

April
1937

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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM



HUGO
GELLERT



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THIS is New York City. Here live seven million people. Here live rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief; doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief. Here live workers of hand and brain. Here live the poorest and richest people in the country. Here is fertile ground for democratic ideas and for Fascist ideas.

AFTER one year of the new FIGHT, we can now say that the magazine has made for itself a permanent place in the life of the country. And we are happy to report to our readers that the circulation has increased over the old magazine. We are also happy to report that many sections of the country are now making a real effort to "put" across THE FIGHT. We want to single out California and our state organizer there, Mr. Bert Leech, as having performed a good job with THE FIGHT and League literature in general. (By the way, we have been publishing and will continue to publish a California edition of the magazine.)

BUT New York City, we are sorry to report, is not doing so well. And *here* our hopes were great. Here we expected to sell at least twice as many magazines and pamphlets as we are selling now.

THIS is an appeal to the people of New York, to our New York City Committee, to its executives and to the League membership, to all friends of peace and Democracy, to rally and rally immediately to THE FIGHT and to *all* literature published by the American League. The struggle for a world without war and Fascism is your struggle. Literature is a very important factor in this struggle. What are we going to do about it?

NATIONAL OFFICE,
 AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

April 1937, THE FIGHT

With the Readers



TWENTY years ago this month the United States entered the World War. We were very, very young then. We were against war then as we are against war now. There were many people who were against that war just as there are many people who are against war now. But they did not have the experience and knowledge that the people have now . . . conditions were different and the time was not ripe.

BUT we were fortunate in having lived during the World War in the Puget Sound country, in a city called Seattle, where we saw the common people perform Paul Bunyan feats in a way which distinguished them from the rest of the country. From those people we had our first practical lessons in anti-war work.

THERE we saw an American city of over 300,000 almost solidly lined up against the war makers. "This is your war," they said, "not ours." When the war makers tried to stop free speech, the people poured out by the thousands and tested the right of free speech. The people won. When the war makers' press attempted to harangue the hooligans against the peaceful and liberty loving people who asked questions about the War, the people organized and printed their own daily newspaper. When judges were about to sentence war objectors, the people held huge mass meetings and came in throngs to the court room. Result? Lower sentences and fewer arrests than in any other city in the country. *A free American city in war time.* Why? All theories aside . . . because the backbone of this movement was the trade unions, the workers. The workers acted politically. They said: There are two classes in society and this is not our war.

THIS was the tempo of the city. We knew a young man who had been sentenced to two years in prison for his anti-war work and when the prosecuting attorney, judge or sheriff would meet him on the street they would bow very respectfully to him. Why? Because the people of that city had said: "He is ours, ours, you touch him, you laugh at him, you throw a stone at him, and you, and you and you will have to answer to us." *That was the tempo of the city.*

WE witnessed these two practical demonstrations of the power of an organized people. Immediately after the War, the old remnants of the Czarist régime were attempting to overthrow the young Russian republic. Munitions were being shipped via Seattle. The waterfront workers of that city said, "No!" *All shipments of munitions stopped.* When President Wilson arrived in Seattle, tens of thousands lined the streets with folded arms and in dead silence greeted the chief executive. Next day Wilson granted an interview to a committee of trade unionists on the subject of freeing the political war prisoners. *The first interview granted by the President.*

THAT was our baptism in the anti-war movement. That is why we believe in people's actions. That is why we believe that it is possible to stop war only by people's action. That is why we believe, that if in spite of everything there is a next war, the end of the next war will be different than the last one. The people can and will act.



A pitiful sight in Madrid. Two young children murdered by Fascist Franco's bombing planes

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JOSEPH PASS, *Editor*

The Fight Against War and Fascism, published monthly by the National Executive Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, 268 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Chairman, Harry F. Ward. Vice-Chairmen, Robert Morss Lovett, Mrs. Victor L. Berger, Earl Browder, Max S. Hayes, Jacob Mirsky. Treasurer, William P. Mangold. Secretarial Staff: Executive, Paul Reid; Administration, Clara Bodian; Education, Robert K. Speer; Publications and Publicity, Frank B. Blumenfeld; Youth, James Lerner; Women, Dorothy McConnell; Trade Union, John Masso; Religious, Rev. Herman F. Reissig. Single Copies, 10 cents. Yearly subscription, \$1.00. Six-month subscription, 55 cents. Canada and Foreign, \$1.50 a year. Entered as Second-Class matter, February 20, 1935, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.



The Contributors



HELEN MORTON writes the timely article on students and the campus. Timely because on April 22nd we will once again witness American students striking against war and the merchants of death. Miss Morton was formerly executive secretary of the United Settlement Houses of Boston and is now executive secretary of the National Student Council of the Y.W.C.A. and chairman of the Student Strike Committee.

CARLTON BROWN is a regular contributor to various nationally known periodicals including *The New Yorker*, *New Republic*, *Esquire*, etc., etc. In a letter to us he writes: "I have a two and a half year old daughter whom I'm not raising to be a Red Cross nurse."

DOROTHY McCONNELL gives us more than an excellent picture of life on the Monongahela in this number. Her story, we think, breathes the fires of steel furnaces. Miss McConnell has just returned from a trip through the Pittsburgh section where she talked to steel workers and their wives, Negro and white, to C.I.O. organizers, priests and ministers, to 100% patriots and Americans. She knows the Monongahela Valley.

HARRY STERNBERG, who made the lithographs for Miss McConnell's story, has also recently been to the Pittsburgh section. His work is on permanent exhibition in many museums and public institutions, including the Whitney Museum of Art and the Newark Public Library.

LEROY E. BOWMAN is Director of the United Parents Associations and a lecturer at the Child Development Institute, Columbia University. Mr. Bowman is on the National Bureau of the American League Against War and Fascism.

WILLIAM REED is the pseudonym of an American financial writer. We wish we could tell you his name and his connections. It would make good reading.

A. BIRNBAUM is a contributor to many nationally known publications and is one of our very favorite artists.

JOSEPH CADDEN, who writes on the economic status of youth, is secretary, National Student Federation of America; U. S. secretary, International Student Service; executive secretary, American Youth Congress and was the chairman of the U. S. delegation to the Geneva World Youth Congress.

JEAN LYON is a feature writer for a New York City newspaper and has a syndicated feature running in a number of newspapers throughout the country. Miss Lyon is a very active member of the American Newspaper Guild.

ANONYMOUS, who writes about his childhood in Germany, is forced to withhold his name from print because of relatives and friends who are still living in that country under the Hitler dictatorship.

JOHN GROTH'S illustrations for the article, *My Youth in Germany*, were made from sketches during his stay in that country.

HUGO GELLERT made the cover for this number to celebrate the coming of spring and the student anti-war strike.

BILLIONS FOR BULLETS by Elizabeth Noble

The problem of national defense is very much to the fore at the moment, with the largest peace-time war budget in the history of the United States just passed by the Senate and House. This study is completely documented. 5 cents

A BLUEPRINT FOR FASCISM by Frank B. Blumenfield

The War Department is sponsoring a proposal to impose a military-industrial dictatorship in the United States. Learn about it. Fight it. 5 cents

WOMEN, WAR, AND FASCISM by Dorothy McConnell

What part do women play in the campaign for war and Fascism? What is their role in fighting these twin evils? The secretary of the Women's Section of the American League presents the women's case. 5 cents

WHY FASCISM LEADS TO WAR by John Strachey

Is war inevitable under Fascism? Is there any relation between the two? John Strachey, the British publicist and lecturer, answers both in the affirmative. 5 cents

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NATIONAL DEFENSE, by John Franklin, 5 cents

YOUTH DEMANDS PEACE, by James Lerner, 5 cents

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

268 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

IF A CONNOISSEUR of campuses were to return to this country after a four years' absence, he would behold much he had never seen before. A changed life on the campus. Of course he would note, this collector of collegiana, a great deal that was still familiar in student life. Dances, dates, movies go on as ever—as do odd jobs in restaurants and tending furnaces. Bull sessions over a cup of coffee in the Coffee Shop are no less a sacred campus institution now than in the days gone by. However, John and Jane Student find new, strange things to do in their time-off after they put in a forty to forty-eight hour week of hard study.

They trudge eagerly from committee meeting to mass meeting to forum. Like the Ancient Mariner, John (or Jane) Student stoppeth one of three who cannot choose but hear. As often as not, the stoppee soon finds himself repeating the story he hears to another, who in his turn finally assumes the rôle of the Ancient Mariner. Thus is started an endless chain of activity and persuasion. This is the new and different thing in student life. This, and the content of the students' story.

Campus Climate

College enrollment this year swells with 100,000 National Youth Administration Students. Rubbing shoulders with them in the shadow of unemployment are other thousands who return to the campus on slim funds after rebuffs in the employment exchanges. These new thousands seeking university training increase the numbers who have always been shy of pin money—and sometimes lunch money. They also work their way through. No less in love with a good time than the students of yesterday, this new group nevertheless changes the campus climate. It charges the atmosphere with increased seriousness, energy, purpose.

Activities, now as always, sprout with jungle luxuriance wherever college students come together, and now horse sense is becoming recognized as just as characteristic of college life as horse play has long been.

Gregarious John and Jane have

found new forms of group activity. Side by side with dramatics, glee clubs, and the Junior Prom now stand the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, the American Student Union, the National Student Federation of America, the American Youth Congress, the United Youth Program of the various inter-denominational groups.

Indeed, so many are these new clubs, committees, unions, that a tangle sometimes results. But student organizations which have the same purposes on specific issues, work out more and more means of coordination as each new semester rolls round. Streamlining the student movement takes a little time, but even while it is being achieved, increased efficiency, greater speed, appear as results.

One great simplification took place with the merger, in December, 1935, of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy. Out of these two, came the present American Student Union. The fight against retrenchment in education and for academic freedom concerned this group, as did the creation of sympathy for working-class political and economic institutions. War was anathema to the A. S. U. It proposed mass youth resistance as a means of preventing it.

"We Want to Live"

Another new unifying organization, is the American Youth Congress with one foot on the campus and the other in the street. This modest Colossus, beginning to bestride the world of youth, gathers its stature from a large number of organizations, including many groups of students. Representatives of these students trekked along among the two thousand on the Youth Pilgrimage to Washington in February of this year. The American Youth Act, presented at that time to the United States Congress, is the common denominator of the American Youth Congress, the program on which all of its varied membership agrees. Jobs, vocational training, education for all between the ages of sixteen and twenty-

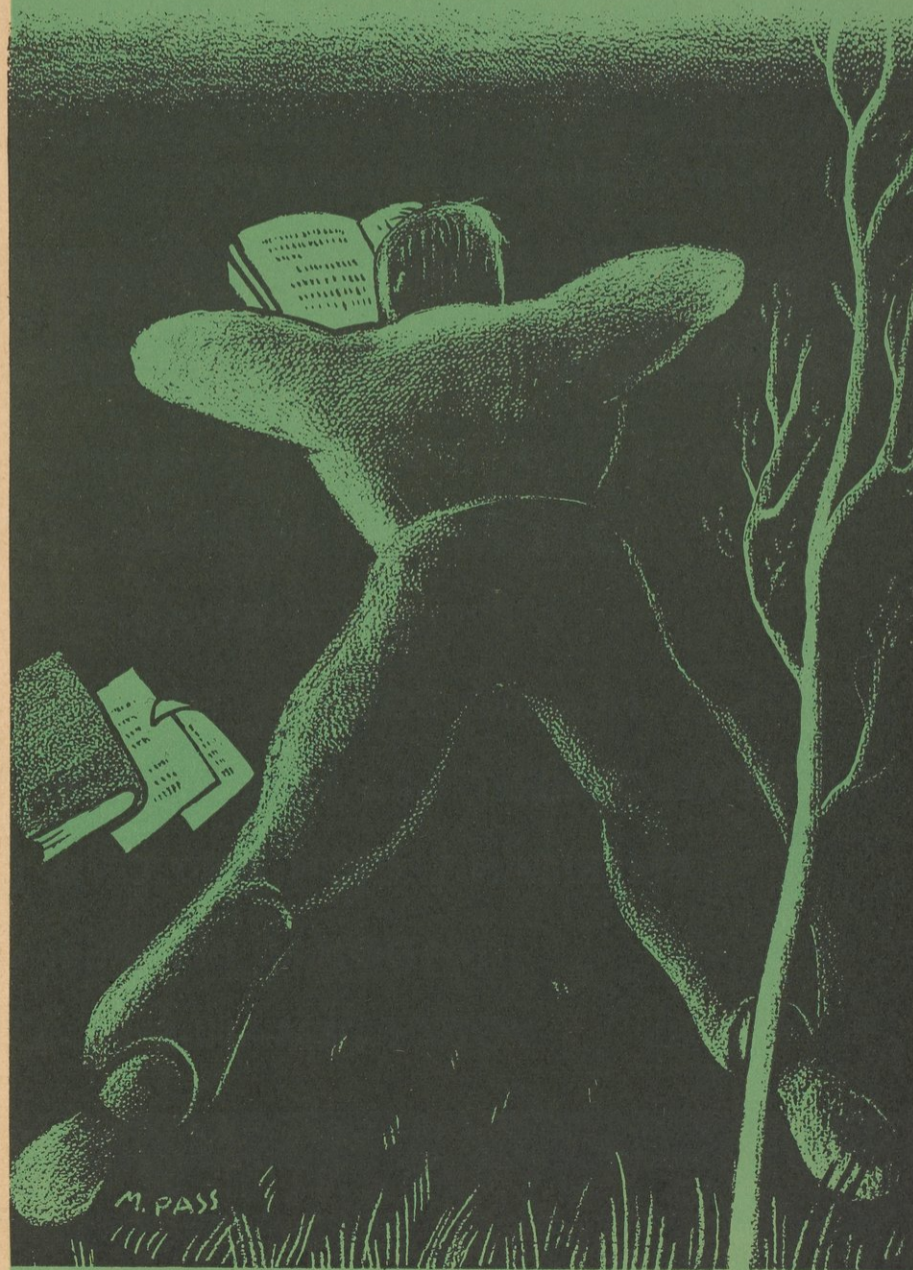
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On the Campus

John and Jane have found new forms of group activity. The writer tells us of the forces at play on the campus

By Helen Morton

ILLUSTRATED BY M. PASS





Loans, Loans—War

By William Reed

ILLUSTRATED BY BIRNBAUM

IN A WORLD filled with fears of war and feverish with the rush to arm, it is expected that there should be recurring rumors of international negotiations for credits to purchase raw materials.

The recent visit to Washington of Walter Runciman, President of the British Board of Trade, a position making him a member of the British Cabinet, induced speculation even in quarters friendly to the Roosevelt Administration as to the possibility of official sanction for credits to the British government and perhaps, indeed, to Germany.

Naturally, the yellow press raised a furor when Mr. Runciman's visit and his week-end at the White House were announced. There were bitter cries that another sly foreigner was endeavoring to wheedle the American government, and thereby the American public, out of more cash.

Personal Visits or Loans

Unfortunately, other newspapers as well, including the Scripps-Howard pro-Roosevelt chain, hinted strongly that one of the purposes of Runciman's visit might be to lay the groundwork for financial assistance to Nazi Germany, which is desperately in need of foreign credits,—perhaps through fresh loans to England in return for "token" payments on defaulted war debts.

All of this was later labeled exag-

geration by some of the more competent Washington news commentators.

To most of the informed American public, the thought of extending loans to Hitler must have seemed not only exaggerated but wholly fantastic. Not only is Germany financially and economically in the worst possible situation, perhaps even bankrupt, but there could not be any question but that Nazi Germany would use the funds to prepare for war. Yet the *Wall Street Journal* quotes Senator Pittman, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, as favoring financial aid to Germany.

It has been explained in dispatches from England that Runciman's visit to America was a purely personal one; it has been stated, too, that the visit of Sir Robert Craige, Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, also will be personal and that his visit to the President will be merely a matter of courtesy.

Nevertheless, it is well for Americans who cherish the hope of peace to view with the deepest suspicion each successive hint of the possibility of the

revival of loans to foreign governments. (Germany and Italy are now anxious for American dollars.) It will pay them to be as skeptical as they wish concerning these purely personal visits of foreign diplomats. International finance, by its very nature, must be transacted in an air of extreme secrecy; not many official visitors will be so frank as to reveal the true nature of their missions.

Hitler's Desperate Situation

In order to appreciate how great the pressure is for a revival of foreign lending, it is necessary only to look at the position of Germany and England in the present political scene.

Nazi Germany is arming as rapidly as possible for the war which she seems determined to wage. She cannot re-arm without the aid of raw materials which are not produced and cannot be artificially duplicated in Germany. She needs foreign credits not only to re-arm, but actually to eat and to work and to live. Hitler must feed his people to stay in power. And apparently, economic bankruptcy can be

averted in Hitler's land only by territorial aggrandizement, or by the end of German Fascism, an alternative which probably has not occurred to *Der Fuehrer*.

The desperation of the German situation is attested to by the apparent willingness of more than one European foreign office to take advantage of the German plight to make of the Reich a political ally. The British Foreign Office seems to hold the view that Germany must have either foreign financial assistance or colonies in order to avoid starvation. And the Tory government appears to think that financial aid would be a sort of ransom to keep Hitler quiet for a little while longer. It does not seem to have thought that colonies or foreign credits might only enable Germany to arm more effectively for battle. Certainly, Germany's economic plight is not entirely imposed on her from without.

Italy, too, is faced with internal economic difficulties. And then there is Ethiopia. Mussolini, if he is to exploit that invaded country, needs credit. Where is he to turn, if not to the U. S. A.?

Added to this is the fact that British political strategy has been aimed directly at the isolation of France from her political allies, in order to place France squarely at the mercy of the British government. What could accomplish this more successfully than

Hitler and Mussolini are now hard pressed and need some cash and credit. Rumor has it that they have cast their eyes on Uncle Sam's cash drawer

British financial aid to France's chief enemy, Hitler? Bankers in London already are seeking to arrange raw material credits for Germany.

Most important of all, perhaps, is the British armament program, the most colossal in the history of the civilized world. Having suffered severe loss of prestige and diplomatic strength in the three major international conflicts of the past few years—the Ethiopian, the Spanish and the Manchurian—Britain now finds it necessary to race neck-and-neck with Hitler in the construction of implements and armies to establish power of a different sort.

England needs all of her own productive and financial resources to carry through such a program. And, as can be demonstrated, no country on earth except the United States could lend money abroad at this time unless America in turn stood ready to bolster the international financial structure against renewed strain.

World War Loans

During the World War, the United States changed from a debtor nation to the creditor of every nation of importance, European, American, and Asiatic, with the exception of Soviet Russia. From a net debtor position, the United States built up foreign assets of more than \$20,000,000,000, a figure that had taken Great Britain the preceding century to reach. This total included \$11,000,000,000 of "war debts," now in default, which if ever collected would have meant something like \$20,000,000,000 to the United States in interest and principal.

This total included also billions of dollars of loans to European countries where municipalities and corporations were willing, in their post-war disillusion, to pay extreme interest rates in order to rebuild their shattered economies. American money built German roads and schoolhouses, Austrian apartment buildings and transit lines, Italian and Greek and Bulgarian utilities. This does not take into account the countless hundreds of millions poured into South America to exploit copper and nitrate mines and to finance cities and counties and states in the South American republics. American money went to Central European towns and cities and principalities for every conceivable purpose, drawn there by interest rates which rose competitively higher and higher with less and less economic justification.

America was not the only sinner, since Britain too was lending large sums of money for European rehabilitation, but America was the most reckless sinner. Inexperienced in the science of foreign lending, America forgot that foreign loans are not a matter for temporary profit or an opportunity for interest-hungry bankers but must be made a permanent part of

national policy if they are to be allowed at all. Once started, foreign loans can never be abruptly stopped, for there is only one certain way to insure the solvency of foreign debtors: by granting new loans to pay off the old.

The Financial Collapse

That is exactly what America did not do. The delicacy of international monetary mechanisms was never better illustrated than in the decade preceding the collapse of 1929-1930. The sudden imposition on international exchange of the German reparations load, together with the war debts owed to America, led directly to the collapse and contributed directly to the boom which preceded collapse.

Here are the approximate figures on American loans to foreign countries from 1925 to 1931:

1925	\$1,075,000,000
1926	1,125,000,000
1927	1,325,000,000
1928	1,250,000,000
1929	675,000,000
1930	900,000,000
1931	300,000,000

In the same period, British loans overseas reached a peak of about \$700,000,000 in 1927 and 1928 and then dropped to about \$300,000,000 in 1931. After 1931, there was no foreign lending.

Even before the crash and long before the extent of the economic collapse had become evident to the bankers themselves, America's loans to foreign countries had undergone a large shrinkage. The contention that American financial policy was responsible for the crash is not entirely a tenable one, for it was American financial assistance to Europe which forestalled collapse. But the sudden withdrawal of this assistance certainly had much to do with the timing of the break.

U. S. Paid Itself

German reparations, although never officially recognized by the American government as having any concern with this country, were paid to France and England by Germany by one means alone—American loans to Germany. Each year in the last few years preceding cancellation, Germany paid out in reparations approximately 2,000,000,000 marks, mostly to France and England. Each year France and Italy paid to England and the United States, and England paid to the United States roughly \$400,000,000, or just about four-fifths of receipts from Germany under the last reparations agreements.

