

May
1938

The **Fight**

FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

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YOUNG AMERICA FOR A WORLD WITHOUT WAR

LABOR

We announce that our next issue will be devoted to the story of the men and women who do the work of the world—and who, through their organizations, hold the key to the peace of the world.

THE FIGHT - JUNE ISSUE

THE FIGHT
268 Fourth Avenue
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With the Readers

UP Yeiler Way in a city on Puget Sound, a letter-carrier was trudging along with the heavy bag of morning mail hanging from his shoulder. The long rainy days of the winter months and early spring were over. A mild wind was blowing from Lake Washington, touching a little the new grass, bending slightly the stems of half-grown flowers. The letter-carrier wound in and out of the yards, dropping letters in mail-boxes, making his way up the hilly street with an occasional good morning to a passer-by.

A YOUNG girl, hardly more than nineteen years old, opened the door of a shingled house and took a letter out of the mail-box. She sat down quickly on the porch steps and tore open the envelope, reading:

"SWEETHEART JANE, I am writing to you by candlelight after a long day and evening of laughter, celebration and almost uninterrupted bombardment. This is the First of May, darling, our day, a day of two meanings in one for me, for on this day two years ago, remember, I saw you for the first time. I love you, sweet, with a love as deep as the very cause for which you and I are fighting. Dear Jane . . . you should have seen the boys today and heard them sing the hundred and one songs you and I sang so often in the Labor Temple. The Spanish soldiers joined us and we exchanged gifts, and how they lipped up our Gumbos.

"AND all the time death came from the skies. The Fascists knew of course that this was May Day and they redoubled their efforts to deal a deathblow on this day of days. What a symbol it all became, and we know that a victory for Franco means death to spring and love and the people's movement for Democracy, peace and a free world in which we can breathe and live like human beings. I only wish you could have been here and seen the spirit on this May Day among the men from North Dakota, Ohio, Texas, New York, California. . . . I know now on this 1938 May Day that the *Idea* we are fighting for and for which so many of our friends are giving their lives can never be defeated.

"FOR one reason or another this was the happiest day I have had in Spain. I wonder why? I really should have been very lonesome and I was, lonesome for you, sweet. But still not as lonesome as I thought I would be. Maybe in a sense it is a strength I find in my fellow men here who never for one moment doubt the outcome of this bloody war. This reminds me of a story I once heard my grandfather tell of the Civil War days. He said that the boys in blue always had more trouble from the rear—the friends at home were always pessimistic—than from the enemy in the front lines. (When you see Jimmy at the Labor Temple tell him for me to stop crabbing and get down to some real work.) So on this May the First I was happy, for I was fighting the iron heel that Jack London told us about when we were reading him in the woods not so long ago. . . . Did you march in the parade with the American League or your Union? Write me everything, write me often, and tell the friends of the Brigade that I will be back, love, and then. . . .

The girl in the taffeta dress got up from the steps, folded the letter and walked slowly into the house.

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Mexican farm women come to Mexico City to protest British exploitation of Mexican oil workers

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JOSEPH PASS, Editor

CHARLES PRESTON, Assistant Editor

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The Contributors

ROBERT G. SPIVACK, a graduate of the University of Cincinnati, where he edited the college newspaper, has written for a number of periodicals and is now the U.S. secretary of the International Student Service. Mr. Spivack has travelled frequently in Europe and visited Spain last summer.

LUCIEN ZACHAROFF, who has often contributed to these pages, has written numerous articles on military science for the leading magazines, newspapers, and syndicates in America and Europe, including the *New York Times*, *North American Newspaper Alliance*, *National Aeronautics*, *Australian Army Digest*, *As Review* (London), *Die Stunde* (Vienna), etc., etc.

JOHN GROTH is welcomed back to our pages—after an absence of almost a year—with these cheers and a fourth one from the editorial staff. Mr. Groth was formerly art editor of *Esquire* and has contributed to many of America's foremost publications.

R. C. SAILER, writing on the Chinese student movement, knows whereof he speaks, for he has lived and taught in that country for more than a decade.

WILLIAM GROPPER needs no introduction to the readers of this magazine and for that matter to the readers of most publications issued in the U.S. and in many foreign lands. Mr. Gropper has the distinction of being the most influential and therefore the most copied black-and-white artist in the country.

MARCEL ACIER recently returned from a two-month tour of Spain in preparation for his new book, to be titled *Spain Goes to School*. Mr. Acier edited the book of letters *From Spanish Trenches*, published under the imprint of Modern Age Books.

MARTHA DODD, whose short story appears here, has contributed fiction to *Story*. Her contribution here is based on her experiences in Nazi Germany, where as the daughter of ex-Ambassador William E. Dodd she for many years observed life under Hitler.

MAXINE SEELBINDER, our most prized young artist, hails out of Portland, Oregon, and is now residing in New York. My venture to predict that Miss Seelbinder will be heard from in the not very far future, for she knows how to draw and what to draw.

EDWARD E. STRONG, head of the Southern Negro Youth Congress which recently held its second meeting in Chattanooga, comes out of Chicago. The writer was the American spokesman at the opening session of the World Youth Congress at Geneva in September, 1936.

JOHANNES STEEL, who has for many years been foreign correspondent and observer for many newspapers and agencies, is now news commentator for WMCA in New York. Mr. Steel is an exile from the Hitler regime and is the author of a number of books, including *Escape to the Present* which was published last fall.

MARION H. BARBOUR is the Director of the National Business and Professional Women's Department of the Y.W.C.A.

A Plea for the Japanese People



Miss Haru Matsui, member of the Japanese Peace Association, says:

"Many people feel that the boycott of Japanese goods would add another burden on the Japanese people but so long as the war continues the people of Japan will suffer and must carry heavier burdens on their aching shoulders. The boycott by the American people will LIGHTEN our great sorrow and misery, by helping to end the war.

"Some people believe that a boycott will create unfriendly feeling against the Japanese, but your action is not against the Japanese people, but against Japan's militarism.

"The boycott will encourage the peace-loving people of Japan. It will make it easier for them to protest against the military campaign of the government."

**DEMAND LISLE HOSE
MAKE SILK JOBS INTO LISLE JOBS**

Boycott Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy

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**The
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FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY
May, 1938

ONLY THREE years ago the director of Los Angeles Junior College, Roscoe C. Ingalls, stood before a group of student anti-war strikers blowing a tin whistle until he was red in the face. He was trying to break up their meeting. When this subtle method proved unavailing, a police "red squad" was ordered to charge the strikers. In the excitement of it all, the cops knocked out two girl students. But as the academic savagery became more intense the students stood their ground more firmly. Finally, in desperation, Mr. Ingalls had the sprinkler system turned on the crowd and "the campus was cleared in two minutes."

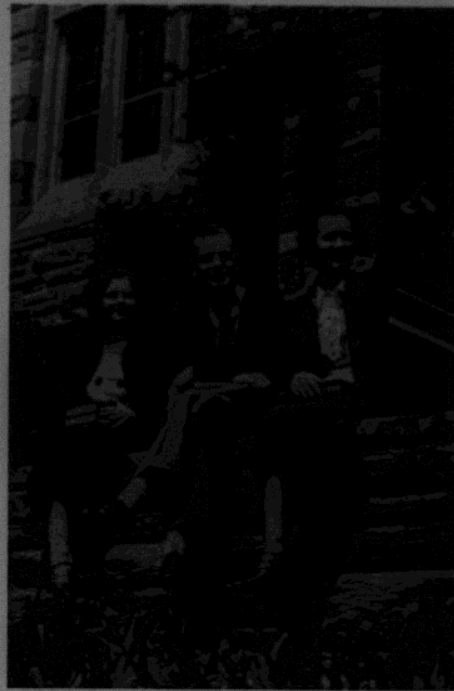
To those students who have come to take the annual anti-war strike for granted and who even regard it as an "institution" such incidents doubtless seem remote. Yet in recounting the trials which student leaders have faced many other stories could be told.

Umbrellas to the Rescue

There is a certain picturesque quality about a dignified dean blowing a whistle while his students concern themselves with matters that involve their lives and possible deaths. Even to those who suffered the pain, it must have been difficult to repress laughter when President Frederick Robinson of New York City College wildly swung his umbrella at students who persisted in holding an anti-R.O.T.C. demonstration when an important general was reviewing the cadets.

Of course, there were other trials without humor. Often community reactionaries went further than their scholastic serfs. One Chicago high school boy was beaten within an inch of his life. On the other hand not all the sacrifices in the early days were so spectacular. Some students merely lost scholarships or Phi Beta Kappa keys. Some were ostracized from the "best" campus society. But these "best" endeavors to build the anti-war strike were valuable not only in teaching the causes and cures for war, but also in educating the undergraduates who were the foes of progress within the nation. For the man who fought against the anti-war strike was

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Campus Parade

Five million young and strong, in our colleges and high schools want to live and be free human beings . . . War is on the horizon . . . This is the story of the peace activities on the campus

By Robert G. Spivack

often the same man who "protected the strikebreakers' right to work," who advocated rubber truncheons for all "alien Reds," and who believed "the nigger should be kept in his place."

A United Student Movement

Unyielding, earnest, and young, students sacrificed freely to make the anti-war strike the campus tradition that it is. In 1934 the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League buried their differences long enough to pull the first strike. A bare 25,000 Eastern Seaboard students participated. Hecklers were generously counted in. But each year since then the number has increased until in 1937 approximately 1,000,000 high school and college men and women participated in strikers, demonstrations, parades, and peace assemblies. No longer the sole property of virile left groups, the strike is now sponsored by the United Student Peace Committee, embracing nineteen leading youth organizations. Member groups include: American League for Peace and Democracy, youth committee; American Student Union; American Youth Congress; Chinese Student Association of America; Committee on Militarism in Education; Fellowship of Reconciliation, youth division; Interseminary Movement; National Council of Methodist Youth; National Intercollegiate Christian Council (includes National Councils of Student Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.); National Negro Congress, youth division; Student Peace Service; University Commission of the Council of Church Boards of Education; War Resisters League; W.I.L.; Youth Committee for Oxford Pledge; consultative groups—Foreign Policy Association, League of Nations Association, International Student Service. The National Student Federation, while not officially endorsing the strike, allows member groups freedom of action.

This year the strike involves millions, with anti-war activity in most of the important high schools and colleges. Activity which varies from militant walk-outs to dramatic speeches, fasts, parades, dances, and lectures. Some Catholic institutions, largely as a re-

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sult of the untiring work of Dr. Charles G. Fenwick of the Catholic Association of International Peace, are among the participants.

Genesis of the Strike

A tall, thin, intense young girl once gave a talk in a classroom of the mid-western university which I attended. She concluded her eloquent and logical remarks by crying as her lean frame trembled, "Fascism leads to war. Fight against one and you must fight against the other. World peace and Fascism are incompatible." The professor, who was both unctuous and aloof, commented that such generalizations were out of place in an institution of higher learning. With his special No. 3 smile (he had one for every occasion) this prof asked a simple question: What Fascist nation had gone to war? At that time the answer was none. But one year later professor and student met again; then one could point at Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia. Consistent with his background and previous reasoning, the professor still argued that "doubtless much of real worth" would accrue to the Ethiopians.

The debate between this professor and his student was merely the echoing of a more heated and more intelligent debate taking place between Joe Lash, Monroe Sweetland, George Edwards, and Adam Lapon, Gerrill Gerber, Joe Clark, Celeste Strack who were instrumental in calling the first strike. One group maintained that "because war is inherent in the capitalist system, all energies must be devoted to changing that system." Everything else was worthless. The other, while agreeing on the analysis of capitalism, contended that there were differences in degree between capitalist nations. It is the Fascist nations, they argued, which are most aggressive, most warlike and most to be feared.

Little could this second group have realized how prophetic were its words. On the eve of the fifth peace strike, the wars in Spain and China have already vindicated their judgment. But never has there been a "we told you so" spirit. With great sorrow all mourn the fact that the movement has not been more effective. Still flaming youth all soberly understand the tasks which lie ahead. In a movement which enlarged its popular support forty times over in less than five years, there is no smugness, there is no cockiness, and there is no complacency. New leaders have come into the field, some have fallen by the way, but the banner has always been raised higher after each "insurmountable" obstacle was passed. In large part this has been due to Joseph P. Lash. And the American League for Peace and Democracy contributed its share.

Father of the Strike

To thousands of students all over the nation Joe Lash symbolizes the student movement. Impetuous yet clear-headed, Lash has, like many others, sacrificed position and security in order to promote his ideals. It was he who, five years ago, introduced the anti-war strike to American campus life. "A strike," he wrote, "is the most intense and dramatic expression of our contempt for the war system."

The students not only introduced the strike as a peace weapon, but also imported the "Oxford oath." Many honestly believed that this oath was an effective method of crystallizing anti-war sentiment, that it was a weapon over the head of our own "imperialist" government. Unpopular though it has always been, they fought for it doggedly.

It was the force of events which made these students change their minds. With the honesty that has always characterized them, they were not afraid to do so. When the Loyalist government needed

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soldiers, many volunteered. They recognized that those who have constantly baited the peace societies would call this a "great paradox." In reply they pointed out a more curious paradox, which is nonetheless a truism, "That the peace of the world now rests on the bayonets of the peoples' armies in Spain and China."

Consistency is sometimes considered a virtue. To most student leaders it was more consistent to be on the side of peace and justice, than to make a fetish of the Oxford oath. They realized that it was essentially a negative influence in a day when American foreign policy must be positive. To their mind the oath weakened our influence for peace by diverting the students' attention from the untiring war-makers. It was impossible to say with honesty that Roosevelt symbolized the same thing as Hitler, Hirohito and chest-pounding Benito. Aware that many who never accepted the oath would snipe at them, they refused to close their eyes in order to protect their vanity. Thus they now stand as leaders in the fight to have the United States cooperate with other non-Fascist powers in preserving what peace is left, and restoring order where the brigands have already begun war.

Love and War

The picture would be too rosy if the fact were not mentioned that in the United Student Peace Committee, as in the nation, there are those who still hesitate, who still refuse to make firm decisions notwithstanding the times. Honest, yet timid, they allow events to browbeat them. Unfortunately there are also those who do not understand that the Tory press will feature any attack on the Roosevelt administration. They cover up their superficiality by uttering all sorts of radical sounding phraseology. As always there are those who become more indecisive the closer the war danger comes.

Amongst the pacifist-isolationist-Socialist coalition there are those who analyze the Far Eastern conflict almost solely in terms of the admittedly reprehensible Oriental "exclusion act." It only that were repealed, all would be well. Then there are others who in one breath declare themselves pacifists, opposed to all violence, but in the next inhalation defy hell, high-water and logic by announcing that if a war comes they will call a general strike! Or take one whose prize comment on Hitler's invasion of Austria was, "This really gives us a great opportunity to do work for the underground movement." Will opportunities never cease?

But the gravest difficulty comes from a few honest but misguided individuals. They never engage in political maneuvering; they are always sincere and forthright. Yet the theoretical basis of their ideology rests upon the concept of "Love thy neighbor." In compliment to Prof. Beard this might be called the "angel theory of peace."

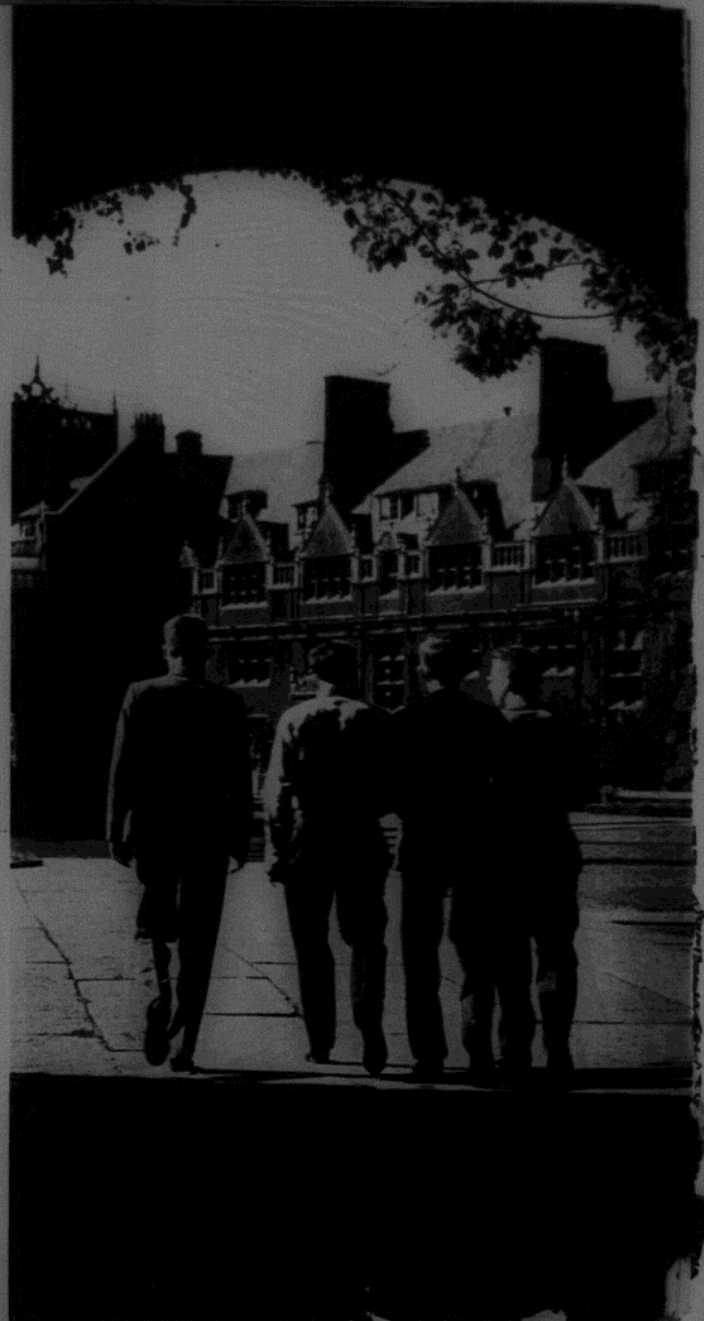
No Time for Compromises

Partly because there is an irreconcilable divergence between these two viewpoints, partly because all the student peace leaders are modest enough to know that the campus does not quake with each tremor in the U.S.P.C., and finally because they wish to obtain a more complete picture of what students themselves think about the war-diseased world, there was no verbose call to the strike this year. Instead there was a simple and pointed appeal—"Strike Against War, April 27th."

