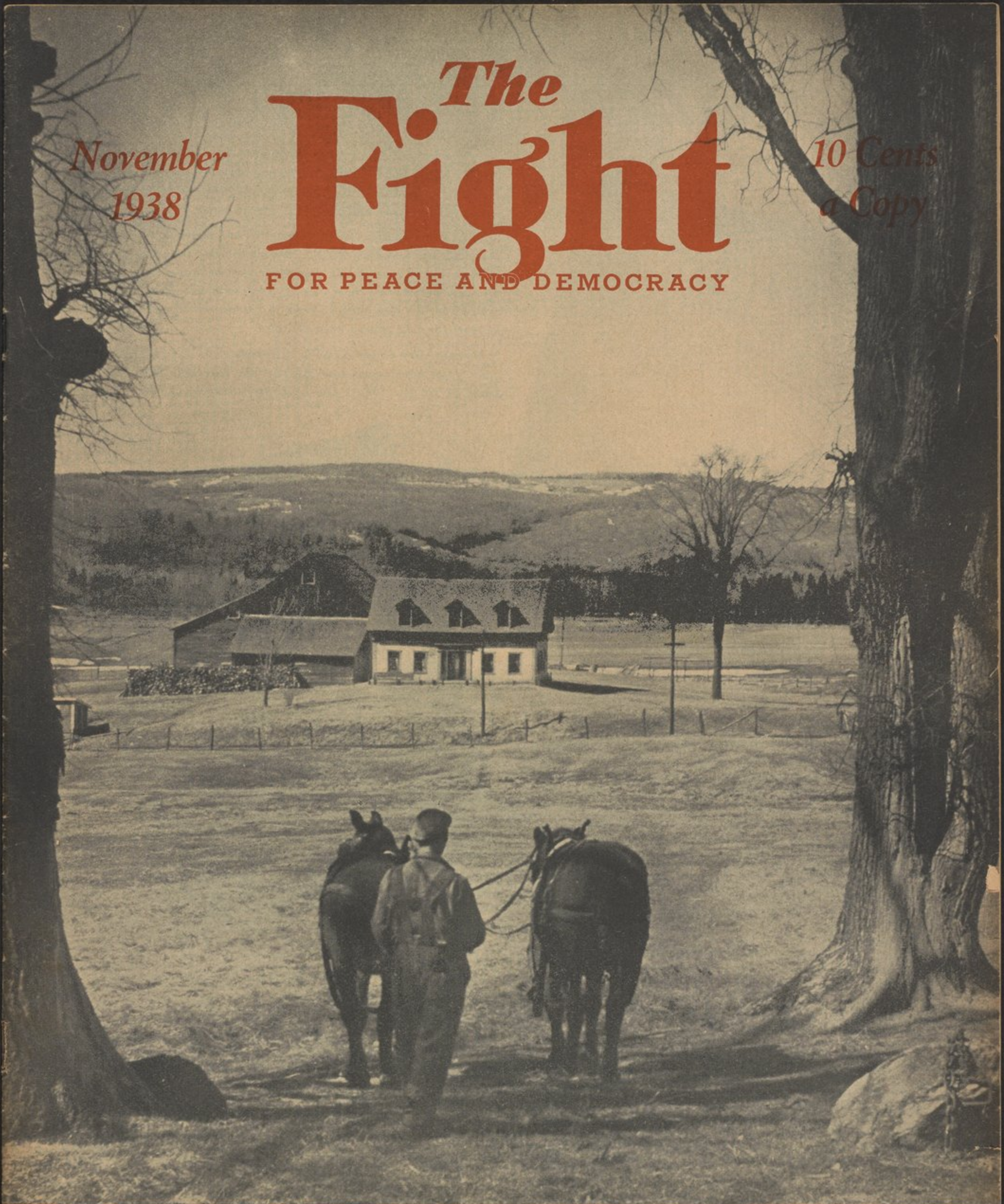


November  
1938

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- **SCHOOL FOR BARBARIANS**, by Erika Mann. Just out. The ominous story of goose-stepping, straight-jacketed German youth under the Nazi regime.

## With the Readers

★

ARE you bothered by wise guys? If not, you might as well stop here, because this column is about—and against—them. We refer to those persons who can never be satisfied with the information that is handed out to the ordinary run of people. Sometimes they are merely cynics who like to whittle everything else down to their size. Sometimes they have the very, very best of intentions, and only want to know the inside dope in order the more effectively to lead the general public onto the true road of salvation. But always they are wise guys, and always they are certain that your first answer is not your last. "Yes, of course you say that for mass consumption, but now between the two of us . . ."

BETWEEN the thousands of us, we are tired of them, and if this piece can start a movement for the Annihilation of Wise Guys, we will carry the banner. And on it we will inscribe the words of Zola: Sincerity, Sincerity and Again Sincerity. For example: one of these super-sophisticated individuals wants to know what we "mean by Democracy." We always thought it meant "rule of the people"—but this textbook definition won't do for Mr. Brains. He has to ask—really now, *entre nous*—whether we have Democracy in America. Yes, we reply, such has been our impression. Then he asks whether we don't think our Democracy could be improved. We reply that it probably could, and that if it is, the people—Democracy—will do it. Simple? Not to a wise guy.

PEACE is something else which must be patiently defined for the know-it-all set. Are we really for peace, or for this, that or the other kind of a war? Do we think peace is possible, or isn't war and more war inevitable? Of course, "peace" for the unthinking masses . . . but between friends . . .? And when we answer that peace as we understand it is the absence of military operations—namely, not war—and that peace must and can be achieved where it does not exist, and that war itself is an enemy which can be driven back and back and finally off the face of the earth forever—a cryptic smile lights up in our "friend's" eyes. He can see that we are just treating him as we would any one of the *hoi polloi*.

AGAIN, there is America. Do we really mean that we are proud of this mighty country, that we love her like a mother? And "united front"—is it a wholehearted union of differing people who yet agree on a common ground—or is it, *frankly*, a screen behind which the various parties try to knife each other? When we say liberal, do we mean radical, or do we mean reactionary? What do we *honestly* think of Fiorello LaGuardia? Such are the questions which pour upon us from the lips of our Doubting Thomases.

WE don't claim to be paragons of honesty, but *frankly*, the wise guys have so confused us that we have fallen back on habitually telling the truth. We are vaguely afraid of committing perjury otherwise, and besides, we always get mixed up as to who is supposed to be conspiring against whom. So we will blab anything, either to our nearest and dearest or to the fellow in the street watching the fire-engines with us. If you have any secret aims that you wouldn't want just anybody to know about, don't tell us. We'd print it.

THE FIGHT, November 1938



The "peace of Munich" brought no peace to this young Czechoslovakian refugee

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CHARLES PRESTON, *Assistant Editor*

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## The Contributors

★

ROBERT G. SPIVACK is the United States secretary of the International Student Service. He has contributed to a number of periodicals. A visit to Czechoslovakia provided him with much of the material for his article here.

BENJAMIN APPEL'S story is from his forthcoming novel to be published by E. P. Dutton & Co. Appel has written *Brain Guy*, *Runaround* and other books, and has been included in the O. Henry and O'Brien collections.

MARTIN DIBNER has contributed illustrations to our pages in several recent issues.

ERICH JUNGSMANN was a member of the Reichstag before Hitler came to power. He left Germany only recently, and was a delegate to the World Youth Congress in Poughkeepsie. He has been especially active as a youth leader.

PEDRO GARFIAS is a Spanish poet.

T. H. WINTRINGHAM, who translates *Madrid*, is an authority on military science as well as a poet. Wintringham, an Englishman, has been in Spain during much of the war, and was wounded twice. He commanded the English-speaking battalion in the battle of Jarama.

HENRY ZON, who is Washington correspondent for the Federated Press, has written for our pages before.

LEO MANSO, who made the American Congress for Peace and Democracy poster, says that he "paints, draws and likes it."

DOROTHY MCCONNELL has been editor of *World Service News* and has written a number of books for children. She is, of course, national secretary of the Women's Committee of the American League. She interviewed MME. J. H. SUN shortly after MME. Sun arrived in the United States.

ABRAHAM J. ISSERMAN is on the board of the National Lawyers Guild and chairman of the organization's committee on consumers and coöperatives. He is a prominent labor and civil liberties attorney, being counsel for Labor's Non-Partisan League in New Jersey and a member of the board of the American Civil Liberties Union. He is, as well, a contributing editor of the Newspaper Guild's *Guild Reporter*. Mr. Isserman attended both of the congresses in Mexico City that he reports here.

AN EXPLANATION—Robert Morss Lovett writes: "A paragraph in my article in THE FIGHT for September in reference to the union of the Lutheran and Evangelical Churches should be read as reflecting the views of the person mentioned in the last sentence, a clergyman obviously not unsympathetic to the present régime in Germany."

FINALLY, we want to thank our many friends whose contributions were expressed in their financial aid in answer to our letter of several weeks ago. The response to our appeal was immediate and encouraging. THE FIGHT is and must be a coöperative enterprise, the responsibility of every single person who is aware of the danger of war and Fascism.



## TO WASHINGTON — IN JANUARY

**A**LL WHO want peace are looking toward the American Congress for Peace and Democracy this coming January 6th, 7th and 8th. All eyes are turning toward Washington, D. C., where the delegates of the American people will gather when the snow flies over the Capitol.

But you will want to do more than simply attend the Congress. You will want to have a share in planning it—in building this tremendous assemblage for peace. You want, too, to have a part in the day-to-day struggle to halt the war-makers and preserve American and world Democracy.

Join the American League for Peace and Democracy! Or if you already belong, plunge into the CONGRESS MEMBERSHIP DRIVE by getting others to join. Remember, there are valuable prizes for enrolling new members. (Write for list of individual and branch prizes.)

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In a single issue of what other magazine could you find full length articles by H. G. Wells, Stuart Chase, William Allen White, Dr. Douglass W. Orr, Henrik Willem Van Loon, Paul Kellogg, Beulah Amidon, Otto Neurath, Walton H. Hamilton, C. A. Dykstra, Victor Weybright, Leon Whipple, and John Palmer Gavit? These distinguished writers contribute frequently to *Survey Graphic*—all contributed to a recent issue.

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## Czechoslovakia Will Live

*The spirit of the Czechoslovakian people, who have fought against centuries of oppression, cannot be downed by the guns of Hitler or the intrigues of international Tories*

By Robert G. Spivack

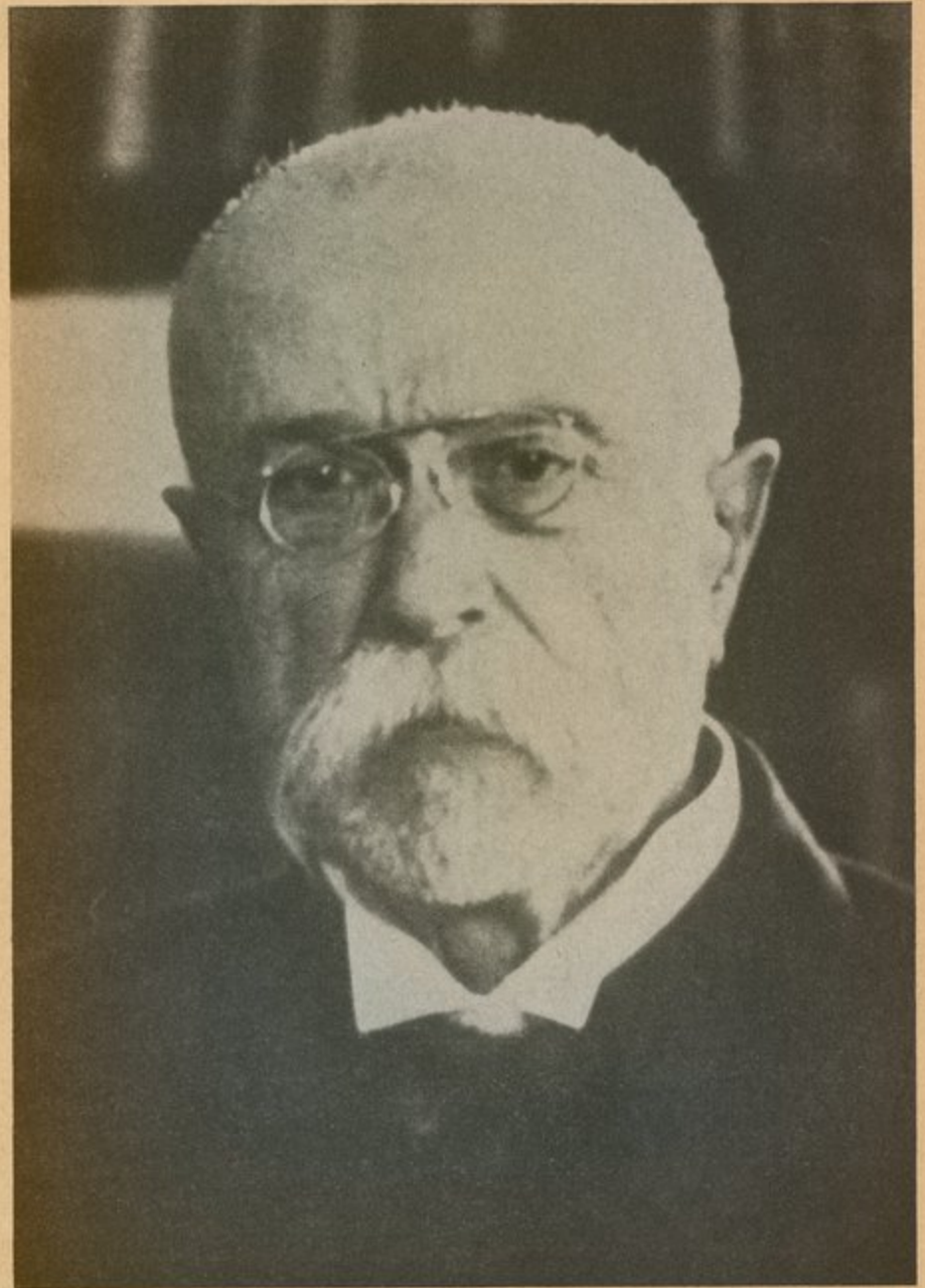
"I CAN STILL walk about in the world with my head erect. . . . I tried to swallow the Munich terms," Alfred Duff Cooper, resigning British First Lord of the Admiralty, bitterly remarked, "but they stuck in my throat."

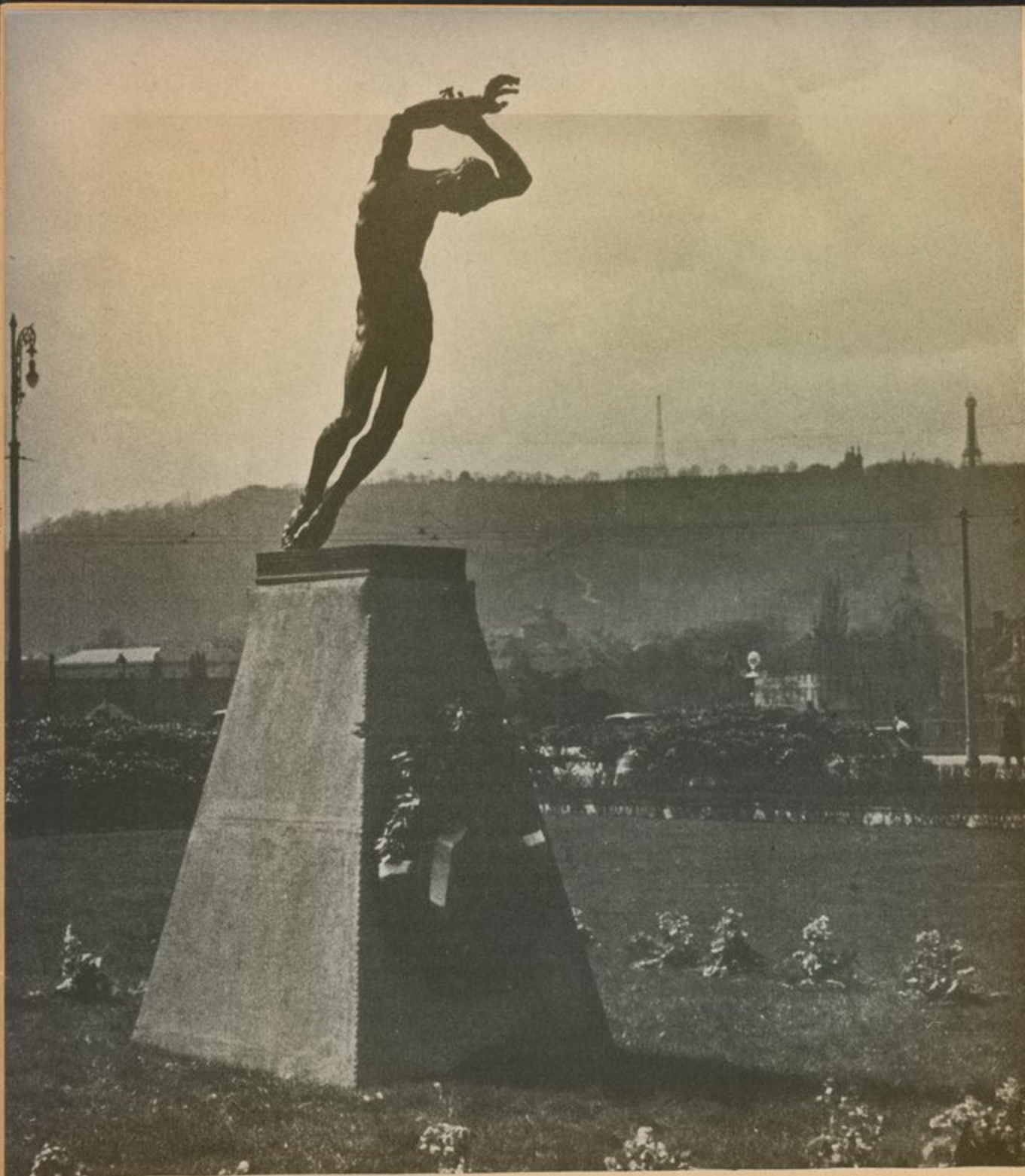
"We shall always be a small minority in the world," Thomas Garrigue Masaryk wrote, "but when a small nation accomplishes something with its limited means, what it achieves has an immense and exceptional value, like the widow's mite. . . . It is a deliberate and discerning love of a nation that appeals to me, not the indiscriminate idea which assumes everything to be right because it bears a national label. . . . Love of one's own nation should not entail non-love of other nations. . . . Institutions by themselves are not enough."

