

January
1938

The Fight

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WINTER IN MOUNTAIN COUNTRY



FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM



A LETTER FROM AMERICA

—By Pam Flett—

I WILL be interested in hearing what you think of Roosevelt's foreign policy. When he made the speech at Chicago, I was startled and yet tremendously thrilled. It certainly looks as if something will have to be done to stop Hitler and Mussolini. But I wonder what is behind Roosevelt's speech. What does he plan to do? And when you get right down to it, what can we do? It's easy to say "Keep out of War," but how to keep out?



I READ in *THE FIGHT* that the American League is coming out with a pamphlet by Harry F. Ward on this subject—Neutrality and an American Peace Policy. I've already sent in my order. You know you can hardly believe anything the newspapers print these days, and I'm depending more and more on these pamphlets. For instance, David said, when we read *The Fascist International*, that it was far-fetched and overdone. But the laugh's on him, if you can laugh at it—for everything that pamphlet warned about is coming true. In fact, the pamphlet is more up-to-date now than today's paper.



BUT I have several of the American League pamphlets—*Women, War and Fascism*, *Youth Demands Peace*, *A Blueprint for Fascism* (exposing the Industrial Mobilization Plan)—and I'm also getting *Why Fascism Leads to War* and *A Program Against War and Fascism*. I think it's better to learn in my own home with my family now than in a concentration camp or at my son's grave later. Of course, they tell me I'm not dangerous enough to be thrown into a concentration camp, but I don't know about that either. And as for war, I can't bear to think about it, but I force myself to. It's time the common people woke up on these subjects.



YOUR NEXT YEAR IN ART

WE'VE stolen a leaf from the almanac, which not only tells you what day it is but gives you advice on the conduct of life. Not that our 1938 calendar carries instructions on planting-time. But every month of it does carry an illustration that calls you to the struggle for Democracy and peace, that pictures your fellow fighters, and that gives you a moment's pleasure.

A GOOD calendar alone would be worth the price of only 25 cents. You get also the 12 works of art by America's outstanding artists. The contributors to the 1938 calendar are Charles Bateman, A. Birnbaum, Wanda Gág, Hugo Gellert, Harry Gottlieb, William Gropper, Zoltan Hecht, Louis Lozowick, M. Pass, Georges Schreiber, Lynd Ward and Howard Baer. Our supply of calendars is limited.

Rush your order to

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY
268 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

With the Readers



PITTSBURGH. Saturday morning. The chairman had just called the Congress for Democracy and Peace to order. Hundreds upon hundreds of delegates are in their seats. One sees a multitude of faces from the West, East, North and South, tenant farmers, auto and steel workers, bricklayers, coal miners, needle workers, teachers, preachers, machinists, men from the sea and office workers.

MANY familiar faces and many, many more young, eager and new faces. But that man sitting by himself at the edge of a row, with his hands in his lap, never moving, never stirring, observing everything and listening intently—who is he? We know him, we are almost sure we know him . . . the voice through the microphone calls for "order, please, order."

WE have already witnessed three national congresses sponsored by the American League. But at this, the fourth one, something has happened. It is less of a family gathering, less of an inner-circle, more of a cross section of America, more of a group of representatives which has tasted the struggle for Democracy, seeking direction, anxious to exchange experiences here through the democratic process of discussion, and to hammer out a program for peace and freedom.

WE are sitting on the platform and those hundreds of eager faces silent but not so silent, after all, the strength and hope of America. And for one split second we close our eyes and hear:

*Thou art Peace—never by thee
Would blood and treasure wasted be
As tyrants wasted them, when all
Leagued to quench thy flame in Gaul.*

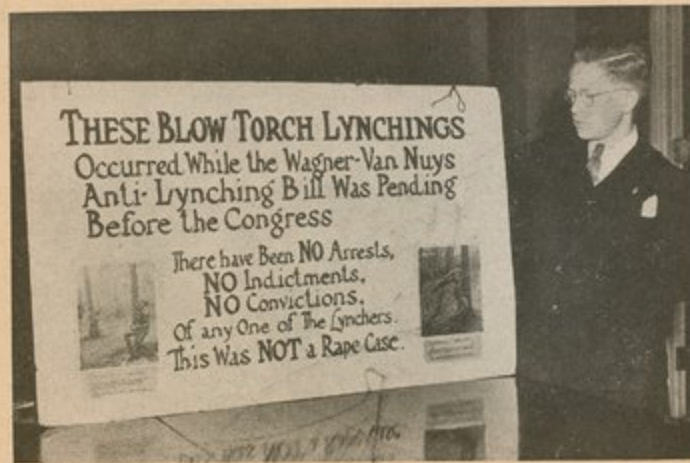
A note is handed to us which reads, "You scalawag, greetings! After the session meet me at the lunch counter in the back of the hall."

THERE he is sitting at a table with a cup of coffee in his hand. We recognize him now after our last meeting of almost sixteen years ago, when he came out of prison a conscientious objector fighting the war-makers with all of his militant Irish energy. We had heard about him, off and on, for the last decade or so, read about him, knew his rise to the top ranks of one of the unions in the A. F. of L., a union still in the A. F. of L.

"I CAME two hundred miles out of my way to see a couple of the sessions of this Congress. I am not a delegate, but there is something doing in this old world of ours these days and I have not forgotten 1917. And the men in my union have not forgotten the World War. Better still, the young ones are lots smarter than we were. They have our experience to go on.

"FOR three or four years now I have been watching and reading on occasion THE FIGHT and a pamphlet or two. . . . Twenty years ago the bosses talked to us about making the world safe for Democracy. They knew the masses and knew how to fool them. Well, we want Democracy. Without it we will perish. And this time, we intend to fight for Democracy and don't you forget it. And I am not going to jail either. The war is on right now. In the steel mills and in China, in the Ford plants and in Spain. . . . Line them up, brother, line them up!"

THE FIGHT, January 1938



While Congress filibustered

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The Fight For Peace and Democracy, 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. Acting Treasurer, James Waterman Wise. Secretarial Staff: Executive, Paul Reid; Administration, Clara Bodian; Education, Robert K. Speer; 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.

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The Contributors



JAMES WATERMAN WISE, in writing the article on the recent People's Congress for Democracy and Peace, knows whereof he speaks. Mr. Wise, who is active in the American League and on its National Board, devotes a great deal of his energy to the struggle against war and Fascism. He is the author of *The Nazi Terror, Jews Are Like That, The Future of Israel*, etc., and editor of various publications as well as contributor to many nationally known magazines.

JOHN C. SLATER is the pen name of an American writer who knows his economics, South America—in this case, Brazil—and the tide of Fascism which moved toward our continent.

T. H. WINTRINGHAM, whose beautiful poem on Spain appears in this issue, is the British author of *Coming World War, Mutiny*, etc. He commanded the English-speaking battalion during the famous Jarama battle and was staff captain of the brigade which included the Americans at Belchite in August, 1937. Captain Wintringham was wounded twice and is now recovering in his home in London.

HOMER P. RAINEY is director of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, which is devoted to the development of a comprehensive program for the care and education of American youth. Mr. Rainey was formerly president of Bucknell University.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN is a new writer to these quarters. His short story in this issue is very welcome for many reasons, but to the editors it is doubly welcome because it came unsolicited, quietly and with hardly a knock on the door.

LILLIAN GILKES born and raised in the South, returned there recently and the result of her observations you will find in her article. Miss Gilkes taught a course in the writing of the short story in the Home Study Department of University Extension (Columbia), and has contributed to *Scribner's* magazine and other periodicals.

HERMAN ROTHART is a New York newspaperman who attended the Pittsburgh Congress for Democracy and Peace, mixing and talking with the delegates from mill, mine, farm and office.

BERENICE E. NOAR wanted to know what Chinese and Japanese living in the United States thought of the conflict in the Far East—and she found out by talking to them.

BLACK STAR is the agency responsible for the photographs of the Japanese girl and temple, on pages ten and eleven.

DAN RICO made the woodcut for our editorial page after his recent exhibition in New York City. We are partial to woodcuts. Do you like them?

THE cover you recognize, of course. It is a Currier & Ives print and is reproduced here through the courtesy of The Old Print Shop. The struggle for peace and Democracy finds a close ally in these old American lithographs.

RING OUT THE OLD



RING IN THE NEW . . .

THE OLD YEAR 1937 rolls into history, with its wars and rumors of wars, its Non-intervention Committee and citizens' committees, its Duke, subway Series and sweepstake winners. General Mola and J. Ramsay MacDonald, among others, have passed from our midst. The Dionne Quintuplets are a year older.

War is a year older. Fascism, likewise. So are the people.

THE FIGHT has fought for another year. Well, here we are. January, 1938. Not in a concentration camp. Neither are you.

Nearly all who were in concentration camps and Fascist prisons last January, still are—unless they have died. Some who were walking around, breathing the free air, are now in the prisons of Fascism.

Many who blew horns and threw confetti last New Year's Eve were blowing their last horns, for they are now dead, blasted out of this good life by the bombs and bullets of Fascism.

President Roosevelt has proposed collective action to restrain the aggressor nations, but in several quarters — most of them quite respectable — a "watchful waiting" policy is favored. While deploring the fact that mad dogs are running the streets, these parties feel that it would be foolish to attempt to restrain them, inasmuch as mad dogs sometimes bite if not firmly restrained.

Happy New Year! Subscribe to THE FIGHT! Join the fight! Fight harder!

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The
Fight
FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY
January, 1938



Forward from Pittsburgh

The People's Congress laid the basis for a powerful mass movement to halt war and Fascism . . . A noted delegate reports the achievements of America's mighty gathering

By James Waterman Wise

TO GRASP the significance of the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace (Pittsburgh, November 26th-28th) it is first necessary to consider the national conditions under which it met, the world events which in a sense called it into being. Spain's heroic resistance to Fascist invasion, China's last-ditch stand against Japanese aggression, Germany's colonial threats, the projected withdrawal of Italy from the League of Nations, the Tokyo-Rome-Berlin pact of aggression against the democratic countries—these considerations were

never absent from the minds of the delegates. The Congress was even more directly aware of and responsive to the situation created by the current drive of reactionary forces against democratic and labor rights in the United States. The growth of vigilantism, the inculcation of race hatred and the attacks of Big Business on living standards and civil liberties, formed the vivid background against which discussions were held and decisions reached.

Despite the growing menace of foreign war and domestic tyranny, however, the mood of the Con-

gress was anything but one of despair or even hysteria. Nor was it one of childish defiance and belligerence. The men and women assembled in Pittsburgh were not green troops facing fire for the first time. New groups and individuals were certainly present, but many had struggled against the menaces for four years under the banner of the American League Against War and Fascism. These set the tone and sustained the mood of the Congress—a mood of realistic determination to mobilize the people of America in defence of Democracy and



B. J. Hovde, Welfare Commissioner, welcomed the delegates on behalf of Mayor Scully, who was ill



Action against Jim Crow hotels! Arnold P. Johnson (left), complainant, confers with attorneys Vernal J. Williams of New York and Rebecca L. Davis, Hyman Schlesinger and I. Edward Roth of Pittsburgh

peace; and to mobilize them at a pace and on a scale which would insure victory.

This determination was evident throughout. It dominated the great mass meeting which opened the Congress and at which the speakers were B. F. Hovde, welfare commissioner of Pittsburgh who spoke in the name of Mayor Scully; Ferdinand Louis Kerran, British Labor leader; Dr. Fernando de los Rios, the Spanish Ambassador; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr; Representative Jerry J. O'Connell; John Vesecky, president of the Farmers Union, and representatives of both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. It was most clearly enunciated in the penetrating keynote address of Harry F. Ward as chairman of the League. It characterized discussion in the commissions as well as resolutions which were adopted. It formed the programmatic and organizational basis of the new American League for Peace and Democracy which came into being at the conclusion of the Congress.

A Broadened Base

The very composition of the Congress was proof of the changed and broadened base of the struggle against war and Fascism. The 1416 delegates representing more than four million people, constituted an increase of about one million over the Cleveland Congress of 1936. Even more significant than this numerical increase was the changing character. As against 603,511 trade-union members represented by 286 delegates in 1936, there were 413 labor delegates from A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions who represented 1,622,231 trade unionists. Similarly there was a rise in farm representation from 61,471 in 1936 to 163,036. In addition there was broad representation from professional, religious, youth, racial, fraternal, and women's groups. In short, the American people were present at this Congress. And its broadened composition, its deepened trade-union and people's base was clearly reflected at every session and in every major decision.

The sessions themselves—although they were addressed by a wide range of speakers and covered geographically distant subjects—were marked by unity of aim, and intensity of purpose. At the opening session on Saturday morning, the political, necessarily factual and in part statistical reports of Dr. Ward as chairman and Paul Reid as executive secretary of the League, and of Joseph Pass as editor of *THE FIGHT*, were attentively heard; the various

committees and their chairmen, which thereafter were in almost continual session, were elected; the Bureau's report on the need for reorganization along lines which would bring wider support to a more positive program was presented by Dr. Robert Morss Lovett and supported by Earl Browder.

Fighting Jim Crow

In the afternoon the Congress first heard detailed reports of specific attacks on civil liberties, labor organizations and democratic rights. At the same time there was discussion—though because of limits of time far from enough of it—of ways and means to prevent and defeat these attacks. Vigilantism in Pennsylvania, violence against farmers and unionists in places as far apart as New Jersey and California, Nazi anti-Semitism in the East and Klan anti-Negroism in the South were exposed and analyzed as part of the campaign of reaction to terrorize the American people and drive them into the Fascist camp.

In this connection it is worth recording that the Congress dealt in uncompromising and militant manner with an issue which arose while it was in session. Negro delegates had been denied admittance to certain Pittsburgh hotels. When this was brought to the attention of the delegates, they took action by ordering that all delegates registered in these Jim

Crow hotels should demand equal treatment for Negroes, and, unless it were granted, should immediately leave the hotels. This action was supplemented by mass delegations and picket lines which were thrown around the hotels in question, and was followed up by suits for damages instituted by a number of Negro delegates. These suits will be prosecuted by members of the Pittsburgh chapter of the League in conjunction with the National Office.

From Foreign Lands

Later that afternoon, and at the evening session, the Congress heard of Fascist aggressions in foreign lands, and considered the war danger as it threatens the entire world today. The Vargas coup, which established the first Fascist state in the Western Hemisphere, was cited by James Waterman Wise as a base for further Fascist expansion and a menace to pan-American peace. Hazen Sise, a fraternal delegate from Canada, told of the arbitrary and repressive "padlock laws" in the province of Quebec which strike at the foundations of Magna Charta and freedom of speech. Ludwig Renn spoke of the heroic self-defense of the Spanish people, and representatives of China and Japan showed the common stake of both peoples in halting the aggression of the Japanese war-lords.

Let the Fascists tremble as Ludwig Renn (center), famed German writer, chats with Peter Huyan of the United Koreans to Aid China and Marina Lopes, Brazilian-American





Reinhold Niebuhr, Spanish Ambassador Fernando de los Rios, and Ferdinand Louis Kerran, fighting British Labor leader, hold an international session all their own



Amy Lee (left) and Haru Matsui demonstrate Sino-Japanese solidarity in defense of China

For 24 hours the delegates heard addresses, listened to reports, considered the evidence of anti-democratic and militarist plots against the peoples of the world. On Sunday morning they swung into action against these plots. The following sessions were held: labor, farm, religious, women, youth, educational and cultural, national and racial. Here the delegates threshed out differences and determined on policies. The organization committee was hammering out the framework of a new League, fit to cope with the great problems which had been presented to the Congress. The resolutions committee was sifting proposed drafts, hearing delegates, weeding out duplications, phrasing the questions at issue, debating alternate measures. Yet though it was held in a dozen different rooms of various buildings, this Sunday morning session was the most vibrant and significant of the entire Congress.

Sessions of Action

For in this session—divided into commissions and affording opportunity for free if at times heated discussion—was welded the single determination to transform the League Against War and Fascism into the League for Peace and Democracy—an instrument tempered to the times, an organization broad as the American people's hatred of war and tyranny, a movement dynamic enough to exert the

vast influence of the United States on behalf of world peace, through support of democratic peoples and principles.

A Logical Step

The congress of a great national movement always stands in relation to it as does a transformer in the field of electrical engineering. To it flow the diversified waves of opinion, of desire, of purpose which have accumulated and have taken shape in individual members and affiliated organizations. From it flows the transformed and unified current which will carry new life and power to the membership throughout the country for the months and struggles ahead. And just as every electrical transformer steps down or steps up the current's voltage, so every congress marks a decreased or increased organizational strength, a lower or higher intensity of energy and will.

So viewed, the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace marks a new era in the movement which its name describes. There was not needed an abrupt break with past attitudes: the change which took place was neither a denial nor a repudiation of earlier efforts. The formation of the American League for Peace and Democracy appears rather as a logical and inevitable next step; its composition, its character, and its program denote a sure advance

to a new position, a broadening of base to meet enlarged needs and responsibilities.

This appears first in the superficially unimportant question of name. Yet even here the approach toward a positive program may be discerned. The new League has set itself clear and comprehensive goals. Its opposition to war and Fascism will be not a whit less vigorous than before. But henceforth it will combat them not as its primary purpose, but as the chief perils to the preservation of Democracy and peace. By this restatement of aims, the new League has clarified its position and will attract great numbers of new supporters.

Who Can Join

Again, in its organizational setup the new League marks a clear advance over the old. The invitation to membership of all organizations, except political parties, should and in time will remove the false stigma of domination by the Communist or any other group—especially since it is coupled with the express statement that all individuals are invited to join who desire to:

Protect and extend democratic rights for all sections of the American people;
Keep the United States out of war and help keep war out of the world.

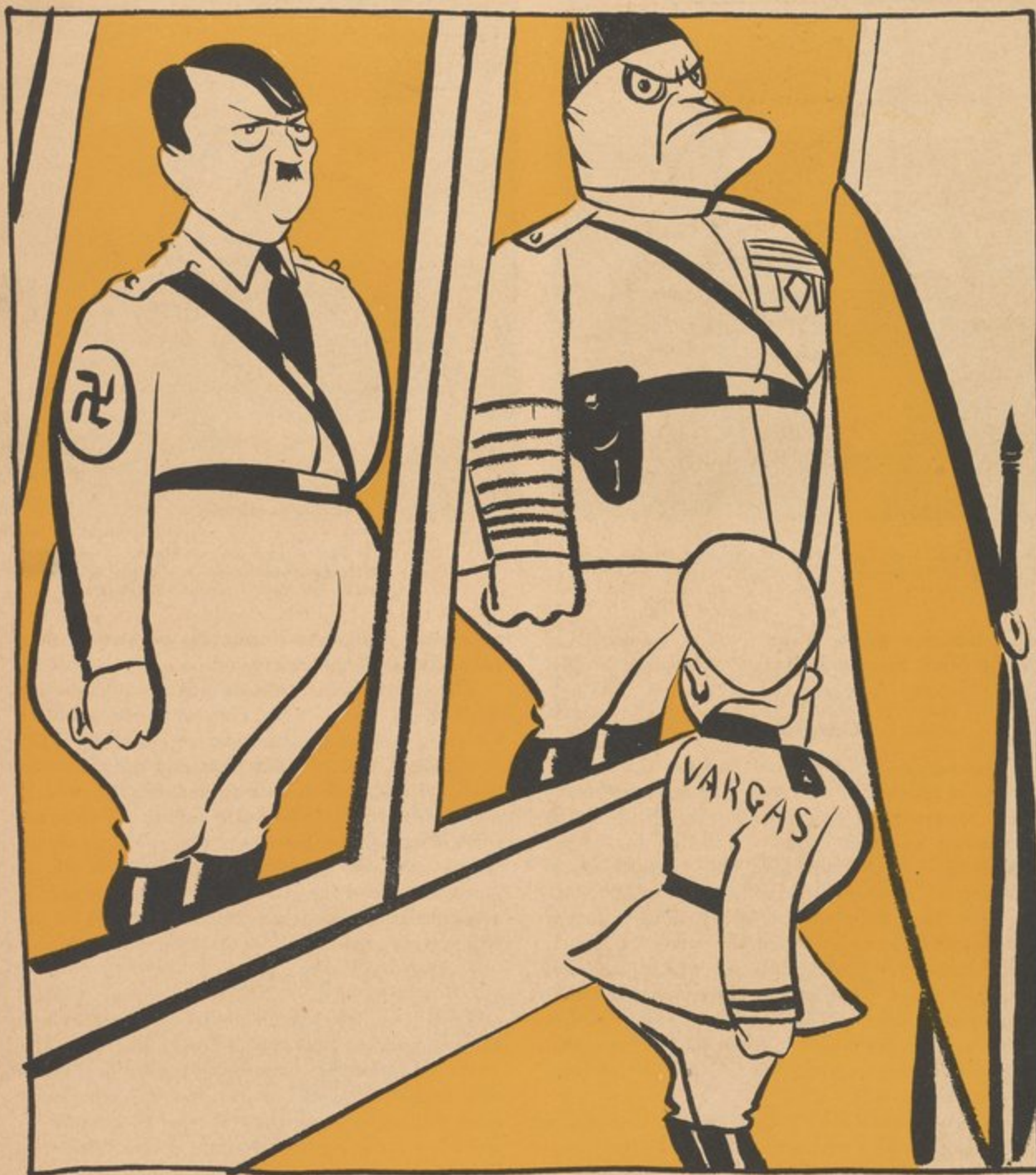
Moreover, the setup of the American League for Peace and Democracy is vastly strengthened by the new composition of its national committee. Instead of individuals representing only themselves, the committee is predominately to consist of delegated representatives of the national organizations and the state and regional divisions which constitute its membership. This will greatly strengthen the bonds of loyalty between the League and its constituent bodies, make contacts more direct, create a greater responsiveness in the League to the will of its membership, and enable the membership more effectively to carry out its program.

