years is really a Congress of the people, will have enough gumption to put a damper on these post-war star gazers who insist on breeding disunity by dragging out a lot of fantastic, confusing and disturbing post-war schemes, when the minds of the people should be concentrated on self-preservation.

As far as I am concerned, we have been reduced to that one simple elementary problem of self-preservation. We might have a famine. We might unbalance our war effort. We might run out of steel. We might be boondoggled out of rubber. Head-choppers in Washington might become so ambitious as to create an unhealable disunity by their extreme practices.

These catastrophies are all unnecessary if common sense can be restored. If Henry Wallace and his "butterfly-hunters," if Henry Luce* and his "ego-maniacs," if Bruce Bliven and his "guillotine squad" could be curbed in their determination to breed disunity—it is my conviction that we have enough good businessmen, enough sound, reasonable labor leaders and enough rationally-minded statesmen in Washington to save America.

* Henry Luce is the publisher of Time and Life magazines. Every so often he comes out with a fantastic, lunatic scheme for ruling the world. He is such an egotist that he actually believes himself to be important. The fact of the case is—no sound thinker takes him seriously. Some think that he furnishes the editorial and propaganda background for Willkie. Recently he attacked THE CROSS AND THE FLAG in Life magazine, but more recently he wrote an editorial in his own magazine which has done more to breed disunity than perhaps any other one thing that has happened in America.

It is rumored that the State Department in Washington was so disturbed over this semi-seditious editorial that it insisted on Mr. Luce making an apology, which he did after a fashion.

Why Ship Ford Tire Machinery?

An editorial in the New York Times, recently reprinted in the Hearst newspapers, discussed and QUESTIONED the decision to dismantle the Ford Motor Company's River Rouge tire plant and ship it to Russia.

This is the world's "most advanced tire plant," said the Times.

"It is the first in which production was routed straight through from the hold of the rubber freighter to the automobile assembly line.

"It has a daily capacity of 16,000 tires. . . .

"It would probably take us something like 14 months to replace this machinery and get into production with a new factory.

"If cargoes of finished tires were sent to Russia and sunk en route the loss would be a heavy one, but the shipment of tires could go on.

"The loss of the tire-making machinery itself, however, would be close to irreparable for both the Russians and ourselves."

The Times properly asks if this decision is WISE.

It raises no question of the wisdom of maximum aid to Russia.

But it earnestly and anxiously suggests that a policy of sending irreplaceable machinery to Russia and risking its loss, when the products of that machinery could just as well be sent, is open to serious question.

If not in the interest of ourselves, then surely in the interest of the Russians we hope to aid, this questionable decision should be reconsidered.

American industrial machinery is the best in the world.

It is most efficiently operated in America.

It is most usefully utilized in America.

Surely it is not in our interest to dismantle it and ship it abroad and risk it in one of the most hazardous zones of the war. And since it is not even in Russia's best interest, WHY IS IT DONE?

(The above appeared in the Detroit Times, Nov. 16, 1942.)

HENRY A. WALLACE- Super Internationalist

Editor's Note: THE CROSS AND THE FLAG supports our war effort 100%. We express no opinions concerning military strategy. We have made no statements asking for or opposing a Second Front or any front. We believe these decisions should be made by the Commander-in-Chief and those charged with that responsibility. Decisions concerning military strategy cannot be made by laymen because we are not in possession of military secrets and, therefore, are not qualified to judge when, how and where our armed forces should operate.

We are Constitutional Americans and believe that every citizen should support the Congress of the United States and the Commander-in-Chief in respect to our military allies.