The striking thing about these figures is that the United States, in each of the years from 1925 to 1928, was lending \$500,000,000 on the average to Germany, or more than the amount in reparations which Germany was required to pay. American loans were

(Continued on page 25)



In the Public Schools

See the little red schoolhouse? Well, maybe it is no more. Then what is in its place? Here an educator discusses the 1937 schoolroom and what takes place there

By LeRoy E. Bowman

ILLUSTRATED BY AD REINHARDT

IN A PUBLIC school in a good sized city in America, there is a teacher who compels the ten-year-old boys and girls to salute the flag in the Nazi fashion. A few of the boys persisted in saluting as they had been taught in the lower grades, incidentally in the manner prescribed by an order issued in detail by the superintendent of schools. The boys were warned by the teacher; they still stuck to the old way, partly because, so it turned out later, they were sons of liberal minded and outspokenly anti-Fascist parents. It was after several days of the struggle between a few boys and the teacher that he "gave permission" to the other boys to beat them up after school. This sort of thing is not usual in the schools. It reflects perhaps an attitude less prevalent, if anything, than that of the few teachers who are militantly anti-Fascist.

Reactionary Teachers

This teacher was going beyond instructions and giving interpretation to school performances. He is unusual, and the flavor of the unusual brought on him the rebuke that any flagrant un-American act is likely to bring. But he wasn't fired as he very likely would have been if the interpretation he added to the salute had been by inference radical.

What happened to the boys in question, however, was somewhat the same as happens in less poignant fashion to many of the children of very liberal or radical parents. The beatings were not bad and could be borne without damage to their personalities. But they were set aside as suspect, as the goats of the class. They knew that nothing they did, however excellent in performance, would win favor from the teacher or complete acceptance from the other children. In New York City one case can be cited not unlike many others, in the way the teachers and principals act and the effect on the children. The principal was telling about happenings in a "current affairs" period in assembly, when he mentioned Russia in an uncomplimentary but facetious way. Four boys, all Russian Jews, failed to smile and they were all accused later by the principal, in his office, of being un-American. Teachers who had been present in the assembly were called in, and forced reluctantly to say the boys had not smiled. The incident was trivial, the teachers were not inclined to become patriotically hysterical, but the principal "had it in" for these boys whom he called "the offspring of undesirable radicals." He attempted to keep them from graduating but failed in his purpose because the parents banded together, created a stir, and won their point.

Often the teacher is harassed not only by the in-

structions to keep Americanism pure and unadulterated in the school, but even more so by a huge class he or she must keep in academic and unnatural order. His fear and his resentment he has to direct toward somebody, and the independent minded, or different, or radical youngsters make excellent targets. For the children it is the sense that they are out of things, culturally are undesirable, that cuts into their feelings and possibilities of achievement. In every experimental school worth its name, every conceivable effort is made to give each child some responsible and accepted place in the group. Race, religion, color, and even attitudes and personality peculiarities are accepted as they occur. Differences of interpretation of history or art or astronomy are welcomed.

It ought not to be assumed that the incidents mentioned above are typical, or that all children in school suffer repression because of independence of attitude. Actually, the salute to the flag is a routine procedure for most of the children and the words and acts are gone through in meaningless fashion. The demands of the teachers are complied with or not, without much regard to their economic or political significance. More and more significance attaches to words as one goes through the upper

grades, high school and college. And yet one other matter is more important than the words and that is, the habit formed in youth of mumbling and accepting. One can imagine how nincompoops and goose-steppers might be developed for future Fascist manipulation by having children mouth the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution recently adopted by the U.S.S.R.

A Constructive Class

It is the group spirit that counts even in the school classroom. It ought to be a constructive one and not a passive one of acceptance. Nor should it be one of constant resistance to all responsibility. It is evident to anyone who visits schools that there is a vast variety of methods used. I witnessed an English class in a high school recently. The peace "strike" had threatened to bring real trouble in the school, but a last minute arrangement between principal, parents and students had averted difficulty and the assembly was conducted by the students. The air in the assembly was electric still with the feeling of conflict. But up in the classroom after assembly under a liberal minded (not a radical) man, sat thirty students giving reviews of books on peace, radical books, reactionary books, all kinds. Students spoke freely whatever their views led them to say. It was sensible, open, instructive, convincing, and one went away feeling intellectually stimulated, emotionally uplifted. In that room peace came perceptibly closer to the inner feelings and convictions of thirty promising young people.

What amazed the onlooker was the fact that every one, including the principal, praised the teacher for his methods. And yet nearly every one else got himself and the students on their ears by using methods quite the opposite. All over the country there is great diversity. Many mediocre teachers are missing fine opportunities to help change a drab world. But others also—not so many—are making pupils think in history, civics, current events, English, public speaking, social studies, etc. High schools differ more than elementary schools, and colleges more than high schools.

In a School Auditorium

On the whole the teachers represent, apparently, the general run of people. It is sad to say so, because teachers are supposed to be more intellectual than other people. They are merely a little better schooled. If they were more intellectually alert, they might utilize the differences between the attitudes of children of different beliefs or backgrounds to liven up the discussions and lessons, and so stimu-



late the children to think and feel. Here is a sickly picture seen by me one cold night, when a school auditorium was packed with parents, and representatives of the various classes did little stunts to illustrate the work and especially the sentiments of the school. To begin the evening a tall thin elderly "lady principal" told them all to be careful of two things: to cross the streets on the way to school cautiously and to revere the flag. (As she said it often, I kept wondering just what one does to show reverence for the flag. I couldn't discover anything more concrete than to "revere" it. I am sure the majority of the parents and all the children were as reverently innocent and ignorant as I.) Next, while we stood, a color guard marched up the middle aisle with the flag of the school. Then a color guard marched up with the flag of the city. Lastly, Boy Scouts, no less, and more of them than in the first groups, marched up with the American flag, and we all saluted. After a long program including much of George Washington, less of Lincoln, and just passing tribute to F. D. Roosevelt, the color guards all did their marching and we our saluting all over again. At first the spectator is angry over what this does to the children. Then he thinks of what it did to him and he is more hopeful than ever that the rising generation will get even some day, and bring about changes in school curricula and teaching methods.

Peace and Chauvinistic Patriotism

Peace in the schools is dealt with in the manner and on the level of thinking of the mass of people. It is not thought out. It is too much of an abstraction to be thought out by most of the teachers. Many connect it with patriotism, and patriotism with war, especially the Revolution. There is more of war-like flavor and old cannon embraced in the school notion of peace in America than any of the things a man from Mars might expect to find represented there: Democracy, brotherly love, love of children, ambition for the future, development of individuals. Somehow one would naturally look for these things in schools. It is this naïve and unthinking, not to say cock-eyed, assumption on the part of teachers, that makes one discouraged about getting right now a little sense into children on the most important question in all the world.

Someone reported to me a speech made by a representative of a chamber of commerce on the occasion of presenting a medal to a boy, another to a girl, for "theses" on Americanism. He used words that sounded big; perhaps they meant something to him. He grew most eloquent at the close when he connected prosperity and peace with patriotism and war, depression and "pestilence" with radicalism and un-Americanism. It is difficult to say how much this sort of thing influences children or teachers. Certain it is that in greater degree as we go from children, to teachers, to principals, to supervisors and superintendents, the outside forces play on the school system to influence it in the general direction of chauvinistic patriotism. Such patriotism is not inconsistent at all with the capitalist system and that part of it which creates guns, gas and war machines. There are other organizations which influence in the matter of contests, quite honestly no doubt, but with far greater access to the schools than those groups representing peace sentiments that dig deeper into fundamentals. The Red Cross has notably universal access to the schools. It is not militaristic, necessarily, but by connotation it is. The American Legion operates differently in different places, it must be said in fairness. On the whole it, too, has succeeded in influencing schools, especially the officials.



It is the fear of public opinion which operates most potently on boards of education and school officials. Sometimes they seem to get jittery, to say the least. Witness the incident of the picture painted by Leo Katz for the Los Angeles Wiggins Trade School. Youth, strong but blind, strides through the center of the picture flanked by construction, science, industry on one side; on the other, by destruction, guns and fighting men. At first the principal objected to it on the grounds of decency, draping cheese-cloth over a section of the painting showing an exposed breast. Later the issue became Americanism, since the artist had shown his idea of the connection of profits and war. A battle raged over the picture as all the battles rage in these matters, on abstractions and symbols. Meanwhile the children's mental capacities and development were of little concern to the forces which sought to immunize the schools against certain virile ideas.

Sugar-Coated Textbooks

The stuff that is put in textbooks has a great effect, but not so great as many people think. After all, children do take much of what is handed them with many grains of salt. The very saccharine nature of the material insures regurgitation in the case of many a youngster. Sometimes the manner of imposition creates a spirit of revolt. In Washington after the teachers were compelled to take an oath, when they signed for their pay checks, that they had not taught Communism, these things and their like happened. One teacher reached the chapter on Russia in a history class and said, "Now don't any of you read this chapter. We are not supposed to teach it and you are not supposed to know anything about it." The students took delight in dragging in the subject of Russia in every class to discomfit the teacher who did not have a sense of humor. If a teacher mentioned anything within, or near, or connected with Russia, Communism or Lenin, she was besieged with threats of blackmail and demands for good grades.

The tragedy of the textbooks is not that they say extravagant things. Even children like and forgive enthusiasm. It is that the rest is not said. Apparently textbook writers, before writing, take pills that make them see the hill tops in the United States covered with brambles until Jamestown was founded and Plymouth Rock made sacred. From then on the hills are covered with lilies of the valley and pungent tube roses. And there aren't any valleys or gullies for these doped writers. It is un-

fair to say they all take pills, but too large a majority go to excess.

Some Choice Selections

Let us smell a few posies, plucked freshly from a large assortment.

"The United States has done more for world advancement than any other nation." One assumes it can rest on its oars for a few years, especially during a rotten war, or in a depression.

"The United States has never waged an unrighteous war; its diplomacy has always been honest and philanthropic; its soldiers have always been kind to the weak and defenseless, and considerate of their enemies." It is obvious this sentence was not edited by an Indian, Mexican, Nicaraguan or others who could be mentioned.

Or here is one that glows with internal evidence of its own truth:

"We have far less narrowness than other nations."

And the Bronx is one big din of many cheers when this one is broadcast: "We do not consider the almighty dollar."

A recent graduate called to my attention references in the required history in the 6th grade in the New York Schools, under the heading, "New South": "The colored people through education have become prosperous and useful citizens of the nation."

One wants to underline "prosperous." Speaking of the foreign-born, the authors say many continue to live as they did in the lands from which they came. "They did not even learn to speak English. Such people do not make good American citizens."

And then possibly to show the kind of a person one should be, they say: "(Theodore) Roosevelt's patriotism was an inspiration to all, especially during the days of the World War. He believed in 'One Hundred Per-cent Americanism.'"

It would be close to the truth to conclude that of the persons involved in the job of getting in the schools an adequate and honest conception of war and peace in the United States, the textbook writers are by all odds the worst, next the school boards and higher officials, influenced by chambers of commerce and other groups, next the principals, and next the teachers. The students, it must be confessed, seem to be most sensible, first not to learn too much of what is handed them, second to be skeptical about all they take, and third to think a little for themselves.



Gas in your lungs. Edgewood arsenal, Maryland, where the chemical training school for officers of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps is located

Since it is generally admitted by all leading authorities that it is physically impossible to invade the U.S.A., why then the ever increasing military budget? The writer here gives facts and figures on our military appropriations

Down Payments on the Next War

By Carlton Brown

ARMY DAY, falling on April 6th, the anniversary of our entry into the World War, is dispiritedly observed in some states by a show of flags and a few parades of professional patriots. Compared to Armistice Day, it makes a feeble showing, and this fact seems in accordance with the principles of psychology. While there is, of course, justification for celebrating the termination of a hideous massacre, it is natural that our collective mind should relegate the beginning of our participation in it to a remote corner of the subconscious. Twenty years ago, the British propaganda machine set spark to the martial fire it had so carefully kindled in America. Germany had cabled her Minister in Mexico that, despite the commencement of unrestricted submarine warfare, she would endeavor to keep the United States neutral. If this should not succeed, the Minister was to propose an alliance with Mexico that would restore to that country the territory in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona which we had forcibly seized from her. This message was intercepted by the British Admiralty Ser-

vice in January, 1917, and reached Washington a month later. A thoroughly legitimate attempt to obtain an ally in the event of a contingency which Germany desired to avoid, the message capped the arguments of the war-mongers and led our Congress to recognize, "That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared."

Our World War Budget

We might observe our twentieth Army Day by casting an eye on the record of the current armaments race which threatens to embroil us in another conflict at any moment. Time has demonstrated to us that the only "national defense" our Army and Navy were called on to provide in the last war was the protection of the pocketbooks of the war profiteers, for, as such a military authority as Major General Smedley D. Butler has pointed out, "It's not physically possible for a million men to enter this country. Every war is a racket, using young suckers." That we are prepar-

ing ourselves for another such "racket" as the last war is indicated by the fact that our armaments appropriation for this year hits a new high in peace-time "defense" budgets. During the years immediately preceding the World War our armaments budget steadily followed the mounting surge of war hysteria. In the three war years of 1917-18, 1918-19, and 1919-20, our naval appropriations totaled \$4,218,251,088, and after dropping to a peace-time level, the naval bill began to climb from the low of \$317,495,316 of 1925-26 to the peak of \$518,625,222 of 1935-36.

The expenditures of the War Department (Army) throughout these years have remained fairly stable, at around \$400,000,000. How rapidly and drastically the Army appropriations are advanced in time of war and immediately preceding it is shown in these figures:

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>War Department Expenditures</i>
1916	\$164,546,867
1917	358,158,361
1918	4,850,687,187
1919	8,995,880,266

Can we trace a significant parallel between the expenditures of the immediate pre-War years and those of 1935, 1936, and 1937, which are, respectively, \$269,433,582; \$445,900,069, and a sum for this year which will exceed the half-billion mark? For 1938, we can only enter a question mark. Will it establish a new record through our embroilment in the war that is brewing, or will its martial budget assume the proportions suitable to a virtually impregnable nation with peaceful aims? We can be sure an answer favorable to peace does not lie in the construction of bigger and deadlier battleships and other implements of war.

Following Britain's Policy

Our policy, since the abandonment of the limitations treaties, continues to be parity with Great Britain, an empire whose extensive colonial holdings give it an infinitely greater justification for a heavy defense program than we have. We are next to Great Britain in sea power, and since our large Navy cannot be excused on the grounds of territorial possessions, we

cannot interpret our figures as meaning contemplated belligerence in defense of private economic rights.

Great Britain is embarking on a \$7,500,000,000 rearmament program, a 200 per cent increase in her budget which will be largely devoted, in its immediate phase, to the construction of five new 35,000-ton capital ships, seven new cruisers, two airplane carriers, and an enlarged naval air force. And even this sum, says Chancellor of the Exchequer Neville Chamberlain, "cannot be regarded as final for certain." The annual expenditure, divided over the next five years, will amount to four times the sum Great Britain spent in the year immediately preceding the World War, when she was arming to the hilt in preparation for conflict with Germany. And we are to follow the suicidal pace set by Great Britain! This is the reason we are witnessing a drastic reduction in all relief and economic rehabilitation measures, and an equally drastic rise in military appropriations. Britain will soon be compelled to abandon her "business as usual" theory and devote her entire resources to her rearmament program, and the consequences of our following suit will be no less devastating to us.

Impetus to Recovery

The financial pages of our newspapers hail armaments as "the only really bright spot in an uncertain stock market." "With world armament spending this year slated to reach a peak of \$15,000,000,000 and promise of an additional \$60,000,000,000 for the ensuing four years," says the New York *World-Telegram*, "students of economics today expressed the belief that this unprecedented volume will lend sufficient impetus to world industrial recovery to forestall any setback for a number of years—if there is no war."

If there is no war! It is as though we were to say, preparing to toss a match into a barrel of benzine, "If there is no explosion." With world powers devoting increasingly colossal sums to rearmament, at the expense of economic stability, they are faced with certain collapse, leading, in turn, directly to the dead-end "way out" of war. In the resultant fatality to both victor and vanquished, our financial writers would find a sickening absence of "bright spots." There are other students of today who see beyond the transient impetus that armaments programs lend to trade. Twenty-five hundred delegates of the American Youth Congress, for instance, recently demonstrated in favor of the Lundeen Bill, to provide \$500,000,000—half our current armaments budget—for the Youth Administration, providing scholarships for needy students. Their cry is "Scholarships, not battleships! Homes, not barracks!" And their de-

termined shout is being echoed by the multitudes who are resolved that the horrors of war shall not be visited on us again for the profit of the war-mongers.

Another Gruesome Paradox?

This year will see our Army raised to an enlistment of 165,000 men, in contrast to its 1914 force of 87,000, and the Navy to 100,000. Though these figures may be advanced as our race to maintain equality with Great Britain grows more strenuous, the Army is constructing 800 new planes this year, as the first part of a five-year program calling for 4,000 new planes. At the same time, the Navy will build a total of 433 new planes this year. On January 1st, 1937, there were in construction 95 Navy vessels.

Can we take at face value the proposition that our current naval race with world powers is solely aimed at having "a deterrent effect on nations bent on war?" Jane Addams, interviewing Wilson shortly before our entry into the World War, found that he felt that "as head of a nation participating in war, the President of the United States would have a seat at the Peace Table, but that if he remained the representative of a neutral country, he could at best 'call through a crack in the door.'" Is our "deterrent effect" in the world war that may break out tomorrow to consist of another such gruesome paradox?

Our figures have not included such subsidiary military forces as the R.O. T.C., the C.M.T.C., the C.C.C., nor funds diverted from relief sources for military purposes. And of course these figures are inadequate as an indication of the total cost of a war. In the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1927, there was the statement that "... the Federal tax burden of one generation is largely determined by the military activities of the preceding one." Apart from the staggering load of war-created public debt, we have an annual pension bill which has steadily climbed from \$160,895,053 in 1917, to a peak of \$550,559,342 in 1933, after which it declined slightly. In addition, the Soldiers' Bonus Bill provided for the issuance, in June, 1936, of \$1,728,858,100 in bonus bonds.

Four Hundred Billions

The direct gross costs of the World War to the United States have been estimated at \$32,080,266,986. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler has made a graphic demonstration of the cost of the last war to the world. He finds that the World War cost 30 million lives and 400 billions of dollars in property.

"If that four hundred billions had been put to constructive use it would have built a \$2,500 house and fur-



Ready to repel enemy (what enemy?) planes. The anti-aircraft gun battery of the 62nd Coast Artillery shown ready for action

nished this house with \$1,000 worth of furniture, and placed it on five acres of land worth \$100 an acre and given all this to each and every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia.

"After doing this," the report continues, "there would have been enough money left to give to each city of 20,000 inhabitants and over in all the countries named a \$5,000,000 library and a \$10,000,000 university.

"And then out of the balance we would still have sufficient money to set aside a sum of 5 per cent interest which would pay for all time to come a \$1,000 yearly salary each for an army of 125,000 teachers and in addition to this pay the same salary to each of an army of 125,000 nurses.

"And after having done all this, we could still have enough left out of our \$400,000,000,000 to buy up all of France and Belgium, and everything of value that France and Belgium possess; that is, every French and Belgian farm, home, factory, church, railroad, street car—in fact, everything of value in those two countries in 1914!"

Which Way?

There is small comfort to be found in any trade-limiting neutrality measures we may pass, for, as in the last war, another conflict would force us to cancel our neutrality policy regarding loans, to avert a panic. As Stephen Raushenbush, at one time secretary of

(Continued on page 30)

AMERICAN radio networks, which in the past have had things pretty much their own way, are beginning to worry about the inroads made upon their business by the big independent stations.

The independents have discovered that they can make more money from local advertisers than from the percentage given them for airing network shows. And they also have found they can dig up talent as good as or better than that furnished by the chains.

The latter are still piling up profits and do not intend to assume a subordinate position without a fight. Station relations departments are being strengthened all along the line, for no one denies that it is becoming harder and harder to get stations throughout the country to sign on the dotted line.

Straws which show the way the wind is blowing are:

1. The big independents are clamoring for permits from the Federal Communications Commission to increase their power to 500,000 watts, which is sufficient to blanket the country. If they succeed they can make the nets feel pretty sick.

2. WLW in Cincinnati, the only station holding a 500 kilowatt license, has just installed studios in New York from whence advertisers can send shows by telephone to Cincinnati for broadcast at a much lower figure than the cost of a network program. Its representatives also are in the East hunting for talent.

3. Major Bowes is sending scouts to local stations to seek recruits for his dwindling amateurs.

4. A recent survey by the FCC discloses that one-fourth of the radio industry is under the control of the newspapers, all of whom hate the networks. The publishers now own or control 152 out of the approximately 650 licensed stations in the country and are dicker-ing for many more.

Labor stations are beginning to feel their oats as the result of John L. Lewis' successful C.I.O. drive. WCFL, Chicago's "Voice of Labor,"



Radio

is demanding 500,000 watt power and seems assured of success. And New York's WEVD (the last three letters stand for the initials of Eugene V. Debs) has climbed out of the red for the first time in its history as the result of support by workers. Its new *March of Labor* series, sponsored by a union label cigarette, is attracting much attention.