It was against these ideals, against men who believe and believe deeply in the dignity of their fellow-men, that the German Army marched on October 1, 1938. Twenty years ago almost to the day a pact was signed at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, between Czechs and Slovaks which marked the establishment of a little nation in Central Europe, named Czechoslovakia. "We are a nation of peasants and workers," Dr. Eduard Benes told this writer. "Our first president was the son of a little worker and our second president is the son of a little peasant." In that humbleness is hidden a great national pride.

On October 1st the sun set on the British Empire. On October 1st there was a blackout in the hearts of all free men. A cheap British prime minister

*At right, Thomas G. Masaryk, the father of Czechoslovakian independence, and a part of the vast crowds at Masaryk's funeral procession*





*The tomb of the Czechoslovakian Unknown Soldier in Prague*

cringing before a bully gave away something the value of which he could never know.

#### *A Nation of Brothers*

During the turbulent days of the crisis it was the calm, quiet dignity plus the silent, grim determination of the people of Czechoslovakia that made news as much as the official pronouncements. One night after the army had been mobilized and Prague was blacked-out John Whitaker of the *Chicago Daily News* tells how the people walking through the street bumped into each other. But everyone was "a friend." The people were closely bound together in this moment of crisis, but this is not unusual for the Czechs who are a closely-knit people at all times. Misery and oppression under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy have developed a national camaraderie which makes the triumph of an individual Czech the triumph of the entire people and which makes each individual hurt, the wound of the nation.

Nowhere is there to be found a more tolerant people. Notwithstanding the centuries of repression by German rulers, it was rare that the Sudetens suffered any real grievances. In the face of provocative insults from the Nazi radio and the Nazi press, the Czechs never stooped to the tactics of

their enemies. Not once did President Benes reply to the verbal assaults of Goering and Hitler when they called him a "liar."

Because the Czechs believe in fair-dealing, they were naïve enough to think that their allies and friends would respond in the same way. Thus President Benes consented to cancel a radio address he had planned in reply to Hitler's hysterical tirade at the *Sportspalast*. It might disturb European peace, he reasoned!

#### *The Yankees of Europe*

The closest analogy to the Czechoslovaks are New England Yankees, not the wealthy Tory type, but the hard-working, public-spirited, highly moral folk who carry on Puritan traditions. Like Yankees the Czechs are industrious, shrewd, solid. They are never vulgar. They are intensely patriotic in the highest sense of that word; they are proud of their language; they are proud of their music, especially that of Smetana; their universities are amongst Europe's best; and despite the fact that they are intensely proud of their clean, unwearied army, they stress the Sokol athletic movement as representing a higher mode of life. During this past summer nearly a million Sokols came to Prague to participate in a

huge field-day. "We build strong bodies," Dr. Libuse Vikrovy-Ambrosova of the Ministry of Health once told me, "because we are a virile nation. We have much work to do and a nation of weaklings cannot survive in this hard-boiled world."

In these days when the word "Democracy" is so bandied about, it is difficult to demonstrate exactly what a democratic state is. Is the France of Daladier democratic? Then Democracy must mean cowardly weakness. Is the England of Chamberlain democratic?

But the Republic of Masaryk has demonstrated its Democracy in different terms. In Prague stands the oldest synagogue in the world, where for seven centuries Jews have been permitted to worship in their own way, unhampered, unmolested by the officials and protected from rowdies. When I visited that synagogue I found the pride of the little bearded custodian surpassed by the Catholic tourist guide, who was overjoyed to show foreign visitors this national landmark. "We have never oppressed the Jews and we never shall," he said, "because we know what it means to suffer for one's beliefs and ideals."

Early in his career Thomas Masaryk distinguished himself by defending a Jew who was accused of a "ritual murder." It nearly ruined his career under the old régime, but he was determined to fight for justice no matter what the consequences. It was not the last time.

To every Czechoslovak, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk is a name of reverence. Scarcely does a citizen of this state make a public speech without quoting the Father of the Country. For cynical Americans who toss George Washington's words about with the abandon of a courtroom lawyer this seems queer. But to Czechs Masaryk is almost the greatest exemplar of saintliness and godliness this world has ever known.

#### *Father of the Country*

Masaryk was born in a little Moravian town in 1850, the son of a coachman. From humble surroundings he went to the big city of Prague (*Praha* is the term preferred by the Czechs) and later became a professor of philosophy. He travelled widely, and early in his career became imbued with a hatred of the tyranny of the Dual Monarchy. At the University of Prague where he taught philosophy he spent nearly as much time pointing out to his students the evils of the régime. With his broad philosophical perspective on world problems, he was able to portray vividly the blessings of freedom, although few Bohemians had ever known it except in spirit. His pupils loved him, and within their hearts was instilled an idealistic desire to fight for Bohemian independence, to fight for the ideals of Masaryk. Among these pupils was Eduard Benes, the son of a peasant, who went to the University in 1909.

Notwithstanding his academic background, Masaryk was an able revolutionary with his feet on the ground. He thought out each action with mathematical precision, and did not know fear. Once during the World War he decided to return to Prague because he knew he would be hanged. The hanging of Masaryk would be a strong stimulus for his colleagues to fight harder for Czechoslovakian independence, he reasoned. Benes dissuaded him from this idea.

To Masaryk the United States represented the ideal state. Looking over the many minority groups in this country, he decided that the eighteen national groups in the new republic could be brought together under the same conditions. Minorities, he argued, could never live together happily under a tyrant, but under a Democracy they certainly could!

During the days of the War he often discussed with Woodrow Wilson the concept of minority rights, which contributed to the idea of "self-determination."

With the encouragement he had received from Wilson—incidentally, in decided contrast to the response of British officials—Masaryk carried on. His receptions in England were always cold, except for the encouragement given by a few men like Wickham Steed and Seton-Watson. While the Czechs hold these friends in esteem, they have never regarded very highly the British diplomats and officials. On the other hand, for the United States there has been deep admiration and a feeling of kindredship. Masaryk married an American woman, Charlotte Garrigue of Philadelphia, and added her name to his.

#### *After the Murder*

For nothing except Adolph Hitler's word the purest Democracy in Europe has been sacrificed—*crucified* would be more accurate.

In speaking of minorities Dr. Benes told me: "We never put our opposition into prison. Even those who are stimulated from the outside and who attack us untruthfully are given their rights. The price of liberty is a dear one, but to have freedom one must pay it." Little did he suspect that one month later his nation would be asked not only to pay a price for liberty, but to pay the entire price for Europe's peace, temporary as it is, made by the terms of Munich. Ironically, the one nation which has lived up to its obligations has been forced to pay dearly while the two nations who expropriated German colonies—England and France—pay nothing in material goods.

The price in political and moral values which Czechoslovakia has paid for Europe's momentary respite from a doubtful war cannot yet be estimated. But the price in dollars and cents of real wealth can instantly be accounted. To all intents and purposes the nation that is left cannot exist economically.

To Germany has gone nearly every important industry and natural resource, which is after all what the Nazis wanted much more than a few million Sudetens. Dux and Bruex, largely populated by Czech and German Social-Democratic workers, have been ceded. Likewise the linen area of Troppau, the paper industry of Boehmisch-Krumau, a major portion of the textile industry of Silesia and Northern Bohemia together with the stocking and velvet industries of that sector, the porcelain and glass works of Erzgebirge and Risengebirge, and the machine industry of Eger. To Poland have gone the Teschen coal mines, and how much Hungary will demand is not certain at this time. "Appeasement" strengthens the aggressors!

#### *A Deathless Spirit*

The results of Berchtesgaden, Gödesberg, and finally Munich, have left this nation stripped of its means of living. But the vigorous inner feeling of these people cannot be killed by any Chamberlain. They have known centuries of oppression and they have learned how to fight against it. While the so-called "great democracies" have been thrown into a panic by the threats of the Nazi paperhanger, the people of Czechoslovakia were not routed. Theirs has been an orderly retreat, albeit with severe losses.

"We would rather fight," the soldiers told their officers as they were ordered to withdraw from the frontiers. Czechoslovakia is not vanquished. What has been built over centuries four little men sitting in Munich cannot destroy over a week-end.

THE FIGHT, November 1938

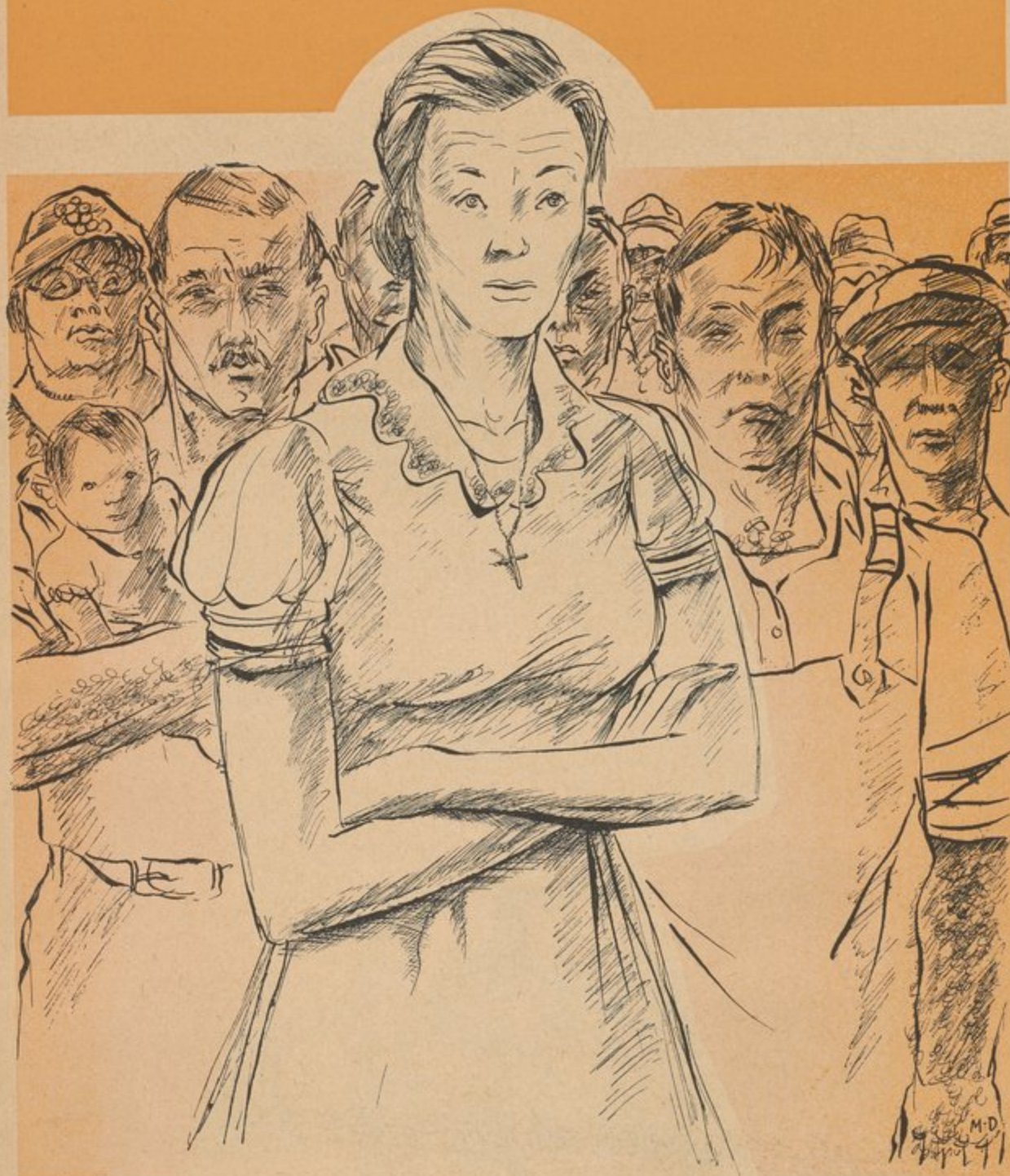


# Tear Gas

*Cathy's eyes burned in her head, as she stood in the crowd before the mill. What was happening? . . . A story of American labor in its struggle against industrial violence*

By Benjamin Appel

ILLUSTRATED BY MARTIN DIBNER



THE LONG rectangle of street ended at the mill gate. The gate was down. The fink guards behind it stared through the wire mesh at the three pickets, and then their eyes, cold and wary as those of National Guards expecting trouble, lifted from the pickets and traveled up the street. For a long stretch, exactly one thousand feet, the street was empty as if it were midnight. But at the thousand-foot mark the cops had painted a six-inch white boundary line on the sidewalks. The sun shone down on the cops' thick shoulders as they shoved at anybody encroaching on the boundary line. The line was important, official, as if it were a barbed wire entanglement separating the cops and the empty stretch behind them from the hundreds of strikers. No striker willingly crossed it. With their wives and children they had massed peacefully, but the mass of all their bodies had an independent movement and life of its own. Sometimes, a sudden expansion like a giant's breath of air would push a striker up front across the line, over into the enjoined thousand feet.

"Get back of that line!" a cop would yell.

In the crowd, Cathy, like all the other strikers, stood on tiptoe to catch a glimpse of the three pickets. One, two, three, she thought; one, two, three and they're alone down the street, alone down the street, and I shouldn't 've left Jimmy home sick in bed.

She was a blonde woman of about twenty-five and her light eyes had the worried expression of all the strikers' wives. As the crowd pushed at her, the little gold cross danced away from her neck. Yesterday, she had gone to church and Father Braley'd preached of solidarity. Now that was a big word. SOLIDARITY. Solidarity with the three pickets allowed at the gate, solidarity with Jimmy, who had said: "I can't go so you go for me." Today, the strikers'd turned out to show Judge Moore that they weren't licked by the injunction. Today was a special occasion, a strikers' holiday without fireworks, with only the union to share between them. Today was SOLIDARITY. . . . That was a big word, she thought with rising excitement.

"Judge Moore's got a thousand dirty feet!" a woman's voice mocked the line. "Judge Moore'll be buried in a thousand dirty sheets!"

Cathy's lips shaped the sound of the words.

Two cops rammed a path through the strikers searching for the rhymester. "No more of that!" they threatened, returning to their posts. "Keep back of the line!"

"Keep at 'em, boys," the Sergeant said.

"Judge Moore's got a thousand dirty feet! Judge Moore'll be buried in a thousand dirty sheets!" three or four voices chanted in unison.

Cathy laughed but she couldn't hear her voice in the uproar. Poor Jimmy was alone, she thought; but he wanted me to come. . . .

BEHIND his row of cops, the Sergeant paced up and down. He glanced at his wrist watch, the sun burning on the crystal. It was almost one o'clock. His eyes darted up the gutter and sure enough, right on the dot, the two trucks were rolling nearer, the big red one in the lead. The Sergeant blew on his whistle and then he held up his wet thumb to gauge the direction of the wind.

The red truck honked its horn and rolled down the gutter between the strikers. But the second truck, its green enameled sides flashing, its headlights flashing, parked in the middle of the street.

"What's this?" the strikers asked one another.

"What's in them?"

The red truck braked suddenly near the gate. The three pickets jumped like chickens before the



big tires. The driver rested both arms on the wheel as if about to take a nap. Two cops sat next to him.