WE ARE OPPOSED, HOWEVER, TO USING THE WAR EFFORT, THE WAR ENTHUSIASM AND WARTIME POWERS TO PROMOTE POST-WAR POLITICS. THE ADDRESS WHICH WE PRINT BELOW IS THE EXACT COPY OF AN ADDRESS MADE BY VICE-PRESIDENT HENRY A. WALLACE BEFORE A RALLY IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN NOVEMBER 8. THE RALLY WAS HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SO-CALLED AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP CONGRESS. IN THIS ADDRESS YOU WILL OBSERVE THAT MR. WALLACE JUSTIFIES THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST REVOLUTION AND MAKES REVOLUTIONARY PROPOSALS CONCERNING WHAT HE CALLS WINNING THE PEACE.

Remember, the editors of this magazine believe that it's a fine thing to hold great patriotic rallies for the purpose of honoring the heroism of our own men and the armed services of those who are allied with us, but we stick to the conviction that a military alliance in no way obligates us to flatter or embrace the political philosophy of any ally.

We are allies with Britain, but we do not want a king. We are allies with Brazil which has a dictator, but we do not want a dictator. We are allies with China, though China has never had an election. We are allies with Russia, but we do not want Communism.

At the same time, this magazine will never do anything to hinder an all-out loyal support to our military allies on a military basis.

With this in mind we print below the complete text of Mr. Wallace's address in New York City and we emphasize some of the sentences which prove beyond doubt that Wallace is an internationalist and that he is using his high office in this critical hour to promote internationalist propaganda.

Wallace Speech

"We have been helping the Russians celebrate this afternoon a glorious birthday. The second announced by the President has come in the best possible way. Conquest of the Mediterranean will open the side door to Germany and give us the shortest possible supply route to Southern Russia. We have now reached the time when victory can be taken from us only by misunderstanding and quarreling among ourselves. This is the reason why this meeting is so important.

"From north, south, east and west, Americans have

come this day to pay tribute to our Russian ally. It is right that we should do so, because the Russians have thus far lost in the common cause of the United Nations at least 50 per cent more men killed, wounded and missing than all of the rest of the European allies put together. Moreover, they have killed, wounded and captured at least twenty times as many Germans as have the rest of the allies. In all of Russian history there is no more striking example of courage and willingness to sacrifice than Russia presents today.

"This meeting demonstrates just one thing—the desire and the determination of the American people to help Russia, and help now. President Roosevelt has told the Army and Navy and all the other war agencies in terms which cannot possibly be misunderstood that help to Russia comes first—up to the limit of shipping possibilities. The American people are solidly behind President Roosevelt in his decision to give Russia priority number one.

"It is no accident that Americans and Russians like each other when they get acquainted. Both peoples were molded by the vast sweep of a rich continent. Both peoples know that their future is greater than their past. Both hate sham. When the Russian people burst the shackles of Czarist absolutism, they turned instinctively to the United States for engineering and agricultural guidance. Thanks to the hunger of Russian people for progress, they were able to learn in twenty-five years that which had taken us in the United States 100 years to develop.

"The first person to sense the eventual significance of Russia and the United States was the French author, Tocqueville, who 107 years ago wrote:

"There are at the present time two great nations in the world which seem to tend towards the same end, although they start from different points. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. * * * Their starting point is different and their courses are not the same, yet each of them seems to be marked by the will of heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."

"Russia and the United States today are far closer than Tocqueville could possibly have imagined when he traveled across the United States in 1835. The continental position of both countries and the need for developing rich resources unmolested from without have caused the peoples of both nations to have a profound hatred of war and a strong love of peace.

"We in the United States honor Maxim Litvinoff, when we recall how as Foreign Minister of Russia he worked for collective security. Litvinoff, in those days when Hitler was rising to power, wanted to preserve the peace by banding together the non-aggressor nations so they could take a decisive stand against any ruthless nation that might be out for loot. He saw Russia bounded by fourteen different nations, many of which were unfriendly for definite historical reasons. He knew that Germany would use one or more of these nations against Russia when she attacked. Litvinoff failed for a time, but now he has come into his own again because he was right.