Speaking of cigarettes, it looks as if the Voice of Experience will never live down that endorsement he gave to Lucky Strike. Not content with announcing on the air for the benefit of his sponsors that he takes CTC (an alleged hangover remedy) and uses Kreml hair tonic (he's bald), the Voice accepted a fat check for saying that Luckies were kind to his million dollar throat. That was some weeks ago, but he's still being deluged with letters of protest from his fans.

Patriotism, Ltd., a satire on the armament industry, had just been placed in rehearsal by the British Broadcasting Corporation when Downing Street decided to "stop Hitler" by buying \$7,500,000,000 worth of armaments instead of helping the Loyalists chase the Nazis out of Spain. Needless to say, the program was never broadcast.

On the other hand, *Let Freedom Ring*, a weekly series presented over Columbia every Monday evening by the U. S. Office of Education, is doing a surprisingly competent job in showing man's age-old struggle to obtain and preserve civil liberties.

The first program, presented on Washington's birthday, was devoted to a dramatization of events which forced the inclusion of the Bill of Rights into our Constitution. Subsequent programs are being built around the historical background of each separate right in the Bill—trial by jury, freedom of speech, freedom of press, etc. Members of the Educational Radio Project are pulling no punches on these broadcasts which are building up a wide following.

Japan's desperate effort to keep "dangerous thoughts" from seeping across the border from China and Russia is disclosed by the fact that J. F. Jordan, an American living in Yokohama, faces a 1,000 yen fine or a year in jail because he operated a short wave receiver without a government license.

It is amusing to note that South America frowns on short wave pro-

grams from the United States for entirely different reasons. NBC riled the Argentines by putting on announcers and commentators with Castilian accents. CBS avoided this mistake by hiring Jorge Leal, highly touted radio commentator from Buenos Aires, but had to drop him from W2XE because of his reactionary editorializing and complete lack of news judgment. Alfredo Zalamaya of Colombia is taking Leal's place.

As the result of Latin American resentment against such errors, Rep. Emanuel Celler is proposing that Congress pass a bill authorizing construction of a \$700,000 Federal transmitter in Washington to be devoted exclusively to educational programs in Spanish.

In the meantime, WLW is doing very nicely, thank you, with its *Los Amigos* broadcast for listeners below the equator. This program avoids controversy by sticking entirely to music.

The fight for peace is carried on without truce by Walter W. Van Kirk during his *Religion in the News* program over the NBC Red network every Saturday evening at 6:45 P.M., E.S.T. These broadcasts are well worth listening to—and thinking about afterwards.

And for those who can pick them up, Percy Winner's news commentaries over WQXR, New York, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings will prove a blessed relief from the reactionary mouthings of Boake Carter, Edwin C. Hill and the mine run of network commentators. Winner doesn't hesitate to call Fascism by its right name.

Another news broadcast well worth mentioning is Bob Trout's *History Behind the Headlines* over CBS on Sunday afternoons. This is the first time that any attempt has been made to explain present day happenings on the basis of historical developments which made them possible.

Swing is in the air and not even the kiddies are exempt. Josef Cherniavsky presented hot jazz versions of "Three Blind Mice" and other nursery songs during a recent children's concert over WEA.

Jimmy Walker is peddling a radio bank night idea around the New York stations. The former mayor of New York insists that the scheme isn't illegal, despite the fact that the courts are frowning upon gambling "games"

which have become so popular in movie theatres during the past few years. WWSW in Pittsburgh also is tinkering with a similar idea.

Such monkeyshines make doubly interesting the fact that Mexico is cleaning up its broadcasting schedules which in the past have catered to astrologers, dream readers, goat gland purveyors and other quacks.

American broadcasters, whose own skirts are none too clean, have been complaining for years about the quality of programs carried by powerful stations just below the Rio Grande, and their protests at last have borne fruit with the Mexican government.

The nation-wide campaign against syphilis and other social diseases, which has been started by various medical associations, is finding a faint, but growing echo on the air.

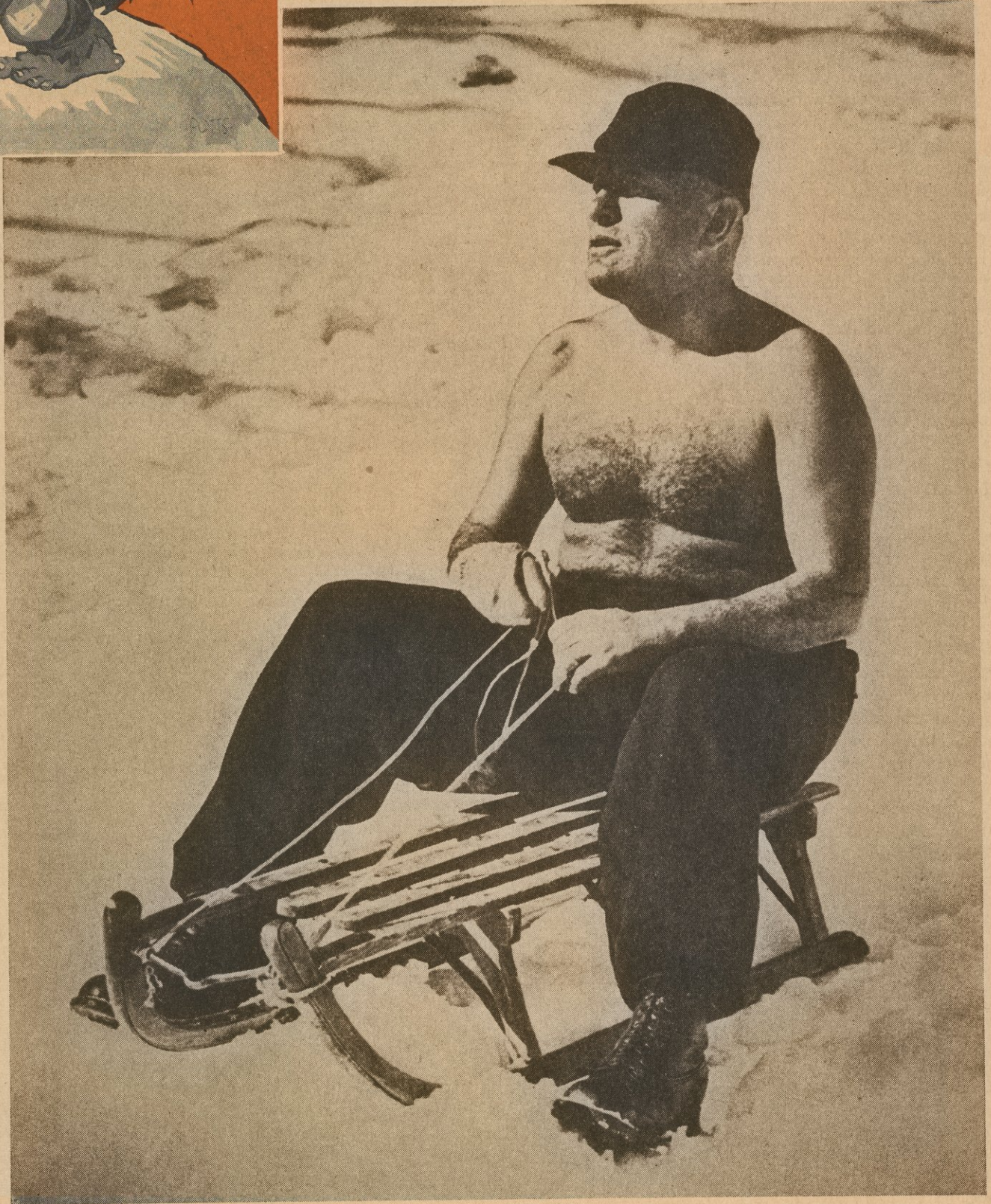
Although the networks still avoid mention of the subject, WCAU in Philadelphia has broken the ice by presenting a series of talks on such diseases by members of the County Medical Board. Other local stations are following suit, while even CBS is said to be thinking of picking up the WCAU programs.

Although public opinion forced *Good Will Court* off the NBC networks, there are still a flock of imitations being broadcast throughout the country. Among such examples of bad taste are *Marriage Clinic* on WNAC, Boston; *Crime Clinic* on WBAL, Baltimore; *Court of Current Events* on WBT, Charlotte; *Cupid Court* on KRMT, Des Moines; and the original monstrosity, back on WMCA, New York, once more, but now called *Good Will Hour*.

Sports announcers of WHN and WNEW, New York, have been informed by the New York State Boxing Commission that if they want to keep on describing fights over the air they must eliminate all reference to blood or the condition of the boxers in the ring.

—GEORGE SCOTT





Little Caesar on a Sled

WITH no little pride, the movie editors of *THE FIGHT* bring you an official announcement of the organization of Associated Film Audiences, discussed in broad outline in our last issue.

The purpose of this organization, which is made up of delegates representing the interests of educational, labor, church, social, racial and student groups, is to give Hollywood every encouragement to produce films that give a true and socially useful portrayal of the contemporary scene; to encourage production of films that will better the understanding between racial and religious groups; to encourage the production of anti-war films. And conversely, to use their influence to discourage production of those films which will discredit the tradition of American Democracy by portraying militarist, anti-labor and Fascist sentiments in a favorable light.

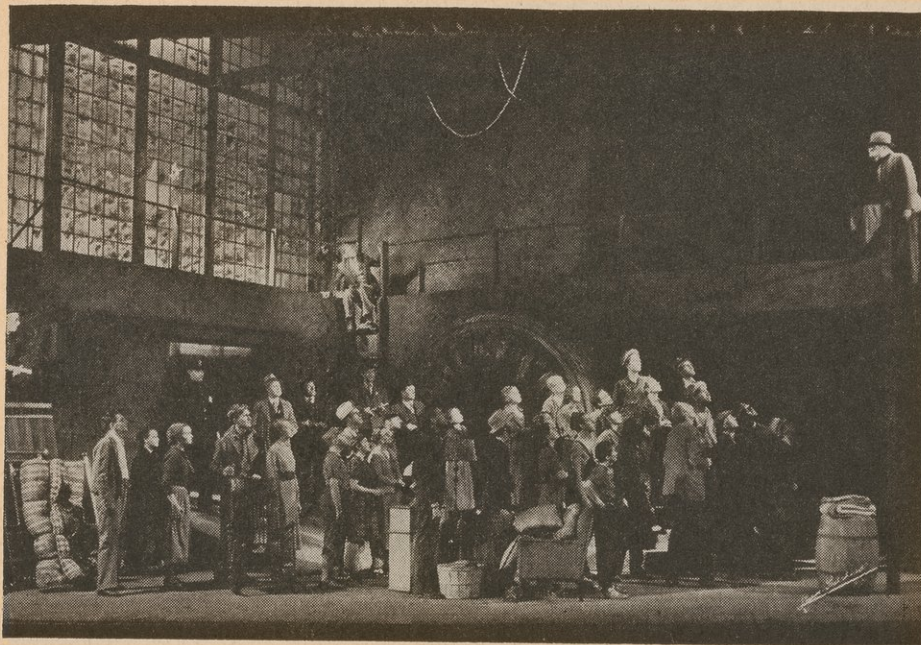
That makes a long paragraph, but it's worth reading again. Then consider the potential influence and importance of this new organization if given the cooperation it deserves from the people it seeks to serve.

The mechanics of the organization are comparatively simple. Any local or national group may cooperate without formally endorsing or committing itself to any action. An annual fee of \$15.00 will be charged national organizations and each local unit wishing to support the work.

Each organization will be asked to cooperate by appointing representatives to a Film Survey Board which will see all feature pictures, short subjects and newsreels. Reports of this board will be published in a bi-monthly bulletin. This bulletin will also contain editorials, articles and information from the AFA's Hollywood representative about proposed productions.

Dr. Worth M. Tippy, executive secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, is honorary chairman. The executive board of the AFA includes Roswell P. Barnes of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Richard Constantine of the National Council for the Prevention of War, Rose Terlin of the National Y.W.C.A., Lester Granger of the National Urban League, Madeleine L. Heyman of the Schools Motion Picture Committee, Edward Kern of the New Film Alliance and others. Their presence on the board does not signify that the organizations with which they are associated have officially endorsed the AFA. In most instances this action cannot be taken until the annual conventions, to be held in the spring and summer months.

Among the organizations which have expressed interest and which are expected to appoint reviewers to the Film Survey Board are the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Motion Picture Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, Committee on Militarism in Education, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the National Ur-



The meeting is called to order. From "Marching Song," a play by John Howard Lawson

A New Sign

Important new group organizes
to assist Hollywood . . . More
anti-war films . . . Democracy

ban League, and the United Textile Workers.

The charge may be made that the AFA represents a form of censorship. This department is opposed to censorship *per se*, but when one considers the influence that foreign dictators and American munitions makers already exert on American ideology through the medium of films, then it seems unbelievable that the AFA was not called into being long ago to counteract these powerful interests which, without making their reasons public, have long been a factor in conditioning the American mind.

Offices of Associated Film Audiences are at 250 West 57th Street, New York City.

Pennsylvania's "liberal" Governor Earle, who is mentioned as a possible successor to President Roosevelt, shocked this corner by his ban on *Spain in Flames* in the Keystone State. Earle's condemnation of the film, which he called "Communistic" and "poorly done," was as vicious as it was inaccurate.

Billboard, amusement weekly, reports that:

Strong union sympathies of members of the Screen Actors' Guild came to the fore in a move to clamp down on film star endorsements of products not made by union labor. Guild members in the top rung are

asked to investigate products before allowing their names to be used in indorsements. Possible upshot of this practice may be the abolition of the practice of signing general releases permitting studio advertising heads to use the players' names in commercial tie-ups as they see fit.

Features

IT SEEMS the boys are, of a sudden, vitally interested in the fate and destiny of mankind. Over in England, H. G. Wells came forth with his suggestion as to what might happen, and here in our own bright land, both Frank Capra and the Columbia studios and Lloyd Douglas and the Frères Warner discoursed in similar solemn tones. It is all very uplifting indeed.

The Wells picture, as you must be aware by now, bore the quizzical title of *The Man Who Could Work Miracles*, and purported to be a comical fantasy of the things that would come to pass in the event a meek, rabbitly little clerk were given unlimited power. It is Mr. Wells' idea that in the end nothing would happen at all, that mankind is still too far short of Utopian perfection to appreciate the things that could be done for it, and that human nature cannot be changed no matter what provocation or inducement is offered. The manner in which he propounds this argument is by having the little clerk seek the advice of his fel-

lows when he is granted this power to work miracles. The merchant and the banker try to capitalize on it, the preacher down the street tries to change the world and usher in the "golden era" that very afternoon, and the old army colonel does his best to put a bullet through the fellow's head and stop his damned lunatic nonsense forever. In the end, the little clerk takes matters into his own hands, summons the rulers and presidents and kings of the world, tells them to change things forthwith, on pain of instant and utter annihilation, and then winds up by renouncing his power and desiring nothing so much as to let matters take their own course without the benefit of his miraculous aid.

The little sugar-coated pill of hope that Mr. Wells throws out at the end of this argument is that mankind's power is surely, although slowly, growing, and that thought and wisdom are being "stirred into the mess" age by age to keep pace with that growth. It's really too bad some of us have the idea that things could be bettered right now. It would be so much nicer, according to Mr. Wells, if we could wait around for an aeon or so and see how they really will improve.

Roland Young delivers a brilliant performance as the little clerk of the Wellsian imagination, and Alexander Korda and Lothar Mendes, the producers of the film, have followed the script with scrupulous care. It is a fantasy, all right, but whether you agree with its premise is a matter between you and your conscience.

The *Lost Horizon* of Frank Capra and Robert Riskin, out of the escapist novel of James Hilton, also considered the future of the world, agreeing with Mr. Wells that little can be done to change things right now. The solution offered by *Lost Horizon*, however, is that mankind should, in all common sense, shed the responsibilities and troubles that are so perplexing to it, and journey to a far-off land to forget the whole business. It is a visually exciting, but not very profound bit of cinema philosophy that these gentlemen offer us in this argument.

The Brothers Warner and Dr. Douglas considered mankind from the viewpoint of its soul, in a little tootsie named *Green Light*. With many a fine flourish, they put forth the thesis that man progresses ever onward, in a great parade of civilization, and that once in a while the parade is stopped by adverse circumstance, only to resume its march after a while greatly refreshed and ennobled by the pause. First the red light, the adverse circumstance, and then the green light, the signal to go on. Errol Flynn, a handsome young Irishman, is the protagonist for the piece and Sir Cedric Hardwicke is the dominie who explains what it's all about.

—ROBERT SHAW



Youth of Yesterday

A short short review of four American youths who did something to be remembered by

By Jean Lyon

ILLUSTRATED BY WILLIAM SANDERSON



IN 1926, when I was still a student, I remember being deeply moved by the news that Chinese students in Peking had marched on the president's palace to protest against the president's weak submission to the foreign powers. That student demonstration, I remember, ended in tragedy—with shooting by soldiers and the shedding of young blood.

It was not the first time that the Chinese students had impressed me and my fellow American students. We had begun to realize that in China the students were really actively molding their nation. And on their own power, too. After news of the 1926 demonstration in Peking had reached us, some of us met in New York City to see what we could do to help the youth of China. They, far more than our American diplomats over there, were akin to us. They were young, they were idealistic, they were eager to see justice done. And so were we.

Students of the Twenties

"If the students of China can march on Peking," someone cried in that meeting in New York, "why can't we march to Washington, to protest against the stand our diplomats are taking in China?"

So we all clamored for a march to Washington.

But of course we didn't march in a

body to Washington. The usual All-American lethargy descended upon us after the meeting was over, and only six of us actually went to the capital. Our protest was small and feeble. Possibly two of us really knew what we were protesting about. All of us, in typical student-of-the-twenties style, trembled when we were led into the presence of Secretary Kellogg, who, although old and feeble and shaking, pounded his cane on the floor and said curtly, "Well, what do *you* want?"

Our march on Washington was hardly a trail-blazing success.

In part, of course, it was our fault that we failed. We were poorly informed. And we were inexcusably timid. I think that the students of the thirties are different from the students of the twenties in these two respects. They are braver and bolder and *more realistic*.

But one of the things which blocked us back in the twenties, and which, I think, still blocks young people, is the attitude of the elders. They think a young person, with idealism and energy and ideas, is "charming. . . But wait," they say, "until you get a little older. These youthful enterprises never amount to anything." It's probably a universal attitude of people over thirty-five. But as long as the people over thirty-five dominate the social scene, their attitude has its effects on youth.

But the fact is that these middle-aged wet rags don't know what they are talking about. Many a youthful enterprise in this country has amounted to plenty.

One amounted to the freedom of the slaves. And in both the woman's suffrage movement and in the labor movement some of the most effective work was done by the young people still in their twenties.

Garrison and "The Liberator"

The story of the abolition movement is never told without the mention of William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the *Liberator*, and of Frederick Douglass, a

slave who escaped. And though the history books seldom emphasize it, William Lloyd Garrison was only eighteen when he began writing his reformist editorials, and Frederick Douglass was but twenty-one when he made his escape from slavery and began to agitate against the whole slave-holding system.

William Lloyd Garrison started out to be a printer, but before he was eighteen he was writing anonymous articles for the paper in whose composing room he worked. His career as an editor began when he was twenty-three. At first he attacked such things as intemperance, lotteries, infidelity, and the breaking of the Sabbath. Though these may seem strange causes to modern youth, they represented the idealism of his times. *Within a year after his first editorship, however, he had taken up the cudgels for abolition of slavery.* And powerful cudgels they were, too.

He advocated boycott of the products of slave labor. He spent seven weeks in jail because he had accused a leading citizen of Newburyport, Mass., of engaging in the slave trade. When he was twenty-six, there was a \$5,000 reward offered by the Legislature of Georgia for anyone who would arrest him and bring him to trial. Once he was led about by a rope tied around his body by a Boston mob. He barely escaped from Philadelphia with his life after a speech, and the building in which he spoke was burned down the next day by an angered mob.

A Hated Man, But Right

During this period, he started his own paper, the *Liberator*, on a shoestring. He slept in his own printing shop, set up his own type, wrote his own articles, fought his own battles. By the time he was twenty-six he had developed a large enough following to organize a national anti-slavery society, of which he became an officer.

He had taken up a cause which was, when he started, none too popular. Many vested interests, in the North as well as in the South, were

tied up in the slave trade and in cotton and other raw materials which were produced by it. But Garrison, young, enthusiastic, with all the energy of his youth, fought the battle uncompromisingly. "I hold no fellowship," he said once, "with slave owners. I will not make a truce with them even for a single hour."

The *New York Herald*, at the time, said of him, "never . . . was there more malevolence and unblushing wickedness avowed than by this same Garrison . . . he has no design of building up. His only object is to destroy."