"They ain't afraid of Moore's dirty feet!" the woman rhymester cried.

"You said it!"

Voices joined in the new chant: "They ain't afraid of Moore's dirty feet!"

"DIRTY FEET!"

A striker's little girl dashed across the line. "I double dare you to foller me," she yelled at her brother.

"Come back!" her mother screamed.

The three pickets consulted together. The picket-in-charge walked two steps towards the huge red-hooded motor. "What you got inside?" He was acutely aware of the eyes of the fink guards on his back.

"Food," the driver said.

For a second, the picket-in-charge saw only the faces of the strikers, the sun melting the faces together, welding the grey and blue work-shirts of the men and the flower-patterned dresses of the women into one mass. And then he stared at the green truck that had stayed behind. What was in that second truck? Food? Food for the finks inside the mills? Why didn't it also drive up to the mill gate? Why? Why?

"Look!" the youngest picket cried.

Thirty cops were jumping down from the green truck, service revolvers in hands. They spread across the gutter and sidewalks in the rear of the crowd. "Move forward! Move forward!" their voices clubbed.

"Move forward!"

"Get a move on!"

The picket-in-charge leaped towards the gate. "Open up!" he shouted at the fink guards. One of them was smoking a cigarette. He winked and spat. The gate remained down.

The crowd had already crossed the white line, herded by the cops in the rear. On they came, men, women and children, the scuffling of their shoes like a wind before them.

The Sergeant and his men climbed into the red truck, whose doors that had been bolted shut, were now thrown open by hidden hands.



The picket-in-charge clutched the wire crisscross of the gate. Behind him, the sound of the crowd seemed right at his heels. "Open up!" he begged. "You want people hurt!"

The front ranks of the crowd were almost up to the red truck. Cathy's eyes burned in her head. Her lips were pulled in so tight they wrinkled. She sucked in her breath as the voices, louder, louder and louder, flooded out the click-click of her puzzled brain. What was happening? What was happening?

Everywhere, wives were calling to their husbands, in shrieks of question and worry.

"What're they doing?"

"Stay close to me!"

"Watch the children!"

Like gasses the lighter voices of the women rose above the heavier rolling voices of the men. Closer and closer, the crowd poured towards the red truck and the mill gate. Three separate movements could be seen, three, but all related like movements in one watch. The frightened moved the fastest, a vanguard of the panicked. The bravest formed the rear-guard. Those in the middle, fathers carrying children, husbands and wives locking hands, were the main retreat.

Cathy stumbled. Her head swerved from side to side, her eyes larger, bluer in her bloodless face. Oh, God, what was happening?

The red truck like a rock divided the flow of the crowd.

The driver pressed his hand down on his horn. The two rear doors hurred open as if the honking had touched a button. The Sergeant showed his head and mumbled officially: "Violation of injunction . . . illegal . . . riot . . ."

Only a few heard what he'd said before he again disappeared inside, a police jack-in-the-box. The doors locked. The horn screamed. The cops on the driver's seat drew their revolvers. They, as well as the driver, seemed to be guiding the truck through the mass. Like drops of water dislodged by the huge red bulk, men and women and children shot from under the wheels in all directions. The mudguards bumped into the mill gate, already opening, and the truck passed inside. The fink guards aimed their rifles at the crowd. "Stand back!" they commanded.

The gate lowered.

THREE cops who had stayed far behind close to the green truck now heaved what looked like over-sized baseballs at the crowd.

Baseballs? the picket-in-charge thought.

The tear-gas hand-grenades burst into bluish-grey clouds. A smell of grapes traveled with the clouds that now expanded, growing, growing, until the separate flows merged into one. Children squealed. Men staggered away.

Now the green truck like an armored tank rolled forward to pick up its cops. In they rushed as if a magnet were pulling them out of the street. The truck reversed, was gone.

Sticky, sweet, the tear gas plunged into Cathy's nostrils. She coughed. Her eyes smarted. The tears began to flow. Must go home to Jimmy, she thought; must go home. Still, she could see the beginning and the end of the gas cloud. But it didn't belong, she thought: clouds belong in sky, must go home to Jimmy, away from, away from, oh God, in sky. . . .

Ahead of her a woman in a bright-green dress had fallen. Even as Cathy stared, green dulled in her sight to grey-green, to grey. Her fingers leaped to her eyes as if to hold the light. Her fingers felt wet, her cheeks felt wet. Rivers of tears gushed from her eyes. God, to see! To see! She was

(Continued on page 29)





*Der Fuehrer calls the tune for the regimented Hitler Youth who believed his glowing promises . . .*

## German Youth Are Turning

By Erich Jungmann

**T**HE SHAMELESS betrayal of Czechoslovakia by Chamberlain and Daladier, which was also a betrayal of world peace, has extricated Herr Hitler from a very dangerous situation.

No American should believe even for a moment that Hitler's "elections" reflect the actual feelings of the German people. The overwhelming majority of the German people want to preserve peace. Hitler has justified his tremendous armament program before the German people on the theory that "Germany's neighbors begrudge his reconstruction of the country" and "want to encircle and attack Germany." This "argument" began to lose its effectiveness as soon as it became known that Hitler had sold tens of thousands of soldiers to General Franco for Spanish metals and also had sent tremendous quantities of planes, guns and munitions. "What business do we Germans have in Spain . . . The Spanish people haven't attacked us . . . Why does Hitler mix into the internal affairs of another country?" asked the German people. These questions were put even more energetically after the attack on Austria, and it is very significant that the Nazi propaganda apparatus required fully two days to create a "spirit of joy" over the "reunion of *Ostmark* with the German *Reich*." But among many sections of the people this "joy" was soon replaced by a deep fear of war. It was suspected that war had been given a great push forward.

In April 1938 the Nazi press at a command from

above started a tremendous campaign of incitement against Czechoslovakia. The smallest incidents were magnified by the Nazis into tremendous acts of the Czech government. The Czechoslovakian state and its government were insulted in the most vulgar way, and there was no concealment of the fact that the Nazis wanted to conquer the Sudetens by force of arms if the Czechoslovakian government should oppose the "freeing of the Sudeten Germans by Hitler." Hitler brought huge sections of the army to Berlin and Saxony in order to emphasize the seriousness of his threat. The fear of war grew much greater, above all in those parts of the country where the troop concentrations had taken place. There was only one feeling: "Now war will come."

Then came the 21st of May. On this day Hitler wanted to march. He had not reckoned with the vigorous protests of the democratic peoples and governments. With gnashing of the teeth he had to draw back. His plan had miscarried. And this 21st of May meant a great loss of prestige for Hitler among his own supporters. "Hitler after all cannot get everything," was the general opinion in Germany. The opponents of *Der Fuehrer* stepped forward more openly than before. Hitler answered this defeat for his schemes with even more incitement against the Czechoslovakian government and the other democratic countries; at the same time war was prepared with greater energy. Tremendous air-defense activities took place throughout the

country. In western Germany the Nazi government began erecting gigantic fortifications. Tens of thousands of workers from all districts were called out of their occupations and taken like prisoners in special trains to the west. The annual maneuvers now took on the character of a real war. All reserves were mobilized. These things, of course, did not help to diminish the fear of war, but increased it tremendously. There is no section of the people in Germany (with the exception of the reactionary war-makers Krupp, Thyssen, Siemens & Co., and the new Nazi millionaires) that does not suffer this tremendous fear of war preparations—and also does not begin to express more or less its antipathy to the Hitler war politics.

### *How the Youth Reacted*

It is not within the scope of this article to report on the actions of the peasants, the miners, the metal workers, the small business men, the Catholics, and so forth. It is our aim to give but a brief picture of how the youth, who after all are the most important contingent of soldiers in a war, reacted to all these events. The German youth, too, were most influenced by the Nazis during the early years of the dictatorship. The largest section of young people believed that Hitler was creating for them a "happy future." But in the course of the years this feeling began to change, especially among the older youth. Many young people did not receive the promised



... And when the "happy future" becomes a barracks with poor food, they begin to ask questions

*The Munich Betrayal saved Hitler at home, for resentment against the cannons-not-butter policy is rising . . . A sensational article by a former Reichstag deputy who left Germany only a few months ago*

positions and advancement. Economic conditions grew worse. Many who received lengthy vacations were not allowed to make use of them for themselves. In this "free" time, they had to attend the youth camps where they received military training, and they returned to the factories much more tired than before. Through labor service and military service, the young person is drawn away from his work and profession for two and a half years, and loses in this way training and advancement. But the labor service and military service are for the youth at the same time practical education in the actual purposes of National Socialism. The "Prussian drill," the oftentimes inhuman activities of the officers, and the injustices perpetrated in the camps made many reflect. And many a young German began to say: "When I went into labor and military service I was a devoted National Socialist, but what I have gone through has turned me into an anti-Fascist."

With the strengthening of war preparations the service in the Hitler youth grew both more severe and more extensive, naturally at the expense of the free time of the youth. Against this new restriction of free time and against the more strenuous drill, there began to be voiced among the youth in recent months considerable objection. While many of them still believe in Hitler, they "wanted to be allowed to express an opinion in the best of spirits." A stand was taken against the excess service and

especially against service on Sundays. The youth wanted "to wander freely and not always to march in military formation." Members of the Hitler Youth expressed criticism of the monotonous speeches which are eternally ordered from above. It frequently happened that though no discussions are allowed in the Hitler Youth, members of the organization contradicted the speakers and asked questions. These demands of the Hitler Youth became so strong that the Reich youth leaders had to enter into arguments with these critics openly in the newspapers. The importance of this development one can fully understand if he remembers the tremendous influence that the Fascists had among youth in the first years of the dictatorship, the gigantic apparatus created by the Nazis for chauvinistic incitement and militaristic indoctrination of the German youth. An intense incitement against Germany's neighbors, teaching of race hatred, mathematical calculations with bombers, stories about the effects of poison gas and the like, are a fundamental part of the daily schooling and education of the Hitler youth. Now when war became a reality for the youth too, when it became known that this and that school friend would not return from Spain, or had been killed in maneuvers by being run over by a tank or smashed in a plane, and that there was a possibility that the same thing would happen to all the youth tomorrow—now the fear of war grew greater also among the young people. First, the

sending of German soldiers to Spain became the chief topic of discussion. In a detachment of fliers in Upper Silesia it was said: "We know quite well why we are being paid so highly and have so much to eat. We are the first ones who must give our lives in a war beginning almost any day; accidents happen and every one means dead or wounded. Most of the fliers who have been sent to Spain do not return. Cannot the same thing happen to us tomorrow?"

*A Soldier On Leave*

One soldier on leave told his friends the following: "We greet with 'Heil Hitler' only when it becomes unavoidable. And I want to tell you this much: the army of today is no longer the army of 1914. When one has been treated for two years as we have been than one must become Red, and if the French should be our opponents and if we are to shoot them, we are going to give it some thought. Let them send the S.S. and S.A. (storm troopers) to the front but not us. We don't want our bones shot to pieces."

The closer the danger of war came, the more nervous grew the discussion among the soldiers. The most important theme of this discussion was the question: "How can one escape the mass slaughter?" Some felt that they should desert abroad immediately. Others believed that it would be

(Continued on page 26)

AS THE monopoly investigation into the radio industry gets under way in Washington this month, the broadcasters find themselves in an immeasurably strengthened position, so far as public opinion is concerned, because of their remarkable achievements in covering the Czechoslovakian crisis and in providing aid for refugees in the recent New England hurricane.

There are, of course, plenty of things for the government to investigate in regard to ownership, control, leasing of stations and the pernicious influence of advertisers upon program quality. However, those in the know believe that lobbyists for the newspapers had quite a good deal to do with getting the probe started just at this time.

The fact is that the press started a campaign to "get" its most dangerous competitor about a year ago. The drive opened when *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, *Liberty* and other national magazines began carrying fiction and articles intended to show that radio was a goofy business, without rhyme or reason. Although the publishers officially denied that such was their intention, it was apparent that they were using their pages to prove to manufacturers that advertising over the radio was a gamble, but that appeals via magazines were sure to bring results.

The newspapers attacked from a different salient. Knowing that the broadcasters depended upon them for publicity, they began curtailing or eliminating all mention of programs. In the first eight months of 1938, sixty-eight leading newspapers dropped all reference to radio, while at least a hundred more gave up the old established practice of publishing gossip columns or Sunday pages devoted to air personalities and confined themselves to bare one-line listing of station schedules.

Despite this partial boycott, the trend of advertisers away from the printed word continued and the three large networks alone signed up around \$24,000,000 in contracts for the fall and winter seasons. In the meantime their own lobbyists at Washington fought the threatened investigation tooth and toenail until it became a certainty. Then, although they still regarded it with dread, they announced that they had welcomed such an examination all along.

Came the war threat and the hurricane. As a result the balance has shifted still further away from the press. During the Czechoslovakian crisis newspapers became mere echoes of information which the American public had heard hours before, while magazines, even those such as *Time*, were hopelessly outdistanced.

As far as the hurricane was concerned, the newspapers did very well because they were able to give more detailed reports. But here again the radio did the spectacular work.

#### Covering the Crisis

AND now let's see just what radio did and did not do in covering the European sell-out. Statistically speaking, the major chains carried approximately five hundred broadcasts on the subject—totaling just a little less than a solid week of air time—from September 10th to October 1st. New York and European staffs were put on 24-hour duty while the networks remained open throughout the night on many occasions.

Columbia showed much more skill and versatility than did its rival, N.B.C., and undoubtedly attracted the lion's share of listeners. Mutual, which is much smaller and therefore handicapped by monetary problems, still did outstanding work.

# RADIO

Its idea of rebroadcasting short-wave news commentaries in English sent out from the various countries involved was masterly indeed.

The man of the hour was H. V. Kaltenborn, C.B.S. New York commentator. This grey-haired veteran of the air waves practically lived at the studios during the critical period and was at the microphone about two hours every day with his interpretations. As a result he built up a host of loyal followers.

Kaltenborn's analyses were not particularly brilliant. He believed until the very last minute that Chamberlain was a man of honor along with the rest of the gang and he did not foresee the final debacle. But at all times he spoke clearly and simply as a liberal of the old school; he repeated himself endlessly until even the worst-informed among his listeners could follow the crowded events, and he taught the American public more about European affairs in those twenty days than most of them had learned in a lifetime.

Mutual belatedly paid Kaltenborn the tribute of hiring Quincy Howe as its New York commentator but N.B.C. completely failed to satisfy its listeners' hunger for a simplification of the happenings overseas and as a result lost, at least temporarily, the leadership which it has held since its organization.

Columbia also was the only network which made much effort to find out what Americans thought of the situation abroad. It carried four roundups of editorial opinion throughout the country, but even it neglected to obtain opinions from the man in the street or prominent thinkers on this side of the water. With one exception, however, its choice of commentators abroad was highly commendable. The exception was the frequent use of International News Service (Hearst) correspondents who invariably made pro-Nazi speeches which had to be explained away and apologized for by Kaltenborn.

American opinion did make itself felt, however. Network telephone switchboards buzzed as they

have never done before with calls requesting fuller information on various developments, suggesting subjects to be discussed—such as, for example, the minority situations in Denmark and Switzerland—and criticizing the various commentaries. When Kaltenborn made his one bad slip by interpreting Hitler's final broadcast as a plea for peace rather than the final provocation against President Benes and the Czech nation, a veritable storm of protest went up which caused him to change his opinion on his very next talk.

#### What's in the Air

THOSE who think that Hitler has no territorial ambitions on the North American continent should be staggered by the charge recently made by Samuel Ellis, chief radio inspector for the Ontario and Great Lakes region of Canada, that Germany is building up a tremendous spy system over here by means of her short-wave transmissions in English.

Ellis broadcast a warning that no person should write "fan" letters to the Berlin stations because it was obvious from the nature of repeated requests for such letters that they were to be used to build up a detailed picture of Canada's resources, lines of communication and defenses.

In past months German commentators have been begging listeners in Canada (and in the United States too, for that matter) to send "chatty news letters" and to enter some very peculiar "photographic contests."

After warning his listeners that if they persisted in sending letters or photographs to the German stations Canada might be forced to establish a strict censorship, Inspector Ellis continued:

"These Berlin broadcasts are so subtle that many an unsuspecting listener never imagines their more sinister aspect. Germany is playing on the fact that people like to hear their names mentioned over the air. Apart from the innocent divulging of valuable information embodied in fan mail to Berlin, anyone whose name is mentioned by the station might be expected to feel friendly toward Germany."

*We pay awed respect to the authors of Life Can Be Beautiful, a new serial drama on W.E.A.F. They have evolved their successful script by the simple expedient of "lifting" the most successful characters from various other air dramas and incorporating them into their own yarn.*

Although adult education seems to have been a flop on the radio—Columbia has trimmed six such shows down to two within a few months—the fall and winter promises to see a boom in educational programs for children. *The American School of the Air* is back on C.B.S. with a much improved curriculum which includes, among many other things, a Radio Institute to show teachers how to benefit by the programs.