A compromise call had been worked out, but the isolationist bloc refused to sign it, although some of their delegates had originally agreed to do so. Each campus committee, which it is hoped will take

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M-Day for Microbes

Dismissed by the uninformed until recently as "fantastic," bacterial warfare is now being released from secret laboratories to become a most realistic threat . . . Japan is already utilizing this weapon in the war against China

By Lucien Zacharoff

ILLUSTRATED BY JOHN GROTH

AMERICA'S "man in the street" has long been dismissing as fantastic, or at worst remote, the possibility of bacteriological warfare. This, of course, has not been the attitude of the informed military specialists here. Of late a few lay commentators have been haltingly raising a tiny corner of the curtain behind which, still well concealed, literally hundreds of laboratories are grooming the germs of some of the most devastating diseases to act as what may become the deadliest weapon in the arsenals of world aggression.

In Europe, careful attention to such matters is imperative for immediate self-preservation. Accordingly, discussion of the potentialities of microbe mobilization has again and again been voluminously featured in the general press and technical literature. This interest has not been confined to mere discussion, but has been receiving emphatic confirmation in startling experiments, including dissemination of microbes by German agents in the subways of London and Paris. Still fresh in the minds of millions of Europeans are the startling revelations made by the British journalist Wickham Steed of German experiments preparatory to bacteriological warfare. He cited documents emanating from the secret aerial-chemical-offensive section of the Berlin War Office, the *Luft-Gas-Angriff*.

Spreading Disease in China

For a variety of reasons, developments in the Far East often prove more jarring to the American public than corresponding events in Europe, and a more realistic approach to the threat of germ combat may result from an examination of the implications of a meager one-sentence United Press flash (dated March 29th). From the far-flung Chinese fronts comes the accusation of General Chu Teh that over the areas occupied by his Eighth Route Army in Shansi, Shensi, Honan and Suiyuan provinces, Japan's aircraft are spreading disease germs. The general is circularizing the Red Cross, the League of Nations, labor groups and other organizations that profess humanitarian aims.

Appropriate enough is the inclusion of the League of Nations among the addressees, for it was at Geneva—on June 17, 1925—that a protocol outlawing bacteriological warfare was signed, with Japan as one of the signatories. Let us note that for at least thirteen years the powers have been alive to the degree of perfection reached by military bacteriologists.

It may be superfluous to reiterate that international contracts mean nothing to the twentieth-century cannibals who, in their mad rush from one butchery to another, are utilizing all the findings of modern science which promise the swiftest extermination and demoralization not only of the armies at the front but of men, women, children and useful beasts far behind the lines.

No wonder they are sharpening the deadliest of all weapons, bacteriology, which recommends itself by its quickness of action and inexpensiveness of production. Contagion-carriers, affecting human beings and animals alike, manufacture themselves, so to speak—promising even greater losses among soldiers and civilians than it is possible to inflict by military chemicals.

A Tempting Method of Warfare

To be sure, the aggressor nation who perpetrates this method runs the risk of reverse action by the microbes—germs are not concerned with frontiers. But this threat should not be frightening if we accept the dictum of a Swiss colonel who holds that "complete and prompt destruction of the



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enemy army is essential for the welfare of the other side, even if the latter must sacrifice its own army to attain this goal."

Even though microbes must be unleashed gingerly on the crowded European terrain, such tactics can be applied against naturally isolated countries (for instance, those situated on islands) and against nations of great expanse, like the United States, the Soviet Union and China.

Under such circumstances the simplest and most effective way of dissemination is by means of glass tubes filled with deadly microscopic organisms, such as germs of cholera, dropped from airplanes, or by parachute-descending animals infected with some plague or other.

Covenants? With superlative cynicism the German Army's organ, *Deutsche Wehr*, recently settled the issue: "It is very tempting to think of yellow fever, spotted fever or smallpox—plagues that universally cause a feeling of horror. . . ." Without equals in their savagery, German and Italian Fascists are singing the glories of every manner of causing "a feeling of horror." Germany's Professor Lustig is licking his chops because:

Besides the older shells, it is likely that bombs filled with death-dealing bacteria will find application, so that on the field of action there will appear a host of new enemies, and a new epoch will begin in the history of the conduct of war.

Italy's Puntoni, with engaging frankness, declares that in war time the task of the bacteriological laboratories is "to find means of attack, i.e., the preparation of infectious materials." He demands

the organization in Italy of a special scientific center for the purpose, similar to chemical organizations of war-mongers.

Lieutenant Colonel Karyshkovsky of the Polish Army also has openly pointed out that the enemy's rear is the most likely arena of bacterial war. Hence, the direction into rear sectors of detachments of saboteurs, wreckers, diversionists, acquires particular importance. The Polish expert asserts that these agents need not be supplied with their materials until after they are ensconced in the enemy territory. Laboratories for the manufacturing of contagion are easily concealed.

Research Authorities

Parentetically, it may be mentioned that an attempt to put these principles into practice was made by Japan long before its present invasion of China. Testimony at the recent Moscow trial disclosed that a Japanese operative "X" had assigned defendant Kniazev, in the event of war, to sow the more acutely contagious germs in the trains transporting Soviet troops as well as at the eating, sanitary and other establishments of the Soviet Army.

Corroboration of the likelihood of precisely such operations came long before the trial and from a non-Soviet source accepted throughout Europe as the most authoritative. I refer to the work of A. Sartory and R. Sartory, professor of bacteriology and instructor in botany, respectively, at the University of Strasbourg. Their *La Guerre Bacteriologique* (issued in Paris by Charles-Lavauzelle & Cie., publishers of military literature, in 1935) for

the first time collates the many articles, notices and research reports that appeared in scattered editions over a period of years. This provides a clear-cut, solidly factual conception of the possibilities of bacterial application in modern warfare.

In addition to the compact and well integrated volume by the two French scientists, the reader's attention is invited to the already mentioned revelations of Wickham Steed, former editor-in-chief of the *London Times*, made in the magazine *Nineteenth Century*; to the splendid research of Professor Trillat in the matter of dissemination; the unimpeachably documented memoirs of Colonel Georges, military medicine specialist; the interesting data of Professor André Mayer, and the expert testimony of Mayer, di-Nola and Silberschmidt before the Disarmament Conference's committee on chemical and bacteriological arms.

Distorting Science

Microbiology, the contemporary science of the microbe, has completely mastered the methodology of artificial cultivation of the germs of typhoid fever, cholera, plague and other contagious diseases. By filling the tubes in which the cultures are raised with the most suitable feeding environment—gelatine, broth, etc.—billions of microbes may be readily brought into being. The Italian Ferrari heartily recommends "bacterial arrangement" which requires no unwieldy apparatus, and can be prepared in any desired quantity by a small group easily able to conceal their work.

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Young China's Education

Across thousands of miles of water an American teacher witnessed the birth of a new generation . . . Here he tells the story of China's millions of students . . . A new land is born where the struggle since 1919 has forged a united people to resist the Japanese military aggressors

By R. C. Sailer

WHEN UP against it, "one man curses, another prays, and a third gets drunk." How have Chinese students been meeting the terrific problems that have faced them and their country during the twenty years since the Great War? For the Treaty of Versailles may be said to have marked the end of confidence that the young Republic could follow a smooth or steady path of progress.

Often spoken of, but still true, is the far greater interest and leadership in and responsibility for national affairs taken by students in China than in America, fast as many in our country may be catching up. Undergraduates form in China a far higher proportion of the total educated class, and are concentrated in relatively few centers, notably Peiping. The traditional Chinese respect for the scholar and student is a living reality. China was governed for centuries by scholars rather than by soldiers or self-made politicians. Fighting and manual labor were both looked down upon. The student expects and usually receives special respect both from his own family and from the public.

Family and Finances

To understand the Chinese student we must also appreciate the claims of family and the financial stringency of even the "upper" classes. Education in China is not a luxury, not a pleasant way of spending four years or of making friends. Often only the one most promising member of a family will be pushed through college by the united efforts of all his relatives, as an investment and a vitally important form of insurance. In very many cases the eldest brother is first squeezed through by family sacrifice, and then himself slaves for years to give his younger brothers, and perhaps sisters, their chance. In either case the student knows that he must make good vocationally; he cannot afford four years of liberal education to be followed by several more for professional training. In many cases he will enter the family business or will secure some post through influential friends. In others he must win his own way, and begin to pay dividends immediately. In neither event is he free to accept what he might otherwise have sought eagerly, some position of needed service where he could receive only the minimum \$10 or \$20 for bare living expenses; to do so would be unfair to his family. There is naturally strong demand that college courses be geared to vocational needs, and those departments that can best place their graduates have a great advantage in attracting students. Since none can promise for sure in these years of heavy unemploy-

ment, fashions change. In 1922, when Bertrand Russell and John Dewey were lecturing in China, philosophy was the big subject; later, political science, then a big swing to natural science, especially chemistry and engineering; with excursions into such courses as journalism and social work.

The Versailles Treaty

Given this environment, how about the Student Movement, as is called the sometimes more and sometimes less organized active participation of university and high school students in national affairs? The year 1919 offers a great key-date in its history. For it was then that the students of Peking burst out in indignation at the politicians who were ready to sell out the country and sign the Treaty of Versailles, granting Japan's claims to the German interests she had captured in Shantung, as against her own promises and Woodrow Wilson's definite declarations. Many students were arrested, and in protest many more flooded the prisons until the government had to yield and the treaty was not signed. It was a notable blow struck on behalf of China's self-respect and sovereignty, and all China gave the students credit for it.

During the following years student opinion grew rapidly in demanding that a halt be called to foreign imperialism, that extraterritoriality be abolished and that customs autonomy, without which China could not control or build her own economic life, be won back. In the spring of 1925 Sun Yat Sen came to Peking in triumph, only to die soon after. A student friend took me to see his body laid in state in a great mat-shed hall, with coolies, merchants and students passing reverently by in endless file.

Indignation Boils Over

But it was in Shanghai rather than in Peking that came the famous and notorious incident of May 30, 1925, when the pot of indignation boiled over. A group of unarmed students protesting on behalf of desperately exploited strikers in the International Settlement were fired upon by British municipal police, and several were killed and wounded. Everywhere the students of China rose in strikes and protest propaganda. It was not a pleasant experience as a foreigner to pass a long parade of deeply earnest students shouting "Strike down foreign imperialism"—knowing that we ourselves lived under special extraterritorial rights, and that several hundred American marines were still down in Legation Street under the pathetic excuse of treaties forced from China way back in 1901. Nor to see the great

picture painted by a student and placed on the city's main gate, showing a Chinese gentleman pointing to a student killed by foreign police, entitled "Is this the way to treat your hosts?" Shortly after followed the Shamen massacre in Canton, when a protest parade was fired upon by nervous foreign troops and many more Chinese lives were lost; and then came the great strike that cost Hongkong millions of pounds and showed what Chinese workers could do, backed by public opinion largely roused and led by students.

The following spring another date was added to the Chinese revolutionary calendar, *Sun I Pa*, March 18th. By insisting on the technical observance of certain provisions of the unequal treaties, as they were always and properly called, foreign nations had really intervened in Chinese civil war on the side of a notorious militarist. A mass meeting was called and Peking students gathered in thousands. At the meeting it was suggested that protest be made to China's corrupt old President, Tuan Ch' i Jui, who was up in the War College in the North City. The protesters were denied permission to see him. They insisted, and the troops made a general attack on the unarmed crowd. Of the scores of dead and wounded—men and girl students—those dead whose bodies were not taken to ancestral homes were buried in solemn memorial service, which I attended, in the Martyrs' Memorial in the bare fields of the Old Summer Palace, destroyed by foreign troops in 1860.

Against the Militarists

And then began the great drive north from Canton of the new Nationalist Army, led by Chiang Kai-Shek, presenting a united front of all liberal and radical and patriotic forces to win Chinese unity from the old-line militarists. It was an army in which many others sacrificed their lives, and with which many others carried on the propaganda that made it so successful against numerically superior forces. There was hardly a student in the North, except perhaps for some whose families depended directly on the militarists, who did not watch its coming with eager anticipation.

But by 1928 the great split had come between Chiang and the other forces of China. The socially-conscious student movement went underground. This was much more completely true of central China than of Peiping, where the relative independence of the war-lords allowed forbidden literature to circulate fairly freely, and the left-wingers controlled most of the student government organizations.

(Continued on page 29)



ANOTHER good push, friends, and William Randolph Hearst will join the do-do. Since that memorable day when Prof. Charles A. Beard remarked that no decent American would touch Hearst with a ten-foot pole, the boycott against the Fascist Lord of San Siroon has grown to such tremendous proportions that his newspaper and radio empires are now crumbling about his ears.

Presented by the S.E.C. last year from putting on the market a huge, uncolored bond issue, Dirty Bill has been forced to close, consolidate or sell paper after paper, to get rid of his hotels and art treasures, and to offer for sale all but one of his numerous broadcasting stations.

I predicted in my first column for TATS FIGHT that "WINS is losing out." Now it gives me great pleasure to report that the prediction is coming true. Hearst's New York station, according to latest reports, soon will pass into the hands of Col. Arthur O'Brien, of Seattle. KEHE, Los Angeles, already has been sold and negotiations are under way for the rest of the transmitters.

The only station which Hearst seems loath to part with is the still profitable WCAE in Pittsburgh, but continued pressure by residents of that city who hate Hearst because of his close alliance with Hitler and Mussolini soon may change that situation.

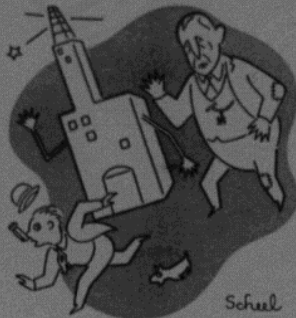
And speaking of boycotts—perhaps the time soon is coming when the ten-foot-pole test will have to be applied to the National Broadcasting Company.

That something is rotten in Rockefeller Center has long been common knowledge. President Lenox R. Lohr's predilection for uniforms, army maneuvers and Liberty Leaguers; his hatred for labor unions and his refusal for periodic mass discharges, as well as his orders to listen to charges of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League that Ernst Katz, N.B.C.'s German short-wave commentator, is a Nazi agent—are well known.

Then there was the mysterious resignation or discharge of Percy Winner, noted journalist with anti-Nazi sympathies, and his replacement as head of N.B.C.'s International (short wave) Division by Frank E. Mason, former captain in the U. S. Intelligence Service and ex-foreign correspondent for Hearst. Winner, who has returned to his old job as news commentator on WQXR, refuses to be quoted as to the cause of the rift with N.B.C., but it is rumored in the trade press that he discussed the matter with State Department officials at Washington.

Despite all this, National's coverage of Hitler's Austrian conquest came as a distinct shock to liberty-loving Americans. Its Vienna representative, German-born Max Jordan, sang one long psalm of praise to Fascism as the troops marched in, and other commentators were almost equally enthusiastic. As a result, high officials of the German propaganda ministry, as well as their left press, are openly boasting that N.B.C. is pro-Nazi and will never broadcast "harmful" information.