"RUSSIA HAS HAD HER BITTER EXPERIENCE WITH ISOLATIONISM. SO ALSO HAS THE UNITED

STATES. In 1919 Republicans and Democrats alike sought through a League of Nations to express their belief in the collective security of that day. Taft, Hughes, Hoover, Lowden and Root all wanted a league. Then isolationism came out of its cave and not only killed any possibility of our entering the League, but made it certain that we would adopt international policies which would make World War No. 2 almost inevitable.

"BOTH RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES RE-TREATED INTO ISOLATIONISM TO PRESERVE THEIR PEACE. BOTH FAILED. BOTH HAVE LEARNED THEIR LESSON.

"Russia and the United States have had a profound effect upon each other. BOTH ARE STRIVING FOR THE EDUCATION, THE PRODUCTIVITY AND THE ENDURING HAPPINESS OF THE COMMON MAN. The new democracy, the democracy of the common man, includes not only the Bill of Rights, but also economic democracy, ethnic democracy, educational democracy, and democracy in the treatment of the sexes.

"The ferment in the world today is such that these various types of democracy must be woven together into a harmonious whole. Millions of Americans are now coming to see that if Pan-America and the British Commonwealth are the warp of the new democracy, then the peoples of Russia and Asia may well become its woof.

"SOME IN THE UNITED STATES BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE OVER-EMPHASIZED WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED POLITICAL OR BILL-OF-RIGHTS DEMOCRACY. CARRIED TO ITS EXTREME FORM, IT LEADS TO RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM, EXPLOITATION, IMPRACTICAL EMPHASIS ON STATES' RIGHTS, AND EVEN TO ANARCHY.*

"Russia, perceiving some of the abuses of excessive political democracy, has placed strong emphasis on economic democracy. This, carried to an extreme, demands that all power be centered in one man and his bureaucratic helpers.

"Somewhere there is a practical balance between economic and political democracy. Russia and the United States both have been working toward this practical middle ground. In present-day Russia, for example, differences in wage income are almost but not quite as great as in the United States. The manager of a factory may be paid ten times as much as the average worker. Artists, scientists, and outstanding writers are usually paid even more than factory managers or political commissars.

"The chief difference between the economic organization of Russia and that of the United States is that in Russia it is almost impossible to live on income-producing property. The Russian form of State socialism is designed not to get equality of income but to place a maximum incentive on each individual to produce his utmost.

"A third kind of democracy, which I call ethnic, is in my opinion vital to the new democracy, the democracy of the common man. Ethnic democracy means merely that the different races and minority groups must be given equality of economic opportunity. President Roosevelt was guided by principles of ethnic democracy when in June of 1941 he issued an executive order prohibiting racial discrimination in the employing of workers by national defense industries.

"Russia has probably gone farther than any other nation in the world in practicing ethnic democracy. From the Russians we can learn much, for unfortunately the Anglo-Saxons have had an attitude toward other races which has made them exceedingly unpopular in many parts of the world.

"We have not sunk to the lunatic level of the Nazi myth of racial superiority, but we have sinned

enough to cost us already the blood of tens of thousands of precious lives. Ethnic democracy built from the heart is perhaps the greatest need of the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

"The fourth democracy, which has to do with education, is based fundamentally on belief in ethnic democracy. It is because Stalin pushed educational democracy with all the power that he could command that Russia today is able to resist Germany. The Russian people for generations have had a great hunger to learn to read and write, and when Lenin and Stalin gave them the opportunity, they changed in twenty years from a nation which was 90 per cent illiterate to a nation of which nearly 90 per cent are able to read and write.

"Russia has had a great admiration for the American system of technical education and public libraries. IF SHE CAN CONTINUE DURING THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS THE PROGRESS MADE IN THE PAST TWENTY, SHE WILL SURPASS THE UNITED STATES.** IF, IN THE FUTURE, RUSSIA COMES WHOLE-HEARTEDLY INTO THE FAMILY OF NATIONS, we may expect Russian scientists to make contributions to human welfare which equal those of any nation in the world.