*Somehow we still can't believe our ears when The People's Platform forum goes on the air. How could anybody invite Frank Gannett to discuss the moulding of public opinion by newspapers and the editor of True Story to analyze the influence of magazines upon same? Maybe it's all just a dream.*

And don't forget to have the kiddies tune in on *The Shadow* over WOR at 5 P.M. Last program heard had a demented doctor draining blood from his patients so he could sell it at a neat profit. Nice sound effects!

—GEORGE SCOTT

THE NEXT NUMBER "COME UNTO ME" IS DEDICATED TO MR. AND MRS. DOE OF NORTH AMERICA



# Madrid

By Pedro Garfias

TRANSLATED BY T. H. WINTRINGHAM

## I

Let me admire you well,  
with both eyes wide open,  
Madrid of the broken homes  
and heart unbroken.  
Let me admire you with  
a look stretched and slow  
that touches all of your skin  
and the bones below.  
These wounds that sear your flesh  
shear wounds in my side.  
These tears that you shed flow  
out of my blinded eyes,  
open city, open to death  
from the soil, from the sky.  
Let me admire you well,  
taking away with me  
through years' unendingness  
your memory.

## II

Under shattering fire the women bustle,  
under shattering fire the men work,  
under fire the old accept their ease,  
and the children are playing under fire.

Grave, steady, serious  
under fire.

No panic, no boasting,  
no haste, no time-wasting:  
they keep the true rhythm,  
they keep the everyday  
rightness of living—rightness of fate—  
under fire.



## III

Five hundred nights of watching,  
as if a leaden mountain  
weighed on her eyelids  
reddened with sleeplessness,  
these nights have lifted her to stand  
erect on ruin-pedestal,  
alone, with death beyond her forehead  
and deep shame beyond her flanks.

Very calm her bearing,  
very clear her eyes:  
sleep no longer dreams in them,  
rest no longer wearies them.

Standing up with her guts' strength  
—no cement is solider—  
she sees her sons and daughters throng  
in glory and awakening.

Paris spills, spellbinder,  
her floodings of tears.  
London dresses in the glittering  
of her gold, beneath her fog.

Madrid waits, waits, and waits.  
On a ruin-pedestal  
without her necklaces of lights,  
with, round her, marbles shattered down,  
she waits and waits, looking to  
the horizon past her shoulders' shadow.

THE ORGANIZED motion picture industry is spending thousands of dollars in the form of contests and high pressure advertising, in order to convince the people of America that this is "motion pictures' greatest year." By motion pictures they mean, of course, Hollywood. I hope they keep their promise and really give us great pictures. But up to this point there is really nothing to get excited about. Last month's high point was *You Can't Take It With You* and a sentimentalized version of the Soviet *Road to Life* called *Boys' Town* (M.G.M.), which was distinguished in the main by the acting of Mickey Rooney and Spencer Tracy. But if you're looking for something more than casual entertainment (and unless I'm wrong the readers of THE FIGHT come in this category) you'll simply have to get your local theater to play a few of the foreign films that are now current in New York. I'm not holding out a brief for all foreign films—I don't mean to go arty on you and insist that just because a film is made in Paris or London or Moscow it is great cinematic art, or even good entertainment. But it does happen that Paris and Moscow have given us two current films that are really great: *Grand Illusion* (World Pictures) and *The Childhood of Maxim Gorky* (Amkino). Add to this another from Paris, Sacha Guitry's *The Story of a Cheat*, which was written, directed and acted by M. Guitry (who takes several parts in the film and is also the off-screen voice). It is by far the most entertaining and delightful picture on view—

# MOVIES

Two outstanding foreign pictures,  
"Grand Illusion" from France  
and "The Childhood of Gorky"

German concentration camp. It is a war film without shooting and with a minimum of physical violence. It is a film that symbolizes the decline and disintegration of European aristocracy and the birth of the *Front Populaire*. It is a story of human beings . . . it is the tale of a conventional love affair that rises to great heights with its very simplicity and tenderness and utter reality. Jean Renoir has not gone into pyrotechnic displays of tricky direction. Everything is completely integrated with the story he has to tell: the mood of the photography as well as the beauty of individual "shots" and the direction of the camera and actors. One of the most notable achievements of this new film is that it brings back

had a superficial aspect of neutrality, and *Grand Illusion* was awarded first prize. In spite of that, its showing in Italy (and later in Germany) was prohibited.

## Childhood of Gorky

THE SOVIET UNION has given us many great pictures. And one of the most interesting phases of the Soviet cinema has been the number of films dealing with great literary figures. Another high achievement is the excellence of the films about children and the extreme artistry of the so-called child actors. I use the term "so-called" since most of the Soviet movie children are not professional actors at all. The newest picture from the Soviet Union is a combination of the literary theme and the children's film: *The Childhood of Maxim Gorky*. As in all fine films—indeed, as in all first-rate art works—the inherent material and what the creator wants to say determine the structure. Director Donskoi gives us no distorted portrait of the artist as a young man. He gives us the real young man who was to become one of the world's great writers. But this was not to be an isolated biography. We are shown the world in which Gorky lived: a world which was so terrible that it had to be changed into the new world that Gorky helped to create. Thus the film is episodic and without the conventional plot structure. Nevertheless, it is as exciting as anything of Dostoyevski's. There are moments of lyric beauty, and the passages with Alexi Segal as Gypsy are filled with pathos and beauty. But the hero of the film is the Moscow schoolboy, Alyosha Lyarsky, who plays young Gorky with a confidence and authority that are amazing.

## Hollywood Pictures

**HOLD THAT CO-ED** (Twentieth Century Fox): If you can forget the misleading title you'll not only find this an uproarious comedy, but bright political satire inspired by such demagogues as the late Huey P. Long. It is a football picture out of the ordinary with a brilliant performance by John Barrymore.

**Carefree** (RKO-Radio): The latest Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers opus is a labored attempt to kid psychoanalysis. There are a couple of good Astaire numbers and Miss Rogers' talents are wasted.

**Too Hot to Handle** (M.G.M.): What might have been a really exciting film about a terrific subject (the newsreel man) has been turned into a conventional pulp thriller with the usual amount of excitement and an unusual amount of sheer bunk. Clark Gable is ingratiating and Myrna Loy doesn't do much.

**There Goes My Heart** (Hal Roach): A very hackneyed plot which was not so good even the first time (heiress plays working girl and falls for reporter) is dished up with enough comedy, good acting and bright dialogue to make it sittable-through, or whatever one says. Fredric March, Virginia Bruce and Patsy Kelly carry the heavy assignments, while Eugene Pallette, Nancy Carroll, Robert Armstrong, Irving Pichel, J. Farrell McDonald and Harry Langdon are also seen.

**Broadway Musketeers** (Warner Brothers): All about three girls who graduate from an orphan asylum to battle life along the famous street. The picture concerns marrying a broker, marrying the boss, getting divorced, cabaret singers and kidnapers. Not a bad little movie if you aren't too critical. With Margaret Lindsay, Ann Sheridan, Marie Wilson, Janet Chapman.

—PETER ELLIS



Pierre Fresnay (left), Jacques Poilu and Jean Gabin in "Grand Illusion." The picture, written and directed by Jean Renoir, has been called the "best war movie of all time." The problem of portraying war without glorifying it is solved by placing the action in a German prison-camp during the World War, where Allied officers and German jailers learn war's futility

and that includes *Room Service* (with the Marx Brothers) and *Straight, Place and Show* (with the Ritz Brothers). But to get back to the major items.

You have never seen a film like *Grand Illusion*. It was written and directed by Jean Renoir, the great son of the great French painter. Those who have seen earlier pictures by Renoir are not surprised. *The Lower Depths* and *The Loves of Toni* are films that are uncommon in their approach and stirring in effect. But *Grand Illusion* is really something. It is a rare and beautiful kind of picture. It is the story of the World War seen through the eyes of a group of French, German, Russian and English officers who are prisoners in a

to the screen that fine actor Eric von Stroheim. Every member of the cast is splendid, but it is the work of Jean Gabin as the mechanic who is the "product of the French Revolution," Pierre Fresnay as the aristocratic French officer, and von Stroheim as the German career officer, that contribute to the picture's wonderful qualities. To give *Grand Illusion* the analysis it really deserves is impossible in this allotted space. I could go on for pages telling why this is a great and wonderful motion picture. But you owe it to yourself to see it, to be moved and stirred by it as I was. This is not Renoir's latest film—it was made more than a year ago. At that time Mussolini's Venice Film Festival

*When in doubt, the Congressman from Texas calls it un-American. Hatched in the dog-days, his Committee has provided enough laughs—quite enough, declares a veteran Washington correspondent*

# The Great Dies Witch-Hunt

By Henry Zon



Congressman Martin Dies

**I**F YOU were one of the many thousands of people who came to their nation's capital this summer you probably wandered up to Capitol Hill and the cluster of white buildings there.

You may have, in order to avoid the blistering heat, stepped inside one of those buildings which are all nicely air-cooled. If, by chance, it was the Old House Office Building that you stepped into you probably heard voices coming from the second floor and you may have walked up the steps to see what was going on.

You found that the voices were coming from a group of men in a huge room directly at the top of the staircase. The guard, lounging at the door, told you, if you asked, that it was the Caucus Room, so named because it was designed for caucuses of the various political parties which are held on occasion during Congressional sessions and at which the party policy on specific issues is laid down.

## *X Marks the Spot*

It is a large room, seating upwards of three hundred people comfortably. Its woodwork is dark but the room is lightened by a row of tall windows which look out on a neat little courtyard that has a



*"Perhaps it is fortunate that Shirley Temple was born an American citizen and that we will not have to debate the issue raised by the preposterous revelations of your committee in regard to this innocent and likable child."—Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins to Congressman Martin Dies*

fountain in it. At one end of the room is a group of tables, forming three sides of a square.

Your observations may have been shattered by the persistence of one loud and decidedly raucous voice coming from a tall, flabby individual sitting in the hollow of the square. The motions of this individual with the raucous voice would have caught your eye, for they consisted of leaning the body across the table, pointing a long and accusing finger and leering out of one eye.

Maybe you stayed in the room. Maybe you didn't. If you'd stayed you would have heard a lot of mumbo-jumbo about "Commune-ists" and "Reds" and wondered idly what it was all about. You probably thought it was a cast of a Federal Theater Project in the first stages of rehearsal and you wondered how that ham actor ever got into it and you thought that maybe there is something to all these things they say about the Federal Theater Projects.

## *The World's a Stage*

Sadly enough, dear reader, it was not a rehearsal for some coming comedy you saw. It was a Special Committee created by action of the lower house of Congress to investigate un-American activities. The man with the raucous voice who was doing all the talking was a man named Martin Dies, a Democratic Representative from Texas. He is the chairman of the Committee.

Just what are the "un-American activities" the Committee is investigating no one seems to know. An effort was made in the House during debate on the measure to find out but nothing ever came of it. In fact, some suspicion was cast on members who asked for a definition of "un-American activities." If they didn't know, by Harry, they better

hurry up and find out and maybe they even had some of them up in the attic with all that stuff Grandma left.

How silly that doubt expressed in the House was, has been amply demonstrated by the Committee Investigating un-American Activities. Beyond a shadow of a doubt, the Committee has shown, it is un-American to join a union if you are unemployed; it is un-American to be militantly in favor of peace and Democracy; it is un-American to believe that General Franco and his cohorts are a bunch of Fascists; it is un-American to belong to a C. I. O. union and mean it; it is un-American to question the wisdom of your betters—which includes all the members of Congress and everybody who makes more money than you do; it is un-American to have anything to do with the Commune-ists, and it is un-American to hold views that differ with those of the chairman of the Committee, Martin Dies.

## *Little Red Riding-Hood?*

The list of un-Americans produced by the Committee is staggering both in its length and in its variety. It includes such well-known subversive characters as Shirley Temple and Clark Gable and runs the gamut to Mrs. Roosevelt, who innocently lent her presence to that international gathering of young people at Vassar, and even the President who plays into the hands of the Commune-ists by trying to make the Democratic Party stand for something.

The process by which the Dies Committee got down to business in this way, after a few passes at the Nazis, is simple and interesting. It called a witness it could trust, listened to his testimony, asked the witness if he was sure of his facts, proclaimed loudly that everybody accused would get a chance to answer the accusations when the Committee had time, and then boldly announced that it had proved the existence of just heaps and heaps of un-American activities and un-Americans in every nook and cranny of this best of all possible lands.

Before trotting on to the field, however, the Committee took a run past the grand-stand. The first witness was John C. Metcalfe, a former in-

*(Continued on page 29)*



**JANUARY · 6 · 7 · 8 · 1939**  
**WASHINGTON D.C.**

M A N S D



**AMERICAN CONGRESS**  
**FOR**  
**PEACE AND DEMOCRACY**





# Books

## Fascism in America

THE PERIL OF FASCISM: THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, by A. B. Magil and Henry Stevens; 319 pages; International Publishers; \$2.00.

THIS ANATOMY of American Fascism is timely. For one must know the enemy—not only his beginnings and his history, but what he is today.

Those millions who are realizing as never before that "it can happen here" will find pictured in this book the full stature of the swift-growing beast that faces them. And the beast has grown older and craftier since its smashing defeat in the elections of 1936: American Fascism has consolidated its forces and has worked out more "scientifically"—in the authors' term—its strategy and demagoguery. Gone are the days of the Liberty League, but the promotion of Fascism in the name of "liberty" goes on in streamlined, better-camouflaged, vastly more dangerous organizations. And while with his left hand the beast ladles out "liberty," with his right he dispenses race hatred, anti-Semitism and blasphemous "Americanism."

Thus Fascism in America makes up for lost time and adopts with almost geometric rapidity the characteristics of Fascism the world over. We have our Goebbelses, our Goerings, our Streichers, our little Hitlers if at present seemingly no big Hitler—and our Krupps and Thyssens. And just as Hitler called his movement in socialist-minded Germany the "National Socialist Party," so his prototypes in democratic-minded America try to pose as "champions of constitutional Democracy."

Our native Fascism is furthermore directly aided and strengthened by the brands from across the "broad oceans" that were supposed to do so much for us. We all came over the seas, and now has come Fritz Kuhn to lead the Nazi Bund. The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Unholy Alliance has its wooden horse within our gates as well as those of Spain and Czechoslovakia. More important, the powerful American Fascists such as Hearst are consciously and actively cooperating with the Black International.

While the book is primarily a description of the Fascist menace in the United

States, the authors also suggest a program to defeat it. "In the struggle between democracy and fascism, victory is not preordained for either side." Their program is that of "welding into a single democratic front all groups and all strata whose interests lie with progress and against fascism and war." They further state their conviction that the ultimate solution is the establishment of a socialist society—although it is made clear that this issue is one of the future, whereas the question of today is "fascism or democracy, war or peace, barbarism or the advance to higher levels of civilization."

*The Peril of Fascism* throws the spotlight directly on the central question before America. If at times the writing is pedestrian, this fault is far outweighed by the burning importance of what is written.

—CHARLES PRESTON

## China's Struggle

ONE-FIFTH OF MANKIND, by Anna Louise Strong; 215 pages; Modern Age Books; 50 cents.

WE HAD been hoping somebody would write the book Anna Louise Strong has now written. The great need since the war started in the Far East has been for a simple, direct and lively story of China's struggle for national independence—something to bridge the gap of the Pacific Ocean and the thousands of years of cultural separation which hinders our understanding of the fundamental issues involved in the gigantic Sino-Japanese struggle.

If good can come of ill, this war stands to benefit Americans by drawing our active interest to a part of the world where one-fifth of the earth's population lives and works and aspires to a better life, where the destinies of nations far on the other side of the globe are being determined and where perhaps the existence of Democracy itself is being decided. The people of a world power such as the United States cannot afford to remain ignorant of the forces at play in a struggle the outcome of which must inevitably affect us.

*One-Fifth of Mankind* is not a tome for the delectation of scholars. It

brings few new facts to light and makes no pretense to a novel interpretation of facts already known. It is a summary in answer to the questions of the thousands who want to be informed, but, in our busy world, can't stop to make profound studies. One of its outstanding qualities is that, though brief, it is not superficial. In two hundred pages the author has succeeded in covering the important aspects not only of the war itself but of the historical and geographical background against which it is being fought.

For many readers the chapter on "China's New Women" will be the most fascinating part of the book. Rapid as are the changes taking place in China as a whole, the emancipation of women is the most rapid and striking development. Those who have been puzzled by the political readjustments of the past two years will welcome the clear and non-partisan elucidation of this seeming "Chinese puzzle" in the later chapters.

The necessity of compressing the salient facts in the life-and-death struggle of 20 per cent of the earth's people with centuries of background between the covers of a slender volume presents literary difficulties comparable to the military obstacles faced by Chu Teh on the Long March. The choice has been so well made among the great quantity of material that the high-

lights stand out and the picture is clear.