Although National has a contract which practically excludes its American rival from broadcasts originating in Germany and Austria, and although C.B.S. is considered anti-Nazi by the Germans, the latter managed—by fair means and foul—to present a well-rounded and unbiased picture of the coup. It will be a long time before anyone who heard them forgets Edward R. Murrow's breathless commentaries from Vienna. Despite strict censorship and an armed guard at his elbow, Murrow managed to convey to listeners the true horror of the situation, although not expressing it in words. Other



RADIO

European C.B.S. commentators were equally effective.

After doing such a grand job abroad, C.B.S. spoiled the effect somewhat by rounding out its Austrian program with an isolationist speech by Senator Lewis B. Schwellenbach. This is only one of the many instances, however, where Columbia has supported the isolationists. The policy has even become so strict that William N. Robson, director of the *Columbia Workshop*, has been forbidden to give a repeat performance of Archibald MacLeish's *Fall of the City*.

Programs for Adolescents

ASK ANY adolescent what his or her favorite radio program is and the answer probably will be "Benny Goodman's orchestra." Without intending any reflection on Benny's splendid swing

LEAGUE BROADCASTS

VOICES FOR PEACE, a series of League broadcasts, is on the air every week over station WMCA, New York. The broadcasts, fifteen minutes every Thursday night at nine o'clock, are in dramatic form to pose the issues and activities on which the League is concentrating. Stations in other cities can arrange to carry the program at the same time if our branches either buy or obtain station contributions of the time. WMCA can be heard in many cities outside New York.

Among those who are preparing scripts and music for the series are Ernst Toller, Hanns Eisler, Marc Blumenthal and Sidney Kingsley. Actors, directors and script writers working on the series are all from the top brackets of professionals in the writing and radio field.

Transcriptions are being made of all broadcasts and sent to all League city organizations so that the programs can be put on the air at any time, or used for meetings. The first four programs, for which transcriptions are now ready, are: Spain, China, Yugoslavia, and Trade Unions Under Fascism.

technique, I still hold that this reply puts the finger on American broadcasting's weakest spot. Except through music it makes practically no effort to appeal to youngsters of high-school age. In fact a suggested series of such programs was laughed at because "young folk only turn on the radio when they want to dance."

An article by Cesar Saerchinger in the April *Atlantic Monthly* discloses the vastly different attitude taken toward this problem by the British Broadcasting Corporation.

In England, Saerchinger says, programs for adolescents are abundant, well organized and extremely popular. In fact, several broadcasts each week are arranged especially for some eight hundred discussion groups in all parts of the country. Syllabuses of twenty-six courses (among which are several teaching foreign languages) had a circulation of 1,884,468 in 1937. And educational talks by H. G. Wells, Aldous and Julian Huxley, George Bernard Shaw and Sir James Jeans are commonplace.

Compare that with Columbia's fumbling *Human Relations Forum*—one of the very few American broadcasts which even attempts to cater to high school students—and then ponder the question of private vs. government ownership of the radio.

Incidentally, Saerchinger's article, which deals with many other phases of European broadcasting, is well worth reading. And his weekly commentaries over WJZ should not be missed.

Around the Dial

MAJOR BOWES and his professional "Amateurs" recently selected Jersey City, N.J., as their "honor city" of the week. The good armchair major, by the way, has a yearning to be a mediator in a big strike!

Father Coughlin came out openly in support of a Fascist government for the United States during his broadcast of March 13th, but the next week he attacked the Reorganization Bill on the ground that it was a step toward Fascism. Come, come, Father. Be consistent!

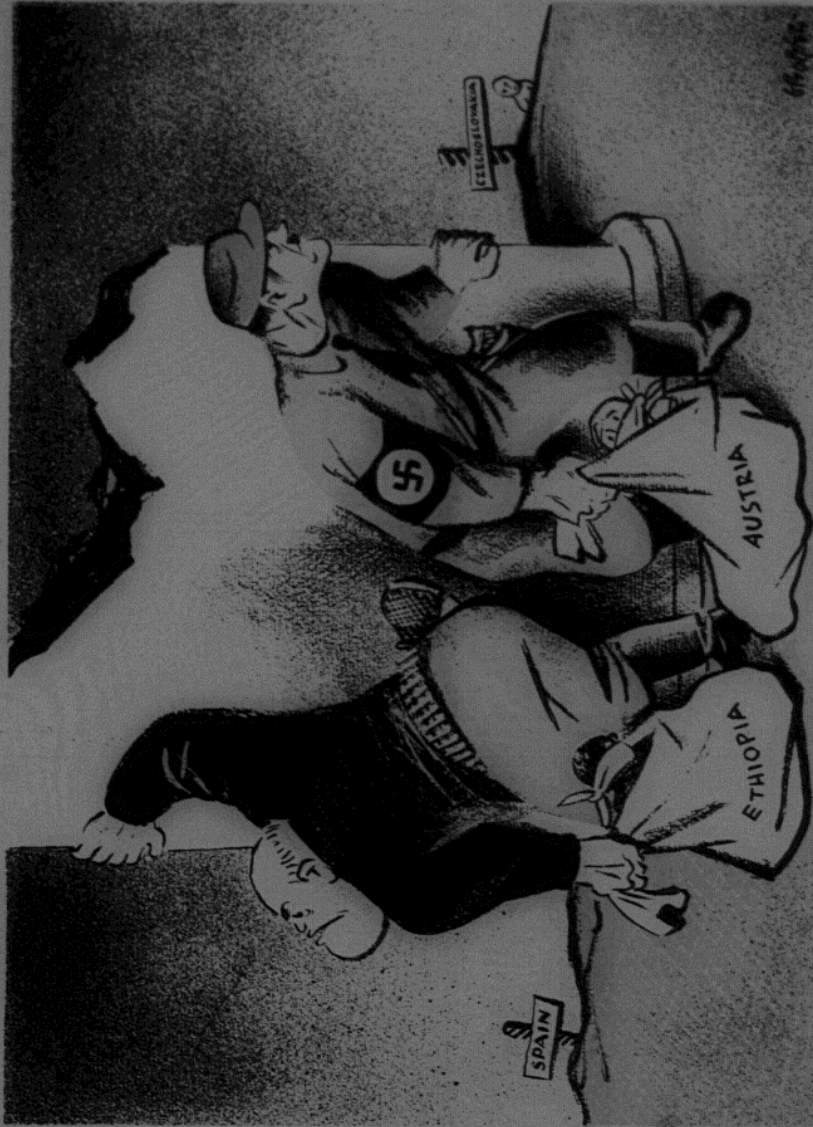
By what right did the California Legislature refuse permission to Tom Mooney to broadcast his appeal for freedom when he appeared before that body?

The gall of the munitions-making du Ponts is equal to their fortunes. When his *Catechism of America* dramatized the life of Thomas Jefferson, Pierre S. du Pont made a personal appearance and sang the praises of the Great Democrat.

President Roosevelt was not supported by a single radio commentator of national fame during his last campaign, and it looks as if he would fare no better in 1940. All of which may serve to explain the fact that "Fortune's" recent survey shows that only 23.5 per cent of America depends upon the radio for its political information.

Too much praise cannot be accorded to the W.P.A. Federal Theater Radio Division, which each week reaches ten million persons with its programs. The quality of these broadcasts is uniformly high. The *Tish* series recently presented over Columbia had the highest rating of any sustaining show, while the *Epic of America* is heard by 1,500,000 New York school children as the result of the cooperation of the Board of Education.

—GEORGE SCOTT



THE FIGHT, May 1938

The Snatchers

By William Gropper

IN THE world of movies, spring brings the more fragile cinema buds and the heavy fruit of last year in the form of the Annual Report of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association of America. At the risk of keeping our readers totally uninformed as to the fragrance of this month's buds, we take the liberty of turning to the fruitful Report of Brother Will Hays.

After a year of Congressional investigation rumors, the Report of course is mainly a championing of what is called, "self-regulation of the industry," which resulted last year in "seven specific accomplishments." The industry, it seems, made a great deal of headway in:

1. Development of moral and artistic standards of production through the Production Code Administration.
2. Maintenance of the highest possible advertising standards.
3. Educational campaign to win new patronage for the theatre.
4. Establishment of self-government administration for employer-employee relations.
5. Trade practice structure for bringing the most expensive pictures within reach of the smallest theatres and the largest number of patrons.
6. Fire-prevention and conservation measures in the distributive system.
7. The building of a new economic foundation for the industry through producers of historical appeal.

And special comment was made on the fact that film criticism has helped extend public interest in pictures and thereby increased potential theatre patronage.

A large Mob of the pulp of the Report is composed of an elaboration on, *Propaganda has no place on the entertainment screen.* "The industry," it says, "has resisted and must continue to resist the lure of propaganda in a sinister sense persistently urged upon it by extremist groups. Only those," says the good Elder Hays, "who have a selfish purpose to serve can cry out against such a policy." Furthermore, "... only a mere fraction of American picture footage is outside the code regulations; exhibitors, nevertheless, share with distributors a joint responsibility to protect American screens from those few 'booster' films. The movie theatre," the payoff goes, "can afford the soft impeachment that most pictures reflect no higher purpose than to entertain, with 'escapist' entertainment, if you please."

For Crying Out Loud

NOW, if any one should drive up and want to know, we'd agree that most of the above-mentioned accomplishments are all to the good. Better trade practices, kind of late in the game, but excellent. Better advertising standards, fine. Educational campaigns to get new patrons, good. Arbitration of employee-employer relations, if okayed by the union members, okay. Fire-prevention, sweet. But when Mr. Hays boasts of the elimination of "propaganda" from the screen, it's time to be one of the "selfish few"—it's time to "cry out."

Just what kind of propaganda Mr. Hays' "escapist" propaganda is ought to be examined in more space than here at hand, but we might take a glimpse at what kind of propaganda is eliminated by the grace of definition and the long arm of "self-regulation." Beyond the confines of the Hays organization, no one knows the full story, but juicy bits of information do seep out.

In a recent issue *Film Survey*, published by Associated Film Audiences, says, "Erich Maria Remarque's latest book *Three Comrades*, a story of the rise of Nazism, was purchased by MGM and

MOVIES

We have something to be thankful for. Because Brother Will Hays reports only once a year

has already been cast. The script was recently shown to the Hays office and rejected by that body after a talk with Joseph Breen, representing the Legion of Decency, and the *Nazi Consul*, because the script portrayed as *did the look* the persecution of racial religious minorities. Louis B. Mayer of MGM agreed with their opinion, arguing that his company would lose money by having the film banned in Germany!"

"Suggested change was to make the storm troopers 'communists.' The producer, Joseph Mankiewicz, refused, threatening to tear up his contract, as well as the script. A compromise was finally reached, which suits all portrayals of oppression or violence against Jews, Catholics, or others, from the script. The storm troopers are to figure in the film only incidentally... proves again that the Hays organization is not averse to propaganda, it depends merely for whom."

Out goes the truth from *Three Comrades* because it's anti-Nazi propaganda. Out went the life of *The Mad Dog of Europe*, a recently contemplated production, because its facts were anti-Fascist. Out of existence went the projected production of *It Can't Happen Here*, because its story was anti-Fascist. Out of order, has been the report of every hope of an honest film about the war-makers. Out of mind, has been the curt diagnosis of anyone wanting to make an honest film of the trials and tribulations of labor. Yes, propaganda, according to the Hays organization, is anything that is anti-Fascist, anti-war, or pro-labor!

In a world set aflame by the torches of the Fascist incendiaries, Mr. Hays prides himself on the



From "Death Follows the Rising Sun," a picture on the Japanese boycott.

installation of fire extinguishers in distribution plants, and the banishment of all but escapist films!

Defending Democracy

WITH that willful blindness so characteristic of those who say what they don't do, or don't mean what they say, or don't say what they mean, Elder Hays' Report indulged itself in the language but not the action of our day. Said he, "There is no real substitute for self-regulation. Industrial democracy can no longer be taken for granted in the world. It must be defended..." Our own industry is an important and significant case study of the economic, artistic and social achievement of self-government in industry.

Sweet words, "industrial democracy can no longer be taken for granted... no economic regimentation... no political dictatorship, etc." Yes, very sweet words.

The Industry is for industrial Democracy, but it throws out any pictures that attack reaction at home or Fascism abroad! The Industry is against political dictatorship but bends back until it kisses its own heels at the request of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito! The Industry wants its pictures to be of universal appeal although it patterns itself on the censorship dictates of the Fascist countries! The Industry is for higher moral and artistic standards but it dictates that every fact be a fiction, every historic event an historic evision, every honest writer a haunted fiend!

Not much longer can the Industry wall about possible reprisals from the Fascist countries. For practical purposes the markets of Japan, Germany, Italy, Hungary and Brazil are diminishing rapidly via censorship and quota restrictions—and the markets of China and Spain are temporarily shut off.

To secure industrial Democracy against political dictatorship, Columbia, Fox, Warners, Paramount, RKO, et al. and their spokesman Brother Hays must be taught that the movie audiences of the democracies have had enough of "Propaganda has no place on the screen." Enough discrimination against independent producers who've made films like *Spanish Earth*, *China Strikes Back*, *Heart of Spain*, *Austria Invaded*, *Millions of Us*, *People of Cumberland*, etc. Enough "self-regulation" of pictures like *Three Comrades*, *The River Is Blue*, *The Mad Dog of Europe*, *It Can't Happen Here*. Enough sweet words, we want action like *Zola*, *They Won't Forget*, *Fury*, *Dead End*, *The River*, etc.

While the fragile spring cinema buds bloom and the fruit of last year's crop is still at Mr. Hays' good right hand, we humbly ask:

If the "selfish few"—the box-office customers—who do not want reaction rampant, were able to voice their disapproval of *Red Salute*, *Rif-Raff* and *Siege of the Alcazar* so successfully, why can't we impress the Industry with our interest in being entertained with pictures that aid "industrial democracy"—pictures that help Peace and Democracy?

News

THE Ritx Brothers recently walked out on a picture planned for them by Twentieth Century-Fox, because it had an anti-labor slant... An excellent pamphlet, *The Eye Route*, by Mark Starr, has been issued by the Educational Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union... The Frontier Film Production, *People of Cumberland*, will be released shortly by Garrison Film Distributors.

—THOMAS COE MACLAIN

May 1938, THE FIGHT



A delegation of the Spanish Societies of America on their way to visit Secretary of State Hall, Washington, D. C., in protest against the undemocratic Neutrality Act

IN THE United States, an oft repeated phrase says that the youth of today holds within its ranks the leaders of tomorrow. When we speak of youth, we refer to the students of the high schools and universities, and of those who are serving their apprenticeship in industry and business.

When we think of the youth of Spain, we are confronted by conditions so strikingly different, that I should like to devote a few paragraphs to comparison, since any description of the activities of Spanish youth organizations must be based on the background and training which have preceded them.

As a result of the semi-feudal conditions which existed in Spain prior to the advent of the Republic in 1931, the percentage of young people to whom the roads of higher education were open was so small, that it could be adjudged negligible. Alfonso left behind him a country in which seventy-five per cent of the population could neither read nor write. The five years from 1931 to 1936 were hardly adequate to eradicate a feudal disease so deeply rooted. Certainly these five years were not enough to materially improve the conditions of higher education, since first a firm grammar school foundation had to be created.

Alfonso's Schools

In 1931, there were two types of grammar schools in Spain, and not very many of either. The first was the parochial school, where the instruction was given either by nuns or the lay brothers of some Catholic order. The second was the one-room school, in cities as well as in villages, where pupils of all ages and all grades studied in one room under the supervision of one instructor. I spent a number of days with twenty-five little girls, between the ages of eight and fourteen—who had been taken from a convent school in Teruel. Although they had started their lessons daily at 4 A.M., there was not a single one, in the group of twenty-five, who could read or write decently; none could solve even simple problems in arithmetic which would give no trouble to an eight-year-old in America; of history they knew only what pertained to the "Second Triumphant Year of the *Caudillo*." Of the second type—the one-room school—the name alone indicates its disadvantages for progressive study. The public servant who stood at the head of the class was so poorly paid that only a minimum of training

was deemed necessary to prepare him for his task.

The Republic came and under the leadership of the present Ambassador of Spain to the United States, Don Fernando de los Rios, the "Grupo Escolar," the public school as we know it, came into existence. Thousands of these schools were opened until the reactionary Lerroux-Rolles regime came into power in 1933 and since money refused to make funds available for such an "unessential program" as education. From that year until the Popular Front victory in 1936, all student and youth organizations were once more suppressed with complete ruthlessness.

Even if there had been one hundred times the number of high schools in Spain that actually existed, the economic condition of their parents forced the Spanish boy and girl to go to work at a very early age, in order to relieve the financial pressure on the family. Here we reach the basic differences between a youth in the United States and a youth in Spain. First, the Spaniard is not a student, but a worker with many years experience, a member of a trade union; a man who stands as an equal with any of the older toilers who may be more mature.