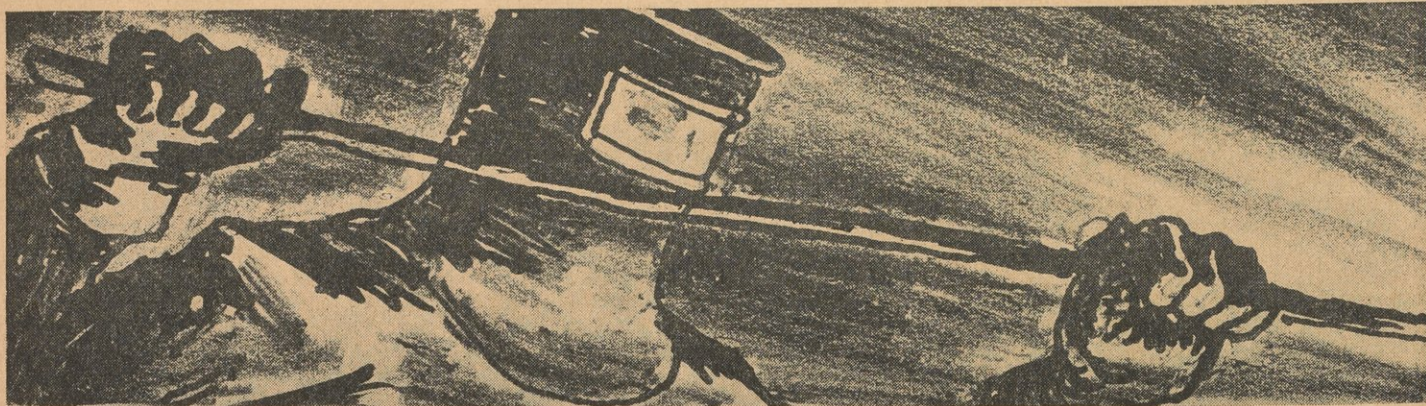
He was, it has been said, the most hated man of his generation. But even today's *New York Herald-Tribune* would not dare say that his cause was not right.

Frederick Douglass, the Youth

No less important to the abolition movement was the colored youth, Frederick Douglass. After twenty-one years of bondage, where his life was not his own, and where though he had laboriously learned to read he could get no books, this tall, sinewy young Negro arrived in the North to fight the battle for his fellow slaves whom he had left behind him. He was the sort of young man, by his own description, "who would have commanded one thousand dollars in the home market . . . and at

(Continued on page 24)





On the Monongahela

Steel! Up the Monongahela Valley it is war . . . "Bill and Joe talk of Organizers" . . . The C.I.O. . . . The Women . . . The Church . . . Youth . . . The Negro

By Dorothy McConnell

LITHOGRAPHS BY HARRY STERNBERG

HOMES are not numbered in small steel towns. You walk down the road and ask, if you want to find someone. I was on the trail of a certain Reverend Peters so I stopped a man starting out to work, and asked directions. We fell into conversation. Suddenly his face changed. He stopped talking.

"How do you do, Mr. Skinner," he said to a passer-by.

We stood, quiet, until Mr. Skinner had passed. As he got to the foot of the hill he turned to look back at us. We were still standing, silently looking at him. He turned into a house yard and was gone.

"That's Skinner, one of the plant bosses," the worker explained. "I didn't want him to hear me talking to a stranger." Then he added, "You can't be too careful."

Coming out of a meeting in a steel town, a few days before, a man had spoken to two women, wives of steel workers.

"Been at the lodge meeting?" he asked pleasantly.

They froze in their tracks.

The husband of one began to signal that they could pick him up around the corner.

"I didn't want that man to get the number of my car," he explained. "You can't be too careful."

Up the Monongahela Valley it is war. There is no middle ground. You

are either on one side or the other. All the forces of the community are lined up. And every chance stranger who speaks to you is suspect. Nor do you want any one to see you speaking to a stranger.

The war is fought on the company's side with every method that the community and the mores of that community afford. Even the printed propaganda takes cognizance of the way an American community thinks. Every week in the American Steel and Wire Company plants, pamphlets are put out by the company and given to the workers. The latest one, which lies before me as I write, is called, *Bill and Joe Talk of Organizers*. This is a sample of their talk:

Joe, everyone has a right to the opportunity to earn good wages. Whether or not he earns good wages may be strictly up to the individual. Many of the people who earn low wages do so because of lack of ability or because they refuse to train themselves, or because they refuse to exert themselves. Everyone should have the right to opportunity, but if they cannot take advantage of opportunity they must be content with something else. That's just one thing that's the matter with the closed shop.

You mean, Bill, that if everyone was of equal ability, the closed shop wouldn't be so bad?

It wouldn't be so bad from the employer's point of view, but still would be bad for the workman, for he would be at the mercy of a labor dictator and would have to pay tribute to get a job and to keep it.

Well, Bill, I'm not worrying for I believe

like you, that the Company would never agree to a closed shop.

Right, Joe, and be sure and tell the boys that they don't have to join anything to hold their jobs. No man is going to lose his job because he refuses to join the Union. There's going to be no labor dictator here.

Peddlers and the Church

At Coraopolis, some time back, a fleet of women peddlers were sent in by the steel corporations to go about from house to house selling pins and needles to the wives of steel workers, and, incidentally, to drop a few words of warning against the Union in the ears of the buyers.

Even the church has its uses when it is handled well by the company. A great wave of evangelistic meetings are being held up the Valley. There is no talk of the C.I.O. drive in these meetings. The emphasis is kept strictly on getting right with God. Sin consists of card playing, drinking, blasphemy and *dissension with your neighbors*. The songs are of the good old "Shall we gather at the river," "When the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there," variety. Helpers stroll up and down the aisles to save the unsaved and wrestle with sin. In one town a small operator conducted the services himself. As he rose to heights two youngsters were emotionally moved. A girl started down the aisle weeping and declaring herself a sinner in the eyes of God. Her mother arose, took the





girl by the arm and led her firmly from the church. About the same time, a boy of perhaps sixteen was also moved but he did not get as far as the aisle. His father, an old miner, reached out and grabbed the boy and jerked him down in the pew. It would seem that evangelistic services are more successful when not handled by the operators themselves, and there are plenty of evangelists ready to do the work.

Perhaps the only group in the Valley who do not use their religious experiences for an antidote to their economic troubles are the Negroes. I talked with many Negro workers in the Valley and one of the most enlightening talks was with an old Negro evangelist who was about to start revival services on his own.

He was pious and full of religious fervor, but that did not blind him for one minute to the reality of the Negro's economic plight.

"They are not hiring Negroes now," he said. "Up the road they got thirty-five Negroes in the mine but they ain't never been out of the mine. Down the road there's a call out for 150 men. My boy's been down, over and over. They don't take Negroes. They take your name and they say they'll let you know. They never let you know. Of course," he said, "my people was brought up here to work when there was a strike. But since then they have joined the Union just like everyone else. Now they can't get jobs. Union's fighting for them."

Youth Speaks

His son, a sulky looking youth of about twenty, sat eyeing me during the interview. I told him I wanted to know something about what young Negroes thought—could he round up some of his friends to talk to me? He got up and went out the back door without a word. I was afraid I had gone too far. Pretty soon he came back with his buddies. We poked up the fire and started to talk again.

"We young fellows get to feeling cramped up here in the Valley," one said. "Maybe it's all right for the old folks. They're used to taking a back seat. Now, me, I went to high school in this here town and I played basketball and I stood pretty high. I went to work with my dad and I made

good pay. But I was laid off and I know they aren't taking me on again. There's no future in the Valley for us—not unless the Union moves along pretty fast. There's no other hope for us."

The others nodded.

"All the young folks in Negro families are leaving the Valley," the old preacher said. "Soon there's not going to be a family got a son at home."

So, in the case of the Negroes the revival services had not distracted them from the very real grievances they had to face.

With the white youth, the company has used the "irresponsibility" of youth to fight its battles. Except for those mills where the youngsters were children of United Mine Workers and had a trade union background, the young men were not very much interested in the C.I.O. drive. Movies, basketball, and "playing around" seemed to be the program of their lives and they were encouraged in that direction by the company.

"Got to get the old man of the family," one organizer told me. "Then the kids follow along."

Most of the "kids"—they must be eighteen to work in the mines or mills—live at home with their parents. The ones who live in boarding houses, by the time they have paid for their room, board and laundry, have about fifteen dollars a week to "play around" on.

"And that's a lot," the organizer told me. "They just aren't interested in anything else until they begin to look around to settle down. Then we can talk."

The steel mills, as a result, are not employing new help, in many of the mills, over twenty-three years of age.

The Battle for Civil Liberties

But on the other side of the battle victories are being won daily. The battle for certain civil liberties in the Valley is pretty well won. The C.I.O. has fought through its drive for the right to speak and to distribute literature. The companies have stopped firing men for joining the Union.

"It used to be pretty tough to hold a meeting," one organizer told me. "Now take Donora for instance. That's a pretty hard town to break. Even now, as soon as my car touches

this side of the bridge they seem to know it on the other side and there's a car waiting to tail me. But, here, some time back, I went into Donora to hold a meeting. I hired a hall, got the key and locked up the hall and then went down the street to put up my posters. I come back and unlock my door and I can't get the door open. So I push and I push, see, and the door seems to give and I push some more and I break in. There was a board put up against the inside of the door that was holding it against me. Just then up comes a policeman and arrests me for breaking into a building and damaging property. But they don't do things like that no more," he went on, "they got smarter than that. Sometimes they get too smart for their own good. I went out to hold a meeting one night down the road here. No one knew we were going to hold the meeting and I was thinking about publicity as I drove along—wondering how I was going to get it. Well, as soon as I got to town, some tailers picked me up and began following me around. I didn't pay much attention to that. That's an old story. But, by golly, before I'd been in the town a couple of hours, the company had announced we were in town and they began holding meetings in the mill against us. Best publicity we ever had."

Another organizer told me of the distribution of literature.

"We don't have so much trouble with the police as we had," he said. "The other day I went into a steel town with the steel paper. I said to the guy who met me, a friend of mine, 'Listen, I got my car parked over on such and such a street. When you get around to it, will you drive it home for me.' 'What for?' he said, 'Can't you drive it yourself?' 'No,' I said, 'I probably got to go to jail. See these papers. I'm going to get me a chair and sit down at the mill gate and hand them out.' 'Sure,' he says, 'I'll drive the car home.'

"Well, I went down to the gate and I got me a chair and I sat down and up comes the cop. 'What do you think you're doing?' he says. I say, 'I'm sitting here till this shift comes off so I can hand them these papers.

(Continued on page 26)



To mortal man great loads allotted be;
But of all packs, no pack like poverty.
—Robert Herrick

Books

The golf-links are so near the mill
That almost every day
The little children at their work
Can see the men at play.

Rich Man, Poor Man

MAN'S WORLDLY GOODS, by Leo Huberman; 349 pages; Harper & Brothers; \$2.50.

EAST INDIANS catch monkeys in the following manner: "According to the story, they take a coconut and cut a hole in it barely big enough for the monkey's empty hand to pass through. In it they place some lumps of sugar and then fasten the coconut to a tree. The monkey squeezes his hand inside the coconut and grasps the sugar and then tries to draw out his fist. But the hole is not large enough for his closed fist to go through, and greed is his undoing, for he will never give up the prize."

Greed, Leo Huberman writes in *Man's Worldly Goods: The Story of the Wealth of Nations*, may be the undoing of capitalism. He demonstrates convincingly that "those who are in power, those who are well off, will use any means to keep what they have," as they always have done in the past. Huberman set himself the enormous task of showing why certain doctrines arose when they did, how they originated in the very fabric of social life, and how they were developed, modified and overthrown when the pattern of that fabric was changed.

It is inevitable that there should be great gaps in such an undertaking, but those who agree with his purpose can find little fault with his selection of material. His time-span is the period of the Middle Ages through the present day. The author's motive was to "explain," to teach, and his book should prove an excellent text for the high school and college instructors who go in for survey courses, with supplementary readings. Huberman succeeded so well in interesting this reviewer and exciting his appetite that he has marked several titles in the comprehensive bibliography for future reading.

Unlike the academic historian, Huberman describes the condition of the poor man, beggar man and thief as well as that of the rich man, and all four will find here much that they would do well to take to heart. He swings through the centuries with the greatest of ease, but never loses sight of his reader. His vocabulary is not high-

brow; he does not hesitate, occasionally, to suggest that it might be wise to re-read a passage; and he frequently makes a pertinent comparison with conditions of the present day to clear up the meaning of an ancient term, as when he compares the lot of the villain with that of the modern Southern share-cropper.

A significant change in the attitude of labor is taking place today. We have almost begun to take for granted the idea that trade unionists should take part in political activity, but it is relatively new in the United States. Workers are now building a farmer-labor party, but only a few years ago they were suspicious of all political and economic theories and were committed to the principle that they should keep away from such things. Huberman explains this attitude with a revealing quotation from Prof. Cairnes:

Now when we take into account the sort of decrees which are ordinarily given to the world in the name of Political Economy—decrees which I think I may say in the main amount to a handsome ratification of the existing form of society as approximately perfect—I think we shall be able to understand the repugnance, and even violent opposition, manifested toward it by people who have their own reasons for not cherishing that unbounded admiration for our present industrial arrangements which is felt by some popular expounders of so-called economic laws. When a workingman is told that Political Economy "condemns" strikes... looks askance at proposals for limiting the

hours of labor, but "approves" the accumulation of capital, and "sanctions" the market rate of wages, it seems not an unnatural response that "since Political Economy is against the workingman, it behooves the workingman to be against Political Economy."

Mr. Huberman writes engagingly on an ordinarily dry subject, and he infuses it with new life. He presents facts in their original setting; he examines economic theories, their promises, achievements and the degree of fulfillment; and like any scientist he arrives at a conclusion, he takes sides. His urbane manner and his enlightened convictions deserve a wide audience.

—FRANK B. BLUMENFIELD

A Journalist in Ethiopia

CAESAR IN ABYSSINIA, by George Steer; 411 pages; Little, Brown & Company; \$3.00.

THE AUTHOR calls this book "a narrow sidelight on a series of massacres known as the Italo-Ethiopian War." This at once gives the general attitude in which the book is written but is far too modest, for in my opinion it is the best account yet published of what happened to the last independent people of Africa. The facts do not make pleasant reading and yet, perhaps, if there were more newspapermen of Mr. Steer's caliber, intelligence and integrity about, things

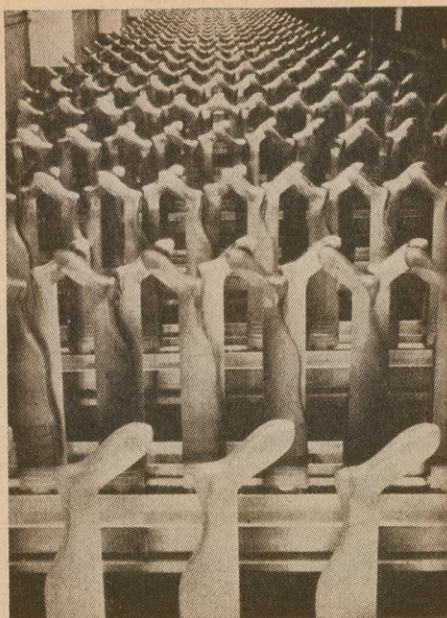
might be better in many parts of the world. Mr. Steer's book shows abundantly what the Italian victory amounted to. Four hundred Italian planes against eleven Ethiopian planes. Tanks, mustard gas, and machine guns against a few thousand rifles. Bombardment of hospitals and civil population and, after it was all over, reprisals, massacres and mass murder of defenseless men, women and children, all in the grand tradition of Italian Fascism and imperialism. This excellent and painstaking account of the entire military campaign makes it clear that with anything like equality of armaments the Italians would have gotten a terrific licking. And here is where Mr. Steer's indictment of Britain's hypocrisy, as far as her embargo policy was concerned, has particular force. Because Mr. Steer saw with his own eyes that it was the embargo that defeated the Ethiopians. The embargo and nothing else. And yet today, this very minute, Britain is trying to defeat loyalist Spain by the same measures. Benevolent neutrality, toward aggressors. So-called blockades that work out in favor of aggressors and Fascists. Mr. Steer, who is anything else but a radical, had his eyes opened in Ethiopia. It is to his great credit that he wrote about the things he actually saw. As a matter of fact, that is almost unique, considering the performances of the airplane and tank riding "ace" correspondents of the American and British gutter press. This book is a piece of modern history that contains all the facts and is indispensable for any student of contemporary affairs.

—JOHANNES STEEL

Volcano of World Politics

ZERO HOUR, by Richard Freund; 256 pages; Oxford University Press; \$2.50.

THE WORLD faces the Zero Hour, the sharp explosion of war appears almost inevitable at any moment—this is the overture on which the author opens his work. He has attempted to unravel the tangled and complex skein of those economic and political antagonisms among the great powers and their satellites, antagonisms which at fast pace are reaching their crescendo of detonation. Peace is indivisible. The time has long since



Today and yesterday. (Left) Mass production: making stockings. (Right) Making glass, 15th century. From *Man's Worldly Goods* by Leo Huberman and published by Harper & Brothers

passed when war could be confined and isolated. Germany, Italy and Japan are roughly plucking the last remaining feathers from the dove of peace and are making the final preparations for the triumphal banquet. Commencing with the aims and aspirations of German Fascism, the author continues with Poland and the Baltic countries, the Danubian states, the cauldron of the Balkans, the struggle between Great Britain and Italy for control of the Mediterranean, and the civil war in Spain. Second half of the book presents the canvas of the Middle and Far East—Egypt, playing Britain against Italy, Palestine, Arabia, India restless under the British yoke, China seething with resentment against the brazen march of Japanese aggression, Japan faced with the approach of economic collapse. Follow chapters on the United States, the U. S. S. R., and the British Empire.

It is unfortunate that so little space has been devoted to France and to the foreign and domestic policy of the Popular Front government, for today the main corner-stone of trembling peace in Europe remains the pact of mutual assistance between France and the U. S. S. R. Best chapter of the book is that on India and its rôle of prime importance in any realistic evaluation of British policy. Although he believes that the U. S. S. R. is the only country inalterably and consistently standing against war in the world, the author fails to show a basic comprehension of the underlying principles of the Soviet peace policy. Untrue, for example, his statement that "under the Nazi régime the German people are being trained in a collectivism which has many points in common with Soviet communism" (p. 61).

The author has attempted to view objectively the field of world politics. His desire for impartiality has resulted in a failure to grasp fundamental essentials, with the result that *Zero Hour* has a tendency to mere description rather than analysis of events. Mr. Freund, a British political journalist, has a pathetic trust in the nobility and eternity of the British Empire, a trust which is difficult to reconcile with certain recent actions of British statesmen. For him, Britain casts a clear and pure light in a dark and sinister world gripped in a nightmare of madness. But as to what will be the outcome the author remains silent. Great Britain's colossal rearmament program, but recently announced, may perhaps give a hint as to the answer.

—E. P. GREENE

Unconsoling Optimism

VIEWS WITHOUT ALARM, by Walter Millis; 79 pages; Houghton Mifflin Company; \$1.25.

WALTER MILLIS refuses to view Europe with alarm. He is perhaps the only living man who does not. Lovers of peace may find

comfort in his optimism but none in his experiences. What Mr. Millis saw in Europe during his trip last fall is deadly confirmation of the war every one but he expects. He dwells at length on the fanatical nationalisms cleaving the Continent, Nazi Germany's huge army in secret maneuvers, the innumerable examinations of passports and baggage at every frontier so symptomatic of the general tension and suspicion. He sees German peasant girls waving merrily to Soviet ships in Kiel harbor and thinks that this gesture of good-will will perhaps restrain Hitler from warring on the Soviet Union. He places great faith in England, "Democracy's last European citadel," as a bulwark of peace, on the ground that Hitler will not dare attack since he cannot be sure of Britain's friendship. In the next breath, he admits that Britain will not fight to protect Czechoslovakia or Poland or Austria any more than she was willing to fight to protect Ethiopia against the Blackshirts or Spain against Mussolini and Hitler. He is strangely insensitive to the economic difficulties driving the Nazis with relentless compulsion to war. I say strangely because in his *Road to War* he was very much alive to the economic forces that pushed America into the last conflict. The acute lowering of the German standard of living under Hitler is a far mightier impetus to war than uncertainty about what England will do is an impetus to peace. Mr. Millis's cheerfulness flies in the face of his own observations and is therefore naïve. Many readers will welcome his conclusion. Few will be solaced by its reasons.

—LEO GURKO

Fascist Bubbles

THE FASCIST: HIS STATE AND HIS MIND, by E. B. Ashton; 320 pages; William Morrow; \$2.50.

IN ORDER to be fair to the author of this book—and it needs all the patience and forbearance one has at his disposal not to lose patience with Mr. Ashton at times—we must keep in mind that he is not nor claims to be an anti-Fascist. He would like to be called a non-Fascist with a democratic turn of mind and a pragmatic point of view. He is infinitely more scrupulous in going out of his way to be fair to the Fascists than to give the benefit of the doubt to the contending forces who like to fight Fascism. Pragmatically he accepts Fascism as probably being a good thing for Italy, and to a lesser degree, suitable to the temperament of the German people.

He does draw a distinction between Fascism and what he is pleased to call pseudo-Fascism. A priori, Italy and Germany were in for it, says Mr. Ashton. As an example of pseudo-Fascism he cites as principal one Austria and those countries in South Amer-

ica and the Balkans that play the sedulous ape to either the Hitler or Mussolini brand, but really are military dictatorships which go under the name of Fascism.