And here we come to the essence of the new League: the program which after long and earnest deliberation it adopted unanimously as the concrete expression of its aims. Here again there has been simplification of form, clarification of purpose. The nine-point program is stated so directly that none can doubt its meaning or confuse its objectives. It sets forth in clear unmistakable words just what the League proposes to do. It is a platform broad

(Continued on page 30)

This North Dakota caucus is plotting progress. (Left to right) Herbert J. Roberts, Ole E. Johnson, Lawrence Christian Miller, Adam Voigt and Mike Kostenko





Behind Fascist Brazil

Nightshirt nationalism leaps the oceans to our Western Hemisphere and strikes down a neighbor people . . . Above all there are economic reasons for this political assault . . . Facts and figures on German, Italian and Japanese commercial penetration of Latin America

By John C. Slater

ILLUSTRATED BY HOWARD BAER

SINCE the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, at a time when it was feared by the leaders of American Democracy that the rapacious eyes of Europe were directed toward South America, the latter continent has been regarded as the political protégé of the United States. Our interest in the infant Latin republics has at times even gone to the extent of "dollar diplomacy"—the stigma of which the Roosevelt Administration is trying to remove by its good-neighbor policy. At present the wheel has turned full circle, and the imperialism of the United States is less feared by the democratic-minded people of Latin America than the Fascism of Europe and the Far East, whether the latter be expressed in terms of local political trends or in its economic effects.

"Latin American" Dictators

Machado in Cuba, Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, Vargas in Brazil, Gomez in Venezuela, Terra in Uruguay and many others have made us familiar with the Latin American variety of dictatorship, in many cases before the purely Fascist variety appeared on the Old World scene. Yet, until recently at least, there has been a perceptible difference between the personalized dictatorship of Latin America and the full-blown political ideology of a Hitler and Mussolini. In our smug manner of thought, we have ascribed the institution of Latin American dictatorship to some obscure political machinations peculiar to the Latin temperament or, perhaps, dismissed it as a phenomenon proceeding from national immaturity.

By and large over the course of the past century, it is probable that the bulk of Latin American dictators were motivated almost completely by the desire for political power and—what is more important—wealth. The two have been inextricably entwined, and the man in the saddle, often with little more than the dubious loyalty of the army to keep him there, traditionally has lost little time in accumulating a personal fortune at the expense of the nation. Such men resembled the heads of European Fascist states to approximately the same degree that a Hell's Kitchen footpad resembles Al Capone.

It is worth bearing in mind that Latin America derived its political forms largely from the United States, and that until comparatively recently even dictatorship nominally was clothed in the trappings of Democracy. Now, however, with a ready-made political ideology available, together with the background provided by a far-reaching program of Fascist economic and cultural penetration over the past few years, the stage is set for real or pseudo totalitarian philosophy. In countries where Communism has hardly reached the incubator stage, the petty Hitlers of South America are using the "red menace" as an excuse to restrict civil liberties, and the political vehicle of Fascism itself has appeared locally in the form of "patriotic societies," most of which function with little or no official interference.

A Warning of Fascism

The Fascist nations are thoroughly aware of the possibilities of extending their domination over Latin America, and this danger is gradually dawning upon democratic officialdom in the United States. One authority on Latin America—Gaston Nerval, writing in *Foreign Affairs* of July, 1937—has issued the warning in the following words:

Now the Fascist powers are just beginning to learn the advantages of concerted action. On the day they have mastered their new technique there will arise across the seas another "Holy Alliance"—much more energetic and much more dangerous than the one which disturbed the

sleep of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams more than a hundred years ago. If the people of the United States realized the far-reaching implications of this threat, not only in connection with the ultimate success of Pan-Americanism but with regard to their own interests, actually even their own safety, they might cease deceiving themselves with the illusion of blissful isolation.

The new "Holy Alliance" has arisen in the form of the "Anti-Communist Pact" signed by Italy, Germany and Japan. It is not a close corporation. There is evidence on all sides of the Fascist bloc's intention to bring other nations into its fold as rapidly as possible, and it is an open secret that the bloc intends to extend its drive to South America, where the groundwork already has been laid.

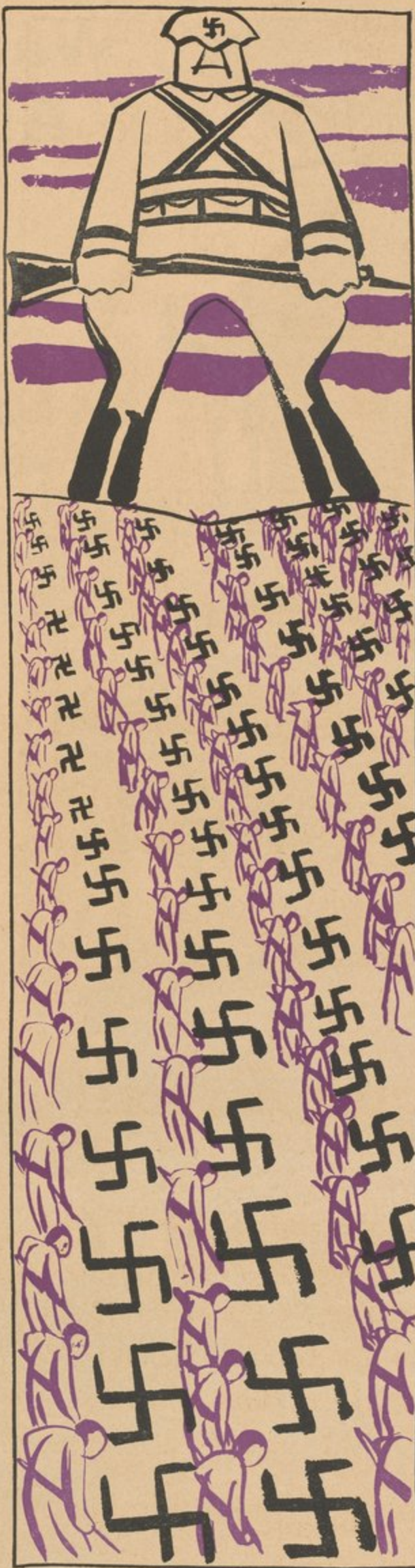
Brazil Goes "Corporate"

Less than 10 days after the adherence of Italy to the pact, President Getulio Vargas of Brazil—by far the largest, most populous and potentially the richest country in South America—abandoned all pretense of Democracy and announced the establishment of a "corporate state" amid the plaudits of his European fellow-Fascists. Vargas had been for years the champion red-baiter of South America, and martial law with its concomitant restrictions repeatedly had been invoked when the position of the dictatorial government appeared to be threatened by its opponents. Pursuant to the Constitution of 1934, elections had been scheduled for January, 1938; but Vargas, fearing the accession of even a faintly democratic administration and not being eligible for reelection himself, dissolved all legislative bodies and perpetuated himself in office under a new tailor-made constitution. The latter, it may be noted, was modeled after that of the Portuguese semi-Fascist state.

Brazil has thus become the first South American country openly to espouse the Fascist cause. Membership of other nations in the "anti-red league" may soon follow. Meanwhile, what would be the situation in the event Senhor Vargas' Nazi *Integralistas* and reactionary federal army were unable to control democratic opposition, and civil war, never a remote possibility in Brazil, broke out? The United States would be prevented from selling to the democratic forces by the Neutrality Act, as has been the case in Spain. But the cry of "communism" certainly would be raised by Fascist Vargas, and shiploads of Italian and German "volunteers" and munitions presumably would follow. When the opposition had been crushed with the aid of Brazil's new political bedfellows, a grateful government snatched from the jaws of "red chaos" would find itself welded to the Fascist chariot with new economic and political links. The Fascist bloc, moreover, would obtain a stronger base for future depredations on other South American nations.

The Drive for Trade

Why are the Fascist nations interested in Latin America? The answer is obvious. The South American countries make up the largest and richest source of raw materials in the world which is not already under the direct control or influence of one or more imperialist powers. Furthermore, while great strides have been made in the last few years, Latin America as a whole is in a relatively primitive stage of industrial development. Manufactured goods, other than a few staples and the products of a limited number of foreign branch factories, must be imported. Thus Argentina with her beef and grains, Brazil with coffee and cotton, Chile with nitrates and copper, Colombia with oil and coffee, Peru with cotton, copper and oil, and Uruguay with wool, represent not only desirable sources



of material supply but lucrative markets as well.

From the commercial point of view, the German brand of Fascism is in the ascendancy in Latin America at the present moment, thanks to the intensive trade drive undertaken during the past few years. In 1929, Germany supplied but 8.8 per cent of total Latin American imports, and this figure had shrunk to 7.3 per cent by 1932. In 1936, however, German goods accounted for 14 per cent of all Latin American imports, and it is probable that this ratio will be maintained or increased in the current year.

The German commercial penetration of South America has been most successful in Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Peru, which, aside from Argentina, represent the richest markets in that continent. The share of Germany in total Brazilian imports rose from 8.9 per cent in 1932 to 23.5 per cent in 1936. In Chile, the corresponding figures were 14.8 per cent and 28.7 per cent; in Colombia, 15.3 and 22.3; and in Peru, 9.8 and 18.8. Germany, moreover, in 1936 displaced the United States from its traditional position as chief source of Brazilian and Chilean imports.

The chief weapon in the hands of the Nazis during their onslaught on the South American market has been a complicated foreign-exchange mechanism, by means of which South Americans who sold goods to Germany received credits which could only be used to make purchases in Germany. In addition, direct export subsidies have been employed. By these methods, as well as by direct barter transactions, the Nazi struggle for raw materials has necessarily carried with it a flood of German goods to the raw-material countries.

The question of the Latin American trade balance becomes of more than mere academic significance to the United States when it is realized that German trade tactics in Brazil have been in no small degree responsible for the latter country's recent suspension of service on the external debt, about \$300,000,000 of which is held by American investors.

Japan's Record

The record of Japan has been somewhat similar. Japanese trade gains in South America, however, while spectacular on a percentage basis, have not achieved the same scale as the German. The most important deterrent has been the fact that Japan is not an important customer for South American raw materials, and many countries, adopting the slogan of "Buy from those who buy from us," have imposed drastic restrictions on the importation of Japanese goods. Recently, however, Japan has increased heavily her purchases of South American products, and it is to be expected that this will be followed by a general easing of restrictions now in force through the persuasion of the ubiquitous Japanese commercial missions. From 1932 to 1936, Japanese imports from Latin America as a whole rose 23-fold, and in the latter year accounted for 1.8 per cent of all exports from that group of nations. Exports to Latin America quadrupled during the same period and in 1936 were the equivalent of 2.2 per cent of aggregate Latin American imports. As an indication of more recent trends, it is significant that Japanese exports to Latin America during the first seven months of the current year rose by about 36 per cent, while imports more than doubled.

Contrary to the experience of the other Fascist nations, Italian trade with Latin America declined in importance from 1929 to 1936, during which time the percentage of Latin American imports supplied by that country dropped to 1.6 per cent from 3.8 per cent, while the corresponding figures for

(Continued on page 26)

THESE were three men with whom I talked about the present Far East conflict; and two of them were born in Japan, and one was born in China. The two Japanese were Eitaro Ishigaki, well known painter, and Shozo Misutani, editor of a New York newspaper. The third man was the Chinese Ching-Min Wang, secretary of the Far East Merchants' Association, whose wife is Theodora Wang, president of that very live and active body, the Chinese Women's Association.

The two Japanese had in common the land of their birth, but little else except that both were agreed that Japanese culture is a Japanese debt to China. They differed sharply on the matter of their native country's policy in her treatment of her neighbor, nor were they in accord concerning the motives back of Japan's aggression. Indeed, the Japanese editor, Mr. Misutani, repudiated the very term, nor would he agree that "invasion" suited any better, but insisted that Japan's presence in China came exclusively under the head of self-defense.

Defending Tokyo's Gates

"It is self-defense," he said, "viewed from any one of a number of angles. First of all, there is the alarming growth of anti-Japanism in China, which threatens the peace of the future. Why, they even teach the children in the schools to hate the Japanese! Surely we have to do something about that, or pay dearly later on.

"But there is another aspect that is much more serious, and that is the growing danger of Communism in China, which is a menace to herself as well as to us. We must save not only ourselves but China too from that."

I wondered what, alternatively, the Japanese would be saving their Chinese neighbors *for*, as I have asked numerous persons who, speaking of Hitler and Mussolini, have said that "at least they have saved their countries from Communism." Mr. Misutani meanwhile went on to emphasize how strong must be Japan's sense of the need for self-defense in China, that she should thus be diverting her forces from preparedness against the great enemy, the Soviet Union.

They Were Drilling

"And even in the matter of the first shot," he said aggrievedly, "China was the aggressor. The Japanese were merely drilling, as they had every right to do, when they were attacked. What else could they do but protect themselves?"

"But wouldn't you say," I asked mildly, "that the 'first shot' had been fired by Japan six years before, when she seized Manchuria? And wouldn't you say, too, that that might have had something to do with the growth of the anti-Japanism which you deplore?"

Mr. Misutani's self-righteousness on behalf of his country, which had been gaining momentum with his own arguments, was a bit staggered by that. I do not know whether he had forgotten that phase of the situation, or whether he hoped that I had; but he replied with a little less certainty of manner than before:

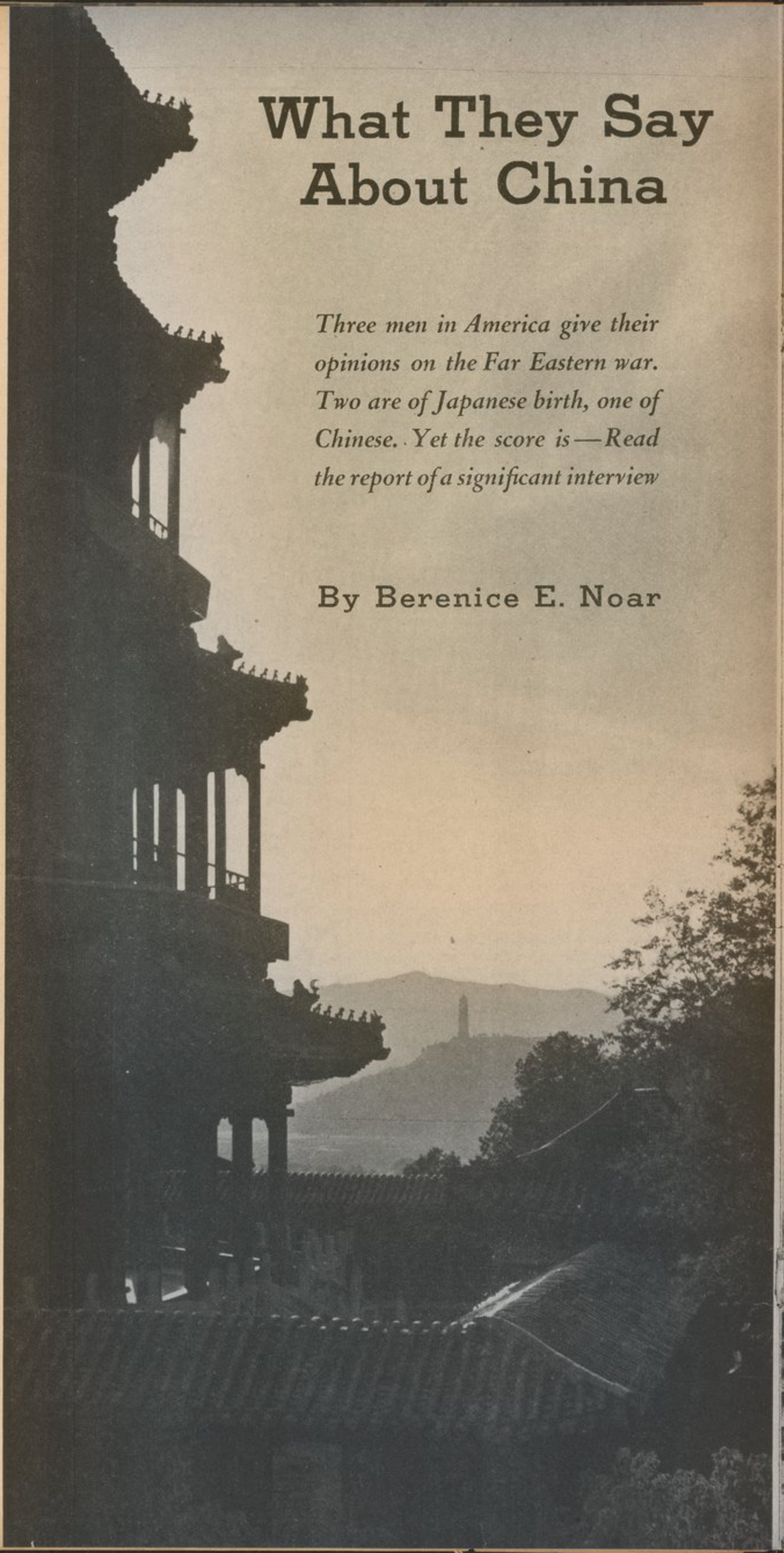
"Why, ye-es; yes, I suppose that may have had something to do with it. But don't you see," he went on, eagerly, drawing little designs on a pad before him, "that Manchukuo was not really part of China? See—" showing me the drawing he

What They Say About China

Three men in America give their opinions on the Far Eastern war. Two are of Japanese birth, one of Chinese. Yet the score is—Read the report of a significant interview

By Berenice E. Noar

The serenity of old China — looking from the Summer Palace at Peiping toward the western hills



had made—"here is the famous Wall of China, and here, lying completely outside it, is Manchuria. It was ruled over by lawless war-lords, and was a menace both to China and to us, offering as it did a stronghold for Soviet Russian invasion. Now instead it is a stronghold to Japan against it. Certainly it has not paid Japan to hold it, from any other standpoint; it has cost her half a billion dollars and 300,000 men to do it.

"We seek nothing material from China. We want only her coöperation, that we may trade with her peacefully, and join forces against a common enemy."

A Chinese on Japan

The Chinese Ching-Min Wang was especially indignant about the Japanese talk of coöperation.

"What do they mean by coöperation?" he demanded. "Why, that China meekly lay down her arms! As if such a thing were remotely thinkable!

"And as for the claim that it is all being done to save China from Communism—how do they reconcile that with the fact that six years ago, when the Japanese took over Manchuria, the Nanking Government itself was fighting Communism? What excuse were they using then? That gives the lie to that particular argument.

"Well, one thing has been gained, anyway, from Japanese invasion, and that is that it has created a unity among the Chinese people that did not exist before. No longer are they torn by internal dissensions. All past differences are subordinated to the joint fight for national salvation. China is learning a new discipline, a new unity of purpose and steadfastness in its pursuit."

"What, in your opinion, is the outlook for the ultimate result?" I asked.