We are fortunate in getting a book to which has been brought the perspective of personal visits to China over a period of years. The judgments in it are made not by comparison with Western standards but rather with the emphasis on trends and developments, comparing China today with China yesterday.

—OLIVER HASKELL

## Men Into Nazis

SCHOOL FOR BARBARIANS, by Erika Mann; 159 pages; Modern Age Books; 50 cents.

THE NAME "Mann" has come to symbolize the civilized, at present illegal side of Germany. If you will pardon the pun, the word means "man." The book under consideration deals with the uncivilized, the now legal side of Germany. Its name appears to be "beast." This is a strong term, but what else could you call an "educational" system which has its children singing:

Though the whole world lie ruined around us  
after the day of war,  
What the devil do we care—we don't give  
a hoot any more,  
We will go marching forward, though  
everything fall away,  
For the world will be ours tomorrow, as  
Germany is today.

Erika Mann (the daughter of Thomas Mann, who introduces the book) devotes the greater part of her work to quotations from official sources which, like this song, fairly shout for themselves. As one reads, his emotions vary from amusement at the nine different uniforms given students in the Hitler leadership schools, to intense disgust at the Nazi teachers using Jewish children in their classes as living examples to explain the traits that Hitler ascribes to the Jews—such as affinity to the ape, thievery, cowardice, etc.

We are taken into every phase and course of the present-day German school, the family, the church, and extra-curricular activity—if the military training for youth may be graced with so peaceful a title. In sum, we witness the Nazi effort to mold the



Ring Lardner's son Jim, who has been captured by the Rebels in Spain

young German into a willing, unthinking, cruel bearer of arms. We are more or less acquainted with this process by now, but the additional proof is much appreciated. It is important to know, for example, that the military training is destroying the health of the German youth. In 1936, we learn, 37 to 38 per cent of the army conscripts suffered from flat feet. "An abnormal increase," remarks the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. This will be a small item indeed compared with the mental and spiritual abnormality which post-Hitler Germany will have to remedy.

One can only be thankful for such documentary proof as *School for Barbarians* and hope that good use is made of it.

—JAMES LERNER

### A Program for America

THE PROSPECTS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, by George S. Counts; 370 pages; The John Day Company; \$3.00.

I SUPPOSE this book originated from an effort to demonstrate that progressive or radical reforms in the United States are not dependent on European ideas for their existence. Mr. Counts offers many interesting illustrations of the opinions of Colonial and Revolutionary Americans that seem quite modern and would frighten many conservative Americans today.

A further point that is illustrated by the quotations from American writers is that changes and reforms in this country must be worked out on the basis of our own experience. Mr. Counts goes on to show that much of our past has been misinterpreted. The frontier, for example, represented a cooperative rather than an individualistic method of organization. The problems of uncontrolled individualism arose not so much from the frontier as from the reckless acts of controllers of large corporations. And these controllers were operating in a nation where the legal and traditional control over their actions arose from small communities and states. Anarchistic business does not derive so much from the frontier as from the modern corporation.

The author presents a program by which he hopes our problems may be solved. The program includes the following points: "... first, the professed friends of democracy must have faith in political democracy; second, the ordinary citizen must obtain the knowledge necessary for a free man; third, the masses of the people must be organized as completely as possible; fourth, government must carry out popular mandates quickly and honestly; fifth, government must maintain a complete monopoly of the military and police power; sixth, civil liberties must be guaranteed to the entire population

without fear or favor; seventh, all major campaigns of propaganda must be systematically and thoroughly exposed; eighth, the temper of the democratic process must be conserved and strengthened; and ninth, war must be avoided."

This is a program with which few people would quarrel. The difficulty



Lincoln Steffens (left) with E. A. Filene. From *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, edited by Ella Winter and Granville Hicks and published by Harcourt, Brace

is, how can it be accomplished? And on this point Mr. Counts gives little help. The fundamental task of solving our problems, which basically are economic, or even of approaching a solution, is only superficially discussed.

—DONALD MCCONNELL

### Women of England

THREE GUINEAS, by Virginia Woolf; 285 pages; Harcourt, Brace and Company; \$2.50.

VIRGINIA WOOLF cannot write a dull book. But she can write an exasperating book. She has just written such a book in *Three Guineas*. The title is taken from three requests that come to her—one to start a woman's drive to end war; one to help in the education of women; one to secure women better economic opportunities. To each cause she will give a guinea.

All American women are interested in what English women have to say on women, war, and the methods of achieving peace. Reading American women have been proud of Virginia Woolf. They took *A Room of One's Own* to their hearts although many of them were somewhat bewildered by the author's bitterness. Virginia Woolf's exquisite style has put her in the forefront of English writers and she has stayed there while many of her

generation have slipped to the rear.

But although I read the section on peace very carefully, I put down the book with a sense of frustration. The general purport seems to be: why do men expect us to find the road to peace when they have made all decisions on war and peace in the past? In one very bitter passage Virginia Woolf an-

dren Sidney Meller attempts to express every possible facet of American life on the West Coast. The novel is not so much a family chronicle then (although it is that) as a cross-section of California living. The narrative starts out of nowhere in Russia and ends up somewhere in the approximate present with some of the children of Drobnen on work relief and some of them in the money. Of them all, Dave (the prize-fighter whose leg is broken by gangsters because he won't go crooked) is the most memorable characterization. For the rest, there is a background of Jewish melancholy and the nervous uncertainty of modern times. Nothing is finished. Indeed, what reason there might be for the book's stopping on page 579 you can figure out for yourself. Five hundred and seventy-nine pages is usually good enough for anybody's three dollars. But if you come away from this fictive feast with a feeling that the meal is not ended, you will have enjoyed the steak and vegetables of the main course.

—NORMAN MACLEOD

### Our Search for Values

BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW, by Charles G. Norris; 365 pages; Doubleday, Doran and Co.; \$2.50.

THE BLURB-WRITER for *Bricks Without Straw* must have been graduated from a Paris literary salon some ten years ago, for he has billed this novel as one concerned primarily with the struggle between the generations. *Bricks Without Straw* does touch upon the contending age-groups in the life of Jerome Kennedy, the main character in this fictional account, but the contention is hardly ever drawn along purely age-level lines. There are too many other factors—the influence of economic position, the imperatives of ideas, the familiarity of chance. Kennedy's parents were in opposition to his earlier drives because of the rigid morality of their day and their religious background. Out of this struggle, in which Kennedy was largely the loser, he gained a tolerance in the treatment of his own children and his adopted ones. But, although Kennedy could understand and forgive the sexual and moral failures of his children, the acceptance of Communism by some of them was more than he could take at such short notice as was given him. The book is Kennedy's—written from his point of view. All the more credit to the author that the beliefs and activities of anti-Fascists in this country receive—by and large—such fair treatment at his hands.

*Bricks Without Straw* is very readable and contemporary in the best sense that it concerns itself with the search for values in this present, most critical, day.

—NORMAN MACLEOD

swers the question as to why women haven't organized a movement against Fascism, by comparing the Nazi philosophy for women with an Englishman's attitude. They seem very similar. Why should we fight Fascism, she seems to ask, when we have the same attitude in our own country?

Now this is exasperating. All women are indignant at the discrimination practised against women in England. But after a time many of us want to move on notwithstanding to some action in the face of the situation in the world today.

But in spite of its faults *Three Guineas* might well be prescribed reading for men who are anxious to have women enlist in the cause of peace. The book is an object-lesson showing only too clearly that women must be assured of their rights if they are to work for peace in any very effective way.

—DOROTHY MCCONNELL

### California Cross-Section

ROOTS IN THE SKY, by Sidney Meller; 579 pages; The Macmillan Company; \$3.00.

ROOTS IN THE SKY is a novel about Rabbi Elchanan Drobnen, his wife, and their six children. The Rabbi speaks, eats, and sleeps the Torah; but in the chil-

# From the Women of China

*An interview with Mme. J. H. Sun, president of the Young Women's Christian Association in China, who is visiting the United States . . . A stirring picture of her country's work in national defense and, simultaneously, in reconstruction of China's life and people*

By Dorothy McConnell



LAST YEAR all America was dismayed at the stories that slipped through from China of the homeless wanderers who had seen their homes destroyed and were going from place to place trying to find somewhere to live. At that time a friend wrote that even if the war were to end at once, the loss already suffered by China could never be made up. Hsu Shih-Ying, chairman of the National Relief Committee, estimated that at least thirty million men, women and children in the affected area had fled from their homes. Some of the most generous and sympathetic people in the United States said openly that what they could do was such a tiny drop in the bucket that they preferred to give their money where they could get better results.

The other day I sat in the national office of the Young Women's Christian Association and heard the story of the Chinese men and women who did not give up in the face of the national disaster, but made of the refugee work a work of education which we have not seen duplicated, I believe, anywhere in the world. Mme. J. H. Sun, president of the Young Women's Christian Association in China, told me the story and gave the material for this article. She sighed as she spoke of the energy of American women, but as I listened to her I thought how few American women could match the achievements of the Chinese women—who had not only fed and sheltered hundreds of thousands of refugees, but who had prepared the men and women

and children for life in a way they had never been prepared before.

All of us remember those pictures of the early days when the families of the Chinese sections of Shanghai and the surrounding territory tried to get into the Shanghai Concession. Mme. Sun told me that in those days they had to feed the hungry ones, who had not got in before the gates closed, by throwing bread over the gates and trusting to luck that the bread would not be torn to crumbs before anyone had a mouthful.

There were homeless men and women in two hundred camps, coming together but having no one to care for them once they were together. The relief was hit-or-miss. Sometimes refugees were well fed—if they were near feeding-stations. Sometimes, if they were far away, they were overlooked entirely.

### *Feeding the Hungry*

Mme. Sun left China in August, 1938, just one year after the first relief work was begun. In the space of that year every refugee camp in the Shanghai area has been charted. The refugees have been organized into battalions and have taken over the work of the camps themselves. All the refugees are receiving equal rations of food a day—and not food that consists merely of rice. The diet is made up of rice, wheat, vegetables, salt, oil and bean-milk. Of course, the picture is not all rosy. In the Concession of Shanghai there are now 3,500,000 persons. In the old days there were 3,000,000 in all Shanghai—which included those sections making up Greater Shanghai. Naturally, then, the housing conditions are growing more and more serious.

*Victims of the invasion, at a refugee camp in Shanghai*

*These refugee women have taken up dress-making with meager facilities*

Every family has one or more—usually several more—families living with them. In Mme. Sun's own home, she told me, four persons used to live. Now there are eighteen. Whole families live in one room, and in some of the camps vacant lots have been used as "shelters." These shelters leave much to be desired. The lots have been covered over with mat thatching, and double-decker beds have been set up under the shelters. There all goes well until it rains. When the rains come, often the lower beds have been awash. They sink deep into the mud and added to the damp is the chill. From a brief visit to Shanghai in the spring, I know how cold the Shanghai weather can be at the time of the spring rains.

#### *A Great Work*

But in spite of all this, great work has been done. During the past year twenty-five thousand children were fed by the International Red Cross alone. Over half a million people were clothed. Trade schools have been established, and by June of the past year one-third of the refugees in the Shanghai area were able to care for themselves wholly or in part.

But it is not only feeding and sheltering the refugees that Mme. Sun felt was the greatest part of the work. As a matter of fact, she said, there are some things that have come out of the war that have been gleams of light. One is the growing unity of China, of course. Another is the opening up of the interior of China. Men and women and children fleeing from the battle front have made their way into the interior—an interior which is rich with great natural resources but which had hardly been penetrated before by the more intellectually sophisticated Chinese or by those who were prepared to develop the resources. Mme. Sun told of one trek of three hundred students who walked from Chang Sa in central China to Yunnan Fu in the Southwest Province, a distance of three hundred miles. It took them sixty-eight days to walk the distance but they found work when they arrived. It was teaching the peasants and other refugees—a third achievement that has come out of the war.

In the past, Chinese scholars have been among the people but not of them. Their indifference to the ordinary person of the village may be responsible for retarding the intellectual progress of the Chinese peasant. But the bombings during this war have ruthlessly destroyed the universities. Thousands of scholars found themselves wandering refugees. The government has seized upon this situation, mobilized

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**B**ETWEEN us and Fascism there can be no peace. We dedicate ourselves, and join with the workers of the western hemisphere and other countries, to fight our common cause and to a common end."

The hearty applause of some thirty thousand Mexican trade unionists, and anti-Fascists from many lands, greeted these words of John L. Lewis as he finished his message of solidarity and coöperation from American labor to the World Congress Against Fascism convened under the auspices of the C.T.M., the new and powerful Confederation of Mexican Workers.

#### "Black Flag of Fascism"

"Democracy has always had its enemies," Lewis had said, in his speech which became almost a keynote. "Now these enemies have organized themselves under the black flag of Fascism and have allied themselves with reaction. Fascism is opposed to the organization of strong unions, capable of carrying on day-to-day struggles which would result in higher wages, shorter hours, and which would be capable of winning better working conditions for labor." Referring to conditions in the United States he said that the "reactionary elements have not yet resorted to open demonstrations of Fascism. We can expect that they will turn to Fascism when it is convenient and necessary to do so." He designated the use of spies, provocateurs, company unions, false propaganda, vigilante committees, and the use by corrupt public officials of the forces of the state against workers as the "weapons of Fascism." He warned "that in the United States there are groups, agents of foreign countries, and of super-patriots, which seek to consolidate these forces and practices into the brutal system of Fascism," and scored the Dies Committee as lending itself "to the lies and false propaganda of these agents."

It was peculiarly fitting that an anti-Fascist congress convened in the western hemisphere should have been held in Mexico. The country, united under the leadership of President Lazaro Cárdenas, is struggling to achieve the Democracy which was pledged after the revolution and which had been expressed in the constitution of 1917, but which previously had been sabotaged or ignored.

#### Toward a Better Life

Freed from national dictatorship, the present government set a course to democratize Mexican institutions and to use the newly released democratic forces as a means for raising the incredibly low living standards of the Mexican people. The obstacles were many. Large land holdings under absentee ownership stood in the way of lifting Mexico's overwhelming agrarian population out of peonage. Acting under the constitution and in the public's interest, the government is dividing the land among the peasants at an ever-accelerating rate. In some cases expropriation (with compensation to be arranged for) of large land holdings of Mexicans and foreigners has been resorted to. Large irrigation and reclamation projects have been initiated. Mexican workers have been encouraged in the exercise of their rights under the Mexican constitution to organize and bargain collectively with their employers. In the case of the oil industry, after a nation-wide strike and a paralysis of the industry resulting from the obdurate refusal of the oil companies—all Mexican corporations, though owned and controlled by foreign interests (principally Standard Oil Company and Royal Dutch Shell)—to obey arbitration awards and the final decrees of Mexico's Supreme Court, expropriation under the constitution was resorted to as a measure absolutely

# Labor Meets In Mexico

*A prominent labor attorney reports on the World Congress Against Fascism held recently under the auspices of the Confederation of Mexican Workers, and the Pan-American Labor Congress also in Mexico City . . . Signs of great portent for the Democracy of the western hemisphere and of the world*

By Abraham J. Isserman

required in the interests of the Mexican people. A program for developing Mexican industry is being carried on, largely financed through government banks and operated by coöperatives closely linked with the trade unions. Only recently the right of government employees to organize into trade unions was reaffirmed by congressional act. An intense program of education is being carried out, to end illiteracy and ignorance. An approach has been made to the solution of the health problem.

A parallel might be drawn between Mexico's New Deal and our own, except that the plight of the Mexican people is much more desperate, and requires greater amelioration, and that Mexico's resources as presently developed are inadequate to the task. Mexico is further hampered in her national development by the fact that so much of her land, natural resources and large industrial enterprises are under the control of foreign imperialists whose only concern is to exploit Mexico's resources, the people included. In their plans there is neither room nor provision for raising the standards of living in Mexico.

#### The People's Enemies

Opposed to Mexico's program are all the interests, representing only a small percentage of the people, which will be adversely affected by this program. They include the large Mexican landowners and industrialists, the foreign imperialists, sections of the Catholic hierarchy, certain of the old-line army leaders and politicians, and the agents of Fascist governments which seek to carry out their usual pattern of economic penetration and exploitation in Mexico, inevitably accompanied by anti-democratic political and military activity. All of these forces support Fascist newspapers and various Fascist groups which drill in uniform and seek to obstruct the government in its work of reform. Spanish and German Fascists are particularly active. There can be no doubt that the ultimate aim of

these groups is the suppression of Mexican Democracy by force. At present, however, in the face of the strength of the government—strongly supported as it is by the people, the army and the labor movement—these groups largely confine themselves to campaigns of scurrilous propaganda against the government and labor similar to those with which we are familiar in the United States. Not so long ago when the Gold Shirt organization overstepped the bounds of law and engaged in illegal and violent tactics, it was suppressed; and its leader, who had established connections with Fascist groups in the United States, was expelled. It is an open secret, founded upon authentic information, that the Cedillo revolt was an abortive attempt at a Fascist rebellion, financed principally by Nazi interests. The government supported by the C.T.M.—now almost a million strong, with 90 per cent of the industrial workers organized and with over 200,000 peasants in its ranks—is going on with its program aware of this Fascist menace, watching it alertly, and educating the Mexican people to resist it. In the meantime Mexico's Six Year Plan to get rid of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial economy which has kept the people in subjugation, is being carried out.