"In any event, the Russian scientists will most assuredly be doing their best to place the results of science more definitely at the service of the average man and woman. Patents based on Russian scientific work will not be held out of use to benefit international cartels.

"With regard to the fifth democracy, the treatment of the sexes, most of us in the United States have felt complacent. It has taken the war experience of Russia to demonstrate the completeness of our failure. THOSE WHO HAVE VISITED RUSSIA RECENTLY SAY THAT ABOUT 40 PER CENT OF THE WORK IN THE FACTORIES IS BEING DONE BY WOMEN. The average woman does about as much work as the average man, and is paid as much.

"Thousands of Russian women are in uniform, either actively fighting or standing guard. We in the United States have not yet, in the same way as the Russians, called on the tremendous reserve power which is in our women, but before this war is over, we may be forced to give women their opportunity to demonstrate that with proper training they are equal to man in most kinds of work.

"The old democracy did not serve as a guarantee of peace. THE NEW DEMOCRACY, IN WHICH THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA ARE SO DEEPLY INTERESTED, MUST GIVE US SUCH A GUARANTEE. This new democracy will be neither communism of the old-fashioned internationalist type nor democracy of the old-fashioned isolationist sort. Willingness to support world organization to maintain world peace by justice implemented by force is fundamental to the democracy of the common man in these days of airplanes.

"Fortunately, the airplanes, which make it necessary to organize the world for peace, also furnish the means of maintaining peace. When this war comes to an end, the United Nations will have such an overwhelming superiority in air power that we shall be able speedily to enforce any mandate whenever the United Nations may have arrived at a judgment based on international law.

"THE FIRST ARTICLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE FUTURE IS UNDOUBTEDLY THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. The United Nations Charter includes the Atlantic Charter, and there is little reason why it should longer be called the 'Atlantic Charter' in view of the fact that the broader instrument has been validated by thirty nations.

"This United Nations Charter has in it an international bill of rights and certain economic guarantees

of international peace. These must and will be made more specific. THERE MUST BE AN INTERNATIONAL BANK and an international TVA, include say an international Dnieperstory dam for that matter, based on projects which are self-liquidating at low rates of interest.

"In this connection, I would like to refer to a conversation with Molotoff, when he was here last spring. Thinking of the unemployment and misery which might so easily follow this war, I spoke of the need for productive public works programs which would stir the imagination of all the peoples of the world, and suggested as a starter a combined highway and airway from Southern South America across the United States, Canada and Alaska into Siberia and on to Europe, with feeder highways and airways from China, India and the Middle East. Molotoff's first reaction was, "No one nation can do it by itself." Then he said, "You and I will live to see the day."

"The new democracy by definition abhors imperialism. But by definition also, it is internationally minded and supremely interested in raising the productivity, and therefore the standard of living of all the peoples of the world. First comes transportation and this is followed by improved agriculture, industrialization and rural electrification. The big planes and skilled pilots which will be ours when the war comes to an end will lead us into a most remarkable future as surely as day follows night. We can make

a future of new democracy based on peace. As Molotoff so clearly indicated, this brave, free world of the future cannot be created by the United States and Russia alone.

"Undoubtedly China will have a strong influence on the world which will come out of this war and in exerting this influence it is quite possible that the principles of Sun Yat-sen will prove to be as significant as those of any other modern statesman. The British Commonwealth, England herself, the democracies of Northwest Europe, Latin America, and in fact all of the United Nations, have a very important role to play. But in order that the United Nations may effectively serve the world it is vital that the United States and Russia be in accord as to the fundamentals of an enduring peace based on the aspirations of the common man.

"I AM HERE THIS AFTERNOON TO SAY THAT IT IS MY BELIEF THAT THE AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN PEOPLE CAN AND WILL THROW THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE SIDE OF BUILDING A NEW DEMOCRACY WHICH WILL BE THE HOPE OF ALL THE WORLD."