This gives to the many youth organizations a much broader sphere of influence, while at the same time making it almost impossible to describe their activities separately from the sweeping movement which has struggled against Fascism with such bravery. I left Spain with the conviction that the youth of Spain represented the strongest bulwark against reaction, because, from the very first days of the military rebellion, they recognized the crying need for discipline and unity. It is enough to point out that in the beginning of 1937 there were more than 150,000 members of youth organizations in the Spanish army. That was the answer of an organized youth movement to the Fascist aggressors. These shock troops assisted in the transformation of the workers' militias into the powerful army which for almost two years has held its own against the forces that Franco was able to muster abroad with their almost unbelievable superiority of equipment.

Wherever I went, I found these young people organizing the defense in a thousand ways, improving life and conditions for the other soldiers, creating new enthusiasm where a situation seemed hopeless. They had no time to question the political affiliation of any supporter of the government;

their one cry was: "Young man, young woman, what are you doing to help defeat Fascism?" Not all could play a heroic role, hands were necessary to wash dishes and to scrub floors. When a foreign committee set up a kitchen for children and pregnant women in Madrid, a call to the *Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas*, the J.S.U., for twelve girls to serve as waitresses, was answered within a few hours. In the canteen, every few minutes, a young girl comes by with a large collection box for the Spanish Red Cross or the *Sociedad Roja Internacional*. They seldom pass a table without something being added to their load. Certainly this is neither fun nor glamour, but it is a beautiful demonstration of disciplined action and unflinching perseverance. In the hospitals, the retiger homes, and the children's colonies, there are thousands of these girls who work at drab tasks for long hours with the courage and conviction of the soldier in the trenches.

A Soldier's Home

They are proud of their arms, these young fellows, and well they have a right to be, for they have been fighting the battle of all of us, of all democratic countries, without very much help. I remember walking through the Cuatro Caminos district of Madrid with a British woman journalist. We had been looking at the damage wrought by the daily shelling and spent three-quarters of an hour following one of those bomb-proof subterranean passages that zigzag under the city pavement. We finally climbed up a staircase cut out of the solid rock, to the street above. We found ourselves blocks from where we had entered the narrow tunneling. In front of us, a large building, with a sentry at the gate, had a big painted sign on the wall which said: "Soldier's Home." I asked the sentry whether one of the cultural and social centers was located in this particular building. He was rather gruff, did not want to try to understand my faulty Spanish, so we walked on. We had just passed an impressive cobblestone barricade—were only a few blocks from the front lines—when a young soldier caught up with us, quite out of breath, and begged us to return with him to the building we had just left. Without further question we turned around. On the way he apologized for the sentry who was a new recruit, from some

(Continued on page 28)



Pneumonia

A story of life and death in Hitler Germany, of a dancer who did not believe in National Socialism... Of the ban plague which strikes down the best sons and daughters of the people

By **Mara Dodd**

ILLUSTRATED BY **XINE SEELBINDER**

I HAD MET Renate probably not more than two times, but in those two times there was room for an incident which gave me a sense of connection with her. We happened to be seated at the same table for tea one afternoon, and neither the girl nor her husband seemed to be inclined to do anything but sit quietly there and observe and enter into a quiet conversation. Other people were milling about the room, going busily from group to group courting the lions of the day. We three sat there comparatively undisturbed. Now it happened that this was in February of 1934 just after the shooting down of the Austrian workers in their settlements at Linz. At a word of mine in the course of our conversation on the state of Europe, she spoke out with unusual earnestness and concern. She began to express her opinions as to the part of Mussolini in instigating that massacre and to trace causes and results in the group of events related to it.

It is curious how well human beings sometimes know each other in brief flashes. A gesture, a tone, a haughty way of holding the head or an artificial manner in saying something, are enough to alienate one from a person for a long time. And on the contrary sometimes a strong, confiding, open and piercing glance in the course of a real and genuine conversation gives one an unusual confidence. It gives one the sense of having seen a person with respect as he is.

In the course of this little conversation about the Austrian tragedy, there was such a glance that passed between her and me, her husband tacitly consenting and understanding that such a glance is nothing to be jealous of. It holds too much of the cool sense of our

common humanity. I think I felt subtly the same connection with him as I did with her, though he was the quieter of the two.

It was thus that I had a sense of shock and loss, of genuine sorrow, when I heard some months later that she was dead.

"Why, how did she die?" I asked of the casual acquaintance who told me of it.

"Pneumonia," he said with that serious and unwavering glance, holding my eyes, which was meant to give me pause. "You know, it is quite a common disease nowadays. The same thing which those workers down in Britz had."

I understood. For the story of the workers in Britz had passed from mouth to mouth as things do in Germany. A few weeks before, they had been taken out into the woods because suspected of having Communist sympathies, had been tortured and shot, or so it was thought. Only one of them ever turned up again, and he stood swaying upright in the Spire, his feet tied to a rock. A fisherman had found him after his hook had torn away a piece of his nostril. He had been pretty badly riddled with bullet holes, and one ear was cut off.

"Don't you know anything more?" I asked.

"No," he said. "It might endanger her husband to say more. I do know that he's in town."

THE SAME night, as I was entering the apartment house where I lived, her husband stepped out of the shadows near the door and asked if he might go in with me a few minutes. I shook his hand heartily and led him silently up the stairs so that our en-

trance should be as little noticed as possible.

He sat there perfectly quietly but began to shiver slightly. I poured him a cup of tea. "You'd better drink this," I said, "and eat something. You need your strength in these times."

"Oh, thank you very much," he said, taking a sip of tea almost as if it were an effort to do so. "No, thank you"—as I passed him the cold cuts—"I'm not hungry."

Then we sat for a moment, and he began to speak.

"You remember my wife?" he said. "Have you heard?"

"I met Hans on the street," I replied, "and he told me. . . . I'm terribly sorry. How did it happen?"

"I always fancied that you had an inkling of how fine she was," he said abstractedly. "She was a very clear, straightforward person. Before 1933 she used to go over into the workers' district sometimes with a mouth organ and play tunes and sing and dance in the back courts of the tenements. . . ."

"She was living a double life at that time. On the one hand she was the assistant of Professor— and was doing some research on a fellowship in the question of wages and hours, and on the other hand she was carrying on investigations of her own into the case histories of families in the workers' district. She was tireless in her energies. I never knew what connections she had that were of a more serious nature in those days. We had agreed that I would not ask her questions about her other activities whether with Professor— or with others."

"I only remember that, watching her study and conversing with her, I always had the sense of her deep earnestness and that she was satisfying

her sense for truth by plugging on at her studies.

"We got married in those days without any special notice being given of the fact. It seemed the natural thing to do. . . ."

"When 1933 came, Professor— was suddenly thrust out of the university. The field of economics lost many of its best men, and she naturally lost her job. As for the workers' families whom she had come to know with her mouth-organ and her singing and her dancing, or whom she had come to know later in more serious ways, they were scattered and cowed. They lost their men and the most active of their women, either in the terror through so-called unauthorized violence, or a little later when they

performances for which she became known in the city.

"Occasionally I would attend one of the rehearsals. She was a gifted teacher, and when she was conducting a rehearsal she would sometimes make slyly caustic remarks which showed anyone with political insight that she was fundamentally opposed to the National Socialist government.

"She was once almost caught on the street when going to deliver a bunch of illegal papers to some co-worker. I knew about that because she later laughed and made fun of the stupidity of the police. She had slipped the papers inside of her blouse. They were very thin, closely printed and small. And when the policeman asked her, 'What have you in there?', she remained staring at him open-mouthed without answering; then fortunately she colored and blushed. There was something very truthful and at the same time something very dignified about her face as she summoned her self-control. So the policeman was embarrassed and did not ask her further.

"It doesn't seem to have been anything very serious of that nature which caused the last trouble. It looks as if there must have been some ignorant, conceited spy among her own dancers.

"She came home one night feeling quite happy over the success of a rehearsal of a new dance which she was coaching. She had begun to undress and was standing before the mirror erect and supple and throwing her hair back with quiet, gentle sweeps of the brush. There was no light in the room but that of a candle on the dresser, whose gleam was caught by a long drape of crimson Indian silk on the wall. I had already gone to bed

and was lying watching her, drowsily enjoying her exuberant mood. Suddenly there came a ring at the door, followed by a crude pounding. She pinned back her hair, threw on her dressing-gown, and went out to answer the summons. I started up into a sitting posture, half-frightened and half not believing that anything could happen—we human beings ordinarily have a certain inertia when we are happy and comfortable. Then I heard rough voices and a scraping and stamping of heavy boots. And then I heard her soft cool voice remonstrating. I hurried out into the hallway.

"THERE I saw six men in the brown-yellow uniform, with the breadth and thickness which it gives to men's bodies. They were of different types. The leader was a broad-faced fellow with vast bright-red cheeks and a ponderous chin, and eyes whose desperate and peremptory expression seemed trying to escape from that expanse of face. He had very square shoulders and very large hands, and he seemed to be rather weak. He let himself be easily influenced by a small, energetic, resentful man with beaming black eyebrows and a mouth which constantly twitched. They were all somewhat under the influence of liquor. Only one looked unhappy enough. He hung in the background. It was this man whom the leader commanded to take hold of my wife. They had a paper which they protested was a summons for her, but they would not let either of us glance at it. They protested that she had to go with them immediately.

"In a very calm and sweet voice she was saying, 'Well, you can't take me this way. I can't go out like this,

you know. Would you all please kindly wait a minute until I can dress?'"

"They would not let her out of their sight for even that long. The uncomfortable one who seemed to be frightened of the others took her by the arm with a strong grip, went with her to the bedroom, and stood watching her with folded arms and restless eyes while she slipped on a dress, tied her hair, and put on coat and hat.

"But you don't need to go, Renate! Who gives these men authority? I said, 'Let me get to the telephone.' I was gradually becoming beside myself with rage. To think that six strange men, without any adequate authorization that I could see, should come and insist upon taking away my wife for a purpose unknown to me at this hour of the night. The lights had been turned on in the room over the disturbed bed. On the dresser lay the hairbrush as she had left it, and the candle was still burning ineffectually. There was a brilliant, blinding radiance. It made us all seem pale and mechanical.

"I made a motion to rush out to my study where the telephone was.

"No, you don't," said the weak, hesitant fellow, lunging towards me. He blew a discordant blast on his fingers and three of the others came running and held me fast.

"My wife looked at them with that cool serene glance with which she sometimes criticized things when a rehearsal was going all wrong.

"I should like you to let my husband go," she said like a whip, and the fire came into her eyes. "Immediately, if you please."

"The men glanced at each other, seemed to confer for a moment, then

(Continued on page 30)

Books

Flowers for the Mikado

CHILDREN OF THE RISING SUN, by Willard Price. 316 pages; Reynal & Hitchcock, \$3.00.

WHEN Willard Price set out to write a book about the empire with whose birth Japan is now traveling, he had to choose between giving a true picture, or receiving a decoration from the "Son of Heaven." If the decoration has not been forthcoming, he has every right to feel abused.

Children of the Rising Sun purports to be a blow-by-blow description of the first rounds of Japan's fight to the finish with the rest of the world. It would be timely and important, had the announcer not confused his function with that of the "Champ's" press agent. As it is, the wiseguys in Hankow are probably saying, "He is full of hot air."

Not that the book is a pack of lies, or even bare-faced propaganda, for it may be said in justice to Mr. Price that he devotes two whole pages out of 316, to the virtues of the Chinese people—"industriousness and love of nature."

His points are made with deft coloring rather than with outright distortion of facts. One example should suffice to describe the technique. "The Chinese," Mr. Price says, "are migrating from famine-ridden, bandit-infested China to Japanese controlled Manchukuo at the rate of a million a year." He might have said the same thing somewhat like this: "The Chinese continue to leave Shantung Province where the population is extremely dense, and emigrate to the much more sparsely settled, fertile plains and the Fushun coal mines of Manchuria, in spite of the Japanese oppression which they must suffer there. Since the Japanese invasion the great majority of them return to China after one or two seasons, so that the population of Manchukuo has remained static."

The greatest distortion results from a failure to underline the most significant fact about modern China, which is that with all her vastness of area and population, and in spite of a five-thousand-year-old civilization, China is the most rapidly changing country in the world. And the pace of her



Miss Hilda Yen, Chinese aviator who has been touring the U.S. to raise funds for her country.

transformation has been trebled by the Japanese invasion. At the very least, he should have warned the reader that even what he considers to have been true yesterday is not true today.

The fact that Children of the Rising Sun is extremely well-written and full of colorful detail is not enough to lift it from the catalogue of the Japanese Propaganda Bureau into the category of significant Orientalia.

—OLIVER HASKELL

A New National Defense

THE FIGHT FOR LIFE, by Paul De Kruif. 338 pages; Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$3.00.

DE KRUIF is back again, enlisting all who will listen in the fight for life. After reading this book, one must agree with this man's enthusiastic faith in the powers of science. Doctors may be tempted to quibble about some of the details, but these are trivial when one considers the larger issue in which De Kruif is engaged. Physicians and laymen are just awakening to the need for an adequate national health program. De Kruif's stories of the fight and fighters against pellagra, syphilis, tuberculosis, child-bed fever, infantile paralysis and streptococcus infections read like adventure. You are thrilled

by the exploits of his heroes, the men of science, the health men.

This book is obviously not intended for professional readers alone. In fact it is, as usual, directed to the attention of the strongest voice—the voice of the people. As De Kruif states it, "Before the struggle can be engaged, the whole people must be told of it, must understand it, must feel its glorious promise. Having felt it, the people will then fight for the right of their searchers to use their science to give mankind the right to life."

It is cheap and easy to wipe out pellagra—a disease of the poor which brings wasting, dementia and death to its victims. These poor workers in the South need more than fat lard, meal and molasses to live on. They need a few vegetables, too. But the worker on the plantation cannot always use the land, which is not his, for planting such necessities.

If the rich are not moved by the pitiful tale of pellagra and don't mind the death of some of the "unnecessary poor," what do they think of infantile paralysis? This is a democratic disease; it attacks anybody. Here money is needed for further experiments, and trained doctors to practice what little prevention is known. Some money can be raised for such a popular campaign, but where shall we get the trained men? Who is going to pay them for their services? Millions are needed to fight syphilis and tuberculosis. The needless loss of mothers' lives from child-bed fever can be stopped if special maternity hospitals and adequate trained personnel were provided. And there are other diseases. However, the story is always the same. Money is needed; lots of it. Unfortunately, it is appropriated more willingly for implements of destruction than for means of prolonging life.

The fight is not hopeless. De Kruif calls for national defense against disease. Who will deny that it is at least as necessary as the Army and Navy? But how will we achieve this national defense? Here is De Kruif's answer: "The relief of suffering and the prevention of dying cannot be best served, for all, so long as there remains any money consideration between the people and the fighters for their lives."

If every adult would read this book,

the fight would be half over. Perhaps then there would be a united cry on the part of the people for government action in the fight for life.

—DR. JESSE A. TOLMACH

Japan's Achilles Heel

JAPAN DEFIES THE WORLD, by James B. Scheerer. 311 pages; the Bobbs-Merrill Company, \$2.50.

THE AGGRESSOR of the East presents the strange phenomenon of a feudal society with an advanced industrial machine, James B. Scheerer, American teacher in Japan for many years, holds that it is this hangover that is largely responsible for the events in the Far East in recent years. It is this anachronism that is paving the way for an explosion which will destroy the bubble of imperialism and sweep away the militarists.

The army which has invaded China consists in large measure of the sons of starving peasants. They have seen their sisters sold into licensed prostitution by their own families because of the intense poverty. They are aware of the tightest monopoly capitalism in the world, one in which four families—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda—control the wealth of the nation. It is only natural, therefore, that they should bear the seeds of revolt.

In 1936 there was a revolt in Tokio. But this "uprising" was a skillfully handled maneuver on the part of Fascist-minded army leaders who, utilizing emperor worship and the growing enmity towards corrupt government, attempted to substitute military government for civil rule.

The revolt failed but its perpetrators have won. They have won in spite of the disastrous defeat handed them in the last Japanese general election less than a year ago. They won by instigating war and getting the Emperor to wish with them. But can they go on winning? Among those assassinated in the army revolt of 1936 was Finance Minister K. Takahashi. This member of the cabinet had repeatedly declared that the country could not last six months of a major war. It is well known that the militarists prepared for a three-month campaign in China. But China fights on and her

military leaders are planning for a war of several years, because they know of Japan's weakness and their own strength. The major war has arrived.

Although the author of this book is weak on theory, for instance when he finds Fascism in Japan centuries ago, his book is enlightening especially as to the social and religious customs. In his treatment of the Fascist International and of America's attitude toward the war, Scheerer mimes no words. And, lover of the real Japan as he is, he takes his stand for the boycott of Japanese goods and for President Roosevelt's Chicago speech.

—JAMES LERNER

Life in Nazi Germany

THE MORTAL STORM, by Phyllis Bottome. 357 pages; Little, Brown and Company, \$2.50.