"Much better than you would be led to believe, from the newspaper reports," he answered, promptly. "You must remember that Japan is now in a position to censor news, which means that it comes through considerably distorted. And as for China's seeming retreat—that is in fact part of her plan of resistance; she seeks to conserve her own power, meanwhile exhausting the enemy's, as she draws

Bombs fall on Shanghai



the Japanese army farther and farther into the interior."

"Disregarding the newspaper reports, then," I said, "upon what do you base your own optimistic view?"

The Main Factors

"Upon the weighing of the probabilities in the working out of the three main factors involved in the situation," he said. "These are, briefly: How long can Japan fight? Will there be any major change in the present international situation? How long can China resist?"

"In the first matter, we've got to face the fact that Japan's military strength is very great; and contrary to the original plan, which was to hold her war machine in readiness for war with Soviet Russia, it is mobilized practically full force against China, to meet a resistance upon the part of the Chinese much stronger than the Japanese had



What now, child of China?

anticipated. And as for Japan's internal economic condition, which is reported to be unsound—well, Germany in the World War demonstrated that a country can keep fighting a long while without much money. In sum, then, I am not anticipating an early breakdown of Japan.

Possible Aid

"Nor, taking up the matter of major change in the present international situation, can I say that my optimism comes from counting upon that. We do not expect armed assistance from without. And though we cannot predict what developments might be suddenly precipitated by the repetition of events like the machine-gunning of the British Ambassador



Chapei—"saved at last"

and American merchants, we are not reckoning those things among the probabilities; they come in the category of the possible only.

China Can Win

"No, what we are reckoning with chiefly is our own ability to hold out, and our will to do it as long as is humanly possible. Of the latter there is no question. As to the matter of ability, that in its turn depends upon three factors: man-power, financial resources, ammunition. For man-power, we have a population of 450,000,000 from which to draw, or more than four times that of Japan; and we draw our army from surplus population, while in Japan each soldier is conscripted from business, farms, professions or the industries. Financially, we are sound. Ammunition provides our gravest concern. We can manufacture our own light ammunition, for rifles and machine guns; but if we cannot keep open the foreign sources upon which we depend for heavy ammunitions and airplanes, it will be a very serious matter. Granted a continued supply of these, Chinese resistance can be counted on for some time to come.

"We do of course most earnestly desire the moral support of the outside world; and we are grateful to all who are demonstrating it by the boycott of Japanese goods until Japan shall have ceased her present policy toward us."

Forced to Flee

Mr. Wang's brother and sister were forced to abandon their business in Shanghai, and flee, shorn of all worldly possessions save the clothes on their backs. "So," said he, "you see I have personal as well as patriotic reasons for resentment against the invaders. But for the matter of that," he added, "I have some Japanese friends here in New York who feel just as I do; they have lost four brothers, conscripted to serve in the invading army, and they are very bitter about it."

Mr. Ishigaki's protest against his country's
(Continued on page 30)

THE RADIO industry has a bad case of the jitters this month despite the fact that its profits will be higher in 1937 than during any other year.

Reasons for the long faces exhibited at year-end directors' meetings are many and varied.

First and foremost, of course, is the accelerating drive to unionize the entire industry. After surrendering with hardly a struggle to the hated musicians' union, station after station in all parts of the country is being forced to grant whole or partial recognition to other C.I.O. and A.F. of L. groups.

And now the long-awaited drive of the American Communications Association (C.I.O.), to organize the personnels of all New York network outlets and independent stations on an industrial basis, has started with a bang which rocked the microphones.

The first gun in this campaign was fired when Kendall Davis, vice-president of the A.C.A. broadcast division, cabled Arturo Toscanini, world-famous orchestra leader, to the effect that N.B.C. was cutting down its personnel in drastic fashion to make the budget balance after hiring the maestro for a tremendous sum to conduct a series of symphonic broadcasts. The resultant commotion caused the network to reverse its salary- and staff-slashing program and inform employees that some raises would be forthcoming—next April.

In an entirely different field the big-shot broadcasters are worried about the effects upon them of the deepening business depression. Already General Motors has cancelled its elaborate musical programs over N.B.C. (the competition with Toscanini was partially responsible) and the networks are shivering for fear other auto manufacturers, who provide a large part of their revenue, will follow suit.

Then there is the blast which George Henry Payne, Federal Communications Commissioner, launched against the industry at the recent National Conference on Educational Broadcasting in Chicago. Payne said in part:

The ideals of the broadcasters must be changed even if such changes are made at the risk of a severe jolt to these gentlemen. Like the moving pictures, the average program of the broadcasters is addressed to an intelligence possessed by a child of 12. It is important to raise the average to the adult age; otherwise there is the danger that radio will perpetuate mental immaturity in the grown-up.

There is the danger that radio and the movies will in time make us a nation of grown-up children. Radio must be prevented from stopping the growth of the American mind.

Aces in the Hole

AND THERE are the messes into which a number of radio's "ace commentators" have stepped recently.

Boake Carter's reactionary and jingoistic mouthings finally stirred up a hornet's nest of protest which caused him to be ditched by Philco, his sponsor. General Hugh Johnson's semi-Fascist ravings finally caused Charles Michelson, once his right-hand man in the N.R.A., to comment that the General's idea of the way to avoid the rise of an American dictator was to make Hugh Johnson dictator. The Rev. Gerald K. Smith's 38-station network is falling apart because several stations have found it politic to cut him off the air.

Father Charles E. Coughlin's pet idea of starting a series of international

that Cameron was one of the leading organizers of the viciously anti-Semitic "Anglo-Saxon Federation."

The broadcasters, who are highly sensitive to all of this criticism, are trying desperately to defend themselves. Several liberal commentators—particularly Lewis Browne, author of *This Believing World*, and Johannes Steel, German political exile—have been put on the air. General Johnson's sponsors are seriously considering the advisability of providing free air-time for any person or organization desiring to refute or take exception to the cavalryman's views. The networks are stressing the great number of peace talks

tre" is providing a treat for listeners in New York with its series of modern one-act plays by such writers as Stephen Vincent Benét, Albert Maltz, Ernst Toller and Langston Hughes, which are presented over WQXR every Tuesday at 9:30 p.m.

The semi-Fascist Argentine government is missing no propaganda bets. At the same time that it announced that no broadcasts could originate from sessions of the Buenos Aires City Council because "anti-government speeches are made there at times in language which often is improper for broadcasting," it also initiated a program to provide millions of low-cost receiving sets to farmers in isolated sections of the country. Such sets, naturally, must be constructed so they pick up programs only from government-controlled stations.

Ernst Kotz, short-wave commentator of the National Broadcasting Company, is at the head of a huge Nazi radio propaganda service which provides American stations gratis with German-made records extolling the virtues of Fascism, according to charges made by William Leick in the *Cleveland Press*. The organization has branch offices in Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis and San Francisco, the *Press* charges. Samples of comments in German which are sandwiched between musical numbers on these transcriptions are:

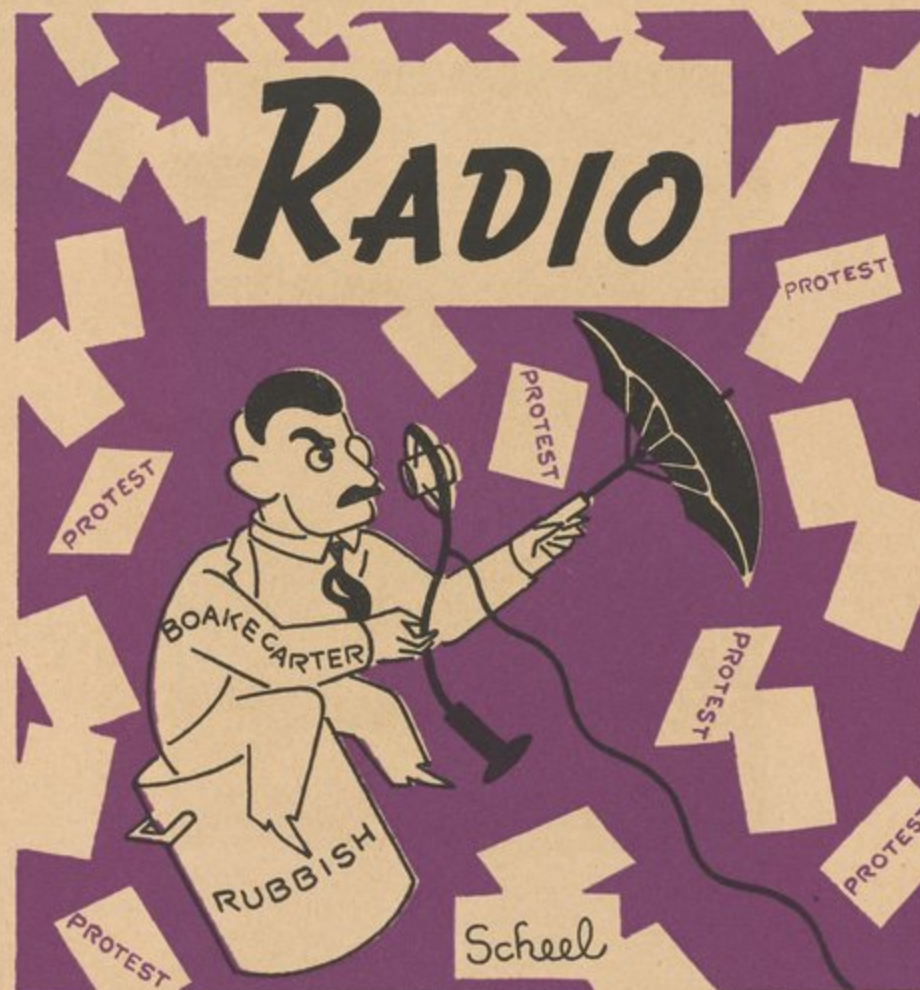
We owe *Der Fuehrer* thanks for the beautiful automobile highways that now criss-cross Germany. He has personally supervised this great work.

A new spirit prevails in Germany, infused by *Der Fuehrer*, whose untiring efforts for a new and united Germany should inspire every German at home and abroad.

England, which in the past has refused to broadcast short-wave programs in foreign languages, has at last decided to fight the big propaganda transmitters of Germany and Italy with their own weapons. In the future Daventry will speak to the Empire—and to anyone else who cares to listen—in half a dozen tongues. The officials of the British Broadcasting Corporation have held that while propaganda programs in English are regarded as unbiased information by foreign listeners, their true nature would be recognized as soon as they were translated. But when the Berlin stations started broadcasting in Zulu, it was just too much for the B.B.C.

Hats off to members of the C.B.S. publicity department in New York who have, during the past three months, contributed almost \$100 to the North American Committee's fund for aid to the Basque refugee children. Practically every member of the large staff gives a regular donation.

—GEORGE SCOTT



short-wave talks blanketing not only the United States and Canada but probably Great Britain and other European countries has been scotched by none other than Pope Pius himself.

And workers throughout the country are still laughing derisively at a recent radio statement by W. J. Cameron (another Reverend who is now Henry Ford's publicity agent) that the Ford factory is really a "Little League of Nations" where foreign-born workers are taught the true principles of American Democracy and inoculated against radicalism. In this connection it is interesting to note John L. Spivak's well-substantiated charges

and forums which they have presented during the year. And their prudish ban against mention of the ravages of syphilis and other venereal diseases has been partially lifted in response to insistent demand by physicians and the public.

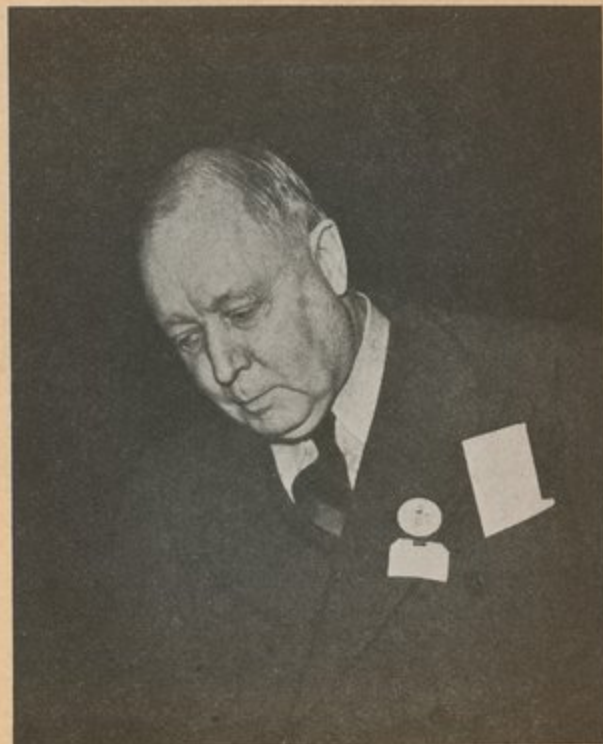
Around the World

ANNOUNCERS on General Franco's short-wave propaganda station at Salamanca now "guarantee the absolute truth of all information sent out on the air."

The W.P.A. "Contemporary Thea-



Two of the freed Scottsboro boys greeted the delegates. (Left to right) Roy Wright, Richard Moore of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, Olen Montgomery and Harry F. Ward



Robert Morss Lovett was chairman of the program committee. Prof. Lovett, a founder of the American League Against War and Fascism, is a vice-chairman of the organization

At the Congress



Señora Maria Garcia and Antonio de Araujo from Mexico

Negro and white, professor, preacher and farmer—Americans and friends from other lands — they met at Pittsburgh and hammered out a program for liberty

From Alabama came (left to right) LeRoy Cooper Milner, Birmingham Y.M.C.A. secretary, George H. Campbell of the Farmers Union and the Reverend Shack Herman Murphy

Friends met Robert Raven when he returned to Pittsburgh, his home town, in time for the Congress. Raven gave his sight that Spanish Democracy might not perish





Zola facing the camera at left, and the Dead End kids at right had us ready to give Hollywood a clean slate for the year. But then we remembered dozens of jingoistic films like *The Leathernecks Have Landed* (center)

NOW COMETH the New Year, and the two-faced month of January, wherein all men look both backward and forward. Now cometh high promises for the future, and prideful pointing to the past, and a good deal of covering up and non-admissions and denials.

List among the assets for 1937 such pictures as *The Life of Emile Zola*, *The Good Earth*, *Dead End*, *Captains Courageous*, *Lost Horizon* and the two Garbo items, *Camille* and *Conquest*. List among the assets too the newsreels of the Chinese horror, the foreign importations of *Baltic Deputy*, *The Eternal Mask* and *Mayerling*. List among the assets for the year the fine fury of such numbers as *Black Legion* and *They Won't Forget*; the acting of Paul Muni in both *The Good Earth* and *Zola*; the tender, exquisite performance of Luise Rainer as O-Lan in *The Good Earth*; and the brilliant, truly great delivery of Nikolai Cherkassov as the old professor in *Baltic Deputy*.

Pointing with Pride

THERE are any number of things to which the screen can point with pride as its contribution during the year. There is the brief dialogue in *Dead End* wherein Sylvia Sydney utters some forthright words on the subject of picketing and police brutality—the words themselves being not so important as the fact that they were allowed to be uttered on the screen at all. There was the shocking horror of sectional prejudice and bestiality built up to a terrific climax in *They Won't Forget*. There is the scene of the Great Famine in *The Good Earth*, and the subsequent scene wherein Wang, the peasant farmer stranded in the city, hears a soap-box orator and wonders, "What is revolution?" There were those newsreels of the holocaust in Shanghai, the bombing at Nanking, and the clips of the fleeing Chinese refugees, which, taken by and large, furnished the most dramatic, the most appalling argument against war that the cinema has ever given us.

There was the courtroom sequence in *Zola*, wherein the novelist pleads, not for himself, but for the maintenance of truth and justice. There was the gentle philosophy of the Grand Lama of Shangri-La in *Lost Horizon*, wherein Mr. James Hilton, the author of the story, shows us his desire for a sanctuary from the evils of the world. There were those six kids in *Dead End*, beaten down by their form of society and giving voice to the bitterest comment on current affairs the cinema has seen.

Then too, there were such items as Victor McLaglen, leader of Hollywood's celebrated Light Horse Troop, mouthing words about the stupidity of America entering the war (in *Nancy Steele Is*

MOVIES

Hollywood's balance-sheet reveals a promise of better days, on both sides of the camera



The Wave, a picture of Mexican life by Paul Strand, was an outstanding independent production. Great things are expected of this type of film in the struggle for real people's movies

Missing); there was Dick Powell singing joyously about how much fun it is to carry a gun in the Marine Corps (in *The Singing Marine*); there was the usual quota of Naval Academy features, with all sorts of people getting mixed up in discipline and football and blondes, as if they never thought of anything else at Annapolis, and there was that tender, touching thesis on old age and ungrateful children, in *Make Way for Tomorrow*.

Behind the Camera

ON THE other side of the camera, during the year of grace 1937, we had such items as the threats of the Screen Actors' Guild to call a strike, unless recognized by the producers as a bargaining agency for the players; we had the enthusiastic growth of a social consciousness marching through all departments of the studios, with such names as Donald Ogden Stewart, Frederic March, Robert Montgomery, Dorothy Parker and the like leading the way; we had the make-up artists, the scenic artists, the camera men, the painters and decorators all organized; and we had Vittorio Mussolini, the author of the book revealing what fine sport it is to kill Ethiopians.

Whatever becomes of Hollywood, whatever the future holds for the American motion-picture industry, the ignoble flight of the Junior Duce from California back to papa will always remain one of the shining marks to the film colony's credit. Hollywood, despite its sham, despite its pretentiousness, showed here the calibre of which it was made, and the bust-up of the projected deal between Hal Roach and the Roman dictator is a matter to which it can point with pride as long as it survives.

The future promises even greater things. Just now we are getting Walt Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, the first full-length feature to be made by the Maestro of Mickey Mouse. Just now the film industry is making even greater strides toward a full-bodied, militant social consciousness. Just now the movies are on the verge, after years of ineffectuality, of at last achieving their most palpable predestination—their coming of age in power, in thought, and in intellect. When you consider that such a producer as Sam Goldwyn can turn out such a picture as *Dead End*, the trend is manifestly unmistakable. There are fevers besetting the world, as we go into 1938, there are cancerous growths and spreading horrors. But the American motion-picture is waking up, and cannot fail of its message—sugar-coated, but a message still.

Of all sad words of tongue or pen:
Peace on earth, good will to men.

—ROBERT SHAW



A Chance for Youth

The director of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education asks economic security for our young people

By Homer P. Rainey

ILLUSTRATED BY JO PAGE



WE HAVE heard a great deal recently about security. We have always agreed that economic security had to be provided for old people and other dependents, who had no one to look after them. And lately we have reluctantly been forced to recognize that individuals in the prime of life, able and willing to work, often cannot find the means of supporting themselves and must be provided for at the public expense. Does this state of affairs extend to youth? Are they, too, in need of being subsidized by society?

To talk of economic security for youth may seem almost paradoxical. What right have young people to expect security? If that condition is to be bestowed by society, should it not be only as a last resort and after every possible effort has been made by the individual to win it for himself? If energy and ambition still count for anything, no class in the population would seem better equipped to achieve economic competence than the youth among us. Why should society risk dulling their fine qualities by putting a premium upon indolence and sloth? So runs the argument, at any rate.

They Want a Chance

This approach quite misses the point. Young people are not asking to be pensioned; all they desire—and it is a very reasonable desire—is to be given the opportunity to make their own way in life. The chief obstacles they find facing them are economic ones, and they themselves realize this. Many studies and surveys of youth have been made in recent years, and among the various problems of which the subjects show themselves to be conscious, those which are fundamentally economic almost invariably emerge at the top. “Unemployment” and “lack of money” are the most frequent complaints and in a recent survey in Maryland, conducted by the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, two thirds of the young people specifying their most pressing personal problem named “economic security.”

To appreciate the full gravity of the economic difficulties of youth, it must be realized that for a

large proportion of young people the security which they are expected to attain is not merely for themselves alone. Many of them are married and have families of their own to support. This is a responsibility which even married girls do not always escape. It is not uncommon to find that a young wife is the only one of her family who has been able to obtain work.

Nor are these pressing family responsibilities among youth restricted to young people who have married. Many single youth contribute to the support of the parental family, and many more have been found who feel they should do so but are unable. Thus a high proportion of youth—it may amount to as much as a third—are handicapped at the very beginning of their occupational careers.