Mexico has recognized, too, the international aspects of Fascism and Fascist penetration. The National Revolutionary Party, which in 1934 polled over 2,250,000 votes for President Cárdenas as against approximately 40,000 for the opposition candidates, is pledged to a policy of international coöperation and against wars of aggression. Immediately prior to the World Congress Against Fascism and participated in by the Latin-American delegates to the Congress, there was held another congress which resulted in the formation of a Pan-American Federation of Labor. The labor organizations of all the Latin-American countries except Brazil and Guatemala have joined. The Federation's first president is Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the head of the C.T.M.; and the international office of the Federa-



*Labor leaders of two hemispheres get together. Left to right, Jouhaux of France, Pena of Spain, Toledano of Mexico, and Lewis of the U.S.A.*

tion will be located in Mexico City. Mexico has indeed set the pace for the rest of Latin-America.

#### *In South America*

All of the Latin-American delegates to the Pan-American Federation of Labor Congress and to the Congress Against Fascism described the reality of Fascist financial, economic and military penetration in their respective countries. Typical is the case of Chile which, over a two-year period, has developed

a Popular Front supported by the trade unions, the liberal and radical political parties, and by an overwhelming majority of the population. This Front is confident of its popular support, but it fears the influence of Italian, Nazi, and Japanese interests which, thus far, have not been restrained in spreading their propaganda and in arming local groups for violent action. Particularly the German population in southern Chile has responded to this pressure. While the Congresses were in session in

Mexico City there actually was an attempt at a Fascist uprising in Chile. This uprising may be a prelude to more serious attempts at the seizure of power by the Fascists. The Peruvian delegates brought reports of the presence of five hundred Fascist airplanes in Peru, of a Nazi supply base shipping supplies to Japan, and of a military mission being sent by the Peruvian government to Japan. The reports of the other delegates were chiefly concerned

*(Continued on page 24)*

# AS TO WOMEN

*Will the president of Venezuela admit the refugees—from Venezuela?*

TWENTY-ONE Venezuelan women who are the wives and mothers of Venezuelan political exiles have just sent a letter to President Contreras of Venezuela pleading that the exiles be allowed to return to their country. The liberal paper *Ahora* has published the letter.

The exiles for whom the women are pleading were sent out of the country over a year ago and were exiled for one year. But at the end of the year their exile was extended for another year. Their offense was that they had organized a coalition progressive and liberal party which was declared illegal by the government.

The letter recalls to President Contreras his promises of Democracy nearly three years ago. It points out that since he has neither called a trial "nor disclosed the slightest proof of their (the exiles') guilt, the President has in a sense tacitly recognized the fact that the exiled liberal leaders are innocent of anything which would be called a crime in a court of law."

The letter continues: "We consider it very just, General Lopez Contreras, that your government was one of the first in answering the generous call of the president of the United States of America to care for the exiles from Austria. But, at the same time, we consider that your government, born as it was with the most definite promises of Democracy, cannot honestly prolong the unwonted ostracism it has imposed upon Venezuelans themselves—our sons, husbands and brothers.

"Several times we have addressed you, Mr. President, asking the return to our country of our relatives in the names of our abandoned homes... Since a good many Venezuelan homes are suffering privations and anguish because of the exiling of honest men we are placing the problem before you once more, in the name of the Venezuela whose Democracy you swore to defend before the best guard of our national integrity, the ashes of the Father Liberator."

There are many such inconsistencies throughout the world—such as the exiling of one's own citizens but harboring other's exiles. This is particularly

apparent in South America. But these women still have hope. Venezuela has not gone Fascist to such an extent that there is no one to whom such a plea can be directed. There are still papers that will print their letter. And they can still call upon Democracy. If the spirit of the women of Venezuela is any indication, there are chances that the country will not become Fascist soon.

WE WERE interested today in the announcement of the birth of a new branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy. It was a woman's branch and was named the Susan B. Anthony Branch. We are assured that these women members are not interested in a strictly feminist movement but realize that the "liberation of women is a part of the whole struggle for peace and for Democracy."

IT IS a strange thing, or maybe it is just chance, that I have not heard a single woman speak of the Chamberlain-Hitler moves culminating in the Munich Conference as any advance on the road to peace. I expected some of them to say, "Well, anyway we didn't have war." After the invasion of Austria I heard women say, "It is better than the old way of war." Now they are not saying it. I have talked with clerks in stores, with women in churches, with young mothers, with teachers—none of whom, as far as I know, has ever supported the concerted peace movement. They are all saying: "We have not seen the end of this yet, and unless we want to get into something really disastrous to our own country we had better get together and fight this Fascism that is sweeping Europe."

Nor by "fight" do they mean to take up arms. They mean a firm will against Fascism that will compel governments in the democracies to indicate to Fascist countries that they are having nothing to do with them from now on. And the movement can be started now without waiting for government action—by means of a good-sized boycott. There is no woman who cannot have a part in that.

—DOROTHY McCONNELL

## Labor in Mexico

(Continued from page 23)

with the rise of the Fascist influence and the struggle for Democracy, which was seen as a worldwide problem. All were in accord with the words of Leon Jouhaux, the French labor leader, when he said, "Fascism will not triumph if we achieve a united front of all the democratic peoples of the world. If we achieve this, republican Spain will be victorious and peace will be reestablished throughout the world."

### United States Delegates

Among the American delegates to the Congress Against Fascism were Mary Van Kleeck of the Russell Sage Foundation and the International Industrial Relations Institute which had just completed in Mexico City a study conference on Latin-American and Mexican labor conditions, who was made chairman of the resolutions committee; the Reverend William B. Spofford, representing the American League for Peace and Democracy; Eugene Holmes, representing the National Negro Congress, and a number of trade union and other delegates. The Reverend Spofford was elected a member of the presidium of the Congress.

Edwin S. Smith of the National Labor Relations Board attended the conference "as a private citizen who is deeply concerned with the problem of achieving an enduring peace among nations." He placed himself with the ever-increasing number of American citizens who believe that isolation is not a real safeguard for lasting peace. In a plea for the lifting of the "indefensible embargo against the shipment of munitions to the legitimate democratic government of Spain" he said: "Isolation merely allows Fascism to gain in strength by conquest and to seek new countries upon which to vent its inexhaustible desire for exploitation. . . . For these Fascist countries war is an inevitable result of an economic system which destroys their domestic markets, both by fostering monopoly and by lowering the standard of living of their peoples through annihilation of the workers' instruments of economic advancement—the trade unions—and through the destruction of democratic rights. For this reason the Fascist countries look to exploitation of other nations in order to preserve their own economy from self-destruction."

### Congress Resolutions

Among the resolutions adopted by the Congress were the following:

1. Support for the Mexican government and its people through pressure on democratic governments not to oppose the present Mexican economic policy.
2. Amnesty for all Latin-American political prisoners in exile.
3. Against Japanese aggression and for economic boycott of Japan and Japanese goods.
4. Support for Spain and opening of the

French frontier, lifting of embargoes and end of the Non-Intervention Committee—urging the furnishing of clothing and foodstuffs, etc., to the Spanish army and the people.

5. Supporting the Czech people in defense of their territorial integrity.

A resolution was also adopted accepting the opening address of President Cárdenas to the Congress as a practical and theoretical base for anti-Fascist activities by the participating organizations. This address was delivered by Cárdenas in the huge auditorium of the Palace of Fine Arts, speaking before the delegates and guests of the Congress—among them Josephine S. Roche, former U. S. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury—and before a capacity audience of representatives of Mexican organizations.

### Alliance for Peace

President Cárdenas expressed the hope that all of the American countries would through concerted action establish a common alliance which would guarantee their territorial integrity and the maintenance of peace, and which would insure the progressive development of practical economic democracies pledged to the welfare of their peoples.

In respect to the special problems of Latin-America, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. Urging pacific settlement of frontier disputes.
2. That Pan-American conferences be held in the democratic countries of Latin-America, with the especial hope that before the next Pan-American Congress at Lima, Peru, early next year, democratic liberties will have been reestablished there.
3. That the democratic and progressive organizations of the United States be urged to redouble their efforts to obtain fair and consistent application of the Good Neighbor Policy by the United States to all Latin-American countries.

This last resolution points the task for the progressive people of America. The Good Neighbor Policy must be implemented by an ever-growing friendly spirit of the American people toward Mexico. This spirit must be developed by widespread publication of the truth concerning the struggles of the Mexican and Latin-American people for real economic democracies. The nature of the opposition to these struggles must be exposed. The poison of the Fascist and imperialist propagandists, now widely carried in the American press, must be nullified. Glaring examples of this kind of propaganda are found in *The Atlantic Monthly's* special supplement on Mexico, entitled "Trouble Below the Border"—which, subsidized by the oil interests, is full of falsehoods and distortions of the situation in Mexico; and in the frequent news dispatches to the *New York Times* by Frank L. Kluckhohn who transformed the trade union banners at the bull-ring mass meeting into "red flags" and the Good

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**W**ALL STREET capitalists have joined enthusiastically with the reactionary centers in Berlin-Rome-Tokyo-London-Paris in celebrating the capitulation of the democratic powers and the victory of Fascism growing out of the Czechoslovakian crisis.

Wall Street's celebration has characteristically taken the form of a violent upsurge in the stock market. There are, of course, numerous factors involved in this situation. For one thing, stock and bond prices had declined sharply during the period of war scares because of the anticipation that the outbreak of a general European war would bring heavy liquidation of European investments in American securities, and thus demoralize the market until the influx of European orders for American war materials could cause a boom in Big Business profits. Consequently, the Chamberlain-Hitler-Mussolini-Daladier "peace" automatically was sufficient to start a good rise on the Stock Exchange.

But there were other elements, too, which gave real significance to Wall Street's welcome to the betrayal of Czechoslovakia, and which gave ironic emphasis to the permanence of the "peace" decreed by Chamberlain and Hitler at Munich. One of these was the immediate recognition by stock speculators that the "peace" of Munich would be followed by intensification of the armament programs of England and France, a prognostication which was confirmed within a day or so by Chamberlain himself in his remarks before the House of Commons. On the very morning following the Munich betrayals, the *Wall Street Journal* car-

ried a lead story predicting increased sales of American war planes to the European powers. Another immediate result of Chamberlain's "settlement" has been a sharp increase in international demand for copper—one of the most essential war materials. As a result, the price of copper has been quickly jacked up, as a tribute to the "peace" efforts of the international reactionary bloc.

In addition to these tangible war-profit reflections, Wall Street's rejoicing has also testified to a pronounced satisfaction with the reactionary implications of the Fascist victory. Stock exchange commentators immediately pointed out that the Munich "agreement" pointed to the collapse of the Franco-Soviet pact, which previously had been the bulwark of peace in Europe, and in private conversation it was pointed out that Nazi terrorism had been strengthened as a protecting line of defense against the spread of Communism in Europe. As a logical corol-

lary, stock market gamblers bid up the securities of International Telephone & Telegraph on the assumption that the crucifixion of Czechoslovakia pointed to the likelihood of a similar deal in Spain, where the profit position of I. T. & T.'s telephone monopoly would be strengthened by another "Munich settlement." Likewise, *Barron's Financial Weekly* predicted that Chamberlain's love-feast with Hitler would lead to the extension of British financial aid to Nazi Germany.

#### Overtones in the U. S.

**W**HILE the Street's demonstration of solidarity with the Chamberlain-Hitler-Mussolini-Daladier Axis was predicated specifically on foreign developments, there were sinister overtones as to the effect of these events on the domestic situation. For political reasons the Street has always favored isolation, and for profit reasons has consistently opposed collective ac-

tion against the Fascist aggressors. Consequently, it hopes devoutly that the impact of the immediate triumph of reaction in Europe will be unfavorable to the continued advance of progressive forces in the United States.

In all of these calculations, the Wall Street wise men have prayerfully overlooked the latent strength of the great popular groups in Great Britain and France whose desire is for peace by removal of the cause of war: i.e., by defeat of Fascism. They have wishfully ignored the tremendous power for peace in the Soviet Union, and have eagerly accepted the thesis that this power can be effectively isolated by the machinations of the little group of none-too-popular "pacifiers." They have leaped to the conclusion—wistfully—that the immediate triumph of reaction in Europe will be contagious and will be followed by the restoration of complete Big Business control over the United States.

All of this wishful thinking can, of course, be exploded by the unified action of the democratic peoples to establish control over the policies of their governments. The necessity for this unity, however, has placed special emphasis upon the importance of the November elections in this country. The most telling answer which the people of the United States can give to Wall Street's cherished vision of a world victory for reaction will be a sweeping progressive triumph at the polls.

In many respects, the economic situation has become favorable for the resumption of progressive gains in this country. For the first time in history, labor has been able to pass through a depression without important losses in wage rates and work conditions—by virtue of the strong organization built up since 1935. And despite the cooperation of discredited labor leaders, Wall Street's attack on the National Labor Relations Act, the legal bulwark of labor's strength, appears now to have done its utmost, with little or no success. The carefully promoted investigation of English and Swedish labor relations has developed into a boomerang by demonstrating beyond any denial that the seat of labor "troubles" in this country is Big Business's hysterical refusal to recognize the basic rights of the workers.

#### Poetic Commentary

**T**HIS department is indebted to F.P.A.'s column in the *New York Post* for the following poetic commentary upon Dear Neville Chamberlain's accomplishments as handmaiden and boot-licker de luxe for Hitler, the madman of Munich:

I spent no time in looking  
For a girl to do my cooking,  
As I'm quite a clever hand at making  
stews;  
But I had that fellow Friday  
Just to keep the tavern tidy,  
And to put a Sunday polish on my shoes.

# WALL STREET



That poisonous tea at Berchtesgaden. At the far side of the table are (left to right) Joachim von Ribbentrop, Neville Chamberlain, Their Fuehrer, Interpreter Paul Schmidt, and Sir Neville Henderson

# IN STEP WITH LABOR

*Labor united for peace supports the Scandinavian seamen who refused to carry war supplies to Franco Spain*

ALL of labor is united for peace; all of labor is intensely interested in keeping clear from dictatorial obstruction every avenue of our Democracy.

For a concrete example of this, we need only point to the A. F. of L. convention in Houston, Texas, where William Green received an enthusiastic ovation when he attacked Hitler's aggression against Czechoslovakia. In similar fashion, John L. Lewis earlier at the World Conference in Mexico City placed himself on record in unmistakable terms as against war and against Fascism.

The immense importance of labor in stopping war has been proved by the action of the Scandinavian seamen in refusing to sail three vessels from America to Fascist Spain. By their move, they halted the shipment of nitrates, chemicals and gasoline to Franco. They retarded the progress of the Fascist forces in Spain. Their action prevented bombs from being made and halted airplanes from sailing over cities to drop bombs on innocent women and children.

This type of economic non-coöperation with the Fascists must be translated from the individual action of

these seamen into the general action of Democracy as a whole. Meanwhile, the upkeep of the men is the direct responsibility of the American League. More than that, it is the responsibility of all those who definitely stand against Fascism and desire peace.

Realizing this, we must bend every effort to give support to such actions by publicizing them generally, by resolutions, and, most important, by financial help. All contributions and communications should be addressed to: Committee for the Aid of Striking Norwegian Seamen, Room 3500, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

The three strikes—the first in Baltimore, the S. S. Titanian; the second in Port Arthur, Texas, the M. S. Cleopatra; and the third in Norfolk, the S. S. Gudvor—have already had international repercussions. The International Federation of Transport Workers has passed a resolution binding all of its members to refuse to handle shipments of cargo to Franco's Spain.

The most recent feature has been the coöperation given by the Inland Boatmen's Union of America, an affiliate of the National Maritime Union.

—A. E. EDWARDS



*They would not serve the baby-bombers. Norwegian crew of the S.S. Titanian who struck the Franco-bound ship in Baltimore*

## German Youth

*(Continued from page 11)*

better to go to war with their weapons and to go over to the army which was fighting against Fascism. But it has not been merely discussion. In the last months hundreds of German soldiers have deserted abroad: to Czechoslovakia alone there came at least 130, some of them in organized groups. These soldiers declared before the Czech authorities that they fled because they did not want to go to war against a democratic people like the Czechs. There is not a country around Germany in which there have not arrived in the last few months many German soldiers. The greatest attention was attracted, however, by one who, early this year, deserted and arrived in France in his tank.