Now why does the author think that Italy and Germany were ripe for Fascism, while other countries were not? Both countries became unified later than other European nations, and they were not able to understand the value of personal liberty before they attained a secure national unity. Perhaps you can, as Mr. Ashton so readily can, place yourself within the mind of a Fascist. He feels that in order to understand Fascism we *must* do this. If we cannot, we are not allowed to judge and are out of order. He believes that whether we like it or not Fascism is a forward-looking movement. He believes that it is arrant nonsense to suggest that the causes of war are always economic, that Fascism is the last stand of capitalism or that it will take us back to medievalism. He repeatedly pounds his fist on the table and says, "It is here to stay." Unless . . . the democratic nations correct their ways. Mind you, it never enters into his mind that the Fascists might mend their ways, because, as he says himself, that is inherently impossible.

To point out some of the mistakes in Mr. Ashton's argument would take up a lot more space than I have at my disposal here. He completely accepts the Fascist tenet that once Fascism is firmly established it is beyond criticism, that criticism simply will not, nor can be tolerated.

He makes a lot out of the "collectivist" feature of Fascism and maintains that the Fascist nations have the inveterate hatred of Communism, because the two are really so similar. They have no fear of Democracy, because that is definitely on the way to disintegration. The author more or less flirts with the idea that in fact it would not actually need a great political somersault for a Fascist state to become Communist and vice versa.

He makes a valuable contribution, however, when he contends that rather sooner than later the democratic nations must stand their ground. That the present shilly-shallying attitude of France and England, for instance, inspires Fascist contempt rather than respect. That whatever is worth having is worth fighting for, in this instance Democracy. He however leaves us at a loss as to how this battle is to be conducted. The book is thus full of the most aggravating contradictions. He feels that any underground movement in a Fascistic nation is negligible and not worth the sacrifice. He admits, however, that Fascism has now reached an international phase, by which it promulgates its doctrines secretly or openly (as in Spain) abroad and is making great inroads.

He considers Fascism in either



Natives of Ethiopia fording a stream in their escape from Mussolini terror. (See A Journalist in Ethiopia, page 18)

France, England or the United States improbable, but feels that Reverend Gerald Smith understands the potentialities thoroughly, which might put the U. S. A. in the Fascist ranks.

A thought-provoking and ire-arousing book, which should be made the subject for discussion at all anti-Fascist meetings. As an antidote, however, I would recommend Palme Dutt's *Fascism and Social Revolution*.

—A. V. A. VAN DUYM

Ways of Life

WE OR THEY, by Hamilton Fish Armstrong; 106 pages; The Macmillan Company; \$1.50.

THE ESSENCE of this little book is a testimony of faith—the faith of an honest and somewhat, but not altogether discerning liberal. I say not altogether discerning because in describing the dilemma, "we or they" (Democracy or dictatorship), Mr. Armstrong lumps the government and system of the Socialist Soviet Union with those of Fascist Italy and Germany. His analysis of government, law, and economic relationships in Russia is more by inference than by direct approach. By setting the terms of the conflict as "dictatorship or Democracy," instead of "Fascism or Democracy," the editor of *Foreign Affairs* discloses that he is a political liberal, rather than an economic realist who sees the political as the form of the superstructure raised upon the economic foundations. Indeed, if the author had but turned his searchlight on the very word "dictatorship," as he did so revealingly on other words, the line-up of opposing forces would have been changed.

The tendency to put the political before the economic appears most sharply in the author's study of the roots and rise of Fascism in Italy and Germany.

(Continued on page 26)

WAR on two fronts has held the attention of Wall Street during the past month.

On the domestic industrial front, the war news has been gloomy for the boys on the Street. Confronted by the impressive and ever widening victories of the C.I.O., the financial fraternity has groaned a funeral dirge as it watched its favorite heroes, one by one, give ground before the pressure of a militant labor movement. But, never to be downed in their search for gambling profits, the stock market gentry pushed stock prices up on the news of U. S. Steel's contract with the C.I.O., on the grounds that the steel boom could now continue unchecked without the threat of strike shutdowns! Of course, the increased costs are passed on to the consumers.

On the international front, the announcement of the seven and one-half billion dollar British rearmament program touched off a gambling orgy in war commodities, to the further profit of the speculators who for the past two years have been fattening on the worldwide preparations for impending war.

The triumphant progress of the C.I.O.—from General Motors to Chrysler to U. S. Steel to General Electric—has made fine mockery of the croaking oracles who announced that the General Motors strike settlement was a defeat “for the entire American labor movement.” What has made the C.I.O.'s successful drive against these financial citadels doubly impressive to Wall Street is that three of them—General Motors, General Electric and especially U. S. Steel—are under the direct aegis of the House of Morgan, or in other words, representative of the greatest financial power in the world.

The capitulation of the austere Myron Taylor and his U. S. Steel to a contract with the C.I.O., granting a substantial wage rise and shorter hours, left Wall Street groping for a face-saving explanation.

Two Old Friends

THE most embarrassed man in American big business was E. T. (Tear Gas) Weir, labor-hating head of National Steel, when a study of the steel industry by the Falk Foundation (financed by Weir, the reactionary Mellon-dominated University of Pittsburgh and other capitalists) ungraciously denounced the steel industry as a monopoly requiring strict governmental regulation, and advocated a national industrial union for steel workers, along the very lines of the C.I.O. To make matters worse, the report was published at the very climax of the C.I.O. organization campaign. But with an equal sense of timing, Tear Gas Weir rushed promptly into print with an indignant attack on his own Foundation's report. Said he: “Labor relations in the steel industry are quiet. We're not having any trouble. . . . I



The boys on the Street are gloomy about steel . . . British rearmament program . . . Mister Ford

can't see how industry could operate on a forty-hour week.”

Within 72 hours of this blurb, the forty-hour week had been established in most of the steel industry, wage increases were being granted right and left in deference to the union campaign, and U. S. Steel had signed its contract with the C.I.O.

Weir's bid for the championship in disingenuous ballyhoo has lately been seriously challenged, however, by our old friend Henry Ford, the sage of Dearborn and the high priest of the speed-up. Friend Henry is next in line for the attentions of the United Automobile Workers. As he brooded on this prospect, he let fly these words of wisdom while enjoying the pastoral delights of his Georgia plantation: “International financiers are behind the labor unions because they want to control industry and kill competition. They are the cause of all these strikes.”

This chestnut was pulled right out of Ford's staple line of propaganda. For years he has tried to gloss over the exploitation of Ford workers by posing as the friend of the workingman and

the arch-foe of Wall Street. But Henry, this time, pulled a new one as well. The labor movement, he proclaimed with perfect *non sequitur*, leads to war. “Competition in industry will guarantee workers a fair wage, but labor unions destroy this competition. It is organizations of this type that lead up to war,” said Henry.

The War Boom Expands

ALTHOUGH the stock market boom has continued in the face of the mounting strength of labor, Wall Street's most unblemished satisfaction has come from the tremendous inflation of the war industries, climaxed by the announcement of Great Britain's armament program. The financial ticker service reported recently:

Brokers report main interest at the moment in so-called “war” commodity shares and some houses said that approximately 50% of their buy orders in the last few days have been in shares of oils, non-ferrous metals, rubbers and steels.

The rise in commodity prices caused by war buying here and abroad is significant of the profits being reaped by

speculators in and processors of war materials. Since December 1st, the market price of copper in this country has increased 55%, zinc 40% and lead 30%. All of these metals are primary war materials and war orders have been almost entirely responsible for this sharp spurt in price. With the European powers endeavoring to lay in large war reserves of staple commodities, war buying also has boosted the price of the basic commodities consumed by the peoples of the world. Since December 1st, the price of both wheat and cotton has risen 10% and hides have gone up 18%.

War preparations are causing a similar price boom in the steel industry, as well as a shortage of pig iron and scrap steel, the two basic ingredients of finished steel. With Japan (which recently bought 100,000 tons of iron ore in the American market) and Italy scrambling for these materials in order to meet their armament manufacturing programs, supplies have dwindled rapidly. As a result, the price of pig iron has soared to \$21.25 a ton, as compared with the 1929 high of \$18.71, and the price of scrap steel has jumped to \$20.25 a ton, as compared with the 1929 high of \$17.58. In 1936, Japan again was the largest buyer of American scrap, but in December, Italy bought 40,696 tons or almost half of the total exports from this country.

All of which means that the American steel barons have been reaping a harvest. Using as an excuse the rise in pig iron and scrap prices as well as the recent increases in wages, price boosts of from \$3 to \$8 a ton have now been established in finished steel. This is on top of a \$2 increase at the first of the year. Furthermore, the lure of the U. S. government's own armament program as well as the pressure of the C.I.O. was responsible for forcing the steel magnates to drop their strike against the Walsh-Healey Act and qualify for government orders by adopting the 40-hour week. As a minor example of what the Roosevelt armament campaign means to steel manufacturers, it was recently revealed that Crucible Steel is booked one year ahead on ordnance and shell orders from the U. S. government.

The aviation industry continues to be the most specialized merchandiser of weapons of death. A recent survey by the Bendix Aviation Export Corp. disclosed that world expenditure for new aviation equipment in 1937 will be \$911,000,000 of which \$813,000,000 will be spent on military planes. All told, 28,500 new planes are scheduled to be built this year, of which 22,800 will be war craft. The survey divided the 1937 military plane construction among the world powers as follows: Germany, 2,900; Italy, 2,300; Japan, 2,100; Great Britain, 2,700; France, 2,500; Russia, 3,000; United States, 1,200; Czechoslovakia, 700; Poland, 700; Jugoslavia, 540; Roumania, 400.

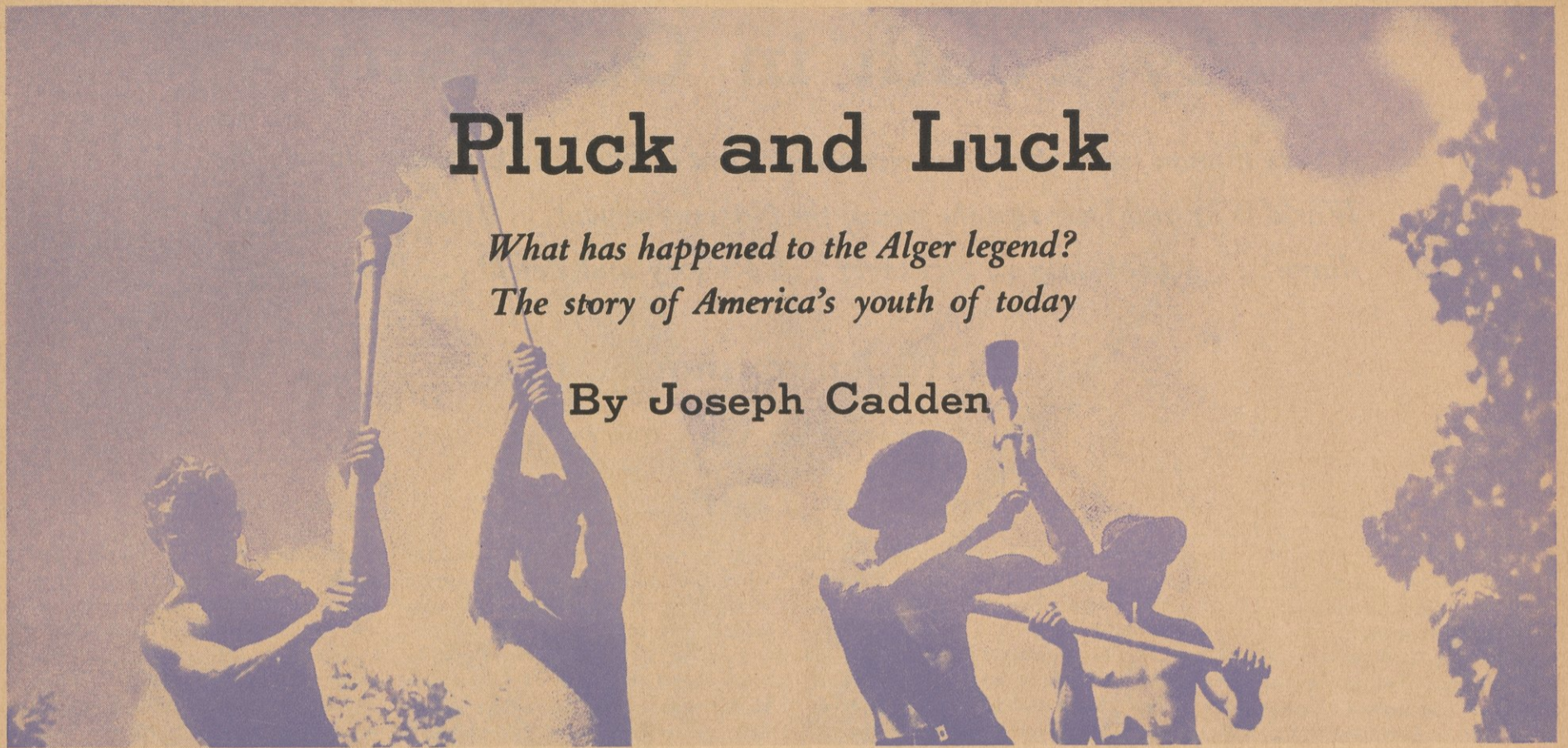


Henry Ford lunches with Irene du Pont, munitions king

Pluck and Luck

*What has happened to the Alger legend?
The story of America's youth of today*

By Joseph Cadden



THE DELEGATE of a Philadelphia club for boys who had never had jobs told us of some of the petty rackets indulged in for profit as much as for amusement. A California lettuce-picker described his backaches that began at the age of eleven and had continued through years of life in a leaky, one-room shed with eight brothers and sisters. A Harvard medical school honor graduate explained why it was impossible for him to minister to the needs of the ailing. The girl who had spent her childhood in a Southern textile mill and had never left it before, asked why she was a slave in this free country.

Youth Pilgrimage

Coal miners and Wellesley girls, rubber workers and lawyers, Negroes and whites, Jews and Protestants, Catholics and Communists from forty-four States—4,500 young people told their stories in one way or another to their President and Congressmen, during the Washington's Birthday weekend Pilgrimage to the nation's capital. All of them asked the same question—"Why are we hungry in this land of plenty, hungry for jobs and for education, hungry for the opportunity to become useful and happy American citizens?"

They came from outlawed tenements with leaky plumbing, fire-traps that smell—from farm sheds of tattered boards where the only nourishment is starch—from households where they fry themselves over a stove for \$12 a month—from professional schools where their talents are developed—for what? They came from

factories and mills where they worked hard, long hours for a pittance—from fields where they could earn only a poor room and board.

Many of them came a long way. All of them asked "Why?"

There are 20 million Americans between 16 and 25 years of age.

Seven and a half million have jobs. (Don't ask what kind.)

Four and a half million go to school or college (some part time).

Two and a half million are married women who are not in school and don't work.

Five and a half million are just hanging around. Most of them have never had a job and are therefore not considered "unemployed." For that reason and others they are not eligible for "relief."

But there is a National Youth Administration to provide for these five and a half million. There are C.C.C. camps to absorb many of them.

The National Youth Administration is helping 415,000 of the students to stay in schools and colleges. Two hundred and ten thousand of the unemployed are being given part-time work. Three hundred and fifty thousand are enrolled in the C.C.C. camps.

Add and then subtract. And you still have five million young Americans standing on street corners, plotting robberies, playing craps, drawn into brothels. For economic security they sign up with "gangs." For social life they join "mobs."

Cost of Neglecting Youth

It's not a pretty picture. Just look around in your community. Are the

young people there living a normal, healthy life? Are they working, going to school, getting married?

And what about those who are working? Are they healthy and happy? Or are they overworked, underpaid, and scared to death of asking for better conditions or better pay?

Careful surveys reveal that less than 2 per cent of those employed are happy in their work; more than 35 per cent are in "very poor or poor health"; almost 75 per cent have health defects.

That's only part of the bill we pay for neglecting five million young people. According to J. Edgar Hoover of the Department of Justice, "The largest number of arrests at any one age in the whole country is at the age of 21; 15 per cent of all people arrested were 19 or younger and 37.4 per cent of all those arrested were under 25." In New York City each of these criminals costs the state \$5,000 from the time of his arrest until the time of his imprisonment, and \$500 each year to keep him in prison.

Figure it out. Add it all up and then compare it to the "exorbitant cost of administering the American Youth Act" which asks for \$500,000,000 to tackle the problem.

Vocational Training and Jobs

The 4,500 young people who stood before the White House on February 20th and asked for the passage of the American Youth Act didn't think it an "exorbitant" demand. Nor did the million people who had affixed signatures to the petitions which were presented to the President.

These young people wanted jobs—and education to prepare them for the

jobs—because they had seen the amount of work which should be done in each of their communities. They were not selfishly asking for a special privilege, a "bonus." They were demanding an opportunity to build a healthier, happier and more prosperous America.

They asked for education, because three and a half of the five million idle couldn't fill the jobs if they were offered. They simply are not trained to make a living. Since 1929, 20,000 schools have been closed and the national expenditure for education has been cut \$408,000,000. Only 38 per cent of the young people who should be graduating from high school each year are actually graduated, according to the U. S. Office of Education. In the entire nation there are only 50,000 apprentices learning industrial trades.

"Free, Public" Education

What schools there are, are hopelessly overcrowded. One hundred and forty-three thousand rural schools have one room and one teacher for about 45 pupils. The schools are a long distance from home in many cases and there isn't any carfare provided in the family budget. While they're at school, the students must eat and they haven't time to earn much on the outside. They must be dressed properly. (In some communities there are rigid requirements which the students simply can't meet because of their low family income.) They must buy books and pencils and paper. If they can't afford these things, they can't have an education.

Colloquially we refer to this as
(Continued on page 29)

My Youth in Germany

A very human story of an American who spent his youth in Germany during the World War and later saw the rise of the Nazi movement. . . Items from a child's diary . . . School days . . . Hunger . . . Victory and defeat . . . Proud people

By Anonymous

ILLUSTRATED BY JOHN GROTH

IT ASTONISHES me when I hear people speak regretfully of the passing of their childhood. I don't like to think of mine.

As the son of American parents I was born and raised in Munich, Germany; as a suspected alien—though still a child—I witnessed the beginning of the World War, the march of the soldiers, the high hope, the certainty of right and victory sung patriotically along the peaceful streets to the sound of drums. As the offspring of the newest and most hated enemy I saw the last wild struggle, the tightening of belts, the hunger-pinched faces and the anxiety mounting with the fear of defeat. As a privileged but not happy extra-territorial I saw the blind groping of a people towards reconstruction out of collapse. As a visitor in later years, I saw the transformation of a charlatan into a national ideal.

Aliens in War-ridden Germany

To begin with, I want to make it clear that at no time during those war years did either I or any member of my family suffer from the persecutions and brutalities so universally reported in the allied war press. In Germany we heard and read the same stories of brutalities and persecutions in France, England, Russia and in the U. S. A. True, my father, who died in 1917, might quite possibly have lived had proper food been available; in that sense, if you like, he was the victim of starvation. But then, many Germans died similarly. We suffered no discrimination. We were given the same ration cards as the Germans. True, my life at school was not the most pleasant life, but I was allowed to go right on with my classes. Our movements were, of course, restricted. We had to report every week or so to the police. We were quiet people and we knew how to keep our mouths shut. We had to.

And yet I find it impossible to look back over those years of my early adolescence without the kind of reluctance with which one is likely to

regard a messy accident or some other unpleasant spectacle. It is as though there were a fog over that part of my memories.

Quite recently I found an old diary of mine, one of those short-lived things a child attempts and carries through for a few weeks, only to tire of it and forget it. There are about twenty-five entries. They will

explain something of the mentality which was at that time being formed in all of us who were children in war-ridden Germany.

July 1st, 1917: "It is three months today that father died. I have a new bicycle which came day before yesterday. I used it today for the first time. I went to fetch some lard in a can from Westermayer's. He has an

uncle in the country. I was afraid I might fall and that the can would open and that a policeman might see the lard, but nothing happened."

July 3rd, 1917: "Finished school early today. Had meat for dinner."

July 15th, 1917: "No school today because of another victory. Had a long ride on my bicycle. Had goat meat for dinner, but it had gone bad and we could not eat it."

And the last entry, about a month later: "Mother and I were invited today for dinner. We had new potatoes. I have never eaten anything so good."

Food and Victories

That was what we children thought of, that was what was uppermost in our young and learning minds: FOOD! We were used to victories; they were commonplaces reported every week. But new potatoes. . . .

School was out early, often, for a variety of reasons. A spurious victory would do as well for an excuse as any other.

I can remember those classrooms. Pale, thin children, with distended bellies, sitting listlessly over their school books and falling asleep regularly as the day wore on, their heads sunk forward on the ink-stained desks; our teachers, old white-haired men or war-cripples with bitter eyes and hard mouths, who had not the courage and energy to scold us for our weariness and inattention. And perhaps most memorable, the stench which used to inhabit the room, in spite of open windows, from the exhalation of young bodies that could not digest a diet of wood-pulp and pig turnips.

That was our youth.

Surely we played in the streets and back yards, but there was no heartiness in our playing: we had not the strength, and chiefly, we had not the time. Most of our free hours were spent on the food line. Sometimes in early summer we made excursions into the country, whole classes of us. Then we carried rakes over our shoulders. With these rakes we invaded the coun-



tryside and ripped the leaves from the trees as far as we could reach. The leaves were used for fodder.