A Minimum Program

But whether a young person faces life on his own or whether he has family responsibilities, there is an irreducible minimum of economic opportunity which he has a clear right to expect of society. This may be expressed in a three-point program:

(1) *Every youth should be able to feel reasonably sure that when he leaves school there will be a niche for him in the occupational world.*

(2) *He should have some assurance that his job will afford him reasonable security of tenure.*

(3) *His wages should enable him to maintain a decent level of living and should have prospect of increasing to the point where he can undertake to marry and have a family.*

There are a number of significant conditions relating to the employment of youth which the above brief outline does not touch upon—for instance, hours and working conditions. But our concern here is with simple economic security, and certainly that state cannot be defined in terms more restricted than those just given. For the youth whose employment experience does not fit into this pattern, “economic security” is a mere jingle. He lives in a condition of economic insecurity.

It is much to be feared that a very large proportion of youth are denied these simple assurances.

We know that very little articulation of any sort exists between school and the occupational world. All schoolboys and many schoolgirls expect to get jobs; yet nearly everywhere they are allowed to drop out of school whenever they have reached 14 or 16 years of age, without any assurance that employment is waiting for them or even that they will be able to find it within reasonable time. The result of this laxity is that numbers of them leave school at an early age and are soon made to suffer for our carelessness in allowing them to do so. Extreme instances have been found of youth who dropped out when they were under 16 and had to wait 10 years before securing a full-time job. Even those who remain until graduation—though they are better qualified for employment in point of age and, to some extent, by training—must often wait long periods before they are able to find work. The need for some plan of fitting the beginning of employment into the ending of formal education insistently demands to be met. At present, when our schools are through with young people they are turned out to shift for themselves. The result seems to be to render many of them shiftless.

Changing Jobs

The problem of finding employment for youth is, however, by no means solved when the first job has been obtained. What is technically known as “mobility of employment” is on the increase among young people; and a great deal of insecurity is implied in that noncommittal phrase. To change jobs may be a good thing if it means an improvement in the status of the worker. But all too often nowadays it consists simply in shifting from one poorly remunerative employment to another, and the period of enforced idleness which almost inevitably intervenes tends to stretch out to an ominous length.

There may have been a time when to be unemployed was the sign of an inefficient worker, but that is certainly not the case today. Young persons who are fortunate enough to have jobs at the present moment have been found to have sustained repeated

(Continued on page 24)



The D

Frank J. Fuller bossed twenty peo
desk, a car, a big house and s

By Stanley Ka

ILLUSTRATED BY

THE TAXI had left the town and was speeding along the snow-banked highway. They neared a sign-post and a street-lamp. "Is that Oak Drive up ahead?" called the driver, as he sapped the motor's strength.

Fuller threw away the stump of his cigar. Good smoke. He had lit it in Grand Central, and it had lasted all the way out on the train and in the taxi.

"Yes," he answered cordially. "First turn to your right, old man." Might as well get the reputation of being a regular fellow.

"Say, mister, do you mind if I let you off here?" the driver asked. "It looks a little icy up there, and maybe-I couldn't turn around and I'd have to back down on the ice."

"Quite all right," said Fuller, rousing himself. "I'll get out here."

He alighted on the corner. There was a man standing under the street-lamp.

"How much?" Fuller asked the driver.

"Forty cents."

He drew out a half-dollar. "Keep the change," he said.

"Thanks," replied the driver. Then he booted the taxi around and scurried back to town.

The man under the street-lamp stepped forward. "Hey, mister?" he said.

Fuller was very calm. It was a lonely spot, and it was a long time since his football days, but he was calm. "Yes?" he said.

"Y'got a few pennies t' spare? I'm on the road. I'm hungry."

"Well—" considered Fuller. He really didn't approve, but it was a lonely spot and a long time since his football days. He reached into his change-pocket. There was one coin in it. He pulled it out: it was a dime.

"Here," he said, extending it, "that's all the change I have."

"Thanks, mister." The man took the coin and drew back beneath the lamp as if it were giving heat, not light.

Fuller wondered for a moment why the man didn't move on towards town; then he shrugged inwardly and walked up the street to his house.

HE REACHED his gate and tried it. It was locked. Of course. Emma was visiting her sister and it was the maid's night out. He unbuttoned his overcoat peevishly; he really would have to get Emma another maid, so that there would always be someone home. He could afford two maids.

His fingers went into his key-pocket. The pocket was empty.

His fingers went into his handkerchief-pocket, his change-pocket, his comb-pocket, and his letter-pocket. The keys weren't there.

He remembered now. How stupid of him! He had changed his suit that morning and had forgotten to take the things out of his trousers. It came back to him clearly: he had just transferred everything from the coat when Emma called upstairs that it was late. In the rush, he had forgotten to empty his trousers-pocket; and his keys were still in the gray suit in the bedroom closet.

How stupid it was. The keys belonged to him; the gate, the house belonged to him; but he couldn't get in. How infernally stupid it was. He kicked a chunk of ice into the gutter.

Then he shivered. It certainly was cold. He hadn't realized how cold it was. Fuller smiled. He had a sense of humor. Here he was, a successful man, the owner of the nicest house in the township, without a roof over his head on a windy night. He laughed aloud—once.

The laugh gave way to a sneeze; and all merriment died in his breast. Say, this was no joke. He couldn't just stand still and catch cold. Suppose

he got laid up. There was his job to think of, and—and everything.

Well, there was nothing to do but walk down to the highway and offer some motorist a dollar to take him into town. He'd have dinner there, and later on he'd phone Emma to stop for him on her way home. She'd be angry, but it wasn't his fault. She had yelled at him this morning and that had made him forget to change the things from his trou—

A sudden thought struck him, more chilling than the wind. His wallet. His fingers fairly raced into his wallet-pocket. It was empty.

Phew! This was serious. Emma might not come home for a couple of hours and it was getting cold and it was pretty dark and he didn't have a penny in his pockets—

Here, now. No need to get panicky. He was Frank J. Fuller, Three Oak Drive, Woodland Heights, New York. Look me up in the phone-book if you don't believe me. Identification? Here's my commutation ticket. Might have stolen it? Here's a letter—where was that letter? I thought I put it—no, you've got to believe me. I'm Frank J. Fuller. Everybody knows me. I'm the fellow everyone knows. The successful one. The one who's made his way.

He walked slowly down the street towards the highway. The man was still leaning against the lamp-post.

AN IDEA came to Fuller. The man. That dime. His last dime. He could walk up the highway, half a mile the other way, to the filling-station and phone his wife's sister. He'd ask the man to give back the dime and promise him a dollar. Sure.

He approached the one circle of light on the long, dark road.

"Hello, mister," said the man.

e Dime

enty people. He had a mahogany
e and six suits—five too many

ey Kauffmann

ATED BY M. PASS



"Hello. You still here?" smiled Fuller cheerfully.

"Yeah. Waiting for a lift. Not many cars pass. And they don't stop."

"Ah," sighed Fuller, not knowing what to say next. It seemed queer to be standing there. He wasn't used to it. He never stood still on the street. He was always going somewhere. Yet there he stood; on the corner; without a house. Frank J. Fuller.

The man looked at him, silently asking the question.

"I—I'm locked out," said Fuller, "forgot my keys."

"Oh."

"Very annoying."

"Yeah."

The man's tone. Why, he didn't believe him!

"I—I really live there, you know."

"Sure. Sure."

"I do!"

"I didn't say nothin', mister." The man's feet shifted.

Fuller decided to adopt a more important manner—Big Business, slightly ruffled. "It *would* happen on a night like this. Cold. Br-r-r-r. My wife's gone out with the car." Then, "It is cold, isn't it?"

"Yes, mister," said the man simply.

That dime. He would have to get that dime back without making an ass of himself.

"Say, old man," friendly now, without patronizing, "you—you remember I gave you a dime?"

"Yeah." A note of fear.

"Well—well—it's embarrassing as hell —" (Hell. You see, a swear-word makes it more masculine.)—"but I haven't a cent on me and I—I want to make a phone-call."

"Oh." The man looked at him. He hadn't lied; he really was hungry.

"Now, it—it's only for half an hour. You'll get it back, I promise you. I'll—I'll even give you more."

Sadly. "O.K., mister." He dug deep into his ragged pocket and brought out the silver. "O.K." The cheek of him! Giving him the money as if *he* were a panhandler.

"Say, listen here, I really will, you know. I'm not lying."

"All right, mister."

"Do you think I'd steal it from you? Eh? What do you think a dime means to me?"

"I didn't say nothin', mister."

His panic and the cold and having-and-not-having overflowed and bathed him in a kind of fearful rage. He vented it on this man. "My name is Fuller. Ask anybody. They know me. I live here. My house is right up there. The city, too. Important job. Mahogany desk. And a secretary. And twenty people under me."

"All right, mist—"

"You think I'd steal a *dime*? Why—why—? What did he own? Come on, Fuller, what do you *own*? You've mentioned the house already. "— "I—I've got a—a car, and six suits and—and cigars. Two boxes. One in the office and one home."

"Yes, mi—"

"You think I'd steal a *dime*?"

"No, mister. Here you are." He held out the coin.

"Ah," exclaimed Fuller angrily and slapped the man's hand. The dime fell into the snow along the curb.

"Jesus," said the man softly and turned away. There were tears in his eyes.

FULLER stopped. He felt as if he had been running fast; now he stopped. He was sorry.

"I—I didn't mean to do that."

The man said nothing and did not move.

"I'll find it," Fuller said, "I'll find it."

He bent over and pushed a gloved finger into the snow. Not there. He brushed the snow aside. More. And more. Before he knew it, he was on his knees, brushing the snow away. He brushed and brushed, like a dog digging a hole.

"Just a minute," he whispered hoarsely. "Don't go away. I'll find it. I'll find it."

The man stood motionless, still with his back turned.

Where had it gone? Fuller was almost down to the asphalt. The snow was flying now.

"Don't go, don't go," he cried. "It's here. It can't be lost. It's here—somewhere."

His gloves were soaking wet. He was kneeling on the edge of the sidewalk. It was the only lighted patch on the long, dark road.

"Here," he chattered, "here," as he dug in the snow. "Good God, a dime doesn't vanish into thin air. A dime is—is—don't go. Please, mister. Don't go."

Now he was frantic. Now his eyes strained out of his head, and sweep! sweep! the snow flew. At last, a glint of silver. And then he held it in his hand. The recovered coin. The recovered pride. The recovered self.

He pulled himself to his feet and turned to give back the dime. But he was alone. Alone in the circle of light on the long, dark road.

He peered out into the blackness, and, already dim in the distance, he saw the man hunching along towards town, with his shoulders close to his neck and his hands in his pockets. Fuller thought: "I must run after him. I must give him this dime. He mustn't think that—that—"

But he didn't follow. He knew secretly that he couldn't follow. He stood beneath the lamp for a long time, with snow on his knees and snow on his coat. And the wet coin he clutched in a wet glove.



Books

Poems of Spain

LAMENT FOR THE DEATH OF A BULLFIGHTER AND OTHER POEMS, by Federico Garcia Lorca; with translations from the Spanish by A. L. Lloyd; 60 pages; Oxford University Press; \$2.50.

FEDERICO GARCIA LORCA, the finest flowering of Spain's literary revival in the twentieth century, was murdered by Fascists at Granada in August, 1936, soon after the Spanish civil war broke out. He was Spain's most popular poet and at the same time one of her most highly skilled and versatile writers. Lorca's interest in folk poetry and music, in the primitive Arabic balladry of Andalusia, in the songs of its anonymous folk-singers, influenced and inspired his work. It was this popular source of his expression which invigorated his poetry and brought him the intimate contact and understanding of the Spanish masses. Illiterate peasants and workers knew and sang his songs. He was one of the few contemporary poets to achieve a synthesis of all that is modern in the arts of the twentieth century with the simplicity of romantic balladry, and to retain the high calibre of his writing and a popular audience that admired and loved his poetry.

In this collection A. L. Lloyd, the translator, has gathered a half-dozen representative poems which reveal Lorca's lyric abilities and profound sensitivity. English and Spanish texts are printed side by side, and the translator has been content to render the exact meaning rather than offer equivalent metrical versions in which the original poetry might be marred. The book includes Lorca's great poem on the death of a bullfighter, the last poem he wrote before he was executed by a Franco firing-squad.

In his preface the translator describes how Lorca, on a theatrical tour through the Estremadura countryside, once rose before dawn and walked out of the barn in which his actors were staying.

Before long he found himself at the gateway of a ruined manor. Around him in the thin grass lay a number of broken statues: classical figures which in the eighteenth century had ornamented the park of some feudal grandee. The winter sun was rising, and out of the dissolving mist Lorca saw a lamb come towards him. The lamb began to graze among

the statuary. But from behind a marble torso, up started a family of black pigs, who rushed at the lamb; and speedily tearing it to pieces before Lorca's horrified eyes, they devoured it in this vague wilderness of fallen masonry.

As a symbol this sums up exactly the poet's relation to Fascism, and that of Fascism to culture—particularly if one recalls that Juan March, the man who financed the revolt of the generals and intrigued with Hitler and Mussolini for the Spanish Rebels, began his career as a dealer in swine.

—S. FUNAROFF

The Federal Theatre

BREAD AND CIRCUSES, by Willson Whitman; 191 pages; Oxford University Press; \$1.75.

THIS IS the first book published on the Federal Theatre. As such, it would necessarily be a significant document in the history of the American theatre, but it also happens that Miss Whitman's slim volume is extremely interesting. One might wish that there were more factual details about the origin of the project, but there is an abundance of information about the theatre in action.

Here, for the first time, is a coordinated story of what the Federal

Theatre tried to do, an estimate of the personnel of the theatre workers, a survey of its nation-wide activity, and a description of the reaction by audiences, dramatic critics, the press, and anti-New Dealers. Having studied her subject closely, and being equipped with considerable knowledge of the social structure, Miss Whitman is, on the whole, sympathetic to the Federal Theatre.

To the charge that the project is frequently concerned with what is known as "propaganda," the fair answer is made that the bulk of the personnel are on the project because of their experiences in the social struggle, and it would not be reasonable to expect these people, as honest workers in the theatre, immediately to forego their interest in that struggle when they had attained some measure of economic security. It may be said also in passing that whenever the case for Democracy is presented the Best People label it "propaganda," whereas the imprecise verbosity of the reactionaries is described as "the facts." Many of the Federal Theatre plays, particularly the Living Newspaper series, have analyzed various aspects in the contemporary American struggle for freedom and progress, and have

done so with novelty and force. The disapproval of the Right was, therefore, to be expected, particularly as—to quote Miss Whitman—"For some reason, unemployed persons with the requisite ability for theatrical enterprise turned out to be people with new ideas. The fact that private industry found no use for their talents may be considered the most damning indictment of capitalism so far presented by the Federal Theatre." Moreover, as Mrs. Hallie Flanagan said, "The theatre, when it's good, is always dangerous."

In its next edition Miss Whitman should equip her book with an index. It is well worth the necessary work involved.

—LESLIE READE

Modern Witchcraft

THE FOLKLORE OF CAPITALISM, by Thurman W. Arnold; 400 pages; Yale University Press. \$3.00.

THIS VOLUME is an analysis of the wizardry and superstitious beliefs that grow up around our economic system. Mr. Arnold's approach is best stated by himself.

... wherever men become absorbed in a medieval search for the magic formula of universal truth the creeds of government grow in importance and the practical activities of government are mismanaged. Holy wars are fought, orators and priests thrive, but technicians perish. Color and romance abound in such an era, as in all times of conflict, but practical distribution of available comfort and efficient organization is impossible.

The two main fields of witchcraft are law and economics. Those practicing these arts are presented as providing, for the most part, an aura of sanctity for acts which, to the uninformed, might appear highly dubious. The author's discussion of the reorganization of corporations is especially enlightening. With the best legal defense and the kindest intentions, very reputable bankers reward themselves handsomely for not protecting the interests of the various claimants of the corporation. Mr. Arnold's evidence is taken from the Securities and Exchange Commission's report on corporate reorganization.

Most academic and intellectual people have been unconscious of the real way this folklore operates in our soci-



From *You Have Seen Their Faces* by Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White, published by The Viking Press and in a popular edition by Modern Age Books

ety and their own unconscious part in promoting it. And when they do go beneath it and attempt to reform something, they fail to see how to use the folklore and they are defeated by the practical politician.

In a time when folklore is at a premium, technical discussion of economic problems becomes almost impossible. The economists meet at annual conventions and weightily discuss problems of, say, monopoly, or competition, or some other abstraction so broad as to have little significance. They continue ideas which have lost their meaning except as a defense for a given line of action. For example, taxation by government is labelled bad, or at best a necessary evil if not carried too far. The numerous ways by which *private corporations* tax the citizen, however, are considered good. In short, economic discussion is unrealistic in analysis and has its significance only as an elaboration of the folklore.

In the main this is true, and until it is more widely recognized, intellectual activity as it relates to social change will be futile. The independent thinker never gets very far; such thinking or discussion as is accepted usually pertains to some movement that is already organized. The chapter on "Some Principles of Political Dynamics" should be of great practical help to those interested in economic and political affairs.

—DONALD MCCONNELL

From a Loyalist Writer

COUNTER-ATTACK IN SPAIN, by Ramon Sender; translated from the Spanish by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell; 288 pages; Houghton Mifflin Company; \$3.00.

SINCE the writing of Ramon Sender's *Seven Red Sundays* the Fascist rebellion against the democratic Spanish republic has occurred, and during the course of the terrible ordeal which has been forced on the people, political thought has inevitably become clearer. The issue now does not concern a struggle for some vague Utopia, but is the straightforward one of Democracy versus Fascism. Sender himself has now become typical of Spanish republican thought, and one of the results is the writing of *Counter-Attack in Spain*.

This is a book of reminiscences of the first few months of the Fascist rebellion, and the greater part of it deals with the experiences of the author and his fellow-fighters on the battlefield itself. Although there is no suggestion of heroics, the work from beginning to end is colored by the almost unimaginable bravery of a people defending themselves against the forces of darkness.

It would be tempting to make a review of this book merely a series of quotations, but perhaps a reference to

a few passages will serve. In the first days when the untrained militia were under heavy fire from the foreign invaders, the amateur soldiers moved to take up a better position and they were met by a couple of militia girls, still in their teens. ". . . the girls implored us: 'Don't go away, comrades. . . . We'll bring you what you need. . . . We'll carry the wounded man to the road.' "

Soon after, the militia were short of water. There was a stream near by, but it was controlled by enemy fire. The only way to get the water was to extend a shirt into the stream, and suck the water from the garment. Yet one group went three days without water. Why?

One of them replied by unfolding the shirt he still carried in his hand. There were blue stripes on it. Also some numbers and marked points. . . . It was a map, and the enemy's positions . . . were indicated on it. . . . "Hadn't the rest of you shirts? Why didn't you throw one of them into the water?" They told us that they had made three copies, so that in case of the death of the other there might be at least one to show his to the staff.

And when the siege of Madrid began:

At the Toledo Bridge one day the following harangue was heard: "Forty men are required. It is better that only unmarried men should go, with no children. For don't think that a single one of these forty will come back. . . ." About a hundred came out. . . .

In his indignation against Fascism, Sender is capable of real eloquence, as for instance in the passage on page 256 beginning, "Dead children line the streets. . . ." But the surprising thing about this book is its sense of pity for the misled tools of the Fascist chiefs. There is an unshaken belief in the innate goodness of humanity. In spite of the murder by the Fascists of the author's own wife, he writes with as little bitterness as a man in his position can. In this he reminds one of Barbusse.

This is the best book that has come from Spain.

—LESLIE READE

Fighting for Soviets

THE MAKING OF A HERO, by Nicholas Ostrovski; translated from the Russian by Alec Brown; 440 pages; E. P. Dutton & Co.; \$2.50.

IT IS SOMEHOW doubtful whether Ostrovski, who died recently after a long illness that found him in continuous pain, wrote the title of this book. For the narrative of Paul Korchagin's youth and development during and after the most chaotic days of the Russian Revolution is almost entirely autobiographical, and the Paul Korchagin of the narrative never for a moment thought of himself as a hero.

Born into grinding poverty in the small town of Shepetovka, which was



From *Labor Agitator: The Story of Albert Parsons* by Alan Calmer, with drawings by Mitchell Siporin, issued by International Publishers

little more than a railway junction, young Paul tasted the bitter fruit of exploitation from his earliest days. Kitchen scullion, railway yard worker, master electrician, a somewhat humorless lad with a genius for playing the Russian equivalent of our accordion, Paul grew into one of the most zealous shock-brigaders and Party members of the early days of post-revolutionary struggle. Shepetovka was taken again and again, by the Reds, the Whites and the roving bands of Petlura, the brigand. The tides of civil war and foreign intervention swept over the countryside, decimating the peasantry and their poor crops, grinding the population into still greater poverty and hopelessness.