The tremendous fear of war which appeared among the people and the youth, especially in the months when Hitler developed his war incitement against the Czech republic to its highest pitch, is well expressed in a letter from western Germany written after Chamberlain's visit to Berchtesgaden.

Among the youth, excepting a small section of fanatical chatterers, there exists no enthusiasm for war—rather there has grown a tremendous fear of war. The general feeling is that war cannot be prevented any more.

The soldiers talk of escaping. Some want to desert. Others talk of allowing themselves to be taken prisoner. But quite new is the desire of soldiers to wound themselves by shooting themselves in the leg, or chopping off fingers or toes, in order not to have to go to war.

As far as concerns the fanatical and chauvinistically poisoned section of youth, one can only say that never have there been young people with less idealism than those of present-day Germany. This section of youth is enthusiastic for war because they have been convinced that Germany is superior to the other nations in every respect.

The more shameful the stand of England and France, the more courageous do they become. It is not an honest enthusiasm to struggle and die for an honorable goal if this be necessary—rather it is the courage of a mouth-hero face to face with a coward. This "bravery" is based from the beginning on the feeling that the "other side" will suffer a defeat, "because we, Germany, have the best cannons, the most airplanes, etc." But once this section of the youth see the hard reality of an actual war and discover that the others also have good weapons and heroic courage, their disillusionment will be so much the greater.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that Hitler—with an army in which such great fear of war exists, with a youth which demands more freedom and expresses itself against the entire military service and drill, and with a people that in open demonstrations, strikes and protests takes its stand against the war-and-hunger policy—that Hitler in such a situation could not begin war without fear. Only through this does the entire betrayal of Chamberlain-Daladier become understandable. The united stand of the

democratic countries together with the German people could place Hitler in quite a desperate position.

Now the Nazi leaders are telling the German people and the youth: "Since Munich we have received new factories and the economic conditions will improve rapidly." But as after the seizure of Austria the German people noticed no improvement in economic conditions, so today they will discover none—since the profiteers of these "conquests" are the lords of Germany, the fabulously wealthy war manufacturers and the Nazi millionaires. It will soon be recognized that Hitler is not concerned with the "reunion of Austria and the Sudeten Germans with the German people," but with imperialist plans of plunder. The Munich betrayal only whetted the appetite of the Fascist robbers, and today Hitler already is making new demands. The war danger was not allayed by the "Munich Peace," but rather it was sharpened.

Our great German writer Thomas Mann was a thousand times right when he declared at Madison Square Garden:

"Hitler must fall! This and nothing else is the preservation of peace!"

## The Women of China

*(Continued from page 21)*

the scholars as teachers and thus found the solution of the age-old problem of teacher supply for mass education.

As an experiment fifty young people were trained and sent out in six teams for the setting up of training schools for the villagers.

### To Build a Nation

Now this training is not in the usual school that we are used to in the United States. It is a mass training for what is called National Defense, with an emphasis on four points—intellectual enlightenment, agricultural production, health education, and organization of the people into corps for war-time service. The war-time service is not necessarily for the army. It is service in building the nation into a conscious anti-aggression unit, which understands the issues and is prepared to give aid to the soldiers. In the entire educational drive the most successful single method has been the theater. A group was formed called the Theatrical Troupe for the Promotion of Resistance (against Japanese aggression) under the personal supervision of Hsuing Foo-hsi. Hsuing Foo-hsi has not only molded the old Chinese stage into a new movement for mass education during this war year, but has made a unique contribution to stage-craft and dramatic art that is recognized as of rare value throughout the theatrical world. He has had an almost uncanny gift for breaking down

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# BUILDING THE LEAGUE

*A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism*

By Russell Thayer

WHEN the Czechoslovakian crisis with the threat to peace was precipitated by Adolf Hitler and Konrad Henlein, the American League recognized the obligation of the peace forces of this country to support the Czechs against the Fascist demands and to struggle for the maintenance of peace. A number of special meetings were scheduled by League branches even before the crisis became acute. But when the news of Hitler's first ultimatum broke, the National Office wired to branches throughout the country calling for the organization of both large indoor meetings and small outdoor street-corner meetings. The response was immediate. In nearly every community, there was wide cooperation from other organizations and from leading citizens in conducting the meetings. Some of them were organized by the League alone, some in conjunction simply with the Czechoslovakian organizations, and many others in cooperation with Czech and other national groups and peace organizations. In some communities even such organizations as a Street Improvement Association cooperated.

Because there was such an immediate and impressive rallying of the American people on this issue, I think it is worthwhile to give a partial list of the meetings. Chicago led the way with a mass meeting of sixty thousand people. A parade and a motor cavalcade preceded the gathering. In New York, an overflow crowd of thirty thousand turned out to hear Thomas Mann, Dorothy Thompson, Heywood Broun, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson and others denounce Hitler and Chamberlain's policy of capitulation. Cleveland held a mass meeting sponsored by a very broad Save Czechoslovakia committee. Leon Jouhaux, Brackett Lewis and others spoke to the largest meeting held in Washington, D. C., in years.

St. Louis, Missouri, held an overflow meeting at which the speakers were Dr. Dostal, editor of *Hlas*, the Reverend Charles A. Wilson of the American League, Julius Klyman, international vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild, George Ivcich of the Yugoslavian societies and Robert Logsdon, international representative of the United Electrical Workers of America. Newark, New Jersey, held a parade of five thousand



*Heywood Broun addresses the overflow of the Czechoslovakia meeting in New York*

with many more along the line of march, and ten thousand attended their mass meeting. Vojta Benes and Eleanor Brannan were among the speakers.

What was evident in these rallies, and scores of others throughout the country, was the fact that Americans were overwhelmingly determined to stand shoulder to shoulder with each other and with the democratic forces of the world in the interests of peace. These meetings showed too that there was a consciousness of the necessity of organizing the peace sentiment of the people. Groups and individuals who had not previously worked with the American League recognized the need in this crisis of pooling all efforts.

The infamous Munich agreement heightens the urgency of furthering this organization of peace sentiment. There are important tasks ahead of us. The forces which were organized to save Czechoslovakia must be kept together and interested in the boycott and embargo on the goods of Fascist aggressors, and in supporting labor in its refusal to handle goods from the United States consigned to these aggressors.

Moreover, the forces which are at present interested in peace only, can

be won to our full program in defense of Democracy and civil rights in the United States, for aid to China, etc. The League now has three trade union organizers in the field: Harry Paterson who is in Philadelphia, Frank Goyette in Detroit, and Edward Paterson in Pittsburgh. Steve Nelson and A. E. Edwards are doing membership and trade union work in a number of Midwestern cities, and Oliver Haskell will leave soon on an organizational tour for the China Aid Council through the Middle West and Far West. Beth Cunningham has started her Southern tour which will last until the Washington Congress. Mrs. John E. Gosnell has organized twelve Committees for the China Aid Council in Arkansas.

DURING October an Eastern Seaboard Conference was held in New York City attended by delegates and secretaries from thirty-one cities in seven states. The clear grasp of organizational problems, the practical approach, and the indication of ability on the part of the delegates, gave assurance of the excellent work that will be done by the branches in preparing for the American Congress for Peace and Democracy to be held in Washing-

ton, January 6th-8th. The Midwestern Conference in Chicago had not been held when we went to press, but the advance notice of the number of delegates planning to attend gave every indication of its success.

THE determination of the American people to prevent the spread of Nazi propaganda was shown particularly in the picketing of German-American Bund meetings in Elizabeth and Union City, New Jersey. In Elizabeth twenty-four organizations responded to the initial call of the American League branch and a demonstration which far surpassed expectations, numbering about five thousand people, was held in front of the meeting-hall. The Bund meeting had been announced as open to the public and most of the seats were taken by anti-Fascists who intended to ask questions of the Bund speakers and to expose the Nazi propaganda. The Bund leaders decided not to hold their meeting and Nancy Cox, our New Jersey state organizer, addressed the audience. The meeting was a completely orderly one as was the demonstration outside. The Chief of Police commended Miss Cox for the good order that was maintained.

In Union City, a picket-line before a Bund meeting-hall was organized by the League, with the cooperation of many other groups. Simultaneously there was a separate American Legion protest demonstration and a meeting in another hall across the street. Observers posted by the American League throughout the neighborhood reported that a few stones were thrown at the Bundists by a small group of young boys who were not an organized part of the demonstration. Again, the League was commended by the Police Chief of the city.

THE growth of the League in numbers and in prestige during the last year, the indication that it is becoming more and more a part of community life wherever we have branches, the spontaneous reaction of the American people for peace and the greater ability of the American League branches to organize this sentiment and extend it into the field of democratic rights, give every hope that the coming Congress will represent well over five million Americans.

# YOUTH NOTES

A TRAVELER on the road approached an old man and inquired how long it would take him to get to the city. The old man answered, "Keep walking." The traveler, very much disgusted, turned and went briskly forward. He had not covered a great deal of ground when he heard a shout behind him and turned to find the old man calling to him. On retracing his steps, he was informed as to how long it would take him to get to the city. "Why couldn't you have told me that in the first place!" asked the traveler. "I first had to see how fast you walked before I could tell you how long it would take you to get there," came the calm reply.

Today when people remark impatiently, "How long can this keep on, this wilful invasion and killing of innocent civilians," I am tempted to ask: "First tell me what you are doing to put an end to it."

We can only proceed toward peace as fast as the majority of the people can understand that the United States today ought to assume a responsibility, as the largest and richest democracy, in warning the aggressors that international law applies to them as well as to the smallest republic.

We can only proceed toward peace as fast as the majority of the young people can understand that it is their future which is at stake: that their training and ambitions, their security and future happiness, are in the balance.

The American Congress for Peace and Democracy coming in January can do a great deal in bringing together the young people from student, religious and social groups, where their united thinking and planning can result in an effective program for peace and good will. Let them know about our Congress now. A Congress Youth Committee today is a good preventive of the doldrums in January.

CHRISTIAN YOUTH BUILDING A NEW WORLD, an interdenominational Christian youth movement, states that their purpose is "to join with those who would bring this strife and suffering to an end and build a world of brotherhood where God-given resources are used to serve all mankind, where coöperation replaces competition, where peace abides in place of war, and where special

privilege gives place to justice and equal opportunity for all."

They are not alone. Young people in Jewish organizations, youth in settlement houses and others are interested in finding a way out of the approaching menace.

Dr. J. V. Moldenhawer, of the First Presbyterian Church in New York City, recently declared: "We must cultivate a patriotism that has a sense of our responsible position among the people of the world."

The U. S. delegates to the World Youth Congress unanimously accepted a seven-point program which indicated the same need expressed by Dr. Moldenhawer.

The youth groups in your community were represented by their national leaders at the World Youth Congress. These youth groups today can be invited to participate in our Congress Youth Committee. The work of these Committees can produce a rich and vital program which will take us a long way toward the goal of building a world of brotherhood, where coöperation replaces competition and where peace abides in place of war.

NOVEMBER 11, 1938. Armistice Day. Youth parades, youth rallies and youth broadcasts for peace.

In the United States, the United Student Peace Committee, after a two-day meeting which was carried on in the same democratic fashion as at the World Youth Congress, adopted a Call for Armistice Day to all students. Based on the seven-point program of the U. S. delegation, the student Call concludes realistically with two alternate recommendations: recognizing that whereas all youth are eager for peace, there are some honest differences as to how it can be secured.

The American Youth Congress has issued a Proclamation which places special emphasis on *Aid to China's Youth* during the Armistice Day Observance. This Observance will continue for a week leading up to November 11th. Armistice Day itself will be a Tag Day for China Aid in some localities.

If there is no Observance taking place in your community, why not lead in a coöperative undertaking which will draw the young people together in an active expression for peace?

—REGINA RAKOCZY

## The Women of China

(Continued from page 26)

the division between the audience and the actors.

Added to this use of the theater has been a wide preparation of pamphlets which can be understood by simple people and which are within their reach economically. The finest writers of the country have been drawn into the project, and it is their business to produce real literature in the artistic sense of such simplicity that it can be grasped by those who have had the most meager education. Of course, the teaching of reading had to come before the pamphlet education. In the one year that the Shanghai refugee camps have been in existence, eleven thousand children have passed their literacy tests. Out over the country this has been duplicated many times over, not only with children but with adults.

After the first experiments, the education became one of the primary concerns of the government. A new drive was made for the training and education within six months of one million able-bodied men in one province alone. A people's training corps was recruited, made up of four hundred college students, three thousand middle-school students and four hundred girl students. They have been sent into the seventy-five counties of the province. It is necessary that the training be spread as far as possible. There is no desire that one county be intensively educated while the others are neglected. The men trained are themselves good teachers of their fellow countrymen.

In addition to this educational drive there is another one for the mobilization of one hundred thousand more young people throughout the nation for appointments to positions of local administrative responsibility.

Although the educational drive has not been limited to the refugees, still the refugees have played a great rôle both in teaching and serving as "experimental stations" for types of education. In Shanghai alone, seven hundred classes are being held for the refugees at this time.

### Children of China

In most refugee camps the children form the largest single group. Many of them have been orphaned by the war. Many others have been abandoned at the road-side—or lost—in their parents' flight from the enemy. Some of them have been born in the refugee camps. One of the most immediate concerns of the government at the moment is to establish homes or organizations in the safe areas where children can be sent—much as has been done in Spain. The distances in China are so great, however, and the transportation is so difficult, that the work has not gone ahead as fast as the need for it has grown. But it is en-

couraging. Mme. Sun says, that the need for maternity centers and child welfare clinics has been recognized, and that they are already being established not only in Shanghai but throughout the country, wherever there is any large refugee settlement.

I asked Mme. Sun about the refugee money that goes to the Japanese-occupied area. In Shanghai the relief money is in the hands of several agencies, all trustworthy. Outside of Shanghai in the occupied area, the distribution of relief is exceedingly difficult to administer. It must, of course, go through the hands of the Japanese officials, since they are the ruling group. When the Japanese receive the relief money, they issue tickets of good citizenship. A person holding one of these tickets is entitled to relief. But in the hands of a ruling people there is often a tendency to put their own interpretation on what constitutes good citizenship. Sometimes the relief can be used as a threat over an unruly member of the community—or, indeed, over an entire community. It is not known exactly how much this threat is used, but those working in the relief field fear it is rather widespread. It is, of course, a problem to know what to do about Chinese countrymen in the occupied area. For the most part, relief money either has been used in and around Shanghai or has been sent directly to Hong Kong where it can reach the sufferers without any of the red tape that is found in the other sections.

### America Must Answer

It has been a tragic thing that the United States has not responded more generously to the plight of the millions of homeless men, women and children in China. It is not because our sympathy and interest are not with China. It has been no doubt due to the consternation that has come from the number of desperate needs in the world today. But when one hears that a gift of \$1.75 will feed a refugee for a month, and when one thinks of the work that the Chinese are doing to make the refugee camp not a refuge solely but a means of a wider life, the American feels anew that he must have a part in the work. Of course the training in refugee camps is for the war period and directed with that in view. But when the war is over there will be no going back for the men and women who have taken part in this great development of China. As Mme. Sun says—the war is not all black. There are gleams of hope and steps of progress. The Chinese will set an example to the whole world if the education process can go on fast enough to bring about a people's resistance to the Japanese aggression. It is to help speed that process that many women such as Mme. Sun are asking our aid for their country.

## Tear Gas

(Continued from page 9)

going blind! Her eyes and eyelids swelled. She saw only what was *inside*. She still could see the green dress but it was *inside*. Horrified, she thought: I'm blind, I'll never see, never see. . . .

Somebody tripped against her. A shoulder, an elbow, she didn't know which, hurt her breast. She lifted her hands up like a blind beggar. Sweat pasted her hair against her forehead and temples. "I'm blind!" she cried.

And voiceless with fear, her mouth opened wider. Her teeth showed. Her tongue protruded as if pulled out by some invisible hook. She gasped in air, but her nostrils, mouth and throat felt clogged, shut off from air.

She dug her hands into her chest as if to tear open her lungs. She fell shrieking: "The trucks!" Oh, Jesus Christ, she prayed in panic; oh Christ, don't let them kill me, don't let them kill me, I was only watching, oh God, the trucks will kill me . . . Jimmy, Jimmy, don't let them. . . .

And *inside, inside*, the green dress spread like the gas cloud into a shining, whirling green spotted with yellow. Blind . . . God, blind, blind! "Help!" she called. "Help!"

She pushed out her hands to keep off the trucks. She walked as the newly blind walk. All about her she heard the wailing voices. "Help," she begged.

**S**HE FELT a calloused hand seize her own. A man's voice spoke near her ear. "It's all right. It's tear gas. It wears off soon."

He didn't understand, she thought. "I'm blind," she said.

"You're not blind. The wind took that gas right into the mills. I hope it got some of them finks."