That was our view of green nature. It was something to attack. We went through it like locusts, leaving it bare behind us. And in the fall we collected horse-chestnuts for the Supply Department. For us there was no peace, even in the countryside.

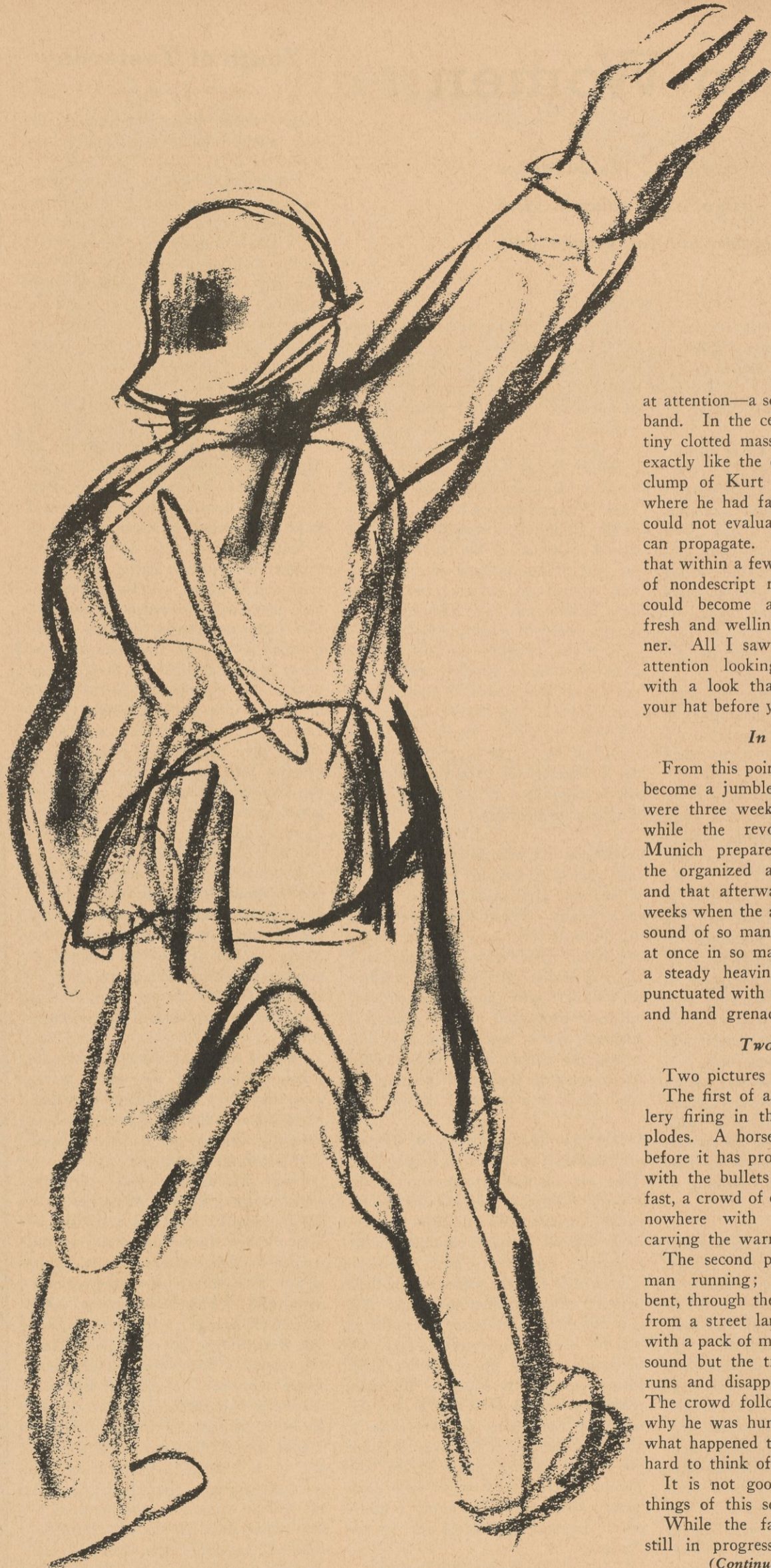
A Quiet Armistice

And then, of a sudden, the War was over. I recall the day of the Armistice, so different in defeated Germany from the wild celebration of which my American friends have told me: just an abrupt quiet and an uncertainty in the air, and strange men walking through the streets in twos and threes, dressed, incredibly, in the uniforms we had been taught to hate. I must remind you again that I was a child, and that, though by nationality I owed allegiance to these very uniforms, I was quite naturally unable to resist the steady flow of war propaganda that had poisoned the minds of those older and wiser than myself. And here they walked, Frenchmen and Englishmen, smoking cigarettes, smiling and chatting. I could not understand and I was shocked. Only a few weeks before I had been running in the wake of a crowd of German boys, a little dumbly and a little left behind—an incongruous enemy alien child lustily crying the most recent German victory. When I saw these prisoners of war walking, free, along our streets, it came even to my childish mind that perhaps there had been something unreal in those victories. To this day I can recall how I stood still and followed with my eyes a trio of French officers, and how I wondered whether perhaps after all there was not some connection between the grim indifference, to the continually repeated victories, I had seen on the faces of ordinary people—the laborers, the janitors, the housewives, the soldiers on leave—and those French officers walking down our streets.

Memories of the Revolution

Not long afterwards the German revolution began. It entered our lives stealthily. Overnight we were told that the Emperor had fled and that Germany had become a republic. Quite casually, in cold print, the stunning fact was announced on the same bulletin boards where the repetitious victories used to stand. No shooting, no noise. From one day to the other.

The real revolution did not break out until May, 1919. After the murder of Bavaria's republican president, Kurt Eisner, by a fastidious young aristocrat. I did not see this murder. But of it I have a vivid memory, an image stored up clear as glass: a little roped off square, perhaps six feet by six with a soldier at each end standing



at attention—a soldier with a red armband. In the center of the square, a tiny clotted mass which to me looked exactly like the droppings of a dog, a clump of Kurt Eisner's blood, dried where he had fallen. At that time I could not evaluate how quickly blood can propagate. I could not imagine that within a few weeks that small pile of nondescript neutrally colored dirt could become a fountain, springing fresh and welling at every street corner. All I saw was four soldiers at attention looking at every passer-by with a look that made you take off your hat before you went on.

In Munich

From this point on my memory has become a jumble. I know that there were three weeks of fantastic tension while the revolutionary forces in Munich prepared themselves against the organized attack from without; and that afterwards there were more weeks when the air was laden with the sound of so many machine guns firing at once in so many places that it was a steady heaving roar like the sea, punctuated with the explosions of shells and hand grenades.

Two Pictures

Two pictures stand out.

The first of a battery of field artillery firing in the dusk. A shell explodes. A horse falls, kicking. And before it has properly stopped kicking, with the bullets still flying thick and fast, a crowd of civilians coming out of nowhere with knives and hungrily carving the warm meat.

The second picture is simply of a man running; running, cowed and bent, through the yellow circle of light from a street lamp in a murky night, with a pack of men at his heels. Not a sound but the tramping of boots. He runs and disappears behind a corner. The crowd follows. I did not know why he was hunted. I do not know what happened to him. I find it very hard to think of this image.

It is not good for a child to see things of this sort.

While the failing revolution was still in progress, my mother and I
(Continued on page 25)

As to Women

*Good morning! We announce
the birth of a new column. And
a column not for women only*

LAST month was a month for labor rejoicing. The agreements signed in the steel industry have turned a new page in labor history. But the millennium has not come yet—particularly for women.

One old steel man sighed as he considered women in industry.

"We got to get wise to ourselves," he said. "Here we work alongside each other—a woman and a man. The woman makes forty cents an hour, perhaps. The man makes sixty. Along comes slack times. The man gets laid off—see? It's enough to make you sore."

But it takes us a long time to "get wise to ourselves."

This past month when the steel agreements were signed the minimum wages asked for women were from ten to fifteen cents lower than those asked for men.

In the U.A.W.A. demands, a minimum of sixty cents an hour was asked for girls in the auto industry while a minimum of seventy-five cents was asked for boys.

Many of the workers take this as the normal course of affairs. In the steel organizing paper published in Pittsburgh, one of the reasons for joining unions was that girls organized in the glass works were receiving two cents more than the men who were unorganized in steel. This statement was followed by an exclamation point.

Any fighter against Fascism knows what happens when workers are divided by discriminations. Here is a wage discrimination which must be emphasized and re-emphasized until this particular trend of Fascism is a thing of the past.

THE Daughters of American Patriots limit their membership to those women who can trace back their ancestry in this country before the year 1800. In that way, they explain, they can keep out the "undesirable elements." It sounds like a Fascist organization, doesn't it? Yet, at the end of an anti-Fascist speech, made by one of the members of the Women's Committee of the American League, there were testimonies, from all over the audience, of Fascist trends in their own community. One "Patriot" asked all the other "Patriots" to join with her in combating such trends and in preserving Democracy in that particular part

of the United States. And that's not all.

"It is because we haven't realized what is going on that we haven't done more," one of them explained. "We need education. When we get it we will act. Who better can work for this sort of thing than Patriots."

Which brings to mind the plea made by Miss Margaret Forsyth, at the New York Women's Session held at the City-Wide Conference recently, that we should make use of the traditions that are part of the heritage of the American woman, in enlisting her in the fight against war and Fascism. It is not necessary to introduce strange slogans in this struggle, she said. There is abundant material in the tradition of every American woman to give her reasons for preserving Democracy and doing away with war. In fact, there is a tradition that might be pointed out to the Daughters of American Patriots which might lead to the lifting of the limit on membership.

AND now we hear that in Great Britain special classes are being given to women and girls to allay panic in time of air raids. When they have passed all the tests they are presented with a certificate. But what protection will that certificate give to small children or, for that matter, adults when the only adequate protection against gases is a complete rubber suit? And how will it help the mother in an over-crowded flat to solve the problem of keeping one room ready as a gas-proof refuge?

DOWN in South America the Fascists are pushing a new form of propaganda. They are advocating opportunities for women. Oh, they are not asking for equal economic opportunities for women. Indeed, in some republics, if the proposed legislation goes through, women will lose the possession of their personal property after marriage. No, it is not that side they are interested in but they are urging women to take part in parades, speak on platforms, align themselves with the Fascists. To many women, who have been kept behind the walls of the home, it seems like a glorious new day of freedom. We are not above taking points from the Fascists. We anti-Fascists will push opportunities for women to a point never dreamed or wished for by the Fascists.

—DOROTHY McCONNELL

Youth of Yesterday

(Continued from page 15)

New Orleans would have brought fifteen hundred dollars . . . and perhaps more. . . ."

While he worked at calking ships, he spent his free time giving stirring speeches in the colored church in his New England town. The white leaders of the abolition movement sought him out, and asked him to speak at their meetings—the first Negro to plead the cause of his own people. When he made his first speech at the anti-slavery convention in Nantucket at the age of twenty-four, he "trembled in every limb." But he went through with it, and after that made countless speeches—many of which galled him, for he had to tell over and over again the painful and what he considered degrading story of his own bondage. But he told it for the freedom of his people.

Youth in other parts of the country fought the abolition battle with Garrison and Douglass. At Lane Theological Seminary the students were told they could not discuss the anti-slavery question at all, and were cautioned to "pray much, say little, be humble, and wait." But that was not in the nature of youth. The students walked out of Lane in a body and went to Oberlin where they formed the first class of Oberlin Seminary. They even forced the Oberlin authorities to admit Negroes.

Woman's Suffrage

Youth played its dramatic rôle, too, in the woman's suffrage movement. I have heard people, who saw some of the famous suffrage parades in New York, say that it was the tremendous number of young and pretty girls in the parades that swung many of the men over to the cause of the women's vote.

One of the most colorful and outstanding figures of the whole movement was Inez Milholland, who died when she was thirty, of anemia which some say was brought on by overwork in the suffrage movement.

Inez Milholland was certainly youthful when she was doing her most vigorous work. She was a student in Vassar when she became active in the woman's suffrage cause. She was also, at that time, interested in the socialist movement. This was before 1909 when both woman's suffrage and socialism were things that nice girls didn't talk about. The Vassar faculty was severe with her. It refused her permission to hold meetings on the campus on either subject. Tradition now has it that Inez Milholland called a meeting in a near-by graveyard on the suffrage question. Girls poured out of the Vassar campus by the hundred to hear what Inez had to say. And before her campaign was over she had enrolled two-thirds of the students in

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the cause of suffrage—despite the faculty ban. "She certainly caused Prexy a lot of grief," one of the students said afterward.

Once out of college, she threw herself whole-heartedly into the suffrage movement. People who knew her tell me that she was unusually beautiful—with reddish brown hair, wonderful white teeth, vivid coloring, and a tall, slender figure. She had an instinct for drama. In at least two of the most famous of the suffrage parades—one in New York, and one in Washington—Inez Milholland led the procession on a white horse. With rows and rows of young girls, all pretty because of their very youth, marching behind her, she won over the sidewalk scoffers. They soon stopped scoffing. Youth carried the day.

Youth's Rôle in Labor

Youth, too, has put spirit into the labor movement. Strikes in which such young men as John Reed have figured, are an old story. But when young men figured heroically the fact that they were mere youths is often forgotten later.

There was John Mitchell, one of the early leaders of the United Mine Workers, and one of the early advocates of industrial unionism. He is now remembered as an older and conservative and powerful labor leader. But he was a spirited advocate of organized labor when he was still in his teens, and to advocate those ideas a half century ago was very radical.

He first became union conscious when he was fifteen, and joined the Knights of Labor. He was a worker at the age of nine. By the time he was ten he was working in the mines. He began to be really active when he was nineteen (which was in 1889), and joined the newly organized United Mine Workers in Illinois. When he was still in his twenties he led the southern Illinois section of the union through the soft coal strike which brought about one of the first significant collective agreements. Soon after that he became a national vice-president of the union, and rose from there to his later position of leadership.

Indispensable to Progress

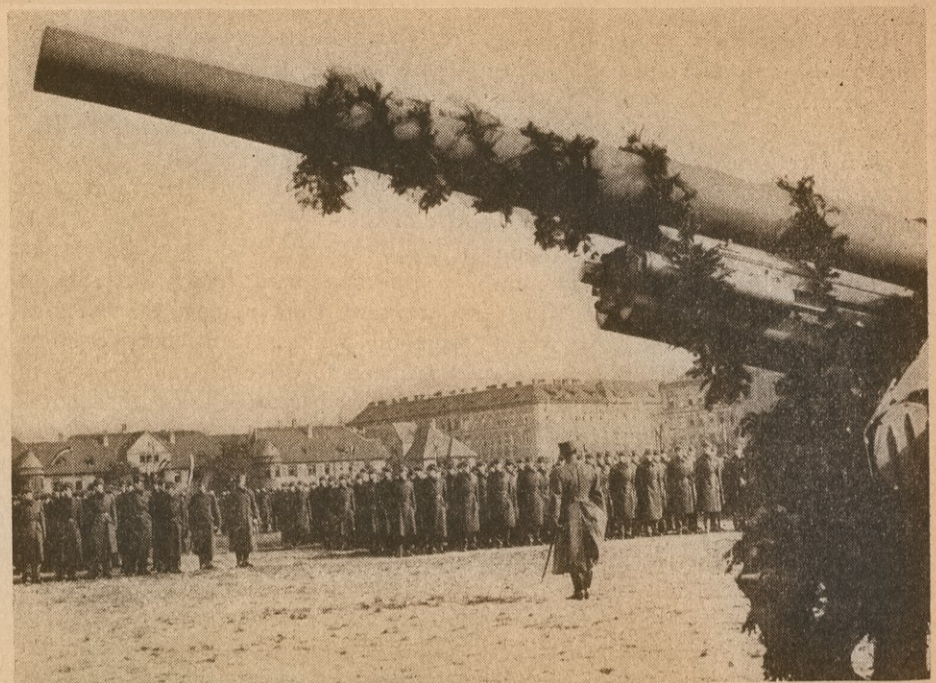
And so the stories go. There are hundreds of them buried in the history of America—hundreds of stories of youths who fought and died for causes, and of causes that could not have been won but for youth.

We may not have had youth movements (we have them now) in the sense that China and Europe have had them. And heaven knows we have been sugared down with plenty of pseudo-youth movements led by youths with forty-year-old girths.

But young people, with progressive ideas and the brains to work them out, we have had before in this country.



Glorifying war! When we received the publicity picture on the left the caption read: "It's just a game to these British tommies riding a tank." (Right) Decorating heavy artillery in Vienna, Austria



We shall always have them. And as long as they refuse to be cowed by those who say that they should "wait until they get a little older," they will be indispensable to progressive movements.

Loans, Loans—War

(Continued from page 7)

not made directly to the German government, to be sure, but that amount of dollars was being transferred to Germany.

In other words, both reparations and war debts were paid, *while they were paid*, only because the United States gave Europe the dollars with which to pay America. This was largely during the period of intense stock speculation in America, and foreign bond issues were thrown into the hopper without hesitation or discrimination.

Once interest rates in the United States rose to levels comparable with those abroad, as the result of stock speculation, the United States ceased lending to Germany. It did not take long for the entire international financial structure to collapse. Germany paid out most of its gold reserves in a last desperate effort to meet the reparations obligations. America's gold supply increased by almost \$1,500,000,000 from 1929 to 1932; the maldistribution of gold in Europe and in other nations became more acute. It took only the failure of an Austrian bank, a seemingly remote accident, to explode the puff-ball and lead eventually to the total ruin of the international monetary structure.

America's Position Today

International exchange is a two-way street. Goods and money and gold must be moving in both directions at

once, or not moving at all. All international debts must be paid for with the proceeds of sales of goods in foreign countries, or with new refunding credits. No other form of currency except the domestic one, or gold, is acceptable to any country. In order to obtain the currency of that country, it is necessary to sell goods in that country and thus acquire the currency.

America must either forget forever the war debts, now in default, or must lend new funds to Europe, including directly or indirectly the Fascist nations—Germany and Italy—or must purchase increasingly large amounts of foreign-made goods. Already America has most of the gold in the world, leaving other nations with less gold than the amount of their principal indebtedness to the United States.

New loans, then, would be made only for the purpose of liquidating the old ones, leaving the situation entirely unchanged,—or they would be for the purpose of enabling foreign nations to buy our cotton and copper and raw materials the quicker to arm for conflict.

America alone has the financial strength and the creditor position which would make possible new loans to foreign nations. America alone has not yet embarked on an armament program so large as to preclude the use of idle capital for other purposes,—even though its own armament expenditures are now the largest in peacetime history.

Fortunately, there is the Johnson Act to forbid loans to debtor nations in default, and thus apparently make it impossible for the United States to sanction financial assistance to a Europe so frenzied that one nation would pay another to keep the peace for yet a little while.

There is perhaps no moral stigma

attached to these defaults since the United States itself left no other road open. But the Congress of the United States should make absolutely certain that token payments to wipe out defaults or subtle and indirect financial agreements, even with Great Britain, may never pave the way for American aid to European bloodshed.

My Youth in Germany

(Continued from page 23)

made our way in a rickety automobile across the Swiss border. There my mother made a great mistake. She not only gave me the run of the town—she also supplied me with a few Swiss coins. And here, to my own detriment, I learned concretely what a real thing is that imaginary line men call a frontier. On the other side of the border there was starvation. Here there was opulence. With my few pennies I went into the first pastry shop and invested in several cakes covered with whipped cream. The penalty was a six weeks' stay in the hospital.

The Menace of Hitler

I did not return to Germany until a couple of years later. Where I had seen previously the despair of a lost war, I now saw the hysteria of a lost peace. The atmosphere was ripe with the phony smell of unreality. Every established value was running through people's fingers like the paper money which was printed daily in fantastically mounting denominations. People were living in a nightmare. They no longer believed in the factual existence of their own noses. Out of this quicksand the spectre of Hitler was born. That summer, for the first time, I saw his blood-red posters pasted boldly on the dignified old buildings; screaming in raucous headlines of the internation-

al Jewish conspiracy, raving, frothing unbelievably with hate and poison. Nobody seemed to take those posters seriously.

When I returned the next year, several of my friends who had been to school with me wore Hitler's insignia. They had been young with me, and their youth had given them no foundations, no truths, no certainties. They were eager to believe that theirs was a superior people betrayed. They needed some reassurance. It was among the war-children that Hitler found his strength. They still spoke to me then, but I felt their reluctance. Their minds and their hearts were in the process of being incrustated with the hatred which was the only security they could find in a bewildering world. They wanted to live in their lifetime. The old order had failed. This change seemed easier than any constructive method. They were caught by their desires and their imaginations and their need for pride. They were being led into a trap. *And finally they were trapped.* And now again they are starving and desolate, looking for a way out of the trap called Nazism.

On the Monongahela

(Continued from page 17)

Now, if you got to arrest me, all right; but I'm going to sit here until you do.' He sort of grinned and his beat didn't bring him back my way until I got all the papers out. I tell you things are changing. Yes, sir."