But there was a new force at work, and the people felt it. For one thing, when the Reds took the town, they did not plunder the populace; they shared their meager rations. For another, the people were aware, even if they were somewhat skeptical, that these curious persons who cheerfully undertook the most backbreaking tasks, were invariably working in their behalf—whether to complete a spur-line railroad that would bring in winter wood, to clean up a railway shop that had been wrecked by war and revolution, or to organize a youth group. Gradually the people offered to cooperate with these groups in repulsing the still existent bands of Whites, bandits, interventionists, and in reconstructing the old life along new lines.

The author of this book succeeded in portraying his hero as at once a type-specimen of the Soviet worker and a real individual. Korchagin's devotion to the ideals he came to believe in was almost superhuman; he drove others relentlessly, and he drove himself mercilessly, for he had a vision of what the future might bring his country, in happiness, accomplishment, and alleviation

of the age-old misery of the Russian people. To that task he was dedicated from his early youth, and that was the task that killed him, as well as his creator, Nicholas Ostrovski.

—ALVAH C. BESSIE

Giving Hitler a Break

BRITAIN FACES GERMANY, by A. L. Kennedy; 194 pages; Oxford University Press; \$1.50.

"POLICY has to be built somehow upon sand rather than upon rock." This astounding utterance, put forward quite seriously as a basis for negotiation between world powers, could come only from a person saturated with the paralyzing fumes of the British Foreign Office. And in fact Mr. Kennedy, the author of a phrase which immortalizes the criminal impotence of so-called "liberal" statesmanship, was until recently one of the foreign affairs "experts" of the *London Times*, whose connections with Downing Street are those of Damon with Pythias.

Britain Faces Germany attempts two things: first, to clarify the background of post-War Germany by an informed analysis of the Treaty of Versailles, the Locarno Treaty of 1925, Disarmament, and the growth of "revisionist" sentiment finally expressed in the triumph of Hitler; and second, to formulate a policy of conciliation with the Nazi Reich based upon British recognition of Germany's claim to colonies, with a concrete offer of certain African territories, including Gambia, Sierra Leone, Togoland and the Cameroons. It is this which Mr. Kennedy calls "a bold but simple approach by Great Britain to Germany," an approach which may yet permit the rest of the world to see that "the better side of Nazism still stands for manliness and a spirit of service, abstemiousness and a power of endurance, single-mindedness and an abstention from the more enervating forms of pleasure."

I am really quoting from Mr. Kennedy, not from one of Herr Goebbels' propaganda speeches. Quite aside from the thoroughly inadequate, indeed irresponsible treatment of the entire question of colonies, the book is utterly out of focus with the political realities of the present. For Mr. Kennedy there is only one problem: Britain versus Germany; no reference to France, Italy, Japan, the Soviet Union, the United States, Spain, Ethiopia, China; not the slightest attention to popular movements—and a very considerable, hopelessly confused effort to find something both "natural" and "noble" in the Nazi philosophy which, nevertheless, he profoundly mistrusts as an expression of the "Hun" in the German people. Mr. Kennedy has certainly built his house of cards upon sand.

—HAROLD WARD

ALONG the lines indicated on this page a month ago, the Wall Street financiers have been extracting every possible advantage to themselves from every drop of suffering—or fear of suffering—that has grown out of the present recurrence of depression conditions.

And in the front-line trenches at Washington, the campaign of the big-money boys has had tentative—although still incomplete—success against the New Deal, which is vacillating in the face of an alarming collapse in business activity. The record of the Wall Street contingent thus far is this: a more or less definite commitment of the Administration and especially of its lukewarm adherents in Congress for tax “reform”—i.e., relaxation of the undistributed-profits tax upon the retention of bloated surplus industrial profits and of the capital-gains tax upon the stock-market winnings of the big capitalists; definite overtures from the Administration to coax support from the utility holding companies and their Wall Street bankers centering around the House of Morgan, at the cost of seriously compromising the New Deal’s program of cheap power and freedom from Wall Street domination of utility services throughout the nation; a quite firm promise by the President to continue toward budget-balancing by sacrifice of adequate W.P.A. funds for the increasing number of unemployed; and exploratory moves for a “peace” conference between capital and labor, the main purpose of which would be some kind of commitment against strikes, and probably a weakening of the protective provisions of the Wagner Labor Act.

It has become quite apparent that the financial campaign to force such concessions as these out of Washington has in itself contributed greatly to the severity of the decline in business activity. That a slump was in the offing cannot be questioned: the headlong rise in commodity prices inflicted on the public by the Big Business interests, the curtailment of public expenditures by the Administration, and the accumulation of inventories by manufacturers in order to increase their profit from the higher prices which they themselves were fostering, all made a recession inevitable. But, in their anxiety to make political capital out of these events, the big financial interests have labored to transform a minor economic slump into a situation carrying the earmarks of the first stage of a major depression. In order to bend Washington to the will of Wall Street, the tycoons have resorted to unnecessary lay-offs of their workers, refused to make new commitments, and have chanted so loudly of depression that a panic psychology has begun to sweep the country.

These tactics have become so obvious that the mouthpieces of the Wall Street interests have taken to admit-

WALL STREET

Big Business attacks and the people must counter-attack . . . The economic royalists defend Dictator Vargas

ting them quite casually. The Dow-Jones financial ticker, which enters all big brokerage houses and banks, recently commented frankly on “the strike of the wealthy” and their refusal to “make money” by new investments until tax concessions were forthcoming.

Stop the Retreat!

DESPITE the Administration’s swing to the right—or more precisely its slip to the right—there is every indication that concentrated pressure from the progressive forces of the nation can check the New Deal’s retreat before it becomes a rout, and very likely can cause a counter-attack which would set Wall Street back on its heels. The vacillation in Washington clearly has grown out of the Administration’s dismay at the deterioration in economic conditions, its fear of entering the Congressional elections next fall in the midst of a business slump, and its timidity in regard to undertaking positive rather than Wall Street’s negative means for

reversing the present trends. On the other hand, the Administration’s tentative move to the right has been undertaken with real reluctance—as Wall Street itself concedes off the record—by the progressive wing of the New Deal party, including the President himself. This progressive group in the Administration would respond strongly to organized pressure for a renewal of the New Deal’s aims. The balance of power, of course, rests with those right-wing Democrats who masqueraded as New Dealers long enough to gain reelection and who ever since have been sabotaging the New Deal program. It is on these renegades that Wall Street is centering its pressure as well as its hopes for a right-about-face of the political trends of the past five years. Consequently, it is on these same renegades that the progressive forces of the nation must concentrate their own pressure so that the political promises of 1936 shall be kept and the integrity of Democracy maintained.

The only positive step which the Administration has proposed thus far

to increase employment and purchasing-power is a large housing program. A real program of housing would, of course, represent a genuine solution of the economic crisis in progressive terms, as well as remedying one of the great sore-spots in this American society of plenty and poverty. But the Administration’s program as now proposed is sullied by concessions to Wall Street’s predilections. These are the proposals that building-labor voluntarily lower its wage scales and that the actual construction be under private rather than public auspices. It is conceded by all experts that low-cost housing to supplant the disgraceful slum conditions under which large numbers of our population now exist, can be carried out only under government auspices and with government subsidy, financed by taxation upon the wealthy. Such a program would exert a great stimulus on business conditions, could be carried out without sacrifice of the wage standards of building workers and would avoid the dangers of speculative collapse that are always present in any building boom engineered by private capital.

A Friend in Need

AMERICAN capitalists are sympathizing more and more openly with reaction, no matter where it raises its head. The brazen installation of a Fascist framework of government in Brazil by Dictator Vargas is not easily defended, but the intellectual gymnastics required have doughtily been attempted by reformed-liberal Walter Lippmann of the New York *Herald Tribune*.

Even from the standpoint of Wall Street’s imperialist interests, which Lippmann usually defends so eloquently, the possibilities of a Nazi infiltration into South America which are raised by Vargas’ seizure of power should cause great concern among American capitalists. But Lippmann’s automatic sympathy for reaction checks his opposition to Fascism in Brazil, just as the class prejudices of the British Tories blind them to the threat to their interests presented by the Mussolini-Franco combination in Spain. Instead, Lippmann pretends lamely that Vargas is trying to forestall the establishment of a Nazi “Manchukuo” in the Brazilian states in which the German population is large. “When we see a movement to strengthen the central government in Brazil, we should not hastily condemn it on ideological grounds,” says Walter plaintively. “It may well be that President Vargas has had that (i.e., the establishment of Nazi spheres of interest) in mind as one of the reasons for his effort to make the national power indisputably stronger than that of the local governments, and it is to our own interest to give him the benefit of the doubt.”



Wall Street’s Nazi allies parade in New York

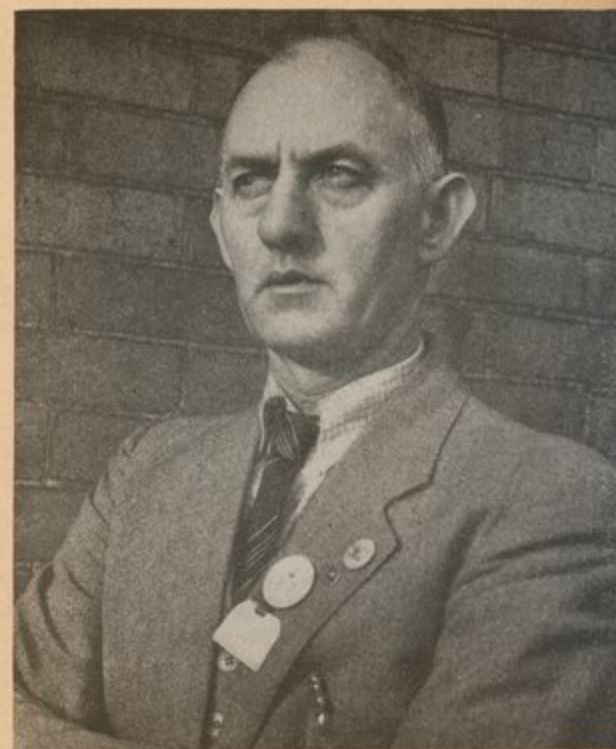


Michigan worker — Jimmy Wilson, United Auto Workers

The People Were There

“From farm and from foundry, from mine and mill and sea”—here are some of the delegates to the Pittsburgh Congress for Democracy and Peace

By Herman Rothart



Alabama farmer — George H. Campbell, Farmers Union

SOCIAL theorists met with two-fisted union delegates, political progressives sat side by side with conservatives. By airplane and parlor car, by automobile and rickety bus, by way of hitch-hike and even on foot, they went to Pittsburgh, not merely for a message to carry back to their homes, but to legislate a program for the people's part in the movement for Democracy and peace. Doctors and lawyers attended the People's Congress—with them came farmers and industrial workers. Dancers and ministers, shopkeepers and delivery boys, musicians and boiler-makers, all came to Pittsburgh prepared to shape a living program, and they returned to their homes ready to carry it through. Here in a few personalities is the story of America's Biggest Town-meeting. Of 1,400 delegates who represented more than 4,000,000 people at the Congress, this tells the story of a limited few.

A Constable from Dakota

Saturday night, just five days before the Congress, two farmer friends visited Mike Kostenko's home at Manx, North Dakota and gave him a copy of *THE FIGHT*. Mike is Constable of the county and a Justice of the Peace. As he explained it to us, he can lock a man up any day of the week, then marry him off to one of the local belles. Mike liked *THE FIGHT*, but more than that, he was excited about a Congress for which he had only two days to prepare. In less than three hours after he called them, Mike was speaking with the executive committee of the Farmers Union, of which he is a member. They empowered Kostenko to represent the body at Pittsburgh, but money is scarce in McClain County, and money had to be raised for his trip. Local business-men and

farmers pooled their dollars and pennies and Mike took the first train East. Interviewed just before the sessions, Mike declared: "I'd like to tell all these people what the farmers have been through. I'd like to tell them how Fascism might happen right in our own country. I've never spoken to this many people, but damn it, I won't get stage fright, I have something to say." Mike did get a chance to speak all right. The farmers called on him to deliver their report to the Congress.

Adam Voigt of Bismarck, North Dakota, chairman of the Bismarck Trades and Labor Assembly and vice-chairman of the Workers Alliance, came a long distance, too. His ten-

gallon hat made him seem a seven-footer; actually Adam is only six feet two inches tall. Voigt had little to say about horses or the bad men of the plains. In the Western drawl that movie-goers in the East associate with "Drop your gun, pardner," Voigt declared: "The unemployed must be organized. If not they will be a reservoir of power for any banker who wants to float Fascism here. Every unemployed worker has a stake in our form of Democracy. We know only too well what happened to the unemployed in Germany and Italy."

Voigt came by automobile with Lawrence Christian Miller, farm editor representing the State Executive Committee of the Non-Partisan

League, Ole Edward Johnson of the Farmers Union, and Herbert J. Roberts, president of the Economics Study Club. The boys couldn't agree on political premises and their differences were as broad as the counties of their state. But on one point they agreed, that Americans must work together, and that the League provides a real way in which the big things can be done.

Non-Partisan League

Roberts insisted that "Production for use is the only way out." He maintained that the "middle class—the intelligent group—will provide the only valid leadership in accomplishing a change." But Miller has edited farm papers for more than 20 years. Before that he tramped with circuses as a trumpet-player, and met thousands of people in the course of his work. He showed that all classes, all interests must come together if anything is to be done. As proof of his contention he pointed to the success of the Non-Partisan League. After demonstrating that group's achievements in local problems such as winning a state-owned bank, flour mill and terminal elevator, such as electing Langer as Governor and carrying the state for Roosevelt, Miller expressed great hope for the American League on a broader scale. And after the Congress was adjourned, he smilingly said, "We've got something started now."

Ole Edward Johnson, (you pronounce that *Olee*, it's a good old Swedish name), spoke for the North Dakota Farmers Union, on record in support of the League. He is a state coöperative specialist, and served under Rexford Guy Tugwell in the

(Continued on page 29)

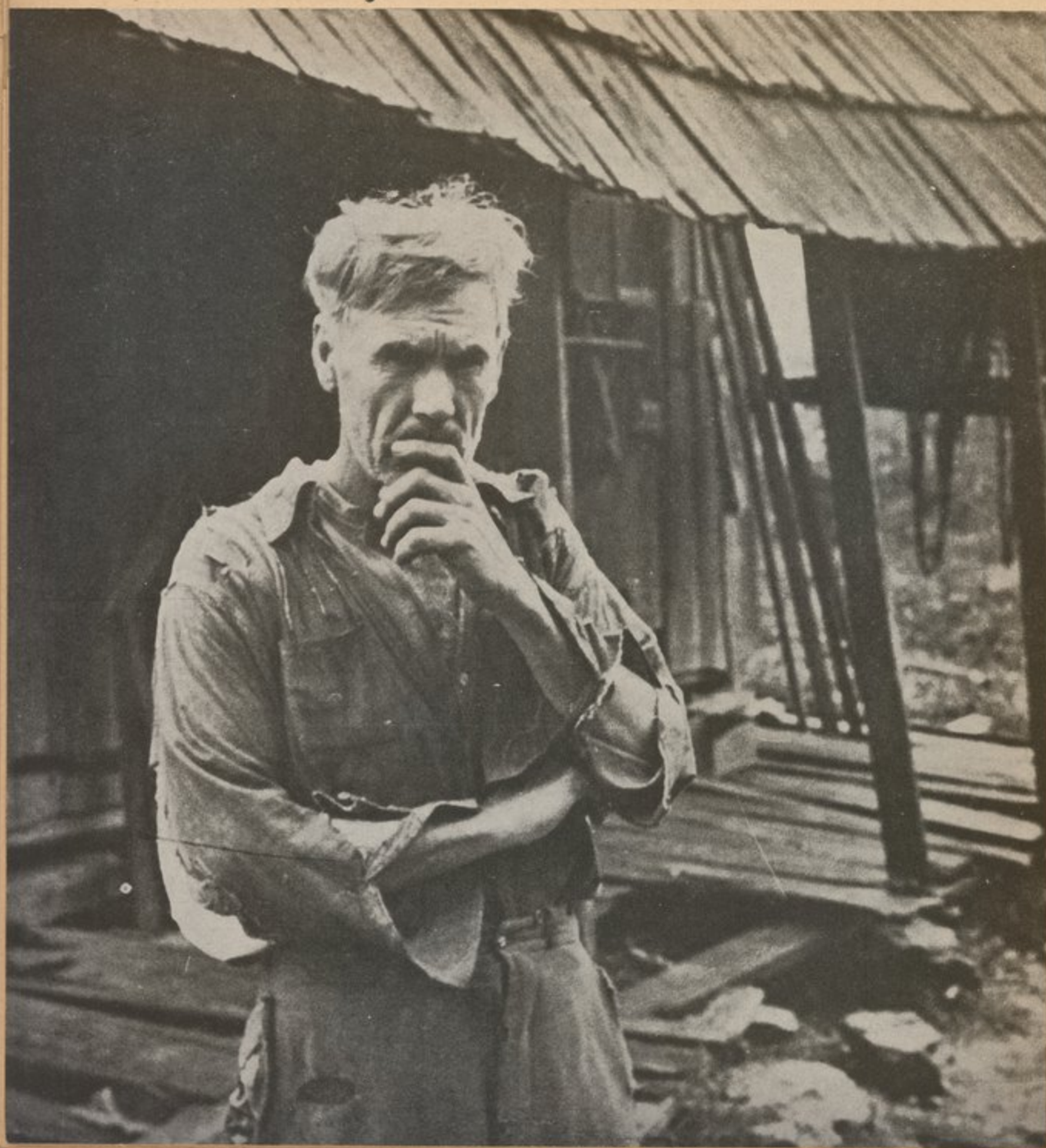


A group of typical delegates at the Congress. Note father and son

A new spirit is moving below the Mason-Dixon line. Industrialism brought many evils, but unionism came right behind it—with education for the exploited working people. A native Southerner, fresh from a visit to her homeland, tells of schools for workers

Hope for the South

By Lillian Gilkes



“THEY ELECTED him an’ now they wanna knife him!” The red-faced young man harangued the bus concerning the false logic of Roosevelt’s betrayal, and when somebody interrupted to ask what it was all about he blazed again. “The suckers in the South that ’re bein’ doped from Wall Street. Look at that!” His fist smacked into the newspaper he had been reading; at the same moment a head appeared above the window-sill announcing the *Asheville Citizen*. “If that’s all you got, buddy, you can keep it—” And still hot under the collar, the young man pushed the wadded-up sheet through the window. “Here—you can have this, too!”

It was 15 years since I last stayed in the North Carolina Blue Ridge, and I did not remember ever hearing politics discussed in the Land of the Sky so early in the morning. A local boy, too, judging from his accent. And if he didn’t learn to pipe down he’d be spotted as an “agitator,” no doubt, like the rest of those who sided with the laboring man against Wall Street. There were mills not far away.

Change in Carolina

The bus had pulled up on the main street of a little mountain town to take on a load of Negroes and whites of both sexes on their way to work, and I was mildly surprised when no attempt was made to enforce the Jim Crow regulation. But of course, since there were no more seats and the conductor obligingly proposed to “pack ’em all up inside there”—which included outside on the step with the doors open, and the roof as well—the bigger the load, the more fares for the company!

Along the roads I had seen neat bungalows in many instances replacing the run-down cabins that 15 years ago were still typical. Even more striking were the changes in the dress and appearance of the people. The male youth at a square dance came washed and clean-shaven, attired in store clothes and starched collars instead of jeans and stinky undershirts. A decade and a half ago, such descendants of America’s proud yeomanry, traipsing miles for an abbreviated term of “books”—when they could be spared from poverty-stricken rented farms to get any schooling—had remained, sometimes, from autumn to spring sewed up in their stinking rags like the immigrant waifs of city ghettos—or like the mujiks of Czarist Russia. A young friend of mine who taught in a school way over on the Tennessee border, had shown me a scrawled message from a parent of one of her lower-grade boys: “Dear teacher, please excuse Charley. He slipped in the branch. Got wet in the a.m. and dried out in the p.m.” . . . As the bus bumped on, my memory prowled among the impressions of a horseback trip I once took through these “uncivilized” mountains, with the same young teacher—herself mountain-born. We had slept at a farmhouse along the route, somewhere on the trail made famous by Daniel Boone and the D.A.R. who, even then, scattered markers thicker than the dragon’s teeth. Blowing Rock, which today houses a celebrated literary colony, was a resort of swank then. But six miles away, the little girl of the farmhouse had christened us “the boys”—convinced in spite of our voices that we must be a kind of man more unbelievable than cannibals with rings in their noses. She had never seen “ladies with britches and short hair”!