AT THIS moment, all books written about the Nazi rule are important additions to the wealth of material already at hand. Whatever form the material takes, it must by its very nature contribute to the study of Fascism, whose aim is to destroy the present civilization in order to maintain the unchallenged rule of finance capital at all costs.

Many novels depicting life in Nazi Germany have come to our shores, and the theme, we feel, is hardly exhausted yet. Phyllis Bottome's new novel is but a page from the book to be written about Nazi terror. It is the story of Professor Roth—a Jewish scientist—his gentle wife, their daughter whose lover is a Communist, and of the two sons by the wife's first marriage who are confirmed Nazis. The very premise

of such a plot can only be a contradiction which causes mistrust, hatred and murder. The Professor and his wife want to maintain the liberalism which guided them through their married years and which they tried to instill in their children. In spite of the different beliefs of the children they are able to live under one roof until the daughter's lover is killed. The Professor's lover is killed, the Professor's daughter is in a concentration camp, and the daughter compelled to flee from the country of her birth.

The scene is laid among the Bavarian Alps, and the author, we glean from the descriptions, is very well acquainted with the region. The Bavarian peasants, deeply religious, face the hardship of their everyday existence with an increased strength in the face of the terror of the whole Hitler regime.

While the author could have made her book a scathing indictment against the barbarism of the twentieth century, still it is a strong book insofar as it is able to invoke opposition to Nazism, or at least rekindle this opposition.

—NICHOLAS WIRTH

A Living Poet

A NEW SONG, by Langston Hughes. 31 pages; International Workers Order, 15 cents.

IT IS A great intellectual, emotional, common sense treat to read this pamphlet of seventeen poems by Langston Hughes. We are confident the New York Times will not give it a spread because it sells for only fifteen cents (no money in it, friends) and because it is not published

via the regular channels; a workers' fraternal order ventured this pioneering effort. In an expansive moment, Walt Whitman predicted that his Leaves of Grass would some day sell for \$50.00 a copy and for five cents too. The first has come true, but the second, we are afraid, will have to wait a few more years. But the International Workers Order has made it possible for a living poet to be read by the people. And this recognized poet has had the vision to let his work go under the imprint of a non-commercial publisher. A rare combination.

The poetry here is easy to read, it almost begs itself to be sung. These are the people's songs, folk music. A. J. the Irish poet, once remarked that in reading most American novels, it is difficult to realize that in the U. S. A. people have to work and struggle in order to eat. Not in these pages. Here are the songs of everyday living and suffering and tears and laughter and hope, in Chicago, in Spain, in Alabama:

The devil's a kleagle with an evil will,
Oscar, Oscar Powell,
A white high Sheriff who shoots to kill

Black young Oscar Powell.

The Negro poet understands his people so well that he is a thousand thousand miles removed from the tradition of Booker T. Washington, or rather he lives today and recognizes that the white and Negro races cannot stand apart if their will is to come to life:

The past is done!

A new dream flames

Against the

Sun!

Is it in Spain that the people are struggling against the tyrants? (We recognize them, their breed is in Alabama, too.) The poet, the worker, the farmer, the teacher, packs his kit and goes to Spain:

Workers, make no bombs again!
Workers, mine no gold again!
Workers, lift no hand again
To build up profits for the rape of Spain!

I must drive the bombers out of Spain!
I must drive the bombers out of the world!
I must take the world for my own again—

In the first poem of this little book Langston Hughes gives us to understand that a man, even the most exploited man in America—

Say who are you that mumbles in the dark?
And who are you that droves your evil across the stars?

—will not lose hope in America if he can dream and have his feet solid on the ground in unity with his fellow men, and struggle for that dream.

Therefore this poet has the courage, sense of beauty and foresight to sing:

The past has been

A mist of blood and terror—

That must not be

True of tomorrow.

—JOSEPH PAX

Old and New

THE LARGER VIEW, by Benjamin Kertin. Translated from the Russian by E. Lida Swan. 432 pages; Stockpole Press, \$2.75.

OF SPECIAL interest in connection with the Moscow treason trials is this novel of Soviet life a decade ago. For here is shown at an earlier stage the underground struggle of the old against the new Russia which has been so sharply exposed recently. The picture of skulduggery and plotting in the N.E.P. period gives the reader a background for understanding the later developments.

The story takes place chiefly in Leningrad, or in two Leningrads; that of the university students; and that of the disolute, "fashionable" remnants of the past. The promising student Trubachevsky, who appears at first headed for eminence in the university world, becomes involved in the other world of dissipation and worse. His gradual entanglement by the counter-revolutionary Nevzorovitch reminds one of the "hooking" of an American labor spy. And Trubachevsky's rearrangement is no accident; a strongly egotistical philosophy, dominating his conduct from the first, leads him straight to the other anti-social personages. It is this egotism which yields in the end to "the larger view"—the view of social life.

Trubachevsky's troubled career is offset by that of his friend Kartashkin, who is subjected to the same influences but does not yield to them.

On this basic theme Benjamin Kertin has constructed a large and intricate novel. He uses the elements of suspense, plot, mystery, intrigue to a degree uncommon among modern realistic writers. One simply must mention, for example, that a great part of the narrative concerns the deciphering of a coded Pushkin manuscript. Again—and less happily—the serious illness of his teacher prevents the student from telling him that it was not he who stole, etc., thus causing a grave misunderstanding.

Unfortunately, much of this suspense is what Oscar Wilde called the suspense of the author. In general, this reviewer felt that the book suffered from mechanical and superficially brilliant novel-writing. It is a pity to compare a book with its blurb, but The Larger View does not have "the literary breadth of the older Russian writers." Call it interesting.

—CHARLES PRESTON



See Jones' cover drawing to Langston Hughes' A New Song

IN THE shadow of the deepening world crisis, Wall Street is marshalling its forces in three campaigns. Two of these are economic and political in character, and national and international in scope—manipulation of the depression so as to strengthen the internal position of Big Business, and the development of a foreign policy that will more consciously and specifically align American capital with the reactionary capital groups abroad.

The third is a purely local campaign for purity, or, more precisely, a frantic effort to regain face after the humiliation caused by the disgrace of Richard ("Our Hero") Whitney.

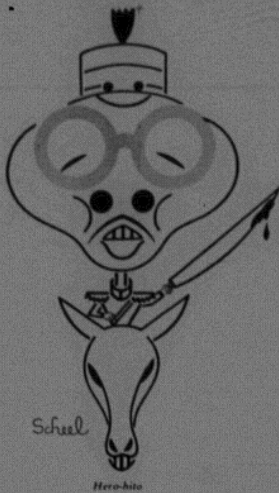
The force of Wall Street's crisis campaign has been augmented by the unprecedented swiftness of the depression, a swiftness to which the main contributor has been Big Business' sabotage of production and living standards by lay-offs and shutdowns. Surrounded by the fruits of this program in the form of a sharp rise in unemployment and a sharp slump in purchasing power, financial charlatans now are shouting: "Crisis!" in the hope of terrorizing the people into acceptance of the Wall Street program. An example of this technique is the tearful plea regularly expressed by Walter Lippmann, semi-official spokesman for the Morgan interests, that the New Deal abandon its "reactionism" (i.e. its pursuit of further needed reforms) and, in order to save the nation, concentrate on "national unity" (i.e. surrender to Wall Street's demands).

Significantly, the Street's campaign has been most successful where the organization of the progressive-labor movement has been weakest. In Congress, where the New Deal's strength is vitiated by its reliance upon reactionary Democrats such as Senator Harrison for many of its votes, Big Business has successfully blocked almost all progressive legislation and has secured lucrative tax concessions which will facilitate the enlargement of big fortunes. Similarly, the program of wage cuts has been ruthlessly executed at the expense of unorganized salaried employees. U. S. Steel, General Motors, General Electric, Chrysler, the rubber companies and most of their satellites have already taken such action.

But the union workers in these same plants, by virtue of their strong C.I.O. organization, have successfully halted tremendous pressure for cuts in wage rates which would cancel the hard-won gains of the past two years. Likewise, in Congress, the strength of organized labor alone has blocked Big Business' advance towards its most cherished objective—the repeal or mutilation of the National Labor Relations Act.

Now, the depression tactics of Wall Street are broadening to include a brazen invasion of the public treasury to protect the vested interests of capital. In the last depression, it was not until 1932 that the financiers demanded and secured government money from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to bale out banks and railroad bondholders. This time, with the depression not six months old, and with Big Business shouting for government economy at the expense of the unemployed, the Wall Street pack already is in full cry for a government subsidy to the railroads sufficient to maintain interest and dividends on railroad capital of some 24 billion dollars which, in terms of its actual economic value, is not worth half of that amount. The New York Times has run "trial balloon" stories advocating a government railroad subsidy to the tune of some 450 million dollars a year, and the Wall Street Journal has endorsed a government guarantee of interest on railroad bonds.

Wall Street



When subsidies are proposed for socially useful projects such as low-cost housing, these organs of big capital raise their voices in horror. But a subsidy for bondholders is the next thing to a Wall Street heaven.

Wall Street's "Peace" Policy

UN TIL recently, there has been little evidence of even a relatively unified point of view in Wall Street on specific, practical international questions. The conflict of interests aroused by Japan's attempt to gobble up China and thus overthrow the American commercial position there, and by the Japanese-German-Italian penetration of South America has stood in the way of practical support for the Fascist in an expression of "moral" solidarity for the Fascist methods of bloody suppression of trade unions and of progressive political movements.

Within recent weeks, however, there has developed a definite shift in support of the basic Fascist position, coinciding with the victory of the pro-Fascist clique in the British government, the consequent drive toward a deal between England and Mussolini, the rape of Austria and the intensification of Fascist intervention in Spain.

The open expression of this change in Wall Street's predominant point of view has, inevitably, taken the form of extreme isolationism. Ex-President Hoover formally set the style for Wall Street when, after inspecting Fascist leaders a first hand

in Europe, he announced that Fascism was bad but that, under no circumstances, should the United States take effective measures in concert with other democratic powers to check its further spread throughout the world. But even before Herbie's pronouncement, the Wall Street Journal, which naturally keeps its ear to the ground in its neighborhood, had come out ostentatiously for complete isolationism, mainly on the ground that collective security would play into the hands of the popular front movement.

The fact that important groups in Wall Street have accepted the Chamberlain line of "isolationism" is not surprising. After all, the House of Morgan is closely allied with reactionary British capital, and the House of Morgan is still the most influential single interest in Wall Street. Furthermore, in the opinion of numerous financial observers, the crystallization of sentiment in Wall Street towards "isolationism" is actually part of the preparation for extension of large credits to Germany and Italy, in which it is hoped that this country will join. The battle to make the world safe for Fascism has not yet been won, however, even in the circles of big capital. The opposition centers in those Big Business groups whose international interests are in foreign trade, rather than in foreign investment, and who consequently fear Fascist encroachment of their valuable foreign markets.

The Old School Tie

WE HAVEN'T left much space for the tragic downfall of doughty Dick Whitney, the pride of Groton, Harvard and the New York Stock Exchange, who went down to disaster wearing the old school tie, even if he was a confessed crook.

Actually, the pain and anguish that was caused in Wall Street by the exposure of Whitney's nimble-fingered use of his customers' securities, and his shameful treatment of the New York Yacht Club boys, didn't spring from any great love for Dick the Dip. In reality, his overhearing arrogance had long since made him a pain in the neck, even to the assorted pains in the neck in Wall Street. But his close affiliation with the House of Morgan had always given him big prestige as well as the presidency of the Exchange. And what really hurt, of course, was the obvious fact that he was the symbol of unconstructed Wall Street, and had led the Street's fight against regulation of the Stock Exchange with great bellows about the probity and high ethics of Wall Street standards; and then had robbed his own pals.

And so the only thing to do was to try to cover up as quickly as possible. The first step was to try to picture the Stock Exchange as closing angrily in on Whitney as soon as the exposure of his evil deeds. Actually, as the evidence shows, his position had been known for months and he was not exposed until he had gone into his brother George, of the House of Morgan, for all his ready cash and there wasn't any other way out. Next, doughty Dick pleaded guilty profusely in the hope that his confession would shorten the investigation, but the story proved too big to hush up. Then, the Exchange, to reestablish its purity, ruled that all brokerage firms must open their books to their customers, but this merely implied that Whitney's practice of gambling on his customers' securities was a standard Wall Street practice. Finally, the psychiatrists were called in, in the hope that Dick the Dip was crazy. But, at this writing, it would appear that even the mediums have let the Exchange down.

No More Bondage

Are the children of millions of our people who helped build America—the Negroes—to be the scapegoats of an "American" Fascism? The Negro youth faces the future

By Edward E. Strong



THE PROBLEM of jobs for Negro youth becomes more acute. The recession has brought among them widespread unemployment. There are 750,000 Negro youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, out of school and without work. The unprecedented wave of lay-offs has left depression and uncertainty among Negro youth.

Lay-offs in the N.Y.A. and the C.C.C. have hit directly at the most underprivileged of American young people. Every young Negro man sent home from a C.C.C. camp besuaves a special problem for his family and the community—particularly for his family, which is thus deprived of one of the meager sources of income, leaving it in many cases without any support.

The lot of the majority of Negro young people is an unhappy one. They do not have decent homes in which to live. They attend school all day without lunch. Their future is narrowly circumscribed—for instance, they cannot hope to enter West Point or the Naval Academy. They cannot enter the Navy as seamen.

A Worsening Problem

Daily the problem becomes worse. Where Negro young people formerly worked, they are now being systematically excluded. A decade ago they could at least be porters, chauffeurs, and hotel boys, with a degree of certainty that these jobs were always open to them. Now it is different. Travel through Florida and you will meet dozens of young men on the road looking for jobs in hotels, young men who for years worked in the leading hotels of Jacksonville. These hotels in December, 1936, fired their Negro bell-hops. What were these young men to do? This question was of no concern to the hotel owners.

A generation ago Negroes dominated the barber trade in many large Southern communities. Their shops were located in the heart of the business sections, catering primarily to white trade. Over a period of years these shops have been opposed consistently by large white barber associations. The associations have struck directly at Negro owners in Virginia by introducing in the General Assembly so-called health regulation measures for barber shops. The object of the bills is to establish standards the small shop-owners, including whites in this case, cannot meet. The associations hope to achieve through law what they have been unable to accomplish in open competition.

Need for New Training

How to preserve for Negro youth the existing jobs, however menial they may be, is of paramount concern to the Negro people. To neglect this phase of job security is to fail to perform the primary tasks necessary in conducting a struggle for new economic opportunities. The constant replacement of Negro youth, especially in the South, reflects the urgent need of white young people for work. Efforts to maintain Negro youth in their present places of employment must be coupled with the demand for additional job opportunities for the whole of American youth. Big industrialists use this acute need for jobs as a weapon to combat the growing unity within the American youth movement. Thus far the youth movement has not taken sufficient cognizance of this deeply rooted potential threat. But it is there. And it is dangerous.

As technological changes increase the requirement for expert training in new fields of business enterprise, young Negroes are faced with three addi-

tional questions: how to secure adequate training; how to break down the barriers that have kept the higher income positions in industry, in government and in the public utilities closed to them; how to enter the newly opened industrial fields.

Since the Civil War, Negro youth have received their vocational training primarily at Hampton, Tuskegee and the other industrial trade schools of the South. The Booker T. Washington thesis of "train the hand" reared supreme after Reconstruction. Negro young people were to be trained as carpenters and shoemakers. With this training, jobs could be secured. When it was suggested that perhaps the Negro youth should be given a broad general education, the idea was emphatically overruled.

While the Negro youth were busy securing vocational training at Hampton and Tuskegee, American industry was developing apace. Scientific rationalization became the order of the day. The huge trusts of the late 'eighties and 'nineties ruthlessly gained hegemony over the nation's economy. Their state government land and built their research laboratories. For a limited number of American youth, there were available new opportunities as chemists, personnel directors, research specialists. However, at the very outset of this industrial upsurge the "directors of the American system" did not permit Negro young men and women to enter their portals.

Divide and Rule

To do so would have been dangerous—for them. It would have lent encouragement to the unity of Negro and white workers, at a time when the entire strategy of Big Business was predicated upon openly and brazenly

dividing the workers on the bases of religion, nationality and color. It is clear that the historic policy of Big Business has been to deny entrance of Negro youth into the upper-income skilled positions.

This policy has been encouraged by proscribing adequate training for Negro youth. Nevertheless, it must be said that Tuskegee and Hampton have done well in teaching individual trades to young men. But whereas this training was useful and necessary thirty years ago, it hardly suffices for the present day. Aviation, electrical engineering, aeronautics and architecture require a proficiency that cannot be secured in Negro institutions of learning.

The Negro colleges lack the necessary facilities to keep abreast of new job developments in industry and government. And where this training is available—Ford Trade School, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and so forth—Negro young people meet a policy of skillfully directed discrimination.

