in the name of defense. Free enterprise is being called the best national defense, and the slogan is designed to bring about nothing less than repeal or emasculation of the whole range of New Deal reforms. That freedom of enterprise is part of the national well-being on which our defense depends is true, but the propagandistic use of the phrase is another example of the benefits to be reaped by giving a bad dog a good name. For the aim of the campaign is not to preserve true freedom of enterprise but to repeal legislation which has sought to protect a genuine free enterprise from the operations of the financial and industrial brigand. Speeches at the meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board held last week in New York indicate that those running this campaign are confusing freedom of enterprise with freedom of exploitation.

Virgil Jordan, president of the Conference Board, said that New Deal policies had weakened the nation's ability to meet the crisis. One wonders whether the nation would have been in a stronger position had we elected a Hoover instead of a Roosevelt in 1932 to let the jobless go hungry and malefactors of great wealth go unpunished. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., of General Motors, thought the defense program ought to be placed in the hands of "those possessing the technical knowledge and experience to assume such a great responsibility unencumbered by the demoralizing influence of political considerations." We don't know what that means, but we hope it does not mean that big business ought not to be hampered by labor or profit restrictions in the defense program. The history of past defense programs is a history of shameless profiteering at the nation's expense. Defense will be weakened, not strengthened, by removing the safeguards that protect the public as worker, consumer, investor, and taxpayer.

The extent of the strengthen-defense-by-ditching-reform program was indicated by John K. Starkweather, chairman of the Federal Legislation Committee of the Investment Bankers' Association. In his address before the Conference Board Starkweather cited not only the wage-hour law but high-income and corporate taxation, the Holding Company Act, and "indirect interference with bank investments," as examples of interference with enterprise.

"At last," says the Financial Reporter, the security dealers' weekly, "the day of reckoning has arrived"! It feels that our national defense has been weakened by "the actions and efforts of a brazen handful of embryonic young barristers bent upon obstructionist persecution and juvenile witch-hunting . . . goaded onward by the President." It wants to get back to the good old days when an investment banker "did not have to become criminally liable for every possible mistake of reputable technical advisers." These are the terms in which Wall Street is thinking. We are glad that the President spoke out firmly and unequivocally and made it clear that these are not the terms on which our defense program is being conceived. It is not its Insulls and its Gridlers that make a nation strong, but a contented people with a decent standard of living.

Let in the Refugees!
BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

SLOWLY American isolationism crumbles in the heat of the struggle in France and Belgium. Understanding is coming to take the place of complacency and detachment. In some quarters, high and low, panic is threatening to overwhelm understanding. But panic is nothing more than an unfortunate by-product of a necessary reaction. Women who waste time forming rifle clubs to deal with parachutists, legislators and local officials who propose laws to penalize aliens—these form the hysterical fringe. America had to wake up. Even now it is stirring itself too slowly to be of much use in helping to prevent immeasurable catastrophe in Europe. But the new mood of awareness is growing, and the Administration should take advantage of it.

What can we do to help the Allies resist Hitler?
We can send planes and guns and even ships—but planes most of all. We can provide credit for their purchase, or we can give them away if the Allies come short of funds or hesitate to place orders. We can offer some of our own equipment, as Senator Pepper proposed, if our factories are unable to turn out new machines fast enough. We can provide ships if Allied ships are insufficient to get the goods over there in quantities and in time. We can do all this, and we should—now.

But we can do one other great service, and I wish Mr. Roosevelt would give the idea his personal support. We can lower our immigration restrictions and take in refugees from Holland and Belgium and France and the other invaded and occupied countries.

Today millions of people are struggling along bomb-swept roads in a desperate, hopeless attempt to keep ahead of the invaders. The very machines of Allied defense are bogged down in this sluggish stream of terrified human beings, moving blindly away from danger, facing danger as they move. On foot, in cars and carts, and on crowded trains, often under the harrying attack of Nazi planes, they seek refuge—refuge where none is to be found. France has taken in hundreds of thousands from the Low Countries, but in the midst of its own struggle for life it cannot possibly provide shelter and food for everyone; it cannot even provide safety.