Prejudices at Work

With all the money pouring into the anti-C.I.O. propaganda, the sympathy of the steel towns, even in the tight ones, is beginning to turn toward the C.I.O. The situation in Flint, Michigan, helped a great deal. But there seems to be a steady turning anyway. It is still slow going. There are so many different groups and opinions in the steel and mine centers. And the anti-C.I.O. crowd has been very adept at playing up these opinions in such a way that the people are divided. The old stock Americans, particularly the ones from the hills of West Virginia and the little towns in Ohio, many of whom have come to the Valley, have a deep-rooted distrust of foreigners. The foreigners are not necessarily foreign-born but they are of a different racial and religious background from that of the old stock Americans. In one town, a whole church and most of the high school was upset because a daughter of an old stock American was marrying a "foreigner." Come to inquire, the "foreigner" had been in the section for two generations.

But this feeling is breaking down under the drive for the C.I.O.

In the church antagonism the feeling is even stronger. To realize what

real animosity can be put into the pronouncement of words, a foe of the church should hear a good Protestant worker speak of the Roman Catholics. And the Catholics are just as suspicious of the Protestants as the Protestants are of them.

Also, there is the Negro situation. There have been many attempts to start race riots among the Negroes and the whites. An abortive effort was made to drive all the Negroes in the Valley back to the South about a year ago. The Union stood firmly by the Negroes, an investigation was made, and the whole thing blew over.

For a Better Day

In the face of all the divisions, the Valley is becoming aware of itself as on one side of the battle and the prejudices are kept submerged. They are still there and may crop up from time to time, but the conflict with the outside is too serious to let them stand in the way too much.

Of course, I know it is trite to say that history is being made here, there or the other place. But the truth is that history *is* being made in the Valley. It is a history that will not only affect the whole labor movement in the United States, but will affect the whole concept of Democracy. The Democracy of the United States stands or falls by what finally happens in the Valley and similar valleys. And, with the eyes of the world turned anxiously on the democratic government of the United States, the result will, to a certain extent, shape the destinies of the world.

"You know," the worker in my first town said to me after Mr. Skinner, the boss, had gone into his house, "that fellow Skinner would be a lot better off if he was Union too. Some of the little bosses around the mills are good C.I.O. material. Some day they'll get wise to themselves and, oh baby, what we'll have in the Valley then."

Books

(Continued from page 19)

Though he maintains that the economic environment dominated over the moral and technical weaknesses of these two parliamentary systems in encouraging the advent of dictatorship, the attention given to the latter factors indicates they bulk extremely large in his evaluation.

The point at which his liberalism takes its sturdiest stand appears in the author's insistence that Democracy must be ready to reply in kind to opposing forces. He counsels the postponement of such action, however, on the grounds that involvement in war threatens democratic procedure and that time may see the crumbling of dictatorships. He fails to consider fully the use or value of economic force in dealing with Fascism, though he scores

American capitalists for helping to finance the rise of Mussolini.

The way out in the international realm is a general mobilization against all the conceptions and practices of the dictators, a sort of united front of the democratic countries, involving economic adjustments that will ease the present strain of international relationships. At home the line of defense is suggested as an aggressive protection of the democratic process. However, he bemoans monopolies and privileges and gigantic corporations not so much for their social consequences as because they "break the spirit and tie the hands of individual initiative."

There is no doubt that liberalism as Mr. Armstrong defines it—"a positive and developing program of action"—does have its contribution to make in the conflict between the autocratic and the democratic ways of life.

—PAUL REID

Education and Social Change

EDUCATION AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE, by Zalmen Slesinger; 312 pages; Covici-Friede; \$3.00.

MR. SLESINGER emphasizes what is sometimes forgotten, that education in a society divided into classes usually follows the interests of the ruling class. Since this is the case, the author feels that the "liberal educator" is singularly deluded when he hopes to change society by the diffusion of knowledge and the use of what is characterized as the democratic method. An informed and aroused electorate is no safeguard against wealthy and powerful vested interests. The author devotes three chapters to a discussion of this dominance of class interests in American life. He then indicates that schools, particularly public schools, cannot escape the influence of the ruling class. He says:

Under any society the natural function of the school is that of rationalizing and perpetuating the existing order and not that of fundamentally reconstructing it. The school, as a function of a particular society, must remain continuous with that society; it cannot remain a function of a certain social system and at the same time function against that system.

With such relationship between the school and society, the liberal educator can do little or nothing to change the social structure. But education is necessary. Mr. Slesinger would offer a new type of education. "It is an education of a political rather than of an intellectual quality. It is a type of education which concerns itself not merely with the dissemination of knowledge, the propagation of understanding or the promotion of intelligence. It also interests itself in stirring up dissatisfaction with present arrangements, in arousing sentiment for the need of a new social order, and in setting these sentiments into motion so as to effect their realization."

—DONALD MCCONNELL

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Building the League

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid



MEETING emergencies is a specialty of the American League, but it never responded more promptly and forcefully than it did for the Legislative Conference in Washington, D. C., on March 6 and 7. With less than four weeks for preparation the local Leagues in seven states on the Eastern Seaboard publicized the Conference, mobilized delegates from many organizations, and descended on the nation's capital with considerable force. From mine and mill, office and schoolroom, farm and factory, waterfront and inland cities the delegates rallied to bring their pressure to bear on vital pieces of legislation that concern peace and Democracy.

WILLARD R. ESPY, our Washington representative, called the Conference to order at 3:00 P.M. Saturday and nominated Dr. Harry F. Ward for chairman. A special train from New York had discharged almost 200 delegates less than two hours before, but nearly every one of them was in his place for this session. "This is an historic session of Congress," said Dr. Ward, "and this will be an historic session of the American League. What we do here will be only the beginning of what will have to be done throughout the country in following up the conclusions which we reach here. The broad significance of the meeting which we are now opening is the determination of the rôle this country will play in the struggle in which, now, all the nations without exception are engaged. The issue of that struggle is whether the world is to be organized around the democratic way of life which is the only possible way

through which peace can be progressively organized, or whether the world for a period is to be organized around the principle of military dictatorship which is the essence of the method of Fascism and which can lead nowhere but to continued conflict."

Paul Reid in the opening address outlined the various legislative measures with which the Conference was concerned. "Our job here," he said, "is a threefold one. We must turn a searchlight on the legislation in which we are concerned, exposing its weaknesses and dangers and the forces behind these measures. We must demand legislation that will really establish peace and protect Democracy. We must serve warning to the economic and political Tories that a significant mass of the American people will neither be bamboozled nor coerced into deserting Democracy at home or abroad or into betraying the country into war."

Greetings to the Conference were delivered by James P. Mullins of the Marine Firemen's, Oilers' and Water Tenders' Union of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts; John S. Horn of the United Mine Workers of America, Local No. 4426, Hammersville, Penn.; Anna Damon, the acting secretary of the International Labor Defense; and Mrs. J. M. Kogan of the Brooklyn Women's Anti-War League. Field reports were presented by Dorothy McConnell, secretary of the Women's Section; James Lerner, secretary of the Youth Section, and Sam Swerdloff on literature and publications.

THE Mass Meeting on Saturday night

was attended by over a thousand people who not only gave close attention to the speakers but responded with a collection of \$820 in cash and pledges for the continuation work of the League. Willard Espy, the chairman of the meeting, first introduced Miss Rose Stein, author of *M-Day* and former investigator for the Nye Munitions Committee. She spoke on National Defense and the Industrial Mobilization Plan, exposing the conscription of labor and the control of the instruments of public opinion envisaged by this Plan. "If someone asked you, Do you believe in national defense? what would be your answer," she asked. "Our Constitution provides under Article I, Section 8, that Congress shall have the right to call forth the militia to execute the laws of the



nation, to suppress rebellion, and to repel invasion. That is a very clear definition. By what stretch of imagination can that be interpreted to be authority for sending soldiers 3,000 miles away? . . . I would like to see our country defended against those who will spend millions of dollars on battle-ships and have millions of families live in hovels."

Representative John T. Bernard, Farmer-Laborite of Minnesota, was the next speaker. "Fascism today is threatening the very heart of our civilization," he maintained. "We have seen that monster leave Japan, go into China, attack, devastate and take away from that helpless country huge chunks of its territory. We have seen Fascism at work both in Italy and Germany. Today we see that same monster trying to crush the first democratic government that Spain has ever had. Gentlemen, those same forces are at work in America. . . . I think that the time has come when we should fight for our own interests, for the bulk of the population of America. . . . We should not hesitate in doing that which is right, when the forces of reaction, the forces of greed and selfishness, when intolerance and injustice do not hesitate in doing what is wrong."

John P. Davis, of the National Negro Congress, was the next speaker.

"Certainly, there is a need for this Conference at this time to strike a mighty blow in defense of the liberties of the Negro people, against lynching, against the Jim Crow system, against the many other inequities which we are heir to in this country of ours. . . . I am here tonight in behalf of the hundreds of thousands of Negro people represented in the National Negro Congress, and sincerely believe in behalf of millions of other Negro people, to bring to you, our fellow Americans, our enlistment with you in this war against Fascism, in this fight against war, in the struggle with all of the forces of progress for peace, for freedom, for liberty for all the people everywhere."

Speaking on the subject, The Betrayal of Democracy, Dr. Ward outlined the three phases of the Administration's policy in relation to Spain as extra-legal persuasion, legislative enactment and now, with the denial of passports to American citizens, extra-legal persecution. He maintained that these successive steps revealed a definitely pro-Fascist policy on the part of our government and showed how legislation is being used to weaken the defenders of Democracy. "We stand at the crossroads of history. The American people have to make their choice. At present it is being made for them. At present the unrecognized and unexpressed class interest, this affinity for the group in Britain that is controlling the non-intervention policy, is using the American desire to keep out of war, the desire of millions of the common people to stop war, to put across a policy that means, if it succeeds, the betrayal and destruction of Democracy. And instead of keeping us out of war, it means taking us directly into war. . . . We are here at Washington to fight this legislation that has been helping and will help the Fascist powers and we'll go on fighting it no matter if they put it through. We will tell them this, they may win now but in the end they will not win because in the end we'll build a people's government in this country that will not only stop war but will remove the economic causes of war."

The Mass Meeting was thrilled by the appearance of André Malraux late in the evening, and listened with deep interest to the story of his experiences fighting for the Spanish government forces and to his plea for medical aid to



Eastern Seaboard Legislative Conference, American League, Washington, D. C. Left to Right: Rep. Nan Wood Honeyman, Oregon; Rep. John N. Coffee, Washington; Senator Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota and chairman LeRoy E. Bowman

the staunch defenders of Democracy in that country. Miss Edith Saniel, his interpreter, conveyed his message to the audience with force and color. Clarence Hathaway, the final speaker on the program, graciously postponed his remarks to the Sunday session due to the lateness of the hour.



FOUR round-tables at the Shoreham Hotel occupied the Sunday morning and afternoon sessions and provided the most intense discussions of the whole Conference. Dr. Ward opened the Neutrality Round-Table and after preliminary points raised from the floor introduced Dorothy McConnell, who represented the American League at the Buenos Aires peace conferences. She analyzed the forces for peace and the growing Fascist forces at these conferences. Attention was centered on the American continent to the exclusion of other peace issues, while it was noted that England and Germany played down the conference for their own citizens. Representative Bernard made a valuable contribution to this round-table by analyzing the neutrality bills, pointing out their dangers and urging the delegates to line up with the progressive bloc in the House against the McReynolds bill. Frances Williams of the Foreign Policy Association acted as a consultant for this session.

The Labor's Rights Round-Table, with Roger Baldwin as chairman, was packed full of intensive discussion and numerous proposals for action. Speakers included Mervyn Rathborne, president of the American Radio Telegraphists, and Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker*. A message from Clyde Beals of the American Newspaper Guild was read by the secretary in his absence. The discussion resulted in some twenty proposals for resolutions which were referred to the Findings Committee to be reported to the Conference. This was the procedure followed by all the round-tables.

LeRoy Bowman, director of the United Parents Associations, acted as chairman for the "National Defense" Round-Table and introduced as speakers, Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, Representative John N. Coffee of Washington, and Representative Nan Wood Honeyman of Oregon. Discussion was centered on the Sheppard-Hill Bill, the war appropriation measures, abolition of the military training of youth and a definition of adequate national defense.

The Round-Table on Discrimination, Gag and Alien Bills was presided over by Louis Weinstock, head of the Painters' District Council of New York. Speakers included Representatives

Dewey Johnson and Henry G. Teigan of Minnesota; Mrs. Sadie Mayes, Negro Director of the National Youth Administration; William N. Jones of the Baltimore *Afro-American*, and Dr. Julius Lips of Howard University. A number of resolutions involving discrimination against Negroes, women, and racial groups, repressive laws, finger-printing and oath laws were proposed. The rights of all groups of the American people were involved in the discussion and suggested actions.

WITH Dr. Ward in the chair, the closing session on Sunday night was devoted to reports and resolutions from the round-tables. The credentials report, given by Frieda Ludwig, revealed an attendance of 252 delegates from 195 organizations with a combined membership of 1,194,778. Resolutions from the Neutrality Round-Table dealt with the Pittman and McReynolds bills, an embargo on shipments of war materials to Germany, Italy, Portugal and Japan, the action of the State Department in denying passports to Americans desiring to go to Spain, and the elimination of civil war from all general embargo legislation. Labor's Rights resolutions covered Federal legislation, state and general legislative proposals, labor organization and aid to labor's rights. The Round-Table on "National Defense" presented resolutions bearing on reduction of war budgets, the Sheppard-Hill bill, nationalization of the munitions industry, abolition of military training of youth and the Senate Munitions Investigation. Ten resolutions were proposed by the Discriminations Round-Table and these covered criminal syndicalism laws, anti-lynching measures, racial discrimination, loyalty oaths and other issues. All resolutions were adopted and the appropriate actions to put them in force were taken. Among these, it was recommended that the labor resolutions be presented to Labor's Non-Partisan League at its Washington Convention and also to the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L.



ON MONDAY, March 8th, Clara Bodian and Paul Reid led two delegations to Congressmen in their offices and presented the Conference resolutions involved. Senators Sheppard and Pittman were called upon and Representative McReynolds was interviewed. A hearing before the Senate Military Affairs Committee in regard to the Sheppard Bill was also arranged for March 12th.

The Conference made a significant impression on Washington and constituted a real advance for the League.



By
James Lerner

Mouth Notes

ONCE again the student strike against war approaches the American campus and the classrooms of the high schools of the country. This April 22nd will mark the third successive year that American students have demonstrated their determination to secure and maintain peace.

The call for the strike this year has been issued and signed by thirteen national youth organizations. They are: the American League Against War and Fascism, youth section; American Student Union; American Youth Congress; Committee on Militarism in Education; Emergency Peace Campaign, youth section; Fellowship of



Reconciliation; Foreign Policy Association, student department; Joint Committee on United Christian Youth Movement; League of Nations Association; National Council of Methodist Youth; National Intercollegiate Christian Council; National Student Federation of America; and the War Resisters League.

The Foreign Policy Association and the League of Nations Association are cooperating in the capacity of consultants on educational material and the National Intercollegiate Christian Council includes the National Councils of the student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.

The purpose of the strike is set forth in the opening words of the strike call: "We recognize the increasing threat of war and accept our responsibility for creating and supporting an aggressive peace policy through a nation-wide demonstration of solidarity for world peace."

An added feature of the strike this year will be a fast. Students are urged to abstain from luncheon and the money which they would ordinarily have used for that purpose is to be donated to a general peace fund. This feature was advocated at the Geneva Youth Congress and accepted by the American delegates present at the sessions.

IN New York City the American Youth Congress is going ahead with plans for a peace conference and festival in May. The organizations which have agreed to sponsor and participate in both events are very broad and inclusive. The conference is to take place on May 8th and the outdoor peace festival is scheduled to take place on May 30th. This represents a new note in the traditional youth demonstrations for peace on May 30th. It is a plan which has caught fire in the imaginations of many young people and their organizations, and promises to be a very great success.

THE first project of the World Youth Congress Committee in this country is to be the "Peace Ballot." It opens with a national radio broadcast on April 5th and will run until May 20th. One hundred thousand copies of the questionnaire have been printed. Along with the ballot goes an outline of study and a bibliography which can be used to enable voters to prepare for the poll. We want to get millions of young people to cast their vote. You may purchase copies of the ballot at the rate of \$3.00 per thousand. Write to the National Office for further information. We can also supply copies of the proceedings of the World Youth Congress held at Geneva last summer at fifty cents apiece. The proceedings fill a book of 208 pages.

FRANKL SWERDLOFF, who has recently been engaged in work in our New York City Office, is going to return to Baltimore in a few days and will assume responsibility for the Defender groups in that city. This assures us of good work in Baltimore, but what about other cities? I refer to St. Louis, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

THE authoritative, annotated bibliography on Youth, War and Fascism, issued by our National Youth Committee, is available and may be procured from our office.



Pluck and Luck

(Continued from page 21)

"free, public" education. Free? Public?

As for the Negroes—in two Southern states exactly 4.7 per cent of high school age are enrolled in school. The U. S. Office of Education claims that 900,000 of that age are not in school. In eleven Southern states which spend an annual average of \$44.31 for each white pupil, \$12.57 is spent for each Negro. The average in the nation is \$99 per pupil.

There are depressed educational areas which are producing young people totally unfit for competition. And these areas are being looked to hopefully by a corporation president who recently said that all workers should be morons. "They do more work with less fuss."

Our Crime Bill

"WILD BOYS OF THE ROAD ROB FARMHOUSE"; "YOUTHS SHOOT MOTORIST"; "YOUNG NUMBER-RACKET SALESMEN ROUNDED UP."

Look at those headlines in your paper. How many of them are caused by economic insecurity? The dry rot of idleness, lack of opportunity for study or for work, has caused as much grief in the United States during the last six years as a war. And yet, while the taxpayers invest more than a billion dollars a year in war preparations, less than 75 million dollars is spent to salvage the five million young lives on which America must base her future. Our yearly crime bill is more than three billion dollars but the request for \$500,000,000 to curb this bill is scorned as "ridiculously costly."

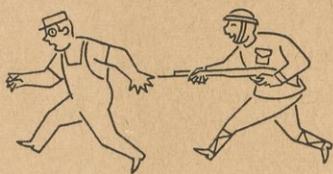
What does it all mean? What does this jumble of figures and demands add up to?

America is a young country. We look ahead only so far as the picture is pretty, just far enough to see the next "boom." We rarely take the time to look directly about us. Most of us try to deny to ourselves that there is a "youth problem." There are excuses to avoid the issue. "It's only a small part of a larger problem" or "It's not one problem. There are five million individual problems which can have no mass solution."

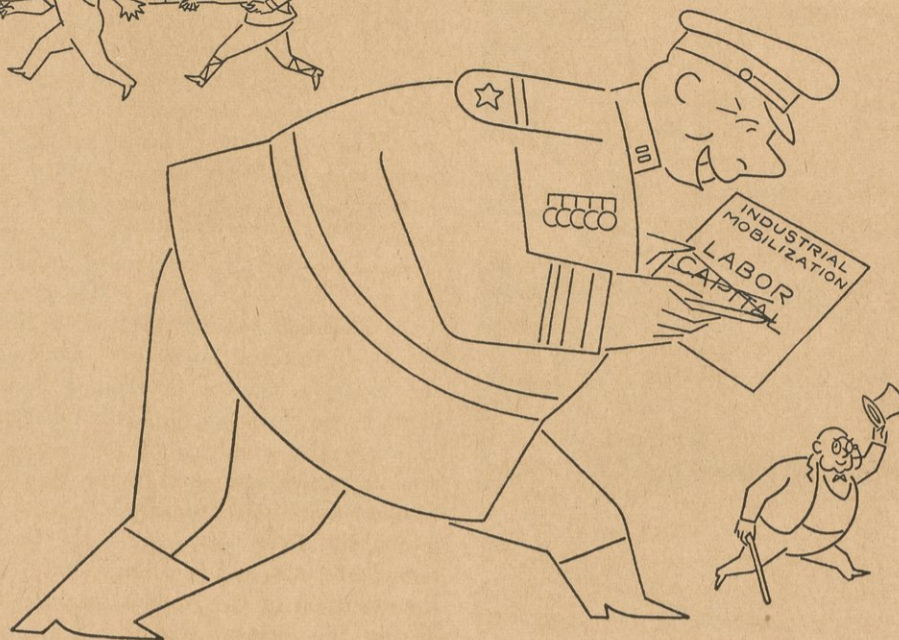
These rationalizations have kept us from an honest attempt to fill a glaring hole in our society. What does the "larger problem," the general economic problem, become after the "youth problem" exists for a decade?

Youth's Unrest and Fascism

In 1926 I was arrested in the Milan (Italy) railroad station because I had a penknife in my suitcase. I was taken to a lounge in the station used by the Black Shirts, and was there long enough to discover that they were in



Scheel



"Thanks! I knew it was an April Fool joke"

the service of Mussolini because they were promised more food, better clothes, and plenty of time to drink wine and play cards. They weren't political followers. They weren't intellectually convinced that Mussolini was right. They were Italy's unemployed young people who had been exposed to almost no education, who had never had an opportunity to work or even train for a job.

In 1930 I was in Munich living with some impoverished students. Each evening we went to a beer hall where free lunch and beer were served. It was filled with young people of Munich, who had never had an opportunity for jobs or adequate schooling and students who could barely afford to stay in the University. It was there that I heard the name, Hitler, for the first time in my life.