Ford's Exhibit

When the World's Fair was held in Chicago, Henry Ford erected a million dollar exhibit. A prominent role was played in the exhibit by a young Negro technician who had graduated from the Ford Trade School. Ford and his colleagues use this example as conclusive proof that no discrimination exists against the Negro youth in Ford factories. The fact remains that Negro youth spend their working hours "shaking out" in the automobile factories of the nation.

There is more involved in the conscious policy of Big Business of discriminating against Negro youth than

(Continued on page 28)



All peace and quiet. A typical view of a town in Czechoslovakia

Eyes on Czechoslovakia

THE CONDUCT of international affairs to-day revolves around one specific question. This question is, "When and where will Germany strike next and will she strike in such a fashion as to provoke a general world war?" To be sure, the eyes of the world are still turning to Vienna. However, as far as Austria is concerned, it is "all over" except for the shooting. The shooting and beating and flogging and rounding up into concentration camps of former supporters of the Fatherland Front of Dr. Schuschnigg, of the liberals, the democrats, the trade unionists, the Catholics, the Jews, the half-Jews. In other words, at this moment the Nazi authorities now in control of Austria are not faced with the question of whom to deprive of his fortune, his offices, his liberty and whom to beat up, but rather they are very busy in trying to find out whom not to persecute. We all know that 90 per cent of Austria is Catholic by religion while the racial strains that make up its people are diverse to the extreme. If, for example, the so-called Aryan paragraph were to be visited upon the Austrian people, that law alone would affect 30 per cent of the entire population. For it is also well known that apart from the population that is entirely Jewish, one third of all Austrians have Jewish or Slavic blood in their veins. Anyway the racial population of the entire Austrian people is of such a mixture as to provide the unsavory Julius Streicher with the opportunity for a number of Roman holidays for many months to come.

Cold Pressure

Germany's next aggression will occur either in Czechoslovakia or in Hungary. Until about three months ago there existed between Germany and

Hitler drives against the Central European republic with the ruthless strategy perfected in Spain and Austria, reports a close observer of the Nazi movement

By Johannes Steel

Hungary a tacit agreement for the joint dismemberment of the Czechoslovakian Republic. By this agreement Hungary was to get a share of the German spoils in exchange for either benevolent neutrality or military assistance when the German drive against Czechoslovakia begins. However, recently there has been a change of sentiment in Hungary. This change was inspired by the realization that if the German drive in Central Europe continues unchecked, the independence of Hungary is also threatened. What will happen therefore is that either the Hungarian government will stand by its agreement with Germany concerning a joint attack upon Czechoslovakia, or Germany will first strengthen her Nazi activities in Hungary to such an extent that it will seriously embarrass the Hungarian government and force it into a change of policy. This is what is known in Nazi Germany as "cold pressure." It means nothing else but a variation upon the well-known methods for the Nazification of Europe; namely, the creation of Nazi pressure groups within foreign countries.

These pressure groups then force a foreign policy upon the government of those countries which is in accordance with the wishes of Berlin. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, that country is of course in a very weak military strategic position as a result of the German annexation of Austria. Against Germany, Czechoslovakia had built a line of defense stronger and more effective than the famous Maginot line, but there are no defenses on the Austrian border. It may therefore well be that within three months, another murderous "civil war," almost exactly like the "civil war" that has now been going on in Spain for more than a year, may break out in Czechoslovakia.

The Coming Conflict in Czechoslovakia

This civil war, when and if it comes, will be as savage and bloody as the strife in Spain. The cost in lives may even be greater, because the contending forces in Czechoslovakia have been preparing for this moment for years.

Czechoslovakia is about the size of the British Isles, including Ireland. It has a population of more than fifteen million, of which almost three and one half million are German-speaking and of German stock.

Of these, two and a half million are concentrated in the Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian provinces, while the remainder are scattered about the rest of the country.

As a result of a propaganda expenditure on the part of Dr. Goebbels, German Minister of Propaganda, amounting to more than a hundred million dollars during the past three years, many of these German-speaking Czechs are in favor of a violent break-up of the Czechoslovak state, so that they may be ruled by Hitler.

A revolt in Czechoslovakia, resulting in the break-up of the Czech state, is part and parcel of German foreign policy. Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, the chief of the Foreign Office of the Nazi Party, says in his standard work, "The colonization of the Eastern areas is our first problem. We must begin with the German part of Czechoslovakia." Dr. Rosenberg added also, "The key to the conquest of the Soviet Ukraine and the grain-bearing region of the Danubian basin is, strategically speaking, the north of Czechoslovakia."

The German General Staff Prepares

In numerous speeches he has maintained that the signal for the revolt in Czechoslovakia should be given by Hitler at a moment when the attention of the world is captured by another great international catastrophe. There are many indications that Germany believes the moment has come, with France and England paralyzed with fear and apprehension after the recent events in Austria and Germany's ruthless conquest of that little republic.

In a book published recently in behalf of the German General Staff, entitled *Crucial Spot Bohemia*, we read—"The best solution of the Bohemian problem is to take Northern Czechoslovakia into the pincers of two German armies and crack it like a nut. The center of this nut, of course, is a stout Czechoslovakia which has a highly modern and excellently equipped army. However, here we know that this army is not only composed of Czechs, but has a good-sized German or pro-German element. This is the Achilles heel of the Czechoslovakian Army. This, together with the fact that we can now count on the sabotaging co-operation of our German brothers in Sudeten Germany." In other words, the strategical preparations for the invasion of that part of Czechoslovakia that is flanked on three sides by Nazi Germany are completed, while within that territory, revolt is ripe. The leader of that revolt and the representative of Hitler is Herr Konrad Henlein, a former Austrian army officer who has an organized militia of half a million *Heimat Front* members. This militia, which is officially suppressed, is nevertheless active and represents a sort of state within the state in Northern Czechoslovakia. It fulfills all the functions that the Nazi storm troops fulfilled in the earlier days of Hitlerism. It terrorizes the Catholics, helps to enforce a boycott against Jewish merchants, and also terrorizes the polls and carried on a ruthless campaign of intimidation against the three other German political parties in Czechoslovakia.

Nazification Begins

Large parts of Northern Czechoslovakia are already German today in everything but name. In the small towns of Bohemia, the Nazi *Heimat Front* already controls local affairs. The local "sports clubs" are nothing but the individual units of the *Heimat Front* militia and are commanded by Brown Shirt officers imported from Germany.

Just as Adolf Hitler sent General von Faupel more than twenty months ago to Spain in order to help General Francisco Franco organize the Spanish rebellion, so there is a special commissioner for Bohemia and Northern Czechoslovakia. He is the Baron Czibulka, a directing member of the Nazi Party Foreign Office. He is in charge of the preparations for the rebellion from the German side, and operates from Berlin as contact man between Lieutenant Konrad Henlein in Czechoslovakia and the Reich government. Through his hands go all the funds for the anti-Czech agitation.

Indeed the chancelleries in Europe are already accepting the coming German campaign against Czechoslovakia as an accepted fact. Some of the governments in Europe have grown accustomed to Nazi Germany's aggressive violence that it has become commonplace. Indeed the events of the past month are already being accepted as "normal" facts, but it is in these very facts that the seeds of more international disorder, violence and aggression lie.

After the hoped-for conquest of Czechoslovakia, Germany plans to encroach upon Denmark's territorial integrity. North Schleswig, which is also known as South Jutland, and which was returned to its motherland at the end of the World War, has during the past three years been subject to a campaign of Nazification similar to the campaigns in Austria and Czechoslovakia. The Minister of Propaganda has sent hundreds of agents into Denmark, who have been buying up farm after farm totalling thousands of square miles of territory. This territory has been handed over to the custody of reliable Nazis who have instituted a regimen of terror against all Danes that are known for a



anti-Nazi attitude. After Denmark, Germany expects to move in the direction of the Baltic States, Poland, which has practically annexed Lithuania, could not have done so if she had not offered Germany a *quid pro quo* in the form of an agreement about the Polish corridor and Memel. A German military alliance with Finland has been concluded. Franz von Papen who, as German Minister to Austria, successfully prepared Germany's annexation of that country, has been sent to Turkey in the hope that he will succeed in extending Germany's economic influence into the Near East after the experience he has gained in Central Europe.

The Fascist International

Generally speaking, one of the most important elements in the international situation today seems to be an attempt to coordinate the German and Italian moves in Austria and Spain with Japan's activities in the Far East.

The recent savage and desperate Fascist drives in Spain and the ruthless assault upon the Spanish people, will probably be accompanied by a Japa-

nese diversion in the Far East, in order, so to speak, to complete a foreign political paralysis of the Western democracies.

All these great steps that Europe has taken during the past few months towards another world war are of course made possible by the peculiar foreign policy conducted by the Chamberlain government in London. Mr. Chamberlain and his graduate class of "realists" are hoping for a Franco victory in Spain. They believe that when this victory occurs, Germany and Italy will fall out and will fight among themselves over the spoils, and the spheres of political and economic influence in Spain. As far as France is concerned, the international situation as it stands at the moment of writing, may be summarized as follows: The Blum government has left itself too weak to undertake those measures which it might have to save French communications in the Mediterranean.

Washington's Reaction

This complicated international situation has of course had profound repercussions in Washington and caused a re-examination of American foreign policy that is entirely wholesome. This is of course mainly due to the fact that the foreign political program of Secretary of State Hull, who has been patiently persistent in his policy to break down trade barriers, is in obvious opposition to the autarkic nations. Thus, the fact that the United States has concluded a trade treaty with Czechoslovakia is naturally of much wider consequence than appears on the surface. Here for the first time in post-war Central Europe's economic history, a closed area has been broken into and again brought into contact with the outer world. It was an excellent demonstration of the absurdity of the principle of economic self-sufficiency which during the past five years in Germany and for the past fifteen years in Italy has been motivated by the aggressive foreign political activities of these countries. It was also interesting to see how the State Department immediately after the announcement of this agreement with Czechoslovakia also announced that Germany was welcome to take advantage of the foreign trade policy, but that there would be no modification of that program for the special benefit of Nazi Germany. This was, of course, an obvious rebuke to the Nazi Minister of Economics, Walter Funk, who stated a few days previously that he hoped for improved German-American trade relations. How far the Administration will move depends a great deal upon the American people.

The United States, the melting pot of races which has made this country, is the living denial of all the Nazi racial and anti-democratic theories. Don't think for a moment that the Nazis don't know it. The United States where many races live together peacefully cannot be permitted to continue in its present social set-up if Nazi Germany is to dominate the world.

In this sense Nazi German aggression against the United States has already begun. Julius Streicher, and Dr. Rosenberg, the ideological directors of the National Socialist Party, have said in numerous speeches and articles that, when Germany has finished with the conquest of Europe, it will begin the ideological conquest of the Western Hemisphere.

The propaganda preparations to that purpose have already started in this country. That is an open secret. Shall we permit this development to end in the ideological conquest of the Western hemisphere by the power of a barbaric Nazi Germany that hopes to conquer Europe?

AS TO WOMEN

How some Italian girls got wise to Mussolini, and what it meant for Spain

SOME years ago it was my privilege to direct a forum for a young people's society on the Lower East Side of New York. I say "direct." As a matter of fact I found that they needed no direction. They took over the forum and ran it themselves so efficiently and enthusiastically that soon people from all over New York were coming to those Sunday evenings. The group was made up almost entirely of Italians. Now those were the days before we had such organizations as the American League for Peace and Democracy. Hitler had not yet come into power. Mussolini was the man who had made trains run on time in Italy and who had brought Italy into the headlines. The section where the forum was held was pro-Mussolini. But the young people, after a few weeks experience with the forum, had developed inquiring minds. They wanted to know "why" about everything. I remember the night we took up Mussolini's case. The debate was so hot that we held it over for the next week. During that week the young people read papers and books, both in Italian and English, and talked to all the people who were interested.

I REMEMBER that in the forum there were two girls who were called the Pise Stron Sisters. They were the eldest children in a family of thirteen. They were so undismayed that they were thin and scrawny. For the first time in their lives they were enjoying some degree of freedom. They lived for the forum. On the second evening of the discussion on Mussolini they came out flat-footed against him. "It may be true," one of them said, "that the trains run on time in Italy. It may be true that tourists find Italy an easier place to visit. But the test of whether a country is a good country or not is whether the people—and by people I mean women too—have a good time in that country—they get to live there. In Italy does this sound as if people were having a good time? And with that the red leaders from women in Italy which she had gathered together during the past week. Political reasons for the presence of

poverty she waved aside. Her argument held and in the end they decided by an overwhelming vote that her side had won. A visitor at that forum turned to me and said, "Isn't it pathetic that the youth blossom for such a short time. Probably these youngsters will all turn conservative when they have been in touch with the burly-burly of the world for a time."

I suppose he was thinking of all the men who smile tolerantly and say, "I was out for all these social theories, too, when I was young." But I was not sure, myself, how long their interest in social theories would last. It is hard to say what influence a forum will have in later years.

NOW it happened I returned to that same section years later in connection with work for Spain. Any of you who have tried to work for Spain in an Italian neighborhood will know that it is not easy. But I found a very flourishing work in some of the clubs, with Italian children raising money for the Spanish children. I met on the street one of the old forum members.

"Remember Carmella?" she asked. "She was the first one to make me see that the kind of ideas that Mussolini has aren't any good for people. Spain is an example. What's going on there is part of his work. Of course, most of the people down here are for Italy but, believe me, the gang that used to go to the forum are wised up."

IT SEEMS to me one of the finest things the youth of America are doing today is getting themselves wised up. And in the process they are wising up a good many who are no longer young. Of course you need more than wising up to fight for peace today, but if the arguments of an Italian girl stating certain simple human values as a test for the worth of a political regime can so linger in the neighborhood that work could be done there for Spain years afterward, it looks as if even the wising up is an active part in the struggle for peace.

—DOROTHY MCCONNELL

M-Day for Microbes

(Continued from page 9)

Medicine is utilizing the progress of microbiology in its war on contagious diseases. By raising various microbe cultures the bacteriologist develops methods for killing off the invisible organisms or for weakening them, and then prepares materials for preventive inoculations.

The Fascist cannibals of the twentieth century, on the other hand, are seizing upon these successes of science to pervert them in increasingly more horrible ways of death-dealing. The barbarities in Barcelona and Madrid against the peaceful populations, the ruthless extermination of civilians at Addis Ababa and Guernica, clearly testify that the more revolting the method of annihilation the more likely it is to be used by the Fascists.

Fascist experts for the most part favor the distribution of the microscopic organisms by means of artillery shells and aerial bombs. The bombs are also to have dusting attachments, while still other machinery is being evolved for spreading the so-called bacterial fog consisting of tiny drops of billions of microbes. Cattle, rats and mice capable of carrying the plague are to be enlisted in the Fascist service. Mosquitoes with malarial germs, flies with cholera and typhoid fever, are not to be overlooked. All these may be dropped from planes in parachute-equipped baskets and tubes which will open automatically after a part of the descent is accomplished or on landing.

Attack on Civil Population

Bacilli of cholera, typhoid fever and other diseases are to be introduced in water reservoirs and food supplies in the deep rear by special diversions. Mass-scale operations in spreading human and animal diseases are in the forefront of the queue, with the cannibalistic savants studying particularly the effects of various "gases" of the year, of the moisture in the atmosphere, climatic conditions, the individual resistance of the organism. With the brutal frankness of a professional gangster the above-cited Polish officer expresses a regret that the results obtained to date have not been verified on human guinea-pigs.

A combined application of bacterial fog and poison-chemical smoke is suggested. Anthrax and glanders are proposed for infecting animals. Professor Konen asserts that a great many parasites can with great effectiveness be mobilized to destroy the enemy's crops. Bacterial armaments are also regarded as a means of undermining the economic power of the opponent. The universality of this form of combat is emphasized by the ascertained possibilities of applying the toxins or poisons of individual microbes. One such poison, fully perfected at this writing, is to be introduced into canned goods: food

treated with it shows no outward marks of deterioration and 100 per cent mortality to consumers is guaranteed. This particular substance is held to be the best for poisoning civilians in the enemy rear, and for leaving behind in actual or simulated retreats as "trophies" for the advancing enemy troops.

Defense Against Microbes

Trillat's research dispelled all skepticism among European scientists regarding the war-time efficacy of bacteria. His proofs of the potency of the *usage bacteriologique* or fog commanded special respect. This experimentation naturally led to the question of developing immunity to microbes disseminated by fog. Accordingly, the Sartorius dwell at length on the need of developing anti-bacterial masks and of creation of antiseptic fogs.

As a result of this reference to anti-bacterial defense measures, it must be noted that many factors can make for failure of microbes in the air or water to bring on mass epidemics. The temperature and humidity of the atmosphere do not always favor the vitality of the minute organisms; atmospheric pressure and the absence or presence of wind may play a decisive role.

Scientific institutes and laboratories of the nations known to have been singled out for aggression may with profit delve into defensive methods, with corresponding sanitary-epidemiological steps in their armed forces. Only an absolute neglect of normally used methods of protection against contagion leaves an army completely at the mercy of the users of bacterial weapons.