*Just imagine, dear reader, the idea of a Vice-President of the United States suggesting that we have overemphasized the Bill of Rights, and in so doing it might lead to anarchy. You will observe that Mr. Wallace also condemns by indirection what we call "rugged individualism" which indeed has been a foundation principle in America.

**In other words, Mr. Wallace seems to think that Stalin's system is better than ours because "if continued," he says, "for the next twenty years Russia will surpass the United States."

The Sanctity of the Supreme Court Must Be Preserved

—was not designed to be an adjunct to the Executive Department.

The atmosphere surrounding the Supreme Court of the United States may once have been somewhat too austere, and the disciplines that its members imposed upon themselves may have been too rigorous. Perhaps the country lost something by the tradition developed through the latter half of the Nineteenth Century that the Court must hold itself rigidly aloof from all immediate national concerns except as they might come before it in due course.

Perhaps it lost something, too, as the result of the theory that members of the Court ought not to speak publicly save on topics strictly professional or completely general, ought not even to resign, save for reasons entirely personal. As recently as 1912 a tremendous controversy was precipitated when Charles Evans Hughes quit the high bench to run for the presidency.

Yet if the older tradition had its stuffy aspects, and if it occasionally needlessly deprived the Nation of services that a Justice was peculiarly suited to render, the situation now developing represents another extreme.

The appointment of Mr. James F. Byrnes to be Director of Economic Stabilization is but the latest demonstration of a disposition to regard the Court not as a distinctive agency of the Government, the integrity and the traditions of which are vital to the successful functioning of the Republic, but as a mere adjunct of the executive branch, whose members can be called upon at will to do whatever difficult chores the Executive may have on hand.

Thus, Mr. Justice Roberts was called upon to head the committee that investigated the failure of the defenses at Pearl Harbor. More recently, Mr. Justice Murphy, after a trek with the Army, has been in Detroit to make an investigation of its exceptionally difficult social problems. Later the Chief Justice, Mr.

Stone, was invited to head the committee to investigate the rubber situation. And scarcely a day passes but Mr. Justice Douglas is not suggested for one position or another in another branch of the Government.

The Court still functions, and it evidently maintains the pace that was set for it when Mr. Hughes several years ago finally brought it abreast of its calendar. Yet the net effect of regarding the Court as a mere adjunct to the executive branch—an attitude inherent in the proposal to "reorganize" it by packing it with new members—cannot be wholesome in the long run.

It cannot but have an effect upon the conduct of the business of the Court, for if members are constantly involved in other affairs they will not have time for the deliberation and the contemplation that are essential to sound judgments. It also must inevitably have an effect upon the Justices, for if they are constantly to be called from their judicial tasks for other business they can hardly fail at last to consider the judicial business as being of secondary importance. And if a place on the bench is to become a mere temporary resting spot between other jobs, the prestige that attaches to the position will decline, with the result that able men may no longer be attracted to it.

Last of all, the effect on the public can scarcely fail to be unfortunate. The dignity and the austerity of the Court are part of its strength, and to diminish them seriously is to rob it of a vital element of its great role in national affairs.

The resources of the Court are as much subject to the draft as anything else in a time of total war, but the process should not go so far as to undermine the institution itself.

Editor's Note: The above appeared in the Hartford Courant on October 5, 1942.

LEON HENDERSON & CO.

By Congressman Dan R. McGehee of Mississippi.

The people have no confidence in Leon Henderson, who parades in the robes of white, emblematic of purity, yet in his early days as an economic instructor of Carnegie Institute, he led his class to a Red meeting to hear one of America's most revolutionary leaders, Eugene Debs. He became at one time one of the greatest advocates of the technocracy cult and in more recent times, he was president of the Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy and entertained in his home a Red delegation to the Washington conference of the Communist American League for Peace and Democracy. This social event would have passed unnoticed but for the fact that Henderson had a clash with a newspaper reporter and photographer.