Coming of Industrialism

Industrialism, with the increased modern facilities of circulation and communication, has brought about changes which, superficially, would seem evi-



dence of a remarkable improvement in general living conditions. And certainly no one—except perhaps the leaders of the Southern agrarian movement, who desire to be gentlemen of a cultured leisure class supported from tenantry—would long for a return to the hillside cabins with their appalling squalor, starvation and hookworm! Notwithstanding the newer variety of evils developing out of runaway shops, company unions, yellow-dog contracts, layoffs, spies and the whole apparatus of terrorism which grips workers in unorganized districts all over the South. Despite the fact also that measured in terms of food to eat, physical health, and continuance under the name of security of such material blessings as are necessary to sustain life, the standard of living in reality has improved scarcely at all in 15 years.

If you are a woman worker you can go to a "vocational training school" in Mississippi for six weeks, work 10 hours a day six days a week, and at the end of that time if your performance hits a certain standard you might—perhaps—get a job that will pay you \$4.50 a week. One such institution at West Point—sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce as a novel affiliate to the public-school system Mississippi's Bilbo brought under his immediate and notorious sway by means of illegal usurpation, back in the days when he was governor—opened up

with 150 girls who were being perfected in the fine points of making men's shorts—a simple garment, by the way, requiring a minimum of skill. At the end of the six-weeks period half a dozen girls were picked for jobs, and the school entered on its second term of public service. And so on, indefinitely, until the factory established in conjunction with the training center reached completion. Upon that happy culmination, the factory commenced operating with 50 girls who up until about six months ago, had been working two years for the magnificent wage of \$4.50 to \$5 per week. Six months ago they had a sit-down strike. The Chamber of Commerce promised them an increase of \$2.50 if they wouldn't join a union.

What One Girl Learned

One young woman started work in a garment-plant as a presser in the finishing department, operating a heavy pressing-machine on a schedule of eight to 12 hours a day, and at the end of three weeks drew her first pay check of \$2.53. When the period of apprenticeship supposedly was over and she had become a full-fledged employee, she received pay regularly for only five standard hours though working the full time. She decided to quit and informed the boss, who responded with the familiar line of blandishments and prevarication: "Oh,

my dear, you are only learning. Wait until you learn—you'll make more!" So she drudged on a while longer, learning, and always coming up against the same old stall. Whenever she was in danger of making more, the stretch-out would take care of that!

But the young woman of this history not only joined the newly formed Textile Workers Organizing Committee local, she learned a good deal besides that wasn't in the curriculum of Hattiesburg or West Point! She says: "I think it's the union's duty, as well as my own as a citizen of Hattiesburg, to educate these workers and help them to understand the meaning of a union. The time is here when we must let the manufacturers who have fled South know that they cannot continue as they have in the past."

And they are doing just that.

A School for Workers

At the Southern Summer School for women industrial workers, holding its 11th annual six-weeks term at Avery's Creek, in the Asheville vicinity, the students talked union from the early rising-bell till the owls hooted midnight in the trees, above the katydids. The director explained why the attendance was not so large as in previous years: many individuals who had received scholarships could not be spared from organization work in their localities, since the tremendous new impetus from the campaign of the C.I.O. Still, they came from practically every state in the Southern territory, except Missouri—a living hive, vocal with the aroused energies and purpose of the struggle for organization back home.

"Grandfather clock says 'Take your time, take your time!' Alarm clock says, 'Get together, get together!'" This is a sample of a home-made recruiting slogan in use in Arkansas. The sharecropper author of it had only two weeks schooling in her whole 44 years, and she was learning to read and write at the Summer School. Bert went into the fields when she was five, like every sharecropper's child having to work alongside of the family to get enough food to eat—meal and sowbelly which gives them pellagra, because sharecroppers before the union were not allowed to plant vegetables. Bert lived for five years on bread and gravy, and got pellagra. But though her body is a ruin, her spirit is unbeatable. One of the most capable organizers in her district, and recently elected president of a Southern Tenant Farmers Union local, she reports organization now almost 100 per cent solid in that state where, scarcely a year ago, the outrageous Sheriff Peacher of newspaper fame was holding tenants in peonage on his feudal plantation. Miracles in the Deep South! "Ole Futrell"—Bert puts the accent on the first syllable—was thrown out in the last gubernatorial election, and the sharecroppers have a governor who suits them down to the ground. He sends soldiers to protect the union meetings; and if he can't cope with the planters single-handed, he calls up President Roosevelt at the White House. Sheriff Peacher himself, Futrell's stooge, is reduced to begging on the roadside—"He's sure broke now an' a right pitiful figure," Bert says—and he pleads with the sharecroppers to let him join the union!

Political Rumblings

What the planters think of the union's strength may be surmised from what happened three weeks ago, when the local political machine bolted to the Republicans to stop Governor Carl E. Bailey from

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AS TO WOMEN

*What your ten dollars can do to relieve
the suffering of the Chinese people*

ONE of the most affecting moments in the women's session at the Pittsburgh Congress for Democracy and Peace came when a plea was presented for the needs of the suffering civilian victims in China. The associated Mission Boards had prepared a list of what drugs could give the most aid at the moment and how much money would buy them. The list is too long to give here, but excerpts can be given. The entire list can be had by writing to the American League's national office.

The Associated Boards say:

"In China today, as many people perish from uncared-for wounds and inadequately treated injuries as actually are murdered outright on the battlefields. Many of these lives can be saved if adequate medical supplies are made available to the physicians laboring in China. These men are doing their best under adverse circumstances, but they need help.

"Ten dollars from you can alleviate horrible suffering and in many cases can even swing the balance between life and death.

"For example your ten dollars will buy:

Bismuth-Formic-Iodide Comp. Powder. .4 lbs.

"The purpose of this powder is to combat infections, particularly following surgical procedures. It keeps a wound dry and provides some degree of comfort to the victim.

"OR, OF each of the following your ten dollars will provide:

Liquid Paraffin 5 gals.
Tannic Acid Powder 8 lbs.
Hexylan Jelly 12 tubes

"For the horrible burns which necessarily accompany warfare, these preparations are of untold value. They are spread on the burned areas of the body. In effect, they form an artificial layer of skin which protects the seared flesh and gives nature a chance to do her work.

"Or your ten dollars will supply:

Epinephrine Solution 26 ozs.

"This is a preparation made from the adrenal glands. It is used to halt

hemorrhage and can save the lives of those who might otherwise bleed to death. It is also used as an emergency stimulant to increase blood pressure in cases of severe nervous and physical collapse.

"Or your ten dollars will buy:

Ampoules Digitalin 144 amps.

"Digitalis is one of the most widely used and most highly important drugs that the physician has. It gives strength to the failing heart. Whatever else may be happening to the wounded man, his heart must be kept at work.

"OR, OF each of the following, your ten dollars will provide:

Antidysenteric Serum 8 vials
Antimeningococic Serume 3 vials
Antipneumococic Serum 3 vials
Antiperitonitis Serum 6 vials
Antistreptococic Serum 5 vials
Smallpox Vaccine 10 tubes
Diphtheria Antitoxin 10,000 units.. 5 vials
Tetanus Antitoxin 1500 Units..... 15 vials

"Of all the diseases known to medical science, probably no others are more vicious or more dangerous, than Peritonitis, Meningitis, Dysentery, Pneumonia, Diphtheria, Tetanus (usually called lock-jaw), Gangrene and Smallpox.

"Or your ten dollars will supply of each of the following:

Catgut Plain No. 1 48 tubes
Catgut Chromic No. 1..... 84 tubes
Catgut Chromic No. 2..... 84 tubes

"Human flesh has been shot, ripped or cut open. It must be stitched together again. These stitches are made with so-called 'Catgut'—actually taken from the body of sheep. The doctors must have it.

"Or your ten dollars will supply of each of the following:

Ethyl Chloride 17 tubes
Ether 30 tubes
Chloroform 17 tubes

"These are for anesthetic purposes. It has been reported from China that in many cases it has been necessary to perform surgical operations without anesthesia. No more need be said."

—DOROTHY McCONNELL

A Chance for Youth

(Continued from page 15)

and often lengthy periods of unemployment during their work history. Studies have shown that the proportion of them who have at some time been unemployed, is not much less than the proportion of all youth on the labor market who have at some time been out of work—and this percentage is a surprisingly high one.

Not only are recurrent periods of individual unemployment now characteristic of our economic order, but the situation, bad as it is, is known to be aggravated by the personnel policies of some employers. There is definite evidence that—at least in certain sections of the country and in some industries—employers consistently hire youth at an early age because of the low price for which their services can be had, and discharge them when their length of service and their proficiency would entitle them to an increase.

The Wages of Youth

This brings us to the matter of wages. The low rates of pay which the greater part of the employed population receives have been a subject of much comment lately. The public will therefore, hardly be surprised, though it may well be concerned, to learn that the average weekly wage of employed youth has been established by many studies to lie between \$12 and \$15 a week. It is not likely that these sums will be considered generous under any circumstances; and when it is understood that they are medians and consequently imply that half of employed youth receive less, it is evident that in many, if not most, instances they must be grossly inadequate. This is especially true of the large proportion of young people who have family responsibilities. Such youths are known to receive wages which exceed the average by only a relatively small amount. Youth are definitely of the opinion that wages are too low and that they themselves are underpaid, as the results of attitude studies show. They are also keenly aware that to a large extent they are in dead-end employment. We have been following the laissez-faire theory that the lowest price for which a person can be induced to work is a fair price for the job, and the result is that in no way can the wages received by the majority of employed youth be considered adequate to maintain them in a position approaching economic security.

What has been the result of the insecurity everywhere evident among young people? In large part it can only be imagined. It is difficult to quench the spirit of hope among youth, but the influence of environment cannot be escaped; and there is little doubt that continued unemployment has caused damage to character, personality, and perhaps health, which can never be

completely repaired. It is a tragic thing to a young person to feel that there is no place in the world for him, yet very many who have been years without employment must have been forced to that conclusion. Even such young people as may have been fairly continuously employed since leaving school, cannot have escaped some degree of insecurity. We know that marriage has been delayed for many youth, and that in their eyes economic difficulties have been the principal cause. We know that youth who have married can maintain their families only on a scale of living below the commonly accepted American standard. The full effects of the depression years upon young people may never be known, but we can be certain that they have been momentous.

Some Special Problems

To identify fully the causes of economic insecurity among youth would be to anatomize our present economic order and bare the ills which it is heir to. This cannot be attempted in a brief article. Aside, however, from such general contributing circumstances as the displacing of labor by machinery and our inability to distribute equitably the goods which we can produce, there are factors in the situation which apply with especial force to youth. One is that most young people are poorly equipped for employment. There is too little effective relationship between the program of vocational education and job requirements. What is required is a new approach to training young people for employment. It is probable that we must quite abandon the effort to teach them particular skills in the public schools—a task for which these institutions are poorly fitted. We need, however, to discover precisely what are the personal qualifications which enable a youth to obtain and hold employment, and to inculcate them. This will require keeping all youth in school up to the point at which such information can effectively be imparted—probably to the end of high school. At present only 65 per cent of youth of high-school age are in high school, and only about 40 per cent are graduating. That so high a proportion of young people drop out of school before completing what has come to be accepted as the standard period of education for American youth, is itself evidence of a vicious circle of economic insecurity. The chief reasons given by young people for withdrawing are economic. They drop out because their families lack means to enable them to continue, and they will themselves live a life of insecurity made inevitable by the insecurity of their parents.

More extensive and better-directed education, then, is one means of attacking the problem of the economic insecurity of youth. Another is to extend

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Monument

By T. H. Wintringham

ILLUSTRATED BY DAVID BURKE



★

WHEN from the deep sky
And digging in the harsh earth,
When by words hard as bullets,
Thoughts simple as death,
You have won victory,
People of Spain—
You will remember the freemen who fought beside you, enduring and dying with
you, the strangers
Whose breath was your breath.

You will pile into the deep sky
A tower of dried earth,
Rough as the walls where bullets
Splashed men to death
Before you won victory:
Before you freed Spain
From the eating gangrene of wealth, the grey pus of pride, the black scab
of strangers
Who were choking your breath.

Bring together, under the deep sky,
Metal and earth:
Metal from which you made bullets
And weapons against death,
And earth in which, for victory,
Across all Spain
Your blood and ours was mingled, Huesca to Malaga; earth to which your sons
and strangers'
Gave up the same breath.

Bring to the tower, to its building,
From New Castille,
From Madrid, the indomitable breastwork,
Earth of a flower-bed in the Casa del Campo,
And shell-splinters from the University City,
Shell-casing from the Telephonica.
Bring from old Castille, from Santander, Segovia,
Sandbags of earth dug out of our parapets
And a false coin stamped in Burgos by a traitor.
Carry from Leon, from the province of Salamanca,
Where the bulls are brave and the retired generals cowards,
From near the capital of treason and retreat, bring now
Clean earth, new and untouched, from the cold hills,
And iron from the gate, that shall now be always open,
Of Spain's oldest school, where there shall be young wisdom.

From Extramadura, earth from the bull-ring
Where they shot the prisoners in Badajoz.
And lovely Zafra shall give one of its silver crosses;
Galicia, sea-sand and ship-rivets. From Asturias
Spoil from the pits that taught our dynamiters
To face and destroy the rearing tanks, and a pick-haft
That has cut coal and trenches, and is still fit for work.

From the Basque country, from Bilbao and Guernica,
City of agony, villages of fire,
Take charred earth, so burnt and tortured no one
Knows if small children's bones are mingled in it;
Take iron from the mines those strangers envied;
And wash your hands, remembering a world that did so.
Navarre shall give us a ploughshare and a rock;
Aragon, soil from the trench by the walnut tree
Where Thaelmann's first group fought towards Huesca,
And steel from a wrecked car lying by a roadside:
Lukacs rode in that car.

Catalonia, Spain and not Spain, and our gateway
(For myself the gateway to Spain and courage and love)
Shall bring a crankshaft from the Hispano factory
And earth from Durrutti's grave.
Valencia, black soft silt of the rice-fields, mingled
With earth of an orange grove;
Telephone wire, and a crane's chain;
Murcia, a surgeon's scalpel and red earth;
Andalusia, the vast south, shall pay
Barrel of very old rifle found in the hills
Beside a skeleton, earth
That the olives grew from.
And Albacete, where we built our brigades,
Knife-steel and road-dust.

Take then these metals, and under the deep sky
Melt them together; take these pieces of earth
And mix them; add your bullets
And memories of death.
You have won victory,
People of Spain.
And the tower into which your earth is built, and your blood and ours
shall state Spain's unity, happiness, strength; it shall face the breath
Of the east, of the dawn, of the future, when there shall be no more
strangers. . . .

Hope for the South

(Continued from page 23)

going to the Senate. Governor Bailey had received the nomination on the regular Democratic ticket, and this defeat by his own party is unprecedented in the annals of state politics.

Organization of the tenant farmers is pretty nearly complete also in Louisiana, Tennessee and Alabama, according to Bert. But the Mississippi Delta—"the awfulest hell you ever heard about!"—is still to be brought under. And the whole of Florida, and parts of Georgia, similarly are virgin territory.

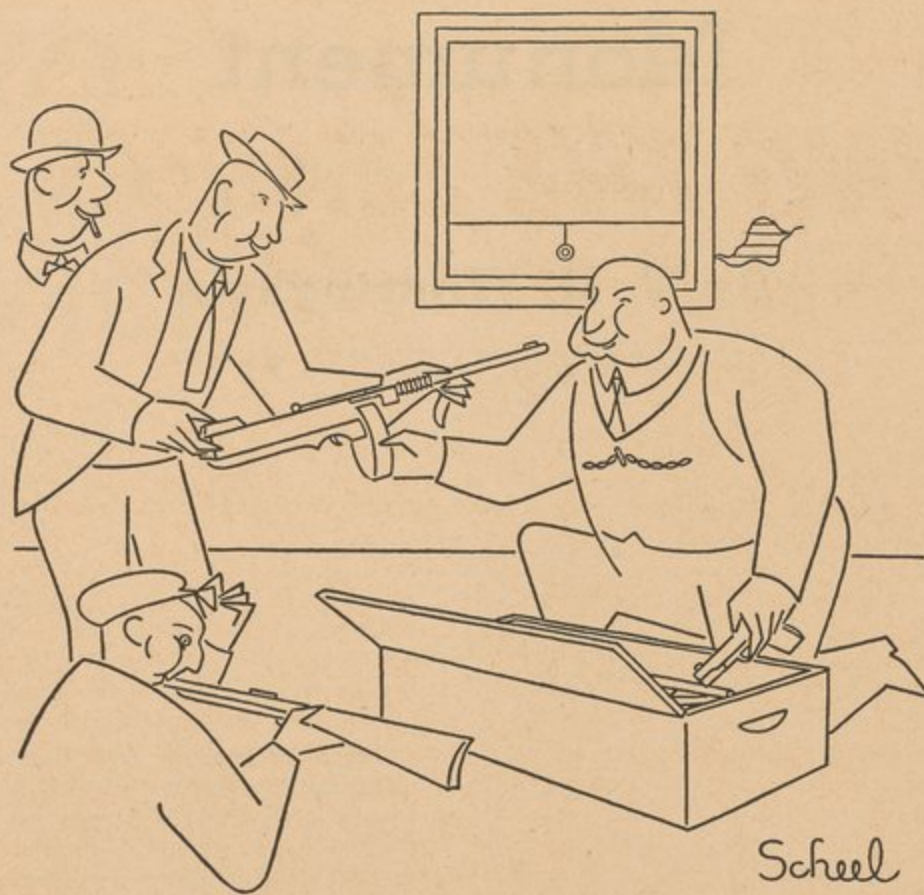
"It's ignurcne that's a-killin' us!" says Bert. "I couldn't talk to highly educated people like boss men, and they talked so big to us they could pull things over us like that. We said 'yes' and 'no' when we never knew what they meant. Thousands of sharecroppers can't read or write, and are growing their children up in the same way they came up."

The Negro Question

"Ignurcne is a-killin' them the same as us!" Bert declares, every time you raise the race question in her hearing. "Aint we all got the same bosses? Why, we associate with 'em out there in the fields, a-workin' alongside of 'em and drinkin' out of the same bucket. Why can't we associate with 'em in the union an' be done with it?" Three years ago Bert would "a-like to died" at the thought of sitting down in the same room with a man or woman whose skin was black, but she has changed her mind. She told me about a little cafeteria worker from St. Petersburg, Florida, a student at the School, who was full of the old prejudice the same as she used to be. "I commenced talkin' to her and she jumped up an' flew out of the room, mad, startin' to cry. Well, I never let up on her! I give it to her every day, an' she kep' right on a-whoopin' and a-bawlin'! Then I see she was a-gittin' onto it, an' the day she left here she come to me volunteer an' says, 'Bert, I reckon you're right an' I was wrong. I just never seen it that way!'"

A good many others, also, have changed their minds. The little cafeteria worker has taken a job recently in a fruit packing-house near Tampa, and she hopes to be active in making her fellow workers in the citrus industry conscious of the union's importance for all. And there will be Negroes in that union!

To remember the Scopes trial, and Bishop Cannon, is to realize the awful power of reactionary religion in the South in years past. "What do the preachers think of your union?" I asked Bert. She explained that on the Sabbath the mornings were for church, afternoons for union. "We open the meetin' with prayer, an' they come totin' their Bibles and lead us. I mean the poor ones, aint never had nuthin',



Back to work!

they're with us all right. But them high ones gettin' big salaries, they're just where they always was. That's with the bosses!"

Workers' education, now struggling along on miserably insufficient resources, cannot stop until there is a school attached to every local union. Then truly will the magnificent new energy that is alive in the South now, bursting prejudices asunder and transforming reactionary dogmatism into human solidarity, reach the proportions of a great mass movement. And that is the hope of the South.