In case of Allied victory most of these people will go home. Their villages may be no more than a heap of stones, but with the endless patience of their kind they will again build up their lives and their houses, and
existence will somehow go on. Even if the invaders should stay, many of the refugees would return to their homes, eager to cling to what they have as long as the guns are silent and a living can be made. But others will never dare go back to face a regime that neither forgives opposition nor tolerates resistance. The opponents of fascism and its appointed victims—trade unionists, Socialists, Free Masons, Jews—will have to keep out of reach until Hitlerism is destroyed. Still others will simply be stranded without homes or possessions. Thousands of children have been orphaned.

Where shall they go? France and Britain, whatever the fortunes of war, cannot support a population of refugees. Even today French people are themselves refugees from the occupied parts of France.

The United States can help by sending millions of dollars and shiploads of clothing and food to the victims of Hitler’s invasions. But it can help far more by permitting large-scale immigration from all the invaded countries. The barriers should be leveled except for persons who are properly under suspicion as undesirables. Or, if Congress flinches from such wholesale relief, the combined quotas from each country for the next five years should be admitted at once. Or temporary visas should be granted, good for the duration of the war; when the war is ended, the fate of the immigrants can be decided according to the fate of their countries.

Fear of a “fifth column” should not deter the United States from opening its doors to the refugees. That fear is already being used as a handy excuse for promoting dubious measures of protection. It is a bitter irony that men like Dies and Reynolds should stand up in the Senate and propose fascist-inspired laws in the name of protecting the country from foreign agents and subversive elements. Dies wants an additional appropriation of $100,000 to finance a study of “fifth-column activities.” Will this cover the activities of his own reactionary supporters and friends, such men as the pro-Franco Merwin K. Hart, or Charles Coughlin, or the anti-Semitic James True? Representative Dies also wants to reduce the present immigration quotas by one-third and for five years admit only husbands, wives, and minor children of American citizens. Perhaps he is afraid of the dilution of our population by a horde of European anti-fascists.

Senator Bridges has introduced a bill to prohibit aliens from buying or possessing any sort of weapon. Representative Thomas of New Jersey, one of the solest reactionaries in the lower house, has attacked Attorney General Jackson as a notorious coddler of aliens and has demanded that the FBI be removed from the corrupting influence of the Department of Justice so that it can do its work of uncovering sedition without radical interference.

It would be foolish to assume that no danger of fascist penetration exists in the United States. Events in Europe have only dramatized the known activities of the followers of Hitler and Mussolini. We have our fifth columns. And the first place to look for them is among the well-established, well-heeled, anti-New Deal supporters of Dies, Coughlin and Company. They form the most obvious and the most dangerous fifth column in the United States.

Aliens, too, may smuggle in fascist ideas and plots. To meet this danger more effectively the President has ordered the transfer of the Immigration Service from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice. The move may be a wise one, and it is reassuring to learn that the service will henceforth be under the direct supervision of Francis Biddle, a sound liberal. Let us by all means strain out such aliens or deport them if their behavior is suspicious, but let us not visit on the innocent victims of fascism the sins of the tyrants from whom they have fled. Now is the time to prove that the right of asylum is not dead in the United States.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 665

EDITORIALS:

BRITAIN’S PERIL 667
TWOFOLD DEFENSE NEEDED 668
LET IN THE REFUGEES! by Freda Kirchwey 669

WHILE ROME SQUIRMS by Julio Alvarez del Vayo 671

THE END OF CHRISTY TUCKER
A Story by Erskine Caldwell 673

MIRACLE IN CONCRETE by Richard L. Neuberger 675

ON “THE IRRESPONSIBLES” Comments by Max Lerner, Kenneth B. Murdock, Waldo Frank, Hans Kohn, Waldo Leland, Perry Miller, Joseph Freeman, Willard Thorp 678

IN THE WIND 682

ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 683

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

THE WHOLE OF NOUSMAN by Morton Dauwen Zabel 684
AFTER THE PEACE by Stuart Chase 686
HISTORY OF THE GERMAN ARMY by Oswald Garrison Villard 687
NEVER THE LIFE by Maxwell Geismar 688
GRANVILLE HICKS IN 1940 by Louis B. Salomon 689
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 690

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