Prior to the attack on Russia by Hitler, Stalin and Hitler were like two love birds cooing at each other and, when very few other persons attended the social functions at the Soviet Embassy, Henderson was one of the few officials that did.

Let us take a few men Henderson has surrounded himself with if you want the character of the man who is administering an act affecting every man, woman, and child in this nation.

Communist Sympathizer Aids Henderson

He had Robert A. Brady appointed as one of his assistants and officially known as Chief Consultant of the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply. Brady is known throughout the country as a fellow traveler and chairman of the Communist Front Consumers' Union, sponsor of the Communist spawned Motion Picture Artists' Committee, a signer of the 1939 Communist manifesto vowing fealty to the Soviet regime, and a member of the Harry Bridges defense committee.

Brady is the author of the book *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*. This book contains an attack on American democracy—an overthrow of the American way of life.

Henderson has surrounded himself with another in the person of Tom Tippet; the author of *When Southern Labor Stirs*, signed a copy of the Communist trade-union conference manifesto in concert with William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, and Earl Browder, an ex-convict and at one time general secretary of the Communist party in this country. Tippet at one time was instructor at Brookwood Labor College. He is known officially as Chief of the Rent Section of the O. P. A.

Henderson has further surrounded himself with one Dewey H. Palmer, who is officially listed as an assistant consultant. The background of this man was given Congress by the Dies committee some months ago.

He has further surrounded himself with one Karl Borders, as Director of the Rent Division, a red agitator and whose record is familiar to the police of some of our cities. Borders was formerly chairman of the executive board of the Chicago committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, which union is a supporter of all subversive movements—its propaganda is detrimental to the state.

A recent legislative inquiry in Massachusetts reported "The propaganda of this organization is dictated and dominated by Communist and Communist supporters." This man Borders served as educational director in Russia for the Communists for two years.

Henderson has surrounded himself with another by the name of John Edelman, who is liaison man between the O. P. A. and C. I. O., a member of the

Civil Liberties Union, and on the board of directors of the Affiliated School for Workers, which a New York Federal Grand Jury Association found was teaching "how to foment a strike; how to take over the industries of the United States, especially the munition plants; how to bring about a general strike and then seize and operate the plants; how to overthrow the United States Government and establish a soviet union."

But the master of masters, the deity of deities, is Henderson's senior business specialist, Harold Loeb.

Do you wonder why the people wonder? I do not want to take too much time in calling attention to the names of too many of those who are holding key positions in our Government, especially in our defense program whose ideologies are so un-American, but I must mention Brother Fowler V. Harper, Deputy Commissioner of Paul V. McNutt's Manpower Mobilization Commission, a member of the American Lawyer's Guild, which was too communistic for even Adolph A. Berle, Jr., to remain in.

Of course, we know of some prominent people who are still members. It was Harper who signed the petition to President Roosevelt urging that there be no discrimination against the Communist Party. It was Harper who presided at the left-wing Tuesday Evening Club of Indianapolis at which Theodore Dreiser asserted that Soviet Russia has the only real democracy.

Jack Lever, principal field representative of the Labor Division of the War Production Board, was associated with Tippet on the national executive committee of the revolutionary Conference for Progressive Action.

Gardner Jackson, special assistant to the Undersecretary of Agriculture Paul Appleby. Jackson was kicked out of the Department of Agriculture at one time in the early days of New Dealism, but is back. The Dies committee reported that he has one of the longest records of activities in communistic organizations of any man in this country.

The Dies committee charges that at least 50 officials of the O. P. A. have Communist-front affiliation and say they have the data to back up these statements.

Do you wonder why the people wonder? I could call the Congress' attention to many others, but lack of time forbids it.

Editor's Note: The above address was delivered by Congressman McGehee on the floor of Congress on October 22.

A State of Confusion.