Five million young people in the United States are heading toward the same hell. Can we sit smugly by and say that each of these five million must solve his problem separately? Can we talk about their being absorbed by private industry, of their "getting a job if they only would go out and look for one," and still call ourselves American citizens?

A National Problem

Our responsibility is clearly outlined by the need that exists. Reliable agencies—including government groups—have made estimates of this need. Production is up to the 1929 level. Employment is 30 per cent below the 1929 level. You and I can't get a job by simply going out to look for one. The opportunities don't exist despite the fact that there is plenty of work to be done.

State agencies cannot be counted upon to remedy the situation. We are faced with a national problem which

can be handled only by the Federal Government.

It would not be profitable for private industry to hire more workers and produce more goods. The prices would fall and competition would be disastrous to present day economy. The margin of profit would almost disappear.

Perhaps the Federal Government, through the provisions of the American Youth Act, could point out to private industry that the "general welfare" includes the welfare of private business. It may be possible to explain through this example that political and civil peace depends on economic justice and security.

The Man on the White Horse

But we can't wait too long. While we are discussing the youth problem and arguing about it, it becomes a deeper scar on American life. Every day the problem increases and with it the number of young criminals and prostitutes, anti-social or utterly useless individuals.

Progressive young people are drawing together to press for immediate aid in this situation. All of the large and important youth organizations in the country are anxious to keep the unorganized young people from looking for and finding the "man on the white horse"—a Hitler. In the American Youth Act, they do not claim to have the final solution to all problems, but they do claim to have a practical plan whereby the stress may be relieved and millions of young Americans can be given the opportunities they deserve.

The economic status of youth in America is lower now than at any time in our history. The economic status of youth in Italy and Germany was lowest at the time that Mussolini and Hitler took possession with the aid of

disillusioned young people who hadn't another thing to live for.

Are we going to recognize the "youth problem"? Are we going to do something about it?

President Roosevelt and Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, told the American Youth Congress, in Washington during the Pilgrimage, that they recognized the problem. Both admitted that current provisions to meet the problem were hopelessly inadequate.

It is our job to get Congress to act and act immediately.

On the Campus

(Continued from page 5)

five, is the demand. Trade union wages out of government funds for all young people; no child labor; participation in administration of the Act—these proposals show the tenor of the Act and of the Congress, and hence of the students who are one part of the Congress.

No war, either, the students say in their organizations. Only three years ago the first students' anti-war strike took place. At that time the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy brought out 25,000 from their classrooms—and this includes a good number of hecklers. Next year, though still acting as separate organizations, the same group brought out 175,000.

So wide was the anti-war feeling spreading on the campuses that another action was called for Armistice Day of that same year, 1935. Student Christian movement groups, acting mainly through the National Student Councils of the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A.'s took the initiative. Cooperating in this Armistice Day Mobilization were groups which had originated the student strike and many new ones which had not hitherto been vocal. Dramatically clear now was the fact that numbers of students approaching half a million were united against war. That number was easily reached in April 1936 with the third great strike against war.

And This Year!

The 1937 strike (April 22)—together with a full program of other peace actions—is being directed by the United Student Peace Committee, representing the same groups which worked together on the Armistice Day Mobilization in 1935.

As the establishment of plan in the peace movement reduces overlapping and reduplication of effort, it is interesting to glance at religious organizations in this connection. From local associations and the regional and national councils, has been slowly growing a policy on united front work.

The same earnest questions come up



Peace strike. A demonstration in Cambridge, Mass., of girl students of various near-by colleges

on many campuses and in many ways. Should groups which differ widely in methods and purpose, ally themselves in a common effort? How far should cooperation go? What is the strongest bed-rock upon which to base a program of united action? Difficult questions these. Students however are working out their answers.

A recent meeting of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council resolved that it was possible to cooperate with an organization of a different nature on points of mutual interest without giving an O. K. to everything that organization stands for. Practical suggestions for assuring the success of cooperation come also from this group. A similar conviction pervades the United Student Peace Committee: the world situation they believe is so serious that cooperation must be emphasized, not differences.

No mere words these about the seriousness of the world situation, as students know. They hear the unmistakable rattle of the jingo's sword, the stomp of Mars' feet right in their own gymnasiums and class rooms. R.O.T.C. units do their work of reminding students that war is not a distant, abstract thing. For every R.O.T.C. unit at the time of the World War, seven now march and drill and create the build-up for another war. Nineteen officers and men belong to the R.O.T.C. for every one at the time of the War to End Wars. Two hundred and twenty-eight colleges maintain units. In 118 civil schools and colleges, military training is compulsory—and it would be in seven more, but for the successful protests of the students. At Willamette and the University of Oregon they even led in promoting a state-wide referendum on the issue in the last election.

The teacher's loyalty oath, like the R.O.T.C., has drawn the united scorn and indignation of the students. Beginning in 1929, the first year of the distresses of the Great Depression, countless laws were proposed to make a loyalty oath mandatory for teachers. So much momentum did the campaign get, that in 1935 alone seven states passed loyalty oath bills, bringing the total having such laws to twenty-two. Replying to this move, students showed unmistakable hostility. Boards of trustees, legislators, Congressmen, have had to face severe student criticism in this connection. Who is going to judge what constitutes teaching? Who is to judge what constitutes advocating theories inconsistent with fundamental theories of patriotism? These questions the students repeat to themselves, and the only answer they can hazard—when they see faculty members dismissed—gives them no confidence in the possibility of justice if loyalty oaths are allowed to stand.

The New Impetus

The new world of the students takes on its distinctive character not only because of the growing concern for jobs and peace and freedom of speech. These lead the list, but important also is a growing student cooperative movement. One hundred and thirty-eight cooperative rooming houses, cafeterias, cleaning and pressing services, etc., now serve 32,000 members, doing an annual business totalling \$2,750,000. The movement has grown to such an extent that a national committee operating in Chicago guides the work. Christian Association groups have packed 'em in to hear Japanese cooperator Kagawa. Special conferences and conventions on the subject of cooperation mark the student scene.

Not only has the new organizing impetus sent students scurrying about with incredible vigor, urging changes in the grislier features of the campus, state or national set-up. What is happening throughout the world concerns them. American delegates trooped to the World Youth Congress at Geneva and this year many a campus gathering receives its report from this congress, animated by the novel means of movies, taken by a Methodist Youth Council delegate attending. The great peace conference at Brussels drew its share of American students. During the vacation months of August, students found their way to Mills College to study the problems of the Pacific area at a conference held by the World Student Christian Federation.

Spain and the fight against the Fascists there, has had the lion's share of the attention of the student movement during this present winter. Scarcely a meeting goes by without some kind of support for the suffering Spanish people being given.

Strike! Strike! Strike!

Not that all students are active in the peace movement yet. Far from it. Many, who surely have no love of war, just turn on the radio louder if you try to interest them in opposing compulsory R.O.T.C. Thousands still choose a movie instead of a meeting to support Democracy in Spain. But compare the campus of today with the campus of four years ago. One glance is enough. A changed world is producing changed students. They are firmer, more creative than ever before. As a militaristic, job-killing world treads on their toes, students have found a way of kicking back with a collective foot. And this collective foot will assert itself on April 22nd—the student strike.

Down Payments

(Continued from page 11)

the Senate Munitions Committee, has said:

I see no reason to expect any different result in the next war. War trade on a huge scale means involvement on the side of our customers. It will force the rest of the Senate bill to be repealed.

This nation has not yet decided whether it wants war or peace. The unwillingness of Congress to check a war boom shows considerable sentiment for trying again to have our cake and eat it too. We are going to trade the same as we did in 1914.

It is imperative that we make the decision between war and peace now, and that we strengthen our unalterable opposition to war before it is too late. Are we to buy life and security for our army of unemployed, or are we to continue our instalment-buying of death in the next war? The answer lies with us, and we must make it echo around the earth.

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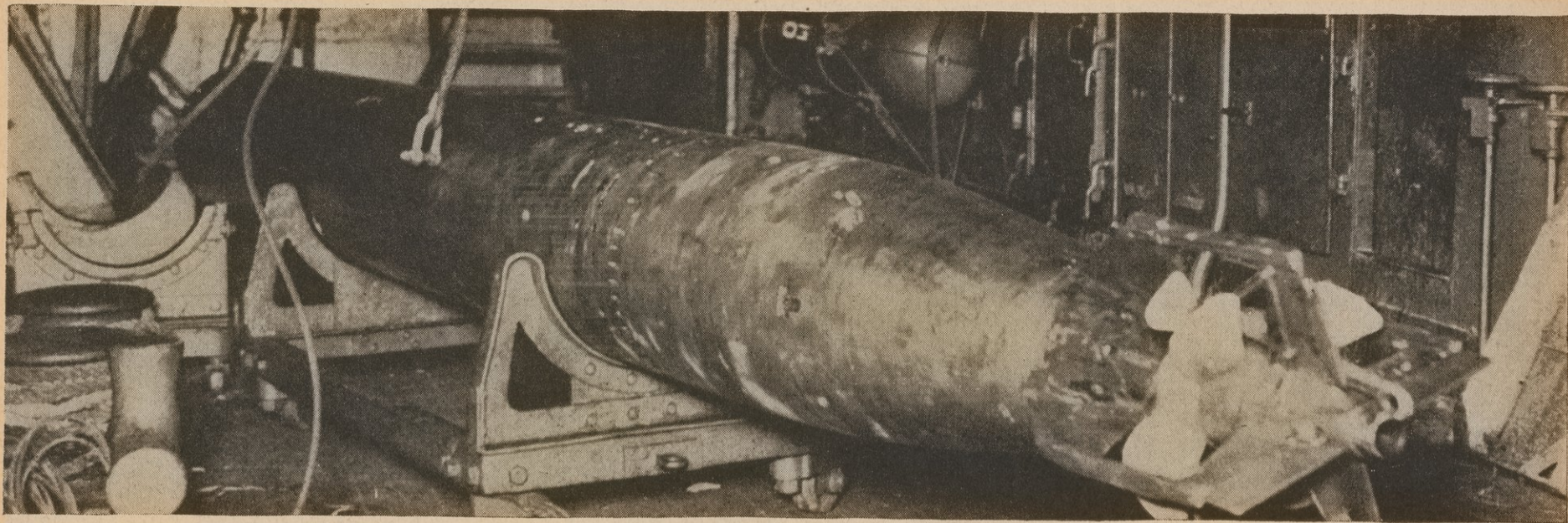
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This Italian torpedo was launched near the mouth of the river Llobregat with the idea of destroying the Loyalist lighthouse. The torpedo failed to explode

Spain and Neutrality

THE PEOPLE who are putting the embargo legislation through Congress are no longer able to label it "neutrality." It has become too plain that what they did to Spain under the name of neutrality, just as what has been done in Europe under the name of non-intervention, has been and is a help to the Fascists. Also, the more the embargo proposals are analysed and their consequences assessed, the clearer it becomes that they are going to strengthen some belligerents and weaken others. This means that there is not now, and is not going to be, any such thing as neutrality. The regulations that we impose on trade, or don't impose, are going to help one side and hurt the other. For a time we forbade ambulance units to go to succor the wounded soldiers of the Spanish government, but we permit nitrates to go to Franco to make munitions. We may keep our military and naval forces out of the coming war for a time, but our economic forces are already in. Loans from this country have helped Hitler and Mussolini to prepare their armaments. We have sold them some of the materials.

Since our neutrality is clearly un-neutral, the advocates of the embargo bills are now proclaiming them a "peace plan." This is another fiction. These bills make it impossible for the victims of Fascist aggression to buy here any means of defense. How can a policy that weakens the democratic forces in Europe and strengthens the Fascist powers possibly make for peace? The Fascists don't believe in peace. They openly proclaim that they are out to destroy Democracy, by force of arms if necessary. They are making good their words in Spain. What they have done at home they are now doing abroad.

In the policy in relation to Spain, in the pending embargo legislation, the American people are doing again just what they did when they elected Wilson because "he kept us out of war." Just what they did when they fought to make the world safe for Democracy. They are going in the opposite direction from that in which they want to go. They want to stop war. They are helping to make it inevitable by strengthening the Fascist

powers. They want Democracy to live. They are helping to kill it. If they continue it will be a double crime. For the democratic government that helps to kill others based on the same principle is itself committing suicide.

If Democracy is to live here the American people must throw their economic force on the side of the people's governments and against the Fascist powers.—H.F.W.

Industrial Mobilization

IT WAS appropriate that Senator Nye should have been invited to discuss the Industrial Mobilization Plan, and the Sheppard-Hill Bill which is modeled after the Plan, at the Washington Legislative Conference of the American League.

It is an "audacious" measure, Senator Nye told the Conference, because it pretends to equalize the burden of war, while in fact it does nothing of the kind. The bill, he said, provides a double standard, one for industry and another for labor. It guarantees to industry higher profits than were realized during the last war. Labor's share of the war burden is actually the whole burden, with new wrinkles. In fact, the whole American labor movement would be destroyed.

But there is more to the bill than that. It is specifically provided that whenever Congress shall declare the existence of a national emergency (a strike?) the President is authorized to usher in the dictatorship. Industry would be placed in charge, and the President and the courts, the Army and the police would carry out the orders of big business. Any newspaper or radio station that would dare to criticize the course of events would be put out of business by the license clause, and it would mean prison or a firing squad for individual objectors.

The present Administration was given a mandate last November to defend peace and Democracy. In accordance with that mandate the Administration can have no alternative but to oppose the Sheppard-Hill Bill.

It is the duty of the people in a Democracy to inform their representatives in Congress of their sentiment. Let your Representative and Senator know *your* will.—F.B.B.

Progress and Knowledge

IN THE world we live in, anniversaries are almost forgotten. Well, if not exactly forgotten, they are turned into instruments (instruments is the word) for propagation of ugly and cruel ideas. The war makers and anti-Democratic forces are at work destroying whatever freedom and beautiful things we have inherited from the past. Whatever progress and knowledge we have made and gained through the ages now stands in the way of the reactionaries. They now see that that progress and knowledge ushered in with the rise of modern society is a stumbling block to the present economic set-up. They therefore propose, if necessary, to make of us iron robots in a world of iron.

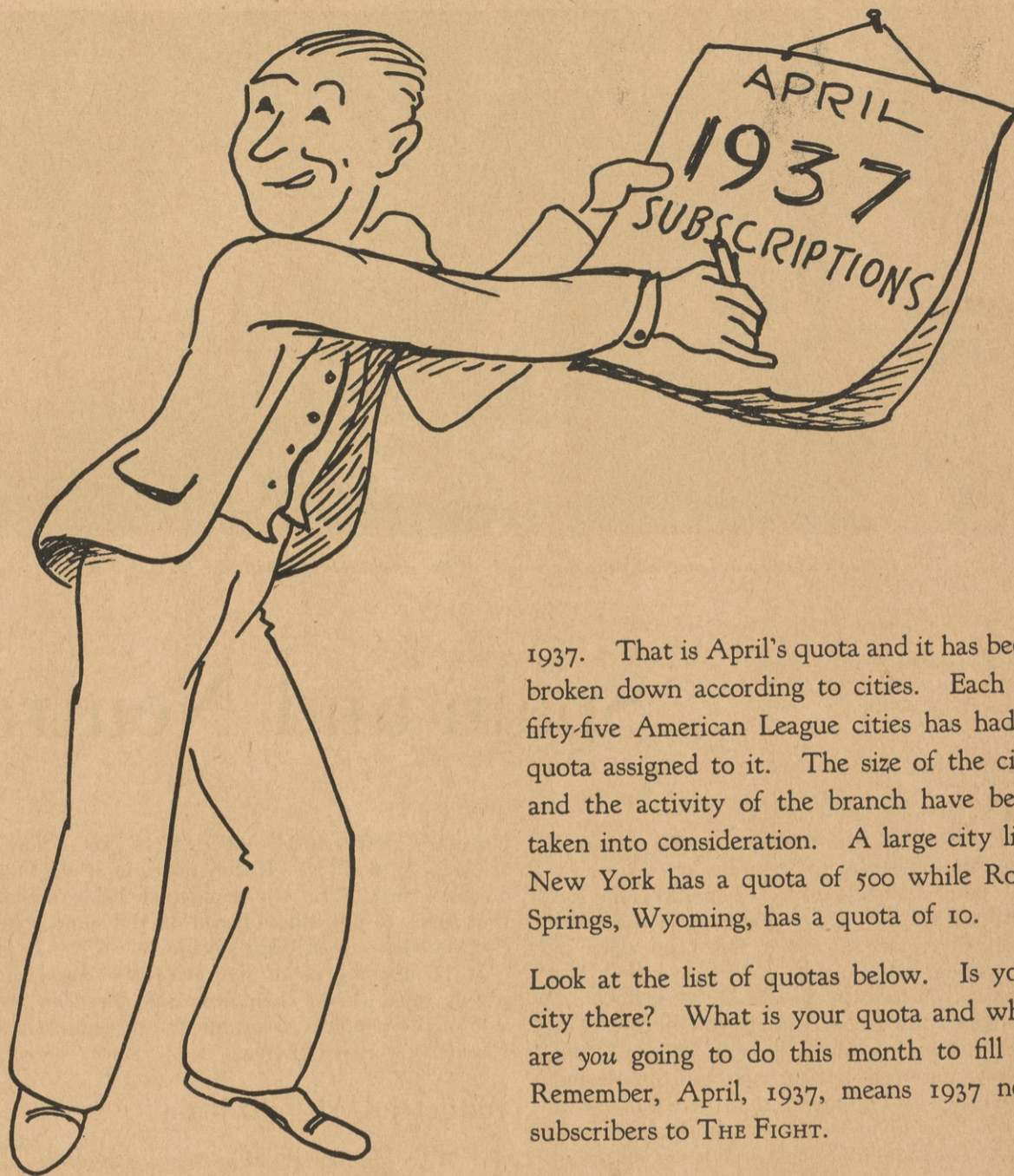
A year ago this month the first issue of our new magazine came out. It has been a difficult year, but the American League and *THE FIGHT* have found new friends and new readers. A foolish representative of the American Legion reported to that organization that *THE FIGHT* in its new format, since it was such a tremendous undertaking, would "give up" after four or five numbers. Yes, it was quite an undertaking, an undertaking which had never before been attempted in the "liberal" or "radical" field in America. Well, we are still here. And we are still here because so many Americans believe, and believe passionately in Democracy and peace—because they realize that if the worthwhile values of the past are to remain and great new values are to be achieved, this must be their creative task.

With this number we have made a few changes in the magazine—some new departments and some new make-up. The next few numbers will see more changes. With the help of our friends we will turn these pages into a growing and more powerful force for progress and knowledge.—J.P.

Write this On Your Calendar for this Month

1937. One subscription to THE FIGHT for every year. That's the April quota for American League branches.

THE FIGHT is out to boost its circulation and it solicits the support of its friends. The members of the American League branches know THE FIGHT and they know the importance of spreading its message against war and Fascism. They are naturally the friends to whom THE FIGHT looks for this support.



1937. That is April's quota and it has been broken down according to cities. Each of fifty-five American League cities has had a quota assigned to it. The size of the city and the activity of the branch have been taken into consideration. A large city like New York has a quota of 500 while Rock Springs, Wyoming, has a quota of 10.

Look at the list of quotas below. Is your city there? What is your quota and what are you going to do this month to fill it? Remember, April, 1937, means 1937 new subscribers to THE FIGHT.

Albany, N. Y.....	10
Baltimore, Md.....	10
Chicago, Ill.....	150
Cincinnati, O.....	50
Cleveland, O.....	50
Davenport, Iowa.....	15
Denver, Colo.....	10
Dorchester, Mass.....	10
Duluth, Minn.....	25
Englewood, N. J.....	15
Fall River, Mass.....	10
Gloversville, N. Y.....	10
Hamtramck, Mich.....	15
Ironwood, Mich.....	10
Jersey City, N. J.....	50
Kansas City, Mo.....	20
Kingston, N. Y.....	10
La Mesa, Cal.....	10
Lancaster, Pa.....	10
Lincoln, Ill.....	10

Quotas

Los Angeles, Cal.....	50
Maynard, Mass.....	10
Miami, Fla.....	10
Milwaukee, Wis.....	50
Minneapolis, Minn.....	15
Newark, N. J. (Mothers).....	15
Newark, N. J. (Professional).....	15
New Brunswick, N. J.....	25
New Canaan, Conn.....	10
New Haven, Conn.....	15
New York, N. Y.....	500
Northampton, Mass.....	10
Oakland, Cal.....	50
Paterson, N. J.....	15
Perth Amboy, N. J.....	15
Philadelphia, Pa.....	50
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	100

Plainfield, N. J.....	10
Pontiac, Mich.....	10
Provincetown, Mass.....	10
Rochester, N. Y.....	12
Rock Springs, Wyo.....	10
San Francisco, Cal.....	150
San Jose, Cal.....	25
Santa Barbara, Cal.....	15
Scranton, Pa.....	15
Seattle, Wash.....	40
Springfield, Mass.....	10
Stamford, Conn.....	10
St. Louis, Mo.....	15
Trenton, N. J.....	15
Union City, N. J.....	10
Urbana, Ill.....	25
Washington, D. C.....	50
Westchester, N. Y.....	50

Total

1937

One Sub This Month for Every Year