The voice wasn't Jimmy's and the hand holding hers wasn't Jimmy's but she felt calmer. She wasn't blind, he said. She wasn't alone. "Tear gas?"

"That's right. I'm taking you up the street where it's clear."

"Thanks."

"Here we are. Sit down. I got to bring the others over."

She lowered her body through a darkness filtered through with strings of light. The strings thickened into bands that curved around a black whirling ball.

A woman's voice said, "I'm just beginning to see."

"Where are you?" Cathy asked.

"Right alongside. I see!" Her hand patted Cathy's. "You can feel me. Can you see? I see!"

"A little." The miracle of light opened the world to her. It was as if she were peering through a keyhole into a black room and now the room wasn't so black. God, it wasn't so black!

"That's how it is with me."

"Me, too." Cathy shut her eyes. Light washed against her eyelids. She opened her eyes at last with the timidity of a child learning a new game. "I can see a lot! I can see you!" Her heart smashed in her chest as she blinked at the woman to whom she'd been talking. The woman's head was a little too big for her body, her eyes gleaming between swollen lids. Cathy stared past her at the world. It was the world, not just one street in a steel town. She felt a thousand streets beginning where this street ended, streets, streets, with a thousand suns shining in the sky.

The sun slanted down on the tear-gassed. They sat on the curbs as if waiting for a parade. Four men and two women were stretched out in the gutter. Their hands, also, seemed to be sleeping. Cathy lifted up her fingers to the level of her eyes. A hand had five fingers. Fingers could wiggle.

"They must be out with the gas," the woman said. "You all right?"

Cathy watched the mothers walking home with their children. Near the mill gate, the bluish-grey cloud hovered half-in and half-out like a battering ram against the wire mesh. She stood up. "Let's bring the others over." She hurried forward. Up ahead of her in the middle of the gutter a man was sitting, holding onto his ankle. He looked like a tailor stitching at something in his lap. He needs help, she thought; he needs help.

## Dies Witch-Hunt

(Continued from page 15)

investigator for the Chicago *Times* who, he said, spent six months in the German-American Bund and unearthed all their secrets. He said he would prove that the German-American Bund in this country is an official arm of the Nazi government; that Fritz Kuhn, the leader of the German-American Bund, gives orders to the German diplomatic officials in this country; that the Bund operates closely with Italian Fascist organizations; that the Bund aims at the erection of a gigantic sabotage and espionage network in the U. S. in the event of war; and that the Bund has camps in various parts of the country at which men, women and children are taught how to become good Nazis.

Peter Gissibl, a Bundist from Chicago, was placed on the witness stand and answered "Yes" to the speeches made at him by Dies who invariably began by saying, "Now isn't it so that . . ."

### From Soup to Nuts

Thus, with the *hors d'oeuvres* over, to change the metaphor, the Committee plunged directly into the fish course with Col. John P. Frey alias Von Frey as the prize catch.

Laden with two secretaries, two attaché cases, one brief-case, a pile of

newspaper clippings, mimeographed handouts for the press, and a nice fresh linen suit that became wrinkled and limp as the days wore on, Frey proceeded to expand and expound.

First he delivered a lecture on the philosophical basis of Communism. (His comparative erudition was displayed by his knowledge of how to pronounce the word.) Then he launched into a dissertation on Communism and religion, quoting from Lenin and Stalin and assuming that everyone knew just where the quotes could be found, although diligent search has failed to produce them.

Then a brief lecture on Red-baiting, on how the term is unjustified, on the merits of Red-baiting—and John Frey was through for the day.

A good night's rest and Frey was back bright and early the next morning. He came up first with a detailed analysis of the C. I. O. and its unions, and proved conclusively—to his own satisfaction, at least—that practically every C. I. O. union except the ten that he kicked out of the A. F. of L. was organized and is led by Communists.

### I Only Heard

This task was so enormous that it was not until the next day that Frey was able to put into the so-called record a list of 240 Communists active in the C. I. O. He wanted it understood that the names on the list were not just the kind of Communists you call Communists but they were real Communists, members of the Communist Party.

It was clear that a number were "proved Communists" (and there is a vast amount of difference between a plain garden-variety Communist and a "proved Communist" or "avowed Communist") taken from the columns of the Chicago *Tribune*. Others were "proved" because "people in this area frequently say so."

Some had no connection with the C. I. O., such as Mary Heaton Vorse; some were A. F. of L. officials.

After three days of Frey the Committee and the reporters were getting a little bit sick. Newspaper space, even though it was hot weather, was dwindling: some papers had begun putting the story on page two. So the committee rolled up its sleeves and let drop an ace by the name of Edward F. Sullivan.

For Monday-morning release, a report drafted by Sullivan, the Committee's chief investigator, was given out. It detailed horrible conditions on the West Coast, disclosed that "all the employers say" that Harry Bridges is a Communist and Hollywood is going straight to hell. Movie stars get instructions direct from Moscow (across the Bering Straits from Siberia and down by dog sled and pony express from Alaska) and send all their gold abroad or to New York for the furtherance of subversive activities.

The story got a Monday-morning

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It's part of my thesis, as a playwright, that all over America a general fraud is being played out and against the American people. Nowhere is this fraud so piteous and apparent as in those fields where the layman is unable to distinguish between truth and fabrication. It is precisely in the related fields of medicine, health, and hygiene that the public is bamboozled without mercy. High pressure methods sell millions of dollars worth of phoney patent medicines, psychological trends, prepared foods, magical diets, eye-ear-throat-and-toe-wash to unsuspecting men and women every year. Whole false conceptions of hygiene and health are built up by crafty men with the results that people daily imbibe and ingest a hundred varieties of slow poison.

The magazine HEALTH AND HYGIENE cuts through this gloomy fog of fraud like a fiery sword. That is its avowed purpose and its monthly function. Fraud must go! HEALTH AND HYGIENE and its very capable staff distinguishes monthly between those products and methods devised for profit and those made for genuine human use. Of course, that is the basis of the general fraud—the profit-getting of unscrupulous men and concerns, many of them wearing a traditional mantle of respectability. That is why tradition itself is often attacked by the editors of this magazine. In short, anything which militates against the health and welfare of the masses of people is the subject of attack by HEALTH AND HYGIENE.

This is a clever magazine, a useful monthly guide, a little lighted hill (without dramatic exaggeration) in a gloomy world. For these reasons may it continue to do its good useful work for years to come; and may you, gentle reader and friend, continue to give it your unstinted support.

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## DINNER for THE FIGHT

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE of the American League for Peace and Democracy announces a dinner for THE FIGHT at the Hotel Belmont Plaza in New York City on November 11th. Contributors to the magazine and other prominent persons will speak. \$2.00 a plate. Informal.

## NOVEMBER 11th

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play and Dies then trotted out his second big star, J. B. Matthews, who was to tell all about the American League for Peace and Democracy. The Professor, as he came to be known, listed twenty-one organizations of a subversive nature and was the person who revealed that Little Shirley Temple engaged in dangerous and un-American activities because she sent greetings to *Ce Soir*, a French newspaper which supports the People's Front.

Generous and gentlemanly, Matthews allowed as how little Shirley didn't really mean it, that it just goes to show how ordinarily innocent and upstanding people are duped into becoming un-American.

The Professor lasted for three days, telling all, and hung around the committee room for another day, hobnobbing with the great. Edward Sullivan stepped back into the picture and trotted out a list of people from New York who were prepared to tell all about the un-Americans on the W. P. A. arts projects. They ranged from an insulted blonde who said the director of her project was an un-American because he told her, "Forget it," when she complained about a man of different color calling up and asking her for a date, to an individual who was sure the Federal Theater Project was un-American because one of its directors objected to the way in which he played the part of Earl Browder in *Triple A Plowed Under*.

Then the house began to fall about the ears of Martin Dies. Labor's Non-Partisan League submitted a brief citing evidence that Chief Investigator Sullivan was a fink for Railway Audit and Inspection, a strike-breaking outfit that was recently denied a renewal of its license in New York State, that he was associated with James True, a fanatic Jew-baiter, that he was closely linked to various Fascist organizations and participated in the notorious Asheville, North Carolina Conference, and that at least one of the witnesses he sponsored was arrested and pleaded guilty to a charge of stealing a diamond ring from his landlady.

### An Unsavory Story

From former associates of Matthews there came his story, of how the strike on Consumers' Research showed him up in his true colors, of how he hired strike breakers, and of how he lost a decision before the National Labor Relations Board which declared that he unjustly fired several workers.

From then on the Dies Committee moved from worse to abominable. It split, and part went to New York City and listened to a witness, furnished by a professional strike breaker, tell all about the Transport Workers Union (C. I. O.) in the morning. Later in the day the witness kept a prior engagement by addressing a meeting of the Bund.

It subpoenaed Navy Yard workers,

alleged Bund members, questioned them in secrecy and away from its own Nazi specialist, and let them go with the warning to say nothing of having been questioned. It returned to hearing some more testimony from Metcalfe, warmed over from several months ago.

But the Dies Committee has not been without service. It has shown up in great clarity the majority of the nation's newspapers which scrupulously "played the story straight" and thereby told only half the story. It has revealed in all its grotesqueness the character of the "hundred per centers" and their periodic witch-hunts. It has kicked Congressman Martin Dies squarely in the pants. It has made more people realize just how hot the nation's capital can get in the summer time and what strange things heat will hatch.

## Labor in Mexico

(Continued from page 24)

Neighbor address of President Cárdenas to the Congress into an attack upon the United States, and who believes that Mexico's democratic government is a red screen for Fascist activity. The State Department must be made aware of the fact that the American people are desirous of an amicable settlement with Mexico of all the differences which have arisen over the application and carrying out of Mexico's present economic policy.

### United Neighbors

Behind the formalities of the resolutions and the work of the Congress Against Fascism there was universally sensed a determination of the representatives of the millions of workers and people throughout the world to build a movement which would become an important factor in international affairs—a factor which governments would have to reckon with in the establishment of their international policies. There was the hope that as a result these policies would be shaped in the direction of international coöperation to stem the tide of Fascism and aggressive war. For the western hemisphere the seeds have been planted for a new doctrine supplementing the Monroe Doctrine, one which will have as its aim the elimination of all Fascist influence in the Americas and the building of real democracies dedicated to peace and the economic well-being of all the American peoples. As Edwin S. Smith put it in closing his address: "The calling of this conference by the workers in Mexico, and the support given by other countries, will do much to convince the people of all nations of the determination of workers everywhere to give their united strength for the struggle against war and Fascism, for peace and Democracy, in order that a more just, a more fruitful, and a more happy destiny may shape itself for all mankind."

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Of THE FIGHT for Peace and Democracy, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1938.

State of New York } ss.  
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Abner F. Levin, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE FIGHT for Peace and Democracy and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation) etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, National Executive Committee, American League for Peace and Democracy, 268-4th Ave., N. Y. C. Editor, Joseph Pass, 268-4th Ave., N. Y. C. Managing Editor, none. Business Manager, Abner F. Levin, 268-4th Ave., N. Y. C.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) National Executive Committee, American League for Peace and Democracy, 268-4th Ave., N. Y. C.; Harry F. Ward, Chairman, 268-4th Ave., N. Y. C.; Leroy E. Bowman, Treasurer, 268-4th Ave., N. Y. C.; Russell Thayer, Executive Secretary, 268-4th Ave., N. Y. C.

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is . . . . . (This information is required from daily publications only.)

ABNER F. LEVIN,

(Signature of Business Manager)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of September, 1938.

PETER K. HAWLEY,

(My commission expires March 30, 1940)

[SEAL]

# After Munich

WHAT has the Munich agreement done to the struggle for peace and Democracy, what does it mean for the fight against war and Fascism?

Those who have had experience in this struggle do not need to be told that what Munich has guaranteed is not peace but war. It has supplied Hitler with some of the economic resources he lacked, it has given him the dominance of Europe, it has opened up his pathway to the east. How little confidence Chamberlain and Hitler have in their signatures to another peace pact is demonstrated by their renewed armament programs.

Neither can there be any question about the kind of war that Munich prepares for. The ultimate objective of Chamberlain and Hitler is the defeat and dismemberment of the Soviet Union. Here is where the apparent conflict between the future of British imperialism and the class interests of the Chamberlain school of British Tories is in their minds adjusted. They are working for the kind of war which they think will conserve both interests. But even for them this pleasant prospect is sometimes disturbed by the grim possibility that when Hitler has the economic resources and the man power of the Danubian area at his disposal he may turn west instead of continuing east.

It is already clear that the Munich agreement operates against the forces making for Democracy just as it works to strengthen the forces that make for war. The premium placed on aggression by Fascist minorities, the release of potential Fascist elements is now to be seen in country after country in Central Europe. The necessity now placed upon the central Balkan states to come within the German orbit is bringing and will bring the Fascist groups to power and accelerate the Fascist tendencies within their borders. A new stage has thus been reached in the development of Fascism.

No ocean barriers, no traditions of isolation, no pacifist idealism can prevent the United States from feeling the effects of the impetus the Munich agreement has given to Fascism as a world force. In due time the results will be seen and felt in the increased strength of Fascist movements and tendencies in Latin America and Canada, and in the development of Fascist potentialities in the United States.

The reaction of this country to the Munich agreement brings to light the coöperation of forces similar to those in England and France which gave Hitler a victory he could never have secured without them. Here, as there, certain financial interests have the same concern in preserving the present order in Germany and Italy; here, as there, the isolationist pacifists support the war-makers under the illusion that they are getting peace by giving them more opportunity to prepare for war and more resources with which to make it. The response in motion-picture houses to the presentation of Chamberlain and Hitler as peacemakers, and the vote of the Princeton freshmen ranking them as the two greatest men in the world, at the moment are indications of the extent to which the will to peace is once again being led in the opposite direction from which it wants to go. The same confusion is shown by the recent Gallup poll in which 60 per cent thought that England and France did the best thing in yielding to Germany, and at the same time 58 per cent thought the

settlement resulted in a greater possibility of war.

In this situation what is now to be done by an organization which knows and understands the things I have just stated? How can we keep the will to peace from furthering the destruction of Democracy? Primarily the general task is to patiently explain the meaning of events to those who desire both peace and Democracy and to enlist them in actions to prevent the further advance of the Fascist war-makers. Our strategy is necessarily determined by the next moves of the enemy. These are made clear by Chamberlain's announcement of the program for Spain and the tentative reports of the settlement proposed for China. In Spain the proposal is for recognition of Franco and a blockade to force either the partition of Spain or a new government acceptable to the Fascist allies of the Four Power Pact. This means one that will keep the workers down and make them consent to the exploitation of the natural resources and labor power of Spain by the capitalist international. In China the proposal is to let the Japanese rule and exploit the north and central areas under puppet Chinese administration so long as they leave the British and French interests in the south alone, and divide the trade of the Yangtze valley with them and with us.

The United States can prevent both these plans from being carried out. By our economic aid we can strengthen the forces which are making effective resistance to the Fascist aggressors, and in so doing our influence and example will operate to bring further help from other countries to them. This means sending food to Spain from our surplus stocks on a big scale, both to meet present needs and to anticipate any future blockade. It also means a renewed campaign to lift the embargo on the Spanish government. Both these efforts should now be developed to their maximum. In the case of China the compelling need is for an embargo which will take away from Japan the more than one-third of her war materials that she is now getting from us. This involves preventing the application of the Neutrality Act and replacing it with the terms of the O'Connell Peace Act.

At the same time we have a responsibility close to home. Our government is continually bringing pressure on the government of Mexico to secure special privileges to American investors in the administration of the Mexican land policy. These demands are an unjustified interference in Mexican internal affairs. Their effect is to strengthen the Fascist forces both internally and externally in their designs on Mexico. If continued long enough they may lead to the overthrow of the Mexican government. If we are to check the advance of Fascism both in this hemisphere and in Europe, the American people must compel the Administration to stop the policy of diplomatic interference in Mexico in behalf of American investors.

What does all this mean in relation to the policy of concerted action for peace? That policy is not nullified because the governments of Great Britain and France are now supporting the Fascist aggressors. Concerted action in behalf of Spain and China is still possible between organized movements of the people. It is still possible for labor organizations and religious and professional groups to act in concert in these situations. Such actions constitute powerful political pressure upon governments. Already, popular reaction to the Munich betrayal of democracies is beginning to develop in England and France. The possibility of its leading to a more thoroughgoing change in leadership such as Hitler is preparing against, will be increased if this emotional awakening is channelled into popular action as well as political gains. The Munich betrayal increases the responsibility of the United States to take the initiative in a people's movement to: *increase the boycott on the Fascist aggressors; stop the shipment of war supplies to them; lift the embargo on Spain; put it on Germany and Italy.*

This is our immediate program. In carrying it out here, we shall prevent our Fascist elements from giving Chamberlain and Hitler help in supporting the Fascist International; we shall thereby check both Fascist developments here and the march of Fascism across the world.—H.F.W.



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