{Continued from Page 7}

Our country is supposed to be governed by laws. Instead it is governed by administrative regulations. Daily, the Federal Register contains hundreds of new regulations supposed to enlighten the people on the subject with which the regulations deal. Usually, a regulation will contain not less than a printed page of subject matter. Most of them could be written in four or five lines, but if they were so written it might be possible for the general public to understand the regulation.

It seems to be a rule of the day that a regulation must be confusing and subject to many interpretations. With all this confusion, the small businessman is in a quandary, for if he spends half his time reading regulations and interprets them to his satisfaction, he will soon wake up to the fact that some clerk

or deputy administrator holds an entirely different view on the subject.

Small Businessman in Danger

The small businessman will then write the administrative head of the department and in the course of two or three weeks the letter will find its way, if not lost, to the clerk who made the ruling. That clerk will have to write the letter that goes back through channels to be initialed by the administrator or his deputy assistant and finally mailed to the small businessman.

By the time the reply gets to the small businessman, a regulation has been issued amending the former regulation, and the small businessman is again confused.

Today we have about two and one-half million civilian employees working for the Government. But it is easy to understand why it takes so many when you take one glance at the regulations in the Federal Register. It takes many stenographers in each division answering letters to people throughout the country who are unable, not for lack of intelligence, to interpret the regulations. These regulations are being drawn for the benefit of the people, not for the benefit of lawyers, accountants, and economists. They should be short, clear, and understandable by the average American. If this were done, we would not need so many clerks and stenographers.

Another thing that is confusing to the American people are the reports that emanate from Washington from different bureau heads. You can pick up a daily paper and see where Mr. Diljohn, Administrator of the Office of Confusion, makes a public statement: "We have enough rubber to keep all the cars in the United States rolling." Four or five days later the same citizen picks up a paper and reads a statement by Mr. Debunk, chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Sociological Changes, warning the Nation that we will be on the ground in another two months unless our tires are inspected and washed every few days.

Recently the American people were advised that in order to keep our cars rolling, our tires would have to be examined every 60 days. There are about 30,000,000 cars in the United States. With my experience in having cars checked, a person will lose almost a day in getting the inspection. That will mean the loss of 15,000,000 man-days a month. Then the examiner will have to fill out four or five pages of reports showing the number of flakes out of each tire, the exact location of scars, and the thickness of the tires.

This report will have to be mailed to a district office for tabulation and further study. Then it will have to be sent to Washington and considered by the powers-that-be here, who will have to prepare reports to be sent back to the car owner. This will take thousands more employees away from our war effort. Of course, this is all supposed to make us conscious of the fact that we are in a war.

Bureaucrats Fight On the Pool Table and Bowling Alley Front

Recently the Office of Price Administration issued a regulation placing a ceiling on the ancient game of pool and on the new national pastime, bowling. Of course, it is very important to call to the attention of the American people that their sons and brothers are dying in the Solomons, by placing a ceiling on these all-American pastimes.

Sooner or later someone will discover that there is a leather shortage looming. We will then ask Congress for an appropriation to purchase 132,000,000 pedometers. Each person, before he is eligible to buy a new pair of shoes, must show the exact number of steps taken in the old shoes. We must have a

number of economists to figure out the average length of steps taken to and from our places of business, and if for any reason a person steps off the beaten path and the report shows more steps than necessary, he will be denied a pair of shoes. However, according to a statement made about the people from my section of the country by a high Government official, we will not be so upset by the shoe regulation.

We are told at every turn that we must do this and must not do that. Movie and radio stars are sent throughout the length and breadth of our land to sell War bonds. This is laudable on their part. But I wonder if it would not be cheaper and better for the morale of the American people to tell them the truth about the war. Then they would buy War bonds without all the fanfare we are now using.

I do not know who is advising our military and naval authorities on their methods of disseminating news to the people. Whoever it is certainly must think that the American people cannot take anything but good news. If the powers-that-be are right, we might as well sue for peace and ask for the shackles of slavery now and avoid further bloodshed.