A basic program of anti-bacterial defense must embrace preventive inoculations to the personnel of an army—horse as well as human. In addition to such timely prophylaxis, important supplementary measures are held to be the following:

1. Sanitary-epidemiologic reconnoitering and field laboratory work for an early determination of the type of microbe employed by the enemy.
2. Painstaking guarding of water-supply sources, with a timely counteractive service and a strict supervision of water use by the army and population.
3. Special sanitary inspection of canned-goods factories in peace and war time.
4. Prohibition of the consumption of canned goods captured as "trophies" and of the utilization of water sources without preliminary tests by field laboratories.
5. Intensive sanitation-hygiene educational campaigns to inculcate proper habits among soldiers and civilians, acquainting them with the potentialities of bacteriological combat and with the realistic measures of defense, such as inoculations, food-and-drink regimen, special masks, refuges, sanitary conditioning of homes, and so on.

Nevertheless—because of the opportunities for developing artificial breeding-spots for epidemics—mobilization of microbes by the Fascist aggressors constitutes a monstrous threat.

A CABLE from Paris. The message is sent by Edouard Herriot to the World Youth Congress Committee in the United States: "Peace is the foundation upon which civilization must be built. We have need of the enthusiastic support of youth to conquer it. I ask you to make this struggle for peace the battle of your life. Be faithful to your human mission, for from your courage will be born the world community."

In the midst of one of the darkest world crises, preparations for a second World Youth Congress are going forward with vigor and high expectation. On August 15th, at Vassar College, will assemble youth from most of the countries of the world, coming together because they refuse to submit to prevalent pessimism and because they insist on continuing their efforts to build a peaceful civilization.

Buddhists and Christians, Jews and Confucians—Russians and South Africans, Chinese and Japanese, Spaniards and Indians—delegates of church, student, farm and labor groups—fifty nationalities, five races—several hundred political viewpoints—an entire generation will map out a course to achieve the peace and justice which all agree are fundamental to a future worth living for.

The Geneva Congress

Let us return for a brief space to September, 1936, in Geneva, in the Assembly Hall of the League of Nations, where the first World Youth Congress took place. Seven hundred and sixty youth representatives from thirty-six countries and sixteen international organizations, speaking many languages, labored together to say one thing to themselves and to their elders—"War is not inevitable." In an opening speech one of the elder statesmen told this audience of youth, "The only traitor is the fatalist who sits back and says these catastrophes must happen." During these days again and again we heard from every tongue and every faith, "Youth of the world, unite!" A generation which took no part in the Great War said: "We can and shall follow a common plan of international cooperation to build a just world and to prevent war."

Five hundred miles from Geneva, the Spanish guns were booming. The Congress was meeting on the veritable brink of war. Airplanes had safely brought a small delegation from Loyalist Spain. The same day had seen the arrival at Geneva of a large family from Rebel Spain. One of the byplays of the Congress took place in the hotel where Rebel and Loyalist Spain shared the Geneva protection. It was late at night. Within the rooms of the Rebels could be heard the radio announcements of "news from Spain." Said one Rebel to another, "It will soon be over. We shall return." In the room-garden a group of Loyalists, delegates

to the Congress, told of the long months of struggle ahead of them and of the courage and faith that existed in the heart of Spain. Said one Loyalist to another, "Foreign intervention will prolong the war. It will not soon be over. We shall return and we shall struggle until Democracy has prevailed."

Those days at Geneva were full of sobering experiences. The great significance of that gathering of young people was the practice in world citizenship, in the collaboration of youth towards an organization of an enduring peace. An American columnist missed the point when she reported an interview with the returning fifty American delegates. She said: "Unfortunately, the Congress arrived at no policy which will make the gentlemen in the chancelleries lose any sleep." She did not understand the psychological and spiritual unity which pervaded the experiences.

At the Paris Peace Camp

"The test will come when the delegations have gone home," was the note on which the first Congress closed. A continuation committee had been elected to carry forward the spirit of those days of education and commitment. Twenty-four national committees have been formed and many events of importance have taken place since the closing of the first Congress. In the summer of 1937, during the International Exposition, the World Youth Congress Movement decided to call the representatives of the youth of the world to a great demonstration in Paris. There, in the traditional home of liberty, they could express clearly and forcefully the unanimous wish of young people to fight against war and the causes of war.

The International Youth Peace Camp, thirty minutes bus ride from Paris, had some six hundred delegates from many countries, the largest delegations coming from Great Britain and Czechoslovakia. Activities combined to make the camp a real symbol of international understanding—an understanding which not only came from a formal exchange of views, but was inherent in the gaiety and the air of comradeship. Any trace of national bitterness or of hatred was lost in the effort to make oneself understood in an unfamiliar language, or was smoothed away by the sound of Javanese guitars round the fire in the evening.

January, 1938, saw two events which were in themselves important and which give us a picture of the preparation which is going forward as youth looks towards the Congress to be held in the United States this summer. The first Cuban Youth Congress took place during this month. Fraternal delegates came from the United States, Mexico and Puerto Rico. Also in January, in celebration of Australia's one hundred and fiftieth birthday, the

Youth of the World

Five races, fifty nationalities, all the religions of the earth, many political viewpoints—from schools, factories, farms and offices—they will assemble at Vassar, at the Second World Congress

By Marion H. Barbour

local World Youth Congress committee sponsored a conference which resulted in the coordination of youth peace activities throughout Australia.

Youth of Central Europe

In February, 1938, the national committees of Bulgaria, Poland, Roumania, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia held a conference of Central European youth in Prague. The object of the conference was to put the representatives of the youth of the Central European countries in personal touch with each other, to bring about an economic rapprochement and to create, in the spirit of the Geneva Congress, an atmosphere favorable to the solution of the problems which are of common interest to all the Danubian states.

Against what backdrop of world events will the Second World Youth Congress convene at Vassar College this summer? Will Japan, Germany and Italy again be officially unrepresented? Spanish youth will come again from a ravished and debilitated fatherland, bringing forcibly to us the truth of that 1936 roof-garden testimony, "It will not soon be over." Chinese youth living in the daily terror of war will come for a brief time to lend their in-

fluence to a collaboration of youth towards a peaceful world—believing that only as young people understand the horrors of aggression and root causes of war can they intelligently work for peace.

The fatalists will be insisting that "War is inevitable" even more loudly this year than in 1936. The road to peace is hidden by many mists and fogs; it will be up to youth to pierce through to the true situation. Young people from Austria and Czechoslovakia will bring first-hand knowledge to the discussion of the causes of war. To some, America seems a haven of rest from a war-torn world; but United States delegates, with the frankness and integrity of youth, may surprise our foreign friends with some skepticism of our State Department policy.

Some Notable Patrons

The patrons for the Second World Youth Congress include notable figures from many of the countries of the world. Among them are Lord Cecil, Wellington Koo, the Archbishop of York, Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. James T. Shotwell, Edouard Herriot, Max Yergan, John L. Lewis, Admiral

(Continued on page 26)

In Step With Labor

Two hundred unions move
for peace... New York holds
reaction... Labor issue

THE National Trade Union Department of the American League for Peace and Democracy has forwarded to Rep. McReynolds, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, a notarized, signed statement of over 200 local and central labor unions endorsing President Roosevelt's peace policy as enunciated in his Chicago speech last October 5th, and the O'Connell Peace Act, H. J. Res. 527.

The fine response of the trade union organizations to the resolutions sent out by the National Trade Union Department is an indication of the interest that the labor movement is taking in the present world situation and the consciousness of the role that labor must play in order to avert a world conflict.

The resolutions received are for the most part from organizations which up to the present time have not participated in the activities of the American League, and are spread throughout the country. From Maine to California and from Washington to Florida they are pouring in daily. We expect to present by the first of May to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs 1,000 resolutions endorsed by local, central labor bodies, state federations of labor and national and international organizations representing over 3,000,000 organized workers in the United States.

IT IS interesting to note that up to the present time we have received replies from the following unions: United Mine Workers of America; Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers of North America; Steel Workers Organizing Committee; American Federation of Teachers; Copers International Union; United Furniture Workers of America; Amalgamated Lithographers of America; Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians; United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Also, National Maritime Union; American Federation of Musicians; Textile Workers Organizing Committee; United Office and Professional Workers of America; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers

of America; Transport Workers Union of America; Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America; American Radio Telegraphers Association; Fur Workers International Union; International Association of Bridge, Structural & Ornamental Iron Workers; United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America.

Also, the United Wholesale and Warehouse Employers of America; Fish Workers of America; Department Store Employers Union; Central Labor Union; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; United Federal Workers, International Association of Machinists; State, County & Municipal Workers of America, and Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.

It is only due to the lack of finances that we are unable to complete our mailing to the rest of the organizations throughout the country. In the next two weeks we hope to finish our mailing and present the results of this campaign to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

WE MUST congratulate the officers and members of all the trade unions that have sent in wires and communications to Governor Lehman of New York State to veto the anti-democratic McNabow-Devany Bill. It is with pleasure that we read the *Rail Union Press*, representing fifteen standard railroad organizations of the American Federation of Labor, commending Governor Lehman for his stand on this measure.

THE June issue of THE FIGHT, which will come off the press on May 22d, is a special Trade Union issue. We urge all secretaries of local trade union organizations to mail in their orders at once. If we are to judge this special number by the very excellent trade union issues of the past, we are going to have a number that should sell by the tens of thousands in every state of the Union. Please send in your order immediately. There are special rates in bundle lots. Make this trade union issue your battle cry for Democracy, Peace and Labor.

—A. E. EDWARDS

Youth of the World

(Continued from page 21)

Richard E. Byrd, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Mary E. Woolley, the Premier of Burma, and the Foreign Ministers of Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Denmark and Norway.

The United States Sponsoring Committee consists of educators and statesmen who believe in the collaboration of youth. The United States Organizing Committee represents national youth-serving organizations of every political and religious faith. The program of the Congress will be composed of one representative from each national delegation and international organization represented. This program will be the final authority during the Congress itself.

Internationally, preparation for the Congress is being directed by the International Secretariat of the World Youth Congress with an official office in Geneva. An Organizing Committee in the United States is responsible for the technical arrangements. In the various countries, the preparations are in the hands of the National Committees. The aim of each National Committee is to organize a delegation including representatives of all youth organizations, without discrimination as to race, religion, economic status or political conviction. Each National Committee is entitled to send a delegation of not more than fifty.

Toward World Friendship

The objectives of the Congress are to bring young people of all nations into bonds of closer friendship; to develop mutual understanding between youth of different races, different religions, and different opinions; and to plan methods of collaboration which will enable young people to fulfill their responsibility in contributing to world peace. The delegates will discuss the political and economic bases of peace, the economic and cultural status of youth and its relation to peace, the ethical and philosophical bases of peace, and projects of peace education and action. No organization participating in the Congress will be bound by its findings. These findings will be in the form of reports on the basis of which future work will be planned. The official languages of the Congress will be French and English. If there are a sufficient number of German and Spanish-speaking delegates, German and Spanish will also be used.

August, 1938, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York—"Because young people have the greater part of their creative life in front of them, they have, of all people, the most right to demand a solution of the problems of war and peace. They are the generation who will be sacrificed in the next war and they have the right to know for what they are to be sacrificed. They are the generation that will have to

build up the society which is now in process of formation, and they are at this moment seeking to base that society on peace and social justice." One more step in a battle for life will be taken in this Congress assembled. All people interested in the future peace of the world and in building the world community will hope that this gathering of young people will have as great significance as the Geneva Congress.

Campus Parade

(Continued from page 7)

in groups ranging from the American Student Union to the Newman Clubs, is free to write its own call, to word its own resolutions, and to color its own activities as the members see fit.

Glorious though the history of the student peace movement has been, just so gory has been the history of men outside the classroom. Culture, liberty and peace are again vague dreams for the Spanish soldiers, the Austrian workers, and the Chinese peasants. To them, Fascist aggression is not a theory, it is a practice. War to them is not a danger to be avoided, it is a catastrophe to be ended. With these facts in mind, those in the U.S.P.C. who recognize the aggressors, were not too anxious for a compromise strike call which contained a jumble of isolationist and internationalist phrases.

United in the desire for a greater peace strike than ever before, the member organizations of the U.S.P.C. are trying to influence the mass of students directly. Confident that the youth of America believe "it is better to die on one's feet than live on one's knees," they are making every effort to have the embargo against Loyalist Spain lifted. Confident that students will not want to buy Japanese goods and thereby become property holders in each bomb bursting over China, they push the boycott. Certain that President Roosevelt's humanitarian offer of refuge to the victims of oppression is in the best American tradition, they give it endorsement. Recognizing that only by united economic and political action of all non-Fascist nations can the international maniacs be strait-jacketed, students insist that the United States take a leading rôle in stimulating such efforts. In every land there will be those who listen, fearful of, or encouraged by, the fifth student strike against war.

In the words of Hendrik Willem Van Loon this event should be characterized "by charity for all victims of oppression, by malice towards all their oppressors."

The nation's youth are not asleep. Better even than the adults they have learned that concerted action for war by the aggressors can only be met by united action for peace by the non-Fascists. History has already demonstrated that war is the life-blood of the Fascists. They cannot stand peace at any price.

BUILDING THE LEAGUE

A United Movement in Common Resistance to War and Fascism

By Russell Thayer

A CROWD of over seventeen thousand people turned out to the Rally for Peace at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on April 4th. The meeting was conducted under the sponsorship of a group of prominent individuals in the peace movement: Henry A. Atkinson, Harry F. Ward, Henrietta Roelofs, James T. Showell, William B. Spofford, William W. Hinckley, Clark M. Eichelberger, Charles G. Fenwick, Marion M. Miller, Margaret E. Forsyth, Edgar J. Fisher.

The National Office and the New York City Division of the American League participated in the arrangements for this great peace rally, where thousands of people turned out and voted unanimously for a resolution to Congress and the Administration which called for a revision of the Neutrality Act and the holding of open hearings in the House. The speakers were Bishop G. A. Oldham of Albany, chairman; Dr. Charles Fenwick, president of the Catholic Association for International Peace; Clark M. Eichelberger of the League of Nations Association; Bishop Francis J. McConnell; Dr. Harry F. Ward of Democracy; Representative Byron N. Scott of California; the Reverend

Herman F. Reissig; and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. Dr. Ward's speech has been published by the Methodist Federation for Social Service and can be secured from the American League at five cents a copy and at reduced rates in bundle lots.

THE China Aid Council's Tag Week from April 11th to April 18th was participated in by many cities throughout the country and by many organizations which are cooperating for the first time in such work. Some cities were unable to hold their Tag Week during this period and will do so later.

Vancouver, B.C., has just had a Chinese Dragon Procession and mass meeting. . . . From Los Angeles, the Motion Picture Artists Committee has forwarded \$1500 to the national China Aid Council's headquarters. . . . Cotton Fashion Shows have already been held in Philadelphia, Atlantic City and many other places. . . . Beth Cunningham, who comes to the League and the China Aid Council from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Organizing Committee and the Emergency Peace Campaign, is organizing boycott activities for the Council and will soon leave New York on an organizing tour.

STEVE NELSON reports the Membership Drive is continuing successfully. At no time in the history of the League has there been such an influx of new members and renewal of old ones. But additional energy must be shown by many cities if we are to achieve our objective in the drive. The new members brought in during the month of March were twice as many as for the same month a year ago. We can also report twenty-two new branches organized since the first of the year and fifteen new groups which have not yet attained the status of branches. Los Angeles continues in the lead, having attained over one hundred per cent increase in membership.

NANCY COX has joined the staff in the National Office as assistant to Russell Thayer. Miss Cox was formerly executive secretary of the New Jersey Civil Liberties Union, and secretary of the Hudson County Committee for Labor Defense and Civil Rights, which carried on the campaign

against Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City. She has also worked with the International Labor Organization in Geneva, and has taught in the steel towns near Allapiqua, Pennsylvania. . . . Mrs. Frances Shappell, who has had considerable experience in fund raising in this country and abroad, has come in as Finance Director. She will first organize the campaign in the National Office and will later assist the various city committees throughout the country. Max Granich, former editor of the *Peace of China* in Shanghai, is on a speaking and organizational tour.

THE Spanish issue of THE FIGHT has met with great response and within ten days after its publication, copies were at a premium. Many cities ordered but unfortunately the orders could not be filled. This issue made many new friends for the League, and we hope soon to publish another number similar to the April one.

THE Nazi seizure of Austria and threats against Czechoslovakia have brought forth many anti-Nazi demonstrations throughout the country. Chicago turned out four thousand people in the rain; Denver had a picket line; Milwaukee a parade; St. Louis a demonstration; and New York an open-air meeting where over five thousand people came in a pouring rain.