Behind Fascist Brazil

(Continued from page 9)

exports taken by Italy were 2 per cent and 2.1 per cent, respectively. Recently, however, there has been a sharp reversal of the downward trend, owing in large part to trade agreements recently concluded with various South American countries. Thus, during the first seven months of 1937, Italian imports from Argentina were seven times the value in the corresponding period a year earlier and were almost 28 per cent in excess of total imports from all Latin America during the full year 1936.

The foregoing brief survey of the principal movements in Fascist commerce with Latin America represents only the most obvious aspect of this new penetration of the New World. There is a secondary politico-cultural infiltration of Fascism, part of which finds its roots in the traditional cultural orientation of Latin America

toward Latin Europe, where Fascism has momentarily eclipsed Democracy. This orientation would achieve a new and more dangerous impetus from a Fascist victory in Spain, which still is the mother country to millions in South and Central America. In this connection, it should be observed that the official sympathies of the overwhelming majority of Latin American countries already lie with Franco, and it is also well to remember that the sanctionist movement against Italy during the Ethiopian rape made little progress in this area.

Fascism in Latin America has been aided by the existence of large and only partially assimilated groups of Italians and Germans. Numerically, the Italians represent the largest minority nationality and in Argentina account for approximately one fourth of the entire population. The Germans in the aggregate represent a much smaller group, but in a political and economic sense they are important out of all proportion to their numbers in Brazil and Chile. With these important nuclei, it is hardly surprising that Fascist propaganda has been most effective in the "A-B-C countries."

It is impossible to measure with any degree of accuracy the scope and success of the Fascist propaganda machine in these countries. The coloring of news by Italian and German subsidized agencies, however, has become so serious that the Associated British Chambers of Commerce recently adopted a resolution calling on their government to subsidize a news service to counteract the effect of Fascist propaganda in South America. In support

of this measure it was pointed out that while the European dictators were obtaining valuable publicity for totalitarianism, British prestige was being deliberately undermined.

The early traders in Africa bought loyalty with beads and cheap toys. The Fascists are attempting to tighten their "cultural" bonds with South America by means of implements of destruction. This approach is shown by the recent visit of members of the Italian air force to Chile, where, in addition to impressing the country with a display of Fascist military power, they presented two aeroplanes to the Chilean government. This gesture, which appears to be an Italian invention, followed the receipt of orders for 29 military planes, and it may be productive of further orders in the future. Italian arms are also used by the Brazilian government, which in October ordered three submarines identical with the three that have just been completed in the Spezia shipyards. Germany has been no less active in the race to rearm South America. In September, the last installment of 20 planes ordered by the Argentine government was delivered, and orders have been obtained for 36 planes from the Chilean government. Krupp of Essen has established plant facilities in Brazil and Chile, including, in the latter instance, a shipbuilding project.

Arteries of Poison

Fascist ties with South America have been further strengthened by the extension of transportation and communication facilities. These countries have long been served by fast freight and passenger ships operated by subsidized German, Italian and Japanese lines. To these now must be added a network of air lines, the most recent example being the Lufthansa (German) service between Chile, Argentina and Europe, which was inaugurated on September 15th last. The Condor Lufthansa has had for some time a weekly service between Brazil, Argentina and Europe, while the German Zeppelin service has been in operation during the major part of the year between Brazil and Europe. Italy, moreover, is reported to have undertaken experimental work preparatory to the establishment of a South American air line.

Examples of Fascist interest in Latin America, similar to those enumerated, could be multiplied almost indefinitely. Specific instances, however, lose much of their significance when it becomes clear that a definite program of Fascist economic, cultural and political penetration of Latin America is in progress. Until the ultimate implications of this penetration are realized both in Latin America and in the United States, and steps are taken to combat this new threat to the peace of the world, the tireless Fascist worms will continue to burrow deeper and deeper into the vitals of the Western Hemisphere.

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Paul Reid



WITH a new program, a new name and a new constitution, the American League came through the People's Congress with a greater constituency, greater opportunities and greater obligations to the millions of American people whom it represents. The record and impetus of four years of constant and earnest work behind it, the League now enters upon a new stage of development and activities.

The breadth of the organizations represented by the 1,416 delegates at the People's Congress demonstrates the larger constituency we have for the fight against war and Fascism. These delegates represented 1,050 national, district and local organizations with a combined membership of 4,025,920 people. The largest bloc of delegates—413—came from labor unions with a total membership of 1,622,231. Language, fraternal and racial groups sent 347 delegates representing a total membership of over 420,000. Nearly 100 delegates came from social, educational and cultural organizations. Delegates from religious and from farm groups represented 226,000 and 163,000 members respectively. Four international unions, seven A. F. of L. central bodies and 15 C.I.O. councils elected delegates to this momentous

congress. Indeed, this was the most representative assembly of delegates of the American people that has been gathered in many a year. From Seattle and Birmingham, from Boston and Los Angeles, from Houston, Texas and Ironwood, Michigan they came by auto and train, by bus and plane, some hitchhiking and some in pullmans. They came with serious intent; this was not a Chatauqua meeting or a county picnic. They returned to their homes in the towns and countryside, in the big cities and industrial areas, with determination to carry out an active program for peace and Democracy and enlist their fellow citizens in the fight against reaction, Fascism and war. They were inspired by the words of national leaders who addressed them and deeply conscious of their continuing responsibilities as delegates to the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace.

IN THE rush and excitement of such a huge national gathering the hard-working folks who did the thousand and one jobs necessary for holding such an assembly were unnoticed in many cases. From this perspective we can now pay our regards to these people. James Lerner, who had charge of the preparations and plans in Pittsburgh,

performed with credit a difficult task requiring almost superhuman determination and patience. The leaders of the Pittsburgh League—Mrs. David Turets, Dr. R. H. Valinsky and Dr. Isaac Sissman—labored very hard and effectively to make the Congress the success it was. Their many fellow members were constantly busy on many important and vital assignments. It is due to the combined work of these people and others from the field and from the national office that the Congress was carried through with so few hitches.

ALMOST every issue of Democracy and peace found expression in the Congress and the major ones received constant attention. Aid to China—by means of boycotting goods "made in Japan," stopping war supplies to the Japanese militarists, and raising relief funds for the victims of this aggressive war—was emphasized by a number of speakers, by pointed resolutions and received a prominent place in the new program of the League. To date over 100,000 buttons reading, "Don't Buy Japanese Goods; 'Quarantine' the Aggressor," have been circulated by the League, and this campaign has taken on new impetus since the Congress. Support for Spanish Democracy was also central in the Congress proceedings. With Spanish Ambassador Fernando de los Rios, Congressmen Jerry J. O'Connell and John T. Bernard speaking on this issue, the delegates were fired with even stronger determination to stop war supplies to Germany, Italy and Franco, and to remove the embargo against the recognized government of Spain. Labor's democratic rights were considered from many angles. Campaigns against vigilante activities and attempts to incorporate unions, and the organization of people's committees to defend labor's rights in communities were special items of concern. The plight of democratic peoples in other lands was brought before the Congress by a number of delegates and appropriate steps taken for activities on these problems.

A CONCRETE issue of discrimination bobbed up during the Congress when Negro delegates were barred from Pittsburgh hotels. On action of the delegates a committee was immedi-

ately appointed to handle this situation. As a result, white delegates withdrew from the William Penn Hotel, four Negro delegates instituted suit against the management and a picket line consisting of hundreds of delegates, Negro and white, marched around the hotel. A preliminary hearing on these cases occurred on December 11th when the four prosecutors—Angelo Herndon, Arnold P. Johnson, Moran Weston and Vernal J. Williams—appeared with distinguished counsel to fight this issue of discrimination. The case will be fought through with determination. Negro papers in a number of cities have taken up this issue and are looking to a real fight for Negro rights in Pennsylvania. It is reported that a spring convention that is to be held in Pittsburgh has been assured of no discrimination as to housing or eating in at least one of the major Pittsburgh hotels. The demonstration staged by the People's Congress, and the continuing fight of the American League for the rights of Negroes in Pittsburgh, are bound to have a decided effect for Democracy.

MOST of the delegates will remember the mass meeting on Friday night, November 26th, as the most colorful and dramatic session of the whole Congress. In spite of rain and ugly weather, delegates began streaming into Duquesne Garden early in the evening. From Beaver Valley, Pennsylvania, came a caravan of 32 cars carrying miners, mill workers and their families. Two special buses brought several children's bands in uniforms, and the rafters of the Garden rang with their militant music as these youngsters paraded up and down the aisles. Dr. B. J. Hovde's address of greeting on behalf of Mayor Cornelius Scully was a welcome expression of the growing progressive temper of Pittsburgh. This mass meeting of 7,000 people was the largest liberal gathering assembled in Pittsburgh since 1918! A new spirit for the support of Democracy was manifest.

JUST as the Third Congress of the League at Cleveland in 1936 was attacked by American Legionnaires who attempted to dissuade the mayor from welcoming the delegates—and as it was attended by the head of an Amer-



Enroute to Spain, the Hollywood ambulance stopped off at Pittsburgh. (Left to right) George Pershing, Victor Kilian and Martin North

ican Legion committee who unnecessarily gave an assumed name to get on the inside—so the Pittsburgh Congress also met opposition from reactionaries. The use of the Syria Mosque for the sessions of the People's Congress was denied after a certain veteran appeared before the controlling board and made threadbare "red" charges about the League. But veterans were present at the Congress, some from trade unions, others from professional groups and fraternal orders. A new kind of veteran also appeared as a delegate. Members of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, who had fought for Democracy in Spain, were there to take part in the proceedings and give their support to this movement for Democracy.



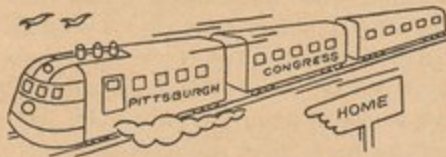
ABOUT 75 League secretaries and active workers from coast to coast stayed over for a secretaries' conference. These people who day after day face local issues and have the job of bringing national issues before the citizens of their communities, had much valuable experience to contribute, and made a number of most helpful recommendations. Bert Leech, Jr., California organizer of the League, presided over the afternoon session and gave consideration to all points of discussion. The delegates were alive to the greater opportunities opened up to them by the People's Congress and felt keenly their responsibilities as leaders and directors of campaigns for peace and Democracy in their home cities. Among their recommendations was the holding of a national conference of League workers within the next six months.

THRILLING moments at the People's Congress—the presentation at the mass meeting of Robert Raven, blinded and lamed veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion; silence and the playing of taps after Ambassador de los Rios' speech in honor of those who had fallen in the fight against Fascism in Spain; greetings from Tom Mooney in his prison cell, wishing success to the Congress; Ludwig Renn's translation of the speech of Juan Marinello, Cuban writer, at the international session; the speech of Representative John Bernard, his first public address since his return from Spain; the appearance of the two Mexican delegates—Mrs. Maria del Refugro Garcia and Antonio de Araujo—and their warm greetings; the adoption of the new constitution and program of the League, marking a new stage in organizational development and activities; the reflection of Harry F. Ward as national chairman and the prolonged ovation given by the delegates in appreciation of his service

and leadership. Among the important organizational actions of the Congress was the approval of a 1938 drive for mass membership. January will see the beginning of this campaign by means of securing blocs of members from affiliated and friendly organizations. Along in April, special drives will be undertaken in certain sections of the country where mass organization for peace and Democracy must be built to further and protect the interests of the people. During the summer, extensive work of recruiting members will be carried on in the countryside and in the small towns among the unorganized and unattached people.

THE new name of the League—American League for Peace and Democracy—is indicative of the positive temper of its fight and more expressive of its objectives. Assuredly the new name and organizational set-up would have been impossible without the experiences and advances of the past four years. The defeat of Fascism and the ending of war call for even greater efforts and must involve many thousands more of the American people.

The significance of the League in this struggle was stated incisively by Dr. Ward in his report to the Congress: "The struggle in Europe and Asia shows very clearly that the democratic forces, the anti-war forces, move always slower than the Fascist aggressors. They were too slow to unite in Italy . . . in Germany . . . in Austria . . . and in Spain. There is one place where they acted in time in Europe in a democratic state, and that was in France. They still have a big battle to fight there, but the point is



this: they took the offensive! First, they did not wait for the Fascists to strike out in the open. As soon as the Fascists appeared upon the streets of Paris with arms, the forces of Democracy drove them off the streets and compelled the government to take the arms away from them. Do you know what was behind that? I will tell you. The French League Against War and Fascism, which prepared the people for that. If they had not had a French League Against War and Fascism, they wouldn't have been prepared, they wouldn't have known what was going on, or how to act. Now, I submit to you, with the evidence before us on the attack against Democracy and peace in this country, that the thing for us to do now is to form a movement which can take the offensive, which can act before the anti-democratic forces capture this country."



By
James Lerner

TREMENDOUS fervor has been unleashed by the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace. Delegates have returned to the four corners of the United States, carrying with them the seeds that will germinate, in the near future, strong organizations of the American League for Peace and Democracy. In these crucial days that lie ahead of us, youth, as always, will play an important rôle. Indications of this were already evident before the Congress adjourned, when youth delegates



from Virginia, Swarthmore, Harlem in New York City, and other communities, were planning their perspectives for building branches and extending their peace activities to include other youth organizations, so that maximum results might be obtained from common efforts. In other words, if you have a youth institution in your locality, such as a settlement house, Y.W.C.A., Y.M.H.A., the leaders and members should be approached immediately, and the project undertaken of starting a branch or peace club.

FROM the New York youth committee comes word that the ball is just beginning to roll. The work of this committee was fruitful in bringing a splendid youth delegation to Pittsburgh, a delegation which included among its many members individuals like Barrington Dunbar, Claude Cargill and Louise Overby, of the Harlem Church Youth Conference, representing close to 100 church youth groups in Harlem; Ruth Berman of the Young People's League (United Synagogues of America); James Allsbrooks of the Carlton Y.M.C.A.; 17 delegates from New York settlement houses including Franklin Harbach, boys-work director of the National Federation of Settlements; Rev. Jules Ayres, of the Young People's Society, Central Presbyterian Church; Martin Levine of the East Flatbush and Brownsville Inter-Club Council, and many others. Now the report comes that the momentum of the campaign to bring delegates to Pittsburgh is accel-

YOUTH NOTES

erating and producing good follow-up results. Already prominent individuals such as Rabbi Samuel M. Cohen, executive director of the United Synagogues of America; A. L. Comither, executive secretary of the Carlton Y.M.C.A.; Phillip Schiff, Headworker of Madison House, and many others, have consented to become part of a sponsoring committee for the efforts of this department. The campaign for building many branches in settlement houses and other youth institutions has begun with the holding of a mass meeting at Henry Street Settlement House addressed by William E. Dodd Jr. and Gordon Sloane, New York youth director. These results would not have been possible without the tireless and collective work of Murry London, Ruth Palley, Marcella Suskind, Saul Glaubinger, Mildred Roth, Florence Greenberg, and Helen Reisman, all executive members of New York's youth committee.

GREETINGS to the Model New York State Assembly to be held at the College of the City of New York over the week-end of January 28th. Patterned after the July 4th Model Congress at Milwaukee, the assembly representing youth and youth-serving organizations will convene to discuss



and propose legislation dealing with unemployment, crime and crime-prevention, health, housing, civil liberties and peace. This project gives promise of being a tremendous success. The feature speaker at the mass meeting which will officially open the sessions is to be Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

ON MARCH 10TH, 11th, and 12th, Young America will lay down its sword and shield, right on the White House steps. The occasion will be the Pilgrimage for Peace and Security, sponsored by the national council of the American Youth Congress. If ever such a venture was not only necessary but mandatory, now is the time.

People Were There

(Continued from page 21)

Resettlement Administration. His view was extremely practical. "You have to show the people what this thing means to them. In principle they will support it, but we will have to make them do something about it. I am a member of the Lutheran Church. In the Church Brotherhood, in my organizations, everywhere I go, I try to convey this idea. The thing is big, it is real, and when potential Fascists learn what the people are thinking, they will know that you can't tinker with us."

Red-haired Jean Murray came from Great Falls, Montana, by airplane. Even members of the Chamber of Commerce contributed towards her trip. Her story sounds like a publicity man's account of a new motion-picture star, even to the part where she was brought up in a convent. And for looks, Jean could make Hollywood any time. She prepared at Ursuline Academy at Pitts Falls, and entered the University of Montana in 1933. They politely expelled her from that institution for writing articles criticising the faculty. Listen to her on the subject of the League. "Every labor union in Montana has endorsed the Congress. The state Ministerial Association has recommended that its members join the American League for Peace and Democracy. The Butte central trades and labor body and the central labor body of Great Falls have become affiliated with the League. These are A. F. of L. organizations. Altogether, 40,000 trade unionists, professional people and farmers have endorsed the program. We are labor-conscious in our country. If a candidate for office hasn't a labor endorsement he is licked before he starts. This Congress has mapped out a program which fits right into our picture. I am speaking for Montana and we don't fool."

A Negro Preacher

The Reverend Shack Herman Murphy has been in the pulpit more than eight years and he is only 27 years old. Last year he played left tackle for Central City College of Macon. On Saturdays he was on the gridiron, on Sundays he was called upon to preach. The Conference of Baptist Churches of Alabama, representing 400 churches, delegated the dynamic Negro evangelist to the Congress. The Reverend doesn't smoke, and drinks only a little wine from time to time. He preaches around a circuit, and appears before five or six churches every Sunday. At least 30,000 church-goers hear his inspiring voice in the course of a year. Coming from a country where organization had been slow, and at the mercy of strong Fascist groups, Murphy was

inspired by the progress of the C.I.O. in his section and the tremendous strides made by the Farmers Union. Asked after the Congress whether he agreed with the League's program he stated forcefully, "Not only do I agree, but I feel that this message must be brought to my people in the South."

Out of the South

Brother Murphy came to Pittsburgh in an old Ford with George H. Campbell, executive of the Farmers Educational and Coöperative Union, LeRoy Cooper Milner, Y.M.C.A. secretary representing the Birmingham Branch of the League, and Mrs. Mildred Reese, Southern organizer for the League. Campbell, who farms 120 acres near Gadsden, has been a unionist for less than a year. He heads his local union and is acting secretary of the state body, which has a membership of more than 3,000. Milner's League Branch convinced him to come to Pittsburgh, despite the efforts of reactionary newspapers to sabotage the League's work. He is determined to carry League organization through in Birmingham. Mrs. Reese, a former newspaper woman, has given up journalism and now spends all her time in League work. She stated, "Southern mill-owners and manufacturers and big land-owners have been none too enthusiastic about the League's program. They like their own brand of Fascism and will fight any effort to break up their game. But the Farmers Union, organized labor and the intelligent professionals have already answered the reactionaries' attack. Doctors, lawyers, storekeepers and ministers are definitely behind the League."

"I'm glad to see the preachers are here," declared Joseph P. O'Shea, chairman of the Toledo local of the Federation of Flat Glass Workers. "You can't save souls without doing something about the body. The fact that they came to Pittsburgh proves that they've found that out." O'Shea, a glass-worker by trade, was unanimously elected chairman by 2,500 members of the Federation's biggest local. Before coming to Pittsburgh he had been skeptical of the League's prospects, but declared that developments at the Congress were the go-ahead signal for his boys.

Toledo Unionists

O'Shea was interviewed in a restaurant between sessions. With him were James D. Cook, Shop Steward Chairman of Local 14 of the United Auto Workers, and Howard Clay, Negro, a Shop Steward in the same organization. The unionists were discussing local conditions and drawing a parallel between conditions in Toledo and the League's general problems. Said Cook, "We are the local that put General Motors on the run, ask old man Knudsen about that." By way

of confirming it, Clay declared, "We had a battle in '35, the court-house in front of us, the county jail to the left of us, the police station to the right of us and the Federal Building behind us and we won!"

At this point R. D. Good, of the Machine and Tool unit of Local 14, entered the dining-room with his wife Mary, representing the Women's Auxiliary. Cook added, "And don't forget to tell them that we are the local that put the Auto Workers on the map. Golf caddies, street-cleaners, junkmen and undertakers are organized today. Yessir, Toledo is a union town, and the way the League is going, it will mean a lot to union men."

Mrs. Good put it this way: "I sacrificed my Christmas vacation to come here, and it has been an education in itself. My mother used to tell me the story of a father's legacy to his 12 sons. It's about the father who wrapped 12 sticks tightly together and asked each of his sons to break the bundle. When they had tried unsuccessfully, the old man untied the bundle and showed how easy it was to break each stick. 'That's my legacy to you boys!' he said. It's this lesson, united you have strength, alone you fall."