I do not pretend to speak for the entire United States, but most of the people with whom I come in contact would rather know the truth than be given some sugar-coated story that will be refuted in six or eight months. Every American lauded the gallant raid on Tokyo. There is not an American who did not expect heavy losses. But when the announcement was made of the raid, the same announcement carried the statement that all the ships except one arrived at the destination. Six months afterward the American people are told the truth, we hope, about the matter.

The boys who are rescued from naval vessels that are lost come from all parts of the country. When they get home, some of them will tell their best friends about the vessel being lost and soon the news is all over the Nation. Yet the papers will go on carrying stories for weeks denying the loss of vessels.

Sooner or later we will awaken to the fact that our people have lost confidence in all Government reports, and when they lose confidence in the reports, they will soon lose confidence in their leadership.

It would be wise to read the history of Washington during the Civil War. At first the people of Washington were led to believe that Lee's army would be annihilated in one grand battle. The society belles drove their fashionable carriages to witness the annihilation. When they recovered their senses after the complete rout of the Federal Army, it took a lot of preaching and speaking to restore the confidence of the people of Washington in the ability of the leadership.

For the past decade the American press has been filled with observations of experts and writers on international affairs that Japan was a second-rate power; that she did not have the resources, men, and equipment to carry on a major war. We were told she could not even conquer China, but we did not take the trouble to learn that she had conquered practically all the Chinese territory that produced food, fiber, and other necessary war materials. We were told that her Navy would be sent to the bottom soon after she declared war on us.

Since her treacherous attack on us at Pearl Harbor we have been led to believe that we can mop up the Japs after Germany has been disposed of.

The American people are not quitters. Our ancestors have gone through years of privation. Tell us the truth when it does not give away secrets that might give an advantage to our enemy. We can take it, and if we know what we are up against we can give it.

The Mysterious Life and Death of HUEY P. LONG

The editor of this magazine, Gerald L. K. Smith, was with Huey P. Long when he was shot by a treacherous assassin by the name of Dr. Karl Weiss in September, 1935. Mr. Smith was with him when he breathed his last, heard his final confession of his faith in God.

Two days after his death, the funeral of this much misunderstood and martyred statesman attracted more than 200,000 mourners. Friends from every nation on earth and every state in the Union sent flowers which covered one acre of ground.

IN NEXT MONTH'S ISSUE OF THIS MAGAZINE MR. SMITH WILL CONTINUE TO TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LIFE AND BACKGROUND OF HUEY LONG, THE STORY OF THE CONSPIRACY BEHIND HIS ASSASSINATION AND HE WILL UNFOLD THESE FACTS IN A SERIES OF SIX ARTICLES.

Following are some of the questions that will be answered:

1. How did Huey Long know six weeks in advance that he was to be assassinated?
2. Who plotted his death?
3. Was he a racketeer?
4. Was Huey Long a heavy drinker?
5. Was Huey Long a Christian?
6. Did he die a rich man?
7. What about the family of Huey P. Long?
8. Why did Gerald L. K. Smith refuse to go over to the New Deal machine with the so-called Long leaders after the assassination?
9. Did a certain newspaper in Washington, D. C., know the identity of the assassin before he was identified by the Baton Rouge police?
10. Why do the big newspapers and certain elements in our country still insist on smearing the name of Huey Long?
11. Why do the enemies of the common people fear even the memory of this assassinated statesman?
12. Why did Chief Justice William Howard Taft pronounce Huey Long one of the greatest minds of this century?
13. Why did United States Senator Royal Copeland say in an address in Ann Arbor, Michigan, his home town, that Huey Long was the most intelligent and sincere man he had ever known?
14. Why is it a matter of common knowledge even in the Senate today that Huey Long, when assassinated, was virtually the master of the United States Senate?
15. Why has the mysterious plot behind his assassination never been investigated?
16. How did Gerald L. K. Smith happen to meet Huey P. Long? What welded their friendship? Would Huey Long have run for the Presidency in 1936?

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