The New York City Anti-Nazi Committee has issued a special leaflet on aggression, and Chicago is planning a conference, with a special appeal to the national groups and minorities of Central European countries. As a result of these activities, many cities are organizing in support of the Dickstein and Celler Bills to admit political and religious refugees to this country.

LOUISE SPENCER has sent us a leaflet advertising the recent Spring Revue held under the auspices of the St. Louis League, and another good leaflet on a meeting in preparation for an Anna Louise Strong lecture. . . . A Connecticut State Committee has just been set up in New Haven, with Howard Barnes as chairman and John Tucker as secretary-treasurer. . . . Harry Braverman of Los Angeles was in New York for a few weeks and has left for Washington to discuss with

Congressman Bernard and O'Connell their speaking tours of the West Coast. . . . Bert Leech reports that educational work in Los Angeles has improved considerably. . . . Daniel C. Kesler is the new secretary of the Baltimore League and is doing a splendid job in reviving the organization. This city sent a delegation to Washington in support of the peace bills and against the May Bill. . . . The city council of Pittsburgh was visited by a large delegation condemning the Nazi seizure of Austria. . . . Mount Vernon, N. Y., is very active in the Peace Council of that city. . . . Dr. Emily Pierson of Stonewall, Connecticut, sent us twenty-four subscriptions to THE FIGHT. Can any individual in your city beat this record? . . . Gilbert Rocke of Chicago writes, "We set up two new branches last week, one in Albany Park and one in Evanston. We affiliated three groups, the Midwest Cultural Group, about one hundred; Finnish Workers' Society, about three hundred; and a Steel Workers' Union auxiliary. We are taking a leading part in a Peace Parade of the Nations sponsored by nearly three hundred organizations. The League is planning a float in this parade." . . . H. Darrell Smith of Denver, Colorado, reports that the League held a forum with Professors Hogan and Brown of Denver University, and Professors Malich and Garmey of University of Colorado on "Concerted Action and Isolation." All the professors were reluctant about accepting the defense of isolation, as they all oppose it.

HERE is a performance to be envied; the Manhattan Beach Branch of New York City has raised \$2346.60 for Spain. A few nights ago the branch held a combination meeting and party in honor of Robert Raven, blind veteran and hero of the Lincoln Brigade. The Spanish Committee of this branch raised enough money to support a home in Spain for refugee children and has just completed a drive for an ambulance. Dr. Louis Posner, who served with the Medical Unit in Spain, spoke at this meeting, and music was provided by Mrs. Glushak and Mrs. Reinhold. The chairman, Mrs. Minna Ekenazi, must take for herself and her branch much credit and thanks from the League.



Russell Thayer, newly appointed Acting Executive Secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy

YOUTH NOTES

THE Washington, D. C., police authorities took hard vengeance on thirty-five young people who demonstrated under American League Youth Committee auspices before the German Embassy the day after Hitler seized Austria. On visiting the District Workhouse we found that several of the pickets, who had been sentenced to thirty days were pounding away at the rockpile. After they had been in for eleven days we succeeded in raising sufficient money to pay the fines, which totaled \$350 for eight people. The others had been given suspended sentences with the exception of the author of this column, who got his thirty days a week later.

The law makes it a misdemeanor to picket with signs containing statements derogatory to a foreign government. The District Attorney wanted to know who had made up our slogans. The answer was, the President of the United States and his Secretary of State. The slogans included "Quarantine the Aggressor" and "Treaty Breakers Menace Peace" from the Chicago speech of October 5th last. The police as witnesses supplied the information that among the derogatory acts of the demonstrators had been the singing of the *Star Spangled Banner* and *America*.

So now the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia is to pass on whether the law barring picketing in front of embassies is constitutional. If necessary, the question will be taken to the Supreme Court. The law must be taken off the statute books or it will be used as a model for laws to stop picketing in front of consulates all over the country.

WERE out to make the summer hot with peace activity. Student groups in and out of the League are being combed for teams of young people who are ready to combine their summer vacations with some worth while undertaking. We want people who are willing to go into towns, summer resorts and cities where there is little or no peace activity, with movies, slides, magazines and pamphlets, and stir things up. We'll supply the material, the route and it'll be an interesting one. You supply a car and between us we'll dig up the ways and means to get the job done. Get in touch with

the American League at once if you want to be considered.

THE Englewood, N. J., Youth Branch is stuck away in the Palisades where the settler Dutchmen still come forth on stormy evenings, but its work has nothing of the myth about it. Members canvassed all local stores and secured agreements from seventy per cent of them to display signs reading "We Do Not Sell Japanese Goods." Right now the branch is in a drive to double its membership in two months.

AT THE World Economic Cooperation Conference held in Washington recently under the auspices of the National Peace Conference, Frederick Libby of the National Council for Prevention of War fumed that the youth had entered into a conspiracy to stampee the Conference. What happened was simply that, led by young people, the Conference refused to become a tail to the lobby for neutrality and isolation. Youth delegates, ignoring official objections from the Libby group, spread Spain, China, imperialism before the Conference and showed how those who have to fight the wars feel about oppression and the way to keep the world out of war.

IN SUPPORT of the student strike, the New York City League arranged three trade union demonstrations and issued a hundred thousand leaflets on why students should support concerted peace action. . . . Paul Arons of the Crown Heights Branch, New York, deserves a hand for his hard work in setting up a community youth conference that brought together twenty-five organizations and established a permanent peace council. Most of the groups were social and athletic clubs.

THE Youth Division of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has made available to us "meal tickets." We have lots of them for our branches. They're meal tickets and after you mark how much you care to spend they'll go to feed some Spanish kid. The meals are cheap— from five to twenty-five cents. With thousands of new refugees pouring into Barcelona, you and your friends can perform a real service.

—JAMES LERNER

Backbone of Spain

(Continued from page 15)

back-country village, and had not yet become acquainted with city ways. He had only just heard of the discourteous treatment we had been subjected to, and being the sergeant on duty, he had hastened after us to make amends. "For what?" we wanted to know. Well, because it did not become a soldier of the Spanish army to be discourteous to any civilian. Would we step into the guardroom? He had a fire in there and it was cold outside. Two boys in uniform got up from the table and left the room silently when we came in. I walked over and looked at some sheets of note paper which they had left behind. They were learning to write. I explained once more what we had hoped to find. It turned out that these particular barracks were new, that they hoped soon to have a social center. The members of the youth group to which he belonged were already working on it, but to date they had to be content with some morning classes for the illiterates. He had just been helping a couple of them with their work. They did not need a library for this building, he added, since they were only a block from a branch of the Madrid public library. That was quite a convenience!

I told you of this particular case not because it is unusual, but rather because wherever you go in Spain, you will find thousands of similar cases and you will find as their foundation, an organized youth movement which refuses to wait impassively for things to happen, but sends out its members to give what assistance they can to their comrades.

I mentioned previously the rôle which students had played in the battle for freedom. Their national organization is called the U.F.E.H., the Federation of Spanish University Students. Their local bodies, the F.U.E.'s, or Spanish University Federations, have gained the respect of the nation for the tremendous tasks they have undertaken. They work in the closest cooperation with the Ministry of Education, in the trenches and everywhere else. In Valencia, I met a young student who wore the uniform of a tankist. He taught classes of illiterates in the trenches, but at least once a week he managed to come into the city to look after the details and the needs of five children's colonies which his group was maintaining at the seashore. If the children needed pencils and paper, he would trudge all day long from stationery store to stationery store, getting perhaps two pencils here and one notebook there, because of the shortage of these articles, which in the past were imported from abroad. He was also keenly interested in the *Universidad Popular*, the Popular University, which has been organized by the student unions in these last

months. You will find them all over the country, in towns and in villages. Thousands of young men and women, and many older ones too, come after working hours to catch up on the schooling they have missed in the past. There are now six such night schools in Valencia, with more than a thousand students, and eighteen in Madrid, where I think the enrollment had reached the six thousand mark early this year. In their work these students were aided everywhere by the J.S.U. and the *Juvenes Libertarios*, another youth organization. More than a thousand of them are active in the flying brigades which organize classes in all the villages of Spain.

The Madrid and Valencia Beaux Arts students have made innumerable handpainted posters which graphically tell the people on the streets that they must conserve their artistic patrimony. It is, in short, impossible to do justice to the tremendous contribution that organized youth is making to the battle for freedom. I will close with the words of a speaker at a youth congress in Madrid last year. "Wherever we may be, we have both a mission and an obligation, to struggle against ignorance and to combat the bands of Phalangists on the other side of the trenches who in the past made so many attacks on our unity!"

No More Bondage

(Continued from page 21)

the immediate question of job security. Basically, it flows from the pro-Fascist ideology of large American industry. As the demand for job opportunity—in public utilities, in the railroads, in concerns receiving government contracts—increases in volume, more skillful and more determined becomes the strategy of Big Business to keep Negro young people in mental positions. The Negro can win equal opportunity in industry only with the assistance of a unified youth movement, in close collaboration with organized labor.

The industrialists are against unity between Negro and white young people. Young white men going into technical fields are told that the few positions available should be kept for them. In this manner Big Business carries forward its age-old policy of "divide and exploit." The Negro people, along with the Jews, are to become the scapegoats for the American Fascist.

In Florida, "the land of sunshine," this policy of industry has developed as no place else in the United States. The Civil War Black Codes have been revived. Sixty-three thousand Negroes in Miami, Florida—where debutantes and Park Avenue social elites spend \$75 per day for a hotel room—dare not leave their quarters after nine P.M. without a permit from their employers. All domestics are fingerprinted, the idea being that potentially all Negroes are thieves. In reinstating the Black

Codes, the object of the industrialists is to revive the race riots of the post-World War period. They want the white workers to believe that Negroes and Jews are responsible for the increasingly poor standard of living.

The revival of the Black Codes comes at a time when the white masses have begun to understand one of industry's most effective weapons—"divide and exploit" on the bases of race and religion. The Codes serve to counter the understanding and growing unity between the whites and Negroes. They lay the ideological basis for Fascism.

The policy of General Electric in refusing to employ young Negro men in its research laboratories has basically the same objectives as the Florida Black Codes—to divide the Negro and white, to maintain the Negro people as an inferior group. When the major educational institutions of the country discriminate against Negro youth, they are supporting the Fascist policies of William Randolph Hearst.

The fight for jobs for the Negro youth in industry becomes a part of the general struggle for peace and the maintenance of Democracy. The Fascist forces are led by Hearst. Hearst is a leading Jew-hater. The Fascist forces are supported by Ford. Ford is a leading Jew-hater. Hearst supports the rape of Ethiopia by Mussolini. Ford supports the rape of China by Japan.

The winning of greater job opportunity for Negro youth during the coming period demands as a prerequisite the maintenance of world peace and the extension of Democracy.

The National Youth Administration and the C.C.C. camps have assisted large numbers of young Negro people in giving employment and in furthering their education. The assistance received, however, has barely touched the need. It would take the entire appropriation of N.Y.A. to make an effective dent on the needs of Negro youth. The passage of the American Youth Act will do much to further the basically sound objectives of the N.Y.A.

The problem of job security for Negro youth can best be solved through the united action of all forces in America believing in progress—such as the Committee for Industrial Organization and progressive sections of the American Federation of Labor, the American Youth Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Student Union, the National Negro Congress, the Southern Negro Youth Congress—pooling their strength to insist upon a comprehensive federal legislative program. Particularly the organized labor movement presents a great possibility for meeting, in the most decisive and definitive manner, the five major problems confronting Negro youth—jobs, civil liberties, education, Democracy, peace.

Young China

(Continued from page 19)

To most faculty members, and especially to deans, the radical student group was often a most undesirable element. Having to work largely underground, it would be guided by astute leaders who kept themselves in the background, and in the early years it often made use of trivial or non-significant campus issues to keep itself in power. A fight for the elimination or modification of examinations could appeal to many of the lazy or worried who took no deep interest in recreating the social order. But as time went on, and especially in the last two or three years, the appeal for support was on a much higher plane, and radicalism became much more of a synonym for deep social purpose and determination to work for the country here and now.

Radicals in Minority

Naturally the convinced radicals were always in a minority. The great mass of students were too worried over their own family or financial or vocational problems, or in some cases too much entranced by the delights of movies and dancing, to desire a China freed of exploitation and privilege. There was a time when many students would say that the trouble with the Communists was that they were too international in their viewpoint, and that what China needed was strong national consciousness. Three or four years ago a colleague of mine invited a group of intelligent students to hear a tale of Germany from an exiled Jewish professor, with the hope of curing them of any faith in dictatorship. The reaction he got was just the opposite. The students declared that it was just

the ruthless strength of Hitler that China needed. While Chiang aroused very little real enthusiasm, many agreed that since China needed a dictator and he was the only candidate available, he should be supported in the rôle.

Meanwhile Manchuria had been rapidly, and every live Chinese felt that the question was not whether, but when, to fight Japan. Each fresh act of aggression, whether in Shanghai, Jehol or Suiyuan, brought forth a new strike during which funds for Chinese troops were collected, bandages were rolled and propaganda throughout the nearby country districts was organized, propaganda both against the Japanese invasion, and against the central government for not standing up to it. Students lay on railroad tracks to force free transportation to Nanking to protest, and a good friend of mine joined his brother in a hunger strike terminated only with an interview, with Chiang himself, at which they urged him to resist Japan. Most notable of these demonstrations were the Peiping protests of December, 1935, and the following spring, when forcible resistance of the police to the student parades resulted in clashes in which many were injured and numbers imprisoned, one of whom died as a result. One of my closest student friends was kept in prison for seven weeks for marching beside a coffin in memory of the dead student. Such demonstrations were said to be the only news that broke through Japanese censorship into Japan to indicate that there was lack of "sincere desire" on the part of Chinese to welcome "Japanese liberation from Chinese misrule."

Another close friend of mine, a student leader who went to Nanking to speak to students there, had to leave

hurriedly through a window and he smuggled out of danger from the Blue Shirts, the Chinese brand of Fascists. Even in Peiping such groups of Fascist students commonly believed to be subsidized by elements in the central government, were by the winter of 1936 coming into the open in challenge to the progressives. With the latter frequently hiding from police raids, the Fascists succeeded in capturing the student union of the city. It was not until after the Sian affair brought a united front to China's patriotic forces that the radicals once more came to look upon Chiang Kai-shek as a leader to be followed against Japan.

One feature of the Suiyuan demonstrations of December, 1935, is of special interest. A two-week propaganda trip to the country districts was undertaken in bitterly cold weather by both Nationalist and radical students trying to rouse the peasants to the peril from Japan. Their experience was that as yet (it would be very different now), *K'ang jih* (anti-Japan) had very little meaning. It was only when the faced problems of landlordism and taxation that the farmers responded. As a result many of the thoughtful Nationalist students came to feel that exploitation is a problem that transcends national boundaries, that social reform and patriotism cannot be separated.

Youth of a Nation

Chinese students, no more than Americans, can be divided neatly into classes such as Nationalist, Fascist and the indifferent—much less lumped together as members of a general Chinese student movement. I have known intellectual "radicals" who treated dining-hall waiters and janitors like slaves. There are many whose patriotism wears out their bodies and souls in useless indignation and worry. There are Christians to whom "radical" is a bad word, who believe that the important virtues are those of patience and charity, even for members of a privileged class, as there are Christians whose principles drive them into earnest effort for a new world. There are position-seekers whose political views are colored by personal spite or hope of leadership or office. There are those who try to forget in wine, woman and song. There are those who bury themselves in their books and want only to be left alone to do research for its own sake. And then there are men and women—for girls in China share notably in student leadership—who from suffering with the deep suffering all around them, and with a vision of a better world, that can come only through bitter struggle and sacrifice, strive persistently and energetically and enthusiastically for progress in social and economic relationships. For them as for all, the immediate task is resistance to Japanese aggression. To that struggle they have devoted their lives.



At the Rally for Peace through World Cooperation, Madison Square Garden, New York. Left to right: Chairman, Bishop G. A. Oldham; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Bishop Francis J. McConnell; Charles G. Fenwick, President, Catholic Association for International Peace; and Clark M. Eichelberger, Director, League of Nations Association—who with Harry F. Ward, National Chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, were the leading speakers.

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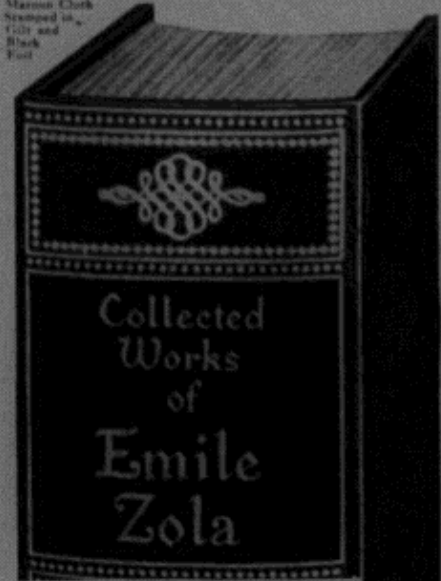
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