On two points the party agreed—that Local 14 made the U.A.W.A., and "if we don't win the fight against Fascism, we lose in our shops."

A Peace Veteran

In 1916, when he joined thousands of Americans in a Peace March on Washington, Dr. F. W. Walz was 57 years old. Physically strong, definite in his outlook, Dr. Walz was still a youngster when he came to Pittsburgh as representative of 10,000 Small Home and Landowners of Cleveland. A few years ago, as a City Councilman, Dr. Walz secured the passage of a bill which won equal civil rights for the Negro. He came to the American League Congress because he felt that the struggles for equal rights must be conducted on a national scale. His neat white beard pointed determinedly upward, and his bright blue eyes gleamed as he smilingly said, "I can speak German as well as any German." Asked if that included Hitler, the physician blurted out, "As well as any German, I said!"

That's how it was at the Pittsburgh Congress, where America mapped out a program, and organized forces to carry that program through. Figure it out—4,000,000 people were represented—yet not one Big Business lobbyist in the cloakroom. Farmer and worker, teacher and student, the small merchant and his customer—all were there! And having heard from these people, one thing is clear. America has spoken, now we shall act.

The Key

to the Week's

World News



1. U. S.: Vigilante groups "defend labor."
2. Spain: Mussolini "rebels" in Spain.
3. Palestine: Britain "protects" Jews and Arabs.
4. China: Japan invades China for friendship's sake.

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Occupation

About China

(Continued from page 11)

aggression in China was based not only upon the actual invasion, but even more upon its pro-Fascist significance.

"The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Pact makes no secret of the Fascist aims of the signatories," he said, "in spite of the fact that Japan is not yet quite a Fascist country, in the same sense that the other two are. We still have a number of political parties represented in a parliament, which is partly chosen by democratic vote.

"But—beyond the fact that radical parties are outlawed—our parliament is so heavily weighted in favor of autocracy that it becomes a very feeble instrument indeed for expressing the will of the people. In the upper house there are a number of lords, millionaires and members of the old bureaucracy, chief advisers to the Emperor and hand in glove with him. The members of the lower house are chosen by popular vote. But their power is negligible, for if they pass a bill and it is turned down by the upper house there is no further step possible; the measure is killed. You can see how slim are the chances for laws that would favor the interests of the masses of people."

"The Japanese imperialists claim that they are champions of all colored races," I began.

Mr. Ishigaki smiled.

"I don't remember hearing their voices raised in protest when Italy entered Ethiopia," he said. "And certainly their treatment of the Koreans wouldn't exactly support their claim.

"As a matter of fact, their whole method in this war hardly backs up their pretension to humanitarianism, to say the least. It is true that war at best is a ghastly business; but it is significant to note that the Fascist war-makers—the Italians in Ethiopia, the Rebels in Spain, the Japanese militarists in China—have been ruthless in their attacks upon civilians, and conscienceless in the bombing of women and children, which is contrary to accepted rules of warfare. 'Agreement' means no more to them here than they have shown it to mean in any other direction!"

Why Japan Fights

I asked Mr. Ishigaki what was his opinion of Japan's need for additional territory, and what also he thought of the possibility of coöperation between the two great Mongolian nations.

"As for needing territory to relieve the congestion," he said, "one need only see how little exodus from Japan there has been into Manchuria, to demonstrate the fallacy of that. No, Japan wants colonies for the same reason that all imperialist countries have always wanted colonies: to guarantee her increased markets, and increased

access to raw materials. It is no mere coincidence that Manchukuo happens to be rich in natural resources!

"And as for coöperation—that will be possible when the last Japanese soldier has left Chinese soil, and not until then."

"What is the way out for the Japanese people?" I asked.

"The strengthening of trade unions, organizing, building of public opinion—all these things that are easy enough to say, but which are faced by such heavy opposition in Fascist countries. Meanwhile, those outside must be doing what they can for the building of public opinion outside, and must be urging such practical measures as the boycott of Japanese goods, to hasten the end of the present struggle."

Democracy's Stake

I cannot do better, in closing, than to quote the words of the Chinese Ching-Min Wang, sure that they will find echo in all minds awake to the gravity of the world situation today:

"Let us hope that before it is too late the democratic nations will awake to the seriousness of their own stake in the present Far East conflict. Let us hope that those peoples who cherish democratic ideals are not going to live to regret bitterly their inertia when it is no longer possible to fight the forces which threaten death to Democracy—to civilization and progress!"

From Pittsburgh

(Continued from page 7)

enough for all those who hate war because they love peace, who oppose Fascism because they cherish Democracy."

Yet limitations of space compel me to regroup this nine-point program into even broader divisions. So grouped it contains four basic projects.

First, the defense of Democracy through defence of labor's rights which are the object of the bitterest attacks against it.

Second, the defense of Democracy through defense of minorities including Negroes and the foreign-born, whom anti-democratic forces employ as smoke-screens to cover their real objectives.

Third, the defense of Democracy through opposing the War Department's plans to militarize labor and industry, to regiment the press and to curtail civil liberties.

Fourth, a realistic peace policy based on recognition of (a) the distinction between aggressor nations and their victims; (b) the necessity for collective action to quarantine aggressors by denying our economic resources to them, and for opening those resources to their victims under conditions designed to remove the risk of our being drawn into war; (c) the effectiveness of a people's boycott against Japanese, Italian, and German Fascist goods.

The scope of these four basic points

in the League's program can perhaps best be gauged by some of the most important resolutions adopted by the Congress to give them concrete and specific direction. These resolutions, in themselves a manual of arms for the struggle on behalf of peace and Democracy, deserve careful and detailed study. Here it is possible only to paraphrase and highlight them:

A resolution on the defense of labor's rights, with specific opposition to anti-picketing ordinances, the use of relief rolls for strike-breaking, vigilante and police terrorism, the attempt to compel incorporation of labor organizations.

A resolution calling upon the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. to come to a mutually acceptable settlement of their differences.

A resolution calling for boycott of Japanese goods and demanding an embargo on shipment of all war materials to Japan.

A resolution calling for revision of the Neutrality Law by Congress to distinguish between the aggressor, Japan, and the victim, China.

A similar resolution in regard to Spain, including specific opposition to all recognition of Franco and to trade relations with the Rebels.

A resolution urging governmental recognition of responsibility for adequate maintenance of the unemployed, and specifically demanding that budget considerations shall not interfere with such maintenance, that relief shall not be denied to those unemployed because of an industrial dispute, and that the unemployed shall participate in decisions as to relief administration.

A resolution calling for legislative, executive and judicial action to free Tom Mooney and other long-term political prisoners.

A resolution condemning anti-Semitism as a Fascist and anti-democratic weapon, and calling upon the government of the United States to protest the treatment of the Jewish minority in Poland and to investigate anti-Semitic organizations in this country.

A resolution urging that contemplated trade pacts between the United States and Great Britain be directed toward consolidating the common interests of the democratic nations, and be extended to include all friends of peace; and further urging that similar negotiations with Fascist powers be held in abeyance pending removal of their armed forces from neighboring territories, and their discontinuance of fomenting civil war in democratic countries.

A series of resolutions in support of democratic rights and in opposition to Fascist tendencies and measures in Brazil, Cuba, Quebec, Puerto Rico, Poland and Ethiopia.

A resolution demanding immediate and favorable action on the Anti-

Lynching Bill now under consideration by Congress.

These are but condensations of a few of the resolutions which give substance and sinew to the League's program. Yet they reveal a new grasp of the relation between economic and international questions which must underlie any real struggle on behalf of peace and Democracy. These questions were seen at the People's Congress to be not two but in the deepest sense, one. The full realization of their unity and its implication for united effort was the great achievement of the Congress. It marked an epochal advance in the political thinking of a major cross-section of the American people. It is embodied in the League's new name, in its organizational structure, in its fundamental program. It creates the basis for a genuine, a powerful, a resistless people's movement.

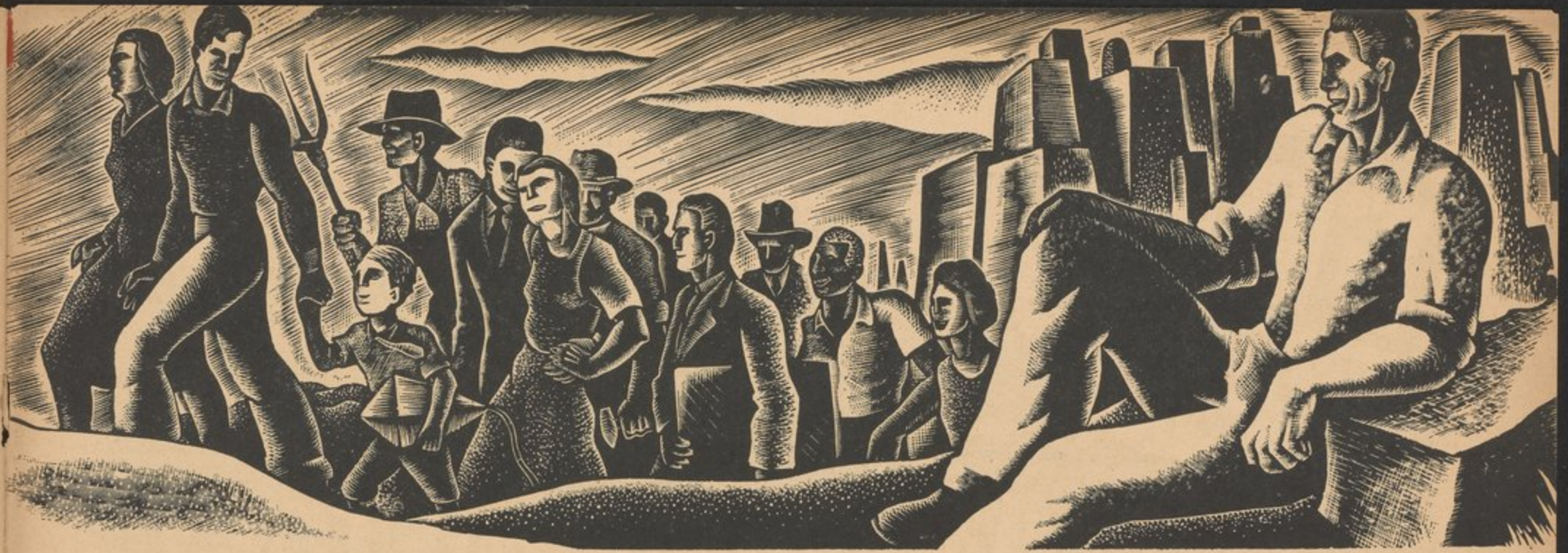
But a Congress—even such a Congress—can do no more than lay the foundations; the structure is still to be reared. It could and did clear the track, the race must yet be run. Day-by-day work must be intensified in the trade unions, among the farmers, in schools, in churches, among the middle class, and in the national and state legislatures. New forces must be drawn in; broader alliances must be forged; a new and faster tempo must be set and maintained; an offensive, not a defensive campaign must be waged. The People's Congress has given the American League for Peace and Democracy a clear mandate to do these things. Let us fulfill it.

A Chance for Youth

(Continued from page 24)

and improve facilities for providing the special placement and occupational counseling services which young people need. Effort along this line is being carried forward by the National Youth Administration, which maintains junior-employment offices in 63 cities. The task of increasing wages is currently being approached through the two channels of organized labor and public opinion, the latter acting through its agent, the government. Both of these channels, it can be affirmed, have the support of young people. Progress has been made of late, and it is likely that some further amelioration will be achieved.

Reduction and, if possible, elimination of the economic insecurity which now grips the younger generation must be largely the work of organized society, but there is considerable that youth themselves can do. We can be assured of the gratitude of young people and of their intelligent coöperation. Youth as a whole are not embittered toward society, but it cannot be a matter for surprise if their traditional optimism has worn somewhat thin.



WOODCUT BY DAN RICO

Democracy Must Answer

A DIPLOMAT'S tour of Europe would be much more interesting and enlightening these days than a Cook's Tour. In recent weeks we have had the excursion of Lord Halifax to Hitler, the Yugoslavian premier's chat with Mussolini in Rome, and French Foreign Minister Delbos' extended tour of Central Europe including stops in Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

The activities of Mussolini and of Delbos are the clearest. They concern the efforts of Fascism to build an armored body around the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo war chassis, and the opposing efforts of the French government to keep the smaller countries on the side of the democracies. Czechoslovakia is worried over increased German attention towards a possible repetition of Spain within her borders—the danger of which has been emphasized by Czech Nazi *Fuehrer* Henlein's speeches in Germany.

Any successes that Mussolini and Hitler have had in their undertakings in recent months may be chalked up to the faltering steps of the democracies, with British skullduggery thrown in for good measure. From Ethiopia to Spain through the present Chinese war, the initiative has definitely been on the side of the war-makers. And now as never before, nothing succeeds like success.

That's what adds to the sinister meaning of the Halifax-to-Hitler play. The British special envoy represents the worst side of Tory Britain. His was definitely a mission to see how much Hitler would demand as hush money. On the heels of his visit to Berlin there came rumors of possible colonial grants. Immediately there followed reports from Portugal and Belgium that they wouldn't give up any of their empires. Portugal's position is sardonic. Herself a member of the Fascist bloc, an invader of Spain, she is now being thought of as the possible sacrificial lamb to pacify the earthly gods of international war. Fascism's ethics call for no better. Belgium's foreign minister is quoted as sympathetic to making a deal on mandates, however.

It is unfortunate that in some peace circles the idea of getting peace through giving colonies to

aggressors is discussed and even approved. Giving mandates or colonies as blackmail money will only supply the aggressors with sources for materials with which to wage greater wars. Japan's appetite has not been curbed by her repeated slicing of China. Italy has not been satiated by her invasion of Africa. *The solution to imperialist war is not more imperialism. Peace cannot be secured by offering rewards to those who make wars.*

The maneuverings in Europe are part of the war in the Far East. The military defeats of China mean a prolongation of the war with consequent increased dangers to surrounding countries. The Brussels Conference did not bring the desired results but it was a beginning. It is time the democracies learned the art of being bold. Consistent application of the principle of "quarantine the aggressor" by our own country would help supply the base for democratic cooperation for peace throughout the entire world.—J.L.

Americanism Not Fordism

STRIKES in a number of Ford plants indicate that the nation may soon witness an attempt by the United Automobile Workers to sign up the Flivver King's vast domain. In such event, past performances as well as Henry's expressed "Fordisms" point toward the unleashing of considerable violence against the democratic rights of the organized workers.

Forewarned is forearmed, and all friends of Democracy should hold themselves ready to protect the U.A.W.A.'s civil rights when and if they are threatened. But there is an additional reason for the American people's concern in the organization of Ford's. More than any other industrialist, and more openly than the greatest financiers of Wall Street, the tyrant of Dearborn stands for black reaction. He is the powerful sworn foe of all America holds dearest.

Is it industrial relations? The brutal Service Department of Harry Bennett, with its barefaced attack last summer on the Auto Workers' officials, and the Ford system of speed-up are household words. American equality? Henry Ford stands

convicted as a disseminator of anti-Semitism and race hatred; wherever one picks up the trail of un-American groups like the Silver Shirts, sooner or later it leads to Ford's. Economic recovery? Ford openly defied the N.R.A. on the grounds that he was bigger than our government. Social security? When the hungry victims of Fordism demonstrated at Dearborn, machine guns mowed them down.

Or is plain Americanism in question? Here we ask: was it in any way accidental that Fritz Kuhn, Nazi *Fuehrer* in this country, was "employed by the Ford Motor Company"—and that many other Nazis and their like have found their way to Ford's?

Truly the auto workers have a job to do—for themselves and for America.—C.P.

Time to Organize

THE MOST hopeful sign of the times during these troubled days is the capacity of the people to organize and carry through a national assembly where the elected representatives of more than four million men and women met to frame a program in defense of life and liberty. The recent Pittsburgh Congress not only established the American League for Peace and Democracy as the leading organized force in this country for the prevention of war, but more than that—it gave its peace program real substance by pointing out that peace can only become a reality if we struggle for the preservation and development of Democracy. And even more than that, the program was backed up at the Congress by representatives of more than *two million trade unionists and farmers* and two million more from fraternal, church and youth organizations.

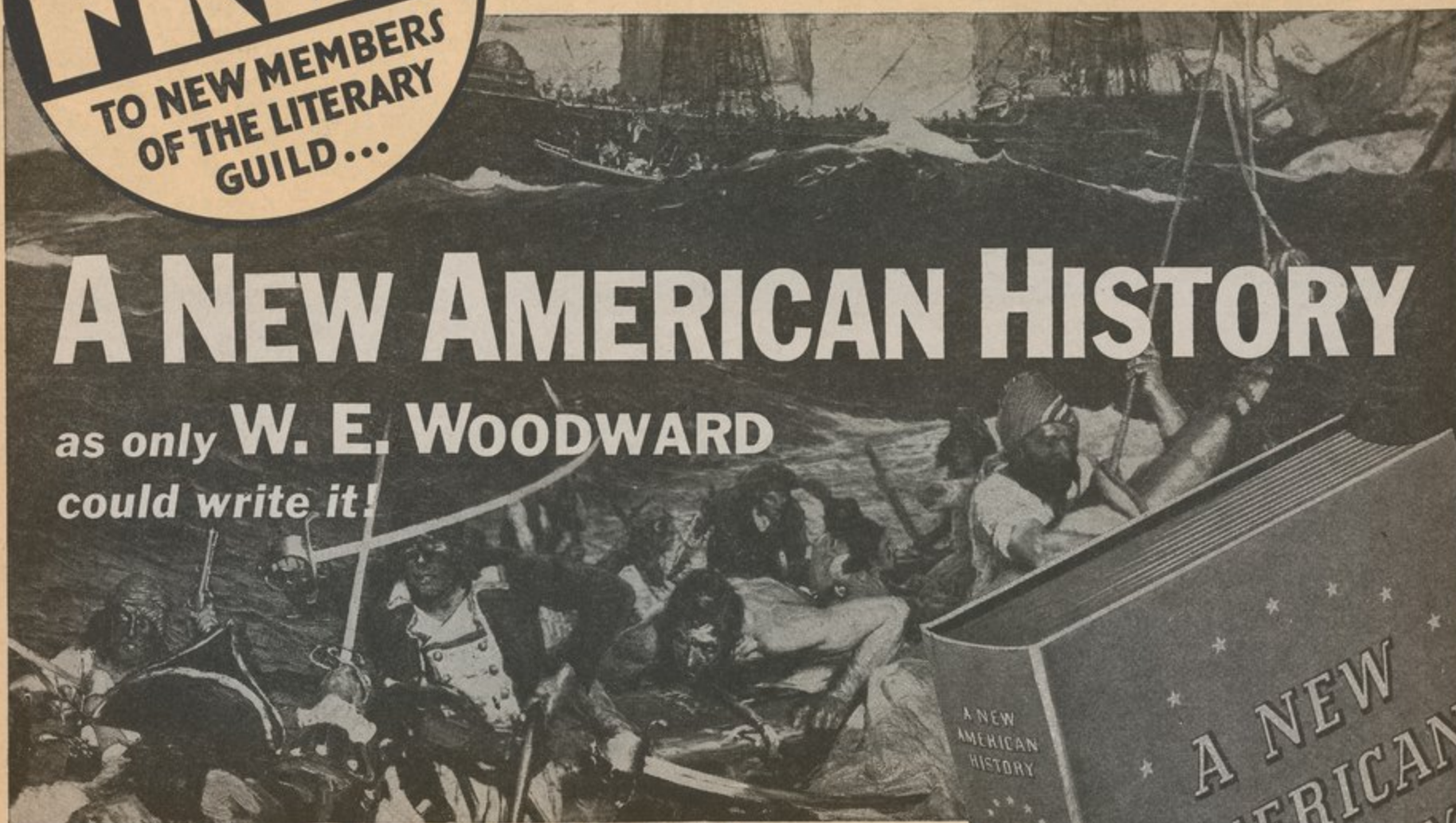
But this congress, excellent as it was, is not enough. The delegates going back to their shops, mills, farms and offices must *organize and educate*. Their organizations must become part of the American League, active and determined that Democracy and peace shall be triumphant. Only through organized efforts can we accomplish our purpose and do our job against war and Fascism.—G.D.

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